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FINAL REPORT

RESPONDING TO DOMESTIC VIOLENCE IN SOUTHERN ILLINOIS

Grant Award # 1999-WE-VX-KK006

by

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FINAL REPORT

Approved By: 

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RESPONDING TO DOMESTIC VIOLENCE IN SOUTHERN ILLINOIS

ABSTRACT

Goals and Objectives:

This research is a process evaluation conducted by researchers from Southern Illinois University, entering into partnership with agencies in the city of Carbondale and Jackson County to examine activities funded under Pro-Arrest grants. The agencies involved include the Carbondale Police Department, the Women's Center, Inc., the State's Attorney's Office, the County Probation Office, the Domestic Violence Clinic Program at the Southern Illinois University School of Law, and the University's Department of Public Safety.

The objectives of the evaluation partnership were: 1) to compile a descriptive analysis of the inter-agency collaboration and project history; 2) to identify domestic violence research issues of priority in Carbondale; and 3) to work with participating agencies to prepare for a potential outcome evaluation.

Research Methodology

The data collection techniques were largely qualitative, and include document analysis, unstructured and structured interviews, and observations. Limited quantitative data are also presented in the analysis of prosecution of domestic battery in Jackson County and the evaluation of the Domestic Violence Clinic. Limitations of the data include short observation periods, small numbers of cases, and problems of generalizability.

Findings and Conclusions

Under a series of Pro-Arrest grants, the city of Carbondale and Jackson County have achieved significant gains in providing a coordinated community response to domestic violence. Major accomplishments include: the establishment of a coordinating council (the Steering Committee); law enforcement training and other training in domestic violence; law enforcement and prosecution protocols for domestic violence; a Domestic Violence Clinic Program at the University's School of Law; a consolidated records management system for the Carbondale Police Department and the SIU Department of Public Safety; a community support group for victims and survivors of domestic violence; additional advocacy services for victims; and joint Probation-Police patrols to check on offender compliance with no-contact bond and probation orders and to provide victim safety checks. Chapters of the Final Report include details about these accomplishments and contain "Lessons Learned" which provide a concise summary of findings to guide program planners.

Perhaps the chief conclusion of the research is that in a coordinated community response to domestic violence, a group that operates as a coordinating council is essential to identify problems and design solutions, to ensure inter-agency collaboration, and to provide a forum for networking.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

This report summarizes the activities and findings of the grant "Responding to Domestic Violence in Southern Illinois: An Evaluation Partnership" funded by the Office of Justice Programs. This is a process evaluation conducted by researchers from the Center for the Study of Crime, Delinquency, and Corrections at Southern Illinois University, entering into partnership with the following organizations in the city of Carbondale and Jackson County, IL:

- * The Carbondale Police Department (CPD)
- * The Carbondale Women's Center, Inc. (Women's Center)
- * The Jackson County State's Attorney's Office (SAO)
- * The Jackson County Probation Office (Probation)
- * The Domestic Violence Clinic Program, Southern Illinois University at Carbondale (DV Clinic)
- * The Southern Illinois University Department of Public Safety (SIU Public Safety)

While the above agencies comprise the formal research partnership group, other agencies have participated in the local grant activities as well as this research project. Southern Illinois Regional Social Services (SIRSS) is a key local agency in the domestic violence because this is the agency that provides an abuser treatment program. To a lesser extent, the Jackson County Sheriff's Department has been involved in the project through the presence of its Victim Advocate at some of the monthly meetings.

The three objectives of the evaluation partnership were: 1) to compile a descriptive analysis of the approach taken in inter-agency collaboration and to document the project history;

2) to identify research issues related to the safety of domestic violence victims of priority in Carbondale; and 3) to work with participating agencies to prepare for a potential outcome evaluation.

Community Context

Carbondale is a small, university town in rural, deep Southern Illinois. Carbondale's population was placed at 27,033 in the 1990 census (although it had decreased to 20,681 in the 2000 census, this figure has since been questioned). Because the town is also home to Southern Illinois University (with an enrollment of approximately 22,000), as well as many retail and service businesses, the daytime population is estimated to exceed 50,000. For Southern Illinois, Carbondale is unique and diverse, partly because of the university. Approximately 26 percent of the community is minority, with 16 percent African-American and 10 percent representing racial and ethnic backgrounds worldwide. The rather substantial representation of an international population has brought particular cross-cultural challenges to law enforcement agencies and other organizations dealing with offenders and serving the needs of domestic victims. In addition, the presence of the university, university housing, and the SIU Department of Public Safety has made on-going collaboration with the university part of the community's response to crime, including domestic violence.

The Carbondale Police Department has been the recipient of grants under the Violence Against Women Grants Office program "Grants to Encourage Arrest Policies". For the purposes of this report, these grants will be referred to as the "Pro-Arrest" grants. The variety of specific activities and positions which have been funded through the federal money seek to provide a coordinated community response to domestic violence with the goals of victim safety and

offender accountability. While the CPD administers the project, the Project Steering Committee has been influential in planning and implementing grant activities. The start-up date for the first Pro-Arrest grant was Mach 1, 1997. The research team entered into partnership with the above mentioned agencies in an eighteen month grant which began December 1, 2000. Since then, the researchers have worked in collaboration with the organizations involved to meet the research objectives.

Outline of Report

The researchers centered their analysis on what were thought to be the most significant activities and accomplishments of the Pro-Arrest grants from the standpoint of project participants. This report is organized in terms of project goals and Steering Committee accomplishments of note. Thus, Chapter 2 describes the history of the grants with a focus on the development of the Steering Committee as it identifies problems and addresses those problems through grant funded and other activities. Qualitative data, such as minutes of meetings, notes from participant observation at Steering Committee meetings, and interviews with project participants are used in this chapter. Some quantitative data derived from prosecution records are reported.

Chapter 3 discusses victim advocacy in Carbondale and Jackson County. In this county, victim advocates are located within the CPD, the Women's Center, the State's Attorney's Office, and the Sheriff's Department, as well as the Domestic Violence Clinic at the Law School. Coordination and effective delivery of victim advocacy services, especially the agency-specific advocates knowing who is providing services to whom, is critical in assisting victims and enhancing their safety. A particular focus of this chapter is the Follow-up Advocate position at

the Women's Center, a position funded through the Pro-Arrest grant. This chapter draws heavily on interviews with advocates and written materials, such as pamphlets describing services.

Chapter 4 presents a detailed analysis of the Domestic Violence Clinic at the SIU School of Law. This clinic program is generally hailed by project participants as one of the most meaningful outcomes of the Pro-Arrest grants in terms of filling a service gap for victims of domestic violence by helping them obtain Orders of Protection. Data examined in this chapter are both quantitative (an examination on data from intake forms) and qualitative (interviews with DV Clinic directors and with law students).

Chapter 5 presents an analysis of the community support groups for victims of domestic violence that have been funded through the grants. While the sheer numbers of victims served in community support groups does not begin to match the number of those served in other local arenas, and while the Women's Center has had a difficult time establishing more than one on-going group, the support groups are seen as making an important contribution to the continuum of victim services available. The data examined in the chapter are from observations and interviews.

Chapter 6 presents analysis of the CPD/Probation joint patrols, or "directed patrols", that serve as offender checks and victim safety checks. Included in this chapter are case studies based on a series of observations of joint patrols.

Chapter 7 outlines the proposed future activities of the Steering Committee, including a discussion of the program model and an analysis of what various agencies have identified as information needs. This chapter also describes activities funded the Pro-Arrest grant beginning March 1, 2002.

Chapter 8 presents the concluding analysis and recommendations of the research partnership. Following Chapter 8 is a brief Postscript dated July 2002 which updates the reader on significant developments since the recommendations were submitted to the Steering committee.

Perhaps of central interest for local program development, Chapters 2 through 6 conclude with a concise list of "Lessons Learned" from the Carbondale and Jackson County experience implementing a coordinated community response to domestic violence.

Chapter 2: Project History

Introduction

This chapter outlines the history of activities funded under a series of three grant awards (awarded April 1997, September 1998, and July 2000) under the “Grants to Encourage Arrest Policies” program of the Violence Against Women Grants Office (VAWGO) in the Office of Justice Programs, U.S. Department of Justice. These grants (the “Pro-Arrest” grants) were awarded to the City of Carbondale, Jackson County, Illinois and administered by the Carbondale Police Department and have funded a variety of initiatives in training, advocacy, offender monitoring, and records management across numerous Carbondale and Jackson County agencies. This chapter summarizes the history of grant activities, beginning with pre-grant discussions among various agencies in Jackson County that occurred in the fall of 1995 and concluding with grant activities in 2001. Early grant activities are described in greater detail than subsequent ones, because over time, as specific programs were implemented, the Project Steering Committee (composed of the involved agencies) became less a problem-solving group and more a networking group and grant-reporting body. In addition, substantial turnover in agency leadership and staffing affected the Steering Committee in significant ways.

Project History

Methods

The following discussion relies heavily on documents (minutes of meetings, notes from meetings, grant reports, letters, agency reports and protocols, etc.) and interviews with project staff and Steering Committee members. For the 18- month period of this grant (December 1,

1999 through May 30, 2001) researcher observations and interviews also provide data. Finally, as described below, some quantitative data were collected in an analysis of prosecution of domestic battery cases in Jackson County.

Pre-Grant Activities

The Carbondale Police Department has coordinated activities under this series of grants and, under the leadership of (now former) Police Chief Don Strom, was involved in early discussions regarding the need for county-wide, coordinated efforts to combat family and domestic violence. On October 27, 1995, Chief Strom and CPD Victim Advocate Pam Green met with representatives from four local agencies: the Carbondale Women's Center (Mary Kay Bachman, then Shelter Coordinator, and Rebecca Payne, then Executive Director), the Jackson County Health Department (Virginia Scott), Southern Illinois Regional Social Services (Ed Davis), and the Jackson County State's Attorney's Office (Michael Wepsiec, State's Attorney, and Mary Hughes, then Victim Advocate). The purpose of this meeting was to discuss potential collaborative initiatives that might be included in a grant proposal under a "Community Policing to Combat Domestic Violence" grant. The group discussed a number of local needs and corresponding initiatives, and agreed that even if the grant "falls through" (Pam Green meeting notes), there was a need for an on-going task force in the county.

In a hand-written (undated) note from Strom to Green following this meeting, Strom summarized the committee's suggestions and indicated the level of priority for the group: education for children (high), training for police officers (high), establishing a county-wide task force (high), developing perpetrator services (high), developing an automated ability to track domestic violence cases (low), and equipment needs (i.e., cameras, alarm devices, cellular

phones) (low). Strom indicated his own high hopes and clear priority for police training in dealing with domestic violence. Subsequent to the October meeting, Strom and Green met with city officials and decided that "given the structure of the grant our opportunities to receive funding would be limited at best" and that "it would not warrant the amount of time required to complete the proposal". Even though this early meeting did not result in a grant proposal, it did lead to the formation of the Jackson County Family Violence Task Force.

The initial meeting of the Jackson County Family Violence Task Force (at first called the Family Violence Committee) was held on November 17, 1995 at the Jackson County Health Department. Pam Green from the CPD and Rebecca Payne from the Women's Center invited the individuals from the October 27 meeting as well as other agencies and representatives to explore "the formation of a county-wide task force on domestic violence." (November 6, 1996 letter from Green). In an interview with Green, she explained that the Task Force grew out of the identification in 1994 by the Health Department of family violence as a top priority problem for Jackson County. Although many of the same individuals and agencies are involved in both projects, the Carbondale Police Department's Pro-Arrest grants did not result from the Jackson County Family Violence Task Force (which continues to be coordinated by the Jackson County Health Department and the Women's Center). Rather, according to Green, "It was a kind of collateral thing."

