Analysis of Shelter Utilization by Victims of Domestic Violence Quantitative and Qualitative Analysis

FINAL TECHNICAL REPORT

Prepared for

Illinois Criminal Justice Information Authority

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Final Report to the Illinois Criminal Justice Information Authority: Analysis of Shelter Utilization by Victims of Domestic Violence Quantitative and Qualitative Analysis

Introduction

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

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The Analysis of Shelter Utilization by Victims of Domestic Violence project was funded by the Illinois Criminal Justice Information Authority (ICJIA) in the spring of 2008 to address two primary issues: 1) The shelter and service utilization patterns and outcomes and housing needs of women who are domestic violence victims, and 2) the stages in the process by which they make changes in their situation. Toward this end, this project relied on a variety of data sources, including multiple interviews with women in shelter programs in Chicago, data from the City of Chicago's Domestic Violence Help Line and data from ICJIA's InfoNet system. Both quantitative data and qualitative analyses were conducted using data from these sources. This report contains the findings from these analyses. It is divided into two sections. The first focuses on the results of the quantitative analysis related to the first foci, that is, the shelter and service use patterns and outcomes and housing needs of victims. The second part of this report highlights the initial results from qualitative analysis of data as these pertain to the research questions. At this point, the results are broadly focused on two key questions: 1) the reasons why women seek shelter as these relate to their need for safety and respite, as well as the extent to which economic circumstances and housing needs play a role, and 2) the process of change that the second set of research questions was intended to address. Quantitative analysis related to the Stages of Change questionnaire is also included in this second section. Because of the breadth and depth of qualitative data, we expect that further analyses, looking more closely at these two issues will be conducted in the coming months and shared with ICJIA as they are completed. The final section of this report ties the quantitative and qualitative analyses together. It includes policy and practice recommendations based on the findings to date and suggestions for further research.

Background of the Research

The shelter utilization project was designed to examine the experiences of women who are in shelters, specifically related to their housing needs, issues of safety and help seeking behavior. The identification of these research issues evolved from several previous research and assessment processes, including meetings with the Mayor's Office on Domestic Violence (MODV) to identify questions for further research, previous work with MODV evaluating the Chicago Help Line, and prior analysis of ICJIA InfoNet data.

As a result of these efforts it became clear that in order to help victims of violence seeking shelter, a better understanding was needed related to the role of shelter and housing in a survivors' process of change. In addition, previous research endeavors by those involved pointed to the importance of exploring the dynamics of shelter utilization and how these related to the process of and readiness for change among women who were victims of domestic violence.

These are very salient issues in Chicago. Shelters are a critical part of meeting the safety needs of victims of domestic violence. However, at present, there are only 166 shelter beds in the whole city and affordable housing has become increasingly limited. Greater knowledge about the ways women use shelters in the process of becoming safe as well as greater specificity on the type of housing that might be helpful to victims of domestic violence apart from shelters would assist in planning for transitional and low income housing options.

This study was also intended to examine the ways in which women make changes within the shelter context as they seek to end violence in their lives. There is only limited information about the change process, yet such information would help us to improve the effectiveness of the services provided to women who move through the shelter system and empower them to become safe.

Methodology

Data sources

A major strength of our design is that we used multiple data sources and a mixed methods (quantitative and qualitative) approach. This allowed us to triangulate our findings and enabled us to pursue questions raised across data sources. Further strengthening the design is that throughout, this project has employed a collaborative research approach. Continuing a research partnership first formed between Loyola University's Center for Urban Research and Learning and Chicago's Mayors Office on Domestic Violence in a National Institute of Justice funded evaluation study of the diverse users of the City of Chicago Domestic Violence Help Line (Fugate, George, Haber, & Stawiski, 2005), we have worked closely with the Mayor's Office on Domestic Violence and shelter staff in framing this research and utilizing their expertise and insights as we developed our final methodology, our research instruments and proceeded with the analysis of data. Below, we describe each source of data and the questions it was used to address.

InfoNet Data

The first methodology involved secondary data analysis of data collected by the InfoNet (Information Network) data system from all agencies funded by ICJIA to provide domestic violence services to victims in Illinois. InfoNet is a web-based network data collection system. The development and implementation of the network was the result of collaborative efforts between the ICJIA, the Illinois Coalition Against Sexual Assault (ICASA) and the Illinois Coalition Against Domestic Violence (Illinois Criminal Justice Information Authority, 2004). The first full year of service data were collected in 1998. As of December 11, 2005, the total unduplicated count of individuals who received

services between January 1, 1998 and December 11, 2005 was 342,462. This is the time period utilized in the present analysis of InfoNet data.

The InfoNet system is set up to collect information about client demographics including gender, race/ethnicity, age at the time of first service contact, education, marital status and special client needs or disabilities which require additional assistance beyond the capability of the program. Offender data, including the relationship between the victim and offender and offender demographics, are also available. In addition, there is information about the primary presenting issue, referral source to a program, referrals to other programs and service contacts, including whether or not victims received onsite shelter.

Chicago Domestic Violence Help Line Data

A second set of data were derived from the City of Chicago's Domestic Violence Help Line. These data included both administrative data collected from domestic violence victims utilizing the Help Line and data from phone interviews with a subset of these individuals.

Administrative Data. The City of Chicago Domestic Violence Help Line receives calls from a variety of people regarding domestic violence and other forms of violence, as well as people seeking a plethora of other information and service needs. The target area for services is primarily the Chicago Metropolitan area; most victims call from the city and suburbs of Chicago. During the period between 2001 through 2005, the Help Line responded to 76,620 callers. Of these, 37,484 were from victims of domestic violence**,** that is, individuals calling for information and referrals to domestic violence services for themselves.

The variables in this data set include gender, race, and age of the victim and the victim's abusive partner; the type of abuse and nature of the relationship between the abusive partner and victim (spouse, dating partner etc); the age and sex of the victim's children ; the language the call was conducted in; the referral source (where or from whom the victim learned about the Help Line,) the victim's zip code area, the type of domestic violence service the victim is seeking and whether a service match was found. In the present analysis, we utilized data from 2006 since these were the most complete data at the time and the system changed somewhat in the middle of 2007, making it difficult to look at a full year of data.

Help Line Interview Data (NIJ data). In 2004, Fugate, George, Haber and Stawiski, with support from the National Institute of Justice, conducted brief telephone interviews with a representative sample of a subset of victim callers to the Help Line. Phone interviews were conducted over 55 weeks between July 2004 and August 2005 with 399 victims who called the Help Line. While not all victims were from Chicago, the majority of these 399 or 86.1% were. Another 12.9% were from the suburbs, presumably those surrounding Chicago. The interview gathered information on hours worked, living arrangement (who the interviewee lived with by individual and housing type and status), and age of dependent children living in household. It also included questions about the

types of services being sought, individuals experience with the Help Line and service system and how the victim used the information.

Interviews with Victims of Violence.

The final data source for this project was interviews with 53 women who were victims of violence and residing in shelters. We planned to conduct two waves of interviews with each woman over a 10 month period with each interview occurring approximately 6 months apart. In the end, we could only locate 17 of the original 53 women or 1/3 of the sample. Data for the sample as a whole at the Time 1 or baseline interview are provided in this report as well as data specifically on the 17 individuals interviewed at both Time 1 and Time 2 when we look at changes over time in outcomes.

Sample. The sample for this portion of the project was a convenience sample derived from victims who were utilizing 4 shelters in the city of Chicago. These shelter programs were selected because they provided a broad sample from the different geographic and racial/ethnic communities in Chicago. Initially, we had hoped to interview 65 women, obtaining the first 15 to 20 women who agreed from each agency. In the end, we had a more difficult time than we had anticipated recruiting women from one of the programs. In fact, we were only able to obtain 2 participants from this program. Recruitment was delayed for two of the other programs. As a result, almost half of the final sample (26 women or 49.1%) came from one program. This program primarily served African American women. The other two programs provided 12 and 13 participants respectively. One of these two primarily served Hispanic women.

*Variables and Data Collection Instruments***.** The interviews focused on the activities that each woman had taken to become safe. They included both a structured section with specific questions that could be analyzed quantitatively and a semi-structured interview that has been the focus of our qualitative analysis. The qualitative interview at baseline asked about her decision making process as she has sought help. The qualitative interview questions were intended to capture her cognitive and emotional processes and to determine how these related to the stages of change model. They also asked about events and support systems that may have had an impact on decision making. The follow up interview repeated many of the same structured and semi-structured questions. It sought information about the respondent's living situation, safety and emotional, economic and social well-being at that time. It also asked about cognitive and emotional processes during the 6 months between the first and second interviews.

In addition to the interview questions, participants were asked to complete two standardized research instruments at Time 1 and Time 2, the Abusive Behavior Inventory (ABI, Shephard & Campbell, 1992) and the Stages of Change Questionnaire (SOCQ Shurman & Rodriguez, 2006; See Appendix C). The ABI explicitly identifies the type of abuse experienced. The instrument produces two scores, one for physical and one for psychological abuse. It has good reliability and validity and has been used in other studies of abuse victims (Shephard & Campbell, 1992). The SOCQ is a 35-item questionnaire that was adapted for domestic violence victims from the Shurman and Rodriguez questionnaire (2006). It was designed to measure attitudes toward behavior

change that are consistent with six of the stages in Prochaska and DiClemente's transtheorectical model: pre-contemplation, contemplation, preparation, action, recycle/return, and maintenance. We further modified the scale for our study and have derived seven sub-scales to correspond with the stages. Finally, at the time of the baseline interview and follow-up, women were asked to complete a short survey about services they felt they needed, whether they received them and how helpful they found them (See Appendix C).

Part I - Summary and Discussion of Quantitative Findings Related to Questions 1-5

The data presented here from the various sources are surprisingly consistent in terms of the picture they offer of those seeking shelter and the experiences they have. As noted, those who seek and receive shelter in Cook County and the City of Chicago are distinct from other victims of domestic violence in this region who do not seek or obtain shelter to the extent that they are more likely to be female, less likely to be White or Hispanic, and slightly younger in age. They may be more economically vulnerable as assessed by their greater lack of employment. They are less likely to be married which may make it easier for them to leave the relationship and seek shelter. Differences in household size, children or the age and gender of children do not alone explain why victims of violence may or may not request shelter, but those who request or obtain shelter appear to experience more severe abuse compared to those who do not make the request receive shelter services. They may also be less stably housed at the time they request help.

While the qualitative data provide more complete information about the paths into shelter, the quantitative data indicate that in general, individuals who obtain shelter are referred to the helpline for information or referred directly to services by sources other than police or legal service providers. They are more likely to get information from social service or other DV programs compared to those not seeking shelter. Reasons for being hesitant to call in the first place, among those seeking shelter, reflect that the stigma of being a victim may make it harder to call as well as the uncertainty about the source of help and nature of what may be provided.

There is also some evidence that the use of Orders of Protection is more limited among those seeking or obtaining shelter. Indeed, individuals who do not obtain shelter are more likely to get services related to such legal remedies compared to those in shelter, but legal interventions were the only services, among those key services examined, that those not in shelter were more likely to obtain. In all other instances, including counseling services, advocacy, adult group services, case management, and concrete services such as educational and economic support, individuals who obtain shelter services are more likely to obtain assistance and for longer periods of time. Further, additional analysis conducted by two of the investigators indicates that this difference is primarily accounted for not by individual characteristics but by whether or not the individual is in shelter.

Additional data also suggest that shelter programs appear to be more likely to provide supportive services such as counseling, and advocacy, than they are to provide

assistance related to specific needs such as employment, education and income. This is supported by both the InfoNet and shelter interview sample data. Programs seem to do a better job providing those services, such as counseling, advocacy and support groups, that they are directly funded to provide. Nonetheless, the interview sample and qualitative data analysis make it clear that women have ongoing needs for assistance in many areas that relate directly to concrete needs such as economic and housing assistance. Perhaps because they cannot access such resources as easily, or because they are more rare in general, shelters seem to provide fewer of these supports to their clients.

A further concern is that analysis of InfoNet data, looking at difference by race, disability status and age shows that women of color may be less likely to obtain some services. Whether this is because they do not need or seek such help or whether racism plays a part related to providing it is not clear. Fewer differences exist related to disability status and age. As we might expect given their potentially more complicated service needs, those with a special need or disability tend to obtain more of some services that seem to relate specifically to their needs and to get more hours and service contacts overall. Differences related to age were minimal, but in general, older women are not among the shelter population which in itself is cause for concern (see Lundy & Grossman, forthcoming).

Finally, as noted, looking explicitly at the experience of women in the interview sample and outcomes for women interviewed twice the data suggest that those in this subgroup were generally doing better 6 months after the initial interview in terms of things such as employment, housing stability and possibly income. There was also evidence of decreased violence and fewer service needs at Time 2 compared to Time 1, and these were frequently being met. However, many of the women were still in precarious economic situations and needed assistance to meet basic needs including medical care, housing, food and clothing. This is addressed further in the qualitative data analysis presented in part 2 of this report. We also note that it is possible we could not locate some of those who were not interviewed twice specifically because they experienced repeated violence and disruption. Therefore, it would be misleading to conclude all the women interviewed were "doing better." We can only conclude that among those we could find again, violence was apparently less prevalent in their lives.

Part II – Summary and Discussion of Qualitative Findings

Although our exploration into the data will continue for many months, we present here the preliminary findings on two important arenas of concern for the domestic violence community, women survivors, and for communities in general. That is, this analysis focuses on 1) the identification of housing and service needs/utilization patterns and outcomes for women who are in the domestic violence shelter system in Chicago, and; 2) identifying stages in the help seeking process, e.g., what are the characteristics of readiness to change that lead women to shelter and/or to end the abusive situation.

Summary of Findings Related to Paths into and Function of Shelter.

What is striking about the qualitative findings related to the paths into shelter is the complexity of these women's lives and how issues of safety, economics and

emotional needs are intertwined and nested within each other. In many ways, what we found reflects and illustrates Crenshaw's (1997) observations of domestic violence shelters in minority communities in Los Angeles:

In most cases, the physical assault that leads women to these shelters is merely the most immediate manifestation of the subordination they experience….Shelters serving these women cannot afford to address only the violence inflicted by the batterer; they must also confront the other multilayered and routinized forms of domination that often converge in these women's lives, hindering their ability to create alternatives to the abusive relationships that brought them to shelters in the first place. Many women of color, for example, are burdened by poverty, childcare responsibilities, and the lack of job skills. These burdens, largely the consequence of gender and class oppression, are then compounded by the racially discriminatory employment and housing practices women of color often face, as well as by the disproportionately high unemployment among people of color that makes battered women of color less able to depend on the support of friends and relatives for temporary shelter. (P. 180)

The diversity of women's experiences is very hard to variegate and distill to distinct definable paths. Some women highlighted safety needs, others stressed economic needs, others focused on respite needs, and still others did not highlight one area over another. The qualitative interviews provide insight into the complex circumstances that led women to seek shelter, shaped their survival strategies, and informed their service needs. Having said that, it is clear that for the majority of women who we interviewed, shelter was the end of the economic and safety road. They had no other alternatives. In some cases that lack related to economic resources and meant that they had nowhere else to go. In other cases, there was some family support, such as the option of living with a sister or mother, but either that relationship had been over burdened or it was not safe to move in with people whom the abuser also knew. And for a smaller but still substantial number of women, moving to shelter was also part of a specific strategy to re-group, to seek respite and move forward.

Not all women sought shelter at the same time in their abuse experience. And the "breaking or escape point" for women varied. For some, the cumulative weight of the abuse had reached a critical mass; for others, they perceived an escalating risk that they sought to escape. And still for others, a defining incident of extreme abuse, the presence of a weapon, or risk to their children necessitated their escape.

For all of these women, the burden of a general sense of not being safe, as well as repeated incidents of abuse, contributed to their evolving strategies to overcome abuse. In addition, economic instability in itself is a threat to safety. Women talked about staying in unsafe situations because of a lack of resources, and in some cases, this instability contributed to being in unsafe positions in the first place. For example, one of the respondents moved in with her boyfriend because she had no place to go, therefore finding herself in what became a new unsafe situation.

Further, these women's safety stories were almost always intertwined or embedded in a story of unstable economic circumstances. (It is also likely that shelter spaces are so limited already that those who are able to access shelter are among the most desperate). In only two cases were there women whose circumstance and history indicated that they would easily economically rebound. For the rest, they had a need for a myriad of services related to economic security, so that the shelter was a "first stop" on a long road to stabilization—a need many explicitly identified in our discussions with them. At the same time, most of the women we interviewed in their first week or two in the shelter did not or could not articulate fully formed or even cursory plans. Some were thinking about school, others employment, and most a permanent and safe place to stay.

Intimately related to the question of the factors leading women to shelter is the question of the function shelter serves. Clearly it serves a diverse role, as their needs are diverse. However, we would suggest two clear functions that the women we interviewed found in these shelters:

1. Shelter as a way station.

While in shelter, some of the women found the space and support to develop strategies and goals for themselves and their families; a "way station," if you will. As we reported earlier, a sizable number did in fact recognize and articulate this need for "respite" even in the first week of their shelter stay.

2. Shelter as a place apart.

The classic concept of a shelter is a confidential place where an abuser cannot access the victim. Usually this is related to safety – the abuser cannot abuse the victim. And clearly, this still is an important and necessary function for many of the women we interviewed. However, for others there is the additional need to "quarantine" or isolate themselves from the abuser, or sometimes the scene of family and or friends, that are part of the pattern of abuse and "bad habits" that comprise their relationship with the abuser. This was often, but not always, related to issues of substance abuse. Interestingly, these women clearly had not considered "orders of protection" as a means to secure and separate their lives, at least at the beginning of their stay in the shelters.

Summary of Findings Related to Circumstances and Outcomes after Leaving Shelter.

While the 17 women we were able to reach were in fairly safe conditions, few are in stable and secure situations. These women seemed to be living at the edge. Most were in precarious living situations and any setback in one area of their lives could impact all the others. Few had stable sources of income or employment; many were in housing situations that they did not see as permanent. The importance of employment and housing is clear. The contrasting situations of two women we interviewed in the second round exemplify this. One was living in a very chaotic and insecure housing situation, with economic insecurity and conflict with roommates. She talked about how she thinks more about her abuser and calling him as her situation destabilizes, contrasting this to his absence from her thoughts when she was in shelter. In contrast another woman had recently been successful in securing transitional housing which she really liked. She saw

this as an important turning point, and articulated how this distanced her from her former unsafe circumstances.

At the same time, most of the 17 women interviewed at Time 2 noted and utilized a variety of supports including family, friends, and former shelter residents and staff. These important sources of support appeared to be critical for some women and may have made the difference in terms of the woman's ability to remain on her own apart from the abuser. The women also needed a variety of services, as documented in the quantitative analysis, but access was an ongoing issue primarily because of lack of many services. Her again, the shelter remained an ongoing source of support, continuing to link women to some services and also providing ongoing housing for others, either in shelter or in second stage housing programs. Nonetheless, as the quantitative analysis substantiated, many of the services these women needed most, including a stable source of income and housing were not readily services that shelters provide.

Summary of Findings Related to Stages of Change

The quantitative Stages of Change survey along with the coded interviews provided a rich selection of data from which to begin to look at the various stages of change that survivors go through during the process of leaving their abusive partner, obtaining safety and resources for both themselves and their children, and beginning to heal. By no means is our analysis of the information we received complete. Instead, as you will see in this report, it has served as a jumping off point for further reflection, analysis and research.

Distinctions within the Stages of Change

Initially in reviewing the qualitative data, we found that for many women there were distinct subcategories to each stage of change as it was originally developed that related to specific practice interventions, which will be discussed later in this section. Indeed, all of the stages of change are an integral part of a larger process of change and therefore the overlap occurs in both obvious behavioral and cognitive changes as well as in smaller incremental modifications. Just as the way people change is not linear and organized, so too, the descriptions of the change process are intertwined, rather than distinct and mutually exclusive.

The data indicate that the survivors were not all at the same stage, reflecting the obvious fact that they were not all in the same mental, behavioral, or emotional state. In fact, in the same category of Contemplation, it seemed that different women were in different states in their understanding and in their ability and readiness to make change. For example, some of the survivors were at a beginning understanding of their situation, but with no definite commitment to change. Others had an idea of what they were experiencing but had not yet reached any conclusions about what to do. As stated earlier, due to this observation we separated and distinguished the subcategories for contemplation, preparation, and action into sections in order to better capture the nuances of the various stages of change that each participant was in.

In further analyzing the qualitative data, it seems apparent that most of the survivors who were interviewed were in one of three primary stages: *contemplation*, *preparation* and *action*. The largest number of participants were coded as being in the stage of Action 1; that is, 64% (n=34) of the women were engaged in active behavioral change. This actually is quite logical considering that all of the women had just moved into a shelter for victims of domestic violence. The next largest category is Contemplation 3; that is, 60% (n=32) of the 53 survivors made responses that seemed to belong in Contemplation 3, which is described as being reflective, with a cognitive awareness of the patterns in her life and with efforts to make a life plan.

Non-linearity of Stages of Change

We further observed that the process of change is not only non-linear, but that it also may involve numerous stages of change at one time. Also, we can begin to believe that the number of stages that a survivor is in may increase when she is away from the abuse and has had more time to contemplate and make changes in her situation. This likely means that a survivor is working on several different issues and is in different stages with each issue. Or it can mean that the issue she is working on is multifaceted (such as leaving an abusive partner), which lends itself to working on and experiencing it in different ways. For example, a survivor may be contemplating the pattern of abuse in her life at the same time she is taking action to get a new apartment, working on her safety plan, e.g., finding a safety deposit box and/or opening a post office box, and exploring employment options. The following is an example of a woman in the second interview who is both contemplating her relationship and discussing actions she has taken since being in shelter, thus she is in two different stages of change:

> *In a shelter it taught us you know, you go back you keep going back and forth, thinking things are gonna change. The only way some things are gonna change is that you get different results…is that person be willing to change and to give, and I thought about my life, you know…..cause I got something to fill that void with – I go to school, I work, you know, I'm interacting with other people, I'm learning to gain healthy friendship, you know, something I never had.*

Relevance of States of Change for Providers

As indicated in Table 53 of the Implications section, one of the primary purposes for utilizing and understanding the stages of change is to provide clarity on the nuances of the process of change for survivors. Based on the literature, there is little doubt that survivors could make these monumental changes in their lives without information and support, which is what they receive at DV shelters and agencies. However, it is exceedingly clear from the qualitative interviews that although survivors may share similar experiences, each woman has a distinctly individual process that she must maneuver in order to accomplish safety. The manner and method with which providers respond to each survivor is critical, as every provider knows and struggles with.

The Stages of Change Questionnaire has been separated into distinct sections to indicate discreet needs of survivors. The table suggests possible practice interventions and perspectives for each section to guide providers as they respond to tentative requests

for information as well as life-threatening circumstances. We must note that this table is a result of a preliminary analysis of the data and it may be revised as we continue our analyses.

Emotional Support

Across the interviews, almost regardless of the stage of change, survivors reported a need for someone to talk to. The obvious outcome of trying to change ones' life is that interpersonal relationships change, and survivors described extremely difficult periods of isolation and loneliness. The qualitative data describes survivors' burgeoning awareness of exploitation and abuse within relationships other than with the abuser, which moved them farther away from any perceived social support they thought they had when they left the DV shelter. The presence of support as well as educational groups is imperative for many survivors to maintain the changes that they are striving for in their lives.

Summary of Quantitative and Qualitative Data Findings

The multiple viewpoints reflected in both the quantitative and qualitative data sources and findings of this report present a rich context that may actually reflect the complexity of the lives of survivors of domestic violence. The varying perspectives presented here create a more comprehensive picture of circumstances and needs. What is clear as we here look at the findings from both the quantitative data points and the qualitative interviews is the convergence of the findings. Each data source mirrors the other, adding clarity and describing the complexity of the situations of these women's lives. The multiple source of quantitative data (Help Line administrative and interview data, InfoNet data and interview sample data) underscores the commonality of demographic characteristics and service needs of victims utilizing shelter services. The qualitative data adds a depth of understanding and highlights the complexity of these women's circumstances. Below we highlight areas of convergence and divergence between the two sets of analyses as these relate to the research questions.

Economic Vulnerability

Perhaps more than any characteristic, what typifies women who seek shelter, across all sources of data, was their greater vulnerability, particularly economic vulnerability. Although some of the qualitative findings are specific to the shelters that participated in the study, the qualitative findings related to the characteristics of the sample support the quantitative findings that women who seek shelter are more economically vulnerable on a number of fronts including their single status, greater lack of employment, lower levels of education, and, if race is a proxy for economic status, their greater likelihood of being African American. The qualitative data describes the women's needs for training and education in order to be able to provide a stable lifestyle for themselves and their children.

Types of Abuse

The quantitative analysis suggests that in addition to economic vulnerability, those in shelter are more likely to experience more severe abuse. This is often physical abuse but there is some indication it may also be sexual. Of interest related to this is that

the qualitative analysis of the shelter sample interviews suggests that although the women reported physical abuse, it was the immediate threat and the urgent need to get away before another attack that often was the catalyst to a shelter call.

Path to Help Seeking

All of the women in both the quantitative and qualitative data reported a hesitance, reluctance to seek help. The helpline data suggested that stigma and lack of clarity about how to define the situation –whether it was abuse or not- played a role in their reluctance to seek help. The qualitative analysis of the shelter interviews also suggested that none of the women we eager to begin the communal life of the shelter, and therefore expressed reluctance about shelter living. However, many of the women also reported that they learned a great deal while in the shelter and the helpfulness of shelter staff and educational programs.

The quantitative data also make clear that most women who enter shelter do not report that they were referred to services by police or legal sources. They are more likely to obtain a referral from a social service program or from a hotline. At the same time, the data related to referrals to the City of Chicago Helpline tend to reflect greater referrals by police regardless of whether the request is for shelter or not. This suggests police may be an indirect source of referral for some women, but that they are less likely to be the direct conduit to shelter services. We did not have a chance to fully explore referral sources at this time in the qualitative data. However, anecdotally, we know that women named many sources and these were quite varied. Further analysis may clarify this issue further.

We also know from the qualitative analysis that the path to shelter is a complex one and that shelter addresses many needs including safety, economic and respite. We discuss the implications of this more fully in the next section.

Service Experiences

While the quantitative data analysis provides information about the timing of shelter services and suggests who is likely to get more or less assistance among all victims as well as among those in shelter, the qualitative analysis highlights the importance of the services victims receive to their wellbeing. Thus, the quantitative data suggests that those in shelter obtain more services compared to individuals who do not obtain such assistance. It also indicates that most services provided to victims in shelter are provided at the time they are in shelter. Ongoing assistance is more limited once women leave. Further, shelters are more likely to provide those services which they are funded to provide such as counseling, advocacy, group sessions, and case management services. Supports such as employment and income assistance are more limited perhaps because they show up under other services such as advocacy or case management or because shelters have a harder time providing such services and such services are more limited in general.

At the same time, the qualitative data highlight how important shelter and services such as counseling are to women at the time they first leave their abuser. The shelter

itself provides not only an opportunity for safety, but a place for a "time out." Related to the change process, this "time out" may be critical in advancing women through the stages of change. Still, women in the shelter interview sample highlighted their need for ongoing economic and practical supports as well. In particular, the qualitative data contains numerous examples of the lengths women went to in order to maintain some type of housing. For example, one women described her awareness that she had to live in an unsafe neighborhood with abusive 'friends' in order to have any housing at all. InfoNet data does not include information about housing related services, so it is difficult to know quantitatively how much help shelters provide in this area. Qualitative data analysis suggests some of the shelters do assist either by working with women to find housing or providing it themselves through second-stage housing programs. However, the quantitative interview data also suggest that housing remains an ongoing need. This is discussed further in the implications section.

Barriers to Service

The qualitative data provide more insight into the personal barriers that kept women from acting as well as the difficulties they encountered in trying to leave and seek help during previous episodes of violence. The implications of these personal barriers are discussed further in the implications section. We note that quantitative data related to barriers to service were quite limited and did not reveal any clear patterns because of the small number of individuals included in the analysis,. However, the data, provided only by the Help Line qualitative (NIJ) interview data, suggest that most people did not obtain shelter after being referred and attempting to get it because the services was not appropriate or available. Given the small number of beds available in Chicago (166) for women in need, this is perhaps not a very surprising finding. Because the sample was so small, it was hard to look at whether this trend varied by race/ethnicity or by whether or not the caller had children, but there is no suggestion that such issues played a role. In effect, everyone is affected by the lack of beds. It does appear though that shelters ultimately admit those who are most in need. Whether this is because of policy or because those with other resources choose other paths is unclear. The qualitative data suggest that shelter is not seen as the most positive option, however, at least initially, which may mean that those who end up in shelters are those who have the most limited alternatives.

The Outcomes of Women Who Leave Shelter

The women we interviewed described their time at domestic violence shelters as a period of uncertainty in their lives. They were unsure where they would live when their shelter stays ended; how they would heal from their experiences of abuse; and how they would manage to care for their children, attend school, and hold down employment at once and on their own. At the time they entered shelter, they had multiple service needs. For the 17 women who completed second round interviews, this uncertainty remained pervasive. With the exception of one woman, all were safer. This was reflected in both what they reported in the qualitative interview and in their scores on the Abusive Behavior Inventory. Yet, most were still seeking a sense of permanence and stability in their lives. Their service needs were fewer, but they were perhaps more critical as the lack of housing, food or clothing, while in shelter might be more easily addressed than it

could be met once outside of shelter. In addition, while the quantitative data could indicate the type of help the women reported needing on an ongoing basis, the qualitative data suggested some of the barriers to assistance including a lack of necessary services in some cases.

We also do not know much about the other 35 women we could not locate at Time 2. Perhaps these 17 were the most stable and safe which was why we could reach them. They did report the existence of support source in their lives and perhaps this also distinguished them in some way. Clearly these supports were important on a number of levels, and included supportive relationships with other former shelter residents and shelter staff.

Stages of Change

The qualitative data provided a rich source through which to examine the theoretical model proposed by Prochaska and DiClimente (1982; 1984) as it pertains to survivors of domestic violence and their attempts to become and remain safe. Additional sub-stages within each stage were identified empirically and also reflected in the Stages of Change questionnaire, particularly in the endorsement of a "does not apply" category which reflected a specific feeling of empowerment among the women.

Analysis of both data sources suggested that women tended to already be out of pre-contemplation by the time they entered shelter and to be moving more fully into contemplation, preparation, and action. Further, analysis comparing the women at Time 1 and Time 2 suggests that some women had moved into maintenance and more women were making statements and endorsing responses which reflected preparation and action than at Time 1. The implications of these findings for practice are considered next after our discussion of implications for policy.

Implications for Policy, Practice and Further Research

The data on domestic violence and the barriers women face in trying to change their circumstances suggests that survivors leave many times but often for short periods of time and not completely. They return to these destructive relationships for a variety of reasons, many of which have been discussed in this analysis from the survivors own reports. As a result of these self reports, the researchers have developed a list of implications which we hope will facilitate service providers and policy makers and direct future research and services.

The Role and Limitations of Shelter and Shelter Services

As a whole, the findings, particularly from the qualitative analysis cast some light on the function of shelter and/or the need for shelters in the time of budget cuts and limited resources. First, clearly, for the particular group of women we interviewed it is hard to imagine another alternative to initially staying in shelter. Their situations were nested in very stubborn issues of economic instability, overburdened or insufficient family support, and long standing patterns of vulnerability to violence. For these women, the shelters played a very vital role, beyond being an emergency place to stay. Beyond

the very important issues of safety, the shelters were a place of respite, where the multitude of issues that contributed to their unsafe lives could begin to be addressed.

Second, for most of the 17 women in the second round interview, the struggle for stable and secure situations is far from over. They still need access to job assistance and affordable housing. They need support and services to recover physically, mentally, and emotionally from the trauma they have experienced in intimate relationships, as well as time to become economically self-sufficient. Thus, while women need domestic violence shelters to continue to fulfill their function of providing safe, confidential, emergency housing, women need shelters to provide even more.

These findings underscore the supportive and rehabilitative mission of the Domestic Violence shelters and also raise questions about the current model of time limits and limited continuity of services. Is four months an adequate length of time for some domestic violence survivors to be ready to move out of shelter, particularly for those many women who are most likely to be currently informally triaged by the limited nature of shelter capacity—women with very high and complex needs such as we encountered in this study? Our findings suggest that a conscious institutionalization of a second stage of supportive housing in which a menu of services included intensive case management, counseling, capital development, etc., would be offered may be a critical service need.

Third, whereas women often spoke fondly of the structure shelter living provided for them, some also identified the need for shelter services to be flexible. Particularly women who are employed, attending school, or maintaining responsibilities beyond the shelter program, they need to be able to negotiate some shelter rules, such as curfews and designated evening times. Along these lines, women also benefit from individualized service plans. Although most women expressed common needs, such as safety and affordable housing, some women will need certain services and referrals more than others. It follows that women benefit from shelters that are connected to a variety of social service programs, such as healthcare providers, community mental health clinics, job training programs, and legal agencies (to name a few), that thus enable shelter staff to quickly identify resources that can respond to the variety of needs with which their clients present. Ideally, these connections will be made while the client is a shelter resident and will continue past the end of her shelter stay. As noted above, many of the women noted their inability to access needed services and described “going without” as they waited to rise to the top of various waiting lists. By helping women make lasting connections in a timely fashion, shelters likely will increase women’s chances of building stable lives beyond their shelter stays.

At the same time, the quantitative data suggest that shelters are often unable to make these connections and that services stop or diminish after women leave the shelter environment. If other programs are not meeting the ongoing and often complex needs of clients, it may mean that many women are having a difficult time obtaining independence from the violence in their lives. We want to note that expecting domestic violence shelters to respond on their own to all of these implications is not realistic. Indeed,

helping women to transition from shelter to stable, affordable housing will require a commitment from multiple community service providers to invest in women and children's safety. Of course, this commitment will require adequate funding that will allow service providers to respond to more clients and to provide more in-depth services. While funding is always tight, the powerful experiences and insights shared by the women who participated in this study underscore the dire need and importance of developing comprehensive, long-term supportive services for domestic violence victims.

We also believe it is important to stress that victims of violence who are not in shelter settings are also lacking in many services that would make the transition to safety easier. Perhaps they have less complex needs, but we know that domestic violence, even when someone is more economically stable, requires a comprehensive array of services and supports. These findings then suggest that greater efforts need to be made to target and connect with women who are not likely to obtain shelter services. A more complete examination of the service experience of women who obtain domestic violence services outside of shelter settings and the barriers they face in accessing ongoing service would help us to identify ways the system might be modified to better meet their needs as well.

Self Care and Improvement

It was apparent throughout the interviews, both in times 1 and 2, that women were focused and working on self care and improvement. However, there was a 16% increase in the second interviews which suggests that women either learned skills of self-care or perhaps that when they are in a safe space they can focus on personal improvement. It seemed to us that personal enhancement was important with moving on in their lives. Further, as suggested in the qualitative interviews, survivors described not thinking about themselves as a life pattern, which increased not only their own but also their children's vulnerability to abuse, until they took classes at the shelters. Throughout this study, the positive impact of the DV and self-esteem classes on the cognition and behaviors of survivors has been widely cited by the women.

DV Classes

The DV shelter educational groups were a powerful and lasting experience for most of these women, and a resource that must be maintained and retained for them. Cultural and societal messages for behavior often are difficult to untangle. Comments from survivors across interviews indicate that the DV classes at the shelter that explained the cycle of violence were enlightening and helped them to actually understand what they had been experiencing. However, it seemed that women were much less clear about the issue of whether or not children need both parents. Many women had not considered and/or were unprepared to think about cultural and familial messages about the structure of the family unit, especially when issues of violence and abuse exist. Some of the impediments to safety are the lack of opportunity to think through an issue as well as insufficient information, both of which are circumstances that shelter classes consistently change. It may serve clients to include this additional relevant topic to the list of class offerings.

Social Support and Counseling

Not only in the DV literature, but certainly very strongly in our interviews, women described their dire need for safe and affordable housing, well paying and stable employment, and the necessity in order to gain stability, for education and training. All of these services were identified by all of the survivors as mandatory for their gaining safety and independence. However, in addition to these major obstacles, which require an enormous commitment on the part of the survivor if she is fortunate enough to receive the services that she needs to move on, women described a need for someone to talk to who does not exploit or abuse them in ways that they now recognize in interpersonal relationships other than with an abuser. Women described the isolation and loneliness involved in changing how they relate to others and how they want to live. Their new awareness often demands that they move away from family members and friends, further increasing the difficulty of their situation. The layers of physical and emotional difficulties can be overwhelming for these women who often have few resources. These circumstances have led us to suggest that the role of shelters and DV agencies is critical in this process. Most women relocate to another community when they enter a shelter. Indeed, it is at the recommendation of the shelter staff that they move out of their current neighborhood in order to avoid running into the abuser and/or his family members and others. When the women leave the shelter, often they return to their former neighborhood, where the schools and community are familiar to them and to their children. It is at this critical time that shelters and/or other DV agencies in their area should receive notification from the survivors and staff person at the previous shelter that the woman was returning to her home area and that she would like to be enrolled in support groups at the most convenient shelter /agency location. It is by this extension of support that survivors might receive the additional and greatly needed social support to maintain their progress. In addition, the DV shelter/agency can continue to refer the survivor for other services, as relevant, and further support her change.

Relevant Interventions Based on Findings Related to the Stages of Change and the Change Process

In addition to needing the services already mentioned, one of the aims of this research was to explore the implications for different and perhaps specific perspectives that might be applicable to the situations of survivors at different points in the stages of change. These are very preliminary suggestions for how providers might proceed and/or evaluate their interventions based on the stages of change.

Of the six categories of change in this model, it is clear that three generally supported the circumstances of the survivors: ***Thinking about change; Taking steps to do something about change***; and ***Already made changes***. These were the mostly highly subscribed stages of change for both sets of interviews. It is likely that it is at these times that the women will reach out for help, information and support, whereas ***Haven't thought about change***, and ***May try to deal with this again***, and ***Don't know what to think***, all imply a very different stage in their process of thinking and moving toward any type of change

Stages of Change Categories and Subcategories	Practice Perspectives for Providers
Pre-contemplation: Lack of awareness of any problems and no intention of changing anything	• Give her a forum to talk. • Ask questions about her situation, what she needs, how is she managing, what worries her? • Repeat/rephrase what she says and help her to hear herself talk about her situation. Make a point to use her language, e.g., "unhealthy" instead of abusive. • This may be a time to suggest some examples from the Power and Control Wheel to see if that resonates with her experience of an "unhealthy" relationship, but don't describe the Wheel. • Don't press it. • This is often the situation with mandated clients.
Contemplation 1: Awareness of the problem, with consideration to changing but no commitment to change.	• Offer basic information about DV, e.g., cycle of violence, identify types of abuse. • Ask who else does the abuser hurt//hit besides her? • Really empathize with her dilemma and how difficult it can be in her situation – basically allowing her the space to openly discuss both sides – usually her love for him/commitment to having a dad for her kids along with her being tired of the abuse.
Contemplation 2: Awareness of the problem, but requiring more information to make a conclusive decision to change	• Ask her about previous abuse. Inquire about family support and how family relates to one another, e.g., caring, a resource for her, understanding? • Validate her experience. • Educate about the Power and Control Wheel and Cycle of

	Violence. • Suggest changes she may have seen in her life during the relationship, using this as a means for validation and reinforcement of her experience. • It is at this stage that she may be ready to hear about these patterns and she may experience awareness, e.g., "yes, oh my god, that is me!
Contemplation 3: Awareness of patterns in her life, characterized by reflection and efforts to make a new life plan.	• Describe the Safety Plan. • Affirm her experience. • Help her identify and describe her feelings. • Discuss the pros and cons of moving out, using a shelter, becoming safe. • Remember that she has to make the decision based on what is the safest course of action for her.
Preparation 1: Desire to change in the immediate future, with the initiation of small steps toward change but without a clear criterion for change, e.g., locating schools, looking for housing or day care.	• Work on parts of the Safety Plan, e.g., buy a post office box, get a safety deposit box at a bank, etc. • Identify a neighbor who will support her and her children to get to safety, and who will keep a packed suitcase. • Stress an emotional safety plan in addition to the physical items as many women struggle with that even more: does she have a counselor to talk to? Can she call the hotline?
Preparation 2: Denotes more personal change, working on better self-esteem, thinking more about personal needs, and generally more focused on internal change.	• Validate and affirm her personal feelings and experiences. • Help her to identify more specific feelings about her abuser, family members, and herself.

	• Also, if she hasn't been connected to a group, encourage it at this time as she might be ready and receive further validation from that experience.
Action 1: Modify behaviors and environmental circumstances to accomplish a goal; confront fears and apprehensions.	• Continue to validate and affirm her experience, while encouraging her to be practical about what she can do. • Make referrals. • Also, if it hasn't been explored much prior to this, check on her feelings about counseling for her children.
Action 2: Reflects survivors' sense of empowerment and decisiveness at the moment. May not be an enduring state.	• Support her ability to make changes in her life. • Predict the feelings that might come up of wanting to go back or not feeling as certain about the decision to leave. • Validate and normalize those feelings while identifying the dangers for her and her children.
Maintenance: Behavioral and environmental changes are managed to prevent recycling into the abusive relationship.	• Encourage her successes. • Be realistic about how quickly things can change. • Facilitate her anticipation of barriers that may impede her efforts. • Facilitate problem resolutions.
Recycle: Return to an abusive relationship	• Encourage her to stay in support group. • Encourage her to find ways to be safe while living with abuser. • Stress your continued support and availability to her.

Future Analyses and Possible Article Titles

The current report is an analysis of the data collected over a 12 month period from women survivors of domestic violence. Although we have tried to compile a comprehensive response to the research questions, the findings from our data were rich and include many additional levels of analyses, especially of the qualitative data. We have listed below some additional analyses that we have identified as goals for future analysis and potential articles that will be derived from this research project. Drafts of all manuscripts will be sent to ICJIA and ICADV prior to submission for publication.

1. The role and impact of incarceration and release of the abuser as a factor in the destabilization of women survivors. For many women, the release and return of abusers to their lives becomes a significant destabilizing force and often one for which the women felt they had little recourse and less preparation. Further exploration may be conducted into the systems barriers and the possible recourse available to the survivor.

2. The various pathways toward change of women survivors of domestic violence: Turning points and trajectories in the process of change. The catalysts for change and the methods survivors described to make their way to safety, including the pivotal points of change, will be reported in this analysis.

3. The many faces of danger: The role of the family, friends, and the community in the success and the instability of the survivor in becoming safe. Often women described their families as less supportive and more exploitive than their abusers, decreasing the woman's social support and increasing her vulnerability. They also described their circumstances after leaving the shelter, waiting for employment and/or training and school, as often harrowing and tumultuous. This analysis will explore survivor's descriptions of both relational and community support and impact on instability. This analysis will describe their circumstances and ways they managed or endured their situations.

4. The Role of Anticipation in Survivors Stages of Change: Working with survivors to anticipate barriers and opportunities as they move toward positive changes in their lives. Working with survivors entails an awareness of the many factors they have to consider as they make profound changes in their lives. Because change is not linear, events do not always transpire in the ways that we might wish, and the complexity of needs are great, the role and utilization of anticipation becomes pivotal as we affirm survivors' skills and coping strategies and use anticipation as a supporting function in their process.

In addition to further mining the data we have collected, some additional areas of research that would add to and help further clarify the findings presented here include:

- A further examination into the way in which race and ethnicity relate to service receipt among those obtaining shelter specifically and those requesting shelter services.

- More information about the service requests of survivors who are not in the shelter system and the way in which they utilize services. This would be extremely useful for helping to clarify the ways in which individuals not in shelter access services and why they receive less service than those in shelter.

- A deeper investigation into the long term service utilization patterns of women who have obtained shelter services once they leave shelter. This would help to explore how and if women access needed services not offered by shelter programs and further clarify service gaps in the system.

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Final Report to the Illinois Criminal Justice Information Authority: Analysis of Shelter Utilization by Victims of Domestic Violence-Quantitative Analysis

Introduction

The Analysis of Shelter Utilization by Victims of Domestic Violence project was funded by the Illinois Criminal Justice Information Authority (ICJIA) in the spring of 2008 to address two primary issues: 1) The shelter and service utilization patterns and outcomes and housing needs of women who are domestic violence victims, and 2) the stages in the process by which they make changes in their situation. Toward this end, this project relied on a variety of data sources, including multiple interviews with women in shelter programs in Chicago, data from the City of Chicago's Domestic Violence Help Line and data from ICJIA's InfoNet system. Both quantitative data and qualitative analyses were conducted using data from these sources. This report contains the findings from these analyses. It is divided into two sections. The first focuses on the results of the quantitative analysis related to the first foci, that is, the shelter and service use patterns and outcomes and housing needs of victims. The second part of this report highlights the initial results from qualitative analysis of data as these pertain to the research questions. At this point, the results are broadly focused on two key questions: 1) the reasons why women seek shelter as these relate to their need for safety and respite, as well as the extent to which economic circumstances and housing needs play a role, and 2) the process of change that the second set of research questions was intended to address. Quantitative analysis related to the Stages of Change questionnaire is also included in this second section. Because of the breadth and depth of qualitative data, we expect that further analyses, looking more closely at these two issues will be conducted in the coming months and shared with ICJIA as they are completed. The final section of this report ties the quantitative and qualitative analyses together. It includes policy and practice recommendations based on the findings to date and suggestions for further research.

Background of the Research.

The shelter utilization project was designed to examine the experiences of women who are in shelters, specifically related to their housing needs, issues of safety and help seeking behavior. The identification of these research issues evolved from several previous research and assessment processes, including meetings with the Mayor's Office on Domestic Violence (MODV) to identify questions for further research, previous work with MODV evaluating the Chicago Help Line, and prior analysis of ICJIA InfoNet data. As a result of these efforts it became clear that in order to help victims of violence seeking shelter, a better understanding was needed related to the role of shelter and housing in a survivors' process of change. In addition, previous research endeavors by those involved pointed to the importance of exploring the dynamics of shelter utilization and how these related to the process of and readiness for change among women who were victims of domestic violence.

These are very salient issues in Chicago. Shelters are a critical part of meeting the safety needs of victims of domestic violence. However, at present, there are only 166 shelter beds in the whole city and affordable housing has become increasingly limited. Greater knowledge about the ways women use shelters in the process of becoming safe as well as greater specificity on the type of housing that might be helpful to victims of domestic violence apart from shelters would assist in planning for transitional and low income housing options.

This study was also intended to examine the ways in which women make changes within the shelter context as they seek to end violence in their lives. There is only limited information about the change process, yet such information would help us to improve the effectiveness of the services provided to women who move through the shelter system and empower them to become safe.

Literature Review

Shelter Utilization and Domestic Violence.

Domestic Violence (DV) remains a serious and sadly pervasive problem for many women and children despite increasing efforts at prevention and service since it was first acknowledged as a serious problem almost 40 years ago. One of the most widely cited statistics notes that 1.5 million women are raped and/or physically assaulted by a current or former spouse, cohabiting partner, or date at least once annually (Tjaden & Thoennes, 2000, pg iii). This does not take into account repeat victimization, which is common; when it is considered, the figure increases to 4.8 million (Tjaden & Thoennes, 2000, pg iii).

Emerging as a grass-roots effort connected to the women's movement in the late 1960's and early1970's (Hauge & Mullender, 2006; Saathoff & Stoffel, 1999), advocates of abused women emphasized community-based services which would both support and empower survivors (Saathoff & Stoffel, 1999; Davis, Hagen & Early, 1994; see also Haaken & Yragui, 2003 and Haugue & Mullender, 2006 for a discussion of the philosophy of the movement). From the beginning, shelters were a key component of this community-based system. As Krishnan and her colleagues (2004) note, "The 'Shelter Movement' originated to provide a place of safety for women in abusive relationships."(p. 165).

Shelters are an essential feature of services for battered women, offering a place of refuge, an opportunity for women to think about their options, and an environment for women to obtain the services they need in order to move forward with their lives when they are ready to do so (Bennett, Riger, Schewe, Howard & Wasco, 2004, p.817). Nonetheless, all victims of violence do not obtain shelter. To a large extent, this may be because of a lack of shelter beds. Although the number of shelter beds that exist nationally is unknown, reports from state coalitions suggest they are inadequate (see Saathoff & Stoffel, 1999). In Illinois, there are a total of 978 beds for the whole state (Mary Coleman, personal communication). Thus it is not surprising that only a small

percentage of individuals seeking services each year (between 10.3 and 7.7% of all victims of violence served between 1998 and 2005) received onsite shelter (Grossman, Lundy, & Benniston 2007). More specifically in Chicago, where the total number of shelter beds is 166, a recent NIJ funded evaluation conducted by Loyola University Chicago (Fugate, George, Haber and Stawiski, 2005), of the city's Domestic Violence Help Line found that 46% of women who had received referrals to the Help Line reportedly had not been able to find a shelter slot in the two weeks following receipt of a referral (Fugate et al, 2005). Similarly, a preliminary report from the Mayor's Advisory Board notes that the evident lack of shelter bed capacity is a challenge to the domestic violence service system (Mayor's Office on Domestic Violence, 2007)

Exacerbating this situation is that Chicago is going through a reorganization of its public and affordable housing stock. The freeze on section 8 housing slots, demolition of public housing units and loss of affordable apartment stock have all contributed to a low income housing shortage. This raises the issue of shelter as a housing option. Data from the Chicago Help Line study indicate that some victims were seeking affordable housing due to the destabilization of their lives caused by domestic violence, rather than seeking shelter services per se. They may have turned to shelter instead when other options were not available. The precise need for housing was not probed in this study, but Fugate and her colleagues (2005) did find that 30% of women in their sample were not permanently housed at the time they called the help line. In addition, it is estimated that 56% of women in Chicago's homeless shelters at any given time are victims of domestic violence (Center for Impact Research, 2004.). Such findings make it even more essential for us to have data about the number of victims who do not have the resources to obtain alternative permanent housing that are requesting emergency domestic violence shelter because leaving their abuser would mean they are homeless. (Mayor's Office on Domestic Violence, 2007)

Few studies of shelter use.

There is surprisingly little empirical research on shelter use. In particular, few if any studies have looked at the role shelter plays in the process of becoming safe or how shelter relates to larger housing needs in general. The limited number of studies that exist related to the efficacy of shelter services point to positive outcomes in several areas including increased self-esteem (Itzhaky & Ben Porat, 2005; Orava, McLeod & Sharpe, 1996) and reduced depressive symptomatology (Orava, McLeod & Sharpe, 1996; Sullivan & Rumptz, 1994; Sedlak, 1988). Shelter stay seems to promote help seeking behaviors (Gondolf, Fisher & McFerron, 1990) and has been associated with an increase in personal empowerment and ability to obtain and use professional services (Itzhaky & Ben Porat, 2005).

Shelter use may also be one of several help seeking strategies in an effort to end domestic violence (Berk, Newton & Berk, 1986). A number of studies highlight the extent to which women who use shelters believe that it is critical to their ability to cope with violence in their lives (see, for example, Bowker & Maurer, 1985; Davis & Srinivasan, 1995; Gordon, 1998; Tutty, Weaver & Rothery, 1999, Few, 2005). To some extent, as Krishnan, Hilbert, McNeil and Newman (2004) conceptualize this function,

shelters can serve as a place of respite, providing an interval of relief from the violence, particularly for women who are not yet ready or able to leave the abusive relationship. Yet, apart from providing a place of sanctuary and safety, shelters potentially have a direct and unique opportunity to provide solutions that address the complex and multiple problems related to domestic violence through the services they provide and their linkage to community resources for abuse (Krishnan, et al.2004, p.166).

Issues beyond housing needs alone may also play a role in determining who uses shelter. Few (2005) found in her study of rural African American and White women that African American women expressed shame at being in a shelter and noted that within their families, discussion about shelters was considered "airing dirty laundry" (p. 497). Also, the data on Asian women's use of DV shelters indicates that they only use a shelter when all other avenues within their own culture have been exhausted and they have no other choices because the utilization of outside resources generally means stigmatization and exclusion from their culture and family (Huisman, K. A. ,1996) . Additionally, knowledge of shelters is important. Few (2005) and Tutty, Weaver & Rothery (1999) all discuss the fact that women may not use shelters because they may not know that they exist in their communities. Location was also an issue for women who took part in the NIJ study of Chicago's DV Help Line, although in this instance, it was the difficulty of accessing the shelter because of where it was located that was problematic. Other factors besides availability also restricted the ability of women in this study to access shelters, but they have not been fully explored. For example providers, interviewed in the same study, reported that women with older male children, and large families often faced barriers in accessing shelters (Fugate et al, 2005).

More information on the barriers women face and how these vary by race, ethnicity, age and circumstances of abuse would help in planning for the needs of women in general. More specifically, it would help us plan for women who want to use shelter services but can't for reasons that are not solely related to the lack of beds. Further, greater specificity on the type of housing that might be helpful to victims of domestic violence apart from shelter would assist in planning for transitional and low income housing options.

Help Seeking Behaviors.

Related to the issue of planning for women's needs is women's help seeking patterns and when, in their abuse experience, they finally decide to turn to a shelter. Here again, empirical studies are limited. Further, not all studies looking at the actions women take to become safe focus specifically on the decision to seek shelter. None that we know of ask about their cognitive processes in making such decisions.

One of the first and most informative studies to examine attempts to obtain help was the Chicago Women's Health Risk Study (CWHRS) conducted by Block (2002). Her study sought to identify risk factors for death or life-threatening injury of abused women. Using data from 491 women, Block concluded that three main factors were positively related to the number of help seeking behaviors attempted in the previous year.

They included: 1) the severity of the physical abuse and stalking in the past year (the more severe, the more behaviors attempted), 2) the strength of informal support and acceptance for the victim (the greater the support, the more behaviors attempted), and 3) previously trying to leave the relationship in the past year.

While these three predictors emerged as the best predictors overall, other factors seemed to matter for certain subgroups. Specifically, the model that best fit the Latina/Hispanic sample indicated that the more children these women had in their household under the age of 17, the more sources of help they sought. Further, Latina/Hispanic women were much less likely to have sought help overall and well over a third had not sought help from a formal resource after a violent incident. The finding that Hispanic women are less likely to seek domestic violence services than non-Hispanic White women has been demonstrated in other studies (e.g. Lipsky, Caetano, Larkin & Field, 2006).

Other works support some of Block's findings. Several authors talk about the fact that the decision to leave the abusive situation may finally occur only after several episodes of violence (Krishnan, Hilbert, McNeil & Newman, 2004; Vaughn & Stamp, 2003). Confirming this, Berk and his colleagues, comparing women who did and did not seek shelter found that women who sought shelter experienced more severe violence (Berk et al, 1986). There is also some indication that a perceived threat of the violence spilling over to children may be an impetus to action (Davis & Srinivasan, 1995).

Fugate, George, Haber and Stawiski (2005) analyzing data from the City of Chicago Domestic Violence Help Line evaluation identified several internal barriers. All victims interviewed were considered "help-seekers" as they had called the help line. However, respondents were asked if they had been *hesitant* to call the Help Line, and if so, why. Just over one-third of the respondents indicated that they had been hesitant to call. Many victims said they did not know what to expect, many mentioned feeling fearful or embarrassed, and some of the victims did not want to take an action which might put them at further risk. Other themes included discomfort with being labeled a victim of domestic violence, worry about language barriers, and not being sure that what they experienced would be considered abuse. Age may play a role as well; Davis and Srinivasan (1995) in another study, found that some women reported they were able to escape the violence as they got older and realized that they could leave.

Victims of domestic violence also face a variety of external barriers to taking action. These include family pressure (Strube & Barbour, 1983, as cited in Carlson, 1997) and lack of appropriate institutional response (Mitchell & Hodson, 1983, as cited in Carlson, 1997). Fugate, Landis, Riordan, Naureckas and Engel (2005), using data from the CWHRS also found that the majority of barriers cited by the women as reasons for not seeking help were external barriers such as no money, insurance or time. At the same time Davis and Hagen (1994) talk about how women's lack of education and employment experience may serve as barriers by making it harder for them to establish economic independence.

Such barriers indicate the extent of need among women who are victims of violence in general; other works highlight the strong need for services among battered women using shelter services (Sullivan et al, 1992; Sullivan & Rumptz, 1994) as well as the need for ongoing services once women leave the shelter environment (Sullivan & Davidson, 1991; Sullivan et al., 1992; see also Tutty, 1996). However, none of these studies included a comparison group of victims who were not in shelter so it is difficult to determine exactly how or if those in shelter had different needs. Grossman, Lundy and Benniston (2007), in an analysis of InfoNet data from Illinois, found that women who received onsite shelter services generally received more services in terms of service hours, contacts and variety, than women who did not obtain such services, but this analysis does not indicate what services women in shelter felt they most needed nor what they received before or after entering shelter services. It also does not clarify whether women in shelter needed more services or were simply more able to obtain them because of their location at the shelter site.

A critical question then is how to best intervene to help women who enter the service system, particularly those in the shelter system who may have access to more services and supports (Grossman, Lundy & Benniston, 2007). Providers need to have a better idea of how to intervene effectively with survivors across different circumstances and cultural, racial and ethnic groups. "According to Burke et al (2001), the Committee on the Assessment of Family Violence Interventions identified only 34 domestic violence intervention studies from 1980 to 1996 that were sufficiently rigorous to inform the discussion of how best to help women end abuse (Chalk & King, 1998). Of these, 19 were legal, 8 were health care, and 7 were social service interventions (p.1145 in Burke et al)." "Stark and Flitcraft (1996) noted that although domestic violence has been the subject of extensive descriptive research, there is a 'dearth of systematic theorizing (or theory testing)" (p.130, in Burke et al, 2001, p.1145). The first question has to be: how do survivors change their lives? One possible model for addressing this may be found in the stages of change model described below.

Readiness for Change.

Recently, research on survivors of DV has focused on the stages of change model which has evolved from the transtheoretical model, developed by Prochaska and DiClemente (, 1982; 1984). The model has been utilized for a variety of problems, e.g., substance abuse, cancer recovery, smoking, weight loss, exercise, sun exposure, stress management, high risk sex, psychotherapy, specifically people who drop out of therapy, as well as others, but it has only recently been studied with victims of domestic violence (www.uri.edu, Retrieved on June 4, 2007). Prochaska and DiClemente identified six stages of change, each of which has a specific definition that distinguishes it from the others and indicates the readiness for change of the particular client. Briefly, the six stages have been described as "Individuals in the ***pre-contemplation*** stage are often unaware of their problem with no intention of changing. Movement from pre-contemplation to ***contemplation,*** often involves a recognition of and willingness to relinquish whatever is maintaining problem behavior. Contemplators, in contrast to pre-contemplators, are aware of their problem and consider changing but have not yet made a

commitment to change. The next stage, ***preparation***, is characterized by the desire to change in the immediate future, with the initiation of small steps toward change but without a clear criterion for change. The criterion for change becomes apparent during the ***action phase***, when individuals modify their behavior and their environment to accomplish their goal. Although great strides are often achieved during the action phase, individuals then enter the ***maintainance*** stage in which they work to continue the gains attained during the action stage and to prevent ***return*** to their earlier, problematic level of function (Prochaska & DiClemente, 1984 in Shurman & Rodgriquez, 2006, p.1420)".

This is a particularly relevant model for understanding the process of change in abuse survivors because it is driven by the specific circumstance of each survivor, plus it can include concepts of advocacy and empowerment along with other interventions, and it is not forced by preconceived theoretical assumptions. It may be especially helpful for service providers. Ideally, by using it and identifying the client's readiness for change, (Prochaska & DiClemente, 1984), providers can respond to the specific state of the particular woman, and thereby, provide the most relevant services for her to take advantage of at a given time. In addition, the transtheoretical model, which is the theoretical precursor of the stages of change, acknowledges the utilization of a wide range of theoretical interventions for any particular client problem, depending on the problem, the client needs, and the client readiness for change, which opens a plethora of possible solutions with which any given shelter staff person can respond to the needs of a particular client.

A few studies have examined survivors' readiness for change using the stages of change (SOC) model. For example, Burke et al. (2001) conducted 78 in-depth qualitative interviews with women who were either currently in or had recently left abusive relationships (p.1144). Using broad, open-ended questions designed to elicit women's experiences of abuse, the authors were surprised when documenting women's narratives to find that they were highly related to five of the stages of behavior change developed by Prochaska and DiClemente (1982). This study identified the stages of change and gave examples of what the women said during the interviews that fit well into the different stages, although the purpose of the initial study was not to measure the effectiveness of the stages of change. The researchers became aware of the fit with the stages of change model as they analyzed the qualitative data. Burman (2003) using the stages of change along with Roberts cognitive problem-solving intervention model, suggests that the cognitive problem-solving model can be used in whatever stage of change the survivor is in at the time. Burman provides a second example of the relevance of the SOC model with survivors of DV. The most recent study, conducted by Shurman and Rodriguez (2006), examined the relationships among a number of variables that have long been identified as critical for survivors of DV, e.g., depression, anxiety, and attachment, as well as readiness to change. Findings from this study suggest that the emotions of the survivor may contribute to the decisions and resulting behaviors that she chooses. For example, emotional arousal predicted overall readiness for change, and the decision to end the DV relationship. This may be useful to practitioners as it indicates that intense feelings, whether hopelessness, depression or anxiety (although not anger), may be a catalyst for change with some survivors (pg. 1435). In addition, Shurman and Rodriquez

(2006), found that the affective state of the victim, like worrying about the relationship, influences her appraisal of her situation and may propel her into making solid decisions (pg. 1437).

Although these studies have contributed to a greater understanding of the complexity of the interaction between thinking, feeling and action, there is a continuing need to better understand the process of change for survivors. What occurs that moves a woman from pre-contemplation to contemplation and then to preparation? What brings a woman to the decision to find greater safety? What does she think will happen when she returns? What does she want to have happen in her relationship with the abuser? What does she think she can do to accomplish this change? What actions does she take to move toward greater safety? What facilitates a woman's recognition that she is not to blame for the abuse? What contributes to woman's understanding that she can make changes? These questions along with others remain to be explored through a better understanding of the process of change for survivors.

This project was developed to respond to some of the gaps in the empirical literature highlighted above. It had two interconnected aims. The first was to better identify the housing needs, use of services and outcomes of women who are in the domestic violence shelter system in Chicago. The second was to identify the stages in the help seeking process using a theoretical model regarding the process of and readiness for change. To address these aims, several sets of specific research questions were addressed.

Research Questions

A. Questions Related to the Shelter and Service Utilization Patterns and Outcomes and Housing Needs of Women Who are Domestic Violence Victims

1) What is the demand for domestic violence shelter, transitional and permanent housing among victims of domestic violence in the City of Chicago?

a) How does demand for various housing situations vary by demographic characteristics including race/ethnicity? Economic circumstances? Age of the victim?

b) How does it vary by number and characteristics of children?

c) How does it vary by type of abuse?

2) What is the path into the shelter?

a) At what point in their abuse experience did they seek shelter (first episode of violence? Later episode?)

b) What were circumstances that led them to seek shelter?

- For how many is seeking protection from their abuser in a secure and confidentiality location a key factor ?
- For how many is the unavailability of access to housing away from the abuser a key consideration?
- For how many is it a combination of both? Other factors?

c) What were their reasons for seeking shelter?

d) What were they hoping to accomplish through seeking shelter?
e) How do support networks help or hinder decisions to seek shelter?
f) What were their referral paths into shelter?
- Were their individuals or service providers who helped them to in making the decision to seek shelter?

3) What is the nature of their shelter experience?
a) How many times have they used shelter services overall? How long has each stay been?
b) What services do they obtain when they are in shelter?
c) What services do they say they need?
d) What do they report been most helpful about their shelter experience in terms of their addressing the violence in their lives?
e) What do they report is least helpful?
f) Do these experiences vary by race/ethnicity? By age? By disability status?

4) What barriers have existed or do exist in their obtaining shelter services?
a) Do these vary by race/ethnicity?
b) Do these vary by age?
c) Do they vary by children: number and age?

5) What happens to women after they leave the shelter?
a) Where do they go after being in shelter? Are they in safe situations? What are their housing circumstances/living arrangement?
b) How are they functioning?
c) What are they service needs (counseling, job training, housing etc) and patterns of accessing these after leaving shelter?
d) What services did they receive?
e) What are their sources of economic support?

B. Questions Related to Patterns of Change

1) What is the process by which survivors change?
a) How is the process of change demarcated by the following levels of readiness: Pre-contemplation; Contemplation; Preparation; Action; Maintenance; Recycle;
b) What is their readiness for change before, during and after their stay in shelter?
c) What are the circumstances that propel women to begin the change process?
d) What are the cognitive processes that occur in each stage?
e) What are the feeling processes that occur in each stage?

2) What services/interventions are used at different points in the change process?

3) What services/interventions do survivors indicate they need at different points in the change process?

a) What services/interventions do survivors indicate are most helpful?
b) What services/interventions do survivors wish they had received?

What are the different needs of and stages of change of women of color, specifically those groups who have been subsumed under the larger pan-ethnic categories of Hispanic and Asian.

Methodology

Data Sources.

A major strength of our design is that we used multiple data sources and a mixed methods (quantitative and qualitative) approach. This allowed us to triangulate our findings and enabled us to pursue questions raised across data sources. Further strengthening the design is that throughout, this project has employed a collaborative research approach. Continuing a research partnership first formed between Loyola University's Center for Urban Research and Learning and Chicago's Mayors Office on Domestic Violence in a National Institute of Justice funded evaluation study of the diverse users of the City of Chicago Domestic Violence Help Line (Fugate, George, Haber, & Stawiski, 2005), we have worked closely with the Mayor's Office on Domestic Violence and shelter staff in framing this research and utilizing their expertise and insights as we developed our final methodology, our research instruments and proceeded with the analysis of data. Below, we describe each source of data and the questions it was used to address.

InfoNet Data.

The first methodology involved secondary data analysis of data collected by the InfoNet (Information Network) data system from all agencies funded by ICJIA to provide domestic violence services to victims in Illinois. InfoNet is a web-based network data collection system. The development and implementation of the network was the result of collaborative efforts between the ICJIA, the Illinois Coalition Against Sexual Assault (ICASA) and the Illinois Coalition Against Domestic Violence (Illinois Criminal Justice Information Authority, 2004). The first full year of service data were collected in 1998. As of December 11, 2005, the total unduplicated count of individuals who received services between January 1, 1998 and December 11, 2005 was 342,462. This is the time period utilized in the present analysis of InfoNet data.

The InfoNet system is set up to collect information about client demographics including gender, race/ethnicity, age at the time of first service contact, education, marital status and special client needs or disabilities which require additional assistance beyond the capability of the program. Offender data, including the relationship between the victim and offender and offender demographics, are also available. In addition, there is information about the primary presenting issue, referral source to a program, referrals to other programs and service contacts, including whether or not victims received onsite shelter.

Several data sets were constructed from the InfoNet data to address the research questions. First, data were used from all individuals utilizing services in Cook County, comparing those who obtained onsite shelter at some point in their service experience to those who were never in shelter to address issues related to the characteristics of individuals seeking shelter. We used data only from service users in Cook County for these analyses because other data sources were specific to Chicago or Cook and for purposes of comparing across data sets, this made the most sense. Second, to look at the service experience of individuals once in shelter, we created a random sample of individuals who obtained shelter services and a random sample of individuals who never obtained shelter. Both samples were comprised of service users throughout the state. Random samples were used because of the large data cleaning task involved in clarifying dates of service and shelter for purposes of analysis. Further, by creating random samples of equal size (1000 individuals each) we equalized the two groups. This was useful since the shelter group was a much smaller proportion (about 10%) of all those using services. We decided not to restrict the analysis to service users in Cook County only because this question was not specific to Chicago and it gave us an idea of the trend throughout the state. However, some of the analyses do isolate individuals who obtained shelter in Cook County, particularly when we look at the timing of service and shelter because individuals in Cook County had somewhat different service experiences. Additional information about the sampling approach and characteristics of the sample used for the analysis of service and shelter experience are included in the findings under Research Question 3.

Chicago Domestic Violence Help Line Data.

A second set of data were derived from the City of Chicago's Domestic Violence Help Line. These data included both administrative data collected from domestic violence victims utilizing the Help Line and data from phone interviews with a subset of these individuals.

Administrative Data. The City of Chicago Domestic Violence Help Line receives calls from a variety of people regarding domestic violence and other forms of violence, as well as people seeking a plethora of other information and service needs. The target area for services is primarily the Chicago Metropolitan area; most victims call from the city and suburbs of Chicago. During the period between 2001 through 2005, the Help Line responded to 76,620 callers. Of these, 37,484 were from victims of domestic violence, that is, individuals calling for information and referrals to domestic violence services for themselves.

The variables in this data set include gender, race, and age of the victim and the victim's abusive partner; the type of abuse and nature of the relationship between the abusive partner and victim (spouse, dating partner etc); the age and sex of the victim's children ; the language the call was conducted in; the referral source (where or from whom the victim learned about the Help Line,) the victim's zip code area, the type of domestic violence service the victim is seeking and whether a service match was found. In the present analysis, we utilized data from 2006 since these were the most complete data at the time and the system changed somewhat in the middle of 2007, making it

difficult to look at a full year of data. Previous analyses suggest that the characteristics of service users for this year were similar to those of previous years. Further, the sample was restricted to callers specifically from Chicago since this was the area of interest for the questions we were using these data to address. We used the administrative data from the help line to answer questions about the characteristics of victims seeking shelter compared to those not making this request. It also helped us to further examine paths into shelter.

Help Line Interview Data (NIJ data). In 2004, Fugate, George, Haber and Stawiski, with support from the National Institute of Justice, conducted brief telephone interviews with a representative sample of a subset of victim callers to the Help Line. Phone interviews were conducted over 55 weeks between July 2004 and August 2005 with 399 victims who called the Help Line. While not all victims were from Chicago, the majority of these 399 or 86.1% were. Another 12.9% were from the suburbs, presumably those surrounding Chicago. Only 1% of this sample was from another state. The interviews were conducted on average within 11 days from the victim's call to the Help Line, thus allowing us to ascertain both the victim's assessment of her or his interaction with the Help Line and how she or he subsequently used the information/linkage/referral from the Help Line.

The interview instrument contained both closed and opened ended questions. The open ended items provided a great deal of in depth information. Cases were matched with Help Line administrative data in regards to age, race/ethnicity, gender, zip code, type of abuse, relationship to abuser, characteristics of the abuser, and referral source to the Help Line. The interview gathered information on hours worked, living arrangement (who the interviewee lived with by individual and housing type and status), and age of dependent children living in household. It also included questions about the types of services being sought, and how the victim used the information.

A series of questions in the interview also sought specific information about the individual's experience with the Help Line and the service system. Variables included whether or not the victim had called the Help Line in the previous year, how often, what they were looking for when calling and "what happened?" for each of the services mentioned. Open ended responses were coded to identify if victims had used the referral given, their reasons for not using them and what happened when they did. Again, we used these data to examine more fully the path into the domestic violence service system for those seeking shelter and, housing and actions taken in response to the information provided. We also used it to look at differences between those seeking shelter and those not making this request. Because they include information about client characteristics such as race/ethnicity, age, children, living arrangements and employment, they also allowed us to look at how these variables might differ related to requests for shelter, whether or not individuals tried to obtain help and what happened to them when they did. We note that we had hoped to do more analysis looking at differences by race, ethnicity and age, but because some of these sub-groups were too small, this analysis was somewhat limited. In addition, few individuals calling requested housing so analyses related to these requests are also limited.

Beyond providing data about their path into the domestic violence service system and the type of assistance sought, the interview data included questions about what precipitated the victim's calling and whether she was hesitant to call. Victims who were interviewed were also asked to identify, from a list, the people they had talked to about their abuse and which of those they had talked to the most. This information was categorized to create three different "groups": 1) informal supports, 2) formal supports, and 3) professional supports. Analysis of these data provided further information on help seeking strategies and the role of formal and informal support networks.

Interviews with Victims of Violence.

The final data source for this project was interviews with 53 women who were victims of violence and residing in shelters. We planned to conduct two waves of interviews with each woman over a 10 month period with each interview occurring approximately 6 months apart. In the end, we could only locate 17 of the original 53 women or 1/3 of the sample. Data for the sample as a whole at the Time 1 or baseline interview are provided in this report as well as data specifically on the 17 individuals interviewed at both Time 1 and Time 2 when we look at changes over time in outcomes.

Sample. The sample for this portion of the project was a convenience sample derived from victims who were utilizing 4 shelters in the city of Chicago. These shelter programs were selected because they provided a broad sample from the different geographic and racial/ethnic communities in Chicago. Initially, we had hoped to interview 65 women, obtaining the first 15 to 20 women who agreed from each agency. In the end, we had a more difficult time than we had anticipated recruiting women from one of the programs. In fact, we were only able to obtain 2 participants from this program. Recruitment was delayed for two of the other programs. As a result, almost half of the final sample (26 women or 49.1%) came from one program. This program primarily served African American women. The other two programs provided 12 and 13 participants respectively. One of these two primarily served Hispanic women.

Variables and Data Collection Instruments. The interviews focused on the activities that each woman had taken to become safe. They included both a structured section with specific questions that could be analyzed quantitatively and a semi-structured interview that has been the focus of our qualitative analysis. We were seeking a fuller understanding of the various types of needs and events that propelled women into shelter, what they experienced while there and what their circumstances were once they left. In addition to collecting demographic information about each woman's characteristics, living situation, family relationships, the type of abuse she experienced and her relationship to the abuser (See Appendix A for a copy of the baseline interview including the standardized scales and qualitative interview questions asked at Time 1). The qualitative interview at baseline asked about her decision making process as she has sought help. The qualitative interview questions were intended to capture her cognitive and emotional processes and to determine how these related to the stages of change model. They also asked about events and support systems that may have had an impact on decision making. The follow up interview repeated many of the same structured and

semi-structured questions. It sought information about the respondent's living situation, safety and emotional, economic and social well-being at that time. It also asked about cognitive and emotional processes during the 6 months between the first and second interviews.

In addition to the interview questions, participants were asked to complete two standardized research instruments at Time 1 and Time 2, the Abusive Behavior Inventory (ABI, Shephard & Campbell, 1992) and the Stages of Change Questionnaire (SOCQ Shurman & Rodriguez, 2006). The ABI explicitly identifies the type of abuse experienced. The instrument produces two scores, one for physical and one for psychological abuse. It has good reliability and validity and has been used in other studies of abuse victims (Shephard & Campbell, 1992). The SOCQ is a 35-item questionnaire that was adapted for domestic violence victims for this study using Shurman and Rodriguez (2006). It was developed to measure attitudes toward behavior change that are consistent with six of the stages in Prochaska and DiClemente's transtheorectical model: pre-contemplation, contemplation, preparation, action maintenance, and recycle/return We further modified the scale for our study and have delineated seven sub-scales to correspond with the stages. Finally, at the time of the baseline interview and follow-up, women were asked to complete a short survey about services they felt they needed, whether they received them and how helpful they found them.

Beyond providing data about the change process and its relationship to shelter utilization, the interview data and related measures allowed us to obtain a more in depth understanding of the data from InfoNet and the Help Line Administrative data. While useful, these existing data sources are also very broad. The interview data enabled us to better understand the subtleties of the experience of victims.

Quantitative Analysis.

The findings based on analysis of quantitative data and are largely descriptive in nature. Analysis of the InfoNet and Help Line data primarily involve comparisons between those who did and did not request or obtain shelter. Where possible, we have also conducted sub-analyses to look at differences among those requesting or obtaining shelter related to race/ethnicity, parental status, disability status and age. Although we used T-tests and chi square in most cases where comparisons were made, the large number of cases included in the InfoNet and Administrative Help Line data bases increase the likelihood that significance will be found even when differences are very small. Therefore, we only report statistical significance in the Tables and do not generally discuss whether or not results were significant in the narrative when we talk about comparisons, particularly when discussing the results for comparisons involving large numbers of individuals.

Qualitative Analysis.

Qualitative data analysis was used to look at interview data. Analysis concentrated on looking for themes related to two primary areas: how women use shelter as a strategy for safety and housing, and the cognitive and emotional components of change as captured by the Stages of Change model. For the qualitative data analyses, we used the qualitative software package Nvivo, which is commonly used for this type of interview data. All of the interviews were audio-recorded. However, only 52 of the 53 were transcribed. One woman did not complete the qualitative interview and was not included in the qualitative analysis. The transcriptions were checked for confusing comments and difficult to hear responses. After the transcriptions were completed, the researchers conducted random readings of transcripts and came up with a set of themes and/or codes. Working in pairs, the researchers applied the codes to portions of several transcripts to be sure that they were being applied similarly across interviews. Once inter-rater reliability was established and a common set of categories was developed and defined, all of the interviews were examined and coded for the specific themes if they were part of an individual survivors' experience.

The same process was utilized for the 17 women interviewed at Time 2. Transcripts for the 17 women who completed the second interview were reviewed and coded using Nvivo. The themes and codes applied at Time 1 were used again. In addition, we looked for change over time in each of the areas of interest and compared the status of women at Time 2 to their circumstances and process of change at Time 1.

Organization of Report.

The present report is divided into two sections. The first focuses on the quantitative analysis and reports primarily on the results related to questions under foci 1: The shelter and service utilization patterns and outcomes and housing needs of women who are domestic violence victims. The second part of this report, presents the qualitative findings as these relate to the first and second research foci. It also includes the quantitative results from the analysis of the Stages of Change questionnaire. A final section discusses the relationship of the quantitative and qualitative findings and their implications for policy and practice. The report concludes with recommendations related to areas for future research.

In the first part of this report, the quantitative results are presented as they relate to each specific research question by data source. In some instances, we could not fully answer a question because the results of the qualitative analysis best address the issue. In other cases, we discovered that our data were too limited and so we could only partially address a question. All these instances are noted and the reader is referred to the appropriate section in the qualitative analysis that pertains to the issue as relevant. In addition, because we present data on the timing of services under Research Question 3, some of the data relevant to Research Questions 5, parts c and d are also included at that time and not repeated under Research Question 5. Results are presented in depth for each question and then summarized. There is also a summary and short discussion of the quantitative results at the conclusion of the quantitative results section.

The qualitative results follow. The first set of findings relate to Research Questions 2 and 5 and expand on our understanding regarding shelter and service utilization patterns and outcomes as well as housing needs . The second portion of the qualitative results focus on questions about the way in which women make changes in their lives and relate these to the Stages of Change model. Quantitative findings related to the Stages of Change questionnaire are also included in this section.

Part I – QUANTITATIVE RESULTS

Research Question 1: What is the demand for domestic violence shelter, transitional and permanent housing among victims of domestic violence in the City of Chicago?

a. How does demand for various housing situations vary by demographic characteristics including race/ethnicity? Economic circumstances? Age of the victim?
b. How does it vary by number and characteristics of children?
c. How does it vary by type of abuse?

Four sources of data were utilized to address this question and its sub-sections. These included both administrative and interview data from the City of Chicago Domestic Violence Help Line as well as data from the baseline or Time 1 interview for all 53 women in the Interview Sample. In addition, InfoNet data, **for Cook County only** were utilized.

Administrative Help Line Data.

Table 1 presents information related to the characteristics of individuals who requested shelter from the help line for callers from the City of Chicago in 2006, contrasting them with callers from Chicago who did not request shelter. As the data indicate, of the 4541 calls made to the helpline by victims during that year, almost 40% involved requests for shelter.

The data indicate that those who called and requested shelter were more likely to be female; virtually all callers requesting shelter were female compared to 89% of those who called and did not ask for shelter. Callers seeking shelter were a year younger, on average although the clear majority of callers in both groups were under 65. Callers requesting shelter were much more likely to be African American (73% versus 48.6% of those not requesting shelter). At the same time, they were much less likely to be Hispanic (1.3% versus 29.6%) and less likely to be White (10.7% versus 18%). Few individuals from either group were in the remaining ethnic and racial groups included in the table.

There was not a large difference between the two groups related to the percent who had children. Almost 50% of all those in the group that did not request shelter had a child (49.4%) while about 54% of those requesting shelter had at least one child. Further

analysis, looking at the number of children and number of male and female children indicates that the groups were virtually identical. Both had an average of 2 children, one of whom was male and one of whom was female. At the same time, those who called and requested shelter were more likely to be pregnant at the time of the call, as reflected in the 6 months of data available related to this variable (13.2% of those requesting shelter were pregnant compared to 5.3% of those not asking for shelter).

Table 2 presents information on the type of abuse and relationship between victim and abuser for callers from Chicago, comparing those who requested shelter to those who did not. Looking first at type of abuse, the data indicate that those who requested shelter were less likely to report emotional abuse only (6.4% compared to 16.0% for those who did not request shelter) while they were more likely to report that they experienced physical, sexual and emotional abuse (21.1% of those requesting shelter) compared to those who did not make this request (10.3%). Other differences between the groups related to type of abuse were not large. The majority of callers in both groups, roughly two thirds, reported physical and emotional abuse. Few reported only one of the three possible types of abuse exclusively. A small proportion (0.9% of those requesting shelter and 1.5% of those not requesting shelter) reported no abuse.

Data on the relationship between the victim and abuser indicates that those requesting shelter and those not requesting shelter were almost equally likely to be living with their abuser, assuming married individuals lived with their spouses, but their relationships to their abusers were different. Among those requesting shelter, 57.7% lived with their abuser. Roughly twenty percent (20.2%) were married while 36.2% reported living with a partner but did not mention marriage. Another 1.3% reported that their abuser was a roommate. Among those not requesting shelter, 58.9% lived with their abuser, but 37.3% reported being married while 20.6% lived with a partner. Additionally, another 1% reported that their abuser was a roommate. Thus, almost 60% of callers in both groups lived with someone who abused them. What is unclear is whether the legal status of the relationship explains differences in who sought shelter. Further analysis, breaking down the abuser and victim's gender (not in a table) indicated little difference between the two groups. Seventy-nine percent of victims in both groups were female victims whose abuser was male.

Interview Data from Help Line Users (NIJ data).

Tables 3 and 4 present data on a subset of help line callers in who were included in the random sample of callers who were interviewed in 2005. Table 3 looks at similarities and differences between the demographic characteristics, living arrangements and support systems of individuals in this sample whose primary or secondary request was for shelter and those who had another request that did not include shelter. In total, roughly one third of all individuals in this sample (30.6%) requested shelter while 69.4% did not.

The data in Table 3 show trends similar to those found in the Chicago Help Line administrative data presented in Table 1. Thus, individuals requesting shelters were more likely to be female (98.4% versus 92.1%). They were not quite two years younger on

average (31.42 years versus 32.98 years). They were also much more likely to be African American and much less likely to be White or Hispanic compared to those not requesting shelter. There was little difference between the groups related to the percent speaking English. Employment data indicate that those requesting shelter were much less likely to be employed full or part time at the time of the call (39.5% versus 57.9%) and worked many fewer hours on average the week prior to the call (13.0 hours on average versus 21.9 hours) compared to those who did not request shelter.

Information on children indicates that those requesting shelter were somewhat less likely to have a child (62.3% versus 67.9%) but there was small difference in the percent in either group who had a boy child between the ages of 12 and 17 at the time of the call (12.3% for those requesting shelter versus 14.8% for those not making this request). There were also small differences only between the groups related to the percent living alone or in other living arrangements that did not include children. Those requesting shelter were more likely to live with an adult partner and a child (4.1% versus 0.7%) and less likely to be living with an adult other than their partner and no children (6.6% versus 10.1%). Nonetheless, the total number in the household was virtually identical for both groups, averaging at 2.2 people per household.

Data in Table 4 related to the severity of abuse and relationship between the victim and abuser cannot be exactly compared to the data in Table 2 because the categories of abuse type and the relationship categories do not match perfectly. Also, in Table 4, more than one type of abuse was recorded. However, the information in Table 4 again suggests patterns between the two groups that are similar to those found in Table 2. Individuals requesting shelter were more likely than those not requesting shelter to be physically abused (88.5% versus 82.2%) although the groups were similar related to the proportion reporting or assessed as experiencing emotional abuse (about 95% for both groups). In contrast to the trend reflected in Table 2, individuals who requested shelter were more than twice as likely to report or to be assessed as experiencing sexual abuse (16.4% versus 7.3%) although it is likely that some of the difference relates to the different ways sexual abuse was captured in this table and in Table 2.

Information about the relationship between the victim and abuser shows that those requesting shelter were less likely to be abused by a current legal spouse (27.0% versus 35.4%) or former spouse (14.8% versus 22.0%) and more likely to be abused by a partner with whom he or she lived (35.2% versus 13.7%) compared to individuals not requesting shelter. Differences between the groups for the other types of relationships listed in the table were quite small and fewer individuals from either group were in these relationship categories. Most abusers for both sets of callers were male although among those seeking shelter, the proportion who were male was slightly higher (95.9% versus 92.4%).

Lastly, data on requests for housing were very limited so it is difficult to conclude much about the characteristics of those making this request. Of the whole sample, only 14 people, or 3.5% requested housing. In addition, looking at requests for housing in relation to requests for shelter, only 3 people who requested shelter also requested housing. Looking at the percent of those who requested housing who were permanently

housed at the time they called, the data show, not surprisingly, that almost all of those in the group that did not request housing or 90.1% (N=385) were permanently housed compared to 71.4% (N=14) of those who did request housing.

Further analysis, related to housing and shelter requests is presented in Table 5. It suggests that those seeking shelter were less stably housed than those not making this request. Thus, almost all, or 97.8% of those who did not request shelter were stably housed compared to 70.5% of those requesting shelter. Looking specifically at those requesting shelter who were not stably housed at the time of the call (N=36), the data indicate that slightly less than one quarter were homeless. Slightly more than one quarter were in another shelter and half were temporarily doubled up.

InfoNet Data.

The data in tables 6 and 7 compare all those individuals in Cook County, including Chicago and its surrounding suburbs, who received onsite shelter at some point during the period between 1998 and 2005 from a program providing services to victims of domestic violence in this region to those who also received services from a domestic violence program during this period, but did not receive shelter. About 10% of all individuals obtaining services from programs in Cook County during this period obtained shelter from at least one program. This is a smaller proportion than the 40 % requesting shelter from the Domestic Violence Help Line. However, the differences between those who received shelter and those who did not as reflected in InfoNet are quite similar in many ways, to those who asked for shelter and those who did not among both the administrative and interview data derived from the Domestic Violence Helpline samples.

Demographic data, presented in Table 6, shows that individuals who received shelter were slightly more likely to be female (99.9% versus 95.2%). They were two years younger on average (31.7) compared to those who did not receive shelter services (33.7). They were also less likely to be White (15.5% versus 30.0%), and Hispanic (13.2% versus 26.3%) but much more likely to be African American (65.9% versus 39.0%).

Data on education and income, which should be viewed cautiously given the large number of missing cases, indicates that individuals in the shelter receipt group were not very different related to education level, although they were slightly more likely to have less than a high school diploma (33.1% versus 27.1%). They were much more likely to be receiving income from some type of public source (30.0% versus 15.5%) and much less likely to be receiving employment income (21.9% versus 51.3%).

Compared to those who did not receive any shelter services, those in the shelter group were more likely to be single (59.7% versus 40.1%) and less likely to be married (17.4% versus 46.1%) although similar proportions in both groups were in another marital situation, which included divorced, separated, widowed or in a common law relationship. Similar to the findings for individuals calling the Help Line data, those receiving onsite shelter were more likely to be pregnant at the time of service (12.3%) compared to those who did not receive shelter (6.1%), but similar proportions had children and among those

with children, the average number was virtually identical at about 2.3 for both groups. Finally, perhaps reflective of the smaller number of Hispanics among those who received shelter, those in the shelter group were less likely to face a language problem (6.0%) compared to those who did not receive any onsite shelter (14.0%).

The data in Table 7 does not contain the same abuse categories as were included in the Help Line data (Tables 2 and 4), but the results show that those who received shelter were slightly more likely to experience physical abuse as their primary presenting problem (78.5% versus 70.9%) and less likely to be emotionally abused (20.3% versus 27.9%) in terms of primary presenting issues. This suggests that like those requesting shelter from the Help Line, those who received shelter might have experienced more visible signs of abuse. The groups were the same related to the proportion reporting or assessed as having experienced sexual abuse as their primary presenting issue (1.2% for both groups).

The data on relationships between victims and abusers reflect the marital differences between the two groups. Thus, individuals who received shelter were less likely to be abused by a husband (28.4% versus 45.1%) and more likely than those not receiving shelter services to be abused by a boyfriend (60.0% versus 39.4%). These relationships accounted for the situation between victim and abuser for most of those receiving services. For both groups, only small proportions reported that they were abused by fathers, other male relatives, male friends, or male acquaintances. Similarly, only small proportions in both groups were abused by someone who was in a female relationship category, although the proportion of victims abused by someone in this category was slightly higher among those who did not receive shelter compared to those who did (6.5% versus 3.8%).

Data from the Shelter Interview Sample.

Table 8 provides information about the demographic characteristics and circumstances of the women who comprised the shelter interview sample at the time of the first interview. In total, 53 women were interviewed at Time 1. Because the sample was not random, and because all the programs that provide overnight shelter to women were not represented equally in the sample, we cannot assume that the sample represents all women seeking shelter in Chicago. Further, there is no comparison group so we cannot see how the women in this group differed from those who did not seek shelter. Nonetheless, we can get some idea of the characteristics of women utilizing the shelter system in Chicago by examining the data. In addition, we can compare them to the data we have from the Help Line and InfoNet system to see how much they differ.

The data in Table 8 indicate that on average, these women were almost 34 years old at the time they sought shelter. The majority, 56% were African American while one quarter (25.6%) were of Hispanic origin. Sixteen percent were White and another 12% were Biracial. Almost 80% were born in the United States.

About half (54.9%) were never married while almost one quarter (23.5%) were currently married. Twelve percent (11.8) were divorced and another 7.8% were separated at the time of the interview. Almost all the women had a child (90.2%). The average number of children was 2.67. Most of the children were young. The average age of all children was 9.67 while the median was 5.85. A breakdown of the percent with male and female children indicates that roughly 85% had at least one male child while 73.9% had at least one female child. Given the young age of many children, it is not surprising that at the time they entered the shelter program, about two thirds of the sample were living with a child, on average, about 2 children.

Data on education are quite similar to the profile for the population of individuals who received shelter in Cook County, as reflected in the InfoNet data. Slightly more than one third (35.3%) of all individuals in the sample had less than a high school education, while about 55% had either graduated high school or attended some college. Only about 10% had graduated from college.

Many of the women had worked either fulltime (30.8%) or part time (25%) in the past year, but another quarter were unemployed. In addition, their current work status was more tenuous. Over three quarters of the 52 women providing information (77.4%) reported they were currently unemployed and only 5.8% were working full time.

In light of the limited educational status of the sample and their general lack of full time employment in the past year, it is perhaps not surprising that most of the women had very limited income. Eleven percent indicated that they had no income the past year. In addition, slightly more than half the sample had an annual income of $15,000 or less. Given that the HHS federal poverty guidelines in 2008 set the poverty line at $17, 600 for a family of 3 (HHS, 2009), these data suggest that most of the women were very poor. Only 3 women (5.7%) had an annual household income of between $50,000 and $75,000. Further, in looking at how many adults contributed to the household income (including the respondent) for those who had an income, two thirds of the respondents said only 1, even though data on the average number of adults living with the respondent in the last year shows that 71.2% said they lived with another adult.

Table 9 presents information about the relationship between the victim and current abuser for the 49 women who provided this information. As we might expect, the most common relationships were current or former boyfriend (61.2%) and current or former spouse (34.7%). One individual was abused by a current or former girlfriend and one by someone in what they called an “other” relationship. In light of the above data, it is not surprising that most of the abusers were male (94.3%). On average, the abuser was about 2 years older than their partners (36.0 years). They tended to be more likely to be African American compared to the race and ethnicity of the respondent and were slightly less likely to be White or Hispanic.

Table 10 summarizes the abuse experience of those in the sample. These data were obtained by administering the Abusive Behavior Inventory to sample members. It presents the average ranking of how often an event occurred in the past 6 months for each

item on the Inventory and also provides a total score for the psychological abuse and physical abuse subscales. Individuals could also indicate that the item was not applicable to them. In this instance, the item was coded as 0. Since this depressed the average for the item, the table presents averages in the first column, for all individuals, including those for whom the item was not applicable and in the second column, only for those who gave an answer. This more accurately reflects the extent the behavior was experienced among those who experienced it and it is this column we discuss in our analysis. Although the number of individuals in the sample was small, reliability coefficients derived from Cronbach's Alpha indicate good reliability for both scales at .902 and .901 respectively. Higher scores indicate that an event occurred more often in the past 6 months.

The data in the last column of the table reflect that only 1 item occurred on average, in the range of "frequently" (4) to "very frequently " (5). This was being called a name and/or criticized. However, many behaviors were experienced, on average close to or at a rating of "frequently" including items 2, 3, 5, 6, 7 and 8. Events, such as slapping, hitting or punching the respondent, which reflect greater physical violence, occurred on average at a ranking of 3.48 or between "occasionally " and "frequently" and throwing, hitting, kicking or smashing something occurred with similar frequency, with an average rating of 3.46. The more extremely violent events, including threatening the respondent with a weapon, kicking the respondent, forcing her to have sex, throwing her, attacking her sexual body parts, choking or strangling her or using a weapon against her occurred less often, on average, but all except attacking sexual body parts and using a weapon had average ratings between 2.0 and 3.0.

Overall, the average score for the psychological abuse scale which was based on 17 items was 55.34 on average. Since this includes people who said an item was not applicable in the total, a more accurate reflection of the extent of psychological abuse may be the average rating per item which controls for the items answered. For this scale, the average was 3.38, almost mid-way between "occasionally" and "frequently." The average total for the physical abuse subscale, which had 12 items, was lower at 33.09, and the average rating for each item of about 2.8. Clearly, this was a sample of women who experienced fairly strong psychological abuse and consistent, if not as frequent physical abuse as well.

Summary of Findings Across Data Sources Related to Research Question 1.

These tables substantiate that those who seek and receive shelter in Cook County and the City of Chicago are distinct from other victims of domestic violence in this region who do not seek or obtain shelter to the extent that they are more likely to be female, less likely to be White or Hispanic, and slightly younger in age. They may be more economically vulnerable as assessed by their greater lack of employment. They are less likely to be married which may make it easier for them to leave the relationship and seek shelter. They are generally no more or less likely to have children than those who do not request or obtain shelter and they do not appear to live in smaller households. Those who request shelter are also no less likely than those who do not request shelter to have male

children. Thus, differences in household size, children or the age and gender of children do not alone explain why victims of violence may or may not request shelter.

There is some indication that those who request or obtain shelter experience more severe abuse compared to those who do not make the request or receive shelter services. Certainly, the data suggest more of those requesting or obtaining shelter report or are assessed as having experienced physical abuse. There is some indication, although not consistently across sources, that sexual abuse is also more common. Differences may relate in part to how abuse is assessed. Women are not likely to report sexual abuse when they call given the additional stigma it bears. Further, many do not define it as abuse because it is often their way of stopping the current attack; therefore they may have initiated it. There are also differences between those requesting or obtaining shelter and those not seeking or obtaining this service related to their relationship to the abuser. These differences seem to reflect the differences in marital status between the groups.

Lastly, because so few people requested housing, it is not possible to draw conclusions from these data about the characteristics of those making this request apart from the fact, not surprisingly, that they were less likely to be permanently housed at the time they called. Few people seeking shelter were also seeking housing. This may be because they expected to go back to their homes after leaving shelter, or because they did not know they could make this request. However, comparing those who did and did not request shelter, those making the request for shelter were less likely to be permanently housed. Most of those unstably housed were doubled up temporarily.

Research Question 2: What is the path into the shelter?

a) At what point in their abuse experience did they seek shelter (First episode of violence? Later episode?)

b) What were circumstances that led them to seek shelter?

- For how many is seeking protection from their abuser in a secure and confidentiality location a key factor?
- For how many is the unavailability of access to housing away from the abuser a key consideration?
- For how many is it a combination of both? Other factors?

c) What were their reasons for seeking shelter?

d) What were they hoping to accomplish through seeking shelter?

e) How do support networks help or hinder decisions to seek shelter?

f) What were their referral paths into shelter?

- Were their individuals or service providers who helped them to in making the decision to seek shelter?

To fully answer all of research question 2, both quantitative and qualitative results need to be examined. In this section, we focus on findings related to this question and its sub-parts based on the quantitative analysis. We again relied on all four sources of quantitative data, although some were more limited in terms of the insight they provided to this question. Qualitative analyses related to this question are presented in the next section which highlights the qualitative results.

Administrative Help Line Data.

Help line data address the last part of this question by enabling us to see the referral sources to the Help Line and how, for Chicago callers, these compared for those seeking shelter as their primary request versus those not making this request. The data, presented in Table 11 indicate that police were the most common referral source for both groups, but those who requested shelter were less likely to be referred by this source compared to those who did not request it (44.1% versus 65.5%). Conversely, those who requested shelter were more likely than those who did not to be referred to the help line from a social service or DV program (27.1% versus 12.4%). Roughly 9% of individuals in both groups found out about the help line through advertisements. Only small proportions of individuals in both groups were referred from the remaining sources in the table, but those who requested shelter were more likely to be referred by a health or medical care provider (7.1%) compared to those not seeking shelter (2.7%). They were also more likely to be referred by family or a friend, but this difference was not great (4.5% versus 3.9%) and by an "other "source (5.8% versus 4/0%). Those not requesting shelter were slightly more likely to be referred by other criminal or civil justice sources, but only small percents of both groups were referred by this source (1.4% of those not requesting shelter and 0.7% of those seeking shelter).

Help Line Data Interview Data (NIJ Data).

The interview data from the Help Line sample allow us to address more of the sub-questions under Question 2. Table 12 provides information on the initial reason provided for why the caller had contacted the Help Line, comparing those who did and did not request shelter. The data suggest that most callers in both groups called for a specific service or type of information with those requesting shelter only slightly more likely to call with a specific request (43.0% versus 40.9%). Further analysis, however, presents a somewhat different picture. If we look at the data regarding those who did not specifically make a clear request for service or information at the initial contact, the data show that those requesting shelter were more likely than those not making this request to have called, mentioned domestic violence but then not given any further explanation or requested further services compared to those who did not request shelter (21.5% versus 14.9%). The two groups were more similar related to the proportion who called, mentioned DV, gave some explanation of their circumstances but still did not request a service or information initially; 27.3% of those finally requesting shelter were in this group as were 29.0% of those who did not request shelter. Combining these two categories, then, the data indicate that about half of all those who called requesting shelter (48.8%) did not initially request shelter or anther service compared to 43.9% of those who did not request shelter. Only small proportions of all callers were in the other categories. Of note is that 5% of those calling and requesting shelter in this sample called because they were not sure where else to turn for help while this was true of 8.7% of those who made another service request that did not include shelter.

Table 13 presents more in depth information about why those who reported they were hesitant to call the Help Line felt this way, specifically for those requesting shelter. These data may help to clarify some of the concerns that may have kept individuals requesting shelter from initially making this request, although the question does not specifically ask why those who initially did not make a request for shelter hesitated to ask. Rather, it has to do with why people were reluctant to call regardless of what they initially said when calling The data indicate that the most common reasons given for hesitancy to call were feelings of pride or embarrassment or the feeling that it was a big step to make the call. Ten individuals gave this as the reason for their hesitancy. Nine others noted that they were unsure if the helpline could really help them or if it was really a good service. Concerns about what to expect from either the helpline or shelter services were cited as the reasons given for 8 individuals and 7 others mentioned concerns about safety or the need to deny there really was a problem. Another 6 callers noted that they felt nervous about calling, scared or fearful but did not link this to what they were afraid of. Other reasons were endorsed by only a few callers and 3 others did not give any reason

While the request for housing was discussed under Research Question 1, the Help Line Interview data also provide information related to requests for Orders of Protection. The data indicate that those who sought shelter from the Help Line were much less likely than those requesting other services to have requested as an additional service help with an Order of Protection. Slightly more than one quarter or 27.4% of the 277 individuals who did not request shelter requested an Order of Protection as either a primary or secondary request compared to only 7.4% of the 122 individuals who also requested shelter. It is important to note that the fact that individuals in the shelter request group had already requested shelter and did not, then, have the opportunity to request an Order of Protection does not alone explain this difference as the data were collected so that individuals could make multiple requests.

Table 14 provides data on support systems. While the data do not indicate directly whether support systems helped or hindered decisions to seek shelter, they do indicate that those who requested shelter utilized fewer informal supports as a way to address their needs prior to calling compared to those who did not request shelter (2.11 people on average compared to 2.36 people). They also used fewer formal supports (1.47 people versus 1.96), but compared to those not requesting shelter, they used slightly more professional supports prior to calling (0.80 versus 0.72).

The Help Line interview data also provide information about referrals into service. This information is summarized in Table 15. Perhaps because the interview sample was also derived from the population of Help Line callers, the pattern here is similar to that evident in Table 11 although all the sources are not comparable. Those who requested shelter were more likely to be referred to the Help Line from a DV program or provider (17.2% versus 10.1%) or social service program (4.1% versus 1.8%). They were also more likely to be referred to the Help Line by family or friends (6.6% versus 0.7%) or to be self referred (4.9% versus 2.2%). Conversely, they were less likely to be referred to the Help Line by police (34.4% versus 44.0%). They were also less likely to be referred by operators from the 311 or 911 phone centers (15.6% versus 27.1%). About 6% of all

those in each group found out about the Help Line from media advertisements. Only small percentages of individuals were in the remaining categories and the two groups did not differ much.

InfoNet Data.

InfoNet do not generally provide information on service needs of victims prior to their obtaining services or the point in the abuse cycle at which they sought help. The one piece of information InfoNet can provide related to Research Question 2 concerns referral paths into service. These data are presented in Table 16.

The data in Table 16 again focus on victims served by programs in Cook County specifically so that they are more comparable to the Help Line data. In contrast to Help Line data, however, they present the findings for those who actually received onsite shelter versus those who did not, regardless of whether it was requested or not. Nonetheless, the pattern evident in Table 16 is quite similar to the pattern found in the two referral tables previously discussed. The data show that those who received onsite shelter were much less likely to be referred to service by police (11.9% versus 35.2%), by a legal system source (1.2% versus 7.3%) or by the State's Attorney's office (0.3% versus 5.3%). They were much more likely to be referred by a social service program (37.6% versus 9.9%) or by a hotline (12.3% versus 6.3%). They were also somewhat more likely to be referred by a hospital (8.5% versus 5.3%) although not more likely to be referred by a medical advocacy program (0.5% versus 2.7%) or medical service provider (0.6% versus 0.9%).

In contrast to the findings in the previous referral tables, those who obtained shelter were slightly less likely to be referred by friends (5.9% versus 6.4%), family (1.9% versus 2.5%) or to be self-referred (4.3% versus 6.9%). Few individuals in either group were referred by many of the remaining categories including clergy, educational personnel, private attorneys or public health programs. Only 0.5% of those who obtained shelter services and 1.5% of those who did not were referred to services through the media. This may reflect the difference between referral to service and referral to the Help Line. It is likely that media campaigns would be aimed at encouraging people to call the Help Line. The Help Line would then refer or link them to a service. If so, it is likely that the Help Lline would be listed as the referral source and not media. Lastly, we note that large difference existed between the groups related to the percent referred by other sources, with 15% of those who obtained shelter citing an "other" source compared to 8.5% of those who did not obtain shelter. We do not know what these "other" sources were. We only know they did not fit one of the categories included in Table 16.

Data from the Shelter Interview Sample.

Table 17 provides information from the Baseline or Time 1 Interview with the shelter sample about their circumstances at the time they entered shelter related to the extent of previous abuse and actions they had taken at some point to address the present or previous abuse situation. Of the 39 individuals who provided this information almost two

thirds or 61.5% reported that they had tried to leave the present abusive relationship before. Of these 24 individuals, the average number of times they had tried to leave was 4.27 but given the range, from 1 to 20, the mode or median, which are both 3, may be better indicators of the typical individual. More than one quarter of those responding (N=51) but less than one third had been in shelter before. The average number of times in shelter for this group of was 1.5 and the range was from 1 to 3 times. Of the 24 individuals who had tried to leave before, about one third or 37.5% had been in shelter previously, yet these 9 individuals comprised 60% of the 15 individuals who had previously sought shelter.

The data in Table 17 also indicate that not quite half of all the women in the sample (45.1%) had another or previous relationship that became abusive. For the 21 women with this experience, the average number of previous or other abusive relationships was slightly over 1 at 1.29 on average, with a range from 1 to 4 relationships. We note that some caution should be exercised in interpreting these data, however in that we are not entirely sure women fully understood this question and some may have included the present relationship. The majority of these relationships were with a spouse (61.9%) or boyfriend (28.6%), although 1 respondent reported a previous abusive relationship with a parent and 1 with a girl friend.

Forty-two percent of the women in the sample reported that they had obtained Orders of Protection although this was not always before coming to the shelter. Sometimes, it was after they had entered. Of the 22 women who obtained OPs, most were against a current or former spouse (59.1%) or boyfriend (36.4%).

Lastly, it is notable that similar to the circumstances of those seeking shelter in the Help Line Interview sample, 70% of those in the sample who provided information about their housing circumstances noted that they were in permanent housing. Thus about one third of the women in the sample were in living situations that were unstable at the time they entered the shelter program. Qualitative analysis expands our understanding of their housing situation as elaborated in the second section of this report.