Meetings of the Jackson County Family Violence Task Force, initially co-facilitated by Rebecca Payne from the Women's Center and Miriam Link-Mullison from the Health Department, expanded rapidly to include (in addition to agencies noted above) representatives from the Illinois State Office of the Attorney General, Jackson County Probation, Land of

Lincoln Legal Assistance, Jackson County Housing Authority, Southern Illinois University at Carbondale (Counseling Center, Student Health Program/Wellness Center, Psychology Department), Adolescent Health Care, SIU Department of Public Safety, the Jackson County Sheriff's Department, the Jackson County Public Defender's Office, the Illinois State Police, and a variety of other community agencies, such as youth service and health agencies, and groups, including churches.

The Jackson County Family Violence Task Force continues to meet monthly, facilitated by the Women's Center and the Jackson County Health Department. Its mission is "to communicate that family violence will not be tolerated within Jackson County." Family violence includes, for the purposes of this group, child abuse, sexual assault, and elder abuse, as well as intimate partner violence. The Task Force's specific goals are to: 1) help prevent family violence; provide safety for the actual or potential victims/survivors of family violence; 3) hold those who batter accountable for their actions, and 4) develop a comprehensive community response to family violence. To a great extent the project goals and objectives, as well as the agencies and their representatives, of the Jackson County Family Violence Task Force overlap with those of the Pro-Arrest grants. The Task Force is a broader effort (addressing all forms of family violence) and it is a continuing collaborative effort (not based on grant funding).

With the Jackson County Family Violence Task Force getting organized in late 1995 and early 1996, considerable inter-agency dialogue centered on the identification of specific problems in the county. In addition to development of its mission statement, goals and objectives, an early Task Force accomplishment was a compilation of local intervention resources, gaps, and barriers. The participants in these meetings included agency heads as well as operational staff

who knew each other well from prior, day-to-day contacts, and who were well acquainted with service needs operational problems in local criminal justice, health, advocacy, and social service agencies. At the March 22, 1996 meeting Mary Kay Bachman from the Women's Center announced the resignation of Rebecca Payne from that agency, and Bachman co-chaired the meeting with Link-Mullison from the Health Department. Also announced at this Task Force meeting was an upcoming meeting that would prove to be the immediate catalyst for the Carbondale Police Department's initial Pro-Arrest grant application.

The first Pro-Arrest grant application was written after a team from Jackson County, assembled by State's Attorney Michael Wepsiec, attended an American Prosecutors Research Institute (APRI) workshop entitled "Developing Connections: Building Coordinated Approaches for Domestic Violence Cases," April 11-13, 1996, in Dallas, Texas. Ten inter-agency "teams", primarily from the west and mid-west, were selected by APRI to attend the workshop. The Jackson County team included Wepsiec, Mary Kay Bachman (Women's Center), Pam Green and Steve Odum (CPD), Joseph Hines, Director of Probation in Jackson County, and Joan Tregoning, Director of Social Services at the Memorial Hospital of Carbondale. The purpose of the APRI workshop was to facilitate the development of coordinated community responses to domestic violence. The workshop included topics such as issues to consider when developing coordinated approaches, roles of various agencies, and matters of planning, evaluation, and funding opportunities. It was at this workshop that the Jackson County team met Catherine Pierce from the Violence Against Women Grants Office, and Pierce informed the group about potential federal funding for local programs.

The team returned to Jackson County excited about the potential of a developing a coordinated community response. An April 18, 1996 letter from Chief Strom to Michael Wepsiec applauds the State's Attorney for his leadership and notes, "There may be no other issue which surpasses domestic violence on the impact that it has on the family and other crime issues in our community. Our success certainly lies in strengthening our partnerships to more effectively address this serious problem." According to Pam Green, Victim Advocate of the CPD, Mary Hughes, Victim Advocate for the SAO, was very influential in getting both Wepsiec and Strom on board with respect to the needs of domestic violence victims.

1996 Grant Application

Chief Strom wrote the initial Carbondale grant application (submitted September 13, 1996) for the "Grants to Encourage Arrest Policies" program. Strom was a charismatic, articulate, and progressive police chief and was highly visible in the community. He was clearly interested in enhancing the CPD response to domestic violence, not only through internal CPD initiatives (training, guidelines, equipment, communications), but also through the development of what was called in the grant application a Coordinating Council. The 1996 grant application submitted by the City of Carbondale emphasized efforts to address a "fragmentation of services by developing a comprehensive system response to incidents of domestic violence" (p. ii).

The 1996 grant proposal sought funding in the amount of \$78,503. The first goal described by the proposal was the formation of a Coordinating Council. (Note that through project history this has been called the Project Steering Committee, or more simply the Steering Committee.) To understand the composition of the Coordinating Council envisioned by Strom, it is helpful to examine the language of the proposal (p. 4):

The Council would be comprised of representatives from law enforcement, prosecution, probation, victim services, and victim advocates. Judicial involvement would be encouraged. The Council is proposed to include policymakers to ensure those sitting at the table can effect change.

While law enforcement, probation, victim services, and victim advocates have been active in the Steering Committee, as well as other agencies to be discussed below, Strom's idea for the composition of the Coordinating Council has not been fully realized, and the composition has varied over time in two important respects. First, representation from the State's Attorney's Office has been uneven, and the group has not been successful in gaining participation from the local judiciary. Second, three of the critical policymakers (or "agency heads") no longer attend Steering Committee meetings (current CPD Chief R.T. Finney, and State's Attorney Michael Wepsiec, and the former Director of Probation Joseph Hines, who has been replaced by Director Susan King). The current Executive Director of the Women's Center, Kelly Cichy, attended Steering Committee meetings regularly until the spring of 2001. Steering Committee composition is thought to be a critical issue under the current project, and this issue will be discussed later in this chapter, as well as in Chapters 8 of this report.

According to Strom's 1996 proposal the Coordinating Council goals would include (p. 4):

- * Ensuring the community's civil and criminal justice system is fully utilized to protect victims, hold abusers accountable for their violent behavior, and enforce our community's intolerance for family violence, and
- * Ensure the availability of a network of interventions to provide safety and support for victims and their families.

The initial tasks of the Coordinating Council were to be a needs assessment and the development of short and long term objectives. The Coordinating Council was to be composed initially of representatives from the four partnering organizations (at a minimum), the CPD (Strom and Green), the State's Attorney's Office (Wepsiec and Mary Hughes, then Victim Advocate), the Carbondale Women's Center (Mary Kay Bachman), and Jackson County Probation (Joseph Hines).

In addition to the formation of a Coordinating Council, the 1996 proposal had several other objectives. These included training, education, communication, and equipment. The training proposed would be specialized domestic violence training for all sworn and non-sworn Carbondale Police personnel – “any personnel who potentially have contact with a victim of domestic violence (from Telecommunicator to Patrol Officer).” (p. 6) The training would also be made available to similar personnel in other police agencies in the County and region. In addition to law enforcement training, training in group planning skills was proposed for members of the Coordinating Council, and domestic violence training was proposed for two members of the Jackson County Probation staff selected to supervise domestic violence cases.

The proposed education component included the development of an informational video to explain to victims and others the dynamics of domestic violence and the justice system process in Jackson County. The communication component was a proposed automated line with the Circuit Clerk's Office to provide the CPD with information on orders of protection and previous arrests. The equipment noted in the proposal consisted of digital cameras to enhance the collection and documentation of physical evidence.

1997 Grant Award, Progress and Accomplishments

The start date for the initial Pro-Arrest project was March 1, 1997. The City of Carbondale/Carbondale Police Department had been notified early in 1997 that it had been awarded \$150,000, almost double the original grant request. The first task of the project was planning, including decisions about how to use the extra grant funds. To assist the Project Steering Committee, a technical assistance meeting with representatives from the VAWGO (Catherine Pierce and Ed Sieghman) and the Battered Women's Justice Project (Denise Gamache) was held on April 23, 1997 in Carbondale. Representing the four initial organizations on the Project Steering Committee at this meeting were Strom and Green from the CPD, Wepsiec, Hughes, and Sheila Simon (Assistant State's Attorney) from the State's Attorney's Office, Bachman from the Women's Center, and Hines from Probation. The meeting focused on options for supplemental funding and project implementation. According to Green's notes from this meeting, the group discussed a host of issues, including: 1) using additional funds to hire a full-time project coordinator (instead of the half-time assistant proposed in the grant application); 2) addressing the need for judicial training, with perhaps technical assistance for judicial training; or a judicial conference; 3) law enforcement training, including training on dual arrests and lethality assessment, as well as training for probation and prosecution; 4) automation; 5) outreach for victims; 6) how to gauge project success; 7) the development of memoranda of understanding; and 8) the need to identify project priorities and time lines.

From the four initiating agencies, the same local group (Strom, Green, Wepsiec, Simon, Hughes, Hines, and Bachman), with the addition of a representative from the Illinois Attorney General's Office (Mike Bastien), met on May 14, 1997 to continue to shape the Steering

Committee and plans for the local project. By this time it had been decided that the project would hire a full-time project coordinator, and it was noted that a job description would be developed by May 21 and advertised.. Significantly, at this meeting the group reviewed a number of specific strategies for meeting project goals. For each specific strategy, outlined below, the group was to identify the “possible resources, time line, and responsibility”:

1.0 Project Steering Committee

1.1 Identify participants and establish Steering Committee to implement grant activities.

1.2 Develop and adopt a job description for position of Project Coordinator.

1.3 Establish salary and hire Project Coordinator.

1.4 Develop and approve Steering Committee Strategies.

2.0 Training

2.1 Identify an instructor and conduct training with police command personnel on family violence issues and supervising domestic violence investigations.

2.2 Identify an instructor and conduct training with line-level personnel on family violence crimes.

2.3 Identify presenters and conduct a symposium for the judiciary on family violence issues.

2.4 Identify an instructor and conduct advanced specialized training to police investigators assigned for follow-up to preliminary investigations.

2.5 Identify and participate in planning skills training for members of the Project Steering Committee.

2.6 Identify and participate in case supervision for members of the Jackson County Probation staff.

2.7 Identify training/participate in training for State's Attorney.

3.0 Education

3.1 Establish a work group and coordinate the production of an informational video for victims on domestic violence and the court system.

3.2 Review, update, and print the Jackson County court informational brochure.

4.0 Communication

4.1 Establish a work group to evaluate and make recommendations to the Work Team on how to improve the sharing of information (i.e., police records, court orders, etc.) among system agencies (including enhancing technology).

5.0 Equipment

5.1 Establish a work group to evaluate the collection of physical evidence (i.e., photographs) and make recommendations to the Work Team on equipment needs and purchases.

5.2 Identify equipment to be used in presentation of photographic evidence in court.

6.0 Protocols

6.1 Research and review system-wide family violence protocols in place in other jurisdictions.

6.2 Develop and propose to the Steering Committee a county-wide protocol.

6.3 Review agency policies to ensure they are in compliance with protocol.

6.4 Develop a policy for CPD to respond to the issuance of a protection order or a domestic violence arrest involving a police officer.

6.5 Research and develop a lethality assessment tool for use by police in follow-up investigations and probation in the supervision of perpetrators.

6.6 Develop guidelines and establish a review team for ongoing safety accountability audits to monitor system compliance with county-wide protocol.

6.7 Develop a certified Batter's Program.

6.8 Develop a process to ensure ongoing contact with victims during the time the batterer is in treatment.

6.9 Expand support groups for victims.

As will be seen below, many of the strategies outlined in May 1997 by this group were carried out, and some progress was made in each of the six major strategy areas. At the May 14, 1997 meeting, representatives from the four partnered agencies (CPD, SAO, Women's Center, and Probation Department) and the Illinois Attorney's General Office also discussed who else they wanted to join the Steering Committee and decided to invite additional Jackson County police chiefs, as well as the circuit clerk, judges, public defenders, and representatives from Southern Illinois Regional Social Services (SIRSS). SIRSS would be invited because of their abuser's treatment program. (Note that in the following descriptions of the Steering Committee participants, mention is made of additional agencies which join the group, although attention to the shifting individual agency representatives is limited. Specific agency representatives have varied considerably over time because promotions, internal job changes, or staff leaving agencies, and simply because organizations simply cannot send representatives all the time.)