Summary of Findings Related to the Path Into Shelter – Research Question 2.

While the quantitative data do not fully address all of the components of this question, they do provide some insight into the way help was initially requested, some of the concerns callers had in seeking help and referral sources to the Help Line and into service. They also increase our understanding of the housing circumstances of victims at the time they sought help and other steps they took to deal with the violence.

The results suggest that those seeking shelter generally do not receive information about the Help Line from legal sources such as policy or other legal service providers, but are more likely to be in contact with and get information from social service or other DV programs compared to those not seeking shelter. The same pattern is true among those obtaining shelter compared to those who did not.

Requests for help are sometimes direct among those seeking shelter, but not consistently compared to those making other service requests. Reasons for being hesitant to call in the first place, among those seeking shelter, reflect that the stigma of being a victim may make it harder to call as well as the uncertainty about the source of help and nature of what may be provided.

Although we cannot generalize from the shelter interview sample to the circumstances of all victims in shelter, the data from the sample indicate that at any time, some women in shelter will have attempted to leave the situation before; for some of these women, previous strategies will have included previous shelter stays. Orders of Protection (OPs) were also utilized, although for the sample, OPs were not always obtained prior to shelter stay. The Help Line Interview data in fact, suggest that most of those seeking shelter do not also seek Orders of Protection on their own. Further discussion of OPs and shelter receipt is provided in a discussion of Research Question 3.

Research Question 3: What is the nature of their shelter experience?

a) How many times have they used shelter services overall? How long has each stay been?
b) What services do they obtain when they are in shelter?
c) What services do they say they need?
d) What do they report been most helpful about their shelter experience in terms of their addressing the violence in their lives?
e) What do they report is least helpful?
f) Do these experiences vary by race/ethnicity? By age? By disability status?

The data for research question 3 come from the shelter interview sample at Time 1 and from the InfoNet system, since the administrative and interview data from the Help Line concern the request for shelter and not the shelter experience. Because the InfoNet analysis related to this question is more complex, we start with the shelter interview data in addressing this research question. Although most of the data related to changes over time in the shelter interview sample are presented in our discussion the change processes women experienced over time, because this question relates to service needs over time, the 17 women interviewed at Time 1 and Time 2 from the service questionnaire in this section. We also note that some of the qualitative data from the baseline and particularly the follow up interview address this question and provide more detailed information about service paths. These are discussed in the second part of this report.

Data from Shelter Interview Sample

Table 18 presents information on the services individuals reported needing in the 6 months prior to the interview, which included the time they came into shelter. It also includes information about the percent receiving them during this time period. We note that many women reported they received the needed service after first entering shelter even though these questions were intended to really assess their needs at the time prior to their obtaining help from the program. We also note that some women reported that they

had received some services, even though they did not feel they needed them. Therefore, the number included as the total for those receiving services sometimes included more individuals than only those who reported they needed the specific service.

Housing.

The data in Table 18 indicate that almost 90% of the women who were interviewed reported that they needed help finding housing in the 6 month period prior to the interview. Similarly, another 80.4% noted that they needed affordable housing itself. Despite this high level of need, however, only 40.0% reported that within the past 6 months, which for some included their very early time in shelter, they obtained help finding housing and about 21% received affordable housing itself. Given that the women were just beginning their shelter stays, it is likely that shelter staff had not yet discussed housing with the women and many women who said they needed either help finding housing or actual housing noted that they knew they would eventually get help from the program with this need. Also related to housing status is the proportion of women who said they needed help from a homeless shelter in the 6 months prior to the interview. Of those answering, 35.3% said they needed such aid and almost all of those with this need, 88.9% received shelter services from a program serving the homeless.

Support Groups.

Apart from housing, other high need areas were support groups (84.3% of the women answering this question said they needed this service) and counseling (82.0% said they needed this). The proportion of women receiving these two services, among those who said they needed them, was much higher; 62.8% of those who said they needed a support group reported taking part in such a group and 76.7% of those who said they needed counseling similarly reported receiving it. Again, these are services shelters are likely to move women into early on in their shelter experience which probably accounts for the large proportion of women receiving this assistance. Another two thirds (66.7%) said they needed a therapy group, but smaller proportions of women who mentioned this need received this type of intervention (47.1%) compared to those receiving counseling or taking part in a support group.

As an additional point, although not in the table, qualitative analysis of comments about services showed that consistently across all of the interviews, women described the educational classes on DV at the shelters as life changing. They learned about the cycle of violence; they began to realize that they had been given no rights in their abusive relationships, and they became aware of their own feelings.

Health Care, Food and Other Concrete Supports.

A number of concrete supports and health care services were also mentioned by more than two thirds of the sample as being needed in the 6 months prior to the interview. These supports and services included dental (70.6%) and medical care (72/0%), food (70.6%), clothing, (76.5%) and economic assistance (72.0%). About half the sample

mentioned educational assistance (54.0%) and employment assistance and training (56.0%) as well. Only one third (34.0%) said they needed medication management.

Almost all the women who needed food received it (91.7%). Seventy-eight percent of those who reported needing medical care also got such aid as did almost 80% of those who reported needing clothing. However only one quarter of those who needed dental assistance received it and only slightly more than one third (38.9%) of those who said they needed economic assistance reported getting help perhaps because resources for both these needs, both in the community and in programs, are more limited. Roughly half of those who needed medication management (58.8%) and educational assistance (48.1%), on the other hand, received it as did 41.4% of those who needed employment assistance or job training.

Parental Supports and Services for Children**.**

Some of the areas where women reported lower levels of need frequently related to support of them as parents. Thus, about one third (35.4%) said they needed a parent group, only one quarter (24.4%) said they needed an after school program and 28.3% reported needing parent training. Generally, among those needing these types of supports, about half received them, including some who did not feel they needed the service. Slightly more than half the sample needed child care (53.2%) and 64% of those needing this help received it. Only one third (33.3%) needed help with school supplies but again, 60% who did need help with this obtained it.

Legal Assistance**.**

Services which related to the legal needs of victims fell at about the middle related to the proportion of women who reported they needed such services in the 6 months prior to the interview date. Almost 61% said they needed police and about half reported needing a victim advocate (52.9%). Forty-five percent reported needing legal assistance related to the violence but the same proportion reported needing legal assistance not related to domestic violence. Thirty-nine percent mentioned needing help with Orders of Protection.

Perhaps, again because many shelter programs are funded to provide such services, many of the women who reported they needed some of these legal interventions received them. Almost 78% of all those who needed a victim advocate, for example reported getting this help and as did 85% of those needing assistance with Orders of Protection. At the same time, 83.9% of those who needed help from the police got assistance and 65.2% of those needing legal help related to the violence received it, but this was true for only half of those who needed legal assistance not related to the domestic violence.

The last column in Table 18 includes the rating women had of how helpful the service was for those who received it. The scale ranged from 1 (not at all helpful) to 5 (very helpful) such that higher scores reflected higher ratings of helpfulness. The data indicate that for all the services except police, the average rating of those obtaining the service reflected that the women found the services to be very helpful on average. Most

ratings are close to 5 and only a few, generally those related to help with housing and shelter issues, were closer to, but not yet at 4. Police was the only service where the average rating was 4, reflecting the variation in the experience of victims in their dealings with police. Nonetheless, this rating still reflects that overall, those who received police assistance found it helpful.
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Taking all the 24 services which were specifically asked about as well as those mentioning an "other service" into account, the data indicate that on average, women reported needing about 13 different services within the six months prior to the interview, with a range from 0 to 21. The median and mode were similar to the mean, at 14. Of those who received services during this same time period, they received approximately 8 services average, with the range being from 2 to 17 and the median falling at 8.5. We note that the qualitative analysis looks more fully at the importance of services, particularly as offered by shelters, and reinforces the findings here.

Service Experience-Comparison of Time 1 and Time 2. The data in Tables 19 and 20 provide a summary of the services needed and received at Time 1 and Time 2 for those interviewed twice. We present the findings for the two interview group at Time 1 because the experience of this group, while similar, is slightly different from that of the whole sample at Time 1.

On average, individuals interviewed twice needed a total of 14 services at the time of the first interview. The range was from 0 to 21. The median was 15 and the mode 16. Some of the most needed services at Time 1 were economic assistance, clothing, support groups, dental care, help from a counselor or therapist, police assistance and educational assistance. Seventy-five percent or more of all those interviewed at Time 1 mentioned they needed these services. Slightly more than two thirds (70.6%) reported needing help finding housing or affordable housing, food, and legal assistance not related to the violence, and 60 to 65% reported needing a therapy group, the services of a victim advocate and medical care. Fifty percent or more reported needing employment training (56.3%), medication management (52.9%), child care (53.3%) legal assistance related to violence (52.9%) and help with Orders of Protection (52.9%). Less than half the two interview sample needed the remaining services at the time of the baseline interview. Some of the services needed by smaller numbers of individuals in particular, included homeless shelters (11.8%), and those geared to parents including parent groups (18.8%), after school programs (21.4%), and school supplies (28.6%).

Looking at the proportion of those who received needed services at Time 1, for many of the services, more than two thirds of those who needed them obtained them. All those who needed medical care, food and help from a homeless shelter got this help as did 92% of those who needed police assistance, 89% of those who needed help with Orders of Protection, 87% of those needing child care, 86% of those needing clothing, 85% of those who needed a counselor or therapist and 82% of those who needed a victim advocate. It is likely that some of these services could be easily provided by programs which may account for why they were more likely to be obtained than some of the other services. Other services that anywhere from 60 to 80% of the sample obtained when

needed included legal assistance related to domestic violence, support groups, parent training, after school parent groups, and therapy groups.

Some services were less likely to have been obtained. These generally included service s related to resources that programs do not readily control or have access to or needs which other social welfare programs and services do not address either such as affordable housing; only 1 of the 12 individuals who needed affordable housing at the time of the first interview obtained it. Other services in this category included dental assistance (23.1% of those needing it obtained it), and educational assistance (33.3% of those needing it obtained it). Roughly 40% of those who needed help finding housing, economic assistance and educational assistance reported obtaining these services. Overall, at the time of the first interview, individuals obtained a total of 9.4services on average, ranging from 0 to 21. The median was 10 and the mode 11.

Individuals generally found the services they received to be very helpful. All the ratings for services related to their helpfulness at Time 1 fell at or between a rating of 5 ("very helpful") and 4 "helpful". Police had the lowest rating , indicating that some individuals found police intervention less helpful, but the overall rating for this service on average was still high at 4.25.

At Time 2, the average number of services needed in total had dropped slightly to 12.82 on average and ranged from 1 to 22. The median and mode were both 13 (see Table 20). This reflects a small decrease in the number of services needed compared to the total at Time 1, a decline of about 1 on average. Comparing Tables 19 and 20, the data indicate that the proportion that needed help finding housing as well as the percent who needed affordable housing at Time 2, had increased to almost 90% (88.2%). However, larger proportions of individuals received it at Time 2, particularly in relation to affordable housing. While only 1 of the 12 individuals who needed it at Time 1 obtained it, 8 of the 15 individuals who needed affordable housing got help with this need at Time 2.

Some of the other services which increased, sometimes only slightly in terms of need included medical care (62.5% at Time 1 versus 88.2% at Time 2), parent groups (18.8% at Time 1 versus 50% at Time 2), after school programs (21.4% at Time 1 versus 33.3% at Time 2) and those needing help from a homeless shelter (11.8% at Time 1 versus 18.7% at Time 2). For all of these services, except for parent groups, the proportion in need who obtained the service was slightly smaller than the proportion obtaining it at Time 1. For parent groups, the proportion obtaining this service at Time 2 was slightly higher than at Time 1 (66.7% at Time 1 versus 75% at Time 2).

Apart from these services, the percent needing the remaining specific services included in Table 20 either stayed the same at Time 2 (therapy group, dental care, clothing,) or went down. Particularly large differences between the percent needing the service at Time 1 and Time 2 included those services related to legal interventions around the violence such as police (76.5% at Time 1 versus 18.7% at Time 2), legal assistance related to domestic violence (52.9% at Time 1 versus 20% at Time 2), help from Victim

Advocates (64.7% at Time 2 versus 31.3% at Time 2), and help with OPs (52.9% at Time 1 versus 31.3% at Time 2).

Data on some of the concrete resources and assistance that individuals needed at Time 2, including food, clothing, economic assistance, employment assistance or training, educational assistance and medication management, indicate that the proportion of the sample needing these supports declined slightly between Time 1 and 2 or stayed the same (employment assistance or training). However, with the exception of food and clothing, the proportion of those needing these supports who obtained them increased slightly. For those needing food, there was a notable decline in those obtaining it, from 100% at Time 1 to 64.6% at Time 2. For those needing clothing, the proportion obtaining it at Time 2 was 71.4% compared to 85.7% at Time 1. It is likely that many women obtained both food and clothing from programs at the time they first entered service and this was reflected in the Time 1 interview. However, it is disturbing to see that some of those needing these basic resources were not able to obtain them once they left the programs.

Looking at the total number of services obtained then at Time 2, the data indicate that the average number of services received was 8.53, a drop of almost one service on average from Time 1. The range was from 0 to 21. The median was 8 but the mode was lower at 4. While this suggests needs were not being met as well at Time 2, it is important to note that total need also declined at Time 2, and although the proportion in need obtaining services was lower for some services, especially critical services such as health care, food and clothing, it was higher for others. This included help finding housing, affordable housing, and supports such as economic assistance, employment assistance and training and educational assistance.

Ratings of services by those obtaining them at the time of the second interview represent generally positive ratings overall. In all cases but police, average scores were either 5 ("very helpful") or between 4 ("helpful") and 5. The overall rating for police help was 3.33. One of the 3 individuals who obtained this help felt it was more harmful than helpful, which is reflected in this rating.

InfoNet Data.

Of the total unduplicated number of individuals over 18 who received services from one of the 70 agencies providing assistance to victims of violence between January 1, 1998 and December 11, 2005 (N=273,825), we could verify that 28,945 or 10.6% obtained shelter at least once. Because of the size of the population and disparity between the shelter and no shelter groups, as well as the data cleaning tasks involved in the analysis, we created a random sample to be used for our analyses related to Research Question 3. To accomplish this, we divided all service users in the InfoNet system into two groups; those who had never obtained onsite shelter and those who had. We then selected a random sample from each group, utilizing the survey select function of our analysis program (SAS Institute 2002-2003). Appendix Tables 1 and 2 compare the traits

of each sample to the original population and indicate that each sample is quite representative of the population it represents. We note that while not all individuals in shelter were female, the clear majority were. Although it was a coincidence that only females were selected into the random sample of those receiving shelter, this does reflect the gender of the population. The random samples were derived from the entire population of InfoNet service users, not just those served by a program in Cook County since this research question is not specific to Chicago.

In order to address Research Question 3, several types of analyses were conducted utilizing the random sample of shelter recipients and those never obtaining shelter. The first of these compares the sample individuals who received shelter at any point in their service experience to the sample of individuals who were never in onsite shelter. This analysis focuses on difference in service receipt for the two groups. This analysis allows us to address the question of how those in shelter differ from those who never obtain shelter in relation to their service experience.

The second set of analyses involves a more in depth look specifically at the random sample of those who obtained shelter. They look at variations in service receipt for all those who obtained shelter in the random sample, comparing victims who were White to all others in order to determine if there were variations by race/ethnicity. We note that this is essentially a comparison of White and African American victims since only 10% of those in the shelter sample were Hispanic and 6% in total comprise other racial and ethnic groups. We also compare those who had some type of disability to those who did not. Lastly, in this set of analyses, we examine, among those in the shelter sample, variations by service receipt according to age. Initially, we had hoped to look at those over and under 65, but only a very small number of individuals in the shelter sample were 65 or older (15 in total) and only 44 were 55 or older. Therefore, we used a cut off of 45 and compared all those 45 and under to those over 45.

The third set of analyses involves a more complex exploration, comparing those who obtained shelter only one time from a program to those who obtained it more than one time. These analyses look at the differences in the characteristics and referral paths into service for the two groups and then examine the types of services they received and when in their shelter experience. This allows us to address questions about the service trajectory of those in shelter and if or how those who use shelter more often may differ from those who use it only once.

One important limitation to this final set of analyses is that is possible some individuals who obtained shelter only one time from a given program obtained shelter another time from another program. Because InfoNet does not allow us to look at the same person across multiple programs, we cannot be sure some of those who we have included as having shelter only one time did not receive shelter at some other point from a different service provider. Nonetheless, the data do allow us to get some idea of the types of services programs are providing over time to individuals who utilize them for shelter services and how these vary at different times across someone's service "career" within that agency.

Comparison of Those who Never Received Onsite Shelter with Those Who Did Related to Service Receipt**.**

Because we utilized a different sample of individuals for this analysis then used previously in our comparison of those who did and did not receive shelter (Tables 6, 7 and 16), we first discuss differences in the demographic characteristics of the sample. Table 21 presents these data. The data indicate that differences between the shelter sample and the sample of those who did not receive shelter are similar to those found previously when looking at differences between the two groups for the Cook County population of service users only (Tables 6 and 7). Those in the shelter group were younger on average by about two years. They were less likely to be White or Hispanic and more likely to be African American, although the proportion of African American victims in the shelter sample is smaller than was the case for the Cook County population, most likely because the sample was drawn from the entire population of service users throughout the state and Cook County has the largest African American population compared to other regions in the state. Again, those in the shelter sample were more likely to be obtaining income from a public source and less likely to have employment income compared to those in the sample who did not obtain shelter. The shelter group was also less likely to be currently married and more likely to be single. Those in the shelter sample were also somewhat more likely to have a need or challenge requiring special attention compared to those never in shelter. Lastly, they were more likely to be victims of physical abuse as their primary type of abuse and less likely to report or be assessed as experiencing emotional abuse compared to those not in shelter.

Table 22 compares the two groups related to the proportion who received various services from a program during their service experience at any point in time. Overall, there are 31 different services about which data are collected by the InfoNet system. Two of these are specifically for children and were eliminated from the present analysis. Other services, which reflect similar types of assistance, were combined for ease of presentation. These are noted in Table 22. The data indicate that with the exception of civil or criminal legal advocacy related to Orders of Protection (OPs) and criminal legal advocacy related to charges, a greater proportion of individuals who received onsite shelter received each of the services listed in the table. In some instances, differences between the groups were especially large, particularly related to adult group counseling services, which 75% of those who obtained onsite shelter received compared to 8.6% of those who did not receive shelter, “other” advocacy, which again almost three quarters of all individuals in the shelter group received compared to about one quarter of those who did not obtain shelter, concrete family services (52.0% of those who obtained shelter got a service related to this category versus 3.7% of those who did not get shelter) and collaborative case management which 53.5% of those who obtained shelter received compared to 12.0% of those who did not receive shelter.

Table 23 contains information on the average number of hours of service received for each service category among those who obtained that service, comparing those who did and did not receive onsite shelter. The data indicate that for most services provided, those in shelter also received more hours of service on average, compared to those who

did not receive shelter, although there is a lot of variation around the average for services such as individual, adult group and family counseling, as well as concrete family services, collaborative case management and other advocacy. Particularly large differences are evident in the average number of hours of individual counseling provided to those in each group (16.52 hours per person on average for the onsite shelter group compared to 3.16 for those never in shelter) and concrete family services (8.28 hours on average per person for the shelter group versus 3.01 hours on average for the group never in shelter). The groups are more similar related to their average service hours for services such as family counseling service, educational assistance and other legal help. In addition, the average number of hours of service for those obtaining civil or criminal legal advocacy around OPs and criminal legal advocacy related to charges was greater for those who did not obtain shelter compared to those who did.(this continues to be interesting to me as I never really thought about ops and shelter or not shelter. I guess it makes sense that those not seeking shelter – or not needing to will be more likely to try other methods. And those seeking shelter might suspect an op wouldn't stop their abuser or would make things worse? intriguing to me). Nonetheless, looking at total hours overall, across all services included here, as well as total contacts with service providers and the average number of different services received, the data clearly show that those in the shelter group received more service whether measured by hours (46.6 hours on average overall versus 7.7 for those never in shelter), contacts (64.6 contacts per person on average versus 8.6 for those never in shelter) or the number of different services (8.3 different services versus 2.7 for those never in shelter).

Differences in Service Receipt Among Those in the Shelter Sample Related to Race/Ethnicity, Disability Status and Age.

The data in Tables 24, 25, and 26 present information about the proportion of individuals in different sub-groups who received specific services. It also includes the averages for each sub-group related to the total number of service hours, service contacts and different types of services received. The first comparison, presented in Table 24, looks at differences between victims in shelter who were White and those who were not White. As noted above, this is essentially a comparison of White and African American victims since more than 80% of those in the shelter sample were in one of these two groups. Generally small proportions of those in shelter were Hispanic, Asian American, American Indian, Bi-racial American or "other" races.

The results indicate that there are some differences between the groups, primarily but not exclusively related to legal assistance. White victims in shelter were more likely to receive civil or criminal legal advocacy related to OPs, criminal legal advocacy related to charges, and other legal help compared to those who were not White. On the other hand, similar proportions in both groups obtained "other" advocacy. White victim were also more likely to obtain transportation assistance, medical assistance, family counseling services and "other" services compared to those who were not White. For the remaining services in the table, the groups were fairly similar if not identical. Still, there were only 2 services in which the proportion of victims who were not White was slightly greater than the proportion of victims who were White. These were concrete family services and substance abuse services. It is therefore not surprising that the total number of service

hours, contacts and different services received for both groups, was greater, on average for victims who were White compared to those who were not White. This was particularly noticeable for total service contacts where those who were White had 85 contacts per person on average compared to 51.2 for victims who were not White.

Table 25 looks at differences between victims in shelter who did and did not have a disability. Generally, there were few differences between the two groups. Significant differences were found between the groups for only four categories and in all four instances, those who had a disability were more likely to have obtained the service. These included "other" advocacy, medical assistance, collaborative case management and group therapy. It is likely that those with disabilities had more complex needs related to their disabilities which would account for differences specifically in the first three areas, although it is interesting to find the difference related to group therapy. Perhaps some programs have groups specifically for those with disabilities. Those who had one or more special need or disability received more total hours of service on average and had more service contacts in total. Similarly, they tended to receive slightly more services on average (8.9 versus 8.2). However, none of these differences were statistically significant.

Table 26 contains the results of the analysis looking at variation by age in service receipt. As noted, because so few individuals in the shelter sample (or shelter population) were older than 55, we used 45 as our cutoff age and compared those 45 and under to all those over 45. The table shows, however, that only 72 individuals in the sample were in the older age group. Only one difference was large enough to attain statistical significance and that related to the proportion in each group who obtained family counseling services. Only 11.1% of those 45 and older obtained this service compared to 21.7% of those 45 and under. Other differences between the age groups were not very large. Roughly 10% of those over 45 obtained employment assistance compared to 18.7% of those 45 and under. This may reflect differences between both groups related to their career trajectories. The older group was somewhat more likely to get medical assistance compared to those 45 and under and also more likely to get collaborative case management services, but these differences were not very large. Data on hours, contacts and the different number of services received shows that those who were in the older age group had fewer hours of service in total, on average about 10 hours less per person, but the groups were quite similar related to totals for service contacts and the total number of different services received.

Analysis by Number of Shelter Stays The Timing of Shelter and Service Receipt.

The data indicate that 181 or 18.1% of our sample had more than one stay in a shelter. However, because InfoNet is set up so that individuals are assigned a unique identifier from each program, we have no way to see if the same individuals used services from multiple programs. Thus, repeat stays actually reflect repeat use of the same program. It is possible that some of those with one stay (or even those with more than one) had additional stays in other shelter programs. We have no way to track this. Additional analysis, comparing those with one versus more than one stay in the same shelter program indicated that those with multiple stays tended to be less likely to have

received shelter from a program in Cook County. (See Table 27). Cook is the county which includes Chicago and it is possible that programs in this region have a policy of limiting repeat shelter stays. It may also be that individuals in this region can access other shelter programs more easily, but as noted, we cannot track this.

In order to examine this issue more closely, we first look at differences between those with more than one stay and those with one stay only in the same program. We then compare the experience of individuals who obtained shelter from a program in Cook county to those obtaining shelter from a program in another region. Finally, we look at the patterns for all those in shelter, regardless of whether they were in the same shelter only once or more than once, in order to understand the pattern for the group as a whole.

We first compare the two groups of shelter recipients in order to determine if individuals who had more than one shelter episode differed significantly from those who were only in shelter once. We examine key demographic variables, the violence identified as the primary presenting issue and referral source at the time of the first service contact. This allows us to see if the groups differ in some way at the time of their first service contact that could account for their different shelter and service trajectories.

Subsequently we look at patterns of shelter and service use. In this analysis, we reduced the number of services examined further to specifically focus those which the literature suggests are critical. Several are also ones which all shelters are funded to provide. Additionally, those we left out tended to be ones which few individuals in shelter received (See Grossman, Lundy & Benniston, 2007).

The time periods utilized for those with one shelter stay were relatively straight forward. They include before, during or after shelter stays. For those with more than one shelter stay, the intervals are more complicated when we examine this group separately. They include before any shelter, during the first stay, during the last stay, between stays and after all stays for those with more than one shelter stay. We note that periods between stays could have included another shelter stay for those with more than 2 shelter experiences, but it was too difficult to look at service receipt in relation to all stays for those with more than 2 stays. Therefore, we cannot conclude that those receiving services between the first and last shelter stay were indeed out of shelter. In the final set of tables, when we look at shelter stay and service for the whole sample of individuals, whether they were in shelter one time or more than one time, we collapse multiple stays and include, as services received while in shelter, any services received during the first or last shelter stay, as well as between these two periods for those with more than one stay in the same shelter.

Differences between Those with One and More than One Stay in the Same Shelter – Shelter Sample Only.

Demographic Characteristics and Primary Abuse. Table 27 presents information about the demographic characteristics and abuse experiences for women in each of the two groups. The data indicate that there are few differences between the two groups related to most demographic characteristics at the time of their first service contact.

Exceptions are that individuals who had more than one shelter stay were significantly less likely to have been served by a program in Cook County. They were also significantly more likely to be White, and less likely to be African American and Hispanic, although the latter two differences were not statistically significant. It is possible that these differences reflect the difference in who is served in each region. As noted, Cook County tends to be less heavily White compared to the other regions, particularly rural areas and the collar counties, while it has a greater proportion of African American individuals. The only other statistically significant difference between the groups is that those with one shelter stay were significantly less likely to be divorced or separated, but less than 20% of individuals in either group had this marital status.

Although individuals in shelter only one time were slightly more likely to have a language challenge, perhaps related to the slightly greater proportion of Hispanic individuals in the single stay group, and somewhat less likely to have a special need requiring special attention at the time they first had contact with the service system, these differences were not statistically significant, suggesting the two groups did not differ, initially, related to difficulties or service challenges. In addition, the two groups were virtually identical related to their primary presenting issues ; approximately 75% of the women in each group had a primary presenting issue of physical abuse; 22% reported or were assessed as having a primary presenting problem of emotional abuse and about 2% reported sexual abuse as the primary issue.

Analysis of shelter histories for the two groups (not in table) indicates that overall, most individuals with more than one stay had only one other shelter episode (112 or 61.9 %), but the remaining 69 individuals had between 3 and 20 shelter stays. The average number of days between the first and last stay for those with more than one shelter episode was 478.92 days of about 1.3 years. The average number of days individuals spent in shelter for those with one stay only was 20.3. For those with more than one stay, it averaged at about twice that amount at 40.8 days.

Referral Source to Program. Table 28 contains information about the referral sources to programs at the time of the first contact for both groups. Three clear and statistically significant differences are evident in this table. First, individuals who had one shelter stay were significantly more likely to be referred to a DV program by a social service program; 26.8% of all individuals in the group with only one shelter stay were referred to the system from this source at the time of their first service contact compared to 15.9% of those with more than one shelter stay. At the same time 26.5% of those who were in shelter more than one time were self-referred into services at the time of their first service contact compared to 9.4% of those in shelter only once. One other significant difference is evident, related to the proportions in each group referred to services by the DV Help Line. Although the proportion referred from this source is not great, 7.1% of those in shelter only once were referred to service by the Help Line compared to 0.6% of those in shelter more than once.

Service Receipt. Table 29 provides information on the proportion of individuals in each group who received their first service before, during and after their first shelter stay.

It also includes information about the proportion in each group who received each of the services included in this analysis at least one time over the course of their service experience. Data on timing for the first service suggests that there was not a lot of difference between the two groups. Most individuals in both groups, about two thirds, received their first service at the time they first received shelter from the program. About one third of individuals in both groups obtained at least their first service prior to the initial shelter stay. Virtually no individuals obtained their first service, apart from shelter, after all shelter stays were completed.

Looking at the specific types of services individuals obtained, the data indicate that consistently, individuals who had more than one shelter stay were more likely to receive each of these key services compared to those who were in shelter only one time. Large differences exist related to the proportions receiving assistance related to civil/criminal legal advocacy around Order's of Protection (OPs), as well as the proportions receiving employment, medical and economic assistance of some kind. The only service for which the two groups are comparable is individual counseling services. Virtually all individuals in both groups received this service at some time during their contact with the program.

Timing of the First Receipt of Key Services in Relation to Shelter Stay. Data in Table 30 provides information about the proportion of individuals among those in shelter one time only, who received each of the key services for the first time before, during or after their shelter stay. The data indicate that most individuals who have one shelter stay first receive these key services while they are in shelter. This is especially true related to the provision of concrete family services which include child care, as well as parenting and life skills training (91.2%), group counseling (89.9%), employment (86.2%) and educational assistance (87.9%), and transportation (85.1%). Slightly less than one third of individuals in this group received some type of assistance related to OPs (29.6%) as well as individual counseling (29.3%) prior to their shelter stay but most still received this service at the time they were in shelter (65.8% and 70.6% respectively). Smaller percents first received these services after leaving shelter, but 16.8% of all those who received any kind of economic assistance in this group first got it after their first shelter stay.

The one exception to this pattern relates to assistance for legal advocacy/assistance related to criminal charges. Although only a small proportion of all those who obtained shelter once obtained this service, it appears that the majority of those receiving it obtained it after they left shelter (42.1%). It is possible that this reflects renewed abuse upon leaving and an individual's attempt to end the abuse without returning to shelter. It may also be that women are not ready to press criminal charges until they are out of the shelter environment.

Table 31 repeats this analysis for those in shelter more than one time who received each of the selected services. Again, the results indicate that for all individuals, the majority of those receiving a given service received it for the first time at the time of the first shelter stay. However, some services, particularly assistance related to

employment, education, medical and economic assistance were received for the first time at the time of the last shelter stay. Almost 30% of all individuals with multiple shelter stays received some type of individuals counseling service prior to entering shelter the first time and nearly 20% received legal assistance (civil or criminal) related to Orders of Protection. Further, 18.8% of all those in shelter more than one time obtained some type of advocacy assistance the first time prior to any shelter stays as did 16.1% of those who received help related to criminal charges.

Few individuals with more than one shelter stay obtained the key services included here for the first time after all shelter stays. The one exception, again, relates to individuals who obtained assistance with criminal legal charges; about 19% of all those getting this help obtained it after all shelter. However, larger proportions obtained this assistance during at least one shelter stay. In addition, notable percents of those with more than one shelter stay obtained some services, particularly employment assistance, educational assistance, economic assistance, and concrete family services between their first and last shelter stay.

Timing of the Last Receipt of Key Services in Relation to Shelter Stay. Table 32 looks at the percent of all individuals receiving each of the key services for the last time, for those who received the service, in relation to the timing of their shelter stay for those in shelter once only. Of note is that roughly 16% of individual who received legal help related to criminal charges and 10% of those obtaining legal help around Orders of Protection (OPs) received it for the last time before they ever entered shelter. Similarly, although the proportion is small, 5.1% received medical assistance for the last time before coming into shelter. We do not know, from these data, whether this was medical service related to the abuse or general medical care.

The data confirm that the largest majority of individuals receiving each of the key services received all that service while in shelter with one exception; again, the greatest proportion of individual obtaining legal assistance and advocacy related to criminal charges received this service after their shelter stays were over (55.6%). Otherwise, fifty percent or more of all individuals who received shelter one time received adult group counseling services, concrete family service, employment assistance and educational assistance for the last time while in shelter. However, 40.6% of all those who received individual counseling services received ongoing services after leaving the shelter. Similarly, 38.4% of those who received other advocacy services continued to receive this service when out of the shelter as did about 31% of those receiving collaborative case management services and economic assistance. More than one quarter of those who obtained civil or criminal legal advocacy around Orders of Protection obtained this service for the last time when out of shelter as well.

Table 33 provides information related to the last receipt of key services for those with multiple shelter stays. In this instance, the pattern is somewhat different. First, very small proportions of individuals receiving a service received it for the last time prior to all shelter stays. Second, large, if not the greatest proportion of individuals receiving each of these services received them either the last time they were in shelter, or after all

shelter was over. Also of note is that one third of those individuals obtaining employment assistance obtained it between their first and last shelter stay.]

Comparison of Service Patterns for Cook Versus Other Regions – Shelter Sample Only.

Receipt of Services for Those in Shelter by Region. Table 34 compares individuals in the shelter sample who obtained shelter one or more times from a program in Cook County to the other regions in the state (rural counties, the collar counties and other urban counties). The data indicate a clear difference. Individuals served by programs in Cook County were significantly more likely to receive their first service, apart from shelter, while in shelter compared to individuals served by shelters in other regions (70.5% versus 52.3%) . In contrast, those served in other regions were significantly more likely to obtain their first service before their first shelter stay (40.6% versus 24.1%). Few individuals in any region were likely to obtain their first service after all shelter stays were complete.

Despite this difference in the timing of services, the data do not suggest large differences between the groups related to the proportions receiving most services at least once. Exceptions are that those served by shelters in Cook County were less likely to obtain legal advocacy related to Orders of Protection, and less likely to obtain transportation and assistance related to issues such as medical care and economic aid. It is possible that this difference reflects differences in the number of services and the service system within Cook County compared to the other regions. Shelters may have to directly provide more assistance in communities that are more resource poor, especially in rural areas.

Timing of First Service in Relation to Shelter Stays[1] *By Region of Service.* Table 35 looks at the timing of when services were received related to shelter stay for all shelter recipients in the sample, comparing individuals served by programs in Cook County to individuals served by programs in other regions. Again, the pattern consistently shows that of those obtaining each of the services, those served by shelters in Cook County were more likely to first obtain the service at the time of their shelter stay compared to those served in other regions, and less likely to obtain it prior to the first shelter stay. Of note, however, is that a larger proportion of individuals obtaining economic assistance in Cook County first obtained this help after shelter compared to those in other regions. The same is true related to assistance with criminal charges, but only 11 people in the sample obtained this service so the pattern is somewhat deceptive.

Timing of Last Service in Relation to Shelter Stays by Region of Service. Table 36 repeats the comparison of individuals served by shelter programs in Cook versus other regions looking at the timing of the last service contact in relation to shelter stay. Here again we see that while most individuals in all regions had their last service episode while in shelter, individuals served by shelters in Cook county were generally

[1] We note that for those with multiple shelter stays, shelter stay includes both the first and last shelter stays and the period between them.

more likely to be in this group compared to those in other regions. Programs in other regions appear to have continued providing many services to a fair proportion of individuals after shelter was completed, but this was less true, for most services, among those served by shelters in Cook county. Exceptions again relate to the proportion of individuals served by shelters in Cook county who obtained economic assistance. Here the proportions in all regions were similar. Of note is that almost 50% of individuals served by shelter programs in other regions had at least one contact related to "other " advocacy after their last shelter stay. This was true for only 20% of individuals served by shelters in Cook County. It may well be that women in areas outside of Cook County, particularly rural areas, have fewer service providers from whom they can obtain assistance and so turn more to shelter providers for advocacy and assistance in obtaining other needed services after leaving.

Combined Analysis of Those with One and Those with More Than One Shelter Episode – Shelter Sample Only.

Given the previous sets of analyses, it seems likely that some of the differences in service and shelter histories between those with one and those with more than one shelter stay are accounted for by different regional practices. In other words, number of times of shelter use and region are confounded. Additionally, because, as noted, the InfoNet data is set up so that individuals are assigned a unique identifier from each program, we have no way to see if the same individual used services from multiple programs. Thus it is possible that some of those with one stay (or even those with more than one) had additional stays in other shelter programs. However, we have no way to track this. We can only see when an individual used the same shelter more than one time. Analysis of the demographic characteristics of both groups indicate that those with only one evident shelter stay and those with more than one were quite similar, further suggesting that they are not unique groups. Demographic differences which do exist, at least related to race, can also be attributed to regional differences. Therefore, as a final step, we repeat the analysis of service and shelter receipt for the sample combining those who had one and more than one shelter stay. As discussed, for those with more than one stay, the period of shelter included both the first and last stay, as well as the time period between. For some individuals, particularly those with two stays only, this would have been while they were out of shelter. For those with more than two stays, it may have encompassed another shelter spell. Nonetheless, it seems fair to combine these time periods in the sense that we can still determine what was provided before any shelter experience in a program and after all experience with that program was completed.

Timing of the First Receipt of Key Services in Relation to Shelter Stay. The data in Table 37 provide information about the proportion of individuals who received each of the key services included here for the first time before, during or after their shelter stay. It includes information only on those who obtained the service. Similar to the pattern discussed in the previous analyses, the data indicate that most individuals first receive these key services while they are in shelter. This is especially true related to the provision of concrete family services which include child care, as well as parenting and life skills training (91.8%), group counseling (90.3%) , employment (88.2%) and educational assistance (89.6%), and transportation (86.4%). At the same time, more than

one quarter of individuals in shelter received assistance related to orders of protection (27.4%) as well as individual counseling (28.5%) prior to their shelter stay, but most still received these two services at the time they were in shelter (68.2% and 70.6% respectively). Smaller percents first received the services included here after leaving shelter, those who obtained assistance related to criminal charges were again the exception. Of the small number of individuals obtaining assistance related to criminal charges, roughly one third (34.1%) first obtained this service after their stay in shelter. Only 43.2% of those receiving this service obtained for the first time while in shelter . Also of note is that 15.3% of all those who received any kind of economic assistance in this group first got it after their shelter stay.

Timing of the Last Receipt of Key Services in Relation to Shelter Stay. Table 38 looks at the percent of individuals receiving each of the key services for the last time, for those who received the service, again in relation to the timing of their shelter stay. Of note are the small but notable proportions of individuals who received assistance related to criminal legal advocacy for the final time before any shelter stays and the 8.7% of individuals who received legal help related to Orders of Protection for the last time before they ever entered shelter.

Looking at the proportion of individuals who received each service for the last time while in shelter, the data again confirm, the largest majority of individuals receiving each of the key services received all that service while in shelter. Eighty percent or more of all individuals who received shelter received adult group counseling services, concrete family services, employment assistance and educational assistance for the last time while in shelter. However, 43.5% of all those who received individual counseling services received at least some services after leaving the shelter. Similarly, 38.6% of those who received other advocacy services continued to receive this service when out of the shelter as did about 32 % of those receiving collaborative case management services and economic assistance. More than one quarter of those who obtained civil or criminal legal advocacy around Orders of Protection obtained this service for the last time when out of shelter as did 20.7% of those who received transportation assistance.

<u>Combined Time Periods – Shelter Sample Only.</u>

Table 39 provides one last set of analyses related to the timing of shelter and service receipt for the whole sample of individuals who obtained shelter services in the time period examined here. It looks at overall, at when services were first and last received in relation to shelter. Again, we can see that for almost all services except legal help related to criminal charges, the majority of individuals obtaining each of the services highlighted here received them during their shelter stay for the first and last time. Only small percents received a service for the first and last time either before or after all shelter. Two exceptions are evident; roughly one third of all those obtaining assistance with criminal charges and about 15% of those who obtained economic assistance received these services for the first and last time after all shelter. Otherwise, for those who did not obtain all of a service during shelter, the most common pattern was to first obtain a service while in shelter and to receive it for the last time after all shelter was completed.

Summary of Findings Related to Research Question 3.

The InfoNet data presented here suggest that individuals who obtain shelter are generally likely to get more services than individuals who never obtain shelter. With the exception of legal assistance related to Orders of Protection and criminal legal charges, those who did not obtain shelter were less likely to get all the key services examined here. In addition, they tended to receive fewer hours of service and to have fewer service contacts. It is possible that some of this difference is related to the fact that those who obtain shelter appear to have more needs at least related to their economic situation and seriousness of abuse. However, additional analysis conducted by two of the investigators (Grossman and Lundy) found that these differences do not really account for the difference in service hours. Rather, receipt of shelter seems to be the critical variable (see Grossman & Lundy, 2009). Of course, those in shelter are a "captive" audience so to speak and as such, it may be easier for them to remain involved with services such as counseling, groups and so on.

The findings also suggest that shelter programs appear to be more likely to provide supportive services such as counseling, and advocacy, then they are to provide assistance related to specific needs such as employment, education and income. This is supported by both the InfoNet and shelter interview sample data. Programs seem to do a better job providing those services, such as counseling, advocacy and support groups, that they are directly funded to provide. It would seem likely that shelter programs would at least form linkages to secure assistance they do not immediately offer and it is possible that these linkages are reflected under collaborative case management in the InfoNet data. If so, it is somewhat heartening to see that about half of all individuals in shelter obtain this service at some point in their service careers. Ironically, assistance with housing is not included in the list of services provided and tracked by InfoNet. Few women also seem to receive assistance related to criminal charges, but this may be because women do not want to press charges and not because shelters are unable to provide this service.

InfoNet data shows that most services are received at the time individuals obtain shelter, regardless of the type of service, but some women in this sample received support from shelters in the form of counseling and advocacy related to Orders of Protection or criminal charges, prior to their initial shelter stay. Further analysis indicates that for those who got these services prior to their first shelter stay, the number of days between the first receipt of these services and entrance in to the shelter program was fairly long on average (almost one year for counseling and OPs and more than one year for criminal charges) , but the mode for all three services, was one day and the median number of days was also shorter, particularly for counseling (median = 6 days) and help with Orders of Protection (23.5 days) suggesting that shelter programs may provide these two services in particular, in the hope of stabilizing women and keeping them out of shelter until a bed is available.

Also of note is that the InfoNet data indicate that economic assistance was first provided to about 15% of all women in shelter programs after they had completed their shelter stays. It is possible that this reflects the time it takes for applications for income support to be accepted. Perhaps the time spent preparing the application is again reflected as a case management function while receipt of funds marks the actual provision of assistance. Again, analysis indicates, for those who first received such aid after all shelter was complete, the average number of days between receipt or economic assistance and the time the individual left was 265, but the median number of days was 23 and the mode was 1. This supports the idea that for some individuals, applications for financial assistance are not made until close to the time they leave. It is also possible that some individuals leave after applications have been made and they expect to eventually obtain a stable source of income. The interview sample data support this conclusion as well. As noted, fewer women reported needing economic aid at Time 2 and more of those who needed it were receiving it.

Whether it is because individuals do not maintain contact with the shelter program once they leave, or because the programs do not provide it, the InfoNet data indicate that once individuals are out of shelter, they are less likely to continue receiving a variety of services, including many of those services which provide help with basic subsistence problems. These include employment assistance, educational assistance, medical assistance and concrete services to families. The one exception, as noted, seems to be economic assistance. Again, this may reflect the fact that it takes times for applications to be processed so that individuals are more likely to be out of shelter when they obtain benefits. Adult group counseling also seems to be provided to smaller proportions of individuals, based on the proportion who obtained this service the last time when out of shelter; only about 20% of all individuals receiving this service. In contrast, almost half of all those who received individual counseling received it for the last time when out of shelter, suggesting that programs and individuals continue to connect related to receipt of this service. About one third continue to obtain collaborative case management after leaving shelter and more than one third (38.6%) continue to receive advocacy services. These all suggest that shelters continue to provide the supportive services they are primarily funded to provide once individuals leave their programs and some individuals continue to obtain these services specifically from the shelters.

It is important to add that the data from the interview sample do not uniformly support the conclusion that programs do not continue to provide educational, employment and other forms of assistance after women leave. As noted, fewer women reported needing some of these supports at the Time 2 interview and more of those who did need them were receiving them. It is not clear, though, whether those receiving such assistance specifically got it from the shelter program. Additionally, as discussed, some very specific concrete needs, such as a need for food and clothing, were slightly more likely to be unmet at the time of the second interview, when most women were no longer in shelter.

Data on the timing of when services are provided also suggests that shelters are more likely to provide services to women at the time they are in shelter and less likely to

do so before or after they enter. Some exceptions include legal advocacy and counseling services. Both these types of services are likely to be provided to small, but notable proportions of women seeking help both before and after shelter stay. It is possible that shelters are willing to provide additional services to more women, but the women themselves do not take advantage of the services, perhaps because they cannot access them easily. For example, it is probably easier to provide adult group counseling to women while they are in shelter than after they leave and have to make arrangements to return to attend groups at specific times. Perhaps individual counseling services are offered in a more flexible way, which is why women can continue to use them after leaving shelter programs. It is also heartening to see that almost one third of women continue to receive some type of case management services once they leave shelter programs, but more than two thirds do not apparently receive this ongoing help to meet their complex need, at least from the shelter. If other programs are not meeting these needs, it may mean that many women may have a harder time obtaining independence from the violence in their lives.

It is also possible that some women get their needs for ongoing support, both emotional and financial, met through other programs, apart from the shelter. Preliminary analysis of the qualitative data suggest this may not be the case primarily related to access issues, which makes this issue all the more critical to consider. It also suggests that further research looking more closely at the full path of service utilization, across programs, would be especially helpful.

Lastly, analysis of InfoNet data, in looking at difference by race, disability status and age show that women of color may be less likely to obtain some services. Whether this is because they do not need or seek such help or whether racism plays a part related to providing it is not clear. Previous analyses suggests that African American victims in particular are likely to obtain less service compared to victims in other racial and ethnic groups (see Grossman, Lundy and Benniston, 2007) whether in shelter or not. Fewer differences exist related to disability status and age. As we might expect given their potentially more complicated service needs, those with a special need or disability tend to obtain more of some services that seem to relate specifically to their needs and to get more hours and service contacts overall. Differences related to age were minimal, but in general, older women are not among the shelter population which in itself is cause for concern (see Lundy & Grossman, forthcoming).

<u>Research Question 4</u>: What barriers have existed or do exist in their obtaining shelter services?

a) Do these vary by race/ethnicity?
b) Do these vary by age?
c) Do they vary by children: number and age?

Data from the interview with the shelter sample are a primary source of information in addressing this question. Qualitative analyses related to this question are included in the second section. Here, we include the findings from the Help Line Interview data and victim interview data as it relates to Research Question 4.

Help Line Interview Data (NIJ data).

Table 40 presents information on the 77 individuals who reported their request for shelter had been addressed who also reported on whether or not they followed through and tried to obtain shelter. We note that data are missing for 25 other individuals so the findings should be viewed with some caution related to their generalizability. They do provide information on the experience of these 77 individuals, however. Of this total, 63 or 81.8% tried to obtain shelter and 14, or 18.2% did not.

The data suggest that for the 63 individuals who reported that they tried to get shelter, most, or 23 of the 63 did obtain shelter. Another 22 however, noted that the service was not available or appropriate and 3 others said they did not get to the shelter because it was too far, inaccessible or inconvenient. Other reasons for not obtaining shelter noted by this group included not connecting with the service provider once connected by the Help Line (5), and not being eligible or qualified for the service (6). Four other individuals decided to seek another service instead of shelter.

Of the 14 individuals who decided not to seek shelter, one reported that she did not seek the service because it was not available in her area. Two others reported that they did not seek shelter because they did not feel there were any good options, suggesting again, that the service that was available was not appropriate for them for some reason. One person reported she got "cold feet" and so did not pursue this option and another said she was "sitting on it" or holding on to the information for a time when she might need it more, perhaps. Three people did not pursue shelter because their situation reportedly improved after they called and two others decided on another service that was not provided by the Help Line. Finally 3 others did not provide any reason.

Given the very limited number of individuals who provided information about barriers they encountered or factors that influenced their decisions to pursue service further or not, planned additional analyses looking into differences by race/ethnicity, parental status and age were modified somewhat. Only 5 individuals who provided information about whether or not they tried to obtain shelter were White so rather than comparing White individuals to all callers of colors, African American callers were compared to all other groups in this analysis. Additionally, individuals who did and did not have children were compared. Analysis by age was not conducted because more than 80% of the sample who provided data for this question was 40 or under.

Analysis comparing African American callers about what they did after getting the referral to callers of other race/ethnicity, indicates that overall, 53 of the 60 individuals providing this information, or 88.3%, did try to get shelter compared to 10 of the 17 or 58.8% of those who were not African American. As the data in Table 41 indicate, among all those who tried to get shelter, a slightly greater percent of individuals who were not African American received it but the numbers are very small so caution is warranted. African American callers who tried to get shelter were more likely to report that it was not available or accessible to them compared to callers who were not African

American (37.7% versus 20.0%) but again, only a very small number of caller were not African American overall so conclusions should be drawn with caution. Because there were only 7 callers in each group among those who did not try to get shelter after calling, differences between the groups are difficult to distinguish.

Looking at those who did and did not have children (Table 42), the data indicate that similar proportions of each group tried to obtain shelter – roughly 80 to 83%. The two groups are similar related to the proportion of each that obtained shelter (36%) and the proportion experiencing similar barriers or reasons for not obtaining it after trying. Among those who did not try, again, the groups are very small but we note that 3 of the 8 individuals with children who decided not to try after calling the Help Line reported that they did not try because their situation had improved. None of the 6 callers who did not have children reported this as a reason.

Research Question 5. What happens to women after they leave the shelter?

a) Where do they go after being in shelter? Are they in safe situations? What are their housing circumstances/living arrangement?
b) How are they functioning?
c) What are they service needs (counseling, job training, housing etc) and patterns of accessing these after leaving shelter?
d) What services did they receive?
e) What are their sources of economic support?

InfoNet and Shelter Interview data related to questions 5c and 5d was presented in the analysis and discussion of Research Question 3. Data from the Shelter Interview sample are used to address the other areas under Research Question 5. Findings from the qualitative analysis also enrich our understanding related to this research question and are presented in the second section of this report. as well and will be included in our next report.

Shelter Interview Sample.

Comparison of Those Interviewed Once Versus Twice at Time 1.

Before presenting the finding related to change over time for those in the shelter interview sample, we compare those interviewed twice to those interviewed one time only at the time of the baseline interview in order to determine whether the two samples are similar and if not, the ways in which they differ. The results are presented in Table 43. Of note is that the two interview sample primarily came from two programs one of which was a program that had a majority of African American clients. None of the women from the program with a larger Latino constituency were interviewed a second time. Therefore, it is not surprising that the racial and ethnic profile of those interviewed twice differs from those interviewed one time only. More than two thirds of those interviewed twice (68.8%) were African American compared to 50% of those interviewed only once. They were also slightly more likely to be Asian American (11.8% versus 2.9%) and less likely to be White (6.3% versus 20.6%) or Hispanic (6.3% versus

14.7%). The sample of those interviewed twice was also substantially older, with an average age of 39.34 years compared to 31.28 years for those interviewed only once.

Despite these differences in age and race/ethnicity, the two groups were more similar related to the percent in each who were born in the U.S, marital status and the percent with any children. Those interviewed twice had slightly more children on average (3.07) compared to those interviewed only once (2.48), but they were much less likely to be living with children in their homes at the time of the baseline interview; only about half of all those interviewed twice lived with children (53.3%) compared to 80.6% of those interviewed only once. Among those who had children in the home, those interviewed twice tended to live with slightly more children on average (2.75 versus 2.04).

The groups also differed related to education and employment. Those interviewed twice had a greater proportion of individuals who had been in technical school or obtained some college education (41.2%) compared to those interviewed only once (29.4%), but whether individuals with such continuing education also graduated from high school is unclear. In fact, those interviewed twice had a smaller proportion of high school graduates (17.6% versus 29.4%) compared to those interviewed once. On the other hand, a greater proportion of those interviewed only once had less than a high school education (38.2% versus 29.4% for those interviewed twice) and a slightly greater proportion of those interviewed twice had completed college (11.8% versus 8.8%).

Employment information shows that those interviewed twice were less likely to have been employed in the year prior to the interview (47.1%) compared to those interviewed only once (60.0%). They were slightly more likely to be homemakers or not working outside the home (23.5% versus 17.1%) and slightly more likely to have been unemployed (29.4% versus 22.9%). Conversely, at the time of the second? interview, they were more likely to be employed full or part time (17.7% versus 5.8%) and less likely to be unemployed (64.7% versus 85.7%).

Data on household income and the number of individuals in the household does not generally reflect great differences. Similar proportions in both groups had income under $5000 in the year before the interview. Those interviewed twice were slightly less likely to have income between $5000 and $15,000 and more likely to have income between $25,000 and 34,999, perhaps because of their greater education or technical training, although none of those interviewed twice had income of $75,000 or higher compare to 11.1% of those interviewed once. Household size in terms of the number of adults in the household was identical for the two groups but those interviewed twice lived with slightly fewer earners, on average (1.94 versus 2.37).

Table 44 compares the two groups with respect to their relationship to the abuser. Data indicate that those interviewed twice were more likely to be abused by a current or former husband (41.2%) compared to those interviewed once (31.3%) and less likely to be abused by a current or former boyfriend (52.9% versus 65.7%). Two of the 17 individuals interviewed twice said their abuser was a girlfriend while one person

interviewed once had an abuser in the "other relationship" category. For both groups, abusers were almost exclusively male (94%). The average age of the abuser was about 8 years older for those interviewed twice compared to those interviewed only once. This probably reflects the age difference between victims as well.

Table 45 provides information on previous abuse and shelter experience for the two groups. Similar proportions had previous abusive relationships (41.2% of those interviewed twice and 45.7% of those interviewed once) although the average number of abusive relationships was slightly higher among those interviewed twice (2.67 versus 2.0). Similar proportions in both groups had previous abusers who were spouses or boyfriends. Fourteen percent of those interviewed twice were abused previously by girlfriends and 16.7% of those interviewed once were abused by parents.

Those interviewed twice were more likely to have obtained an Order of Protection (52.9% versus 37.1%) although this may reflect different practices of different programs. It is possible that the programs which most of those interviewed twice utilized were more likely to help victims get OPs compared to those used by individuals interviewed only once. Those in the two-interview sample were less likely to obtain OPs against current or former spouses and more likely to obtain them against current or former boyfriends compared to those in the sample of those interviewed only once. This corresponds with differences related to relationships to abusers as reflected in Table 44.

Data on shelter and housing indicates that those interviewed twice were less likely to have previously been in a DV shelter (11.8%) compared to those interviewed only once (30.6%) but somewhat more likely to have been in a homeless shelter or transitional housing (35.3% versus 26.5%). The average number of times in DV shelter, homeless shelter, or transitional housing were similar for the two groups. Lastly, those who were interviewed twice were somewhat more likely to have been in a permanent housing situation before coming to the program; 76.5% of those interviewed twice were in a permanent housing situation at the baseline interview compared to 62.9% of those interviewed only once.

In sum then, these data suggest that at the time of the baseline interview, those interviewed twice differed demographically from those interviewed only once primarily with respect to race/ethnicity and age. They were slightly more educated and somewhat more likely to be employed at the time of the interview. Despite the fact that most demographic differences were not great, the distinct difference in the racial and ethnic background of the two groups and their age differences suggests that finding about those interviewed twice at time 2 may not readily generalize to those interviewed only once and caution should be exercised.

Differences between the two groups related to their relationship to the abuser were not great and they did not differ with respect to their having been abused in the past. Those interviewed twice were less likely to have ever been in a DV shelter before but slightly more likely to have used a homeless shelter or transitional housing program. Nonetheless, those who were interviewed twice were more likely to have obtained OPs

and they were more likely to have been in permanent housing at the time of the first interview. This may have made it easier for them to return to their previous or a specific living situation and thus, easier for us to locate them for the interview compared to those interviewed only once.

Status of Those Interviewed Twice at Time 2.

Table 46 summarizes the status of those interviewed twice at the time of the second interview. The data indicate that a few individuals had experienced changes in marital, educational and parental status. One respondent had gone from being separated to being divorced. One was pregnant and another had a newborn child. Two reported a change in their educational status. Both indicated that they had gotten either their GEDs or some additional technical training since the last interview. Eleven individuals experienced a change in their household income. For the clear majority (91%) there had been an increase but 1 person reported a decrease. Comparison of household income at time 1 for those in this group and at the time of the second interview, does not clearly show an increase for that many individuals, however and suggest more than one person reduced her income. It is likely that data on the actual household income is not fully reliable, especially since some of the 17 individuals interviewed at Time 1 were not sure what their incomes were. At the time of the second interview, 47% of respondents were working either full (17.6%) or part time (29.4%) while 41.2% were unemployed. Thus, a greater proportion of those interviewed at Time 2 were employed than at Time 1.

Four of the 16 people responding or 25% indicated that they had experienced a change in the number of people contributing to the household income at Time 2. Three had experienced increases and one a decrease. Thus, at Time 2, the average number of individuals contributing to the household income, including the respondent was 1.5 and ranged from 1 to 4. This is in comparison to Time 1, when the average was slightly less at 1.35 and ranged from 1 to 2. Thirty-seven percent of those interviewed at Time 2 reported a change in the total number of adults in the household . Three increased the number of adults and 3 decreased. On average, 2.19 adults lived in the home at Time 2 compared to slightly under 2 at Time 1. Two individuals experienced changes in the total number of children in their households. One was no longer living with any of her children while another had a newborn child.

Table 47 indicates that slightly more than one third of those interviewed at Time 2 or 6 individuals experienced another episode of abuse between the first and second interview. Of these 6, all experienced more than one abuse experience. The range was from 3 to 20. All experienced that abuse after leaving the shelter program and two thirds or 4 of the 6 experienced abuses by the same abuser as at the time of the first interview. Three people had obtained Orders of Protection since the last interview, but none of these were related to a new abuser.

Two women reported that they were in domestic violence shelters again between the first and second interviews, but three women, including just one of the two reporting a new shelter episode, were in the shelters where they had previously been interviewed at Time 1. A review of the qualitative data substantiate that two women were in fact in the

same shelter and had been allowed to stay for extended periods because of their circumstances. The third had been asked to leave for a rules violation and had returned again by the time of the second interview. Two more women were in a rental apartment that was part of the DV program but separate from it and two others were in transitional housing, four were in a market rental apartment and 3 were in their former housing. Two other women reported who they were living with rather than the type of housing, but we can assume it was some type of non-program arrangement. One person reported she was in "other" housing. About one quarter of the 12 women answering this question or 23.5% noted that they had supportive services in their current housing situation which may relate to the reason why more women had some of the services asked about at Time 2. Further analysis, examining the service experience of those specifically in supported housing has not yet been conducted but will be completed for future reports.

Abuse Experience- Time 1 and Time 2 Compared**.**

Table 48 compares the sample interviewed twice related to their scores on the Abusive Behavior Inventory (ABI) at Times 1 and 2. We note that data are only included for those who said the item was applicable in terms of mean scores on each item. Because those who indicated the item was not applicable were scored as 0, means for each item if they were to be included would be lower. By leaving them out, the average experience for those experiencing each type of abuse was more accurately reflected. It is important to note though that many more women indicated an item was not applicable to them at Time 2 compared to Time 1, which in itself was indicative of change over time.

The data in the table indicate that for all items except number 21 "Told you that you were a bad parent," the average rating decreased, in most cases substantially. Particularly notable is the change for number 2 ("Tried to keep you from doing something you wanted to do") and number 19 ("Refused to do housework or childcare."). Averages for number 21 increased very slightly, from 1.70 to 1.89 at Time 2. Nonetheless, none of the ratings at Time 2 were higher than 2.45 (item 1, " Called you a name and/or criticized you). Many averages were close to 1 or the "Never" category while only 2 items had averages below 2 at Time 1 (Item 21 as noted and item 29 "Used a knife, gun, or other weapon against you").

Also of note is the drop in total scores for the Psychological Abuse and Physical Abuse subscales. Totals for these scales include those who answered none which depresses the overall mean, but this was true at both Time 1 and Time 2. Thus, the large drop over time is quite notable. At Time 1, the average rating for the Psychological Abuse subscale was 58.35 and the average score per item on that scale, which controls for those who said not applicable, was 3.54, indicating that on average, those in the two interview sample had ratings between "occasionally" and "frequently" for items measuring psychological abuse at Time 1. At Time 2, the average for the total score on this subscale had fallen to 16.18 and the per item average was 1.97, reflecting an average rating of "rarely" for items on this subscale. For the Physical Abuse subscale, the average total score at Time 1 was 33.18 and the average rating per item on this subscale was 2.77 (between "rarely" and "occasionally"). At Time 2, the average total score had fallen to 10.29 and the average per item was 1.46 (between "never" and "rarely"). We

note that the differences in total scores at Time 1 and 2 for both subscales and for the average per item on each scale were statistically significant.

Summary of Findings Related to Research Question 5.

Taken together, the results from this basic analysis of data from those interviewed twice suggest that those in this subgroup were generally doing better 6 months after the initial interview in terms of things such as employment, housing stability and possibly income. Although some of the women had experienced repeated abuse, many had not and overall ratings on the ABI decreased substantially. As noted, service data, discussed under Research Question 3, indicate that the women had slightly fewer service needs on average at Time 2 and these were frequently being met. However, income data suggest that many of the women were still quite poor and some still needed help with things such as housing, medical and dental care, food and clothing. These results then seem to indicate in terms of violence, things may have improved for those in the two interview sample, but their economic circumstances, which shelter programs are not directly equipped to address, had not. These issues are examined further in the qualitative analysis presented in Part 2 of this report. We also note that it is possible we could not locate some of those who were not interviewed twice specifically because they experienced repeated violence and disruption. Therefore, it would be misleading to conclude all the women interviewed were "doing better." We can only conclude that among those we could find again, violence was apparently less prevalent in their lives.

Summary and Discussion of Quantitative Findings Related to Questions 1 through 5.

The data presented here from the various sources are surprisingly consistent in terms of the picture they offer of those seeking shelter and the experiences they have. As noted, those who seek and receive shelter in Cook County and the City of Chicago are distinct from other victims of domestic violence in this region who do not seek or obtain shelter to the extent that they are more likely to be female, less likely to be White or Hispanic, and slightly younger in age. They may be more economically vulnerable as assessed by their greater lack of employment. They are less likely to be married which may make it easier for them to leave the relationship and seek shelter. Differences in household size, children or the age and gender of children do not alone explain why victims of violence may or may not request shelter, but those who request or obtain shelter appear to experience more severe abuse compared to those who do not make the request receive shelter services. They may also be less stably housed at the time they request help.

While the qualitative data provide more complete information about the paths into shelter, the quantitative data indicate that in general, individuals who obtain shelter are referred to the helpline for information or referred directly to services by sources other than police or legal service providers. They are more likely to get information from social service or other DV programs compared to those not seeking shelter. Reasons for being hesitant to call in the first place, among those seeking shelter, reflect that the

stigma of being a victim may make it harder to call as well as the uncertainty about the source of help and nature of what may be provided.

There is also some evidence that the use of Orders of Protection is more limited among those seeking or obtaining shelter. Indeed, individuals who do not obtain shelter are more likely to get services related to such legal remedies compared to those in shelter, but legal interventions were the only services, among those key services examined, that those not in shelter were more likely to obtain. In all other instances, including counseling services, advocacy, adult group services, case management, and concrete services such as educational and economic support, individuals who obtain shelter services are more likely to obtain assistance and for longer periods of time. Further, additional analysis conducted by two of the investigators indicates that this difference is primarily accounted for not by individual characteristics but by whether or not the individual is in shelter.

Additional data also suggest that shelter programs appear to be more likely to provide supportive services such as counseling, and advocacy, then they are to provide assistance related to specific needs such as employment, education and income. This is supported by both the InfoNet and shelter interview sample data. Programs seem to do a better job providing those services, such as counseling, advocacy and support groups, that they are directly funded to provide. Nonetheless, the interview sample and qualitative data analysis make it clear that women have ongoing needs for assistance in may areas that relate directly to concrete needs such as economic and housing assistance. Perhaps because they cannot access such resources as easily, or because they are more scarce in general, shelters seem to provide less of these supports to their clients.

I

A further concern is that analysis of InfoNet data, looking at difference by race, disability status and age shows that women of color may be less likely to obtain some services. Whether this is because they do not need or seek such help or whether racism plays a part related to providing it is not clear. Fewer differences exist related to disability status and age. As we might expect given their potentially more complicated service needs, those with a special need or disability tend to obtain more of some services that seem to relate specifically to their needs and to get more hours and service contacts overall. Differences related to age were minimal, but in general, older women are not among the shelter population which in itself is cause for concern (see Lundy & Grossman, forthcoming).

Finally, as noted, looking explicitly at the experience of women in the interview sample and outcomes for women interviewed twice the data suggest that those in this subgroup were generally doing better 6 months after the initial interview in terms of things such as employment, housing stability and possibly income. There was also evidence of decreased violence and fewer service needs at Time 2 compared to Time 1, and these were frequently being met. However, many of the women were still in precarious economic situations and needed assistance to meet basic needs including medical care, housing, food and clothing. This is addressed further in the qualitative data analysis presented in part 2 of this report. We also note that it is possible we could not

locate some of those who were not interviewed twice specifically because they experienced repeated violence and disruption. Therefore, it would be misleading to conclude all the women interviewed were "doing better." We can only conclude that among those we could find again, violence was apparently less prevalent in their lives.

Part II – QUALITATIVE RESULTS

Introduction to the Qualitative Analysis

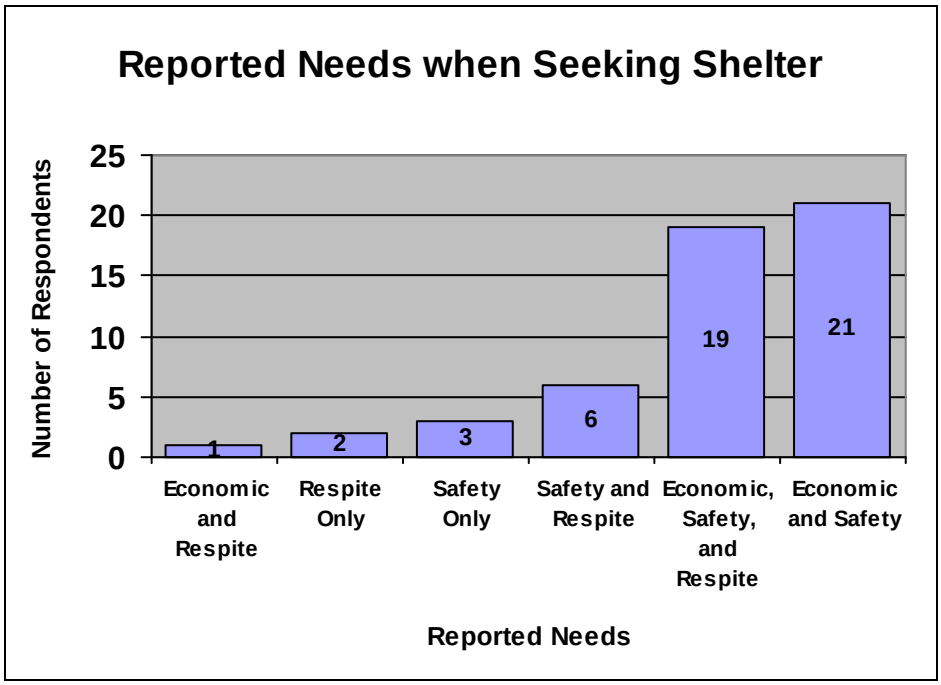
Qualitative statistics has been described as the process of "… noticing, collecting and thinking about interesting things…" (Siedel, 1998), and it is with this perspective in mind that the researchers have collected and explored the qualitative interview data. This part of the analysis of findings is from the qualitative interviews that were conducted with 53 women survivors of domestic violence who were living in a shelter and from the follow-up interviews conducted with 17 women six months after the first interview who were available and interested in having a second interview. The qualitative interviews resulted in in-depth descriptions and discussions from women survivors, who were often eager to tell their stories, to have someone listen who understood and affirmed their experiences, and women who seemed to be using the interviews to further clarify their feelings and circumstances. These willing self-disclosures have resulted in more data than we could have imagined, and have produced implications for how we might proceed to provide additional and more specific services for survivors, and additional questions for future research.

Although our exploration into the data will continue for many months, we present here the preliminary findings on two important arenas of concern for the domestic violence community, women survivors, and for communities in general. That is, this analysis focuses on 1) the identification of housing and service needs/utilization patterns and outcomes for women who are in the domestic violence shelter system in Chicago, and; 2) identifying stages in the help seeking process, e.g., what are the characteristics of readiness to change that lead women to shelter and/or to end the abusive situation.

Qualitative Interviews – Identification of Housing and Service Needs. Overview of Economic and Safety Circumstances - First Round Interviews.

Circumstances Leading into Shelter.

We found three prevalent themes in the women's descriptions of the reasons they sought shelter: (1) safety and the need for a site that was confidential and secure; (2) economic need and accompanying inability to access affordable housing; and (3) respite, the need for a place to have the time and help to get one's life together. As the figure on page 64 below illustrates, most women explicitly described two or more of these factors as determining their paths into shelter. Only 5 women identified a single need when discussing the reasons they sought shelter. Of these women, two referenced only respite needs and three referenced only safety needs.



Safety.

Safety needs were the most frequently cited. There were only in fact three cases where safety was not a presenting factor, and even in those cases, safety concerns were somewhere in the background.[2] Looking at each case, we found that the safety needs existed on a continuum that ranged from a general sense that the relationship could become violent at any time to an immediate physical attack that posed an urgent threat.

General Safety.

In a number of interviews, women discussed a general concern for safety that pervaded their relationships, leading to a decision to leave the abuser as the instances of abuse accumulated or the safety risk escalated.

[2] The three women who we did not identify as having safety as a presenting issue described stressful living situations, such as bullying, intensive arguing, or putting their sobriety at risk due to the presence of frequent drug use in the home, but did not focus on a particular physical incident of abusive behavior either in the past or in the present.

The Last Straw. For instance, in response to a question about what led her to shelter at this time, one woman replied, "Ummm, just the fighting and arguing and just got worse and worse." Another woman noted, "He put his hands on me again. So, he didn't have any money that day. So he put his hands on me, and I just left." While both women indicated violence as a motivating factor in seeking shelter, they did not identify any specific incident that was extraordinary in their relationships. Instead, the most recent violence was comparable to the abuse they had been experiencing throughout their relationships, but for some reason, they felt ready to leave.

In yet another case a woman expressed a similar sense of readiness after her boyfriend issued a threat that seemed somewhat common. She explained that he was visiting a relative out of state, when he called her and demanded that she pawn her camera in order to provide him with money to purchase a bus ticket to return home. She told her boyfriend:

> *…I don't want to, you know, pawn my camera. And then he's like, "If I stay out here another night and have to get on that bus tomorrow, I'm gonna kick your ass." So I was like forget this, I'm not gonna pawn my stuff, and he's gonna come back and probably do kick my butt or whatever. And umm, so I just went down to my mom's house and you know telling her about it and she was like, "Do you want to just go to a shelter. You know, I still got the numbers," cause she the one who told me about the one last time. And I'm like, "Yeah, I'm ready to go. I'm ready to go." So he stayed out in Indiana while I was plotting on getting out.*

Escalating Risk. Women also discussed how the cumulative impact of their partners' abusive behavior, as well as the escalation of the violence, contributed to their decisions to seek shelter. One woman described being treated like a "slave" by her partner and his friends, as she had to "cater" to them and clean up the messes they left in the house. If she refused, "he would get angry at me. And that's how it started. He didn't hit me a lot at first." Over time, she quit both school and her job because of her partner's jealousy. "I had to quit because he told me that you're trying to see another man. Why you have to go to school for 4 hours. I told him look at my paper, my schedule says I go to school for 4 hours and he still didn't believe me." His controlling behavior continued, however. She explained, "and the last incident you know, that really made him mad, was like on Valentine's Day my friend had gave me some flowers and he got mad. He thought it was from another man. It just went out of hand… and ever since that day, it just, ever since Valentine's Day it just keep getting worse and worse." Another woman described a similar path to shelter:

> *Um, just the continuous abuse, just being isolated, wasn't able to hang around with friends, wasn't really free to do anything. It just seemed like it was me and him. He was pretty controlling, he was an alcoholic, pretty jealous. Um, just would say things physically and mentally and emotionally that would get to me, and it would get physical. SO I left again this time with the determination that I would get back on my feet and become independent like I was before hand.*

Both women described a process of being worn down by their abusers and ultimately taking steps to end their relationships, especially as the men became more controlling and violent.

Yet another woman discussed how reflecting on not only her partner's but also her own behavior prompted her to leave. She explained how her way of coping with the abuse caused further problems**:**

> *Uh, the abuse wouldn't stop. I decided that the way to not feel it anymore was to go back to drugs and alcohol. And um during the course of all the drugs and alcohol I was hoping that while using the drugs and alcohol that I would die. And it didn't happen, and um I just got tired I didn't know where else to turn, and I remember my niece talking about this place she had went to...And um I walked up in there and told them that I needed help, I didn't want to die an addict, and told them about the situation and now I am here [referring to the shelter].*

Urgent Safety Concerns.

In some cases, women focused on a specific act of abuse that immediately precipitated their move into shelter. One woman shared that her partner became angry because she invited a friend who was ill to stay with them for a couple of days. When she served her friend dinner before him, he demanded that her friend leave. The woman explained:

> *So yea, he got violent with me once [my friend] left, he smacked me in my face, which caused me to fall against the wall. And he pulled my shirt and when he pulled me up, he threw me back down and kicked me. And you know, my mother always told me if somebody did that to you, they hate you. And I just couldn't understand why he would do something like that to me. And um I be workin' really, really hard, and really, really care about him a whole lot. You know? Anyway.*

Weapons. In discussing other precipitating incidents, many women vividly described dire threats to their lives that lead them to shelter. At times, these incidents involved weapons. One woman described how her partner hit her in the face with the butt of a gun. As a result of her safety planning, she kept important items such as clothing, shoes, and her purse together and easily accessible. When her partner left the room, she grabbed these items and exited the house. She shared a particularly chilling scene:

> *I was walking toward the back doors and he hit me. I thought he was going to shoot me at the back of my head as I was walking down the driveway. I didn't look back. But I didn't hear the door close either, so I knew he had the door open. And I was like okay, he's either getting ready to kill me or try to. . .it looked like it took 10 years to walk to the end of*

that driveway. It looked so long that I made it, and I made it right. I went to the neighbors. Stayed until the morning and then went to the hospital.

Another woman described a similar reaction when her partner threatened her with a gun:

So when he pulled the gun on me, all I thought was that he could have killed me. And the way he boo hooed and cried he was sorry afterwards, in my head I'm like I don't believe him…You have got this six four big guy you know, in the military. That shoots everyday, he is an infantry soldier. He is on the floor crying. And I am just like, yea right. He's just… I felt he could have killed me. And that was just the sign for me to leave. Because you know a gun, that's supposed to be for his protection, not to use against me.

Women also shared life-threatening experiences that involved weapons other than guns, such as a 2 x 4, an iron pipe, and knives. According to one woman, *"You know, he'd go a little wacko with the knives. Um he choked me to the point of unconsciousness once, and…I got a lot of warnings and I know it must have been from God and from other people that one day he could possibly put that knife through my neck and it would be over."* Another woman reflected on her decision to leave:

Because I figured if I hadn't of left I would probably be dead or something, it was getting too, it was getting ridiculous. When someone just constantly come in and just beat you, hit you for nothing, and it really just was no need for me to just keep hanging in there. And then he come with like an iron pipe, hit me across my back with that pipe. And I knew then the day before yesterday, then I knew it was time for me to find a way out of it. Or something, I knew more than that he would probably end up killing me in there.

For each of these women, their partners' use of weapons escalated the abuse to a new level that posed an imminent threat to their lives. The realization that their partners were capable of killing them marked a turning point in their relationships, as well as in their strategies to manage the abuse.

Point of No Return. In a few cases, the violence led to women defending themselves and often then fearing that if they stayed, their own acts of self-defense would escalate to a point of no return, putting themselves at risk. One woman described an incident during which she stabbed her partner in self-defense, and her certainty that the police would arrest her. When the police arrived, however, they made sure she had somewhere to move to. Another woman focused on her feeling that the abuse would escalate to a similar point. She explained, "…we had been fighting off and on, but it was getting more intense to the point where, I knew if I stayed I would end up killing him. So I decided to just leave." She continued, "If I killed him, then I wouldn't get to see her [my daughter] again. And plus me seein' her wasn't really worth killin' him. Or if I didn't kill him, he was going to kill me first."

Safety and Pregnancy. Women who were pregnant prior to entering shelter also noted concern for their unborn babies' lives. As one woman succinctly stated, "I don't need him for one day to push me and terminate my pregnancy." Another woman explained that she previously had given birth prematurely, as a result of the stress that her partner's abusive behavior caused, and that that child died about a week after his birth. This loss weighed heavily on her, especially when she became pregnant again and her partner's abuse continued: "I guess I just didn't want to go through it all over again. For him hitting me the way he did, and for me to go to the hospital and lose a baby, after I'm this far along. I just decided to leave." These additional safety concerns related to pregnancy help to explain the quantitative finding from the Administrative Help Line Data that callers requesting shelter were more likely to be pregnant at the time of the call than callers not requesting shelter. Pregnancy and the risk posed to unborn children clearly was a motivating factor to seek shelter.

Children's Safety.

Related to issues of pregnancy, children's safety was also a common theme that emerged throughout the interviews. Sometimes one of the reasons for seeking shelter was to remove children from a conflictive environment. Twenty women specifically mentioned concerns for their children's safety, such as worry about the negative consequences of their children witnessing the abuse or fear that their abusers would become violent toward their children. At other times, women noted that their abusers already had become abusive directly toward their children. Four women explained that their safety needs escalated to a level of urgency when this abuse occurred.

Conflictive Environment. One woman succinctly explained her decision to leave: "I didn't want her [my daughter] to be around…me and her father fighting." Another woman also spoke about leaving for her daughter's sake: "My daughter deserves an environment that is you know healthier, and she deserves to be safe, I deserve to be safe. I had to remind myself of those things…" Later in the interview she further explained how the abuse compromised her child's well-being:

> *He hit me, he tried to kill me. There weren't any other options, there's nothing more to consider, you know. He tried to take the one sure thing that my daughter has, which is her mother. You know, he tried to take that*

from her, and you know, I cannot allow that, there is still breath in my body, I have to fend for her. You know, sure enough, true enough, I have to fend for myself, my life is as important, my life is important also, but this is an innocent baby that did not ask to be here, she did not ask to be in that situation, and I am not going to subject her to it.

Safety of Children. At other times, women sought shelter because of direct safety concerns for their children. One woman talked about how she grappled with the decision of whether to leave her partner and ultimately decided to do so since her partner's violence "was different because he was now against my oldest son and it was more...in the beginning there wasn't so many beatings, but this last time he grabbed my neck and tighten his hold and that went over the line because the children were looking and more threats and it wasn't possible to live there. Not anymore." Another woman, an immigrant to the United States, mentioned her husband hitting her son, as well as fear that her husband would take her son away from her, as reasons for exiting the relationship. Two women specifically noted their partner's sexual abuse3 of their daughters as a final factor that motivated their decisions to leave.

On several occasions, women explained that recognizing the harmful environments, threats, and direct abuse their children endured caused them not only to see their partners' abuse in a different way but also to adapt their survival strategies. For instance, a woman discussed how she had tried to leave her partner a number of times and the only way she had been able to be separated from him was when he was in jail for domestic violence (for which he had been jailed six times). She explained that her most recent attempt at separation was a result of fear for her baby's safety:

This time, I really decided to go all the way and see what happens. Plus I got the baby and he was, he wasn't abusive as far as my baby. It's just that I didn't like the way he treated the baby sometimes. And I had, you know how women have this gut feeling? Like there's something wrong, something might happen. He basically, he's the reason why I'm here basically. And it's really bad, only seven weeks, he's supposed to be in the house and not in a place like this. But I figured it would be easier, it would be better for him to stay in a safe place at least where I could always ask for help. And it's safe most of all. Where there's nobody who would hurt him. Where I can focus on him 100 percent. And that's what made me do what I did.

Seeking a Safe and Confidential Place.

Given the intense and multiple safety concerns women identified, many respondents also stressed the need to have a safe, confidential place to stay once they decided to leave their abusive partners. In addition, for some women, the need for confidentiality was not only about their own safety but also about protecting their families and friends

[3] One woman said that her partner was "flirting" with her daughter, and the other woman said her partner was inappropriately touching her daughter.

Moving Away Not Secure Enough. Some women described how their partners tracked them down at the places to which they initially fled. One woman moved in with her sister after her partner choked her to the point of unconsciousness, but "two days later he caught me outside someone told him I was over there. He caught me outside and then he slapped me and then I had to really actually leave and come to the shelter cause he knew where I was." At least two women explained that they had to move to Chicago from out of state in order to get away from their partners. For one, her partner followed her to her cousin's home in Chicago. After he engaged in a verbal altercation with her cousin and threw a rock through her living room window, the woman moved into a shelter. All of these women explained that as long as their partners were "out and about," they would not be safe residing in their own homes or even with family or friends. Thus, they were displaced from neighborhoods and even states where they wanted to stay and otherwise would not have left.

Putting Family in Harm's Way. One woman discussed how she would have preferred to stay with family, but her husband knew where they lived. She explained:

> *…of course I want to stay at normal housing, normal apartment, with normal bathroom, with normal food of course. But then I felt like I put them [my family] in danger also. Maybe it's easier for them and me if I just separate myself. Of course I was thinking about other arrangements. but I kind of didn't want to be selfish at that point. Because I've been selfish for a year and a half really. I was putting them in danger. I was also getting back with him, I didn't care what they thought…but now I want to do it differently.*

Another woman, one who had moved from out of state, similarly expressed concern for the safety of her family and friends:

> *I couldn't go live with people. I was living with him for nine years. He knew everybody. He knew my whole family. He knew all my friends. You know, and even though doors were open to me I didn't want to bring the problems to other people's house. SO that was my whole reason for doing the shelter.*

Needing to be Isolated from Abuser. Sometimes the need for confidentiality, while it might be about safety, was also about isolating oneself from the abuser, so not to be enticed or convinced to return. According to one woman, "Usually I let him talk me back in. But now he don't know where I'm at. Ummm, I'm not from, this the first time I've been away from my family like this. I don't know nobody over here." Another woman's story revealed that for some, the need for a confidential place to live extended beyond the initial period of separation from the abuser. She explained that she had left her partner in the past, stayed in a domestic violence shelter, and transitioned into a permanent housing program. He located her at this program. She explained, "And he

violated my space and my home, which made me have to split again back to another shelter which is where I'm at now."

Economic Circumstances.

While economic needs are a central concern for the vast majority (41 out of 53) of the women who participated in this study, no one discussed only economic needs. Financial concerns and the need for material assistance always were discussed in conjunction with safety and/or respite needs.

One woman's story provides a particularly vivid illustration of how deeply intertwined economic and safety needs could be. This woman explained how her limited income prolonged her relationship:

> *So I knew then after that first time that I needed to get away from him. You know, I was working, but I didn't have enough money saved up to just up and move and get me another apartment. But I was just staying in the situation, to save up some money up or something.*

Her partner's abuse exacerbated her economic difficulties, however, which in turn increased her vulnerability and restricted her housing options. She lost her job because of his abusive behavior and as a result eventually could not afford her apartment. She explained that after she was fired, she felt "*stupid, because I probably should have left him before I lost my job. And even if I had to live with somebody else, at least I would have had a job to save some money up, and get me another apartment."* When she did leave, though, she could not stay with family, in part because of her partner's threats. She explained:

> *He knows where my mom stays and he has an idea of where my sister stays. And he had been calling me for like a week after I moved out, you know threatening me and saying what he is going to do. And you um, talking about he is going to throw cocktails in my mother's window and stuff like that. So I just didn't stay with them.*

Another woman similarly explained how her economic situation prevented her from leaving her partner sooner than she did: *"I was stupid for staying as long as I had. I really feel, it's like my God, but it was really truly honestly sincerely the only reason I did was because I was not working. And if I had had the economic you know ability, I wouldn't have stayed as long as I had, which is what he knew as well…"*

For some, then, the extreme economic problems they faced factored in to their decisions to contact a shelter. In response to a question about what she hoped the shelter would provide, one woman replied, crying:

> *Shelter, a foundation. Because I was worried about how I would eat, how I would pay my bills… I came here so that I could get on my feet, because*

the house is really demanding 800 dollars a month and then I have all these other bills. They were going to turn the water off. I didn't have hot water, I had no way to you know take hot showers, I had to boil water all the time. So I came here because you know, it's like, being at your sister's, or being with your mom. The bills are paid, you gettin' fed. All you have to do is work on you. So that's why I came here, that's why I came, and I plan to be out of here soon. You know, this is all I needed. And some place safe, until they pick him up.

This woman's experience of abuse exemplifies how safety, economic, and respite concerns often come together, creating a number of barriers to exiting relationships, as well as a number of needs women that underlie women's decisions to seek shelter.

Accessing Affordable Housing.

Women's economic concerns also became apparent through their focus on securing housing assistance upon leaving shelter, which echoes the quantitative finding reported in the first section of this report; that is, that 90% of the women who were interviewed reported that they needed help finding housing in the 6 month period prior to the interview and another 80.4% noted that they needed affordable housing itself. In the qualitative portions of the interviews, women repeatedly voiced their hope that the shelters would connect them to a housing program or subsidy, and many expressed concern that their economic difficulties would continue even after their shelter stays ended. Again, women's comments indicate that their safety has everything to do with economic security. For instance, one woman discussed how her financial difficulties prompted her to reunite with her abuser in the past:

I have left him so many times. You know, this is my fifth time. And you know, it's hard, and I am not using it for an excuse. You go to a shelter, you try to get your own place, and you try to get a job and the rent is so high. And you know, but this time, I mean if I go back, I might [not] make it back out. So I have to do what I have to do. If I have to get two jobs, then I been burned, and cut and beat, and fingers chopped off. And I am just tired now. And you think that you give up everything to come live with a group of women, and live under rules and regulations. But you know you have to do what you have to do sometimes. I have left and things get better for a little while, but things go back to the same thing. So I can't do this no more.

Respite.

While respite is the least articulated reason for going into shelter (28 out of 53 women indicated respite needs), for those women who did articulate it, their statements

are very powerful. These women stressed the importance of having the time and space to get their lives together and receive support in healing from the abuse they have survived. For instance, the women we mentioned above, whose husband beat her with a 2 x 4, stressed that it was more than safety she sought from the shelter. When asked what she hoped the shelter would do for her, she replied: **"***help me get some dv counseling. Cause I've been going through abuse all my life. You know, my uncle, my girl's dad, and then my husband. And you know I lost my job behind him. Harassing me on my job and stuff."* Another woman, who stressed the need for safety and even moved out of state in order to find a confidential place to stay, explained why she sought shelter:

> *Because I needed help in different areas, controlling my anger. I tended to take my anger out on my kids when me and their dad were having our fights. Um I needed counseling, I needed to be around other women that's been through what I been through. To be able to start dealin' with what I been through before I can start taking steps forward to looking for employment and housing and so forth.*

Yet another woman discussed how she hoped the shelter would help her to:

> *get on my feet. Ummm, so that I can take care of my children pretty much on my own without a man. I'm kind of done with men for a while. Ummm, I've depended on them too long. Since I got married. I want to be able to do it for my kids myself. I want to teach the kids not to put up with this from anyone, be it male or female. I want to teach them to stand on their own feet. Not have to depend on a spouse or significant other. To where you have to take the abuse.*

In discussing their respite needs, women referenced the unique services domestic violence shelters are equipped to provide. One woman noted that when she was contemplating leaving her partner, she reached out to a friend who told her, *"Don't go to a homeless shelter, go to a domestic violence shelter and they can help you better.' So that's why I have decided to come."* Another woman explained that these unique services include:

> *…someone to talk to, because I didn't have anyone to talk to… So it's good that I have someone, I would have like to have had someone to talk to. And um, someone to help me to look at myself in a different way, so I can better myself. Not having to depend on a man for anything like that, to support me in any kind of way. And um, just being somewhere safe to protect me and my kid. And that's pretty much it, I didn't know because I had never been to a shelter.*

Even when some women felt that their lives were in danger, they identified the need for shelter to provide more than just safety. For instance, the woman quoted above whose abuser hit her with an iron pipe explained she was hoping the shelter would provide: *"A safe place for me and my son, and the um some leads or something. Some*

help, that way they can help me out you know." Women frequently referenced the importance of supportive, understanding service providers who could connect them to material resources. This trend reinforces the quantitative finding noted above that support groups and counseling were high need areas identified by women in their first weeks in shelter.

Combining All Three.

As mentioned above, often cases were a combination of all three needs – safety, economic, and respite. In the combined cases, it was often hard to disentangle the "dominant" need, with the needs being intermeshed or embedded in each other. The following woman's experience offers a good example of how all three issues are intermeshed. This woman and her children economically had no support and no safe place to go. Because she was seeking a confidential place to stay, as well as isolation from her abuser, and identified a need to sort out her life, her comments reflected the complexity of her needs:

> *Before many time I escaped from him and only place I went was my friend's house he always come back he would stalk me if I don't go back he would stalk me. Begged me to come back alright this time I wanted soo bad you know I wanted to leave soo bad I was like I need a shelter plus umm I need people to talk to I didn't know nothing so I was I mean when I got the shelter that day he was going to take me I was happy I was relieved that there's help…before I didn't know…if there was something that's how I was always escaping…that's why.*

Another woman provided further evidence of how safety, economic, and respite needs intersect. In response to the interviewer's question about what she hoped the shelter would provide, she explained, *"just like a place to help me get back on my feet so I could save some money or you know, find other resources that could help me get some money to pay my rent or whatever and just, if I have to cause I'm pregnant, look for a job after*." Later in the interview, she further described her decision to seek shelter: *"it's like I'm fed up. You know, you're tired of being treated like that. You know, you need respect. And like, I feel like if he's hitting me, in three months my baby is getting born. The baby's going to be little, what happens if he hits me baby?"* This woman's pregnancy limited her ability to exit the relationship without assistance and enhanced her need for a safe, affordable place where she could receive supportive services and make a plan for her child and herself going forward.

Yet another woman discussed economic, safety, and respite needs throughout her interview. She talked about how she decided that seeking shelter was the right option:

> *Well, I knew that I needed to get somewhere that I could get the counseling services, well I needed everything in one location as much as possible. Again, I don't have the finances to go different places. And then I didn't have even the finances to say hey, can I stay with you I'll give you*

X amount of dollars for rent. You know anything like that. I didn't have anything to offer, and I'm the kind of person that believes in as much as possible standing on my own two feet.

The woman we discussed above, whose abuser tracked her down at the permanent housing program she moved into after the first domestic violence shelter she stayed at, also stressed that she needed multiple types of assistance:

Well I've already gotten since I've been here for 3 or 4 days umm knowledge on red flags. They call them red flags of the signs of an abuser. So they have helped me with that as far as the signs of an abuser. Ummm and just basically support. They help support me emotionally…They helped me with a lawyer also. And then also housing. Affordable housing once again. Umm because now I don't want to return to that place so now I have to get affordable housing all over again. And counseling.

Summary of Findings Related to Paths into and Function of Shelter.

What is striking about the qualitative findings related to the paths into shelter is the complexity of these women's lives and how issues of safety, economics and emotional needs are intertwined and nested within each other. In many ways, what we found reflects and illustrates Crenshaw's (1997) observations of domestic violence shelters in minority communities in Los Angeles:

> In most cases, the physical assault that leads women to these shelters is merely the most immediate manifestation of the subordination they experience….Shelters serving these women cannot afford to address only the violence inflicted by the batterer; they must also confront the other multilayered and routinized forms of domination that often converge in these women's lives, hindering their ability to create alternatives to the abusive relationships that brought them to shelters in the first place. Many women of color, for example, are burdened by poverty, childcare responsibilities, and the lack of job skills. These burdens, largely the consequence of gender and class oppression, are then compounded by the racially discriminatory employment and housing practices women of color often face, as well as by the disproportionately high unemployment among people of color that makes battered women of color less able to depend on the support of friends and relatives for temporary shelter. (P. 180)

The diversity of women's experiences is very hard to variegate and distill to distinct definable paths. Some women highlighted safety needs, others stressed economic needs, others focused on respite needs, and still others did not highlight one area over another. The qualitative interviews provide insight into the complex circumstances that led women to seek shelter, shaped their survival strategies, and informed their service needs. Having said that, it is clear that for the majority of women who we interviewed, shelter was the end of the economic and safety road. They had no other alternatives. In some cases that lack related to economic resources and meant that they had nowhere else

to go. In other cases, there was some family support, such as the option of living with a sister or mother, but either that relationship had been over burdened or it was not safe to move in with people whom the abuser also knew. And for a smaller but still substantial number of women, moving to shelter was also part of a specific strategy to re-group, to seek respite and move forward.

Not all women sought shelter at the same time in their abuse experience. And the "breaking or escape point" for women varied. For some, the cumulative weight of the abuse had reached a critical mass; for others, they perceived an escalating risk that they sought to escape. And still for others, a defining incident of extreme abuse, the presence of a weapon, or risk to their children necessitated their escape.

For all of these women, the burden of a general sense of not being safe, as well as repeated incidents of abuse, contributed to their evolving strategies to overcome abuse. In addition, economic instability in itself is a threat to safety. Women talked about staying in unsafe situations because of a lack of resources, and in some cases, this instability contributed to being in unsafe positions in the first place. For example, one of the respondents moved in with her boyfriend because she had no place to go, therefore finding herself in what became a new unsafe situation.

Further, these women's safety stories were almost always intertwined or embedded in a story of unstable economic circumstances. (It is also likely that shelter spaces are so limited already that those who are able to access shelter are among the most desperate). In only two cases were there women whose circumstance and history indicated that they would easily economically rebound. For the rest, they had a need for a myriad of services related to economic security, so that the shelter was a "first stop" on a long road to stabilization—a need many explicitly identified in our discussions with them. At the same time, most of the women we interviewed in their first week or two in the shelter did not or could not articulate fully formed or even cursory plans. Some were thinking about school, others employment, and most a permanent and safe place to stay.

Intimately related to the question of the factors leading women to shelter is the question of the function shelter serves. Clearly it serves a diverse role, as their needs are diverse. However, we would suggest two clear functions that the women we interviewed found in these shelters:

3. <u>Shelter as a way station.</u>

While in shelter, some of the women found the space and support to develop strategies and goals for themselves and their families; a "way station," if you will. As we reported earlier, a sizable number did in fact recognize and articulate this need for "respite" even in the first week of their shelter stay.

4. <u>Shelter as a place apart.</u>

The classic concept of a shelter is a confidential place where an abuser cannot access the victim. Usually this is related to safety – the abuser cannot abuse the victim. And clearly, this still is an important and necessary function for many of the women we interviewed. However, for others there is the additional need to

"quarantine" or isolate themselves from the abuser, or sometimes the scene of family and or friends, that are part of the pattern of abuse and "bad habits" that comprise their relationship with the abuser. This was often, but not always, related to issues of substance abuse. Interestingly, these women clearly had not considered "orders of protection" as a means to secure and separate their lives, at least at the beginning of their stay in the shelters.

Circumstances after Leaving Shelter Housing and Service Needs.

In the second round interviews women described over-all circumstances, how safe they felt, where they were living and with whom, and their sources of economic support. In addition, they talked about how they were functioning, their goals, and their on-going service needs.

Safety.

The vast majority of the women (16 out of 17) reported that they were in safe situations, meaning they were not experiencing any further physical abuse by their former abusers. Only one woman was living with her former abuser at the time of the second interview. She had moved back in with him because she was diagnosed with lung cancer and needed his assistance. When the interviewer inquired about whether she felt safe, she replied, *"Umm sometimes. It's just up and down ahh, ahh situation*." She hoped to be able to afford her own place soon.

Many of the women discussed the potential to be unsafe, however. In fact, only 47% of the women who completed a second round interview (8 out of 17) reported that they had no further safety concerns. Rather than explicitly state that they were safe, women's safety oftentimes was evident due to an absence of noting any safety concerns throughout the interviews.

Safety Concerns Related to Former Abuser.

Of the 9 women (53% of all second round interviews) who identified safety concerns, only 5 reported ongoing concerns related to their former abusers. Besides the woman who moved back in with her abuser, 4 women reported street contact with their former abusers that had the potential to become unsafe. In these instances, they unexpectedly saw their abusers, with varying outcomes. One woman described a chance sighting of her abuser but was able to avoid contact. When the interviewer asked if she had seen her abuser, she explained:

> *I've seen him twice but he didn't see me…It was on the bus and I got off the bus. I saw him getting on in the front and I got off the back…Like I said, he wear glasses, but he don't wear his glasses, so he can't really [see me]*.

She also mentioned that she had obtained a new cell phone because her abuser had been calling and verbally abusing her.

Another woman discussed bumping in to her former abuser but indicated that he no longer posed a threat to her:

> *So as I was walking up to the station where you sit down and stand to wait on the bus, who pulls up going into the liquor store behind the bus station- him! I just act like I did not know him, he the one came up to me. "[Respondent's name], my wife [Respondent's name]!" I'm, "I ain't none of your damn wife!" "Umh...how's our son?" I said, "Ask him!" "I don't know his phone number." "Well you ain't been in touch with your own son, that's your problem! Get the hell away from me. Don't say nothing to me. Get away from me. And I mean that. Do you have a death wish?" "No, I don't have a death wish." "Well walk on home, brother, walk on home! Go in there and get your beer and your stuff"…So he went in the store and when he came out of the store talking about, "Bye," I just looked at him. I might not even looked at him, as a matter of fact, I did not even look at him, I just acted like nobody said nothing to me. So, I've seen him drive by in the car one time but he didn't ...I don't think he saw me. He's not gonna bother me. He thinks I'm crazy.*

A third woman described how her former partner posed an ongoing threat. At the time of the second interview, she was one day away from her apartment inspection with Section 8 and shared the following incident:

> *They, umh...like I said I want to renew an order of protection, since I left [the shelter] I only have one run in with him, but he wasn't able to get to me because I was on the el platform, and some people assisted me calling you know, customer service, and the police arrived, he fled so they hadn't pick him up, but they did grant my order of protection to extend until he get [out of] custody, but other than that.*

Importantly, her abuser had moved in with her in her previous Section 8 apartment, and his abuse caused her to lose that housing. By having the order of protection in place, she is attempting to prevent a repeat of this experience, and she stressed to the interviewer that her new Section 8 apartment will be a location that her abuser does not know.

Although all of these women have taken steps to prevent further contact with their former abusers, they still have to respond to seeing them in public. The chance of unsafe encounters remains a possibility.

Safety Concerns Not Related to Former Abuser.

Six women (35% of all second round interviews) expressed safety concerns that did not directly relate to their former abusers.[4] Three of these women specifically discussed feeling unsafe in their neighborhoods. One woman, whose Section 8 application was expedited while she was in shelter, described how unsafe she feels in her new neighborhood and how, with her young children, she wanted to move: *"[I]n this*

[4] Two of these women also reported unsafe street contact with their former abusers.

neighborhood, they shoot a lot. Like, right in front of my door. They're always shooting…Cause I live on the border line. Sacramento is a gang borderline…And gangbangers break into hallway, they tear up the hallway, they write on it, they smoke out there, they sell drugs down there...yeah."

Another woman, who had moved back to her former housing, also described unsafe neighborhood conditions and her subsequent desire to locate new housing. When the interviewer asked her how she feels about safety in her home, she replied:

> *I don't, I don't even think about it. I mean, you aren't really safe anywhere. I didn't feel safe before it [her abuser breaking into her home while she was in shelter] happened cause I'm a female living alone in the house on the West Side, so it's not safe, so...it doesn't really matter in this situation. It's not safe anyway… If it wasn't him it would be something else, cause my house has been broken in while I was home, so (laughing). It's not safe. I'm trying to move. I'm hoping to move after I have my baby.*

Precarious Living situations. Aside from neighborhood concerns, two of the six women discussed precarious housing situations due to problems with their roommates. It should be noted that these two women were living together, as well as with a third woman, whom they had met at the shelter, and some of her friends. Both women offered detailed descriptions of continuous disagreements among all of the roommates and indicated that these disagreements had escalated to a point where each woman felt her safety was threatened. For instance, when referring to a look that one of her roommates gave her when she was angry, one respondent said, "It scared me, it scared me, you know. It's like, OK. I don't know what she's likely to do, you know. That's the most really what I'm scared about. I don't know what she's likely to do, you know."

Unsafe employment. A final woman, who previously worked as a homemaker, described how problematic working conditions jeopardized her safety. She explained that one of her clients had become abusive with her, prompting her to quit her job:

> *[I]t was a guy that I was working for and he was ahh you know wanted to go with me. You know, know wanted to have a relationship with me but I tried to ask for help and you know they wouldn't help me. You know she [her employer] kept saying you can you can handle that you can handle that look over that and then it got to be you know physical where I felt I was being violated and I just. One day he turned his back and I, I got the heck out of there. I just never went back. I don't think that's for me.*

Jn sum, while the majority of women were not experiencing abuse by a former or current partner, the majority of women also pointed to a number of areas in their lives where potential safety threats raised concerns, which at times resulted in their seeking new housing.

Housing.

Other than the one woman who had returned to live with her abuser, three women remained in shelter, and the rest (13) lived in assorted housing situation.

Remaining in DV Shelter.

Three of these women were still residing at the domestic violence shelters at the time of the second interview. Because of their need for further housing assistance, their shelter stays had been extended. One woman had been at the shelter for six months and was preparing to request another one-month extension. Her applications to two housing programs had been denied, and she was waiting to hear about a third housing application. The other two women both had been accepted into transitional housing programs. One woman's program provides rental assistance to participants who find their own apartments and requires participants to attend classes. This woman was trying to locate an apartment within a month and discussed the challenges she faced:

> *The [name of housing program] gave me $750 dollars [as] the maximum [for rent]…But when you ummm, when you submit an application, they look at that you have no job. And even though they count the one that the [name of housing program] will help me, it's still doesn't mean [inaudible], so. That's the hard part. And the other landlord doesn't like the fact that I have 2 kids for 1 bedroom, so that's another thing. Or, you can find, I did find a lot of places that would take, you know, and willing to work with me but it's just not livable. It's terrible.*

The other woman described a similar situation. After staying at the shelter for 5 months, she recently had learned of her acceptance into a transitional housing program that would require her to pay 30% of her income toward rent, as well as pay her own electricity and telephone bills. The program will pay for her heat. She expressed her satisfaction with the apartment, noting that it is conveniently located to public transportation, a store, her church, and her medical clinic. She further explained, "*I like the place, I like the, but I don't know. My agent told me that my neighbors are good. You know, the other door, the building. So they're good and nice because it's in the rule that there should be respect for each of the neighbors. So I hope."*

Living with/assisted by Friends/Relatives.

Five of the women described benefiting from some type of informal housing assistance. One woman stayed in her own apartment but only was able to do so with family assistance. When her referral to a housing program did not work out, she turned to her cousin, who allowed her children and her to stay in an apartment he owns. She paid only $150 per month to him for utilities and rent.

The remaining four women secured places to stay upon leaving shelter by moving in with family members or friends, at times women they had met during their shelter stay. One woman explained that she moved in with her daughter in part because she had no other options: "*Between us together, you know she's got a low income, so we afford it, yeah. She was doing ok without me, you know, but I'm just didn't have nowhere safe to*

go but to her."

Similarly, the woman noted above who was living with two women she had met during her shelter, explained her decision to move in with them because she was nearing the end of her shelter stay and had nowhere to go. Furthermore, due to an interruption in receiving her disability check, she also had no money to pay for a place to stay. When the interviewer asked her about why she decided to move in with the former shelter residents, she replied: *"Well, my time was up in the shelter. I've been there..umh..six months with four month program, so I mean, they probably would have give me more time, but it was time for me to go..umh..you know, and they said, [shelter resident's name] said, 'You can stay with us.' OK. So, I took her up on it, you know."*

Transitional Housing.

Two others already were living in transitional housing programs. One woman was living in a program where she could stay for up to one year and paid 10% of her income toward the rent. Notably, she stated that she did not need any further help with housing at the time of the interview. The other woman who was living in transitional housing paid 30% of her income toward rent and was responsible for her own utilities. She described her apartment as affordable and as a place where she would like to continue living. After identifying advantages of the program, however, she noted that a problem with mice in her apartment posed significant concerns: **"***I just don't know ummm, how to handle it, you know. I literally pulled out my list of shelters the other night because I sat up all night watching over my daughter afraid of the mice getting into our bed."*

Subsidized Housing Assistance.

A final category of 3 women, while not living in transitional housing programs, received other formal housing assistance. One woman moved into a Section 8 (now Housing Choice Voucher) apartment and noted how crucial her shelter stay was in achieving this goal. She had applied for Section 8 two years prior to entering the domestic violence shelter. Section 8 expedited her application and moved her to the top of the waiting list because she was staying in the shelter. Another woman had returned to a formerly subsidized apartment (which we assume was Section 8). A third woman was living in her own studio apartment for which her substance abuse treatment program subsidized the rent and paid for the utilities. She had filled out the application prior to moving in to the domestic violence shelter and remained on the program's waiting list for about one year. She expressed satisfaction with her housing, noting that it is conveniently located near grocery stores and her job. She identified help obtaining furniture as her only additional need with regard to housing assistance.