At the next Steering Committee meeting on June 10, 1997, agencies represented extended to include, in addition to the five agencies above, the SIU Department of Public Safety, the Murphysboro Police Department, the Illinois State Police, and the U.S. Attorney for the Southern District of Illinois. Chief Strom made introductions and reviewed the grant proposal and the award. The group discussed progress on the specific strategies outlined at the May meeting. Strom announced that a position description had been developed for the Project Coordinator and that the application deadline would be June 13. Although the CPD would hire the individual, members of the Steering Committee were to sit in on interviews in an advisory capacity. The Steering Committee also spent considerable time discussing training, and it was indicated that the intent of the project was to open training to the Southern Illinois region. Wepsiec, State's Attorney, reported that although the Jackson County judges had been invited to participate in the Steering Committee, he "received feed back that it would be awkward for the judiciary to discuss with police agencies issues that may come before the bench." (Steering Committee Minutes, 6/10/97).

At this June 1997 meeting the Steering Committee spent considerable time discussing information management and technology issues related to domestic violence cases and information sharing among the various agencies in Jackson County. The minutes of the meeting described data systems at that time:

There is currently no system by which county law enforcement agencies and others in the criminal justice system can share information on domestic violence. The courthouse has a data sharing system with links to Probation, State's Attorney, Judges, and Public Defender. The original plan calls for linkages to law enforcement so that information on

pending proceedings is readily available. At present, there is no system for providing information on bond conditions, which are widely used by our Judges. It was generally agreed that the current system could be workable. Suggestions for long-range planning included a county-wide records system, and/or a centralized DV database separate from the courthouse system.

By the July 8, 1997 meeting Pam Green, Victim Advocate in the CPD, had been hired as full-time Project Coordinator on the Pro-Arrest grant. Mary Kay Bachman of the Women's Center was elected to Chair the meetings of the Steering Committee. The Elkhaville Police Department was represented at this meeting. Some Steering Committee members, along with computer support staff from the CPD, had attended cluster training on technology and information in Atlanta in the previous month. It was announced that some Steering Committee members would also attend training on building a coordinated community response scheduled for later that month in Washington. (It had been suggested in the earlier technical assistance meeting that this cluster training would meet the planning skills needs that the original proposal had included.) Most of the discussion centered on the group's strategy to enhance judicial awareness of domestic violence, which has remained an ongoing concern of the Steering Committee. Strom and Steering Committee representatives from the Illinois Attorney General's Office (Bastien and Tom Margolis) had met with a judge who expressed a willingness to sponsor a symposium for the First and Second Judicial Circuit in Illinois. Margolis reported that he had contacted the Dean of the SIU School of Law and the Law School would host the symposium. The group also discussed involving Administrative Office of Illinois Courts in the process.

The Circuit Clerk for Jackson County attended the Steering Committee meeting for the first time in August and in September the group was joined by a Public Defender. At the August meeting sub-committees were developed in the following areas: training, technology/equipment, victim services/education, and system accountability/evaluation. In both August and September the group continued the discussion about how best to approach educating the local judiciary on issues of domestic violence. While in Washington at the cluster meeting, the Steering Committee representatives met with Loretta Frederick of the Battered Women's Justice Project who agreed to speak with the group in encouraging judicial participation in a symposium by contacting one of the local judges (Judge Spomer). By September, "It was reported that Loretta Frederick's conversation with Judge Spomer left some doubt as to whether this would be a worthy endeavor, as attendance would be at the discretion of individual judges."

According to minutes the only Steering Committee meeting attended by a Public Defender was in September 1997. The two municipal police agencies (Murphysboro and Elkhart) did not participate in the Steering Committee meetings after October 1997, at which time Elkhart was represented. Regular Steering Committee agencies continued to be the CPD, the SAO, the Women's Center, Probation, SIRSS, the Illinois State Police, the SIU Public Safety, and the Illinois Attorney General's Office. The U.S. Attorney for the Southern District of Illinois attended some of the meetings and was helpful in efforts to invite judicial participation.

Throughout the fall of 1997 the Steering Committee made progress on some of its key initiatives, with the most notable developments in protocol development, training, equipment, and victim services/education. The CPD/SIU Public Safety and the SAO were working independently on law enforcement and prosecution protocols. Drafts of completed sections of

the CPD protocol were circulated for review, and discussion in October and November centered on the issue of "information only" sexual assault reports which were accepted by the CPD but not the SIU Department of Public Safety. "Information only" reports of sexual assaults were made either directly by victims or (more often) indirectly by victims via the Women's Center when there was concern that the CPD be notified of sexual assaults even though the victim did not want to file a formal report with the police. There were two concerns noted in the October minutes. First, the policy of the CPD to accept "information only" sexual assault reports was inconsistent with the notion of "mandatory arrest" that was implemented by the department for domestic batteries. Second, the SAO preference was for all reports to be sent to that office so that a full explanation of the criminal justice process and options could be made to the victim. By January of 1998 the law enforcement protocol was circulated for Steering Committee review and comment. Discussion centered on the "Officer involved domestics" section of the protocol, particularly on the issue of whether investigations should be done by the employing department or an external department. It was suggested that while the Carbondale Police may be able to handle their own investigations, this might not be the case with other, smaller agencies. (Subsequent to this discussion the Carbondale Police Department did incorporate procedures for "officer involved domestics" into their domestic violence protocol.) Also at this meeting State's Attorney Michael Wepsiec distributed copies of a draft prosecution protocol.

During the fall of 1997 training developments centered on arranging for law enforcement training for the following spring. Arrangements were made with Anne O'Dell, former Sergeant with the San Diego Police Department and nationally known trainer for law enforcement on domestic violence, to conduct training in April (supervisory personnel) and May (staff) of 1998.

The sub-committee on equipment investigated digital photography and concluded that for the time being, because of the quality of images produced by digital cameras, it might be better to go with purchasing automatic 35 mm cameras which would be easy to operate and would produce the high quality images needed for evidentiary purposes. During this period the victim services/education sub-committee focused its efforts on video production, convening several focus groups (Women's Center, law enforcement/prosecution, and victims/survivors) to provide information prior to writing the script for the video.

Also of note from the fall of 1997 were continuing efforts to involve the judiciary in domestic violence training. The December Steering Committee minutes report on a meeting of Hines (Probation), Bachman (Women's Center), and Grace (U.S. Attorney) with Jackson County Circuit Judge James Watt. Watt agreed that up to two circuit judges could attend cluster training in Miami in April 1998 for probation and the judiciary. Although information on the Miami meeting was distributed to the circuit judges, in January there had been no interest expressed. By February it was reported that Judge Kimberly Dahlen, perhaps the circuit judge most receptive to and supportive of domestic violence education, had a conflict in her schedule. At this meeting it was decided that two Probation Officers would attend the training. In April Kristi Miller and Kathy Moeckel from Probation attended the "Courts and Probation Conference" in Miami.

By February 1998 the cameras had been purchased and distributed to CPD vehicles and personnel had been trained on their use. Steering Committee discussion at the February 1998 meeting flowed from the announcement that applications for the continuation of the Pro-Arrest project would be due in early April. The Minutes note:

Because we are a demonstration project, our proposal won't have to go through the peer

review process, which may expedite any funding that is awarded. It was agreed that we meet to brainstorm ideas for a proposal once the new application has been received.

At the March meeting the Steering Committee focused almost entirely on what would be included in the proposal for funding that would be submitted by April 15. Attending this meeting was Mary Rudasill, Director of the Legal Clinic at the SIU Law School. Minutes from the March meeting indicate:

Group consensus was that we seek funding for: follow-up advocates to work as a liaison between victims and Probation/treatment providers to ensure safety and emotional support; a facilitator for off-site victim support groups; overtime for directed patrols to monitor compliance with bond conditions and protection orders; consolidated records management systems linking the county law enforcement agencies and the State's Attorney's Office; in-service training initiatives, including training for newly hired officers on officer involved domestics; a partnership with the SIU School of Law to develop a domestic violence legal clinic; community education – particularly related to workplace violence.

At the April 1998 meeting, the Project Coordinator announced that the FY98 proposal was submitted. The proposed budget for \$516,544 included funding for the domestic violence legal clinic; consolidated records management system between CPD, SIU, and the State's Attorney's Office; follow-up advocates; overtime funds for CPD/Probation directed patrols on orders of protection, bond and probation conditions; community education; and in-service training.

Also, at the April 1998 meeting a representative from SIRSS announced that the agency was seeking a counselor for the abuse treatment program and that the program format was being

changed to come closer to the Duluth model of abuser treatment. SIRSS has continued to be a critical component of the local coordinated response because of its offender treatment program.

Before the next Steering Committee meeting was held on May 26 the police training by Anne O'Dell was held in Carbondale May 19-22, for both supervisory and administrative staff. According to interviews with Steering Committee members, law enforcement training has been a major accomplishment of the grants. Attending the May training sessions were representatives from a number of municipal law enforcement agencies (Carbondale, Elkhart, Herrin, Murphysboro, Cobden, Wayne City, Mt. Vernon), as well as SIU Public Safety, several county Sheriff's Offices, the Illinois State Police, State's Attorney's Office representatives (Jackson, Pope, Franklin, Williamson), probation officers, and representatives from the Women's Center. O'Dell's training covered the following topics: the dynamics of domestic violence, effective police responses, interviewing techniques, investigating and evidence collection/victimless prosecution, determining self-defense, and report writing. Command staff/supervisors were trained additionally on how to spot problems with individual officers and officer involved domestics. Handouts from the training show that O'Dell's emphasis was on showing the attendees that because of the nature of domestic violence, traditional law enforcement responses were ineffective. To quote a handout:

If we always do

What we've always done

We'll always get

What we've always gotten.

As reported at the May 1998 Steering Committee meeting, about 135 people attended the training and evaluations of the training were very high. The victim education video was also shot in May.

Minutes from the June 1998 Steering committee meeting show that work was continuing on victim education (editing the video and working on a State's Attorney's Victim/Witness brochure). At this meeting the Project Coordinator reported that law enforcement and prosecution protocols would be available at the next meeting and that funding would be for the next grant (FY 98) would probably be announced in July. While the finalized protocols were not available in July, August minutes from the Steering Committee report that both law enforcement and prosecution protocols were completed. August minutes also reported on continuing efforts in victim education: The video was in the editing process and the State's Attorney's brochure was completed.

During the late summer of 1998 the Steering Committee was also notified by the Project Coordinator that awards for FY 98 would be announced in September, with funding backdated to September 1, 1998. At the September 22 meeting, the Project Coordinator announced that continuation funding in the amount of \$516,544 had been awarded.

Also at the September meeting Cindy Svanda, the Circuit Clerk reported on a proposed project that would provide internet access to Circuit Clerk records to any agency that had on-line capabilities.

FY98 Grant Activities and Accomplishments

As noted above, the FY 98 proposal requested funding for the following: a domestic violence legal clinic at SIU School of Law; a consolidated records management system among the CPD, SIU, and the SAO; a full-time follow-up advocate to be located at the Women's Center, as well as a .25 FTE counselor at the Women's Center to develop community support groups for survivors; overtime funds for CPD and Probation directed patrols on Orders of Protection, bond, and probation conditions; community education; and in-service training. Progress has been made on each of these initiatives, although in some cases the original goals have been modified to meet the operational realities of agencies or the problems of service to domestic violence victims. Most notably, the workload of Follow-up Advocate at the Women's Center has been problematic from the outset – many referrals but few clients. This will be discussed in the next chapter.

Of significance during the FY 98 grant period is the departure of Chief Don Strom from the Carbondale Police Department. Instrumental in the initial grant, Chief Strom was a progressive and community-minded police chief who provided leadership and commitment from the CPD that was important in cementing the support and cooperation of other agencies. He generally attended the monthly Steering Committee meetings. Strom took a leave of absence from his position in July of 1998 and formally resigned in November 1998. Lt. John Stysma served as Acting Chief until April 1999 when Chief R. T. Finney was hired. Strom's departure and the subsequent declining involvement of CPD leadership in the Steering Committee did not hinder progress on specific grant activities, but it did affect the perception of various members of the Steering Committee regarding the CPD's commitment to the project. Over time, other key agency representatives, specifically the Jackson County State's Attorney and the Director of

Probation, ceased to attend Steering Committee meetings and instead sent representatives. With dissatisfaction, former Project Coordinator Pam Green expressed the view that after Strom's departure, at the CPD the Pro-Arrest Grant became less of an organizational priority. However, this assessment could very well be challenged by the very real accomplishments of the Steering Committee and the CPD since Strom's departure.

At the November 1998 meeting of the Steering Committee the Circuit Clerk, Cindy Svanda, gave a presentation on the proposed automation project in her office. This project would allow anyone with internet access to connect to the Circuit Clerk's record system. She noted that bond conditions would be entered on the system and accessible by police departments. The Circuit Clerk was seeking assistance from the Steering Committee with the start-up costs for the project. The Steering Committee endorsed her proposal as an alternative to the originally planned CPD-Circuit Clerk computer link and approved the reallocation of those project funds as a one-time-only contribution to the start-up costs.

Progress on the DV Clinic was also discussed at this meeting. According to the FY 98 grant proposal, the City of Carbondale would contract with the SIU School of Law to operate a Domestic Violence Legal Clinic "to meet the legal representation needs of domestic violence victims in the plenary and post-abuse situation". The Legal Clinic would employ an attorney with family law experience and an understanding of domestic violence to supervise one paid part-time law student and four to six enrolled law students. The students were to handle cases from intake to conclusion under the supervision of the Clinic Director. Course credit would be given for the work of the students, while the DV Clinic Director would bear ultimate responsibility to the client for how the case is handled.

At the November 1998 meeting progress of note included the hiring of Sheila Simon as Director for the Domestic Violence Clinic (DV Clinic) at the SIU School of Law. (Simon was known to the Steering Committee members because she had been the Assistant State's Attorney in charge of domestic batteries in Jackson County.) The Project Coordinator advised the Steering Committee that, "We are currently seeking a waiver of the special condition prohibiting the use of project funds to handle dissolutions of marriage. VAWGO Deputy Administrator Catherine Pierce has been contacted. If dissolutions are prohibited, coordinating efforts with Land of Lincoln Legal Services will be explored." (November 1998 Minutes). As will be seen in Chapter 4, the inability of the DV Clinic to handle matters of divorce has been seen at the local level as a major gap in service delivery to domestic violence victims, despite the overall success of the DV Clinic.

By the January 1999 Steering Committee meeting notable progress was made on a number of initiatives. Sheila Simon, Director of the DV Clinic, circulated to the group a copy of the syllabus for the Law School class that would prepare students to work in the DV Clinic and guide them through their semester of client service. The design of the curriculum called for several classes to have speakers and Simon announced that these classes would be open to the public. Simon also reported that six students were participating in the DV Clinic/Class, and that the Clinic had received its first referral.

Other important staff hiring under grant funds occurred at the Women's Center. Denise Vlad was hired as Follow-up Advocate, and Glenda Harvey was hired as Support Group Coordinator. Activities of the Follow-up Advocate are described in greater detail in the following chapter, which focuses on victim advocacy in Carbondale and Jackson County. At this

early stage (January 1999) the minutes of the meeting reported that, "Discussion (centered) on confidentiality issues, and how the follow-up advocate position will coordinate with prosecution, probation, and treatment." Indeed, these have proven to be thorny issues since the inception of the Follow-up Advocate position, due in part to confidentiality restrictions at the Women's Center and their effects on cooperation with other agencies, in part to the construction of the job definition of the Follow-up Advocate as limited to being an advocate for victims following the initiation of court proceedings, and in part to the Women's Center policy, driven by safety concerns, of severely restricting home visits by their personnel.

While the DV Clinic and the Women's Center positions were filled during this period, the State's Attorney's office was suffering from a shortage of prosecutors, including the DV prosecutor. During this time period Mary Hughes, highly respected in the local area for her work in victim advocacy, was in the position of Victim Advocate at the State's Attorney's Office and she would frequently attend Steering Committee meetings. As of January 1999, Mike Wepsiec, Jackson County State's Attorney, was still attending the monthly meetings.

In addition to Wepsiec, representatives at the January 1999 meeting included: Mary Hughes (SAO); Todd Sigler and Sam Jordan (SIU Public Safety); Tim Moss (Illinois State Police); John Stysma and Pam Green (CPD); Denise Vlad, Glenda Harvey, Camille Dorris, and Mary Kay Bachman (Women's Center), and Barb Grear (Southern Illinois Regional Social Services). Central to the success of ongoing coordinated community efforts, such as the series of Pro-Arrest Grants in Carbondale and Jackson County, is a committed and knowledgeable core membership in the coordinating group, or in this case, the Steering Committee. Members of the Steering Committee have suggested that it is also important to have agencies represented by

persons with policy-setting, decision-making ability ("agency heads"). Staff turnover at the different agencies involved in the Pro-Arrest Project and its Steering Committee has been remarkable over the period of the grants. While the changing personnel does not cripple project activities, it does mean a continual introduction and education of new people to the Steering Committee and or specific grant projects. Vlad and Harvey at the Women's Center, Hughes at the SAO, Simon at the DV Clinic, all key participants at this January 1999, meeting have since, for different reasons, been replaced in their agencies. Additional turnover also affected the Steering Committee. For example, from the list of participants at the beginning of this paragraph: Green resigned and has been replaced at the CPD by Amber Floyd; Stysma no longer attends meetings for the CPD; Moss no longer represents the Illinois State Police; Mary Kay Bachman was replaced by Kelly Cichy at the Women's Center, although Cichy currently does not attend meetings; and finally, while Barb Grear is in charge of the offender treatment groups at Southern Illinois Regional Social Services, SIRSS' representatives have varied over the life of the grants.

At the February 1999 meeting the Project Coordinator reported the following progress:

- The group is still awaiting approval on the victim education video.
- The CPD and SIU are in the planning process for a consolidated records system.
- The Circuit Clerk was having some problems with her automation project, which originally was planned for completion in January 1999.
- Several agencies were sending representatives to the Duluth Institute training on comprehensive, coordinated community response to domestic violence.
- At the DV Clinic, a second year law student had been hired to assist the Director.

- The Women's Center was publicizing its community support groups, via flyers posted at several locations in Carbondale and Murphysboro, although response was not great.

In addition, the Women's Center staff, which was already receiving referrals from SIRSS for victims identified by their abusers, was meeting with the SAO to discuss referrals for the Follow-up Advocate. According to the FY 98 grant proposal, the Follow-up Advocate would be hired "to offer services to victims from the time charges are filed in court through the offender's full probationary period. During this year or more of contact with the victim/survivor, safety concerns would be brought to the attention of the Domestic Violence Prosecutor or Probation Officer, depending on the status of the case. The Advocate's liaison role would extend to practitioners conducting abuser treatment, in order to allow for effective monitoring of offender compliance with the treatment program." (p. 5)

During the early months of 1999 progress was also made on the joint CPD/Probation directed patrols. The FY 98 proposal called for money to support CPD/Probation overtime pay for monitoring offender activity. The proposal noted, "the dynamics of domestic violence teach us that offenders will intimidate their victims and manipulate the criminal justice system to their own benefit. To ensure safety for all victims and maintain the integrity of the justice system, court orders must be actively enforced. Our project proposes to develop teams of Carbondale Police Officers and Jackson County Probation Officers to conduct weekly directed patrol activities specifically related to monitoring offenders who are subject to these court orders." (p. 7) In this context "these court orders" refer to no-contact bond conditions (that the accused offender have no contact with the victim while on bond) and no-contact probation conditions (that the offender on probation have no contact with the victim). It is significant to note here that

the intent as outlined in the proposal is check on offenders, not to check in on victims. As indicated in a subsequent chapter, some victims resented the intrusion into their lives presented by what became in some instances "victim safety checks". In the March 1999 meeting it was reported that the Director of Probation had received approval to pay probation officers overtime (lack of approval had caused a delay in implementation) and that he would be working with the CPD to outline procedures and policies for the directed patrols.

Also reported at the March 1999 meeting were the following items:

- The Women's Center's community support groups are slow in getting started.
- The DV Clinic was receiving approximately three referrals weekly.
- The State's Attorney's Office is at full staff, with Jim Baba handling domestic batteries.

By the April 27 meeting of the Steering Committee R.T. Finney had been sworn in as Carbondale's Police Chief and he attended that meeting. The Women's Center reported progress in generating attendance at its Monday night community support group in Carbondale. The CPD and Probation were working on guidelines for directed patrol. Finally, the Project Coordinator announced that an RFP had been received requesting proposals for this process evaluation.

In the meantime, throughout the spring of 1999 progress had been made on computer projects. CPD telecommunications were linked to the internet to allow access to the Circuit Clerk's records, and vendor presentations occurred in June for the CPD-SIU combined records system.

In early June Pam Green, Project Coordinator, contacted the Director of the Center for the Study of Crime, Delinquency, and Corrections at SIU to determine if there was interest in the Center for entering into an evaluation partnership. On June 24, 1999 the research team (Garofalo

and McDermott) from SIU met with members of the Steering Committee to discuss the objectives of the grant and to assure inter-agency cooperation. Following this meeting, Garofalo and McDermott prepared and submitted the proposal for this evaluation grant.

Throughout the summer months of 1999 progress was made on each of the Steering Committee projects. Notably, the directed patrols, teaming a CPD police officer and a Jackson County Probation Officer, began. Twice a week, in two hour overtime shifts on both weekends and weekdays, the CPD/Probation team contacted both victims and offenders to monitor offender compliance and to check on victim safety. The schedule of directed patrols varied from one week to another so that no routine pattern was established. The August 1999 minutes reported one arrest that resulted from the directed patrols.

Various types of training continued to be important to the local group. Throughout the spring and summer of 1999 representatives of different agencies, most notably the CPD, the SAO, Probation, and the Women's Center, attended various training programs funded through the Pro-Arrest grant. Not all training centered on effective criminal justice and prosecution responses. For example, advocates from the CPD, the Women's Center, and the Jackson County Sheriff's Department attended conferences on advocacy for victims of domestic violence. Grant funds also paid for staff from SIRSS to attend "Facilitator Training for Partner Abuse Intervention Programs" We do not provide a comprehensive list of training activities in this report. Training opportunities have been regarded as important grant activities by the Steering Committee and by agency representatives who have participated. The grant funds directed toward training allowed agency personnel, who would not ordinarily be funded for travel, to attend conferences in which innovative ideas and programs were presented, contributing to the

trainees' own professional development as well as the substance of Steering Committee plans and discussions.