On Her Own.

Three women were on their own. One had returned to her old housing after her abuser was incarcerated. As was discussed above, she felt insecure in her neighborhood and was looking for other housing. A second was living in her own apartment with an affordable rent and was happy to be living alone: *"Yep don't have to live by nobody's rules. I can do whatever I want when I want. You know. And I know that I work hard for it."* The third woman was staying in a building where people rent single rooms and share

a communal kitchen area and bathroom. She described this arrangement as better than staying with family, but still expressed reservations:

> *Cause I don't like living in an environment like that cause it's, they drink and they drug and I'm really not, I'm not into that. I drink, but I don't drug. It's just something for me to get out of somebody else's house because people would tell you one thing, you do this and then they want you to do that. And do this and still get them some money. So I couldn't see myself working, paying room and still have me do what you wanted me to do other than that get out.*

As the above comments make clear, whether women were living in supportive housing or on their own, most still expressed serious concerns about their living arrangements. Their repeated references to relying on family members and friends, as well as problematic living environments, indicate that for most, their housing still was not stable.

Economic Support.

Throughout the interviews, two main findings became clear. First, women reported bundling together support from a number of sources, such as employment, government assistance, and financial assistance provided by family and friends. Second, women described a lack of stability in their lives. Below, we delineate each type of economic assistance.

Employment.

Only two women reported holding full-time employment (defined as at least 40 hours per week). Six women reported working part-time. The amount of hours they worked was far below 40 hours per week.[5] Two women were homemakers and reported working eight hours and 12 hours per week. A third woman secured even fewer hours at four per week. A fourth woman with part-time employment explained that her hours varied considerably from week to week. She typically works 20-25 hours but at times will work up to 40 hours in a week.[6]

Government Assistance.

Six women (35% of all second round interviews) mentioned during their interviews that they were recipients of a social welfare program. One woman referred to a check that she received on behalf of her son, but did not specify from which program this assistance came. Two women referenced receiving Social Security payments. One of these women also noted receiving food stamps. The other woman explained that she

[5] That four women indicated part-time work in the qualitative interviews contrasts with the quantitative finding that only one woman worked part-time. This contrast may have resulted since three women worked between four and 12 hours per week, well below the 20-25 hours per week that often is considered a part-time schedule. Women who worked so few hours may not have considered this employment as constituting part-time work when completing the quantitative surveys.

[6] Two women did not report the number of hours they work each week.

received Social Security because of depression and also worked part-time. She identified Social Security as a resource on which she could depend and referred to it as a "back-up" in case she is not working.

A fourth woman commented on receiving food stamps, and a fifth woman mentioned receiving WIC. A sixth woman identified as a TANF recipient. The TANF recipient, who had given birth just a few weeks before her second interview, mentioned the financial strain she felt at several points throughout the interview. For instance, at one point she commented, *"I really want my own place, and I just can't afford it. What I get from public aid is not enough to pay rent, so..."* She and her children had been living with a friend who did not ask her to contribute to rent. She acknowledged the challenges she will continue to face as she seeks her own housing:

> *I know that there are services to help me pay the first month's rent and security, so that I'm not worried about. I'm just worried about finding something that I can pay every month. And even if it was a one bedroom, I'd give the girls the room and I'd sleep in the living room with the baby on the pull out. Big deal, who cares? You know, we lived in one room here, one room at the shelter, one room at my uncle's. It's nothing to us now. So...as long as I can find something.*

Financial Assistance from Family and Friends.

Two of the women (12% of all second round interviews) referred to economic support they received from family members or friends in the form of money provided to them.[7] This support was crucial as women tried to re-establish themselves upon leaving shelter. As one woman noted, referring to her "play brother," *"I haven't enough money for this apartment, cause I just start working, and he gave me money. So, if I ask him to do something, he will do it. Cause I don't, I don't try ask him to do it."* Importantly, she stresses the importance of monitoring how much assistance she requests in order to prevent becoming a burden for him.

In addition to noting the emotional support she receives from family members, another woman commented on the specific assistance her father provides: *"My father helps me more right now in a financial sense. If I need to borrow money in the case of emergency – he's there!"* This woman, mentioned above, identified Social Security as a "back-up" resource in case she is not working. Similarly, her father is an important part of her financial safety net and helps her to maintain the progress she has made thus far.

Multiple Sources of Economic Support.

It is noteworthy that two women (12% of all second round interviews) specifically

[7] Two additional women, both of whom have been mentioned earlier in the report, were living with friends who did not require them to pay anything toward rent or utilities. A third woman, also mentioned earlier, lived in an apartment her cousin owned and only charged her $150 per month in rent. This type of housing assistance also can be viewed as economic support. None of these women discussed receiving money from family or friends to cover expenses, and therefore we distinguish their economic support.

discussed relying on multiple sources for economic support.[8] For instance, the woman, noted above, who worked 12 hours per week as a homemaker, stressed her reliance on her "play brother's" financial assistance in order to be able to pay her portion of the rent for the apartment she shared with several others. Another woman, also introduced above, worked 12 hours per week as a homemaker, received Section 8, and relied on her father's economic support. This woman shed light on how persistent financial struggles remained for her, even after securing employment and stable housing and having supportive family members. When the interviewer asked her what she is most worried about, she replied:

> *Umh...aaa...The most thing I worry about right now is working and getting my kids back and forth to school. That's the word though, and the financial stability, you know. I can worry about ok, if I don't have somebody to take the kids to school, or pick them up while I'm at work, then, you know, that I'm not gonna be able to work, and then there goes the bills.*

Functioning.

In considering how women are functioning after leaving domestic violence shelters (or nearing the end of their stays in the cases of the three women who still were in shelter), it becomes clear that women employ a number of strategies to get by and to continue to work toward achieving their goals. As indicated in the preceding section, some women piece together a variety of sources of support. For many women, their support systems extended beyond economic assistance.

Sources of Social and Emotional Support.

Family and friends.

The vast majority of women (14 out of 17, or 82% of all second round interviews) spoke positively of family members and friends who offered much needed emotional support. For instance, in response to the interviewer's question about how she handles all that is going on in her life, one woman shared:

> *Then [sister's name] you know that's, she's my rock. Well you know that that's my sister cause she's my rock. And we're very, very close and it's almost like having a counselor. Except for [sister's name] you know she's always there for me but you know she's away somewhere else and she's trying to do things and I don't want to hinder her with my problems all the time so I'm trying to see I'm trying to see if someone can help cause I can get some type of counseling thing you know. But it's just so hard. You say something and you never even hear from them anymore.*

[8] It is likely that additional women received multiple types of economic assistance but just did not identify all of these sources throughout their interviews. Furthermore, if we considered the number of women who benefited from some type of housing assistance (i.e. transitional housing programs, other formal housing assistance, or shared housing where they did not pay rent), the number of women receiving multiple types of economic assistance would increase.

This woman also notes the importance not to overburden people who have proven to be supportive. Although she has a sister she can count on, she is mindful of how frequently she calls on her. When describing an incident of falling in her home because she was without needed medication, this woman spoke of the assistance another family member, her brother, also provides:

> *I had a brother here who moved in from La Port. He moved here to be close to me so he, he just oh my God the Lord is really answering my prayer cause he ahh he moved to be close to me but he moved to [a Chicago suburb] so he, when I fell I called him immediately and I couldn't get up but he has the keys to my house and he got me. You know it's like I'm fighting this all alone. He's doing whatever he can for me but right now I'm not really that strong. When a whole lot of the things happen I can't handle.*

One woman discussed the childcare assistance some of her family members and friends provide. She explained, *"I have two neighbors that I just bumped into, I didn't know. We know each other from a long time ago, and we found out we live by each other, and they also help me…My car breaks down or I need to go to groceries they'll come and watch the kids so I can go."* Later she elaborated that her family members are people she can talk to for emotional support, *"And my neighbors help me more to deal with the kids, cause I don't have the patience. And they'll come over and play with the kids and it's just like-ok, good. Now I can cook. You guys go and play with the kids in the living room."* Another woman, who had returned to her former housing (a house she owned), also talked about the importance of having supportive neighbors: *"My neighbors, I've known them for 40 years… so they're not just neighbors, they're friends too… they like a second family."* She described how her neighbors assist with transportation, take her to the grocery store, and allow her to take showers at their homes since her gas had not been turned on.

Women from Shelter.

The majority of women (10 out of 17, or 59% of all second round interviews) identified residents they met during their shelter stays as important parts of their support systems. One woman, who also kept in contact with shelter staff, shared that she frequently talks with her roommate from the shelter:

> *She's doing good. She moved out of town, her and her kids is doing good, she has four kids and she's doing so well and I'm so proud of her. Yeah we talk like, every two weeks or so, she'll call or pops in my mind and I'll call her, just to see how she's doing and you know, to say hi to the kids who's kind of attached to me too.*

This description was typical of others' responses, which highlighted ongoing contact (by telephone or in person) with former shelter residents to check in with one another.

As noted above, two respondents who completed second round interviews were sharing housing with a third former shelter resident. The conflicts in the house escalated to the point that by the time we completed the interview with the second woman, she reported that she and the other respondent were being kicked out of the apartment. These two women were seeking to find new housing that they could share by pooling their resources. Thus, they remained important supports for one another.

Another woman noted that part of the reason she stays in contact with women she met at the shelter is to offer support to them. She referred to one woman who was still living at the shelter and said, *"I've been getting in contact with her because she needs help with finding a place, so I've been trying to help her to that."*

Shelter Staff.

While several women discussed ongoing contact with shelter staff in order to access additional services and/or referrals[9], only two women (12% of all second round interviews) discussed how staff they worked with at the domestic violence shelter remained an important part of their emotional support systems. As one woman explained:

> *I get angry with myself cause I know how far I had made it and I lost everything and it is real hard for me to get back now. But, I'm still holding on. You know, like I said, my counselor helped me a lot at [name of domestic violence shelter]. [Name of a staff member], she helped me [name of another staff member], I keep in touch. You know sometimes I do get depressed, so I call and talk to them, and let them know, you know, sometime I feel lonely, but I just hold on, you know, cause now it's just me and my daughter and she work, I at work, go to school, she come in, I'm tired, she's tired, so we barely have conversation, you know. She's young, she go out, and you know things, and I don't go out, you know, just be in and so.*

Another woman discussed returning to the shelter to visit some of the advocates who *"really cared about the kids and I and tried to help."*

Spiritual Support.

The majority of women (11 out of 17, or 65% of all second round interviews) identified prayer, church involvement, and/or spiritual support as important parts of how they function. According to one woman, *"I go to church, so I have the spiritual, you know, the spiritual guidance. That way I can go to church on Sunday and feel like there's a weight lifted off my shoulders and I'm ready to start the week."* In response to the interviewer's question about how she manages to hold all of her challenges together and remain positive, another woman replied, *"Prayer, prayer, I pray and I just stay away from negativity. You know I try my best no matter what, I don't care what I'm going through. To just stay away from the negative things."* Another woman, when asked how she holds it all together, explained:

[9] This contact is discussed below in the service needs section.

> *Only by God's grace and mercy. Because without him, I'm nothing. He got me out of that fire and he opened up doors for me…That fire that I'm talking about is that abusive relationship. That's what I mean by fire. And he opened up doors that I thought would never be open. And then, another thing that he opened was my eyes, my mind, and my heart to love myself. Cause I didn't love myself for a long time. See, I'm real strong for that. I want to cry, but I hear Him say just hold on. Things are going to get better, it ain't gonna happen overnight, but you gotta roll with the punches.*

In response to the same question, another woman replied, *"You know I have no idea. But I, I have to say it's gotta be. It's gotta be God. You know praying. It's the only thing I can think of."* Yet another woman reflected on the importance of church since she moved out of the shelter:

> *I've become more active in my church once again since I had, since the situation had occurred, I hadn't been back to my home church. And I've definitely gotten back into that, you know, so I'm into my activities of reading the Bible and praying more, you know, that kind of a deal so yes.*

Lack of Support.

Only two women (12% of all second round interviews) did not identify any family members, friends, or former shelter residents as sources of support. Their comments are particularly powerful and highlight the isolation with which they continued to struggle. One woman described purposely not having contact with her family:

> *You know what, my people is the kind of people that. . .nah, I ain't talked to my people cause my people, they the kind that, if they do something for you, somewhere down the line they'll throw it up in your face. If you tell them something that happened bad in your life, sooner or later, they're gonna [expletive] you.*

Another woman discussed her similarly purposeful decision to limit contact with her family:

> *The one who I had the most communication with was an aunt that my son was with, but since he's not with her anymore we don't have that communication anymore I don't know anything about her. I don't want to have that communication with her because she was having communications with a person who was too close to my ex's family and she would tell my aunt things and she would tell them to me. And always that I would call I would always feel nervous and umm like bad because she would tell me things "It's that they say this and this about you and that you this and that you" and I tell her, "Yeah well let them say whatever they want to say I don't care anymore," but inside of me it would affect me a little all of that. So I know that if I call her I know that it will be the same…*

Setting Goals.

Most of the women articulated clear goals for their near future. Often these goals centered on pursuing education in order to attain better employment and ultimately a stable life for themselves and their families. For some women this meant obtaining their GED, for others this entailed technical schools such as CNA classes. One woman summarized the importance of education: "*My education will change everything. I will be able to get a better job, got a better life. Not to have to be dependent on the government."* At the time of the second interview only four women were participating in some form of formal education and training. In addition, as noted above, finding improved housing was a goal for many of the women. Eight of the women were actively seeking new housing or had developed a savings plan to obtain housing.

Patterns of Access to Service.

While the quantitative analysis documented the types of services women reported needing and receiving at the time of the second interview, here we highlight issues related to access. Women's inability or ability to access services impacted how they were functioning. Women identified obstacles, as well as important supports, in connecting with much-needed services.

Obstacles.

The biggest obstacle to accessing services that women identified is simply that there were not enough available services. Most women had sought out services but were unable to find programs that could serve them. For instance, many women in need of affordable housing talked about being on waiting lists, some times for multiple years. One of these women explained that she was considering moving out of Chicago and back to a town where she previously lived because, in her experience, affordable housing programs were much more accessible there. She explained:

> *There's a lot of programs out there that are more accessible I think then the programs in Chicago. I think because Chicago is such a big city, and the economy is so bad, so many of the programs are booked up, everything is gone, you know, by the time you get to it. I know subsidized apartments are ridiculous. All the lists are closed. There is no way to even get on the list. If you find a list it's like an 8 year waiting list, but you can't even find a list, they are all closed down. In the quiet cities all these subsidized apartments are open…There are may be a waiting lists at the year, for a year at the most. And that's more because it's like a three or four bedroom, so if you're getting something smaller it's open. Plus, rent is cheaper up there. So if I actually did have to pay full monthly rent for a place, it's possible. You know, you can rent a house up there for $350, so it's much more different.*

One woman, noted above, who was seeing a psychiatrist but not receiving

counseling, explained that she had been on a waiting list for counseling services at one community medical center for more than 7 months and said that she had contacted several different agencies that have not yet helped her: *"And when I called they're still booked. There's not enough funding. It's just not enough funding. There's a lot of domestic violence and there's not enough funding to address the problem. The whole problem, they just kind of catch up, you know. Put a band aid on you, barely."*

Another woman, whom we also noted above and who was without important medications, specifically talked about a lack of programs in the area where she now lived, a far suburb of Chicago. Although she knew of some free medical clinics in Chicago, it was hard for her to find transportation into the city to go to those programs. Furthermore, even these clinics provided limited resources:

> *I know that there are some probably up north… they were telling me about a free clinic up there but they, I tried to call…but it takes so long to get in like 3 or 4 months to get in so I'm trying to see. And they said they give you – you come in that day and they give you, you know your medicine and everything but. I just have to find someplace because I really need that stuff. I can't really you know I cry a lot. I'm real depressed and usually I end up in the hospital eventually and I don't want to go there.*

Assistance from Shelter.

The majority of the women who had moved out of the domestic violence shelter (11 out of 14), specifically mentioned some type of service they had been able to connect to. Some noted the important role the shelter served in making these connections. One woman was attending CNA classes her shelter case manager had referred her to. Another woman, who had not yet secured affordable housing, was working with a housing referral service that someone at the shelter had connected her to. Three women discussed receiving various "aftercare" services from their shelters. Of them, two were participating in support groups and one had received a food basket for her children while she was in the hospital giving birth.

A Central Agency.

An important finding from the qualitative interviews has to do with the importance of locating a central agency that can fill multiple needs on-site and/or connect women to a variety other services. Three women talked about being connected to such an agency.

Summary of Findings Related to Circumstances and Outcomes after Leaving Shelter.

While the 17 women we were able to reach were in fairly safe conditions, few are in stable and secure situations. These women seemed to be living at the edge. Most were in precarious living situations and any setback in one area of their lives could impact all the others. Few had stable sources of income or employment; many were in housing situations that they did not see as permanent. The importance of employment and housing is clear. The contrasting situations of two women we interviewed in the second round

exemplify this. One was living in a very chaotic and insecure housing situation, with economic insecurity and conflict with roommates. She talked about how she thinks more about her abuser and calling him as her situation destabilizes, contrasting this to his absence from her thoughts when she was in shelter. In contrast another woman had recently been successful in securing transitional housing which she really liked. She saw this as an important turning point, and articulated how this distanced her from her former unsafe circumstances.

At the same time, most of the 17 women interviewed at Time 2 noted and utilized a variety of supports including family, friends, and former shelter residents and staff. These important sources of support appeared to be critical for some women and may have made the difference in terms of the woman's ability to remain on her own apart from the abuser. The women also needed a variety of services, as documented in the quantitative analysis, but access was an ongoing issue primarily because of lack of many services. Her again, the shelter remained an ongoing source of support, continuing to link women to some services and also providing ongoing housing for others, either in shelter or in second stage housing programs. Nonetheless, as the quantitative analysis substantiated, many of the services these women needed most, including a stable source of income and housing were not readily services that shelters provide.

Stages of Change: Overview of Stages of Change

Understanding the process through which people make changes in their lives has been one of the longstanding purposes in mental health research. Certainly, change is what mental and physical health services are generally concerned about providing. However, understanding and studying how people make changes is exciting as well as daunting, due to the individual and unique nature of human change and the myriad obstacles for each person in accomplishing change.

Specifically, Prochaska and DiClimente (1982; 1984) have developed a model for understanding change. Recently this model has been used with victims of domestic violence, and we have adapted it to this project by developing a questionnaire. The questionnaire accompanied two qualitative interviews at two different points in time with survivors of domestic violence – initially only a few days to a couple of weeks after they entered a DV shelter and then six months later. The intention of this research is to contribute to the dialogue about how women describe their change process and to inform practitioners, advocates, administrators and others in how to facilitate and better respond to the individual change process. The stages of change categories originally were conceived and have been generally maintained as composing six different primary categories of change: precontemplation, contemplation, preparation, action, recycle/return, and maintenance. A detailed description of each category has been included earlier in this report (see pages 6-7).

Over the last several years, more and more research has been concerned with the process that survivors experience in trying to leave the abusive relationship and/or stay safe. The literature points to one model of intervention with survivors of IPV that has

been reviewed by several researchers; it describes women moving through a process of change in their decision making when leaving an abusive relationship (Burke, et al., 2004; Burke, Gielen, McDonnell, O'Campo, & Maman, 2001; Chang et al., 2006; Liang, Goodman, Tummala-Narra, & Weintraub, 2005; Shurman & Rodriguez, 2006). Most of the authors specifically refer to the stages of change model or transtheoretical model of change (TM) when discussing this process (Burke, et al., 2004; Burke, et al., 2001; Chang et al., 2006; Shurman & Rodriguez, 2006). Three of the studies support the use of the TM for assessment and intervention in counseling with survivors of IPV (Burke, et al., 2004; Burke, et al., 2001; Shurman & Rodriguez, 2006) and one study supports the same concept, but does not utilize the TM model specifically (Liang et al., 2005).

Empirical Modifications to the Stages of Change Model Based on the Interview Data.

The authors of the stages of change were very clear that the process of change is not linear (Prochaska & DeClemente, 1982;1984). People don't experience cognitive awareness and then have their decisions to change flow directly from those realizations. Rather, people take two steps forward and one back, followed by one forward and two back, until we work through what we need and/or want to do. This same process characterizes the push/pull in the lives of survivors who have abusive partners/husbands for whom they hold great affection as well as fear and anger. We see this in the interviews with these survivors, which were transcribed and analyzed according to the goals of this project, which were to provide greater specificity, if possible, to these conceptual categories

We found, as part of the dialogue with survivors about their life circumstances, that for many women their responses reflected specific aspects of change, rather than the broader stage of change. We wanted to address the interrelated qualities of these categories, and we found that for many women there were subcategories to each stage of change as it was originally developed. Indeed, all are an integral part of a larger process of change and therefore the overlap occurs in both obvious behavioral and cognitive changes as well as in smaller incremental modifications. Just as the way people change is not linear and organized, so too, the descriptions of the stages of the change process are intertwined, rather than distinct and mutually exclusive. The context of each woman's life course provided a lens into her method of working toward change and is vital to our understanding, but will be more fully described in future analyses. The following diagram is intended to provide a graphic representation of the nine subcategories, which for some reflect more accurately their response to the interview questions.

NINE INTER-RELATED SUBCATEGORIES OF SOC						
Precontemplation	**Contemplation**	**Preparation**	**Action**	**Recycle**	**Maintenance**	
O	**1<> 2<>3**	**< >**	**1<>2**	**< >**	**1<>2**	**O**	**O**

Thus, as a result of the context of the 52 qualitative interviews, three of the categories were expanded from the original 3 to 7 in order to distinguish particular types

of behaviors and thoughts among the women interviewed. The data seemed to indicate that the survivors were not all at the same stage, reflecting that they were not all in the same mental, behavioral, or emotional state. In fact, in the same category of Contemplation, it seemed that different women were in different states in their understanding and in their ability and readiness to make change. For example, some of the survivors were at a beginning understanding of their situation, but with no definite commitment to change. Others had an idea of what they were experiencing but had not yet reached any conclusions about what to do. They seemed to require additional information to fully comprehend their own situation. Still others in this category were very reflective, and seemed to be gaining an awareness of circumstance. These survivors had begun to see and to track the patterns in their lives, realizing that they needed a new life plan. Due to these differences, we developed three subcategories: ***Contemplation one***, which is an awareness of the problem, with consideration for but no commitment to change. ***Contemplation two*** identifies the survivor as having an idea about the situation but no conclusion. Survivors in this subcategory were the ones who seemed to need more information. And in ***Contemplation three***, survivors seemed to describe a cognitive awareness of patterns in their lives, which were characterized by reflection as well as efforts to make a life plan.

The next category, Preparation/determination, has been further distinguished into two subcategories. ***Preparation one*** is characterized by the desire to change in the immediate future, with the initiation of small steps toward change but without a clear criterion for change. It includes several strategies for change, e.g., saving money, collecting phone numbers and addresses, checking into housing and day care options. ***Preparation two denotes*** more personal change. That is, the survivor is working on gaining better self-esteem, thinking more about personal needs rather than the demands/needs of others in her life. Indeed, the survivor in more focused on internal change and might be able to express her nascent realizations that it is not only okay but useful for her to include her own feelings as she ponders what strategies she might use for making her life what she wants it to become.

Action is another category from stages of change that was found to lend itself to a more precise distinction among the women. ***Action one*** is when survivors modify their behavior and their environment to accomplish their goals. At this stage, survivors seemed to be more likely to confront their fears and apprehensions. All of their energies are focused on the goals of carrying out strategies that protect them and their children, utilizing their strengths. They seemed motivated to end the abuse and escape

Action two may be specific to the circumstance of the survivor who has entered a shelter. For this study, survivors who seemed to need this additional subcategory were adamant about their decision to leave the abusive situation and they resolutely voiced having no plans to return. Indeed, this subcategory seemed to be an empowering statement made by women who at the moment seemed to be not only relieved but strengthened by their decision to leave the abusive situation**.**

Due to the nature of our study and the time at which we interviewed the women, most of the survivors who were interviewed were in one of three primary categories: *contemplation*, *preparation* and *action*. The largest number of participants were coded as being in the stage of Action 1; that is, 64% (n=34) of the women were engaged in active behavioral change. This actually is quite logical considering that all of the women had just moved into a shelter for victims of domestic violence. The next largest category is Contemplation 3; that is, 60% (n=32) of the 53 survivors made responses that seemed to belong in Contemplation 3, which is described as being reflective, with a cognitive awareness of the patterns in her life and with efforts to make a life plan. Only one participant's response was coded into Precontemplation. There were six responses coded into Contemplation one, and nineteen coded into Contemplation two. In Preparation one and two, there were 16 and 26 responses, 30% and 49%, respectively. Action two had 43% (n=23) coded responses. The category of Maintenance was seldom reflected in the lives of women during the first round interviews therefore it required no further clarification at this point. There were only two women whose responses were coded in the stage of Maintenance. Below, we provide more detailed information about the characteristics of each stage.

Findings Related to the Stages of Change at Time 1

All of the women who participated in the interviews were currently housed in DV shelters at the time of the first interview. The fifty-three participants involved in the first round of interviews in the project were coded into one of the primary categories, as indicated in the following table.

Stages of Change FIRST ROUND INTERVIEWS	**Number of Participants (N=52)**
Pre-contemplation: Lack of awareness of any problems and no intention of changing anything	1
Contemplation 1: Awareness of the problem, with consideration to changing but no commitment to change	6
Contemplation 2: Awareness of the problem, but requiring more information to make a conclusive decision to change	19
Contemplation 3: Awareness of patterns in her life, characterized by reflection and efforts to make a new life plan.	32
Preparation 1: Desire to change in the immediate future, with the initiation of small steps toward change but without a clear criterion for change, e.g., locating schools, looking for housing or day care.	16
Preparation 2: Denotes more personal change, working on better self-esteem, thinking more about personal needs, and generally more focused on internal change.	26
Action 1: Modify behaviors and environmental circumstances to accomplish a goal; confront fears and apprehensions.	34
Action 2: Reflects survivors' sense of empowerment and decisiveness at the moment. May not be an enduring state.	23
Recycle / Return:	0

Maintenance: Behavioral and environmental changes are managed in order prevent recycling into abusive relationship.	2

Precontemplation.

Of those 52 women, only one was identified as being in the stage of pre-contemplation. That survivor stated that she did not recognize that her circumstance had been one of abuse, but that she was learning, that she was being educated about her previous situation.

Contemplation.

Contemplation One.

Six survivors (1%) seemed to fall into the subcategory of contemplation one. That is, there was an awareness of the problem, with some thought about changing but no commitment to change. For example, one survivor described her thoughts:

> *I didn't want to go because I felt like, I felt like I was going away from everybody, you know, I felt like I was alone, and I don't know, I felt you get depressed and you know it felt. It didn't feel like I wanted to come, I felt like I didn't want to leave you know, but you gotta. I don't know, you gotta just move like you gotta grow up because or like move, like move on or something like that.*

Another survivor was asked what helped you make the decision at this point to leave and seek shelter. Her response was that *"...the DCFS lady told me that if I didn't leave he was going to take my kids."* Clearly, this was not her own decision but the circumstances had forced her to leave. Another responded to a question about changes in her thinking about her situation by commenting, *"I don't know."*

Contemplation Two.

Nineteen of the fifty-three survivors (.358, almost 4%) who were characterized as being in subcategory contemplation two had an awareness of the problem, but required more information before they could make a conclusive decision about their circumstance. One women who was pregnant stated:

> *I have so much fear. I do have so much fear and I'm pregnant right now... the fear of having two children, too young... might not have enough for my child or something, that's a lot of fear I have, but you know I just pray to God that things will be happy.*

One woman described her thoughts about going to the shelter as *"...probably this is a new beginning for me and my daughter."*

Another survivor described her situation in a way that characterizes many survivors:

I always knew what I had to do…. I just, I never did it you know. I guess even though the abuse is happening and stuff you, it's like your feet are made of stone. You know. Your head says go, get out. You're like I can't.

Another reported:

I became aware when I came here, its like, oh its like I've been asleep for fifty years and then I came in here and you know it was just the way they talk and you know..., its just the way that they say it, they say it so quietly but you know they impact on what they say and you just can't say it, and I'm like well all these years, no really, all these years, no one has ever reached me like they have.

And another woman described the role of counseling in her life:

It just took the counseling time to catch up. But I think the reason why I wasn't as angry, bitter, and confused as I was is because I did use the counseling. I went to counseling every…week… for 6-7 years.

Contemplation Three.

The third and final subcategory for contemplation involved survivors seeing the connections between their experiences and abuse. Through a variety of ways, sometimes individual and/or group counseling, sometimes in a conversation with another survivor, survivors gained self-awareness and they began to recognize life patterns became clearer. For example, one woman responded:

...I got to find out WHY I keep doing this. I am going to get some therapeutic help because there is something wrong you know...why, I keep going through the same thing, so I want to know why...there has got to be a cycle or something...why I keep on putting myself in that position.

Another survivor described her experience in this way:

I don't want to be in the dark no more. I don't want to be scared too [sic] live my life, do everything you want to do. And I was scared just to move around. I don't want to live like that no more.

Many women talked about how trapped and isolated they had felt and how they might not like communal living, but being in the shelter is better than where they had been with the abuser. For many survivors, this was not their first time in a shelter of some type, in order to become safe. One woman's comments described the feelings of a few women:

Generally I don't miss the relationship. I feel angry about it. My son is even happy that we don't live with him anymore. So, you know, I feel more angry about the situation, than sad, that the relationship is over. I feel more angry about the stuff that happened, that we even have to be in a place like this again.

Another woman summed up the experience of several women who had been abused throughout their lives, as children and as adults:

> *I was just confused because this is someone that [you] love, you know. And then, you know, they hurt me. See I'm used to that, because that stuff used to happen to me while I was growing up by my grandfather. So I've always been a little confused when [a] man does something to me but then tells you he loves you. You know, buys you things. You know?*

Preparation.

Preparation One.

This subcategory shares some of its qualities with Contemplation Three. However, it seems that it is in Preparation One that behaviors begin to be altered, and the cognitive recognition and reflections translate into actual behavioral change. This transition from cognitive to behavioral has been acknowledged in the literature (Cluss, et al., 2006), however, generally behavioral change is felt to occur during the process of later changes rather than earlier. Clearly, these interviews all took place during earlier stages of change as the women had been in DV shelters for only a few weeks at the time of the first interview. Perhaps these more incremental behavioral changes, i.e., looking for housing and day care, checking out transportation, saving money, are merely precursors to later, larger behavioral change such as divorce and permanent relocation. For example, one women described her small actions as having thoughtful intention:

> *I just take it one day at a time and cause you know before I'd rush and I'd plan ahead and stuff like that. So now I just take it one day at a time and hope for the best. Try my best.*

The very process of leaving their situation was a huge change for these survivors, and not one that they happily made, but a necessary one that many acknowledge. Recognition of the individual resolution that has to come with this type of change is rarely articulated directly, but always one of the difficult aspects of their change process.

> *What was I thinking? Um, on the ride here, I was like, am I making the right decision, I have never lived in a shelter before. I don't want to live in a shelter now, I want to go back home. And um when I walked in I was like oh my god, what have I gotten myself into? But um it's getting better day by day.*

> *Yes, previously I had felt like this but now more so because the violence was mostly towards my oldest son. And for me they are very important even though I should be important for myself too, but more than myself are my children and I had to protect them. Aside from ahhh, I understood that I am responsible for their safety and I didn't want the government to take them away or for them to be alone, just…just because I was scared to leave. Then help from the shelter is*

something very big because my worries before was the housing since I don't work and the food and knowing about the shelter my decision was, well, better.

Another woman described her process*:*

Yeah, I had already been because he, his attitude was changing and he was having these violent times. I was already making moves to try and leave. But I was trying to do it the right way so that the children could have a stable home. And not do this. [Live at a shelter] So I was already looking at subsidized housing and everything."

Further:

Yeah, I talked to the abuser because we're having this baby together. So it's trying to see if there's a way for us to work through things. To raise our child together. Is that a possibility…I talk to a few friends, but not many. Because when you go through something like this you find out who your real friends are. So…

Preparation Two.

This subcategory is marked by change that is more internally focused. The survivor is working on better self-esteem, thinking about personal needs rather than the demands/requests of the abuser and others. One woman summarized what many of the survivors seemed to be worried about, and thinking about:

I want to get to the point where if I do ever get to see him again or whatever, I'm strong enough to say I don't you know, I don't need you and all the garbage you bring with you.

Another woman stated,

This is the first time I'm being totally selfish. I just, I just want to be me, you know. And I'm not angry. This is something..."

And another woman said:

Like, just my mental well-being, my physical well-being. I can pay more attention to myself. I don't have to feel bad, people not talking down at me so. I feel better.

The difficulty of the emotional work these women are doing is expressed in the statement of one woman, and it reflects the words of several others:

Now I don't feel hopeless. I don't feel, ummm, worthless. I still try to get the self-respect back. Which I can feel just a little and I can't say to you I did when I don't have it yet. But a little bit it's starting to come back but just telling myself,

affirming myself everyday that it wasn't really my fault, you know, what happened.

Another woman went into greater detail, reflecting on the abuse throughout her life:

You think about it because when you're away from it you see like now, my head is totally clear. I'm not scared, I'm not depressed. So now I know that I was desperate. I was desperate to love me from when I was molested as a child and my mother didn't believe me. She believed my molester and she stayed with him. So that made me feel like I don't have anybody to love me, that was there for me. So I picked the wrong time. For the first time in my life I can honestly say I don't need nobody to love me. I need to love me. You know. I need to love me. And it's gonna, you know I still have my void. But it's not as bad as it was because now I see that if I love me, everything will work out.

Action.

Action One.

After preparation and determination, the stages of change model identifies people as moving into action, including behavioral changes. For greater specificity, the category of Action has been separated into two subcategories. The first action stage describes behavior modifications in their personal actions and in their environment, with the purpose of working toward personal goals, whatever those may be. Survivors focus their energies on carrying out strategies that protect themselves and their children. In addition, it is at this point that there is an ability to confront individual fears and apprehensions. Although survivors have consistently utilized different strategies for managing the events in their lives, it is at this point in the process of change that they may be feeling stronger and are motivated to end the abuse and escape from their previous abusive relationships, as much physically as intellectually and emotionally. This reinforced motivation suggests that they are in a stronger personal position than they have experienced heretofore and it is reflected in their actions toward change. This motivation can be heard in one woman's description of her action to leave:

Uumm, I needed the help. I just needed, I was like I...I was like way through with this. Before, many times I escaped from him and only place I went was my friend's house. He always come back, he would stalk me if I don't go back...begged me to come back. Alright this time I wanted so bad ,you know, I wanted to leave so bad I was like I need a shelter plus umm, I need people to talk to. I didn't know nothing so I was...I mean when I got the shelter that day he was going to take me , I was happy. I was relieved that there's help; before I didn't know.

Another survivor described how difficult action is to take:

That was the only time I did not say ' no' to the officers. When they came to arrest her, she was begging me, all you have to do is not sign. I said but this time

I am and I hope you understand why. This cannot continue. And it was the worst thing I've ever done. My grandkids were there sleeping. I had to walk away from them and we're very, very close.

Other survivors responded in similar ways:

I know that, umm, I don't deserve to be hit on. I am here, so I am going to make the best of it and utilize the resources that they have for me, and um, use this as a stepping stone and a learning experience.

And another stated*:*

Yeah, I don't feel so alone anymore. It's just I felt like it's, like a job, I gotta do what I gotta do and 3 months I'll be outta here and have my own place and life is just, like you know, step by step.

One immigrant women described her actions as well as her worries*:*

My main concern is that I want to go forward. I want to go forward... I'm already moving by arranging the things with the school but my concern would be that I don't have status here. And I drive so I wouldn't want for something to happen to me, leaving my children alone. My concern is also well more than anything that I won't be here for them because they count on me in this moment. That's how I think...I have confidence that I can continue forward and I have to take advantage of the time to be able to continue forward without the help of these places. More prepared, that's what I think.

Action Two.

This subcategory may be an artifact of this particular study, however, we have documented this in both the quantitative questionnaire of the participants from the shelters as well as in their individual interviews. This subcategory seems to reflect survivors' sense of empowerment and decisiveness. Some of these women realized they had been in an abusive relationship before and they were determined not to continue. Although we are aware that for some of these survivors, in the interviews conducted just a few weeks after they began living at the shelter, they felt able to live on their own, some would return to the abuser, and some would move on in their lives. But at the moment of this interview, survivors seemed to feel as though they could make it on their own; they seemed to find strength in moving into a space where they were in charge. Some of their comments are listed below.

I ain't giving you no more chance. I, this is the first time you messed up and this is the last. I aint' gonna sit here and take you back. We only been together for 4 months. I already been with someone who was abusive so I already know how that shit works, you know.

First I didn't know there was shelter so there was always on the back of my head, 'oh, I'm going to go back to him'. You know, but once I heard about shelter that's all I thought about...this is it. This is final. I'm gonna get help

No, cause it's gong to stay over. I don't want him. It's like I love him, I'm not in love with him. That's what it is. He's not trying to do anything to better himself. And now that's he smoking crack, and he just started and he young and he just started. He ain't even going to hit rock bottom. He ain't gonna quit, he like it too much. So he ain't thinking about me or my child so I ain't worried about him.

What I think? I am not going to have anymore right now. Right now, my relationship is going to be with me and God. Right now that's what I'm thinking.

And a survivor who summarized perhaps the most extreme view, but not a unique viewpoint*:*

Right now, I don't want a relationship. I have to get my stuff together first. It'll take me a while to really get into a relationship. I don't want to deal with no man. I don't want a man counselor, I don't want a man doctor. I don't want anything pertaining to a man."

Maintenance.

The final stage of change included in this study is maintenance. This refers to the manner in which behaviors and environmental changes are managed in order to not recycle into the problems with an abuser again. Due to the point in time in which this interview was conducted, few women were in the maintenance stage; most had been in a shelter for only a few weeks, some for only a few days, and they were still getting settled. Only two survivors were coded as exemplifying behaviors that helped them to maintain their behavior change although many women described some aspects of this type of thinking. The more comprehensive response was longer, and quite different from the shorter; both will be identified below. The longer response is characterized by remembering and moving forward:

Well, you know tomorrow is gone. You can't forget, but you can being to start over. You can't forget that you had five kids in a marriage. You can't forget the things that you went through that you blamed yourself. You know but you can learn to forgive yourself for even putting yourself through that. I don't wanna never forget where I came from because I don't want to go back. So if I can work on making things better in my future. You know, what I am sayin, that would help me go home. And say what happened, happened, you can't cry over spilt milk. I can't let my past stop me from moving on.

The shorter response is the complete opposite. The interviewer asked, *"How have you been holding it all together?"* And the survivor responded, *"Not thinking"*.

Findings Related to Stages of Change at Time 2.

The stages of change categories and subcategories were analyzed for the second round interviews in the same manner in which they were analyzed for the first round interviews. However, the issues are often different for these women. For example, although a woman may be in the subcategory of Contemplation Two, her difficulty may be linked more to the problems associated with locating and maintaining stable housing or finding medical care for disabilities rather than gaining an awareness of her relationships with the abuser. For some of these women taking care of themselves was a new experience. Being in a place to truly process their life experience at this point, i.e., thinking about their life patterns and about the time spent in an abusive relationship was affirming and unnerving. For some other women, they had not yet had enough time to think about all of the changes that had occurred in their lives.

In summary, some of the issues are the same; some are very different. We have tried to make the issues that the women are trying to manage as clear as possible as we describe what we learned in the second round of interviews.

Stages of Change **SECOND ROUND INTERVIEWS**	**Number of Participants (n=17)**
Pre-contemplation: Lack of awareness of any problems and no intention of changing anything	0
Contemplation 1: Awareness of the problem, with consideration to changing but no commitment to change.	0
Contemplation 2: Awareness of the problem, but requiring more information to make a conclusive decision to change	4
Contemplation 3: Awareness of patterns in her life, characterized by reflection and efforts to make a new life plan.	8
Preparation 1: Desire to change in the immediate future, with the initiation of small steps toward change but without a clear criterion for change, e.g., locating schools, looking for housing or day care.	11
Preparation 2: Denotes more personal change, working on better self-esteem, thinking more about personal needs, and generally more focused on internal change.	15
Action 1: Modify behaviors and environmental circumstances to accomplish a goal; confront fears and apprehensions.	14
Action 2: Reflects survivors' sense of empowerment and decisiveness at the moment. May not be an enduring state.	11

Maintenance: Behavioral and environmental changes are managed to prevent recycling into the abusive relationship.	13
Recycle: Return to an abusive relationship	1

Contemplation.

Contemplation One.

As one might expect given the timing of the second interview, only six months after the survivors shelter stay, there were no reports that were specific to the stage of contemplation one, which describes a lack of commitment to change.

Contemplation Two.

The subcategory of contemplation two relates to women's awareness of their problem, whatever the problem that they describe, and their need for more information before making a conclusive decision about their circumstances. Sometimes the problem related to the abuse and sometimes it related to their attempts to try to move on in their lives in other ways. There were four different survivors whose responses seemed to fall into the subcategory of contemplation two. For example, one woman identified having several physical problems as well as the disability of carpel tunnel syndrome which added to her problems. She was having difficulty locating stable housing and needed more information about where to find housing. Her medical problems interfered with getting things done, but the primary problem was housing. Not only could she not locate affordable housing, but she was currently staying with an acquaintance in a neighborhood that felt unsafe to her which curtailed her ability to look for better housing. She had called and seemed to be on all of the lists for public housing, but she was forced to stay in a situation that she identified as scary and as abusive as living with her former batterer, who frequently threatened to kick her out as did her current roommate. When asked whether her thinking had changed about her abuser since leaving the shelter, she responded:

> *No. Because I don't want to go back with him, you know. I can't take that. I can't take it, I mean…at one point I was like almost 200 pounds and, you know, six months later I'm like a 104 pounds, you know…because of all the stress and the worry, I lost all that weight. You never know I was that skinny now, you know…so… I mean the violence that was there and is here, it just seems like it doesn't change, you know. I mean what happens it never change, so I don't you know, I mean, I'm working on the forgiveness, you know, because until I forgive, it's not gonna go away in my head, you know, it's not gonna go away.*

Another survivor who at 42 years old is in a high risk pregnancy, and the abuse and the shelter stay seem far away in her life. She described her feelings as if the interview was not about her, for example, …who is she talking to? Is she talking to me? Did I go through something? She further described her situation

> *This is not…umh…something that has happened in my life where I've been able to sit and put it in order yet. Probably when I am able to put it in order yet I can*

probably give you, like better answers, cause you don't just sit down and categorize things like this that happened to you and things are still happening to you, so really, I can't…the things you asking, I can't answer cause I really don't know.

It happened to me in April and everything in between, it's like something that I just put over there in the corner. I have no idea what's in that box. I don't know cause sometimes I think back to some of the times when I was in the shelter, my God, was I really there? Its like a dream like, so …I don't know.

Contemplation Three.

Contemplation Three is the subcategory in which survivors identify their reflections on and awareness of life patterns which often are characterized by efforts to make a new life plan. Eight different women were identified having an awareness of their life patterns. Four (50%) of the woman recognized their own childhood abuse or their mother's abuse as a victim of domestic violence. *"…all though my life I had a very, very, very big problem with stability. You know, and even when I was a little kid, maybe I, well I know for a fact I didn't have stability when I was a kid because my mother she was on drugs. We went form house to house, school to school and I found myself in the past doing it to my own children, you know. "* One woman talked about being raped by her uncle, and her adult abuse followed from there. All seemed to realize that the abuse across their lives was connected. Two of the women mentioned that the DV classes at the shelter really opened their eyes; one stated, *" It's good everything that they've taught us that way the day we leave, we'll know."* Another woman said,

I didn't really know what was involved in DV…The cycle of violence…honey moon period, I'm sorry honey, I won't do it again, you know. Walking on egg shell, the …umh…you know, the stress, then the fight, and then I'm sorry honey…just that cycle. I never thought about it. I went through that a lot with him.

Preparation.

Preparation One.

Preparation One is a time when survivors try to change in the immediate future, with the initiation of small steps toward change but without a clear criterion for change, e.g., locating schools, looking for housing or day care. There were eleven women in this category, with a variety of plans to change their lives. Three of the women were planning on going back to school, and two were looking for employment, although one woman stated that she really wanted both but couldn't manage them at the same time, "*Because, I can't, I don't…well, I know it to be pretty hard to try to focus on both – working and school."* Another woman was working on getting her children returned to her, but she also wanted a job and to get her GED.

One really wanted to locate counseling, someone to talk with about her life and change:

I've got to have some counseling you know, someone to talk about things with and I don't have that so I was trying to get, you know, even through domestic violence counseling.

One woman summed up her experience of trying to get her life together, complete her pregnancy, etc., by stating, *"Just surviving, that's what I've been doing, surviving. That's absolutely it, just surviving."*

Preparation Two.

Preparation Two addresses the ways that survivors plan for and work toward personal change, e.g., working on better self-esteem, thinking more about personal needs, and generally becoming more focused on internal change. Most of the fifteen women in this subcategory described what they were feeling, some of their goals, and their expectations about their ability and competence to fulfill their goals. Almost all of the women seemed to openly self-disclose, and seemed to gain satisfaction from being asked about their process.

Action.

Action One.

In this stage of change, the survivors are modifying behaviors and environmental circumstances in order to accomplish goals that some of them identified while still in the shelter. They also are confronting the fears and apprehensions that they became aware of while in the shelter. For many of the fourteen women who were coded in this stage of change, they were either working or actively looking for work. Some were in the process of waiting for school applications to be confirmed and/or for job training programs to begin. Most of the women described behavioral changes:

I go to school, I work, I'm …active with other people, I'm learning to gain healthy friendship… I don't argue with people you know so much…my life has taken a change…I spend a lot of time by myself but you know I don't want people to abuse me.

Some survivors continued with a process that they began in the shelter:

I have everything ready concerning my papers, I also have a divorce lawyer from Lifespan…well…now everything that I do I do it thinking about my children and in the way that I need to move forward…

I'm always optimist. I'm trying always to look for the…what's the next thing I can do, you know, but it was kind of hard at the beginning, you know. So, now, I can see the possibilities, so…yeah…I'm…my outlook changed a lot. I'm just really grateful cause, I know it's a real blessing. I mean, everybody doesn't have the opportunity to [get into a housing program] and I'm gonna take the opportunity I got ;and I'm gonna run with it!

A common sentiment was stated by one women when she said, *"I erased negative people in my life. Yep. Don't owe nobody for nothing, I did it myself."* Another woman described the constant battle these women must face and actively fight to eliminate violence from their lives; *"I went off on the kid, I went off on my uncle, and I said, I'll be damned if I teach my daughters that it's ok for some guy to hit them for any reason."*

Action Two.

Action Two is a subcategory that we developed to describe the strong, decisive voices we heard from some of the women. Eleven of the survivors were coded as in this stage of change in our second round of interviews. Following are some of the comments by survivors.

> *I try hard to …when I see violence coming or…I really remove myself. I really remove myself. I don't stay there anymore if I feel like anybody is going to hurt me…its not good for me so I have to get away period. So I don't…ahh..continue a relationship if you hurt me…I just…I don't continue a relationship with you at all.*

> *Oh. About my relationship! I don't want to know anything about that person. It was a lot of damage that he did towards myself and my children. But I don't want to relive that experience not for myself but for my children. I see them very calm and recently I see them as older, grown, with more energy, with more life. I would not exchange their well-being and safety chasing after some any who is not worth it.*

> *Well, I feel very positive. I know that I feel so ready for it, you know. It's amazing. I am so encouraged and you know, I just feel like, you know… I'm ready to do the damn thing. I have to reestablish my rights within myself. You know, I have to know that it's okay for me to lift my head and disagree with certain things and you know, stand up for myself. And not do it in a sense that would have others to think me just a bitch, because it's not what I am. I'm someone that feels I have just as many rights as the next person.*

Maintenance.

As stated earlier, one of the later stages of change is maintenance. While there were only two women in the first round of interviews in this stage, thirteen out of the seventeen women interviewed were in this stage of change. Some of their comments are listed below.

> *I'm glad that it's over with. I'm glad that I finally found the courage to get away and I'm gonna stay away."*

> *I mean eventually I'd like to have another boyfriend, you know…but I see one red flag go up, I'm out of there. I ain't gonna wait for two or three years,*

get my ass beaten, get black eyes, broken arms, and broken fingers. I ain't waiting for that, no. He can get on, you know, move on buddy, move on, you know."

…I'm more, I'm more determined to do that which I know that I am capable of doing. I, I sort of, think my eyes a lot wider open. Ummm, I just refuse to be a victim of that anymore, ever again in life."

Because I thought when he threw me out it was, oh my God how could he, I was so good to him, what did I do, what was wrong with me. And I know it wasn't me. There's something wrong with him. Desperately, majorly wrong with him, so yeah, its definitely changed the way I think about it."

Return/Recycle.

This stage in the model was not included in the first round interviews as all the women were interviews early in their shelter stay and had not gone back to the abusive relationship. This stage is characterized by a return to the abusive relationship, after she had successfully left and was in a place of safety. Events that often interfere with maintaining freedom from the abuser include: drug dependence; terror that he will find her; economic instability; PTSD; grief reactions regarding the positive aspects of the relationship; and inability to find stable and safe housing and employment.

While only one woman who completed the second round interview indicated that she had returned to her abusive partner after leaving the shelter, there may have been women who returned to the relationship but did not complete the second round interview, or who may have been in new relationships that also were abusive, hence the woman did not respond to the second interview notice.

The woman who completed the interview was succinct in her explanation when asked if her thinking about the relationship changed*: "Umm, no it hasn't. It hasn't changed. Ahh, it hasn't changed.* " She later disclosed that she was currently battling cancer.

Comparison of Survivors' Feelings Between First and Second Round Interviews.

As women make decisions about what to do in their lives, they consider the practical and necessary nature of their circumstances, e.g., where to go, how to find housing, and how to feed my family, while also coping with profound feelings of loss, regret, and longing. While not all of these core feelings were described during the interviews, the women were clear about the feelings that they were experiencing. There are many similarities in feelings across the two interviews, but there also are some striking differences.

<u>First Round Interviews.</u>

The first round of interviews highlighted a group of women who identified that they were feeling alone, lonely and isolated. In fact, 22 of the 53 women interviewed utilized these words to describe their feelings.

One woman described her feelings of loneliness and depression while in the relationship and the difficulty she had in deciding to leave:

> *I felt like I was going away from everybody, you know, I felt like I was alone, and I don't know, I felt you get depressed and you know it felt. It didn't feel like I wanted to come, I felt like I didn't want to leave you know, but you gotta.*

The other large feeling category that was expressed by 22 of the women in their interviews, were feelings of anger (anger, angry, mad). One woman described her feelings of anger regarding the relationship:

> *…I feel more angry about the situation, than sad that the relationship is over. I feel more angry about the stuff that happened, that we even have to be in a place like this again.*

Other women expressed feeling depression (depressed, sad). Feelings of fear were also expressed. One woman described her fear:

> *I have so much fear. I do have so much fear and I'm pregnant right now…the fear of having two children, too young…..that's a lot of fear I have, but you know I just pray to God that things will be happy.*

However, women didn't exclusively feel badly, as several identified feeling confident, having hope for the future, and expressing gratitude at currently being in a safe place.

Second Round Interviews.

Many of the same feelings that were identified by women in the first round of interviews, also were mentioned in the second interviews. However, the weight of the feelings and the number of times they were discussed had shifted. The dominant feeling described in the second round interviews was of feeling good (good, happy, glad, positive). This was mentioned by 11 of the 17 women interviewed in the second round. Other feelings mentioned during the second round interviews described women who were feeling confident, safe/peaceful, and grateful.

One survivor discussed her feelings since leaving the shelter:

> *I've been a lot happier since I left the shelter and since, you know, I'm just grateful for the housing program that we are in, you know, I'm just really grateful, cause, I know it's a real blessing.*

Another woman described her feelings this way, "*I feel good, like energetic, like me. I feel free.*" However, it is important to note that feelings of depression (7/17), worry/fear,

and tiredness were also prevalent 6 months after the initial interviews. One survivor described her feelings after the shelter: *"…sometimes I do get depressed, so I call and talk to them (shelter workers), and let them know, you know, sometimes I feel lonely, but I just hold on."*

Another woman described the range of emotions she has experienced since leaving the shelter:

> *A lot of stuff been going on since June. I mean I've run the gamut from feeling upset, depressed, crying, happy, sad, I mean….*

The Stages of Change as a Non-linear Process.