At the September 1999 meeting Mary Kay Bachman, who had been chairing the Steering Committee meetings, announced her resignation from the Women's Center effective the end of that month. The group talked about changing the nature of the monthly Steering Committee meetings, which by this point consisted of fairly routine agency and Coordinator reporting on progress of grant activities, rather than of attempts to identify and solve problems. A suggestion was made that the group change the meeting format to allow for discussion of certain "high risk" cases of repeat offenders. The issue was not resolved, however, and our research observations of group meetings indicate, with only a few exceptions, that the meeting agenda did not change. After Bachman left the group, Steering Committee meetings were chaired by Pam Green, the CPD's Project Coordinator. By December Kelly Cichy replaced Mary Kay Bachman as Executive Director of the Women's Center and she began to attend the monthly Steering Committee meetings with other staff from the Women's Center.

Throughout the fall of 1999 minutes reflect continued efforts implement directed patrols, follow-up advocacy at the Women's Center, community support groups, the DV Clinic, and police records management. The Project Coordinator's report for the period 6/99 to 12/99 indicates the DV Clinic was operating successfully and to that date (12/99) had served 92 clients in Jackson and Williamson Counties. Referrals were generally those cases that present special challenges to lay advocates, including individuals with immigration issues, mental health issues, and language barriers.

The same report noted that the Women's Center was struggling on two fronts: Finding clients for the Follow-up Advocate, and identifying survivors for the community support groups. While this will be discussed in greater length in the next chapter, the advocate-in-search-of-clients has continued to be problematic. As of 12/99 the Follow-up Advocate, Denise Vlad, was continuing to receive referrals from the SAO and SIRSS; however, she had very few clients as a result of these referrals. The report notes, "There is concern that the full potential of that position has not been realized. A series of meetings have been held among involved agencies to clarify roles and refine procedures that will allow for improved flow of information involving victim safety issues, as well as more effective outreach procedures." Vlad would send information about her services to all referrals from SAO and SIRSS, but these information packets yielded little response. Of note, by the fall of 1999 the Follow-up Advocate had begun to attend weekly "staffings" with the SIRSS mental health team who were conducting the Abuser Treatment Program. The purpose of these meetings was primarily to update the advocate on victim safety concerns from the point of view of the SIRSS team.

The second problem at the Women's Center was that only one of a projected three community support groups had become well established with consistent attendance. This group is the Monday evening group at a church in Carbondale (described in Chapter 5). According to Camille Dorris, Shelter Coordinator at the Women's Center to whom the DV counselor reported, a series of very practical problems interfered with the successful expansion of support groups beyond the Carbondale group. First, despite advertising in the newspaper and flyers at agencies, the fact of the matter was that few survivors were interested in attending the support groups. Second, beyond the Carbondale area, more rural locations presented the problem of lack of

anonymity for victims – in small towns women feared that if they went to a certain church or meeting hall every week at the same time sooner or later it would be “out” that they were victims of domestic battery. A third reason for the lack of progress in community support groups, not mentioned by Dorris, is that it may have been problematic for a .25 FTE domestic violence counselor to devote the time needed to establish the groups, given her other job demands at the Women’s Center. Finally, the 12/99 Coordinator report notes that, “the availability of child care has been identified as a factor in the success of the groups.”

Progress on the consolidated records management system had also been slowed, as noted in the 12/99 Coordinator’s report. This was primarily because the CPD timelines for the records project were based on projected schedules for the development of a county-wide CAD system which was independent of the CPD projects. The Coordinator notes in her report that the CAD system was originally projected to go on-line in June of 1998, but was then (12/99) projected for March or June of 2000. Nevertheless, a vendor had been chosen for the CPD records management project, with the anticipation that by December 2000 the consolidated records management project would be up and running.

The December 1999 Steering Committee meeting was the first attended by the SIU research team, including the two PI’s and two graduate students hired for the evaluation, Kelle Barrick and Jennifer Kelly. The research team explained the purpose of the research project and set out a tentative work plan. Jennifer Kelly and Kelle Barrick attended Steering Committee meetings and assisted in important ways on a variety of project tasks until May 2001. Kelly is the primary researcher and author of the chapter on Community Support Groups (Chapter 5), while Barrick is the researcher and author of the analysis of the DV Clinic (Chapter 4).

Through the spring months of 2000 progress on the Pro-Arrest initiatives continued to be uneven. While the DV Clinic was thriving, with seven law students enrolled for the spring semester, and the directed patrols were well established, problems persisted with the community support groups and the follow-up advocacy at the Women's Center. The January 2000 Steering Committee minutes indicate that the Women's Center had received a grant for transitional housing and intended to establish a support group for the women in this housing – however this was not accomplished. And although the January minutes also report a “more efficient flow of information has developed between the State's Attorney' Office, SIRSS, and the follow-up advocate”, the increasing referrals were not productive of clients. In an interview with Vlad that spring, she said that most of her time was spent on Women's Center tasks other than follow-up advocacy.

Research grant activities involved initial interviews with agency representatives, collecting prosecutorial data (see discussion below), and developing a flow chart of project goals, objectives, and activities. At the March meeting of the Steering Committee the research team presented a “mapping” of how various project activities were meant to obtain the goals and sub-goals of the program. Two diagrams (see Chapter 7) were presented at the meeting. Exhibit 7.1 is labeled “Direct Services to Victims” and ties together Pro-Arrest project activities related to the first of the primary goals of the project: enhancing the ability of domestic violence victims to cope with and recover from their victimizations. Exhibit 7.2 depicts project activities related to the second major goal, that of reducing the incidence of domestic violence in the community. With the diagrams, the research team submitted to the Steering Committee a memorandum describing and explaining the diagrams and asking for feedback and clarification from the

Steering Committee. It is probably fair to say that the Steering Committee members found the diagrams useful, if confusing, in modeling or mapping activities, but had little comment at the meeting or in follow-up discussions with the researchers. As practitioners, they were not particularly driven by a model of what they were already doing. The Director of the DV Clinic at the Law School did point out that we might add to the diagram civil proceedings because of their function in Orders of Protection for victims of domestic battery.

By April of 2000 additional staff turnover was seen in the composition of the Steering Committee and in agency staff for the Pro-Arrest initiatives. At SIRSS, Mary Rosenberg replaced Cathy Moehring as supervisor of Adult Out-Patient Services (the unit with the Abuser Treatment Program). Since then, Rosenberg has been a fairly regular attender of the Steering Committee meetings, although sometimes Barb Grear, who co-manages and the Abuser Treatment Group, attends as well. In the SAO's Office, Mary Jane Dwyer replaced Jim Baba, although Dwyer never became a participant in the Steering Committee. (By this time, Mike Wepsiec, State's Attorney, rarely attended Steering Committee meetings and said that he did not like to send representatives.) At the DV Clinic, in April of 2000 Sheila Simon, Director, announced that she had accepted another position at the School of Law, but would continue to run the Clinic over the summer. A search was begun to fill the DV Clinic Director position and in August 2000 Lori Crenshaw took over that role. From Jackson County Probation, Joe Hines, Director, has ceased attending the monthly meetings and Probation was represented by Tina Brooks, the Probation Officer involved in directed patrols.

Another change in project personnel occurred during this time period, one that would affect the work of the Steering Committee. Pam Green, Project Coordinator at the CPD, resigned

from her position in April 2000. Ms. Green had been instrumental in the design and implementation of the Pro-Arrest grants, and her departure, together with Chief Strom's replacement by Chief Finney, seemed (at least to some agency participants according to interviews) to signal a shift in the nature the Pro-Arrest grants. Deputy Chief of Police for Administration Bob Ledbetter took over the chairing of Steering Committee meetings and continued to do this after the new Project Coordinator, Amber Floyd was hired in May of 2000. Under Ledbetter, the meetings became and are a straightforward agenda of Coordinator's report, followed by reports from agencies focused on grant-funded initiatives. As particular initiatives, such as directed patrols, became operational, quite often agency representatives simply say they had "nothing new to report". In a few meetings the Steering Committee has examined issues and problems; but these substantive conversations over the months following Green's resignation occurred primarily because of a very specific problems (e.g., a judge's behavior) or because a questions posed by the research team. Moreover, it was clear that Amber Floyd, Project Coordinator and reporting to Deputy Chief Ledbetter, saw her position defined more in terms of program monitoring than program development. This is not a criticism of her job performance, because she held the group to task on expenditures and reports. Floyd has also coordinated and/or attended a number of "behind the scenes" meetings involving two or more agencies to try to resolve problems.

Over the spring and summer of 2000 meetings of the Steering Committee consisted primarily of updates on progress. At the April meeting the Women's Center reported that a new community support group was being started in Elkville on Tuesday afternoons at the library community building. This group was never able to generate or sustain membership. As reported

by the Project Coordinator in January 2001, "Unfortunately the second community support group offered in Elkhaville was not successful. Even with the support and cooperation of the community, attendance was very poor. During a three month trial period, only four individuals attended one session. All other sessions had no attendance."

Heated discussion took place at the June 2000 meeting of the Steering Committee concerning the court room behavior of a local judge. To give this conversation some context, "judicial education" in domestic violence has been an on-going concern of the Steering Committee, particularly with respect to certain judges who, advocates claim, are uninformed on the law and routinely belittle victims and advocates in the courtroom. The judiciary is the final front in domestic violence education, it appears, and specific project goals have included education of the judiciary. In Jackson County a factor that makes a great deal of difference in hearings for Orders of Protection is "who" is handling the hearings in that rotation of judges.

At the June 2000 meeting Susie Toliver, Victim Advocate at the CPD, and Sheila Simon from the DV Clinic, distributed copies of a court transcript from a hearing for an Order of Protection. The case involved a woman seeking an Order of Protection from her mother, because she feared her mother was going to kidnap her daughter (the mother's granddaughter). The transcript of court proceedings reveals not only ignorance in the presiding judge of the Illinois law regarding who might request an Order of Protection and in what circumstances, but also shows the judge denigrating the CPD Victim Advocate and complaining of her cluttering the court room with cases that don't belong there. According to the transcript, the judge said to the Advocate, among other things, "I don't want to see this anymore. Do you understand me? Your job is to make a determination if there's domestic abuse under the Illinois Domestic Abuse Act

and to funnel the people over here and assist them. If you don't know what's covered under the Illinois Domestic Abuse Act, then you better find out or I will be speaking with your supervisor."

The Victim Advocate was right, however, and the judge was wrong. Parents are among the "family or household members" covered by the Illinois statute in question (750 ILCS 60/103).

This particular case seemed all too familiar to those sitting at the table who had had prior experience with this particular judge. At the meeting it was determined that the advocates would get together and discuss how they might address difficulties with specific judges.

CPD/Probation checks had been fairly well implemented by the summer of 2000, although periodically problems were raised regarding specific policies and procedures. The July 2000 minutes report that because of a new form signed by the victim if the victim was requesting a no-contact bond condition, the list of offenders (and victims) for random checks was growing. Because bond conditions were not consistently entered into the Circuit Clerk's computer system, police were hesitant to make an arrest in certain situations.

The local community of domestic violence advocates was greatly affected by the death from cancer of Mary Hughes, Victim Advocate at the State's Attorney's Office, in the summer of 2000. Hughes was highly regarded for her dedication and service to domestic violence victims. Teresa Miller, who had been victim advocate at the Jackson County Sheriff's Department, was hired as Victim Advocate in September 2000 by the State's Attorney's Office.

At the August 2000 meeting of the Steering Committee the SIU research team reported to the group some results of preliminary interviews with agency personnel, data gathering in certain agencies, and observations of Steering Committee meetings. The following issues were raised for consideration by the group:

1. What is the role of the Steering Committee? Is it for problem identification and problem solving? Networking? An occasion for grant monitoring?
2. Is it important to revisit the job description and agency placement of the Follow-up Advocate at the Women's Center? Is the Steering Committee concerned with the failure of this position to achieve it's goals?
3. The Steering Committee has expressed repeated concerns about the judiciary but has no organized set of strategies or tactics. Is this a problem that might be addressed by the Steering Committee in planning activities and initiatives?
4. Confidentiality regulations and their interpretation by agency representatives, specifically the confidentiality protections offered by the Women's Center, were proving to be a major frustration in the delivery of services by the criminal justice agencies in the Steering Committee. Did the Steering Committee want to address these issues?