As stated earlier, we do not believe that the process of change is a linear one. Our interviews with the survivors confirmed this. Similarly, we do not believe that a person is exclusively working in only one of the stages of change at a time. Instead, it is possible to simultaneously be working in several stages of change. This could mean that a survivor is working on several different issues and is in different stages with each issue. Or it can mean that the issue the person is working on is multifaceted (such as leaving an abusive partner) and lends itself to working on and experiencing it in different ways. For example, a survivor may be contemplating the pattern of abuse in her life at the same time she is taking action to get a new apartment, working on her safety plan, e.g., finding a safety deposit box and/or opening a post office box, and exploring employment options.

Based on the above information, we looked at the number of different stages that each survivor participant was in at the time of each interview. When looking at the first round interviews, participants were in an average of 3.58 different stages of change at the time they first entered shelter. Then, in looking at the second round interviews, that average number of stages of change goes up to 4.76. To further explore the slight difference of just over 1 stage of change, we isolated the survivor participants for the first round who also participated in the second round. The average number of stages of change did not change. This subgroup also had an average of 3.58 stages of change at the time they entered shelter.

From this preliminary analysis, we find that the process of change is not only non-linear, but that it involves numerous stages of change at one time. Also, it seems that the number of stages that a survivor is in may increase when she is away from the abuse and has had more time to contemplate and make changes in her situation. This makes sense when we connect this information to the narrative descriptions the women gave in their interviews. As stated previously in this report, the women described the domestic violence educational groups as helpful in allowing them to become aware of their own feelings. One can assume that once a survivor is more aware of her feelings surrounding the trauma, i.e., has more time to contemplate, it may lead to further preparation and action.

Analysis and Findings Related to the Stages of Change Quantitative Questionnaire.

In this section, we present results related to quantitative analysis of the Stages of Change Questionnaire (SOCQ) for the Shelter Interview Sample as a whole at Time 1 as well as comparing answers for those interviewed twice at Time 1 and Time 2.

Results for the Whole Shelter Interview Sample at Time 1.

Table 49 provides an overview of the responses from the 52 women who answered the SOCQ at the time they entered shelter. The women were asked these questions and given the option to indicate how much they had thought about or acted on each statement at the time of the interview. One finding of interest to us is that although "*does not apply*" was included as a response category for purposes of providing a choice for those situations that were not applicable, such as questions about children, many of the women endorsed "*does not apply*" almost as a way of indicating something about their relationship to the abuser. So, for example, many answered statements about changing their relationship in some way (see questions 2, 9, 15, 16 and 17) with "*does not apply."* Similarly, questions about changing something about the abuser such as his temper (question 25) or getting help to deal with his violence (question 26) were answered with "*does not apply."* In picking this response, it was as if many of the women were saying, I am done with this and it does not apply anymore to my situation. Indeed, during the interview, at the portions in which these statements were read, many women said just this, i.e., that he is no longer in my life and it does not apply. This phenomenon is elaborated on more fully in the qualitative analysis focusing on the Stages of Change model.

Few of the women indicated that they had not thought at all about the issues covered in the questionnaire, and many had moved beyond only *"thinking about them"* to "*taking steps to do something about them*." This was particularly true related to questions 3, 4, 6, 11, 12, 18, 20, 29, and 31, many of which relate to making changes in one's feelings about or understanding of one's self. A majority of the women endorsed that they had already made changes in relation to questions about safety (questions 5, 6, 21 , 22 and 33), probably related to their leaving the situation and coming to shelter, although some of these questions related to children who may not always have been at the shelter with them. Many also noted that they had already made changes in terms of things such as dealing with problems in their relationships, changing the balance of power in their relationships, getting advice about their situation, standing up for themselves in the relationship, getting help to do what they needed to do, living without a relationship, ending the relationship, and making things different. This may reflect some initial empowerment they felt upon their arrival and early immersion in shelter services. Indeed, shelter programs may be geared toward emphasizing these shifts initially. These responses may also reflect the things women tell themselves about why they have left the abusive situation at this early stage.

Only a few women noted that they might try to deal with something again in this initial interview. Most seemed to feel they were actively working on many of these issues presently. Similarly, few were not sure what to think.

Differences Between Time 1 and Time 2 for Those Interviewed Twice.

Data for the 17 individuals interviewed twice at Time 1 on the Stages of Change is provided in Table 50. Results at Time 2 for these same 17 individuals are presented in Table 51. Looking at the responses at Time 1, the data again show that for many women, *"does not apply"* was the category that seemed to best capture their thinking. This was especially the case related to items that pertained to changing their partners, (numbers 19, 25 and 27). This seems to reflect that for many of the women, at the time they came into shelter, they did not see it as their "job" to change their partner's behavior. In some instances, the item really did not apply, particularly when questions pertained to children. It is likely that the large number of women endorsing "*does not apply"* for questions 22, 33 and 34 for example either did not have children or did not have children living with them. Further analysis generally supports this. Six of the individuals who responded *"does not apply"* to any one of these 3 items either had no children or had no children living at home with them at the time of the first interview. A fairly large proportion of the 17 women interviewed twice also noted that obtaining an Order of Protection at that time (item 32) was not applicable to them, but another 52.9% noted they had already done this.

A few of the other items that had a large proportion of individuals who responded that the item *"did not apply"* pertained to changes in the relationship. For example, 41.2% of those who responded said that changing the balance of power in my relationship (item 9), did not apply to them; 52.9% similarly said the statement, things I would like to be different in my relationship was not applicable. As noted in the discussion of the SOC for the entire sample at baseline, it is possible that this trend reflects that for some women, the choice of not applicable seemed to be a way of saying *"this does not apply because I have already take care of this."* Rather than specifically endorsing *"already made changes,"* *"does not apply"* seemed to be a more appealing answer. Indeed, from the discussion of the interviewers, there seemed to be a feeling of empowerment for some of the women to be able to say, sometimes with great conviction that it does not apply!

Having noted this, the data at Time 1 also indicate that most women in the two interview group had moved beyond the point of "*not thinking about"* an issue and many were past *"thinking about it."* For many items, the majority of respondents had *"taken steps to do something about it"* (items 3, 4, 7, 10, 18, 20, 30, and 31), *"already made changes"* (items 2, 5, 8, 11, 14, 16, 17, 21, 23, 24, 28, 29, 32, 33 and 35), or equal proportions were in both these categories (item 12). As was true for the sample as whole at Time 1, many of the categories where the women reported that they had already made changes were ones related to becoming safe (items 5, 21, 22, 32, 33) or seeking out specific types of help (items 8, 14, 23, 29).

At Time 2, there were both similarities and some differences to the results at Time 1(see Table 51). Again, many women endorsed the *"does not apply"* response related to items that focused on changes to the abuser (items 19, 25 and 27). Fifty-two percent also

noted that getting an Order of Protection (item 32) was not applicable to their situation. At Time 2, *"does not apply*" was also frequently the answer endorsed by most of the women related to questions pertaining to making changes in the relationship including items 2, 9, 13,15, 20, while at Time 1, greater proportions tended to endorse categories 3 *("taking steps to do something about it"*) or 4 *("already made changes")* related to some of these items. Nonetheless, the women clearly indicated and recognized that they had taken steps to do something about the other relationship items, including items 1, 12, 16, 17, 21, 22 and 35. For all these items except item 12, the majority of respondents indicated at Time 2 that they had *"already made changes* "in relation to these statements. For item 12, the majority indicated they were *"taking steps to do something about it."* This same pattern was evident for these same items at Time 1.

Another trend evident at Time 2 was that many of the items that specifically addressed the process of making changes, such as item 3, things I want to change about myself, item 4, making myself more financially independent, or item 7, where I might find some support to do what I want, were ones the majority of women reported they were in the process of working on or *"taking steps to do something about."* In addition to items 3, 4, and 7, this was the case for items 8, 10, 11, 18 and 24, all of which pertain to the process of changing oneself or one's situation. This was generally the trend at Time 1 as well, but somewhat more of the women indicated that they had already made changes related to several of these items at Time 1 than was the case at Time 2.

Once more, issues related to safety, such as items 5, 6, and 33, were all ones in which the majority of women reported they had *"already made changes"* at Time 2. Also at Time 2, most women felt they were either actively engaged in *"taking steps to do something about"* or had *"already made changes,"* with respect to getting help for their situation as reflected in items 14, 23, and 29. Women were also positive about things getting better, 45.8% of all women responding reported they were either taking steps or had already made changes in this area (see item 30); 47.1% had *"already made changes*": and 41.2% were *"taking steps to do something about"* having a better situation as well.

In sum then, these data suggest that many women saw themselves as having made changes at both Time 1 and Time 2. In some instances, women were more willing to see themselves in the process of changing at Time 2 compared to Time 1 when they felt they had already made a shift. Women clearly recognized and acknowledged the steps they had taken to become safe and also sent a clear message that they no longer felt responsible for changing or making things okay for the abuser.

Survivors Responses to the Stages of Change Questionnaire.

The following two different sets of comparisons are a preliminary description of the process of the stages of change as reflected in survivors' responses to the questions on the Stages of Change Questionnaire. In the first comparison, we explore the differences in survivors responses to their first interview across women interviewed once and those interviewed twice. We are looking for indicators of change and patterns in women's processes as well as describing the state of mind of the women. These are two different

sets of women…the 35 women who volunteered to participate while in shelter and the smaller group of 17 women who we were able to locate for the second interview. The second comparison is only with women who were interviewed twice, exploring their responses across the time one and time two interviews. Following is a brief summary of our findings. These comparisons provide a quantitative analysis of the Stages of Change. Future analyses will more fully describe these findings with the qualitative interviews in what we hope will be a fuller picture of the trajectories of survivors through their change process.

Comparison Between Time One Responses for Survivors Interviewed Once and Time One for Those Interviewed Twice (Tables 50 and 52).

The responses most often reported by survivors are in predominantly three of the stages of change: *thinking about it*, *taking steps to do something about it*, and *already made change.* The total population of women interviewed was 52. Of that number, 35 were interviewed only one time, when they were in the shelter, and 17 were interviewed twice, both during their shelter stay and six months later. The following section is a description of the two different groups of survivors and their responses in the first SOC interview. The purpose of this comparison is to explore the similarities and differences in between the two groups of survivors as reported on items from the Stages of Change Questionnaire. For this comparison, we used the responses on the questionnaire that correspond with the stages of change categories and explored six different issues that are identified in the questionnaire, and which seem particularly relevant to the women. The issues are the following: (1) Taking care of self and self improvement; (2) Safety for self and children; (3) No relationship/Ending relationship; (4) Children and Both Parents; (5) Resources; and (6) School /Education.

The following table indicates the relationship between the questions and responses on the Stages of Change Questionnaire. There is no specific response on the questionnaire for Maintenance or Termination. The researchers felt that both of these later stages of change, if relevant for this study, would be identified within the qualitative interviews. However, there are three questions on the questionnaire that address maintaining positive circumstances, which suggests that survivors are managing to move away from violence and dependence: *Things getting better*; *Managing to have a better situation*; and *Making this different.* If participants respond to these three questions with one of two responses, that is, *taking steps to do something* or *already made changes*, then they were considered to be in the stage of maintenance.

Stages of Change Categories	Responses on Stages of Change Questionnaire
Precontemplation	**Haven't thought about it**
Contemplation	**Thinking about it**
Preparation	**Taking steps to do something**
Action	**Already made changes**
Maintenance	**Three questionnaire items only:** ***#30. Things getting better*** ***# 31. Managing to have a better situation***

	# 35. Making this different
Recycle/Return	**May try to deal with again**

(1) Taking care of self and self improvement (questions 3, 4, 11, 12, 18, 24, and 29)**.**

For those survivors who were interviewed once, on questions relating to taking care of self and self improvement, almost 23% reported *thinking about* things that I want to change in myself whereas the same percentage thought they have *already made changes i*n self-improvement. Forty-three percent (42.9%) of those interviewed once felt they were ***taking steps to do something about*** things that they wanted to change in themselves whereas for survivors who were interviewed twice, 59% (58.8%) reported *taking steps to do something*. Although both figures reflect a strong feeling of change, it seems positive that there is a 15% increase in survivors' perceptions that they were ***taking steps to do something about*** self improvement 6 months after having left the shelter.

For the question about making myself more financially independent, almost 63% (62.9%) of survivors who were only interviewed once reported they were *taking steps to do something about* it whereas almost 53% (52.9%) who were interviewed twice, a 10% decrease, reported taking steps to become more financially independent. This may reflect the greater difficulties involved in continuing to become financially independent. Almost the same percentages of women across the two groups who were interviewed once or twice responded to *thinking about* making myself more financially independent (20% versus 23.5%) and *already made changes* (17% versus 17.6%).

For the question being ready for self-improvement, there were significant differences. Fifty-seven percent (57.1%) of the survivors who were interviewed once versus 29% (29.4%) who were interview twice reported *taking steps to do something about it*. This likely reflects the process of change in that applications for education and/or training, housing or employment may be filled out and filed but women have to wait either for admission, start date, or a call saying they have been hired. Likewise, for those interviewed twice, 47% reported at the second interview that they had *already made changes* in self-improvement whereas at the first interview only 25.7% felt they that way. For both women interviewed once and those interviewed twice, similar percentages reported that they were *thinking about* being ready for self-improvement, 11.4% and 17.6% respectively.

Fifty-four percent of survivors interviewed once reported *taking steps to do something about* being ready to better understand myself and my relationship, whereas only 41% felt that way who were interviewed twice. On the other hand, of those interviewed twice, 41% reported they had *already made changes* and only 20% of those interviewed only once felt that.

Regarding the question specific things I can do for self-improvement, almost 6% (5.7%) who were interviewed once versus almost 24% (23.5%) who were interviewed twice report *thinking about* this issue. Larger percentages of both groups of women

reported *taking steps to do something about* self-improvement, that is, 65.7% of those interviewed once and 41% of those interviewed twice. However, almost 26% of those interviewed once and 35% of those interviewed twice reported they had *already made changes* in this arena. These questions may reflect a greater focus in some survivors' states of mind.

On the related question of continuing to improve myself, survivors had similar or no reports on all responses except *taking steps to do something about it* and *already made changes*. It is interesting that for those survivors who were only interviewed one time, there responses were 57% and 37%, respectively, for each category whereas for those survivors who were interviewed twice, their responses were almost the exact opposite, 35% and 59% (58.8%), respectively. This would seem to follow although it needs careful exploration in the qualitative data, that for women who were interviewed twice, they would have *already made changes* in this category whereas in time one, they would be *taking steps.*

For survivors who were figuring out what to do, those were interviewed once, almost 23% (22.9%) reported *thinking about it*, 48.6% reported *taking steps to do something about it,* and almost 23% (22.9%) reported having *already made changes*. For those interviewed twice, almost 18% (17.6%) were *thinking about it*, 35% were *taking steps to do something about it*, and 41% reported they had *already made changes* in figuring out what to do. As we have already noted, for survivors who were interviewed twice, higher percentages often reported they had already made changes rather than taking steps, perhaps reflecting greater action on their parts.

(2) Safety for self and children (questions 5, 6, 21, 22, and 33)**.**

Over a third of the survivors reported *taking steps to be safe* (40% for those interviewed once and 35% for those interviewed twice), whereas almost 46% and 53%, respectively, reported that they had *already made changes* in wanting to be safe. Almost 26% (25.7%) who were interviewed once reported *taking steps to do something about* the safety of their children whereas almost 49% reported that they had *already made change*s regarding this. For those interviewed twice, 35% reported *taking steps* and 29% reported having *already made changes*.

Regarding the item of having to leave the relationship to be safe, there were no responses for any items except *taking steps to do something* and *already made changes*. The percentages for both those interviewed once and those interviewed twice was very low for *taking steps to do something*, 11.4% and 5.9% respectively. However, of survivors who were interviewed only once, almost 86% (85.7%) indicated that they had already made changes on leaving the relationship to be safe, and of those interviewed twice, 82.4% reported that same. Clearly, for this item, large percentages of both women who were interviewed once and those interviewed twice had already made large changes in their lives in order to be safe. The reports were similar for having to leave the relationship so my children will be safe; almost 69% (68.6%) of those interviewed once reported they had *already made changes* and 47% of those interviewed twice indicated

the same. A smaller percent, 8.6% and 5.9% respectively, reported that they were *taking steps to do something about* leaving the relationship so their children will be safe.

Over half of the survivors who responded to the item removing my children from the abuser, had *already made changes,* both those interviewed once (57%) and those interviewed twice (53%). But well over one third of both groups responded that this issue did not apply to them, 37% for those interviewed once and 41% for those interviewed twice.

(3) Children and Both Parents (question 34)**.**

One question that generally gave survivors pause was about their thoughts about children being better off with both parents. In the first interview, 57%, and almost 65% in the second interview reported it *does not apply*, ostensibly because they were no longer with the abuser, and were either living in a shelter or somewhere else. Almost 9% (8.6%) and 5.9% in the second interview reported *already making changes* in this area.

All interviewers noted that survivors pondered this question and inquired about the meaning. Many weren't sure how they felt about this, making it an important item to anticipate for providers and advocates since societal influences may be critical in women's choice of moving away from the abusive father and/or male parental figure of the children. This also may be a factor in why women return to the male abuser.

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(4) No relationship / Ending relationship (questions 26 and 28)**.**

Considering the relevance of living in an abusive relationship, participants were asked how they felt about living without a relationship. In the first round of interviews 8.6% of the women reported that they *hadn't thought about it*. Almost 23% were *thinking about it* and 17% were *taking steps to do something about it*, while almost 43% reported that they had *already made changes* regarding living without a relationship. Almost 9% of the women who were interviewed once reported that they either *didn't know what to think about it* (3%), or felt that the question *did not apply* to them (6%). The responses to this item were likely because survivors had just left an abusive relationship, rather than indicating a direction of their intentions for their life.

In the second round of interviews, almost 30% of the 17 survivors reported they *hadn't thought about it* whereas almost 18% reported that they were *thinking about it*. Not one woman indicated that she was *taking steps to do something about it* at the time of the second interview, whereas 29.4% felt that they had *already made changes*. Almost 12% reported *not knowing what to think* about the question or *that it did not apply.*

Across both interviews the largest response by survivors on any of the questions was that 74% in the first interview and almost 77% in the second reported that they had already made changes in ending the relationship. Very small percentages were reported for all other questions, none exceeding 5.9%. During this period the participants seemed to be planning their lives without having an intimate relationship.

(5) Resources (questions 7, 8, 14 and 23)**.**

Similar percentages of survivors who were interviewed both once and twice reported on where I might find support to do what I want. Seventeen percent (17.l% and 17.6% respectively) of those who reported were *thinking about* finding support; approximately 23% (22.9% and 23.5%, respectively), reported having *already made changes.* However, 54% of those reporting who were interviewed once and 41% of those interviewed twice reported *taking steps* to find support to do what I want.

Regarding the item where I might find help, women again responded mostly to two categories of change: *taking steps to do something* and *already made changes*. Almost 49% (48.6%) of those who reported who were interviewed once indicated they were *taking steps* to do something about it, whereas for those who were interviewed twice, only 17.6% of those who responded indicated they were taking steps. Thirty-seven percent of those who responded in the first interview had *already made change* on where I might find help, and 47% reported the same, a 10% difference among the two groups but with more from both groups reporting on the changes that they had already made.

For both items, getting some advice about my situation and getting the help I need to do what I need to do, two categories of change were predominantly involved and therefore will be described. Forty percent (40%) of those who responded who were only interviewed once and almost 12% (11.8%) of those interviewed twice indicated *taking steps to do something about it,* whereas almost 46% (45.7%) of those interviewed only once and almost 71% (70.6%) who were interviewed twice indicated they had *already made changes.*

(6) School/Education (questions 10)**.**

Survivors who reported on the questionnaire item going back to school, were primarily in one stage of change, *taking steps to do something about it*. Of those who were interviewed once, almost 43% (42.9%) reported thinking about going back to school, whereas of those interviewed twice, only 29% indicated *thinking about* going back to school. However, approximately one third, or 31.4% of those who were interviewed once indicated they were *taking steps to do something about* going back to school. For those who were interviewed twice, 41% reported *taking such steps*, indicating that the interest and/or availability regarding education may have increased since the first interview.

Summary.

Additional analyses will be conducted comparing the circumstances of women who were interviewed once or twice, but it seems clear that two categories of change were the predominant ones reported by survivors. That is, *taking steps to do something about it*, had at least a 30% response to almost half of all of the questions on the questionnaire (16 items) and *already made changes*, had at least a 30% response to half of the questions (17), making them the two stages of change that survivors identified

most often. These two responses translate to **preparation** and **action** in the stages of change categories, indicating that at both points in time, both for those interviewed once and those interviewed twice, survivors were taking steps to change their lives both cognitively and behaviorally.

Also, specific issues stood out as areas for further exploration. For example, women struggled with the question about whether children are better off with both parents, with several responding that they either hadn't thought about it or didn't know what to think, but the majority reported that it did not apply. At the time of the first interview, most of the women had just left an abusive relationship to enter the shelter and the question may have lacked resonance for them at the time. But it seemed by the difficulty of thinking about the question that women had not fully explored this issue and therefore did not have a clear idea about how they felt, which may leave them emotionally vulnerable to returning to the abuser who may be the father of their children. Along with this were two items about not living with a relationship, and although women often affirmed their own decision to leave the current abusive relationship, the idea of trying to become independent and all of the issues it raises for women may benefit from additional information and discussion in shelter classes.

Comparison Between Time One and Time Two for Survivors Interviewed Twice (N=17; Tables 50 and 51)**.**

The following section is a comparative description of the responses on the Stages of Change Questionnaire of survivors who were interviewed twice, in both the first and second round of interviews (n=17). The purpose of this comparison is to explore the similarities and differences in what survivors reported on specific experiences on the Stages of Change Questionnaire. The same responses on the questionnaire that correspond with the stages of change categories and the five relevant different issues, both of which were used for the previous comparison, will be used here as well. For convenience of the reader, the issues are reiterated: (1) Taking care of self and self improvement; (2) Safety for self and children; (3) Ending relationship/no relationship; (4) Resources; and (5) School /Education.

(1) Taking care of self and self-improvement (questions 3, 4, 11, 12, 18, 24, and 29)**.**

The question <u>things that I want to change in myself</u> was responded to the same for survivors in the first and second round in the categories *thinking about it* (17.6%) and *does not apply* (0%). In the second round interview more survivors reported that they had *already made changes* (29.4%) compared with 23.5% in the first round. The other category with change was *taking steps*, which decreased from time one, 58.8%, to 47.1% in time two.

The item <u>making myself more financially independent</u> also had two categories where survivors reported the same from the first to the second round. These included *already made changes* (17.6%) and *does not apply* (0). The change occurred in the areas of *thinking about it* and *taking steps to do something about it*. More women in the first

interview (23.5%) were *thinking about it,* than were in the second interview (17.6%). It appears that those women moved to the *taking steps* category, which increased from 52.9% in the first round to 64.7% in the second round.

The item being ready for self-improvement had different scores from the first to the second interview in all the categories examined. Almost 18% of women in the first interview stated they were *thinking about* being ready for self-improvement. This number decreased by the second interview to 5.9%. The other two categories that decreased were *already made changes,* from 47% in the first round to 35.3% in the second, and *does not apply*, which went from 5.9% to 0. The category that increased was *taking steps to do something about it*, which grew from 47% in the first round to 52.9% in the second.

For the item being ready to better understand myself and my relationship, the same percentage of women (41.2%) in the first interview reported that they were *taking steps* as had *already made changes*. These shifted in the second interview to 47% and 17.6%, respectively. The category *thinking about it* increased somewhat in the second interview, to 11.8% from 5.9% in the first interview. The category of *does not apply* also increased in the second interview from 11.8% to 23.5%.

When asked about specific things they could do for self-improvement, the women reported in the first interview that they were *thinking about it* (23.5%), *taking steps* (42.2%), and *already made changes* (35.3%). By the second interview, the women were no longer at the *thinking about it* stage and all the women were either *taking steps* toward self-improvement (52.9%) or had *already made changes* (47%).

On a similar question, continuing to improve myself, on the first interview women reported *thinking about it* (5.9%), *taking steps* (35.3%), and *already made changes* (58.8%). At the second interview 52.9% of the women reported *taking steps* on continuing to improve themselves, whereas 47% stated they had *already made changes*. It should be noted that the answers at the second round interviews were identical on the last two questions discussed.

The final item in this category is figuring out what to do. The scores for *thinking about it* (17.6%) and *taking steps to do something about it* (35.3%) were the same in each round. The difference in the item was that in the first round 5.9% stated that the item *did not apply*. This number was added to the category *already made changes* during the second round to bring the percentage in that category up to 47.1%.

Summary.

The answers that received the most responses in this category were *taking steps to do something* and *already made changes*. In time one, an average of 42% of women said they were taking steps, with the range from 29.4% to 58.8%, and an average of 50.4% answered this way in the second round interview with a range from 35.3% to 64.7%. A similar average, 37.8% in time one, with a range of 17.6% to 58.8%, and 34.5%, with a

range of 17.6% to 47.1% in time two, stated they had already made changes towards taking care of themselves and working toward self improvement.

(2) Safety for self and children (questions 5, 6, 21, 22, and 33)**.**

This category addresses safety for both the survivor and her children. The first question, wanting to be safe, was reported the same at interview one and two in the categories *thinking about it* (5.9%) and *does not apply* (5.9%). The changes occurred with a shift in *taking steps* toward *already made changes*. In the first interviews 35.3% acknowledged they were *taking steps* and 52.9% stated they had *already made changes*. By the second, 58.8% stated they had *already made changes* in wanting to be safe.

The next item is safety of my children. Since the same percentage of women reported 29.4% on *does not apply,* it may indicate that those women did not have children to keep safe, or perhaps, that the women felt that the matter was handled. The other categories saw shifts from time one to time two. The categories that increased were *thinking about it* (from 5.9% to 11.8%) and *already made changes* (from 29.4% to 35.3%). Whereas the item that decreased was *taking steps* (35.3% to 23.5%).

Regarding having to leave the relationship to be safe, two items remained the same for both the first and second interview: *taking steps* (5.9%) and *does not apply* (11.8%). For the category *already made changes,* survivors' reported 82.4% on the first interview and 70.6% on the second. On *thinking about it*, survivors' reported increased from 0 in the first interview to 5.9% in the second.

The following question was slightly different than the last in that it asked having to leave the relationship so my children will be safe. The categories utilized were *taking steps, already made changes, and does not apply*. Both of the first categories increased slightly from time one to time two. *Taking steps* went from 5.9% to 6.3% and *already made changes* increased from 47.1% to 56.5%. *Does not apply* decreased from 47.1% to 37.5%.

The final question for this section on safety issues is removing my children from the abuser. In the first interview, survivors' responses fell into two categories; *already made changes* (52.9%) and *does not apply* (47.1%). This might make sense since the survivors had just entered a shelter. By the second interview the numbers only shifted slightly. *Does not apply* lowered to 41.2% and 5.9% reported that they were *taking steps*. However, 52.9% continued to report that they had *already made changes*.

Summary.

On average, close to half of the women across all questions, in both the first interview 52.9% with a percentage range of 29.4 to 82.4, and the second, 54.8% with a percentage range of 35.3 to 70.6, reported that they had *already made changes* to keep themselves and their children safe. A smaller percentage reported that they were *taking steps* toward safety for themselves and their children. At time one, an average 16.5%

(range of 0 to 35.3%) stated they were *taking steps* and at time two, 14.2% (range of 5.9 to 29.4%).

(3) Children and Both Parents (question 34)**.**

As stated earlier, this question needed clarifying by many of the women interviewed. In the first interview, the largest percentage of responses were in the *does not apply* category (64%). This decreased in the second interview to 47.1%. The category *thinking about it* stayed the same at 5.9%. However, the categories *taking steps to do something about it* and *already made changes* increased some from the first interview to the second. In the first interview no one reported that they were *taking steps* but in the second interview 11.8% reported *taking steps*. Similarly, 5.9% in the first interview and 17.6% in the second interview reported that they had *already made changes* to believing that children are better off with both parents.

(4) Ending relationship/No relationship (questions 26 and 28)**.**

The categories that received the most responses at time one for living without a relationship were *haven't thought about it* and *already made changes*. Each received a 29.4% response. At the second interview, those numbers shifted and 17.6% *hadn't thought about it*; whereas, 47.1% reported that they had *already made changes*. The categories *thinking about it* (17.6%) and *does not apply* (11.8%) were the same at each interview. No participants marked that they were taking steps to do something about living without a relationship.

The question ending my relationship was different in that no one marked the category *haven't thought about it*. The majority of answers feel into *already made changes*, which was 76.5% at time one and 58.8% at time two. There was a change in *does not apply* from time one to time two, 5.9% and 29.4%, respectively. The categories of *thinking about it* and *taking steps to do something about it* were both reported at 5.9% at each interview.

Summary.

The questions in this category were almost evenly marked in time one and time two when the averages were taken for both questions. The percentages were exactly the same for *thinking about it* (11.8% - range of 5.9 to17.6% both time one and two), *taking steps to do something* (2.95% - range of 0 to 5.9% both time one and two), and *already made changes* (52.95% - range of 29.4 to 76.5% time one and 47.1 to 58.8% time two). There was a difference in the category does not apply. In time one, 8.9% (with a percentage range of 5.9 to 11.8) of women marked this category; whereas, in time two 20.6% (with a percentage range of 11.8 to 29.4) marked it.

(5) Resources (questions 7, 8, 14 and 23)**.**

In the four response categories we looked at, *already made changes* was the only one where the responses remained the same for the question where I might find some

support to do what I want (23.5%). *Thinking about it* went from 17.6% in the first round to 11.8% in the second; whereas, *taking steps to do something about it* moved from 41.2% to 52.9%. Lastly, in the first round, 5.9% stated it *did not apply* compared to zero responses to that category in the second round.

The next question in this category, where I might find help, saw a large increase in the response *taking steps* from the first round (17.6%) to the second round 58.8%). The other increase was in *does not apply,* which went from 0 responses to 5.9%. Correspondingly, the decreases came in *thinking about it,* which had 23.5% in the first round and zero responses in the second and *already made changes,* which went from 47.1% to 23.5%.

Of the response categories looked at, *taking steps to do something about it* is the one that stayed the same from time one to time two (11.8%) for the question getting some advice about my situation. *Already made changes* saw a large decrease, from 70.6% at time one to 35.3% at time two, which reflects the different stages the women were in at time two. *Thinking about it* increased from 11.8% to 23.5%. *Does not apply* also saw an increase from 5.9% at time one to 17.6% at time two.

The last question in this category, getting the help I need to do what I need to do did not have any responses for the category, *thinking about it*. The response category *taking steps* saw an increase from 35.3% to 47%; whereas *already made changes* decreased from 58.8% to 47%. *Does not apply* also decreased from 5.9% to 0%.

Summary.

Items that received the most responses at time one and time two included *taking steps to do something and already made changes*. When looking at an average of all the questions, at time one, 26.5% (with a range of 11.8 to 41.2%) of women stated they were taking steps related to resources; whereas, 42.7% (with a range of 11.8 to 58.8%) of women marked this category in time two. In time one, 50% (with a range of 23.5 to 70.6%) of women stated they had already made changes and 32.4% (with a range of 23.5 to 47.1%) of women in time two used this category.

(6) School/Education (question 10)**.**

The categories used most for this question were *thinking about it, taking steps to do something,* and *already made changes*. The same percentage of women (41.2%) reported *taking steps to do something* in both interviews one and two. The categories *thinking about it* and *already made changes* saw a reversal from the first interview to the second. In time one, 29.4% of women were thinking about school and education compared with 17.6% in the second interview. However, at the first interview, 17.6% of women marked that they had *already made changes* compared to 29.4% of women from the second interview. The category *does not apply* stayed the same at 5.9%, across both interviews.

Summary of Comparisons.

These data suggest that many women saw themselves as having made changes at both the first and second interviews. In some instances, women were more willing to see themselves in the process of changing at the time of the second interview compared to the first, when they felt they had already made a shift. Also, women seemed to clearly recognize and acknowledge the steps they had taken to become safe and also sent a clear message that they no longer felt responsible for changing or making things okay for the abuser.

Regarding self-improvement, there were significant differences that need additional exploration. Fifty-seven percent (57.1%) of the survivors who were interviewed once versus 29% (29.4%) who were interview twice reported *taking steps to do something about it*. It is likely that this reflects the process of change in that applications for education and/or training, housing or employment may be completed and filed, but women have to wait either for admission, start date, or a call confirming housing or employment. The time that it takes for resources within the environment to respond and take action as it relates to the changes that survivors can accomplish is an additional factor that needs to be included in all discussions of the process of change.

In addition, there was an indication from survivors' reports that whatever change they had made, that they were trying to maintain that change and/or progress. Across all interviews, close to 50% and sometimes over 50% of survivors reported *taking steps to do something* and *already made changes* on items that relate to maintenance, things getting better, managing to have a better situation, and making things different. And, as we have already noted, for survivors who were interviewed twice, higher percentages often reported they had were taking steps to do something or had already made changes, reflecting greater action on their parts. These preliminary findings suggest that continued support and encouragement could be extremely beneficial to these women who are endeavoring to turn their lives around.

Summary of Findings Related to Stages of Change.

The quantitative Stages of Change survey along with the coded interviews provided a rich selection of data from which to begin to look at the various stages of change that survivors go through during the process of leaving their abusive partner, obtaining safety and resources for both themselves and their children, and beginning to heal. By no means is our analysis of the information we received complete. Instead, as you will see in this report, it has served as a jumping off point for further reflection, analysis and research.

Distinctions within the Stages of Change.

Initially in reviewing the qualitative data, we found that for many women there were distinct subcategories to each stage of change as it was originally developed that related to specific practice interventions, which will be discussed later in this section. Indeed, all of the stages of change are an integral part of a larger process of change and

therefore the overlap occurs in both obvious behavioral and cognitive changes as well as in smaller incremental modifications. Just as the way people change is not linear and organized, so too, the descriptions of the change process are intertwined, rather than distinct and mutually exclusive.

The data indicate that the survivors were not all at the same stage, reflecting the obvious fact that they were not all in the same mental, behavioral, or emotional state. In fact, in the same category of Contemplation, it seemed that different women were in different states in their understanding and in their ability and readiness to make change. For example, some of the survivors were at a beginning understanding of their situation, but with no definite commitment to change. Others had an idea of what they were experiencing but had not yet reached any conclusions about what to do. As stated earlier, due to this observation we separated and distinguished the subcategories for contemplation, preparation, and action into sections in order to better capture the nuances of the various stages of change that each participant was in.

In further analyzing the qualitative data, it seems apparent that most of the survivors who were interviewed were in one of three primary stages: *contemplation*, *preparation* and *action*. The largest number of participants were coded as being in the stage of Action 1; that is, 64% (n=34) of the women were engaged in active behavioral change. This actually is quite logical considering that all of the women had just moved into a shelter for victims of domestic violence. The next largest category is Contemplation 3; that is, 60% (n=32) of the 53 survivors made responses that seemed to belong in Contemplation 3, which is described as being reflective, with a cognitive awareness of the patterns in her life and with efforts to make a life plan.

Non-Linearity of Stages of Change.

We further observed that the process of change is not only non-linear, but that it also may involve numerous stages of change at one time. Also, we can begin to believe that the number of stages that a survivor is in may increase when she is away from the abuse and has had more time to contemplate and make changes in her situation. This likely means that a survivor is working on several different issues and is in different stages with each issue. Or it can mean that the issue she is working on is multifaceted (such as leaving an abusive partner), which lends itself to working on and experiencing it in different ways. For example, a survivor may be contemplating the pattern of abuse in her life at the same time she is taking action to get a new apartment, working on her safety plan, e.g., finding a safety deposit box and/or opening a post office box, and exploring employment options. The following is an example of a woman in the second interview who is both contemplating her relationship and discussing actions she has taken since being in shelter, thus she is in two different stages of change:

> *In a shelter it taught us you know, you go back you keep going back and forth, thinking things are gonna change. The only way some things are gonna change is that you get different results…is that person be willing to change and to give, and I thought about my life, you know…..cause I got something to fill that void with –*

I go to school, I work, you know, I'm interacting with other people, I'm learning to gain healthy friendship, you know, something I never had.

Relevance of States of Change for Providers.

As indicated in the table that begins on page 132 of the Implications section, one of the primary purposes for utilizing and understanding the stages of change is to provide clarity on the nuances of the process of change for survivors. Based on the literature, there is little doubt that survivors could make these monumental changes in their lives without information and support, which is what they receive at DV shelters and agencies. However, it is exceedingly clear from the qualitative interviews that although survivors may share similar experiences, each woman has a distinctly individual process that she must maneuver in order to accomplish safety. The manner and method with which providers respond to each survivor is critical, as every provider knows and struggles with.

The Stages of Change Questionnaire has been separated into distinct sections to indicate discreet needs of survivors. The table suggests possible practice interventions and perspectives for each section to guide providers as they respond to tentative requests for information as well as life-threatening circumstances. We must note that this table is a result of a preliminary analysis of the data and it may be revised as we continue our analyses.

Emotional Support.

Across the interviews, almost regardless of the stage of change, survivors reported a need for someone to talk to. The obvious outcome of trying to change ones' life is that interpersonal relationships change, and survivors described extremely difficult periods of isolation and loneliness. The qualitative data describes survivors' burgeoning awareness of exploitation and abuse within relationships other than with the abuser, which moved them farther away from any perceived social support they thought they had when they left the DV shelter. The presence of support as well as educational groups is imperative for many survivors to maintain the changes that they are striving for in their lives.

Discussion of Quantitative and Qualitative Findings and Implication for Policy and Practice.

Summary of Quantitative and Qualitative Data Findings.

The multiple viewpoints reflected in both the quantitative and qualitative data sources and findings of this report present a rich context that may actually reflect the complexity of the lives of survivors of domestic violence. The varying perspectives presented here create a more comprehensive picture of circumstances and needs. We have listed our findings separately and now to we try to put them together, in order to examine where they differ and converge, as well as to suggest their implications for policy, practice and future research.

What is clear as we look at the findings from both the quantitative data points and the qualitative interviews is the convergence of the findings. Each data source mirrors the other, adding clarity and describing the complexity of the situations of these women's lives. The multiple source of quantitative data (Help Line administrative and interview data, InfoNet data and interview sample data) underscores the commonality of demographic characteristics and service needs of victims utilizing shelter services. The qualitative data adds a depth of understanding and highlights the complexity of these women's circumstances. Below we highlight areas of convergence and divergence between the two sets of analyses as these relate to the research questions.

Economic Vulnerability.

Perhaps more than any characteristic, what typifies women who seek shelter, across all sources of data, was their greater vulnerability, particularly economic vulnerability. Although some of the qualitative findings are specific to the shelters that participated in the study, the qualitative findings related to the characteristics of the sample support the quantitative findings that women who seek shelter are more economically vulnerable on a number of fronts including their single status, greater lack of employment, lower levels of education, and, if race is a proxy for economic status, their greater likelihood of being African American. The qualitative data describes the women's needs for training and education in order to be able to provide a stable lifestyle for themselves and their children.

Types of Abuse.

The quantitative analysis suggests that in addition to economic vulnerability, those in shelter are more likely to experience more severe abuse. This is often physical abuse but there is some indication it may also be sexual. Of interest related to this is that the qualitative analysis of the shelter sample interviews suggests that although the women reported physical abuse, it was the immediate threat and the urgent need to get away before another attack that often was the catalyst to a shelter call.

Path to Help Seeking.

All of the women in both the quantitative and qualitative data reported a hesitance, reluctance to seek help. The helpline data suggested that stigma and lack of clarity about how to define the situation –whether it was abuse or not- played a role in their reluctance to seek help. The qualitative analysis of the shelter interviews also suggested that none of the women we eager to begin the communal life of the shelter, and therefore expressed reluctance about shelter living. However, many of the women also reported that they learned a great deal while in the shelter and the helpfulness of shelter staff and educational programs.

The quantitative data also make clear that most women who enter shelter do not report that they were referred to services by police or legal sources. They are more likely to obtain a referral from a social service program or from a hotline. At the same time, the

data related to referrals to the City of Chicago Helpline tend to reflect greater referrals by police regardless of whether the request is for shelter or not. This suggests police may be an indirect source of referral for some women, but that they are less likely to be the direct conduit to shelter services. We did not have a chance to fully explore referral sources at this time in the qualitative data. However, anecdotally, we know that women named many sources and these were quite varied. Further analysis may clarify this issue further.

We also know from the qualitative analysis that the path to shelter is a complex one and that shelter addresses many needs including safety, economic and respite. We discuss the implications of this more fully in the next section.

Service Experiences.

While the quantitative data analysis provides information about the timing of shelter services and suggests who is likely to get more or less assistance among all victims as well as among those in shelter, the qualitative analysis highlights the importance of the services victims receive to their wellbeing. Thus, the quantitative data suggests that those in shelter obtain more services compared to individuals who do not obtain such assistance. It also indicates that most services provided to victims in shelter are provided at the time they are in shelter. Ongoing assistance is more limited once women leave. Further, shelters are more likely to provide those services which they are funded to provide such as counseling, advocacy, group sessions, and case management services. Supports such as employment and income assistance are more limited perhaps because they show up under other services such as advocacy or case management or because shelters have a harder time providing such services and such services are more limited in general.

At the same time, the qualitative data highlight how important shelter and services such as counseling are to women at the time they first leave their abuser. The shelter itself provides not only an opportunity for safety, but a place for a "time out." Related to the change process, this "time out" may be critical in advancing women through the stages of change. Still, women in the shelter interview sample highlighted their need for ongoing economic and practical supports as well. In particular, the qualitative data contains numerous examples of the lengths women went to in order to maintain some type of housing. For example, one women described her awareness that she had to live in an unsafe neighborhood with abusive 'friends' in order to have any housing at all. InfoNet data does not include information about housing related services, so it is difficult to know quantitatively how much help shelters provide in this area. Qualitative data analysis suggests some of the shelters do assist either by working with women to find housing or providing it themselves through second-stage housing programs. However, the quantitative interview data also suggest that housing remains an ongoing need. This is discussed further in the implications section.

Barriers to Service.

The qualitative data provide more insight into the personal barriers that kept women from acting as well as the difficulties they encountered in trying to leave and seek help during previous episodes of violence. The implications of these personal barriers are discussed further in the implications section. We note that quantitative data related to barriers to service were quite limited and did not reveal any clear patterns because of the small number of individuals included in the analysis,. However, the data, provided only by the Help Line qualitative (NIJ) interview data, suggest that most people did not obtain shelter after being referred and attempting to get it because the services was not appropriate or available. Given the small number of beds available in Chicago (166) for women in need, this is perhaps not a very surprising finding. Because the sample was so small, it was hard to look at whether this trend varied by race/ethnicity or by whether or not the caller had children, but there is no suggestion that such issues played a role. In effect, everyone is affected by the lack of beds. It does appear though that shelters ultimately admit those who are most in need. Whether this is because of policy or because those with other resources choose other paths is unclear. The qualitative data suggest that shelter is not seen as the most positive option, however, at least initially, which may mean that those who end up in shelters are those who have the most limited alternatives.

The Outcomes of Women Who Leave Shelter.

The women we interviewed described their time at domestic violence shelters as a period of uncertainty in their lives. They were unsure where they would live when their shelter stays ended; how they would heal from their experiences of abuse; and how they would manage to care for their children, attend school, and hold down employment at once and on their own. At the time they entered shelter, they had multiple service needs. For the 17 women who completed second round interviews, this uncertainty remained pervasive. With the exception of one woman, all were safer. This was reflected in both what they reported in the qualitative interview and in their scores on the Abusive Behavior Inventory. Yet, most were still seeking a sense of permanence and stability in their lives. Their service needs were fewer, but they were perhaps more critical as the lack of housing, food or clothing, while in shelter might be more easily addressed than it could be met once outside of shelter. In addition, while the quantitative data could indicate the type of help the women reported needing on an ongoing basis, the qualitative data suggested some of the barriers to assistance including a lack of necessary services in some cases.

We also do not know much about the other 35 women we could not locate at Time 2. Perhaps these 17 were the most stable and safe which was why we could reach them. They did report the existence of support source in their lives and perhaps this also distinguished them in some way. Clearly these supports were important on a number of levels, and included supportive relationships with other former shelter residents and shelter staff.

Stages of Change.

The qualitative data provided a rich source through which to examine the theoretical model proposed by Prochaska and DiClimente (1984) as it pertains to survivors of domestic violence and their attempts to become and remain safe. Additional sub-stages within each stage were identified empirically and also reflected in the Stages of Change questionnaire, particularly in the endorsement of a "does not apply" category which reflected a specific feeling of empowerment among the women.

Analysis of both data sources suggested that women tended to already be out of pre-contemplation by the time they entered shelter and some were moving more fully into contemplation and action. Further, analysis comparing the women at Time 1 and Time 2 suggests that some women had moved into maintenance and many women were making statements and endorsing responses which reflected that they had already made changes. The implications of these findings for practice are considered next after our discussion of implications for policy.

Implications for Policy, Practice and Further Research.

The data on domestic violence and the barriers women face in trying to change their circumstances suggests that survivors leave many times but often for short periods of time and not completely. They return to these destructive relationships for a variety of reasons, many of which have been discussed in this analysis from the survivors own reports. As a result of these self reports, the researchers have developed a list of implications which we hope will facilitate service providers and policy makers and direct future research and services.

The Role and Limitations of Shelter and Shelter Services.

As a whole, the findings, particularly from the qualitative analysis cast some light on the function of shelter and/or the need for shelters in the time of budget cuts and limited resources. First, clearly, for the particular group of women we interviewed it is hard to imagine another alternative to initially staying in shelter. Their situations were so nested in very stubborn issues of economic instability, overburdened or insufficient family support, and long standing patterns of vulnerability to violence. For these women, the shelters played a very vital role, beyond being an emergency place to stay. Beyond the very important issues of safety, the shelters were a place of respite, where the multitude of issues that contributed to their unsafe lives could begin to be addressed.

Second, for most of the 17 women in the second round interview, the struggle for stable and secure situations is far from over. They still need access to job assistance and affordable housing. They need support and services to recover physically, mentally, and emotionally from the trauma they have experienced in intimate relationships, as well as time to become economically self-sufficient. Thus, while women need domestic violence shelters to continue to fulfill their function of providing safe, confidential, emergency housing, women need shelters to provide even more.

These findings underscore the supportive and empowering mission of the

Domestic Violence shelters and also raise questions about the current model of time limits and limited continuity of services. Is four months an adequate length of time for some domestic violence survivors to be ready to move out of shelter, particularly for those many women who are most likely to be currently informally triaged by the limited nature of shelter capacity—women with very high and complex needs such as we encountered in this study? Our findings suggest that a conscious institutionalization of a second stage of supportive housing in which a menu of services included intensive case management, counseling, capital development, etc, would be offered may be a critical service need.

Third, whereas women often spoke fondly of the structure shelter living provided for them, some also identified the need for shelter services to be flexible. Particularly women who are employed, attending school, or maintaining responsibilities beyond the shelter program need to be able to negotiate some shelter rules, such as curfews and designated eating times. Along these lines, women also benefit from individualized service plans. Although most women expressed common needs, such as safety and affordable housing, some women will need certain services and referrals more than others. It follows that women benefit from shelters that are connected to a variety of social service programs, such as healthcare providers, community mental health clinics, job training programs, and legal agencies (to name a few), that thus enable shelter staff to quickly identify resources that can respond to the variety of needs with which their clients present. Ideally, these connections will be made while the client is a shelter resident and will continue past the end of her shelter stay. As noted above, many of the women noted their inability to access needed services and described "going without" as they waited to rise to the top of various waiting lists. By helping women make lasting connections in a timely fashion, shelters likely will increase women's chances of building stable lives beyond their shelter stays.

At the same time, the quantitative data suggest that shelters are often unable to make these connections and that services stop or diminish after women leave the shelter environment. If other programs are not meeting the ongoing and often complex needs of clients, it may mean that many women are having a difficult time obtaining independence from the violence in their lives. We want to note that expecting domestic violence shelters to respond on their own to all of these implications is not realistic. Indeed, helping women to transition from shelter to stable, affordable housing will require a commitment from multiple community service providers to invest in women and children's safety. Of course, this commitment will require adequate funding that will allow service providers to respond to more clients and to provide more in-depth services. While funding is always tight, the powerful experiences and insights shared by the women who participated in this study underscore the dire need and importance of developing comprehensive, long-term supportive services for domestic violence victims.

We also believe it is important to stress that victims of violence who are not in shelter settings are also lacking in many services that would make the transition to safety easier. Perhaps they have less complex needs, but we know that domestic violence, even when someone is more economically stable, requires a comprehensive array of services

and supports. These findings then suggest that greater efforts need to be made to target and connect with women who are not likely to obtain shelter services. A more complete examination of the service experience of women who obtain domestic violence services outside of shelter settings and the barriers they face in accessing ongoing service would help us to identify ways the system might be modified to better meet their needs as well.

Services/Interventions Identified by Survivors.

Although the research on the barriers that women face in gaining safety and some measure of stability in their lives has been well documented in the literature, it is clearly reiterated in the second round of interviews when women described their difficulties and often new abusive relationships that were consciously entered into not with the former batterer but with friends and family because there were no other alternatives. For example, one woman described the mismatched time frame of getting out of the shelter and accessing monthly social security benefit payments which catapulted her into an abusive relationship with an acquaintance that she was trying to manage in order to sustain housing. But even this housing situation was so frightening to her that she rarely went outside during the daytime, and then only across the street to the grocery story, and never at night. Affordable housing was again and again described as unavailable to these women. Other barriers include employment, job training that would result in a living wage, education, emotional support, and often, ways to get away from the continuous calls and harassment of the previous abuser.

Self Care and Improvement.

It was apparent throughout the interviews, both in times 1 and 2, that women were focused and working on self care and improvement. However, there was a 16% increase in the second interviews which suggests that women either learned skills of self-care or perhaps that when they are in a safe space they can focus on personal improvement. It seemed to us that personal enhancement was important with moving on in their lives. Further, as suggested in the qualitative interviews, survivors described not thinking about themselves as a life pattern, which increased not only their own but also their children's vulnerability to abuse, until they took classes at the shelters. Throughout this study, the positive impact of the DV and self-esteem classes on the cognition and behaviors of survivors has been widely cited by the women.

DV Classes.

The DV shelter educational groups were a powerful and lasting experience for most of these women, and a resource that must be maintained and retained for them. Cultural and societal messages for behavior often are difficult to untangle. Comments from survivors across interviews indicate that the DV classes at the shelter that explain the cycle of violence were enlightening and helped them to actually understand what they had been experiencing. However, it seemed that women were much less clear about the

issue of whether or not children need both parents. Many women had not considered and/or were unprepared to think about cultural and familial messages about the structure of the family unit, especially when issues of violence and abuse exist. Some of the impediments to safety are the lack of opportunity to think through an issue as well as insufficient information, both of which are circumstances that shelter classes consistently change. It may serve clients to include this additional relevant topic to the list of class offerings.

Social Support and Counseling.

Not only in the DV literature, but certainly very strongly in our interviews, women described their dire need for safe and affordable housing, well paying and stable employment, and the necessity in order to gain stability, for education and training. All of these services were identified by all of the survivors as mandatory for their gaining safety and independence. However, in addition to these major obstacles, which require an enormous commitment on the part of the survivor if she is fortunate enough to receive the services that she needs to move on, women described a need for someone to talk to who does not exploit or abuse them in ways that they now recognize in interpersonal relationships other than with an abuser. Women described the isolation and loneliness involved in changing how they relate to others and how they want to live. Their new awareness often demands that they move away from family members and friends, further increasing the difficulty of their situation. The layers of physical and emotional difficulties can be overwhelming for these women who often have few resources. These circumstances have led us to suggest that shelters must once again play a critical role in this process. Most women relocate to another community when they enter a shelter. Indeed, it is at the recommendation of the shelter staff that they move out of their current neighborhood in order to avoid running into the abuser and/or his family members and others. When the women leave the shelter, often they return to their former neighborhood, where the schools and community are familiar to them and to their children. It is at this critical time that shelters and/or other DV agencies in their area should receive notification from the survivors and staff person at the previous shelter that the woman was returning to her home area and that she would like to be enrolled in support groups at the most convenient shelter /agency location. It is by this extension of support that survivors might receive the additional and greatly needed social support to maintain their progress. In addition, the DV shelter/agency can continue to refer the survivor for other services, as relevant, and further support her change.

Relevant Interventions Based on Findings Related to the Stages of Change and the Change Process.

The interest in gaining a greater understanding of the methods survivors use to move to safer circumstances has been explored in recent years. Cluss et al. (2006) provides a comprehensive overview of the various research projects that have explored survivors' personal strengths and internal resources. Cluss and colleagues describe the various themes used in qualitative interviews to gain a better grasp of their situation. For example, Patzel (2001), used realization, reframing and self-efficacy as points of

reference for understanding survivors; Landenburger (1993) developed 4 phases that she described as the process of entering and leaving an abusive relationships, and others have developed equally exciting and useful conceptualizations about survivor' processes. The most widely used model for domestic violence, however, has been the stages of change model. It is this model that we have chosen to use.

In addition to needing the services already mentioned, one of the aims of this research was to explore the implications for different and perhaps specific interventions that might be applicable to the situations of survivors at different points in the stages of change. It is to this point that the following discussion applies. These are very preliminary suggestions for how providers might proceed and/or evaluate their interventions based on the stages of change.

Of the six categories of change in this model, it is clear that three generally supported the circumstances of the survivors: ***Thinking about change***; ***Taking steps to do something about change***; and ***Already made changes***. These were the mostly highly subscribed stages of change for both sets of interviews. It is likely that it is at these times that the women will reach out for help, information and support, whereas ***Haven't thought about change***, and ***May try to deal with this again***, and ***Don't know what to think***, all imply a very different stage in their process of thinking and moving toward any type of change.

Implications of Stages of Change Analysis for Practice

Stages of Change Categories and Subcategories	**Practice Perspectives for Providers**
Pre-contemplation: Lack of awareness of any problems and no intention of changing anything	• Give her a forum to talk. • Ask questions about her situation, what she needs, how is she managing, what worries her? • Repeat/rephrase what she says and help her to hear herself talk about her situation. Make a point to use her language, e.g., "unhealthy" instead of abusive. • This may e a time to suggest the Power and Control Wheel to see if that resonates with her experience of an "unhealthy" relationship, but don't describe the Wheel. • Don't press it.
Contemplation 1: Awareness of the problem, with consideration to changing but no commitment to change.	• Offer basic information about DV, e.g., cycle of violence, identify types of abuse.

	• Ask who else the abuser hurts/hits besides her? • Really empathize with her dilemma and how difficult it can be in her situation – basically allowing her the space to openly discuss both sides – usually her love for him/commitment to having a dad for her kids along with her being tired of the abuse.
Contemplation 2: Awareness of the problem, but requiring more information to make a conclusive decision to change	• Ask her about previous abuse. Inquire about family support and how family relates to one another, e.g., caring, a resource for her, understanding? • Validate her experience. • Educate about the Power and Control Wheels, and Cycle of Violence. • Suggest changes she may have seen in her life during the relationship, using this as a means for validation and reinforcement of her experience. • It is at this stage that she may be ready to hear about these patterns and she may experience awareness, e.g., "yes, oh my god, that is me!
Contemplation 3: Awareness of patterns in her life, characterized by reflection and efforts to make a new life plan.	• Describe the Safety Plan. • Affirm her experience. • Help her identify and describe her feelings. • Discuss the pros and cons of moving out, using a shelter, becoming safe. • She has to make the decisions based on what is the safest course of action for her.
Preparation 1: Desire to change in the immediate future, with the initiation of small steps toward change but without a clear criterion for change, e.g., locating schools, looking for housing or day care.	• Work on parts of the Safety Plan, e.g., buy a post office box, get a safety deposit box at a bank, etc. • Identify a neighbor who will support her and her children to become safe, and who will keep a packed suitcase. • Stress an emotional safety plan in addition to the physical items as many women struggle with that even more: does she have a counselor? Can she call the hot line? Does she have a supportive friend?

Preparation 2: Denotes more personal change, working on better self-esteem, thinking more about personal needs, and generally more focused on internal change.	• Validate and affirm her personal feelings and experiences. • Help her to identify more specific feelings about her abuser, family members, and herself. • Also, if she hasn't been connected to a group, encourage it at this time as she might be ready and receive further validation from that experience.
Action 1: Modify behaviors and environmental circumstances to accomplish a goal; confront fears and apprehensions.	• Continue to validate and affirm her experience, while encouraging her to be practical about what she can do. • Make referrals. • Also, if it hasn't been explored much prior to this, check on her feelings about counseling for her children.
Action 2: Reflects survivors' sense of empowerment and decisiveness at the moment. May not be an enduring state.	• Support her ability to make changes in her life. • Predict the feelings that might come up of wanting to go back or not feeling as certain about the decision to leave. • Validate and normalize those feelings while identifying the dangers for her and her children.
Maintenance: Behavioral and environmental changes are managed to prevent recycling into the abusive relationship.	• Encourage her successes. • Be realistic about how quickly things can change. • Help her anticipate what barriers may impede her; help her problem solve.
Recycle/Return: Return to an abusive relationship	• Encourage her to stay in support group. • Encourage her to find ways to be safe while living with abuser. • Stress your continued availability and support for her.

Future Analyses and Possible Article Titles.

The current report is an analysis of the data collected over a 12 month period from women survivors of domestic violence. Although we have tried to compile a comprehensive response to the research questions, the findings from our data were rich and include many additional levels of analyses, especially of the qualitative data. We have listed below some additional analyses that we have identified as goals for future

analysis and potential articles that will be derived from this research project. Drafts of all manuscripts will be sent to ICJIA and ICADV prior to submission for publication.

1. The role and impact of incarceration and release of the abuser as a factor in the destabilization of women survivors. For many women, the release and return of abusers to their lives becomes a significant destabilizing force and often one for which the women felt they had little recourse and less preparation. Further exploration may be conducted into the systems barriers and the possible recourse available to the survivor.

2. The various pathways toward change of women survivors of domestic violence: Turning points and trajectories in the process of change. The catalysts for change and the methods survivors described to make their way to safety, including the pivotal points of change, will be reported in this analysis.

3. The many faces of danger: The role of the family, friends, and the community in the success and the instability of the survivor in becoming safe. Often women described their families as less supportive and more exploitive than their abusers, decreasing the woman's social support and increasing her vulnerability. They also described their circumstances after leaving the shelter, waiting for employment and/or training and school, as often harrowing and tumultuous. This analysis will explore survivor's descriptions of both relational and community support and impact on instability. This analysis will describe their circumstances and ways they managed or endured their situations.

4. The Role of Anticipation in Survivors Stages of Change: Working with survivors to anticipate barriers and opportunities as they move toward positive changes in their lives. Working with survivors entails an awareness of the many factors they have to consider as they make profound changes in their lives. Because change is not linear, events do not always transpire in the ways that we might wish, and the complexity of needs are great, the role and utilization of anticipation becomes pivotal as we affirm survivors' skills and coping strategies and use anticipation as a supporting function in their process.

In addition to further mining the data we have collected, some additional areas of research that would add to and help further clarify the findings presented here include:

- A further examination into the way in which race and ethnicity relate to service receipt among those obtaining shelter specifically and those requesting shelter services.

- More information about the service requests of survivors who are not in the shelter system and the way in which they utilize services. This would be extremely useful for helping to clarify the ways in which individuals not in shelter access services and why they receive less service than those in shelter.

- A deeper investigation into the long term service utilization patterns of women who have obtained shelter services once they leave shelter. This would help to explore how and if women access needed services not offered by shelter programs and further clarify service gaps in the system.

Table 1: Characteristics of Individuals Calling and Not Requesting Versus Requesting Shelter for 2006 for City Callers Only- Administrative Help Line Data

Variable	Not Requesting Shelter	Requesting Shelter
Total Number of Individuals Included in Analysis	2745	1796
CLIENT DEMOGRAPHICS		
Gender	(2745)	(1796) ***
% Female	89.2	99.1 ***
% Male	10.8	.9
% Transgendered	0.04	0
Age	(2653)	(1796)
Average Age When Contacted Help Line	33.9	32.5 ***
Age Range at Contact	0-85	0-73
% Under 65 at First Contact	98.9	99.8 ***
% 65 and Older at First Contact	1.1	.2
Race	(2698)	(1774) ***
% African American	48.6	73.0
% White	18.0	10.7
% Hispanic	29.6	1.3
% Middle Eastern	.6	.6
% Asian American	1.3	.8
% Bi-Racial	.6	.9
% Other Race	1.2	.6
% American Indian	.2	.2
Children	(2752)	(1799)
% With Any Children	49.4	53.9 **
For Those With Children:	(1360)	(969)
Average Number of Children for Those with Children	2.0	2.1
Average Number of Female Children for Those with Children	1.0	1.0
Average Number of Male Children for Those with Children	1.0	1.1 **
% **Pregnant at time of Call (Includes only from May through December of year)**	(1746) 5.3	(1027) *** 13.2
**** For differences between groups, $p \leq .01$** ***** For differences between groups, $p \leq .001$**		

Table 2: Type of Abuser and Relationship to Abuser by Whether Caller Requested Shelter or Not for City Callers Only- Administrative Help Line Data

Variables	Caller did not Request Shelter	Caller Requested Shelter
Type of Abuse	2523	1625 ***
% Physical Abuse Only	3.1	2.3
% Sexual Abuse Only	.2	0
% Emotional Abuse Only	16.0	6.4
% Physical, Sexual and Emotional Abuse	10.3	21.1
% Physical and Sexual Abuse	0.1	0.4
% Physical and Emotional Abuse	67.7	68.3
% Sexual and Emotional Abuse	1.0	0.6
% No Physical, Sexual or Emotional Abuse	1.5	0.9
RELATIONSIHP TO ABUSER	2702	1786 ***
% Legally married spouse	37.3	20.2
% Partner or dating currently not living together	10.1	13.9
% Family/Blood Relationship	6.4	5.1
% Ex-Spouse or partner	20.0	19.8
% Partner living together	20.6	36.2
% Child	0.6	0.5
% Child in Common (no other relationship)	2.4	2.8
% Personal Attendant	0.2	0.06
% Roommate	1.0	1.3
% Other or not IDVA Relationship	1.3	0.1
**** For differences between groups, p ≤ .01** ***** For differences between groups, p ≤ .001**		

Table 3: Basic Characteristics of Callers – People Requesting Shelter Compared to those Not Requesting Shelter – Help Line Interview (NIJ) Data

Variable	Did Not Request Shelter	Requested Shelter
Total Number of Clients Served	277	122
% of TOTAL	69.4	30.6
CLIENT DEMOGRAPIHCS		
Gender (Total number included in analysis)	**(277)**	**(122)**
% Female	92.1	98.4 *
Age (Total number included in analysis)	**(275)**	**(122)**
Average Age at First Contact	32.98	31.42
Race (Total number included in analysis)	**(277)**	**(122)**
% White	20.8	12.4 *
% African American	53.8	73.0 ***
% Hispanic	22.4	11.5 *
% Other Race	3.2	3.3
Language (Total number included in analysis)	**(277)**	**(122)**
% Who Speak English	90.6	91.8
Children (Total number included in analysis)	**(277)**	**(122)**
% Who Have Child (or Live with Children?)	67.9	62.3
% Who Hare a Boy Child Between the Ages of 12 and 17	14.8	12.3
Living Arrangements (Total number included in analysis)	**(277)**	**(122)**
% Who Live Alone	16.6	18.0
% Who Live with Adult Partner and a Child	0.7	4.1 *
% Who live with Other adult Only	10.1	6.6
% Who live with Adult Partner and Other Adult, no Children	0.4	1.6
Average Total Living in Household	2.19	2.20
Employment (Total number included in analysis)	**(266)**	**(114)**
% Currently Employed Full or Part Time	57.9	39.5 ***
Average Number of Hours Worked in Past Week	21.9 **(271)**	13.0 *** **(117)**
Support Systems (Total number included in analysis)	**(277)**	**(122)**
Average number of Informal Supports Talked To Prior to Calling	2.36	2.11*
Average number of Formal Supports Talked to Prior to Calling	1.96	1.47 ***
Average number of Professional Supports Talked to Prior to Calling	0.72	0.80

*** For differences between groups $p \leq .05$**
**** For differences between groups, $p \leq .01$**
***** For differences between groups, $p \leq .001$**

Table 4: Characteristics of Abuse and Relationship to Abuser by Whether the Caller Requested Shelter or Not - Help Line Interview (NIJ) Data

Variables	Did Not Request Shelter	Requested Shelter
Type of Abuse (Total number included in analysis)	**(275)**	**(122)**
% Physical Abuse	82.2	88.5
% Emotional Abuse	95.3	95.1
% Sexual Abuse	7.3	16.4 **
Relationship Between Abuser and Victim (Total number included in analysis)	**(277)**	**(122)**
% Legally married Spouse	35.4	27.0
% Partner, dating not living together	14.4	12.3
% Ex partner or spouse	22.0	14.8
% Partner, living together	13.7	35.2
% Child in Common, no Other Relationship	11.6	9.0
% Roommate	1.4	0
% Date	0	0.8
% Unknown/Other	1.5	0.8
Characteristics of Offender (Total number included in analysis)	**(275)**	**(122)**
% Male	92.4	95.9
**** For differences between groups, $p \leq .01$**		

Table 5: Housing Status by Request for Shelter – Help Line Interview (NIJ) Data

Variables	Did Not Request Shelter	Requested Shelter
HOUSING STATUS AT TIME OF CALL (Total Number Included in Analysis)	**(277)**	**(122)**
% Permanently Housed	97.8	70.5 ***
LIVING ARRANGEMENTS IF NOT PERMANENTLY HOUSED (Total Number Included in Analysis)	**(6)**	**(36)**
% Homeless	33.3	22.2
% In a Shelter	0	27.8
% Temporarily doubled up with friends of family	66.7	50.0
***** For differences between groups p ≤.001**		

Table 6: Basic Demographics by Whether or Not the Individual Received Shelter
Cook County Only - InfoNet Data.

Variable	Did not Receive Onsite Shelter	Received Onsite Shelter
Total Number of Clients in Selected Group (% of Total)	**87,845** (90.0)	**9782** (10.0)
AGE AT FIRST CONTACT (Total number included in analysis)	**(83,950)**	**(9752)**
Average Age (Range)	33.7 (1-100)	31.7 (1-82) ***
GENDER (Total number included in analysis)	**(87,843)**	**(9782)**
% Female	95.2	99.9 ***
RACE (Total number included in analysis)	**(83,623)**	**(9701)**
% White	30.0	15.5 ***
% African American	39.0	65.9 ***
% Hispanic	26.3	13.2 ***
% Asian American, Native American , Bi-Racial or "Other Race	4.7	5.4 **
EDUCATION (Total number included in analysis)	**(70,477)**	**(9058)**
% Less than High School Graduate	27.1	33.1 ***
% High School Graduate or Some College	60.2	59.9
INCOME SOURCES (Total number included in analysis)	**(80,139)**	**(9521)**
% Public Income Sources as Primary or Secondary Source	15.5	30.0 ***
% Employment as Primary or Secondary Source	51.3	21.9 ***
MARITAL STATUS (Total number included in analysis)	**(81,584)**	**(9662)**
% Single	40.1	59.7 ***
% Currently Married	46.1	27.4 ***
% Separated, Divorced, Widowed or in Common Law Relationships	13.8	12.9 ***
PREGANANCY STATUS (Total number included in analysis	**(75,677)**	**(9163)**
% Pregnant at time of service	6.1	12.3 ***
PARENTAL STATUS (Total number included in analysis)	**(73,765)**	**(8719)**
% With Children	84.5	81.5 ***
Average number of children for those with children (Total number included in analysis)	2.38 (62,314)	2.32 *** (7108)
LANGUAGE (Total number included in analysis)	**(87,845)**	**(9782)**
% With Language Challenges	14.0	6.0 ***
*** For differences between groups $p \leq .05$** **** For differences between groups, $p \leq .01$** ***** For differences between groups, $p \leq .001$**		

Table 7: Primary Presenting Problem and Relationship to Abuser by Whether or Not the Individual Received Onsite Shelter, Cook County Only – InfoNet Data

Variable	Did Not Receive Onsite Shelter	Received Onsite Shelter
TYPE OF PRIMARY ABUSE (Total number included in analysis)	**(82.895)**	**(9540)**
% Physical Abuse	**70.9**	**78.5 *****
% Emotional Abuse	**27.9**	**20.3 *****
% Sexual Abuse	**1.2**	**1.2**
RELATIONSHIP TO ABUSER/OFFENDER (Total Number included in Analysis)	**(80,047)**	**(9805)**
% Husband or Ex-Husband	**45.1**	**28.4 *****
% Boyfriend or Ex-Boyfriend	**39.4**	**60.0 *****
% Father or Mother's Boyfriend	**1.3**	**1.7 ****
% Other Male Relative	**4.4**	**1.9 *****
% Male Friend	**1.7**	**3.5 *****
% Male Acquaintance	**0.6**	**0.8 ***
% Whose Offender was in Female Relationship Category [a]	**6.5**	**3.8 *****
*** For differences between groups p ≤.05** **** For differences between groups p ≤.01** ***** For differences between groups p ≤.001**		

[a] Includes mother or father's girlfriend, other female relative, female friend and 'other' female.

Table 8: Summary of Demographic Characteristics of the Interview Sample at Baseline

Characteristics of Sample	**% (Total Number)**
Age	(53)
Average Age	33.9 years
Range of Ages	19-60
Race/Ethnicity	(50)
Asian American	6.0
African American	56.0
White	16.0
Native American	2.0
Biracial	12.0
% Hispanic	25.6 (43)
% Born In U.S.	79.2 (53)
Marital Status at Time of Interview	(51)
Never married	54.9
Currently married	23.5
Divorced	11.8
Separated	7.8
Widowed	2.0
Common Law	0
Other	4.0 (said single)
Children	(51)
% With Any Children	90.2
Of those with Children:	(46)
Average Number of Children	2.67
Range	1-6
Average Age of Children	9.67 (N=44)
Median Age	5.85
Modal Age	0.7 years
Range	0.02-34.0
% With Male Children	84.8
Average Number of Male Children	1.43
% With Female Children	73.9
Average Number of Female Children	1.17
% Currently Living with Children	66.0 (N=50)
Of These:	(33)
Average number of children currently live with	2.2
Range	1-6

Table 8 (Con't.)

Education	**(51)**
Less than High School	35.3
High School Graduate/GED	25.5
Technical School/ Some College	29.4
College Graduate	9,8
Completed Graduate School	0
Employment in last year	(52)
% Employed full time in last year	30.8
% Employed part time in last year	25.0
% Homemaker/not working outside of home in last year	19.2
% Unemployed in last year	25.0
Current Employment:	(52)
% Currently employed full time	5.8
% Currently employed part time	3.8
% Currently homemaker/not working outside of home	11.5
% Currently unemployed	77.4
Household Income	(53)
% with no HH income in past year	11.3
% Under $5000	22.6
% $5000-$15,000	28.3
% $15,001-24,999	1.9
% $25,000-34,999	9.4
% $35,000-49,999	5.7
% $50,000-74,999	5.7
% $75,000 and higher	0
% Did no know HH income	15.1
Average number of adults, including respondent who contribute to HH income (only includes those with some income reported)	1.37 (N=48)
Range	1-3
% Who Said Only 1	66.7
Average number of adults living in home with respondent in last year (including respondent)	2.23 (N=52)
Range	1 -5
% Who Said Only Self	11.5
% Who Said 2	71.2
% Who Said More than 2	17.3

Table 9: Relationship to Current Abuser and Abuser Characteristics- Interview Sample at Baseline

Variable	% (Total Number Included)
Relationship to Abuser	**(49)**
% Abuser Current or former husband	34.7
% Abuser Current or former boyfriend	61.2
% Abuser Current or former girlfriend	2.0
% Abuser parent	0
% Abuser sibling	0
% Abuser other relationship	2.0
Characteristics of Current Abuser	
Gender	(53)
% Male	94.3
Age	(53)
Average Age of Abuser	36.0
Range	18-62
Race of Abuser	(42)
Asian American	2.4
African American	78.6
White	7.1
Native American	2.4
Biracial	9.5
% Hispanic	21.4

Table 10: Abusive Behavior Inventory – Interview Sample at Baseline

1=Never, 2=Rarely, 3= Occasionally, 4=Frequently, 5 =Very Frequently (Not applicable coded as 0).

#	Question	Mean for Item Including Those For Whom Item Was Not Applicable (N=52)	Mean for Item Only Those Answering as Applicable (N if Under 52)
1	Called you a name and/or criticized you	4.15	4.15
2	Tried to keep you from doing something you wanted to do (example: going out with friends, going to meetings)	4.00	4.00
3	Gave you angry stares or looks	4.00	4.00
4	Prevent you from having money for your own use	3.52	3.66 (50)
5	Ended a discussion with you and made the decision himself	3.92	4.0 (51)
6	Threatened to hit or throw something at you	3.92	3.92
7	Pushed, grabbed, or shoved you	3.85	3.85
8	Put down your family and friends	3.83	3.83
9	Accused you of paying too much attention to someone or something else	3.83	3.83
10	Put you on an allowance	2.25	2.43 (48)
11	Used your children to threaten you (example: told you that you would lose custody, said he would leave town with the children)	2.04	2.65 (40)
12	Became very upset with you because dinner, housework, or laundry was not ready when he wanted it or done the way he thought it should be	3.19	3.25 (51)
13	Said things to scare you (examples: told you something "bad" would happen, threatened to commit suicide)	3.42	3.42
14	Slapped, hit, or punched you	3.48	3.48
15	Made you do something humiliating or degrading (example: begging for forgiveness, having to ask his permission to use the car or do something)	2.61	2.61

Table 10 (con't.)

	Question	Mean for Item Including Those For Whom Item Was Not Applicable (N=52)	Mean for Item Only Those Answering as Applicable (N if Under 52)
16	Checked up on you (examples: listened to your phone calls, checked the mileage on your car, called you repeatedly at work)	3.67	3.67
17	Drove recklessly when you were in the car	2.21	2.50 (46)
18	Pressured you to have sex in a way that you didn't like or want	2.35	2.49 (49)
19	Refused to do housework or childcare	3.42	3.49 (51)
20	Threatened you with a knife, gun, or other weapon	2.23	2.27 (51)
21	Told you that you were a bad parent	2.50	2.71 (48)
22	Stopped you or tried to stop you from going to work or school	2.77	2.88 (50)
23	Threw, hit, kicked, or smashed something	3.46	3.46
24	Kicked you	2.60	2.60
25	Physically forced you to have sex	2.06	2.18 (49)
26	Threw you around	2.75	2.75
27	Physically attacked the sexual parts of your body	1.90	1.98 (50)
28	Choked or strangled you	2.61	2.67 (51)
29	Used a knife, gun, or other weapon against you	1.88	1.92 (51)
	TOTALS FOR SUBSCALES:	(52)	
	Psychological Abuse (17 Items)		
	Cronbach's Alpha Standardized	.902	
	Average Score for Total Scale	55.34	
	Range	20-83	
	Average Score Per Item Controlling for Number of Applicable Items	3.38	
	Physical Abuse (12 items)	.901	
	Cronbach's Alpha Standardized	.902	
	Average Score	33.09	
	Range	14-60	
	Average Score Per Item Controlling for Number of Applicable Items	2.82	

Table 11: Referral Source by Whether or Not Shelter was Requested – City Callers Only-Administrative Help Line Data

Referral Source:	**Did Not Request Shelter from Helpline**	**Requested Shelter from Helpline**
TOTAL	(2607)	(1714) ***
% Referred by Police	65.5	44.1
% Referred by DV or Social Service Program	12.4	27.1
% Referred by Advertisement	8.7	9.0
% Referred by Health/Medical Provider/Health Source	2.7	7.1
% Referred by Information Resources	0.8	1.3
% Referred by Other Criminal and Civil Justice Sources	1.4	0.7
% Referred by Employment or School Source	0.5	0.4
% Referred by Safe Start	0.1	0
% Referred by Family or Friend	3.9	4.5
% Referred by "Other" Source (including safe start)	4.0	5.8
***** For differences between groups $p \leq .001$.**		

Table 12: Initial Reason Given for Calling by Whether the Caller Requested Shelter or Not- Help Line (NIJ) Interview Data

Variables	Did Not Request Shelter	Requested Shelter
Reason for Calling (Total Number Included in Analysis)	**(276)**	**(121)**
% Sought specific service or information	40.9	43.0
% Not sure, nowhere else to turn, general help	8.7	5.0
% Referred by someone	1.4	1.7
% Mentioned DV, but no explanation or requests for service	14.9	21.5
% Mentioned DV, some explanation but nor request for service	29.0	27.3
% Wanted to find out about abusers status	2.2	0.8
% False accusations	2.2	0
% Didn't want to say	0.7	0.8

Table 13: For Those Calling Helpline Requesting Shelter and Reporting Hesitancy, Why They Were Hesitant to Call - Help Line (NIJ) Interview Data

Reason	**Number**
TOTAL	48
Nervous, Scared, Fearful	6
Not Sure What to Expect, Unfamiliar, Not Sure About Shelter	8
Unsure That The Helpline Could Help, Not Sure Helpline Good Service	9
Uncomfortable About Being a Victim of DV	3
Not Sure Experiencing Abuse, Never Experienced DV	1
Pride, Shame, Embarrassed, Big Step to Call	10
Afraid of Language Barriers	1
Safety Issues, Denial	7
No Reason Given	3

Table 14: Informal and Formal Supports Talked to Prior to Calling: Those Requesting Shelter Compared to those Not Requesting Shelter- Help Line (NIJ) Interview Data

Variables	**Did Not Request Shelter**	**Requested Shelter**
Support Systems (Total number included in analysis)	**(277)**	**(122)**
Average number of Informal Supports Talked To Prior to Calling	2.36	2.11*
Average number of Formal Supports Talked to Prior to Calling	1.96	1.47 ***
Average number of Professional Supports Talked to Prior to Calling	0.72	0.80
*** For differences between groups, p ≤ .05** ***** For differences between groups, p ≤. 001.**		

Table 15: Referral Source to Help Line by Whether Requested Shelter or Not - Help Line (NIJ) Interview Data

Variables	Did Not Request Shelter	Requested Shelter
Referral Source to Helpline (Total Number Included in Analysis)	**(277)**	**(122) ****
% 311/911	27.1	15.6
% DHS	0.4	1.6
% DV Service Program or Provider	10.1	17.2
% Family/Friend	0.7	6.6
% Media, ads, flyer	5.8	6.6
% Other source	0.4	0.8
% Police officer	44.0	34.4
% Self	2.2	4.9
% Social Service Program	1.8	4.1
% Unknown	4.0	4.9
% Educational Personnel	0.7	0.0
% Yellow/White pages	0.4	0.0
**** For differences between groups, $p \leq .01$**		

Table 16: Referral Sources For Those Who Did and Did Not Receive Onsite Shelter, Cook County Only - InfoNet Data

	Did Not Receive Onsite Shelter	Received Onsite Shelter
REFERRAL SOURCE: (CAN BE MORE THAN 1 PER PERSON) (TOTAL INCLUDED IN ANALYSIS)	**(83,318)**	**(9510)**
% Referred by Police	35.2	11.9 ***
% Referred by a Hospital	5.3	8.5 ***
% Referred by a Social Service Program	9.9	37.6 ***
% Referred by a Relative	2.5	1.9 ***
% Referred by a Friend	6.4	5.9 *
% Self Referred	6.9	4.3 ***
% Referred by a Medical Service Provider	0.9	0.6 **
% Referred by a Medical Advocacy Program	2.7	0.5 ***
% Referred by Clergy	0.5	0.8 ***
% Referred by Educational Personnel	0.8	0.5***
% Referred by the Clerk of the Circuit Court	1.2	0.3 ***
% Referred by State's Attorney's Office	5.3	0.3 ***
% Referred by a legal system source	7.3	1.2 ***
% Referred by a Private Attorney	0.8	0.0 ***
% Referred by a Public Health Program	0.5	0.4
% Referred by DCFS	0.2	0.1 *
% Referred through Media	1.5	0.5 ***
% Referred by Hotline	6.3	12.3 ***
% Referred by Telephone	0.8	1.4 ***
% Referred by an Other Project	2.5	3.1**
% Referred by an Other Source	8.5	15.0 ***
*** For differences between groups, p ≤ .05** **** For differences between groups, p ≤ .01** ***** For differences between groups, p ≤ .001**		

Table 17: Previous Abuse and Shelter Experience - Interview Sample at Baseline

Abuse History	
% Tried to Leave Relationship Before	61.5 (39)
If Yes:	(24)
Average number of times	4.27
Mode	3.0
Median	3.0
Range	1-20
% Previously in a Shelter or Transitional Housing	29.4 (51)
If at least on other time:	(13)
Average number of previous times	1.5
Range	1-3
% Of Those Who Tried to Leave Before Who Were in Shelter or Transitional Housing	37.5 (24)
% With Other Relationship that Became Abusive	45.1 (51)
Of these:	(21)
Average number of other abusive relationships NOT including current relationship)	1.29
Range	1-4
Relationship of Other Abusive Relationship if not current abuser	(21)
% Abuser Current or former husband	28.6
% Abuser Current or former boyfriend	61.9
% Abuser Current or former girlfriend	4.8
% Abuser parent	4.8
% Abuser sibling	0
% Abuser other relationship	0
Orders of Protection	(52)
% Who ever got an OP (including for present abuse)	42.3
IF yes, % Who got on against: (can be more than 1)	(22)
% Current or former husband	59.1
% Current or former boyfriend	36.4
% Current or former girlfriend	0
% Parent (in law)	4.5
% Sibling	0
% Other relationship	4.5
Current Housing	(50)
% In permanent housing situation before coming to shelter	70.0

Table 18: Services Needed and Requested at Baseline Interview - Interview Sample

PERSON(S) OR AGENCY	% Who Needed (Total Number Included in Analysis)	Of these: % Who Received (Total Number Included in Analysis)	Of these, average rating of helpfulness (Total Number Included in Analysis)[1]
Help Finding Housing	88.2 (51)	40.0 (45)	4.29 (17)
Affordable Housing	84.3 (51)	20.9 (43)	4.33 (9)
Homeless Shelter	35.3 (51)	88.9 (18)	4.33 (15)
Support Group	84.3 (51)	62.8 (43)	4.56 (27)
Counselor or Therapist	82.0 (50)	76.7 (43) *	4.56 (32)
Therapy Group	66.7 (51)	47.1 (34)	4.56 (16)
Dental Care (N=51)	70.6 (51)	25.0 (36)	4.78 (9)
Medical Care	72.0 (50)	77.8 (36)	4.68 (28)
Food	70.6 (51)	91.7 (36)	4.66 (32)
Clothing	76.5 (51)	79.5 (39)	4.55 (31)
Economic Assistance	72.0 (50)	38.9 (36)	4.91 (11)
Employment Assistance / Training	56.0 (50)	41.4 (29) *	4.45 (11)
Educational Assistance	54.0 (50)	48.1 (27)	4.85 (13)
Medication Management	34.0 (50)	58.8 (17)	4.80 (10)
Parent Group	35.4 (48)	58.8 (17)	4.70 (10)
After School Program	24.4 (45)	54.5 (11)	5.00 (6)
Parent Training	28.3 (46)	57.1 (14) *	4.63 (8)
Child Care	53.2 (47)	64.0 (25)	4.75 (16)
School Supplies	33.3 (45)	60.0 (15)	4.78 (9)
Police	60.8 (51)	83.9 (31)	4.00 (26)
Victim Advocate	52.9 (51)	77.8 (27)	4.71 (21)
Legal Assistance Related to Domestic violence	45.1 (51)	65.2 (23)	4.53 (15)
Legal Assistance NOT Related to Domestic Violence	45.1 (51)	50.0 (22)	4.60 (10)
Help with Orders of Protection	39.1 (51)	85.0 (20)	4.75 (16)
Other:_____ _____	50.0 (14)	83.3 (6)	4.75 (4)
Average Number of Services:	13.5 (51)	8.3 (50)	
Range	0-21	2-17	
Median	14.0	8.5	
Mode	14.0	11.0	

** Note includes individuals who received the service but did not say they needed it (1 for parent training and Orders of Protection and 2 for Counselor).*

[1]Based on a five point scale where 1 = 'Not at all helpful" and 5= "Very helpful."

Table 19: Services Needed and Requested At Time 1 Interview- Two Interview Sample Only

PERSON(S) OR AGENCY	**% Who Needed (Total Number Included in Analysis)**	**Of these: % Who Received (Total Number Included in Analysis)**	**Of these, average rating of helpfulness (Total Number Included in Analysis)[1]**
Help Finding Housing	70.6 (17)	41.7 (12)	4.50 (6)
Affordable Housing	70.6 (17)	5.9 (12)	5.00 (2)
Homeless Shelter	11.8 (17)	100 (2)	5.00 (2)
Support Group	82.4 (17)	71.4 (14)	4.50 (10)
Counselor or Therapist	76.5 (17)	84.6 (13)	4.60 (10)
Therapy Group	64.7 (17)	63.6 (11)	4.50 (8)
Dental Care	76.5 (17)	23.1 (13)	4.67 (3)
Medical Care	62.5 (16)	100 (10)	4.50 (10)
Food	70.6 (17)	100 (12)	4.73 (11)
Clothing	82.4 (17)	85.7 (14)	4.42 (12)
Economic Assistance	88.2 (17)	40.0 (15)	4.75 (4)
Employment Assistance / Training	56.3 (16)	40.0 (10)*	4.67 (3)
Educational Assistance	75.0 (16)	33.3 (12)	4.75 (4)
Medication Management	52.9 (17)	55.6 (9)	4.80 (5)
Parent Group	18.8 (16)	66.7 (3)	4.50 (2)
After School Program	21.4 (14)	66.7 (3)	5.00 (2)
Parent Training	42.9 (14)	66.7 (6)	4.50 (4)
Child Care	53.3 (15)	87.5 (8)	5.00 (7)
School Supplies	28.6 (14)	50.0 (4)	5.00 (2)
Police	76.5 (17)	92.3 (13)	4.25 (12)
Victim Advocate	64.7 (17)	81.8 (11)	4.56 (9)
Legal Assistance Related to Domestic violence	52.9 (17)	77.8 (9)	4.57 (7)
Legal Assistance NOT Related to Domestic Violence	70.6 (17)	45.5 (12)	4.80 (5)
Help with Orders of Protection	52.9 (17)	88.9 (9)	5.00 (7)
Other:_____ _____	42.9 (7)	50.0 (2)	5.00 (1)
Average Number of Services:	14.06 (17)	9.44 (16)	
Range	0-21	3-17	
Median	15	10	
Mode	16	11	

** Note includes individuals who received the service but did not say they needed it.*

[1]Based on a five point scale where 1 = 'Not at all helpful" and 5= "Very helpful."

Table 20: Services Needed And Requested At Follow-Up Interview- Two Interview Sample Only

PERSON(S) OR AGENCY	**% Who Needed (Total Number Included in Analysis)**	**Of these: % Who Received (Total Number Included in Analysis)**	**Of these, average rating of helpfulness (Total Number Included in Analysis)[1]**
Help Finding Housing	88.2(17)	53.3 (15)	4.50 (8)
Affordable Housing	88.2 (17)	53.3 (15)	4.50 (8)
Homeless Shelter	18.7 (16)	66.7 (2)	4.50 (2)
Support Group	70.6 (17)	75.0 (12)	4.78 (9)
Counselor or Therapist	64.7 (17)	72.7 (11)	4.57 (7)
Therapy Group	64.7 (17)	63.6 (11)	4.57 (7)
Dental Care	76.5 (17)	69.2 (13)	4.23 (9)
Medical Care	88.2 (17)	80.0 (15)	4.92 (12)
Food	64.7 (17)	63.6 (11)	4.86 (7)
Clothing	82.3 (17)	71.4 (14)	5.00 (9)
Economic Assistance	76.5 (17)	69.2 (13)	4.80 (5)
Employment Assistance / Training	52.9 (17)	55.6 (9)	4.78 (9)
Educational Assistance	64.7 (17)	63.6 (11)	4.67 (6)
Medication Management	41.2 (17)	85.7 (7)	5.00 (5)
Parent Group	50.0 (14)	75.0 (8) *	4.33 (6)
After School Program	33.3 (15)	60.0 (3)	5.00 (3)
Parent Training	33.3 (15)	60.0 (5)	4.33 (3)
Child Care	42.9 (14)	66.7 (6)	4.75 (4)
School Supplies	46.7 (15)	57.1 (7)	5.00 (4)
Police	18.7 (16)	100 (3)	3.33 (3)
Victim Advocate	31.3 (16)	80.0 (5)	4.50 (4)
Legal Assistance Related to Domestic violence	20.0 (15)	66.7 (3)	5.00 (2)
Legal Assistance NOT Related to Domestic Violence	50.0 (16)	37.5 (8)	5.00 (3)
Help with Orders of Protection	31.3 (16)	80.0 (5)	5.00 (3)
Other:_____ _____	66.7 (6)	50.0 (2)	5.00 (2)
Average Number of Services:	12.82 (17)	8.53 (17)	
Range	1-22	0-21	
Median	13	8	
Mode	13	4	

** Note includes individuals who received the service but did not say they needed it.*

[1]Based on a five point scale where 1 = 'Not at all helpful" and 5= "Very helpful."

Table 21: Basic Demographics and Abuse Experience – InfoNet Random Samples Compared

Variable	Did Not Receive Onsite Shelter	Received Onsite Shelter
Total Number of Clients in Selected Group	**(1000)**	**(1000)**
REGION WHERE SERVICES WERE PROVIDED (Number Included in Analysis)	**(908)**	**(892)**
% Cook versus Other Regions [a]	39.5	36.4
AGE AT FIRST CONTACT (Total number included in analysis)	**(1000)**	**(1000)**
Average Age (Range)	33.6(18-85)	31.4 (18-66)
RACE (Total number included in analysis)	**(975)**	**(991)**
% White	57.2	41.2 ***
% African American	24.5	42.8 ***
% Hispanic	16.2	10.2 ***
% Other Race [b]	2.1	5.9 ***
EDUCATION (Total number included in analysis)	**(807)**	**(865)**
% Less than High School Graduate	26.6	31.8 *
INCOME SOURCES (Total number included in analysis)	**(926)**	**(949)**
% Public Income Sources As Primary or Secondary Source	14.0	24.7 ***
% Employment as Primary or Secondary Source	56.1	26.9 ***
MARITAL STATUS (Total number included in analysis)	**(959)**	**(980)**
% Single	38.8	50.7 ***
% Currently Married,	43.9	33.7 ***
% Separated, Divorced, Widowed or in Common Law Relationships	17.3	15.6
% WITH LANGUAGE CHALLENGE (Total number included in analysis)	**(1000)** 6.5	**(1000)** 5.1
% WITH NEEDS REQUIRING SPECIAL ATTENTION (Total number included in analysis) [c]	**(1000)** 4.8	**(1000)** 12.1 ***
TYPE OF ABUSE (Number Included in Analysis)	**(959)**	**(964)**
% Physical Abuse	64.4	75.6 ***
% Emotional Abuse	34.1	22.7 ***
% Sexual Abuse	1.5	1.7
*** For differences between groups, $p \leq .05$**		
***** For differences between groups, $p \leq .001$**		

Table 22 : Service Information For Clients By Whether Or Not They Received Onsite Shelter – InfoNet Random Sample

% RECEIVING	Did Not Receive Onsite Shelter	Received Onsite Shelter
Total number included in the analysis	**(1000)**	**(1000)**
Civil Legal/Criminal Legal Advocacy//OP[10]	78.3	65.8
Criminal Legal Advocacy/Charges	13.2	8.8
Other Legal Help [11]	12.9	32.1
Other Advocacy[12]	26.8	72.6
Transportation	8.7	37.2
Employment Assistance	1.3	17.9
Educational Assistance	1.0	12.7
Medical Assistance	3.4	19.7
Economic Assistance	1,8	18.0
Concrete Family Services [13]	3.7	52.0
Collaborative Case Management Services	12.0	53.5
Substance Abuse Services	0.8	15.2
Individual Counseling Services [14]	64.8	96.4
Adult Group Counseling Services	8.6	74.6
Family Counseling Services	1.3	21.0
Group Therapy Services [15]	0.4	6.2
Other Services[16]	0.6	3.2
*** All differences between groups, sig p ≤ .0001 except for Criminal legal advocacy which was significant at p ≤ . 01.**		

[10] Includes civil legal advocacy related to Order's of Protection and criminal legal advocacy related to obtaining Orders of Protection.
[11] Includes individual legal advocacy, State Coalition provided legal services or attorneys, other legal services or attorneys and conflict resolution services.
[12] Includes other individual and group coalition provided advocacy.
[13] Includes child care services, life skills services and parental services.
[14] Includes individual in person counseling and telephone counseling.
[15] Includes Art Therapy and Group Therapy
[16] Includes Lock Up Services, and Evaluation and Assessment Services.

Table 23: Service Hours For Those Receiving Various Services By Whether Or Not The Individual Received Onsite Shelter – InfoNet Random Sample

SERVICE RECEIVED:	Average Hours for Those Who Did Not Receive Onsite Shelter			Average Hours for Those Who Received Onsite Shelter		
	(n)	(M)	(sd)	(n)	(M)	(sd)
Civil Legal/Criminal Legal Advocacy//OP[17]	782	3.66	7.86	658	2.81	4.40 **
Criminal Legal Advocacy/Charges	132	2.58	3.43	88	1.51	2.03 **
Other Legal Help [18]	129	1.95	2.99	321	2.31	4.40
Other Advocacy[19]	306	1.41	2.29	757	4.80	8.76 ***
Transportation	87	1.99	2.75	372	2.88	5.68 *
Employment Assistance	13	0.54	0.29	179	2.71	5.30 ***
Educational Assistance	10	1.70	2.29	127	1.76	2.34
Medical Assistance	34	1.32	1.51	197	2.50	4.00 **
Economic Assistance	18	1.08	1.46	180	2.19	3.77 *
Concrete Family Services [20]	37	3.01	4.89	520	8.28	12.03***
Collaborative Case Management Services	120	1.12	1.69	534	3.66	7.92 ***
Substance Abuse Services	8	0.28	0.09	152	4.14	7.11 ***
Individual Counseling Services [21]	648	3.16	6.21	964	16.52	29.70 ***
Adult Group Counseling Services	86	13.36	24.23	746	16.21	23.89
Family Counseling Services	13	7.52	11.89	210	7.98	15..83
Group Therapy Services [22]	4	5.25	2.71	62	7.32	12.11
Other Services[23]	6	1.29	0.49	32	1.58	0.96

[17] Includes civil legal advocacy related to Order's of Protection and criminal legal advocacy related to obtaining Orders of Protection.
[18] Includes individual legal advocacy, State Coalition provided legal services or attorneys, other legal services or attorneys and conflict resolution services.
[19] Includes other individual and group coalition provided advocacy.
[20] Includes child care services, life skills services and parental services.
[21] Includes individual in person counseling and telephone counseling.
[22] Includes Art Therapy and Group Therapy
[23] Includes Lock Up Services, and Evaluation and Assessment Services.

Table 23: Service Hours For Those Receiving Various Services By Whether Or Not The Individual Received Onsite Shelter – InfoNet Random Sample (Con.t)

TOTALS	Average Hours for Those Who Did Not Receive Onsite Shelter			Average Hours for Those Who Received Onsite Shelter		
	(n)	(M)	(sd)	(n)	(M)	(sd)
Total Hours of Service Per Person on Average Across all Services	1000	7.72	15.80	992	46.56	71.73 ***
Total Service Contacts Per Person on Average Across all Services	1000	8.58	16.90	1000	64.63	106.25 ***
Average Number of Different Services Received Per Person Across all Services	1000	2.73	1.86	1000	8.29	3.92 ***

*** For differences between groups, p ≤ . 05.**
**** For differences between groups, p ≤ . 01.**
**** For differences between groups, p ≤ . 001.**

Table 24: Service Information For Clients In Shelter Only – Comparison Of White Clients Versus All Others – InfoNet Random Sample

% RECEIVING	Client is White	Client is Other Race or Ethnicity
Total number included in the analysis	**404**	**580**
Civil Legal/Criminal Legal Advocacy//OP	73.8	60.3 ***
Criminal Legal Advocacy/Charges	13.1	5.9 ***
Other Legal Help	37.4	28.6 **
Other Advocacy	74.5	71.7
Transportation	45.3	31.7 ***
Employment Assistance	18.1	18.1
Educational Assistance	14.6	11.7
Medical Assistance	25.5	15.9 ***
Economic Assistance	20.8	16.0
Concrete Family Services	50.5	53.3
Collaborative Case Management Services	55.2	52.9
Substance Abuse Services	12.9	17.1
Individual Counseling Services	97.5	95.9
Adult Group Counseling Services	78.0	73.1
Family Counseling Services	28.2	17.1 ***
Group Therapy Services	4.7	7.4
Other Services	0.7	5.0 ***
HOURS AND SERVICE CONTACTS		
Average Number of Service Hours in Total Across All Services	55.27 (403)	40.83 ** (574)
Average Number of Service Contacts in Total Across All Services	85.00 (404)	51.20 *** (580)
Average Total Number of Different Services Received	8.74 (404)	8.05 ** (580)

**** For differences between groups, p ≤ . 01.**
***** For differences between groups, p ≤ . 001.**

Table 25: Service Information For Clients In Shelter Only – Comparison Of Those With At Least One Disability Versus Those With No Disabilities- InfoNet Random Sample

% RECEIVING	Client is Has a Disability	Client Has No Disability
Total number included in the analysis	**120**	**873**
Civil Legal/Criminal Legal Advocacy//OP	63.3	66.2
Criminal Legal Advocacy/Charges	8.3	8.8
Other Legal Help	37.5	31.4
Other Advocacy	80.8	71.7 *
Transportation	43.3	36.4
Employment Assistance	21.7	17.5
Educational Assistance	17.5	12.1
Medical Assistance	26.7	18.8 *
Economic Assistance	17.5	18.2
Concrete Family Services	57.5	51.5
Collaborative Case Management Services	62.5	52.6 *
Substance Abuse Services	10.8	15.9
Individual Counseling Services	94.2	96.7
Adult Group Counseling Services	73.3	75.1
Family Counseling Services	22.5	20.7
Group Therapy Services	16.7	4.8 ***
Other Services	5.8	2.9
HOURS AND SERVICE CONTACTS		
Average Number of Service Hours in Total Across All Services	58.11 (117)	45.13 (868)
Average Number of Service Contacts in Total Across All Services	74.67 (120)	63.47 (873)
Average Total Number of Different Services Received	8.94 (120)	8.23 (873)

*** For differences between groups, p ≤ . 05.**
***** For differences between groups, p ≤ .001**

Table 26: Service Information For Clients In Shelter Only – Comparison Of Clients Over 45 Versus Those 45 Or Younger – InfoNet Random Sample

% RECEIVING	Client is 45 or Under	Client is Over 45
Total number included in the analysis	**921**	**72**
Civil Legal/Criminal Legal Advocacy//OP	66.1	62.5
Criminal Legal Advocacy/Charges	9.0	5.6
Other Legal Help	32.4	29.2
Other Advocacy	72.9	72.2
Transportation	36.9	41.7
Employment Assistance	18.7	9.7
Educational Assistance	12.4	18.1
Medical Assistance	19.2	26.4
Economic Assistance	18.7	11.1
Concrete Family Services	52.5	48.6
Collaborative Case Management Services	53.2	61.1
Substance Abuse Services	15.2	16.7
Individual Counseling Services	96.5	94.4
Adult Group Counseling Services	75.0	73.6
Family Counseling Services	21.7	11.1 *
Group Therapy Services	6.2	6.9
Other Services	3.1	4.2
HOURS AND SERVICE CONTACTS		
Average Number of Service Hours in Total Across All Services	47.34 (914)	38.05 (71)
Average Number of Service Contacts in Total Across All Services	65.11 (921)	61.18 (72)
Average Total Number of Different Services Received	8.34 (921)	8.03 (72)

*** For differences between groups, $p \leq .05$.**

Table 27: Basic Demographics Shelter Sample- One Versus Multiple Stays – InfoNet Random Sample

Variable	One Shelter Stay	More than One Shelter Stay
Total Number of Clients in Selected Group	819 (81.9%)	181 (18.1%)
REGION OF SERVICE (Total number included in analysis)	(730)	(162)
% Served by Program in Cook County	41.1	14.2 ***
% Served by Program in a Rural County	18.4	22.8
% Served by Program in the Collar Counties or another Urban County	40.3	62.9 ***
AVERAGE AGE	31.5 (819)	31.3 (181)
Race (Total number included in analysis)	(811)	(180)
% White	38.2	54.4 ***
% African American	44.6	34.4
% Hispanic	10.7	7.8
% Asian American	1.2	2.2
% American Indian	1.4	0.6
% Bi-Racial	2.6	0.6
% Other Race	1.2	0
Education (Total number included in analysis)	(718)	(147)
% Less than High School Graduate	32.0	30.6
% Who Completed College	6.8	7.5
Income Sources (Total number included in analysis)	(778)	(171)
% Public Income Sources As Primary or Secondary Source	24.8	24.0
% Employment as Primary or Secondary Source	27.1	25.7
Marital Status (Total number included in analysis)	(804)	(176)
% Single	51.5	47.2
% Currently Married	34.2	31.3
% Divorced or Separated	12.1	19.9 **
% Widowed	1.6	1.1
% Common Law	0.6	0.6
% Pregnant at Time of First Contact with Program	11.3 (752)	12.1 (166)
% With Language Challenge (Total number included in analysis)	5.6 (819)	2.8 (181)
With Special Needs Requiring Special Attention (Total number included in analysis)[24]	11.7 (819)	13.8 (181)
(Number Included in Analysis)	(787)	(177)
PRIMARY PRESENTING ISSUE		
% Physical Abuse	75.6	75.7
% Sexual Abuse	1.5	2.3
% Emotional Abuse	22.9	22.0
For differences between groups, p* ≤ .05, ** p ≤ .01, *** p ≤ .001.		