At the meeting Steering Committee members agreed that these were significant issues for consideration by the Steering Committee. At this point each of these issues had become a recurring theme in both one-on-one interviews and monthly meetings. First, given the turnover in personnel and leadership in agencies, a number of people attending the Steering Committee meetings expressed frustration that agency "leadership" was not present. While the agency heads who were missing were the CPD Chief, the State's Attorney, and the Director of Probation, in truth, most participants were referring to the absence of the Jackson County State's Attorney, Mike Wepsiec. Wepsiec said in an interview with the researchers that he found the meetings unproductive and had better things to do with his time. At the same time, he didn't want anyone

(e.g., an Assistant State's Attorney) representing him at meetings, because he felt that he was the only one truly with the authority to represent the SAO. The "absence of leadership" – in the broader sense of all the agency heads who did not attend meetings – had both a symbolic and practical meaning for the Steering Committee. On a symbolic level, participants felt that the domestic violence project did not receive the attention or priority it should. On a practical level, participants felt that they really couldn't address matters of agency policy without leadership present. Kelly Cichy expressed some resentment that she and Sam Jordan, of SIU Public Safety, were the only agency leaders present – and in fact, subsequent to these discussions Cichy decided not to attend the monthly meetings. Steering Committee composition and function is an on-going and unresolved issue.

Second, everyone at the table at that August 2000 meeting was aware of the difficulties of the Follow-up Advocate position at the Women's Center. To date, the group has been unable to resolve the advocate-in-search-of-clients issue. This will be discussed in greater detail in the next chapter. Third, everyone agreed (as the example above illustrated) that the judiciary was a problem in Jackson County, but no one could propose a "workable" solution, as judges had resisted offers of training or the availability of local conferences. Finally, confidentiality issues, specifically at the Women's Center, have been explosive in outside discussions with group members. A later meeting of the Steering Committee focused on information exchange issues, but many of these are unresolved because of the law governing the Women's Center sharing of information on clients (discussed in Chapter 3).

At the August meeting Deputy Chief Ledbetter, chairing the meeting, said that he and the Project Coordinator would work with the Steering Committee to put together sub-committees to

address these issues. However, as described below, one very short-lived sub-committee met once, before the sub-committee idea was abandoned in favor of broader discussion.

Notably, by this point in time (August 2000) additional turnover in key personnel was occurring. The Follow-up Advocate at the Women's Center had resigned, and a search was in place. Due to uncertainty of continuation grant funds and the lack of qualified candidates, it took several months for the Women's Center to fill this position. Audrey Adams became the new Follow-up Advocate in December. (In addition, Glenda Harvey, who had been running the community support groups, resigned from the Women's Center in November of 2000.) Sheila Simon at the DV Clinic had been replaced by Lori Crenshaw, who continues to serve as Director of the DV Clinic. At the SAO, Gail Thomas was now handling the DV cases. Joe Hines, Director of Probation, vacated his position in August 2000 and was replaced by Susan King as Interim Director (King was later hired for the position of Director.)

Also at the August meeting the Project Coordinator told the group that she had been notified of continuation funding for the grant activities for the period 9/30/2000 to 6/30/2001 and at the next meeting it was announced that funding was extended until February 2002. These funds were intended to go to existing project activities.

During the summer and fall of 2000 the SIU research team spent most of their time looking at specific grant activities. This included: 1) completing a project started by Pam Green, former Project Coordinator, that involved collecting data on domestic battery prosecutions; 2) conducting interviews, gathering data, and doing observations at the DV Clinic at the SIU Law School; 3) interviewing advocates at the Women's Center, with a specific focus on the Follow-up advocate; and 4) interviewing the Women's Center Domestic Violence Counselor who was

running the community support groups and conducting observations of support groups.

During the summer and fall of 2000 the DV Clinic continued to operate successfully, and served 190 clients in Jackson and Williamson Counties by the end of 2000. Referrals were primarily from the advocates in these counties. The January 2001 Coordinator's report notes that, "For the summer semester, four dedicated students were enrolled in the domestic violence clinic. Since the class could fit into one car, it allowed the students more opportunity to observe various hearings. . . . Both the students and clients had to struggle with one judge who is less than favorable toward victims of domestic violence. Under the circumstances, the clients received the best results they could and the students worked on building a strategy for improving judicial response." For the fall semester six new students were enrolled in the DV Clinic class.

Throughout the fall of 2000 the CPD/Probation directed patrols continued to monitor no-contact orders and assess victims' safety at various times on a weekly basis. The Project Coordinator's Report for January 2001 notes that, "During these visits our team has encountered a mixed bag of results. Everything from domestic calls in progress, making referrals to victims for various reasons, updating victims on the status of orders, violations of no-contact orders to everything is well. Victim feedback continues to be very positive." The directed patrols are described in greater detail in Chapter 6.

At the September 2000 meeting the Project Coordinator announced that a sub-committee with representatives from each agency and all victim advocates would be formed to address the issues raised by the SIU research team at the August meeting. This sub-committee was to meet the following month (October) after the regular Steering Committee meeting. The sub-committee would include: Kelly Cichy (Women's Center), Tina Brooks (Probation), Barb Grear

(SIRSS), Lori Crenshaw (DV Clinic), Sam Jordan or Todd Sigler (SIU Public Safety), Sgt. Don Priddy (CPD), Jen LeDuc (Coordinator of Legal Advocacy Services at the Women's Center), and Susie Toliver (CPD Victim Advocate).

This group did meet in October. No formal minutes were produced, and the records are the researcher's notes. This meeting was intended to focus on the four issues (above) raised by the Steering Committee (role and composition of Steering Committee, Follow-up Advocate, education of the judiciary, and matters of confidentiality). Most of the discussion focused on the future of the Pro-Arrest project in a more general way, although some time was spent venting familiar complaints about the failure of various individuals and agencies to fully participate in the Steering Committee. Sam Jordan, of SIU Public Safety, who had been and continues to be a strong supporter of the Pro-Arrest grant and Steering Committee, said he thought that in order to move forward the Steering Committee needed to develop a list of specific goals and objectives. What he had in mind was similar to the expansive list developed in 1997 (above) that guided the work of the initial Pro-Arrest grant participants. Jordan thought the group should stay focused on the two specific goals (enhancing victim safety and holding offenders accountable) and then within those goals develop specific objectives and assign tasks to specific individuals. He also said that it was crucial for agency heads to be involved. Kelly Cichy of the Women's Center agreed that the Steering Committee would be bolstered by the development of specific plans and by the participation of agency heads, even if they only attended meetings on a quarterly basis. It was the consensus of the group the major problems for the Steering Committee were gaining judicial participation (again lamenting the judiciary) and getting the State's Attorney's Office to re-join the Steering Committee in a meaningful way. At the conclusion of the sub-committee

meeting, an SIU researcher agreed to work with the Project Coordinator to draft a letter inviting agency heads to the next meeting. However, following this meeting it was decided that it would be best to report to the entire Steering Committee before moving forward with invitations to agency heads. The matter of Steering Committee role and composition is an unresolved issue to which we return in our Analysis and Recommendations in the final chapter.

At the October 2000 regular meeting of the Steering Committee the SIU research team presented data collected from the State's Attorney's Office by a research assistant who was completing a task initiated by Pam Green, former Project Coordinator. It had been Green's goal to catalogue domestic battery arrests and outcomes in Jackson County. The research assistant was assigned the task of gathering the data for the years 1995 through 1999. This proved to be a labor-intensive project given the way data are collected and kept at the State's Attorney's Office. The researcher worked first from hand-written records of arrests (actually listed out in stenographic notebooks and color coded with different colors of ink representing different arresting agencies), then second from separate books of "Elect not to prosecute" cases maintained by the State's Attorney's Office, and then finally to the Circuit Clerk's web site where she had to search by defendant name for court information on the arrests.

Data presented at the October 2000 meeting, to which the State's Attorney had been personally invited and did attend, were a preliminary analysis of the data, focusing on the years 1999, 1997, and 1996. Data for 1998 were not presented because of problems in analysis of these data stemming to the suspected identification of multiple instances of dual arrests. The following table contains the 1999, 1997, and 1996 data for all arrests in which there was at least one domestic battery charge, excluding dual arrests. It is difficult to interpret the data, given the

Jackson County Domestic Battery Arrests

1999 – All arrest charges (excluding dual arrests); all police agencies

433 arrests

No court information: 127 (29%)
ENP: 22 (05%) (07%)

Court charges filed: 284 (66%) (93%)

- At least one guilty finding: 71 (25%) (33%)
- Court supervision: 26 (10%) (12%)
- All charges NP or D: 119 (42%) (55%)
- Not guilty: 2 (01%) (01%)
- No outcome information: 66 (23%)

1997 – All arrest charges (excluding dual arrests); all police agencies

331 arrests

No court information: 101 (31%)
ENP: 18 (05%) (08%)

Court charges filed: 212 (64%) (92%)

- At least one guilty finding: 69 (33%)
- Court supervision: 39 (18%)
- Warrant issued: 5 (02%)
- All charges NP or D: 98 (46%)
- Not guilty: 1 (<01%)

1996 – All arrest charges (excluding dual arrests); all police agencies

372 arrests

No court information: 110 (30%)
ENP: 59 (16%) (23%)

Court charges filed: 203 (55%) (77%)

- At least one guilty finding: 60 (30%)
- Court supervision: 47 (23%)
- Warrant issued: 3 (01%)
- All charges NP or D: 92 (45%)
- Not guilty: 1 (<01%)

number of cases each year for which "No court information" was obtained. For example, in the year 1999 there were 433 domestic battery arrests in Jackson County, according to the handwritten log books at the State's Attorney's Office. Of these 433 cases, 22 arrests (5 percent) were recorded in the "Elect not to prosecute" (ENP) book maintained by the State's Attorney. However, no court information was found for 127 cases (29 percent) which should have had some court information because they were not "ENP". Of the 284 cases (66 percent of the total) for which there was information on court charges filed, the Circuit Clerk's data showed: 71 cases (25 percent) with at least one guilty finding; 26 cases (10 percent) where the offender was granted court supervision, 119 cases (42 percent) in which all charges were not prosecuted or dismissed; 2 cases (1 percent) in which the defendant was found not guilty, and 66 cases (23 percent) in which there was no outcome information on the Circuit Clerk's on-line database. At the meeting, Mike Wepsiec, State's Attorney, said that it was likely that many of the 127 cases with "No court information" were "Elect not to prosecute" cases that were not entered into the "ENP" book. He also said that he would not rely on these data for analysis of outcomes because of unreliability and lack of accuracy in the Circuit clerk's record system. (Here he referred to the salary level of the people doing data entry.) Wepsiec told the Steering Committee that the only way to understand what actually happened in terms of outcomes was to go into the case files at the SAO, and that it was risky for the Steering Committee to rely on Circuit Clerk data. Finally, he commented that these figures were probably "light" in counting domestic batteries because of police charging behavior.

The Steering Committee, especially representatives of the CPD and the Women's Center, who had been eager to see these prosecution data, had very little comment in the meeting. In

research interviews, staff at the Women's Center were consistently dismayed by rates of conviction for domestic battery in Jackson County. Women's Center staff think they State's Attorney's Office should be more aggressive, especially in pursuing "victimless" or "evidence-based" prosecution. Also from research interviews, police officers are discouraged by the low rate of prosecution as well – the pro-arrest policy, to them, means that operationally *they* are keeping their end of the deal (making arrests); the problem is with the SAO. In the view of the State's Attorney's Office, the issue is complex. Absent a witness or corroborating evidence, if the victim does not want to proceed with the case the SAO doesn't have a case to take to court. In addition, the State's Attorney, in an interview, was somewhat critical of arrest reports and evidence gathering by police departments, and was particularly critical of the arrest report form used by the CPD.

Interagency finger-pointing is an interesting dynamic and one which the research team observed pertaining to issues other than prosecution, for example, confidentiality, services to victims, and matters related to referrals of clients from one agency to another. Rarely are the complaints voiced at Steering Committee meetings. In the words of one of the Steering Committee members, "It's like airing dirty laundry" to bring a squabble between two agencies to the larger interagency forum. While not vocalizing the interagency problems at Steering Committee meetings gives those meetings an aura of we-feeling, there are times when tensions in the meeting room are almost visible.

The next meeting of the Steering Committee was in November 2000. At this meeting Sam Jordan of SIU-Public Safety gave a presentation on the Minnesota Order of Protection Short Form Notification. Jordan explained that the Short Form is used when there are problems in

-serving an Order of Protection. The Short Form could be used on the spot when an officer makes a traffic stop and finds that an Order needs to be served. Jordan explained that the form is easy to fill out and doesn't take any more time to fill out than a traffic ticket. He said that he had discussed this with a variety of individuals and that he was going to pursue the project further for implementation in Illinois. Legislation would need to be passed in order to use the Short Form in Illinois, and Jordan said he would do follow up in Minnesota to determine if there were problems in implementation.

Also at the November meeting Kelle Barrick from SIU presented data (see Chapter 4) on the clients and case outcomes at the DV Clinic. There was some discussion at the meeting over the clients who withdrew their cases for various reasons, and it was decided that perhaps this was an area where follow-up services might be indicated.

In addition, the Probation Department reported that Tina Brooks and Lisa Courter were now monitoring all cases of conditional discharge, court supervision, and probation that involved domestic battery. Their cases included domestic battery, offenses plead down from domestic battery to battery, violations of orders of protection, and anything with a no-contact order related to domestic battery. The significance of this is that ordinarily Probation Officers in Jackson County do not monitor cases of conditional discharge or court supervision.

In early February 2001 "brainstorming" discussions were held regarding the contents of the next (FY 01) Pro-Arrest proposal from the group. In attendance were representatives from the CPD, the Women's Center, the DV Clinic, SIRSS, and SIU Public Safety, as well as the Victim Advocates from the Jackson County State's Attorney's Office (Theresa Miller) and the Jackson County Sheriff's Department (Theresa Bastein, who had replaced Miller, and was

working .50 FTE at the Sheriff's Department). At this meeting the group discussed a variety of projects in Carbondale and Jackson County, as well as expansion into other counties, as potential initiatives under the FY 01 proposal.

The proposal that was submitted in March of 2001 contained no new initiatives. Rather, some project activities were expanded to other counties under the proposal, and other money was requested to extend the amount of time advocacy services were available. The Follow-up Advocate's services at the Women's Center were expanded to Williamson and Franklin counties. To enhance victim advocacy at the Carbondale Police Department, funds were requested to offer advocacy services two nights a week, up to 7 hours a week. The CPD Victim Advocate would extend her hours to fill the need of victims who have conflict during the day due to work or school. The DV Clinic, already serving Jackson and Williamson counties, planned to expand its service area to Union County. Funds were also requested to continue overtime pay to support the CPD/Probation directed patrols and to continue in-service training.

Through the spring of 2001 there were few significant developments in the Steering Committee or in specific project initiatives. An exception to this was the April 2001 meeting. At this monthly meeting of the Steering Committee two important things happened. First, Amber Floyd, Project Coordinator reported that for the most part the project had met its goals and objectives under previous grant funding. However, there were three major exceptions. As noted in the April minutes, these were:

1. Audits/Surveys– It's anticipated that an audit will be done of participating agencies no later than early fall. Implementation of surveys are expected very soon.

2. Establishing 3 support groups in Jackson County – We desperately need to establish 2 more support groups, one in a rural area. Establishment of these groups are past due in meeting one of our goals of the project.
3. Confidentiality/Coordination Issues – These issues are being addressed by open discussions at Project Steering Committee meetings and private meetings between agencies.

This Project Coordinator's report to the whole Steering Committee is notable as one of the few instances in which the entire Steering Committee was confronted with collective failures (items 1 and 3) as well as individual agency failure (item 2) to meet project goals. Audits and surveys had been promised as early as the first grant, and the first Project Coordinator, Pam Green, did not initiate the process. The second Project Coordinator, Amber Floyd, was concerned that the group needed to pay attention to data gathering. Of course, the Steering Committee was aware of the difficulties that the Women's Center was having establishing stable community support groups; however, it was somewhat embarrassing for the Women's Center to have problem singled out and brought to everyone's attention. Item 3 in the list, "confidentiality/cooperation" issues covered a host of specific inter-agency difficulties; but again, most of these issues centered on inter-agency collaboration with the Women's Center because of their restrictions in sharing information on clients.

The second discussion of note at this meeting centered on the exchange of information among the agencies involved in the project. This discussion is presented in detail in Chapter 7. Each agency had filled out forms constructed by the research team identifying "information we want" from other agencies. Discussion, heated at times, of these information needs and problems

occurred at the April meeting. The State's Attorney in charge of domestic battery cases, who by that time was Gail Thomas, had a lengthy exchange with staff from the Women's Center over the problems the State's Attorney's Office had the Women's Center. Specifically, the Women's Center would not (could not) tell the Victim Advocate at the SAO if a client was or had received services at the Women's Center. The real problem was that the SAO Victim Advocate sometimes needed to locate a victim and couldn't receive help from the Women's Center. This problem was and is much more than a simple matter of information exchange because it is related to the coordination of advocacy services in Jackson County and to some extent surrounding counties.

Summary

As indicated by the Project Coordinator's report, above, the Pro-Arrest grants in Carbondale and Jackson County have achieved most of their goals. The June 2001 Project Coordinator's report outlined activities at the DV clinic (218 clients to date in Jackson and Williamson counties), and at the Women's Center (attempts to improve referrals for the Follow-up Advocate, Audrey Adams, and attempts to develop support groups by Kim Collins, who became the new Domestic Violence Counselor in February 2001). By fall of 2001 the Women's Center had succeeded in establishing a second community support group, which met weekly at a church in Murphysboro and was in discussion with another church in Carbondale about setting up a group in the spring of 2002. The consolidated records management system was implemented by this time and the conversion of existing records had begun. VISIONAIRE, the software vendor for the Records management system, was continuing to work on problems identified by the users (SIU Public Safety, the Jackson County Sheriff's Department, and the

Carbondale Police Department).

The official end date of the SIU research was May 2001. By then the researchers had completed their investigations into advocacy, the Domestic Violence Clinic, the community support group in Carbondale, and the CPD/Probation directed patrols. The researchers continued to meet with the Steering Committee through the summer and fall of 2001 and in September the researchers presented their recommendations to the Steering Committee. These recommendations are discussed in the final chapter of this report.

As indicated in the chronological narrative above, the Steering Committee has changed greatly in composition (that is, specific agency representatives) over the course of the grants, and has also changed in function (more routine reporting than problem-solving, which tends instead to occur in private discussions between two or more agencies.) In the opinion of several Steering Committee members, the fact that agency heads no longer attend the meetings says something about the priority of the domestic violence project in Carbondale and Jackson County. Although progress has been made on all project initiatives, the coordination of advocacy services, the job description of the Follow-up Advocate, and the sharing of information across agencies are significant issues to be addressed by the Steering Committee. In addition, the Steering Committee has not discussed what will happen if/when funding under the VAWO grants is terminated. This is particularly crucial for the DV Clinic at the SIU School of Law, which is widely hailed by Steering Committee members as one of the most important accomplishments of the grant. The DV Clinic has sought but not gained alternate funding. Chapter 7 of this report details the future directions of the Steering Committee and the Pro-Arrest projects.

Lessons Learned

1. In the development of a coordinated community response to domestic violence it is extraordinarily important at the outset to establish a coordinating council (in Carbondale and Jackson County this is called the Steering Committee). The coordinating council's purpose is to identify needs, to plan, and to coordinate local activity. The coordinating council should be composed of both agency heads and agency personnel responsible for implementing programs. Agency heads are key players and their attendance at meetings carries both real and symbolic significance.
2. Once coordinating councils are formed and local efforts begin to affect change at the local level, it is important to face certain inevitabilities. First, given the problem with turnover in agencies, it is necessary to continually educate and motivate newcomers to the coordinating council. Second, when great gains are made and some of the major problems are solved, it is likely that the project will lose momentum. What is crucial is that the loss of momentum does not lead to the dissolution of the coordinating council, for the group has a critical role in identifying and solving problems at the local level and in coordination of services.
3. Law enforcement training in domestic violence and the development of protocols for law enforcement are vital initial activities.
4. Information sharing among agencies is a complex issue that must be addressed by coordinating councils. Here it is especially important to recognize the special client confidentiality requirements of agencies outside of the criminal justice system and to negotiate carefully to meet cross-agency needs.

5. Virtually all agencies will benefit from sending their personnel to special training in domestic violence and it is often the case that no funds exist at the local level to support special training or conferences. It is therefore important that grants include money dedicated to training at the local level.
6. In designing new positions – such as the Follow-Up Advocate – agencies need to coordinate carefully to make sure that the position works within the existing framework of services. Follow-Up Advocates should get involved as early as possible with victims.
7. It is likely that coordinating councils will encounter difficulties with the judiciary.

Chapter 3: Victim Advocacy in Carbondale and Jackson County

Victims of domestic violence in Carbondale and Jackson County receive services from an array of agencies, the most central of which are:

- The Carbondale Women's Center, Inc. (Women's Center), which provides shelter, legal advocacy, counseling, community support groups, and follow-up advocacy to women who are victims of domestic violence and their children. Under the Pro-Arrest grants, the Women's Center has employed a full-time Follow-up Advocate and has received funding for 25 percent of the time for a Domestic Violence Counselor to develop and run community support groups in Carbondale and other locations in Jackson County.

- The Carbondale Police Department, which employs a full-time Crime Victim Advocate.

- The Jackson County State's Attorney's Office, which employs a full-time Victim Advocate.

- The Jackson County Sheriff's Department, which employs a half-time Victim Advocate.

- The Domestic Violence Clinic, at SIU Law School, which employs a full time attorney and a part-time law student, and each semester enrolls about six law students in the Clinic/Class.

This chapter examines two separate topics related to advocacy in Jackson County. First, the intended and actual roles of the Follow-up Advocate are examined, with a particular focus on the difficulties faced by the Women's Center in realizing the goals of this position. Second, the chapter examines the network of victim advocates in the county as they attempt to coordinate services to victims of domestic violence. Problems in coordination are related to "turf" issues,

matters of confidentiality and information exchange, and the manner in which agency function and organizational goals shape the work of the individual advocates.

The Follow-up Advocate

The Women's Center is a non-profit organization with a 30 year history of serving victims of domestic violence and sexual assault in Jackson County and surrounding counties in Southern Illinois. The Follow-up Advocate and the Domestic Violence Counselor funded through the Pro-Arrest grants work under the Shelter Coordinator. In addition, the Women's Center has a full-time Coordinator of Legal Advocacy Services who works closely with the Follow-up Advocate, although she does not supervise her, and attends many of the Steering Committee meetings. As an organization with a feminist philosophy and commitment to the goal of empowering women, the Women's Center's primary functions are shelter services for victims of domestic violence and their children and sexual assault services for victims of sexual assault and their significant others, although staff are also involved in community education and prevention activities. Among the agencies (listed above) providing advocacy services to victims of domestic violence in Jackson County, the Women's Center is the only private, non-profit, non-criminal justice organization; that is, the victim advocates at the Women's Center are the only ones in the county not employed by law enforcement or prosecution. The organizational location of victim advocacy is one of the keys to understanding service delivery in the county.