Table 28: Referral Source to the Shelter Program– One Versus Multiple Stays – InfoNet Random Sample

	One Shelter Stay	**More than One Shelter Stay**
Referral Source at First Referral (Total Number in Each Group)	(777)	(170)
% Referred by Police	18.7	22.9
% Referred by a Hospital	6.9	8.2
% Referred by a Social Service Program	26.8	15.9 **
% Referred by a Relative	4.6	7.7
% Referred by a Friend	9.5	11.2
% Self Referred	9.4	26.5 ***
% Referred by a Medical Source [25]	1.8	1.2
% Referred by State's Attorney's Office	0.9	1,2
% Referred by a Private Attorney	0.3	0
% Referred by a legal system source	1.7	0.6
% Referred by the Clerk of the Circuit Court	0.1	0
% Referred by Hotline	7.1	0.6 **
% Referred by an Other Source[26]	20.5	16.5
For differences between groups: **** $p \leq .01$ ***** $p \leq .001$		

Table 29: Receipt of Key Services - One Versus Multiple Shelter Stays –InfoNet Random Sample

SERVICE	**One Shelter Stay Only (N)**	**More than One Shelter Stay (N)**
% Receiving first service prior to first shelter stay	32.8 (810)	37.0 (181)
% Receiving first service at same time as first shelter stay	61.4 (810)	63.6 (181)
% Receiving first service after all shelter	1.1 (794)	0 (179)
% RECEIVING SPECIFIC SERVICES		
Civil Legal/Criminal Legal Advocacy//OP[27]	66.7 (817)	81.9 (181) ***
Criminal Legal Advocacy/Charges	7.0 (818)	17.1 (181) ***
Other Advocacy[28]	73.5 (813)	91.2 (181) ***
Individual Counseling Services [29]	95.8 (816)	99.5 (181) *
Adult Group Counseling Services	71.9 (810)	92.3 (181) ***
Collaborative Case Management Services	51.8 (809)	63.0 (181) **
Concrete Family Services [30]	49.9 (809)	63.0 (181) ***
Transportation	33.1 (811)	54.7 (181) ***
Employment Assistance	14.2 (816)	34.3 (181) ***
Educational Assistance	11.2 (815)	18.8 (181) *
Medical Assistance	16.8 (815)	32.0 (181) ***
Economic Assistance	13.9 (815)	34.8 (181) ***
For differences between groups: * p ≤ .05, p ≤ .01, p. ≤ .001		

Table 30: For Those With One Shelter Stay Only First Time Received Service In Relation To Shelter Stay – InfoNet Random Sample

SERVICE	**OF THOSE RECEIVING:**		
(Number in parentheses is N for breakdown of those receiving only for timing breakdown)	% Receiving First Time Before Shelter	% Receiving First Time While in Shelter	% Receiving First Time When Out of Shelter
Civil Legal/Criminal Legal Advocacy//OP[31] (517)	29.6	65.8	4.6
Criminal Legal Advocacy/Charges (57)	26.3	31.6	42.1
Other Advocacy[32] (589)	12.1	81.3	6.6
Individual Counseling Services[33] (782)	28.3	70.6	1.1
Adult Group Counseling Services (574)	7.0	89.9	3.1
Collaborative Case Management Services (411)	7.3	84.2	8.5
Concrete Family Services[34] (396)	5.1	91.2	3.8
Transportation (268)	7.5	85.1	7.5
Employment Assistance (116)	4.3	86.2	9,5
Educational Assistance (91)	6.6	87.9	5.5
Medical Assistance (137)	13.1	78.1	8.8
Economic Assistance (113)	8.9	74.3	16.8

Table 31: For Those With Multiple Shelter Stays, First Time Received Service In Relation To Shelter Stay- InfoNet Random Sample

SERVICE	**OF ALL THOSE RECEIVING THE SERVICE:**				
(Number in parentheses is N for breakdown of those receiving only for timing breakdown)	% Receiving First Time Before Any Shelter	% Receiving First Time While in Shelter First Time	% Receiving First Time Last Shelter Stay	% Receiving First Time Between First & Last Shelter Stay	% Receiving First Time After All Shelter
Civil Legal/Criminal Legal Advocacy//OP[35] (147)	19.7	57.1	8.8	10.9	3.4
Criminal Legal Advocacy/Charges (31)	16.1	29.0	25.8	9.7	19.3
Other Advocacy (165)	18.8	56.4	9.7	13.3	1.8
Individual Counseling Services (180)	29.4	64.4	2.8	3.3	0
Adult Group Counseling Services (167)	7.8	70.1	9.6	12.0	0.6
Collaborative Case Management Services (114)	5.3	45.6	17.5	22.8	8.8
Concrete Family Services (114)	3.5	50.9	24.6	18.4	2.6
Transportation (99)	7.1	50.5	20.2	19.2	3.0
Employment Assistance (62)	4.8	33.9	32.3	25.8	3.2
Educational Assistance (34)	2.9	55.9	23.5	14.7	2.9
Medical Assistance (58)	8.6	41.4	27.6	17.2	5.2
Economic Assistance (63)	9.5	30.2	23.8	23.8	12.7

Table 32: For Those With One Shelter Stay Only, Last Time Received Service In Relation To Shelter Stay – InfoNet Random Sample

SERVICE	**OF THOSE RECEIVING:**		
(Number in parentheses is N for breakdown of those receiving only for timing breakdown)	% Receiving Last Time Before Shelter	% Receiving Last Time While in Shelter	% Receiving Last Time When Out of Shelter
Civil Legal/Criminal Legal Advocacy//OP[36] (510)	10.0	63.7	26.3
Criminal Legal Advocacy/Charges (54)	16.7	27.8	55.6
Other Advocacy[37] (584)	2.1	59.6	38.4
Individual Counseling Services [38] (773)	0.9	58.5	40.6
Adult Group Counseling Services (573)	0.5	80.8	18.7
Collaborative Case Management Services (410)	0.2	69.0	30.7
Concrete Family Services [39] (395)	0.8	85.1	14.2
Transportation (268)	3.4	76.1	20.5
Employment Assistance (116)	2.6	81.9	15.5
Educational Assistance (90)	2.2	85.6	12.2
Medical Assistance (137)	5.1	76.6	18.3
Economic Assistance (113)	2.7	66.4	31.0

Table 33: For Those With Multiple Shelter Stays, Last Time Received Service In Relation To Shelter Stay – InfoNet Random Sample

SERVICE	**OF ALL THOSE RECEIVING THE SERVICE:**				
(Number in parentheses is N for all those receiving the service)	% Receiving Last Time Before Any Shelter	% Receiving Last Time While in Shelter First Time	% Receiving Last Time Last Shelter Stay	% Receiving Last Time Between first & Last Shelter Stay	% Receiving Last Time After All Shelter
Civil Legal/Criminal Legal Advocacy//OP[40] (147)	4.1	17.7	35.4	23.1	19.7
Criminal Legal Advocacy/Charges (28)	10.7	25.0	28..6	7.1	28.6
Other Advocacy (164)	1.8	7.3	38.4	12.8	39.6
Individual Counseling Services (180)	0.6	2.8	38.9	1.7	56.1
Adult Group Counseling Services (166)	0	12,1	53.6	13.9	20.5
Collaborative Case Management Services (113)	0	8.0	48.7	8.0	35.4
Concrete Family Services (113)	0	18.6	53.1	13.3	15.0
Transportation (99)	1.0	21.2	35.4	21.2	21.2
Employment Assistance (62)	0	14.5	45.2	33.9	6.5
Educational Assistance (34)	0	35.3	35.3	17.6	11.8
Medical Assistance (58)	3.5	17.2	43.1	17.2	19.0
Economic Assistance (63)	1.6	12.7	30.2	22.2	33.3

Table 34: Receipt of Key Services – Cook Versus Other Regions- InfoNet Random Sample

	Cook	**Other Region**
GENERAL TIMING OF SERVICE RECEIPT IN RELATION TO SHELTER STAYS: ***	% (N)	% (N)
% Receiving first service prior to first shelter stay	24.1 (319)	40.6 (564)
% Receiving first service at the same time as first shelter stay	70.5 (319)	52.3 (564)
% Receiving first service after all shelter	0.6 (319)	1.1 (564)
% RECEIVING FOLLOWING SERVICES AT ANY TIME:		
Civil Legal/Criminal Legal Advocacy//OP[41]	57.5 (325)	73.3 (566)
Legal Criminal Advocacy/Charges	3.4 (325)	12.0 (566)
Other Advocacy[42]	74.8 (322)	76.8 (564)
Individual Counseling Services	95.3 (322)	97.5 (567)
Adult Group Counseling Services	74.6 (323)	74.6 (562)
Collaborative Case Management Services	54.2 (321)	51.7 (563)
Concrete Family Services [43]	51.5 (322)	50.9 (562)
Transportation	24.4 (324)	43.9 (562)
Employment Assistance	16.4 (324)	18.9 (566)
Educational Assistance	9.0 (323)	14.9 (565)
Medical Assistance	11.7 (325)	23.8 (564)
Economic Assistance	12.6 (325)	21.4 (565)
***** For differences between groups, $p \leq .0001$ Related to Timing of Shelter Stay and Service Receipt. (Analysis did not look at differences between groups for specific services.)**		

Table 35: Timing of Receipt of Service for First Time in Relation to Shelter Stay - Cook versus Other Regions – InfoNet Random Sample

	Total Number Included in Analysis		Before All Shelter		During Shelter		After All Shelter	
	Cook	Other Regions	Cook	Other Regions	Cook	Other Regions	Cook	Other Regions
Civil Legal/Criminal Legal Advocacy//OP[44]	187	415	18.7	32.3	80.2	61.7	1.1	6.0
Legal Criminal Advocacy/Charges	11	65	0	26.5	63.6	41.2	36.4	32.4
Other Advocacy[45]	241	433	4.6	18.5	92.5	74.4	2.9	7.2
Individual Counseling Services	307	553	21.2	34.5	78.2	64.4	0.7	1.1
Adult Group Counseling Services	241	419	3.3	10.0	95.4	86.2	1.2	3.8
Collaborative Case Management Services	174	291	3.5	8.6	89.1	80.4	7.5	11.0
Transportation	79	247	2.5	8.5	96.2	83.4	1.3	8.1
Concrete Family Services [46]	166	286	1.8	7.0	96.4	87.8	1.8	5.2
Employment Assistance	53	107	1.9	6.5	90.6	86.0	7.6	7.5
Educational Assistance	29	84	0	8.3	100.0	84.5	0	7.1
Medical Assistance	38	134	0	17.2	94.7	73.1	5.3	9.7
Economic Assistance	41	121	2.4	11.6	75.6	76.9	21.9	11.6

Table 36: Receipt of Service Last Time in Relation to Shelter Stays – Cook Versus Other Regions – InfoNet Random Sample

	Total Number Included in Analysis		Before All Shelter		During Shelter		After All Shelter	
	Cook	Other Regions	Cook	Other Regions	Cook	Other Regions	Cook	Other Regions
Civil Legal/Criminal Legal Advocacy//OP[47]	186	410	10.7	7.6	81.7	53.2	7.5	39.3
Legal Criminal Advocacy/Charges	11	63	0	17.5	54.5	38.1	45.5	44.4
Other Advocacy[48]	239	431	0.4	2.8	79.5	49.0	20.1	48.3
Individual Counseling Services	306	547	0.3	1.1	71.6	45.3	28.1	53.6
Adult Group Counseling Services	240	418	0	0.7	89.2	73.7	10.8	25.6
Collaborative Case Management Services	173	290	0.6	0	75.7	62.4	23.7	37.6
Concrete Family Services [49]	165	285	0	1.1	92.1	79.7	7.9	19.3
Transportation	79	247	2.5	2.4	89.9	72.1	7.6	25.5
Employment Assistance	53	107	0	2.8	88.7	85.1	11.3	12.1
Educational Assistance	28	84	0	2.4	100.0	80.9	0	16.7
Medical Assistance	38	134	0	6.7	89.5	70.1	10.5	23.1
Economic Assistance	41	121	0	2.5	65.9	66.1	34.1	31.4

Table 37: First Time Received Service in Relation to Shelter Stay – InfoNet Random Sample

SERVICE	OF THOSE RECEIVING:		
(Number in parentheses is N for all those receiving the service)	% Receiving First Time Before Shelter	% Receiving First Time While in Shelter	% Receiving First Time When Out of Shelter
Civil Legal/Criminal Legal Advocacy//OP[50] (664)	27.4	68.2	4.4
Criminal Legal Advocacy/Charges (88)	22.7	43.2	34.1
Other Advocacy[51] (754)	13.5	80.9	5.6
Individual Counseling Services (962)	28.5	70.6	0.9
Adult Group Counseling Services (741)	7.1	90.3	2.6
Collaborative Case Management Services (525)	6.9	84.6	8.6
Concrete Family Services[52] (510)	4.7	91.8	3.5
Transportation (367)	7.4	86.4	6.3
Employment Assistance (178)	4.5	88.3	7.3
Educational Assistance (125)	5.6	89.6	4.8
Medical Assistance (195)	11.8	80.5	7.7
Economic Assistance (176)	9.1	75.6	15.3

Table 38: Last Time Received Service In Relation To Shelter Stay – InfoNet Random Sample

SERVICE	**OF THOSE RECEIVING:**		
(Number in parentheses is N for all those receiving the service)	% Receiving Last Time Before Shelter	% Receiving Last Time While in Shelter	% Receiving Last Time When Out of Shelter
Civil Legal/Criminal Legal Advocacy//OP[53] (657)	8.7	63.0	28.3
Criminal Legal Advocacy/Charges (82)	14.6	39.0	46.3
Other Advocacy[54] (748)	2.0	59.4	38.6
Individual Counseling Services [55] (953)	0.8	55.6	43.5
Adult Group Counseling Services (739)	0.4	80.5	19.1
Collaborative Case Management Services (523)	0.2	68.1	31.7
Concrete Family Services [56] (508)	0.6	85.0	14.4
Transportation (367)	2.7	76.6	20.7
Employment Assistance (178)	1.7	86.0	12.4
Educational Assistance (124)	1.6	86.3	12,1
Medical Assistance (195)	4.6	76.9	18.5
Economic Assistance (176)	2.3	65.9	31.8

Table 39: Timing of First and Last Service Receipt in Relation to Shelter Stay for Key Services – InfoNet Random Sample

SERVICE	% Receiving all of this service prior to shelter stay	% Receiving all of this service during the shelter stay	% Receiving all of the service after the shelter stay	% First receiving the service before entering the shelter and last receiving it while in shelter	% First receiving the service before entering the shelter and last receiving it after leaving. the shelter	% First receiving the service while in shelter and last receiving it after leaving shelter
Civil Legal/Criminal Legal Advocacy//OP[57] (N=657)	8.7	53.9	4.4	9.1	9.3	14.6
Criminal/Legal Advocacy/Charges (N=82)	14.6	34.1	34.1	4.9	4.9	7.3
Other Advocacy[58] (N=747)	2.0	54.7	5.6	4.5	7.0	26.1
Individual Counseling Services [59] (N=953)	0.8	43.2	0.9	12.4	15.3	27.3
Adult Group Counseling Services (N=739)	0.4	76.1	2.6	4.5	2.3	14.2
Collaborative Case Management Services (N=523)	0.2	64.8	8.6	3.3	3.3	19.9
Concrete Family Services [60] (N=508)	0.6	82.1	3.5	2..9	1.2	9.7
Transportation (N=367)	2.7	73.8	6.3	2.7	1.9	12.5
Employment Assistance (N=178)	1.7	84.3	7.3	1.7	1.1	3.9
Educational Assistance (N=124)	1.6	83.9	4.8	2.4	1.6	5.7
Medical Assistance (N=195)	4.6	72.3	7.7	4.6	2.6	8.2
Economic Assistance (N-=176)	2.3	64.8	15.3	1.1	5.7	10.8

Table 40: For Those Calling Helpline Requesting Shelter- Resolution and Reasons for Following Up or Not on the Referral Provided – Help Line Interview (NIJ) Data

TOTAL NUMBER PROVIDING INFORMATION TO FIRST QUESTION ABOUT WHETHER OR NOT THEY WERE SERVED	**108**
Of Those Requesting Shelter, Number of Those Reporting That they Were Served Related to This Request	102
Of Those Who Reported They Were Served, Number Who Said They Tried To Getting Shelter	63
Number Served Who Said They DID NOT Try to Get Shelter	14
Number from Original 102 Where Information about Resolution is Missing	25
Of The 63 Individuals Who Tried to Get Shelter, Number Reporting the Following Happened	
Who Reported they Were Not Connected to the Referral , There was No Answer of the Line was Busy	5
Who Reported the Service Was Not Available or Was Not Appropriate	22
Who Reported the Service Was Too Far , Inaccessible, or Inconvenient	3
Who Said they were Not Qualified or Eligible for the Service	6
Who Obtained the Service	23
Who Decided to Use Another Non Help Line Service or Resource	4
Of the 14 Individuals who DID NOT Try to Get Shelter, Number Who Said They Did Not Try Because:	
No Service	1
Got Nervous/Cold Feet	1
Situation Improved	3
Sitting on/Holding onto the Information for Now	2
Decided on a Non-Help Line Service	2
Felt there were No Good Options	2
Unknown	3
TOTAL NUMBER PROVIDING INFORMATION TO FIRST QUESTION ABOUT WHETHER OR NOT THEY WERE SERVED	108
Of Those Requesting Shelter, Number of Those Reporting That they Were Served Related to This Request	102
Of Those Who Reported They Were Served, Number Who Said They Tried To Getting Shelter	63

Table 41: For Those Calling Help Line Requesting Shelter- Resolution and Barriers to Service Comparison by Race/Ethnicity – Help Line Interview (NIJ) Data

	Caller was African American (60)	**Caller was Not African American (17)**
% REPORTING TRIED TO GET SHELTER	88.3	58.8
Of The 63 Individuals Who Tried to Get Shelter, Number Reporting the Following Happened	(53)	(10)
Who Reported they Were Not Connected to the Referral , There was No Answer of the Line was Busy	4 (7.5%)	1 (10%)
Who Reported the Service Was Not Available or Was Not Appropriate	20 (37.7%)	2 (20%)
Who Reported the Service Was Too Far , Inaccessible, or Inconvenient	2 (3.8%)	1 (10%)
Who Said they were Not Qualified or Eligible for the Service	5 (9.4%)	1 (10%)
Who Obtained the Service	19 (35.8%)	4 (40%)
Who Decided to Use Another Non Help Line Service or Resource	3 (5.7%)	1 (10%)
Of the 14 Individuals who DID NOT Try to Get Shelter, Number Who Said They Did Not Try Because:	(7)	(7)
No Service	0 (0%)	1 (14.3%)
Got Nervous/Cold Feet	0 (0%)	1 (14.3%)
Situation Improved	1 (14.3%)	2 (28.6%)
Sitting on/Holding onto the Information for Now	1 (14.3%)	1 (14.3%)
Decided on a Non-Help Line Service	2 (28.6%)	0 (0%)
Felt there were No Good Options	1 (14.3%)	1 (14.3%)
Unknown	2 (28.6%)	1 (14.3%)

Table 42: For Those Calling Helpline Requesting Shelter- Resolution and Barriers to Service Comparison by Parental Status- Help Line Interview (NIJ) Data

	Caller Had Children (46)	**Caller did not have Children (31)**
% REPORTING TRIED TO GET SHELTER	82.6%	80.6%
Of The 63 Individuals Who Tried to Get Shelter, Number Reporting the Following Happened	(38)	(25)
Who Reported they Were Not Connected to the Referral , There was No Answer of the Line was Busy	4 (10.5%)	1 (4.0%)
Who Reported the Service Was Not Available or Was Not Appropriate	12 (31.6%)	10 (40.0%)
Who Reported the Service Was Too Far , Inaccessible, or Inconvenient	3 (7.9%)	0 (0%)
Who Said they were Not Qualified or Eligible for the Service	3 (7.9%)	3 (12.0%)
Who Obtained the Service	14 (36.8%)	9 (36.0%)
Who Decided to Use Another Non Help Line Service or Resource	2 (5.3%)	2 (8.0%)
Of the 14 Individuals who DID NOT Try to Get Shelter, Number Who Said They Did Not Try Because:	(8)	(6)
No Service	0 (0%)	1 (16.7%
Got Nervous/Cold Feet	0 (0%)	1 (16.7%)
Situation Improved	3 (37.5%)	0 (0%)
Sitting on/Holding onto the Information for Now	2 (25.0%)	0 (0%)
Decided on a Non-Help Line Service	1 (12.5%)	1 (16.7%)
Felt there were No Good Options	1 (12.5%)	1 (16.7%)
Unknown	1 (12.5%)	2 (33.3%)

Table 43: Summary of Demographic Characteristics of the Shelter Interview Sample Comparing Those Interviewed Once Versus Twice at Baseline- Shelter Interview Sample

Characteristics of Sample	**ONE INTERVIEW ONLY SAMPLE % (Total Number)**	**TWO INTERVIEW SAMPLE % (Total Number)**
AGENCY	(36)	(17)
% Agency 1	41.7	64.7
% Agency 2	33.3	0
% Agency 3	19.4	35.3
% Agency 4	5.6	0
Age	(36)	(17)
Average Age	31.28	39.34
Range of Ages	19-60	19-55
Race/Ethnicity	(34)	(16)
Asian American	2.9	11.8
African American	50.0	68.8
White	20.6	6.3
Native American	2.9	0
Biracial	14.7	6.3
% Hispanic Origin	28.6 (N=28)	17.6 (N=15)
% Born In U.S.	77.8 (N=36)	82.4 (N=17)
Marital Status at Time of Baseline Interview	(34)	(17)
Never married	55.9	52.9
Currently married	23.5	23.5
Divorced	11,8	11.8
Separated	8.8	5.9
Widowed	0	5.9
Common Law	0	0
Other	0	0
Children	(34)	(17)
% With Any Children	91.2	88.2
Of those with Children:	(31)	(15)
Average Number of Children	2.48	3.07
Range	1-6	1-6
% With Children Living in the Home at Baseline Interview	80.6 (N=31)	53.3
Average Number of Children in Home at Baseline Interview	2.04 (N=25)	2.75 (N=8)
Range	1-6	1-5

Table 43 (Con't).

Characteristics of Sample	ONE INTERVIEW ONLY SAMPLE % (Total Number)	TWO INTERVIEW SAMPLE % (Total Number)
Education	(34)	(17)
Less than High School	38.2	29.4
High School Graduate/GED	29.4	17.6
Technical School/ Some College	23.5	41.2
College Graduate	8.8	11.8
Completed Graduate School	0	0
Employment in last year	(35)	(17)
% Employed full or part time in last year	60.0	47.1
% Homemaker/not working outside of home in last year	17.1	23.5
% Unemployed in last year	22.9	29.4
Current Employment at Baseline Interview	(35)	(17)
% Employed full time	2.9	11.8
% Employed part time	2.9	5.9
% Homemaker/not working outside of home or unemployed	8.6	17.6
% Unemployed	85.7	64.7
Household Income	(36)	(17)
% with no HH income in past year	16.7	0
% Under $5000	22.2	23.5
% $5000-$15,000	30.6	23.5
% $15,001-24,999	2.8	0
% $25,000-34,999	5.6	17.6
% $35,000-49,999	5.6	5.9
% $50,000-74,999	5.6	5.9
% $75,000 and higher	11.1	0
% Did no know HH income	0	23.5
Average number of adults, including respondent who contribute to HH income	1.34 (N=32)	1.35 (N=17)
Range	0-3	1-2
Average number of adults living in home with respondent in last year	2.37 (N=35)	1.94 (N=17)
Range	1-5	1-4

Table 44: Comparison of Those Interviewed Once Versus Twice at Baseline: Relationship to Abuser and Abuser Characteristics- Shelter Interview Sample

Variable	ONE INTERVIEW ONLY SAMPLE % (Total Number)	TWO INTERVIEW SAMPLE % (Total Number)
Relationship to Abuser	**(32)**	**(17)**
% Abuser Current or former husband	31.3	41.2
% Abuser Current or former boyfriend	65.7	52.9
% Abuser Current or former girlfriend	0	5.9
% Abuser parent	0	0
% Abuser sibling	0	0
% Abuser other relationship	3.1	0
Characteristics of Current Abuser		
Gender	(36)	(17)
% Male	94.4	94.1
Age	(36)	(17)
Average Age of Abuser	33.34	41.4
Range	18-57	22-62

Table 45: Characteristics of the Shelter Interview Sample Comparing Those Interviewed Once Versus Twice at Baseline: Previous Abuse and Shelter Experience- Shelter Interview Sample

Abuse History	**ONE INTERVIEW ONLY SAMPLE % (Total Number)**	**TWO INTERVIEW SAMPLE % (Total Number)**
% With Other Relationship that Became Abusive	45.7 (N=35)	41.2 (N=16)
Of these:	(15)	(6)
Average number of other abusive relationships (including current relationship)	2.0	2.67
Range	1-3	1-4
Relationship of Other Abusive Relationship if not current abuser	(18)	(7)
% Abuser Current or former husband	27.8	28.6
% Abuser Current or former boyfriend	50.0	57.1
% Abuser Current or former girlfriend	0	14.3
% Abuser parent	16.7	0
% Abuser sibling	0	0
% Abuser other relationship	5.6	0
Orders of Protection	(35)	(17)
% Who ever got an OP (including for present abuse)	37.1	52.9
IF yes, % Who got on against: (can be more than 1)	(13)	(N=9)
% Current or former husband	69.2	44.4
% Current or former boyfriend	23.1	55.6
% Current or former girlfriend	0	0
% Parent	0	0
% Sibling	0	0
% Other relationship	7.7	0
% Previously in a DV Shelter	30.6 (N=36)	11.8 (N=17)
If at least on other time:	(11)	(2)
Average number of previous times	1.64	1.5
Range	1-5	1-2
% Previously in a Shelter or Transitional Housing	26.5 (N=34)	35.3 (N=17)
If at least on other time:	(7)	(6)
Average number of previous times	1.57	1.5
Range	1-3	1-2
Current Housing	(35)	(15)
% In permanent housing situation before coming to shelter	62.9	76.5

Table 46: Characteristics and Change in Circumstance for Those Interviewed Twice at Time 2 Interview- Shelter Interview Sample

Characteristics of Sample	**% (Total Number)**
% Experiencing Change Marital Status	5.9 (17)
% Experiencing Change in Educational Status	12.5 (16)
% Experiencing Change in Parental Status	12.5 (16)
% Experiencing Change in Household Income	68.8 (16)
Of These:	(11)
% Income Increased	90.9
% Income Decreased	9.1
% **Household Income at Time 2**	(15)
% with no HH income in past year	0
% Under $5000	17.6
% $5000-$15,000	52.9
% $15,001-24,999	11.8
% $25,000-34,999	0
% $35,000-49,999	5.9
% $50,000-74,999	0
% $75,000 and higher	0
% Did no know HH income	0
% Experiencing Change in the Number Contributing to the Household Income	25.0 (16)
% Experiencing Change in the Number of Adults Now Living in the Household	37.5 (16)
% Experiencing Change in the Number of Children Living in the Household	11.8% (17)
Employment Status at Time of Second Interview	(17)
% Working Full Time	17.6
% Working Part Time	29.4
% Unemployed	41.2
% Homemaker /do not work outside of home	11.8

%

Table 47: Abuse Experience, Shelter Experience and Living Arrangements at Time 2 for Those Interviewed Twice – Shelter Interview Sample

Variable	% (Total Number Included)
% Experiencing Another Abuse Episode	35.3 (17)
Among Those Experiencing Another Abuse Episode	(6)
% Experiencing more than One Abuse Episode	100%
Range in Number of Times	3-20 (N=4)
% Experiencing new Abuse Since Leaving Shelter	100%
% Abused by Previous Abuser	66.7%
% Obtaining Order of Protection Since Last Interview	17.6 (N=17)
Of Those, % Who Got Order of Protection Against New Abuser/Relationship	0 (N=3)
% In a Domestic Violence Shelter Again Since Previous Interview	11.8 (N=17)
Living Arrangements At Time of Second Interview	(N=17)
% Shelter Where Interviewed Previously	17.6
% Transitional Housing	11.8
% Program Rental Apartment	11.8
% Market Rental Apartment	23.5
% Former Housing	17.6
% Living with Family	5.9
% Living with Friends	5.9
% Other	5.9
% Who Report Current Housing Has Supportive Services	23.5 (N=12)

Table 48: Abusive Behavior Inventory at Time 1 and Time for Those Interviewed Twice- Shelter Interview Sample

#	Question	Mean for Item Only Those Answering as Applicable at Time 1 (N)	Mean for Item Only Those Answering as Applicable at Time 2 (N)
1	Called you a name and/or criticized you	4.24 (17)	2.45 (11)
2	Tried to keep you from doing something you wanted to do (example: going out with friends, going to meetings)	4.29 (17)	1.7 (10)
3	Gave you angry stares or looks	4.35 (17)	2.0 (10)
4	Prevent you from having money for your own use	3.65 (17)	1.3 (10)
5	Ended a discussion with you and made the decision himself	4.35 (17)	2.0 (11)
6	Threatened to hit or throw something at you	3.76 (17)	1.9 (10)
7	Pushed, grabbed, or shoved you	3.88 (17)	1.7 (10
8	Put down your family and friends	3.88 (17)	1.7 (10)
9	Accused you of paying too much attention to someone or something else	3.82 (17)	1.5 (10)
10	Put you on an allowance	2.29 (17)	1.2 (10
11	Used your children to threaten you (example: told you that you would lose custody, said he would leave town with the children)	3.08 (12)	1.33 (9)
12	Became very upset with you because dinner, housework, or laundry was not ready when he wanted it or done the way he thought it should be	2.45 (11)	1.30 (10)
13	Said things to scare you (examples: told you something "bad" would happen, threatened to commit suicide)	3.18 (17)	1.30 (10)
14	Slapped, hit, or punched you	3.18 (17)	1.60 (10)
15	Made you do something humiliating or degrading (example: begging for forgiveness, having to ask his permission to use the car or do something)	2.65 (17)	1.30 (10)

Table 48 (Con't.)

	QUESTION	MEAN FOR ITEM ONLY THOSE ANSWERING AS APPLICABLE AT TIME 1 (N)	MEAN FOR ITEM ONLY THOSE ANSWERING AS APPLICABLE (N)
16	Checked Up On You (Examples: Listened To Your Phone Calls, Checked The Mileage On Your Car, Called You Repeatedly At Work)	3.82 (17)	2.0 (11)
17	Drove Recklessly When You Were In The Car	2.60 (15)	1.40 (10)
18	Pressured You To Have Sex In A Way That You Didn't Like Or Want	2.75 (16)	1.40 (10)
19	Refused To Do Housework Or Childcare	4.12 (17)	1.40 (10)
20	Threatened You With A Knife, Gun, Or Other Weapon	2.06 (17)	1.30 (10)
21	Told You That You Were A Bad Parent	1.70 (10)	1.89 (9)
22	Stopped You Or Tried To Stop You From Going To Work Or School	3.38 (16)	1.40 (10)
23	Threw, Hit, Kicked, Or Smashed Something	3.47 (17)	1.50 (10)
24	Kicked You	2.47 (17)	1.30 (10)
25	Physically Forced You To Have Sex	2.65 (17)	1.40 (10)
26	Threw You Around	2.82 (17)	1.40 (10)
27	Physically Attacked The Sexual Parts Of Your Body	2.12 (17)	1.30 (10)
28	Choked Or Strangled You	2.41 (17)	1.30 (10)
29	Used A Knife, Gun, Or Other Weapon Against You	1.76 (17)	1.40 (10)
	Totals For Subscales:		
	Psychological Abuse (17 Items)	(17)	17
	Average Score For Total Scale	58.35	16.18 ***
	Range	24-83	0-67
	Average Score Per Item Controlling For Number Of Applicable Items	3.54	1.97 (N=12) ***
	Physical Abuse (12 Items)		
	Average Score	33.18	10.29 ***
	Range	14-60	0-51
	Average Score Per Item Controlling For Number Of Applicable Items	2.77	1.46 (N=10) **
	**** FOR DIFFERENCES BETWEEN GROUPS AT TIME 1 AND 2, P $\leq$ .01** ***** FOR DIFFERENCES BETWEEN GROUPS AT TIME 1 AND 2, P $\leq$ .001**		

Table 49: Stages of Change Questionnaire – Time 1 Results - Shelter Interview Sample

Question (Total Number Included in Analysis is 52)	% Haven't Thought About It	% Thinking About It	% Taking Steps to Do Something About it	% Already Made Changes	% May try to Deal With Again	% Don't Know What to Think	% Does not Apply
1.PROBLEMS IN MY RELATIONSHIP.	11.5	15.4	21.2	36.5	3.8	0	11.5
2. THINGS I WOULD LIKE TO BE DIFFERENT IN MY RELATIONSHIP.	5.8	9.6	19.2	25.0	1.9	1.9	36.5
3. THINGS THAT I WANT TO CHANGE IN MYSELF.	3.8	21.2	48.1	23.1	0	3.8	0
4. MAKING MYSELF MORE FINANCIALLY INDEPENDENT.	0	21.2	59.6	17.3	0	1.9	0
5. WANTING TO BE SAFE	0	11.5	38.5	48.1	0	0	1.9
6. THE SAFETY OF MY CHILDREN.	1.9	1.9	28.8	42.3	1.9	0	23.1
7. WHERE I MIGHT FIND SOME SUPPORT TO DO WHAT I WANT	3.8	17.3	50.0	23.1	1.9	1.9	1.9
8. WHERE I MIGHT FIND HELP.	1.9	15.4	38.5	40.4	0	3.8	0
9. CHANGING THE BALANCE OF POWER IN MY RELATIONSHIP.	3.8	11.5	7.7	32.7	0	1.9	42.3
10. GOING BACK TO SCHOOL	5.8	38.5	34.6	15.4	0	1.9	3.8
11. BEING READY FOR SELF-IMPROVEMENT.	0	13.5	48.1	32.7	1.9	0	3.8
12. BEING READY TO BETTER UNDERSTAND MYSELF AND MY RELATIONSHIP.	1.9	7.7	50.0	26.9	0	0	13.5

Table 49 (con't.)

Question	% Haven't Thought About It	% Thinking About It	% Taking Steps to Do Something About it	% Already Made Changes	% May try to Deal With Again	% Don't Know What to Think	% Does not Apply
13. GETTING SOME HELP FOR MY RELATIONSHIP.	9.6	5.8	11.5	11.5	0	9.6	51.9
14.GETTING SOME ADVICE ABOUT MY SITUATION	0	3.8	30.8	53.8	1.9	1.9	7.5
15. THINGS I WOULD LIKE TO HAVE DIFFERENT IN MY RELATIONSHIP.	11.5	1.9	15.4	17.3	0	3.8	50.0
16. STANDING UP FOR MYSELF IN MY RELATIONSHIP.	1.9	3.8	7.7	51.9	0	0	34.6
17. CREATING BOUNDARIES IN MY RELATIONSHIP.	9.6	7.7	3.8	34.8	1.9	0	42.3
18. SPECIFIC THINGS I CAN DO FOR SELF-IMPROVEMENT	1.9	11.5	57.7	28.8	0	0	0
19. GETTING SOME HELP FOR MY PARTNER TO DEAL WITH ADDICTION.	7.8	9.8	2.0	2.0	0	0	78.4
20. BETTER UNDERSTANDING MYSELF AND MY RELATIONSHIP	3.8	11.5	34.6	23.1	0	1.9	25.0
21. HAVING TO LEAVE THE RELATIONSHIP TO BE SAFE.	0	0	9.4	84.6	0	0	5.8
22. HAVING TO LEAVE THE RELATIONSHIP SO MY CHILDREN WILL BE SAFE.	1.9	0	7.7	61.5	0	0	28.8
23. GETTING THE HELP I NEED TO DO WHAT I NEED TO DO.	0	0	43.1	54.9	0	0	2.0
24. CONTINUING TO IMPROVE MYSELF	0	5.8	50.0	44.2	0	0	0

Table 49 (con ‘t.)

Question	% Haven’t Thought About It	% Thinking About It	% Taking Steps to Do Something About it	% Already Made Changes	% May try to Deal With Again	% Don’t Know What to Think	% Does not Apply
25. GETTING SOME HELP FOR MY PARTNER TO DEAL WITH HIS/HER TEMPER	15.4	3.8	3.8	0	1.9	1.9	73.1
26. LIVING WITHOUT A RELATIONSHIP	15.4	21.2	11.5	38.5	0	5.8	7.7
27. GETTING SOME HELP FOR MY PARTNER TO DEAL WITH HIS/HER VIOLENCE.	11.5	7.7	5.8	1.9	0	1.9	71.2
28. ENDING MY RELATIONSHIP.	3.8	5.8	3.8	75.0	0	1.9	9.6
29. FIGURING OUT WHAT TO DO.	0	21.2	44.2	28.8	0	0	5.8
30. THINGS GETTING BETTER	1.9	11.5	36.5	46.2	0	1.9	1.9
31. MANAGING TO HAVE A BETTER SITUATION.	0	3.8	59.6	36.5	0	0	0
32. GETTING AN ORDER OF PROTECTION NOW.	3.8	9.6	7.7	34.6	0	5.8	38.5
33. **REMOVING MY CHILDREN FROM THE ABUSER.**	1.9	3.8	1.9	55.8	0	0	36.5
35. BELIEVING THAT CHILDREN ARE BETTER OFF WITH BOTH PARENTS	9.6	9.6	3.8	7.7	1.9	7.7	59.6
36. MAKING THINGS DIFFERENT	1.9	7.7	28.8	55.8	0	0	5.8

Table 50: Stages of Change at Time 1 For Those Interviewed Twice (N=17) - Shelter Interview Sample

Question	% Haven't Thought About It	% Thinking About It	% Taking Steps to Do Something About it	% Already Made Changes	% May try to Deal With Again	% Don't Know What to Think	% Does not Apply
1.PROBLEMS IN MY RELATIONSHIP.	5.9	11.8	23.5	35.3	5.9	0	17.6
2. THINGS I WOULD LIKE TO BE DIFFERENT IN MY RELATIONSHIP.	0	0	17.6	41.2	0	5.9	35.3
3. THINGS THAT I WANT TO CHANGE IN MYSELF.	0	17.6	58.8	23.5	0	0	0
4. MAKING MYSELF MORE FINANCIALLY INDEPENDENT.	0	23.5	52.9	17.6	0	5.9	0
5. WANTING TO BE SAFE	0	5.9	35.3	52.9	0	0	5.9
6. THE SAFETY OF MY CHILDREN.	0	5.9	35.3	29.4	0	0	29.4
7. WHERE I MIGHT FIND SOME SUPPORT TO DO WHAT I WANT	0	17.6	41.2	23.5	5.9	5.9	5.9
8. WHERE I MIGHT FIND HELP.	0	23.5	17.6	47.1	0	11.8	0
9. CHANGING THE BALANCE OF POWER IN MY RELATIONSHIP.	5.9	5.9	5.9	41.2	0	0	41.2
10. GOING BACK TO SCHOOL	5.9	29.4	41.2	17.6	0	0	5.9
11. BEING READY FOR SELF-IMPROVEMENT.	0	17.6	29.4	47.1	0	0	5.9
12. BEING READY TO BETTER UNDERSTAND MYSELF AND MY RELATIONSHIP.	**0**	**5.9**	**41.2**	**41.2**	**0**	**0**	**11.8**

Table 50 (con't.)

Question	% Haven't Thought About It	% Thinking About It	% Taking Steps to Do Something About it	% Already Made Changes	% May try to Deal With Again	% Don't Know What to Think	% Does not Apply
13. GETTING SOME HELP FOR MY RELATIONSHIP.	5.9	11.8	17.6	23.5	0	5.9	35.3
14.GETTING SOME ADVICE ABOUT MY SITUATION	0	11.8	11.8	70.6	0	0	5.9
15. THINGS I WOULD LIKE TO HAVE DIFFERENT IN MY RELATIONSHIP.	17.6	0	0	29.4	0	0	52.9
16. STANDING UP FOR MYSELF IN MY RELATIONSHIP.	5.9	5.9	11.8	47.1	0	0	29.4
17. CREATING BOUNDARIES IN MY RELATIONSHIP.	5.9	5.9	5.9	52.9	0	0	29.4
18. SPECIFIC THINGS I CAN DO FOR SELF-IMPROVEMENT	0	23.5	41.2	35.3	0	0	0
19. GETTING SOME HELP FOR MY PARTNER TO DEAL WITH ADDICTION.	17.6	11.8	0	0	0	0	70.6
20. BETTER UNDERSTANDING MYSELF AND MY RELATIONSHIP	5.9	0	35.3	29.4	0	0	29.4
21. HAVING TO LEAVE THE RELATIONSHIP TO BE SAFE.	0	0	5.9	82.4	0	0	11.8
22. HAVING TO LEAVE THE RELATIONSHIP SO MY CHILDREN WILL BE SAFE.	0	0	5.9	47.1	0	0	47.1
23. GETTING THE HELP I NEED TO DO WHAT I NEED TO DO.	0	0	35.3	58.8	0	0	5.9
24. CONTINUING TO IMPROVE MYSELF	0	5.9	35.3	58.8	0	0	0

Table 50 (con't.)

Question	% Haven't Thought About It	% Thinking About It	% Taking Steps to Do Something About it	% Already Made Changes	% May try to Deal With Again	% Don't Know What to Think	% Does not Apply
25. GETTING SOME HELP FOR MY PARTNER TO DEAL WITH HIS/HER TEMPER	23.5	5.9	5.9	0	0	0	64.7
26. LIVING WITHOUT A RELATIONSHIP	29.4	17.6	0	29.4	0	11.8	11.8
27. GETTING SOME HELP FOR MY PARTNER TO DEAL WITH HIS/HER VIOLENCE.	17.6	5.9	11.8	0	0	0	64.7
28. ENDING MY RELATIONSHIP.	0	5.9	5.9	76.5	0	5.9	5.9
29. FIGURING OUT WHAT TO DO.	0	17.6	35.3	41.2	0	0	5.9
30. THINGS GETTING BETTER	0	0	47.1	41.2	0	5.9	5.9
31. MANAGING TO HAVE A BETTER SITUATION.	0	0	70.6	29.4	0	0	0
32. GETTING AN ORDER OF PROTECTION NOW.	5.9	0	0	52.9	0	0	41.2
33. **REMOVING MY CHILDREN FROM THE ABUSER.**	0	0	0	52.9	0	0	47.1
34. BELIEVING THAT CHILDREN ARE BETTER OFF WITH BOTH PARENTS	17.6	5.9	0	5.9	0	5.9	64.7
35. MAKING THINGS DIFFERENT	0	5.9	23.5	64.7	0	0	5.9

Table 51: Stages of Change at Time 2 For Those Interviewed Twice (N=17)- Shelter Interview Sample

Question	% Haven't Thought About It	% Thinking About It	% Taking Steps to Do Something About it	% Already Made Changes	% May try to Deal With Again	% Don't Know What to Think	% Does not Apply
1.PROBLEMS IN MY RELATIONSHIP.	0	17.6	17.6	47.5	0	0	17.6
2. THINGS I WOULD LIKE TO BE DIFFERENT IN MY RELATIONSHIP.	0	23.5	11.8	17.6	0	0	47.1
3. THINGS THAT I WANT TO CHANGE IN MYSELF.	5.9	17.6	47.1	29.4	0	0	0
4. MAKING MYSELF MORE FINANCIALLY INDEPENDENT.	0	17.6	64.7	17.6	0	0	0
5. WANTING TO BE SAFE	0	5.9	29.4	58.8	0	0	5.9
6. THE SAFETY OF MY CHILDREN.	0	11.8	23.5	35.3	0	0	29.4
7. WHERE I MIGHT FIND SOME SUPPORT TO DO WHAT I WANT	5.9	11.8	52.9	23.5	0	5.9	0
8. WHERE I MIGHT FIND HELP.	5.9	0	58.8	23.5	0	5.9	5.9
9. CHANGING THE BALANCE OF POWER IN MY RELATIONSHIP.	5.9	5.9	11.8	35.3	0	0	41.2
10. GOING BACK TO SCHOOL	0	17.6	41.2	29.4	5.9	0	5.9
11. BEING READY FOR SELF-IMPROVEMENT.	0	5.9	52.9	35.3	5.9	0	0
12. BEING READY TO BETTER UNDERSTAND MYSELF AND MY RELATIONSHIP.	0	11.8	47.1	17.6	0	0	23.5

Table 51 (con't.)

Question	% Haven't Thought About It	% Thinking About It	% Taking Steps to Do Something About it	% Already Made Changes	% May try to Deal With Again	% Don't Know What to Think	% Does not Apply
13. GETTING SOME HELP FOR MY RELATIONSHIP.	5.9	5.9	11.8	5.9	5.9	5.9	58.8
14.GETTING SOME ADVICE ABOUT MY SITUATION	0	23.5	11.8	35.3	5.9	5.9	17.6
15. THINGS I WOULD LIKE TO HAVE DIFFERENT IN MY RELATIONSHIP.	11.8	17.6	5.9	17.6	0	0	47.1
16. STANDING UP FOR MYSELF IN MY RELATIONSHIP.	5.9	0	17.6	47.1	0	0	29.4
17. CREATING BOUNDARIES IN MY RELATIONSHIP.	5.9	0	17.6	47.1	0	5.9	23.5
18. SPECIFIC THINGS I CAN DO FOR SELF-IMPROVEMENT	0	0	52.9	47.1	0	0	0
19. GETTING SOME HELP FOR MY PARTNER TO DEAL WITH ADDICTION.	0	0	5.9	0	0	5.9	88.2
20. BETTER UNDERSTANDING MYSELF AND MY RELATIONSHIP	11.8	0	29.4	11.8	5.9	0	41.2
21. HAVING TO LEAVE THE RELATIONSHIP TO BE SAFE.	0	5.9	5.9	70.6	0	5.9	11.8
22. HAVING TO LEAVE THE RELATIONSHIP SO MY CHILDREN WILL BE SAFE. (N=16)	0	0	6.3	56.5	0	0	37.5
23. GETTING THE HELP I NEED TO DO WHAT I NEED TO DO.	5.9	0	47.1	47.1	0	0	0
24. CONTINUING TO IMPROVE MYSELF	0	0	52.9	47.1	0	0	0

Table 51 (con't).

Question	% Haven't Thought About It	% Thinking About It	% Taking Steps to Do Something About it	% Already Made Changes	% May try to Deal With Again	% Don't Know What to Think	% Does not Apply
25. GETTING SOME HELP FOR MY PARTNER TO DEAL WITH HIS/HER TEMPER	5.9	0	0	0	0	0	94.1
26. LIVING WITHOUT A RELATIONSHIP	17.6	17.6	0	47.1	0	5.9	11.8
27. GETTING SOME HELP FOR MY PARTNER TO DEAL WITH HIS/HER VIOLENCE.	5.9	0	0	0	0	0	94.1
28. ENDING MY RELATIONSHIP.	0	5.9	5.9	58.8	0	0	29.4
29. FIGURING OUT WHAT TO DO.	0	17.6	35.3	47.1	0	0	0
30. THINGS GETTING BETTER (N=16)	0	12.5	43.8	43.8	0	0	0
31. MANAGING TO HAVE A BETTER SITUATION.	0	11.8	41.2	47.1	0	0	0
32. GETTING AN ORDER OF PROTECTION NOW.	5.9	0	11.8	29.4	0	0	52.9
33. **REMOVING MY CHILDREN FROM THE ABUSER.**	0	0	5.9	52.9	0	0	41.2
34. BELIEVING THAT CHILDREN ARE BETTER OFF WITH BOTH PARENTS	5.9	5.9	11.8	17.6	0	11.8	47.1
35. MAKING THINGS DIFFERENT	0	0	35.3	64.7	0	0	0

Table 52: Stages of Change at Time 1 for Those Interviewed Once (N=35) - Shelter Interview Sample

Question	% Haven't Thought About It	% Thinking About It	% Taking Steps to Do Something About it	% Already Made Changes	% May try to Deal With Again	% Don't Know What to Think	% Does not Apply
1.PROBLEMS IN MY RELATIONSHIP.	14.3	17.1	20.0	37.1	2.9	0	8.6
2. THINGS I WOULD LIKE TO BE DIFFERENT IN MY RELATIONSHIP.	8.6	14.3	20.0	17.1	2.9	0	37.1
3. THINGS THAT I WANT TO CHANGE IN MYSELF.	5.7	22.9	42.9	22.9	0	5.7	0
4. MAKING MYSELF MORE FINANCIALLY INDEPENDENT.	0	20.0	62.9	17.1	0	0	0
5. WANTING TO BE SAFE	0	14.3	40.0	45.7	0	0	0
6. THE SAFETY OF MY CHILDREN.	2.9	0	25.7	48.6	2.9	0	20.0
7. WHERE I MIGHT FIND SOME SUPPORT TO DO WHAT I WANT	5.7	17.1	54.3	22.9	0	0	0
8. WHERE I MIGHT FIND HELP.	2.9	11.4	48.6	37.1	0	0	0
9. CHANGING THE BALANCE OF POWER IN MY RELATIONSHIP.	2.9	14.3	8.6	28.6	0	2.9	42.9
10. GOING BACK TO SCHOOL	5.7	42.9	31.4	14.3	0	2.9	2.9
11. BEING READY FOR SELF-IMPROVEMENT.	0	11.4	57.1	25.7	2.9	0	2.9
12. BEING READY TO BETTER UNDERSTAND MYSELF AND MY RELATIONSHIP.	**2.9**	**8.6**	**54.3**	**20.0**	**0**	**0**	**14.3**

Table 52 (con't.)

Question	% Haven't Thought About It	% Thinking About It	% Taking Steps to Do Something About it	% Already Made Changes	% May try to Deal With Again	% Don't Know What to Think	% Does not Apply
13. GETTING SOME HELP FOR MY RELATIONSHIP.	11.4	2.9	8.6	5.7	0	11.4	60.0
14.GETTING SOME ADVICE ABOUT MY SITUATION	0	0	40.0	45.7	2.9	2.9	8.6
15. THINGS I WOULD LIKE TO HAVE DIFFERENT IN MY RELATIONSHIP.	8.6	2.9	22.9	1.4	0	5.7	48.6
16. STANDING UP FOR MYSELF IN MY RELATIONSHIP.	0	2.9	5.7	54.3	0	0	37.1
17. CREATING BOUNDARIES IN MY RELATIONSHIP.	11.4	8.6	2.9	25.7	2.9	0	48.6
18. SPECIFIC THINGS I CAN DO FOR SELF-IMPROVEMENT	2.9	5.7	65.7	25.7	0	0	0
19. GETTING SOME HELP FOR MY PARTNER TO DEAL WITH ADDICTION.	2.9	8.8	2.9	2.9	0	0	82.4
20. BETTER UNDERSTANDING MYSELF AND MY RELATIONSHIP	2.9	17.1	34.3	20.0	0	2.9	22.9
21. HAVING TO LEAVE THE RELATIONSHIP TO BE SAFE.	0	0	11.4	85.7	0	0	2.9
22. HAVING TO LEAVE THE RELATIONSHIP SO MY CHILDREN WILL BE SAFE.	2.9	0	8.6	68.6	0	0	20.0
23. GETTING THE HELP I NEED TO DO WHAT I NEED TO DO.	0	0	47.1	57.9	0	0	0
24. CONTINUING TO IMPROVE MYSELF	0	5.7	57.1	37.1	0	0	0

Table 52 (con't.)

Question	% Haven't Thought About It	% Thinking About It	% Taking Steps to Do Something About it	% Already Made Changes	% May try to Deal With Again	% Don't Know What to Think	% Does not Apply
25. GETTING SOME HELP FOR MY PARTNER TO DEAL WITH HIS/HER TEMPER	11.4	2.9	2.9	0	2.9	2.9	77.1
26. LIVING WITHOUT A RELATIONSHIP	8.6	22.9	17.1	42.9	0	2.9	5.7
27. GETTING SOME HELP FOR MY PARTNER TO DEAL WITH HIS/HER VIOLENCE.	8.6	8.6	2.9	2.9	0	2.9	74.3
28. ENDING MY RELATIONSHIP.	5.7	5.7	2.9	74.3	0	0	11.4
29. FIGURING OUT WHAT TO DO.	0	22.9	48.6	22.9	0	0	5.7
30. THINGS GETTING BETTER	2.9	17.1	31.4	48.6	0	0	0
31. MANAGING TO HAVE A BETTER SITUATION.	0	5.7	54.3	40.0	0	0	0
32. GETTING AN ORDER OF PROTECTION NOW.	2.9	14.3	11.4	25.7	0	8.6	37.1
33. **REMOVING MY CHILDREN FROM THE ABUSER.**	2.9	5.7	2.9	57.1	0	0	31.4
34. BELIEVING THAT CHILDREN ARE BETTER OFF WITH BOTH PARENTS	5.7	11.4	5.7	8.6	2.9	8.6	57.1
35. MAKING THINGS DIFFERENT	2.9	8.3	31.4	51.4	0	0	5.7

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Appendices

Appendix Table 1:Comparison of Total Population Shelter Sample with Random Sample
18 and older Only- InfoNet Data

Variable	Original Population of Individuals Receiving Onsite Shelter	Sample of Shelter Recipients
Total Number of Clients in Selected Group	(28,945) Mean Age =31.9 sd=9.51)	(1000) (Mean Age=31.4, sd=9.22)
CLIENT DEMO-GRAPIHCS **Gender (Total number included in analysis)** % Female	 (28,945) 99.9	 (1000) 100
Race (Total number included in analysis)	(28,657)	(991)
% White	42.3	41.2
% African American	43.0	42.8
% Hispanic	10.1	10.2
% Asian American	1.5	1.4
% American Indian	0.7	1.2
% Bi-Racial	1.5	2.2
% Other Race	1.0	1.0
Education (Total number included in analysis)	(24,997)	(865)
% Less than High School Graduate	31.8	31.9
% High School Graduate or Some College	7.3	6.9
% College Graduate or Higher	60.9	61.3
Income Sources (Total number included in analysis)	(27,515)	(949)
% Public Income Sources As Primary or Secondary Source	26.0	24.7
% Employment as Primary or Secondary Source	27.5	26.9
Marital Status (Total number included in analysis)	(28,375)	(980)
% Single	49.3	50.7
% Currently Married	33.9	33.7
% Divorced or Separated	15.2	13.5
% Widowed	1.1	1.5
% Common Law	0.5	0.6
% With Language Challenge (Total number included in analysis)	(28,945) 4.6	(1000) 5.1
% With Special Needs Requiring Special Attention (Total number included in analysis)	(28,945) 11.1	(1000) 12.2

Appendix Table 2 : Comparison of Total Population Who Never Received Shelter with Random Sample 18 and older Only – InfoNet Data

Variable	Original Population of Individuals Who Never Received Onsite Shelter	Sample of Individuals Who Never Received Onsite Shelter
Total Number of Clients in Selected Group	(244,813) Mean Age =31.9 sd=9.51)	(1000) (Mean Age=33.6, sd=10.14
CLIENT DEMO-GRAPIHCS		
Gender (Total number included in analysis)	(244,810)	(1000)
% Female	94.3	95.1
Race (Total number included in analysis)	(234,973)	(975)
% White	56.0	57.2
% African American	24.7	24.5
% Hispanic	15.8	16.2
% Asian American	1.6	1.1
% American Indian	0.3	0.1
% Bi-Racial	0.8	0.4
% Other Race	0.9	0.4
Education (Total number included in analysis)	(180,017)	(807)
% Less than High School Graduate	24.6	26.6
% High School Graduate or Some College	63.3	61.0
% College Graduate or Higher	12.0	12.4
Income Sources (Total number included in analysis)	(219,878)	(959)
% Public Income Sources As Primary or Secondary Source	13.9	14.0
% Employment as Primary or Secondary Source	55.1	56.1
Marital Status (Total number included in analysis)	(227,362)	(959)
% Single	36.9	38.8
% Currently Married	46.0	43.9
% Divorced or Separated	15.3	15.2
% Widowed	1.5	1.9
% Common Law	0.4	0.2
% With Language Challenge (Total number included in analysis)	(214,813) 7.5	(1000) 6.5
% With Special Needs Requiring Special Attention (Total number included in analysis)	(214,813) 4.5	(1000) 4.8