The need for a victim advocate to provide follow-up services to victims of domestic violence was articulated by various members of the Steering Committee, but primarily by the crime victim advocates in Jackson County who provided services to victims and survivors of domestic violence. They identified a gap in advocacy for victims after the legal process was

initiated. The CPD and State's Attorney's Office Victim Advocates had little time to follow-up on victims. As noted by one of the victim advocates, "Once the court process was initiated, the victim was dropped. There was no one *for* the victim." The thinking was that a Follow-up Advocate could continue to work with victims through the court process, provide a check on victim safety, and provide referrals to other agencies for victims who needed assistance with housing, finances, education, and other problems. (It is also significant to note that a victim safety check was required by the SIRSS' abuser treatment group in order to meet the requirements of the Illinois Protocol for Partner Abuse Intervention Programs, and thus the Follow-up Advocate would receive referrals from SIRSS.)

The Follow-up Advocate position at the Women's Center was included in the second (FY 98) grant proposal by the City of Carbondale, and described in that document as follows:

A full-time VAWA Follow-up Advocate will be hired to offer services to victims *from the time charges are filed in court through the offender's full probationary period.*

(Emphasis not in original.) During this year or more of contact with the victim/survivor, safety concerns would be brought to the attention of the Domestic Violence Prosecutor or Probation Officer, depending on the status of the case. The Advocate's liaison role would extend to practitioners conducting abuser treatment, in order to allow for effective monitoring of offender compliance with the treatment program.

Because the grant proposal defined the position in terms of "from the time charges are filed in court through the offender's full probationary period", the Follow-up Advocate at the Women's Center would be dependent on referrals, primarily from the State's Attorney's Office, but also from SIRSS, to identify clients.

The first Follow-up Advocate worked at the Women's Center from January 1999 to August 2000 when she resigned. Because of uncertainty regarding continuation of funding (the Women's Center could not support the position without grant funding), and also because of a lack of qualified applicants, there was a delay in filling the position after she resigned. Her replacement was hired by the Women's Center in December 2000 and continues to serve as Follow-up Advocate.

In an interview with the initial Follow-up Advocate and her supervisor, the Shelter Coordinator at the Women's Center, the Follow-up Advocate was asked about the goals of follow-up advocacy. She said that both improving victim safety and providing links to other services for the victims and survivors were major goals of her position. Victim safety -- the prevention of repeat victimization -- would be enhanced by keeping in touch with domestic battery victims over the telephone, and by explaining both the court process and the abuser's treatment program to victims so that they would know what to expect and what their batterers were going through. The Follow-up Advocate would also be available to help victims and survivors identify programs and services in the community to meet special needs.

The emphasis on victim safety was regarded as central to the job, because many of the victims and survivors were still living with and/or in relations with their batterers. According to the Follow-up Advocate,

What I am finding is for most cases the women I am working with have been thrown into the criminal justice system not of their volition. Someone else has made a phone call and an arrest has been made and the State's Attorney had enough to go through with the case and he was convicted or pled to whatever. So, it is not that she wants him out of the

house or that she even wants him to leave. It's just that this happened and the system followed through with it, not that she necessarily wanted it to. Most of the women that I find I work with are in a completely different place than the women who come into Shelter. They are still with him. So, it is dealing with safety issues, a lot of education on what domestic violence is, and what legally domestic violence is.

The Follow-up Advocate's job had been designed by the former Executive Director of the Women's Center, working with the former grant Project Coordinator. The job description and its integration with other advocates were negotiated with agencies in the Steering Committee, so all would know what would be expected and how the new advocate would work in the existing network of victim advocates. At the outset of these negotiations matters of confidentiality and information exchange were problematic. Some of these issues have not been resolved.

The initial Follow-up Advocate described the process of these inter-agency negotiations in an interview,

Over the time I've been here, for the first few months we were setting up my job – what the different agencies expected, how we could do it. In the grant it said I was supposed to begin with the prosecution and follow through to probation. Originally it was thought by some of the agencies that I would pick up at disposition and just do a six week follow-up. One of the things I was concerned with was building that rapport with the women so that by the time it came to disposition, I would actually have a rapport with them to be able to do the follow-up. We were kind of wondering how compliant we had to be with the grant as far as I had to pick up at prosecution or I could pick up at disposition. There was a lot of discussion about what I was supposed to be doing.

Although most of the inter-agency discussions were with the SAO, SIRSS also became involved because of their Abuser Treatment Program referrals.

The plan that developed over the course of several months was for the Follow-up Advocate to receive referrals for potential clients from both the State's Attorney's Office and the Abuser Treatment Program at SIRSS. At the SAO, after a domestic battery case was filed, the SAO Victim Advocate would send a letter to the victim informing her of court dates and other information. In this letter, the SAO Victim Advocate would tell the victim that she would be hearing from the Follow-up Advocate from the Women's Center. The SAO Victim Advocate would then send lists of potential clients with addresses and telephone numbers (if available) to the Follow-up Advocate, who would then send the victims letters describing her services and a packet of information.

From SIRSS, the coordinator of the Abuser Treatment Group would notify the Follow-up Advocate of victims of offenders who were in treatment. The vast majority of batterers in treatment at SIRSS are on court-ordered treatment as a condition of probation. Many of these men live with or are in relationships with their victims. The Follow-up Advocate at the Women's Center would send the SIRSS-identified victims a letter and packet similar to the information given to SAO-identified victims, but she would also include in the envelope material on what the Abuser Treatment Program was and what classes the batterer would be taking. SIRSS also would notify the Follow-up Advocate weekly, at the precise time the treatment group was meeting in the evening, of exactly who showed up for the group. This telephone call would allow the Follow-up Advocate a block of time weekly when she could telephone victims with the assurance that their abusers would not be in the households. This

would also alert the Follow-up Advocate to patterns in attendance or lack of attendance of abusers that might suggest particular victims needed to be contacted for safety check reasons. Finally, the Follow-up Advocate would attend weekly meetings with staff at SIRSS to get updates on cases that might present particular victim safety risks. (The Follow-up Advocate did not attend these meetings the first week of every month because these were meetings with the Department of Probation, and Probation could not share information with the Women's Center.)

Letters were sent and telephone calls were made because the Women's Center does not encourage its advocates to make home visits. They explain that advocates who make home visits have no way of knowing what kind of situation they are going to be walking into – whether the abuser is there or not, or whether visiting a victim at home will put her in greater danger. Also, the advocates obviously do not have the formal authority of police officers or probation officers, so their safety concerns have some legitimacy.

Despite the seemingly reasonable plan to generate clients for the Follow-up Advocate from SAO and SIRSS referrals, the Follow-up Advocate at the Women's Center has never had more than a handful of active clients at any time. Unraveling the reasons for this lack of clients is difficult because in part it is a matter of speculation. Certainly there are two major factors at play. First, referrals have been uneven over the period of the grants. Second, the overwhelming majority of victims who were contacted did not request assistance from the Follow-up Advocate.

Referrals from the State's Attorney's Office dropped over the spring and summer of 1999 when the Victim Advocate became seriously ill, was on extended medical leave, and then passed away. At the State's Attorney's Office an intern performed some of the functions of the Victim Advocate for a time, but then there was simply no one there to make the referrals unless it was

the Assistant State's Attorney handling domestic batteries (and there was also turnover in this position during these months) or other staff whose jobs were not victim advocacy. Moreover, the State's Attorney's Office (understandably) resisted having other advocates -- from the police department or the Women's Center -- going into their offices and reviewing their files. According to the Women's Center's Follow-up Advocate, during this period, "They weren't receptive to any of us coming in. I don't think it was just me or my position at the Women's Center. They weren't receptive to anyone coming in period, at least from what I saw." When a new Victim Advocate was hired at the State's Attorney's Office in the early fall of 1999, referrals to the Follow-up Advocate picked up immediately. Referrals from Abuser Treatment at SIRSS always depend on how many probationers are in treatment, and this is rarely more than two dozen.

Even when potential client referrals have been high, the Follow-up Advocate has had few clients availing themselves of her assistance. Audrey Adams, the current Follow-up Advocate, reported in an interview that from mid-December 2000 to July 2001 she had 62 referrals from the State's Attorney's Office and 27 referrals from SIRSS, and she did only 4 or 5 intakes on those 89 referrals. Why so few clients? Answers to this question are speculative and differ somewhat by agency perspective.

At the Women's Center, staff have been frustrated somewhat by the referral process. As explained in an interview with the Executive Director,

It is one thing to fax over a list . . . of all the cases that are done and she (the Follow-up Advocate) has to cold call these women. It's another thing to fax over the list and either call the victims and tell them that she is going to be calling about follow-up services or a

letter or something so that the victim would be aware that someone was going to be getting in touch with them. Sometimes that was done and sometimes it wasn't. . . . The other thing we had envisioned is that there would be more personal contact, that they would pull the Follow-up Advocate in earlier and introduce them sometime during the process. That didn't happen either.

In other words, the Women's Center expected that the Victim Advocate at the SAO would do more to facilitate the introduction of the victim to the Follow-up Advocate.

The Women's Center Follow-up Advocate also believes that part of the difficulty is the insistence on the part of the Project Coordinator, and perhaps others on the Steering Committee, that the role of the Follow-up Advocate not deviate from the description in the proposal – that is, the Follow-up Advocate is accessible to victims once a court case is filed. She thinks there are many victims and survivors who can be identified earlier in the process and can benefit from her work. Support for this argument comes from the CPD Crime Victim Advocate who says there are victims who want her (the CPD Advocate) to help them but they don't want to cooperate with the police, so she can't do anything. And since they don't want to work with the criminal justice system, these women don't come to the attention of the Follow-up Advocate.

Other explanations have been given for the lack of clients for the Follow-up Advocate. The Crime Victim Advocate at the CPD said that perhaps some victims prefer to continue with the advocate they first come in contact with at the police department, rather than work with a series of advocates. This makes sense, she says, because victims don't want to tell their stories over and over again. Staff at the Women's Center concur with this view – by the time the victim receives information about services at the Women's Center, she may have already seen two

advocates, at the Carbondale Police Department or Jackson County Sheriff's Department, and at the State's Attorney's Office.

Advocates at agencies other than the Women's Center also said they thought the Women's Center Follow-up Advocate was not aggressive enough in pursuing clients. This criticism has two sources. First, other agencies expected that the Women's Center staff would be making home visits and, as explained above, this did not occur. Second, the initial Follow-up Advocate hired by the Women's Center had no real related experience and had much to learn about domestic violence, victim advocacy, the criminal justice system, and services available in Jackson County. Also, other advocates suggested that the initial Follow-up Advocate was somewhat timid and uncomfortable with the bleak realities of domestic violence victims and their circumstances as well as the criminal justice process. The "not aggressive enough" criticism of the first Follow-up Advocate may or may not be valid. It is true that the current Follow-up Advocate is much more active in going to the court house and seeking clients, and that this has made little to no difference in the numbers of clients served.

Another reason for the lack of Follow-up Advocate clients that has been suggested is that there is no way to "track" victims, and this produces problems in contacting them. The Shelter Director at the Women's Center said that often the clients referred to the Follow-up Advocate are among the most difficult victims to contact – they don't have telephones, or they have moved since charges were filed in court.

In summary, then, there are many practical, operational reasons why the full potential of the Follow-up Advocate has not been realized. In addition to the reasons cited above, it may well be the case that victims don't need the help of a Follow-up Advocate, don't perceive the need,

don't understand what the Advocate is there to do, or are simply tired of agency involvement in their lives and the need to tell and re-tell their stories to different advocates in different agencies, especially if the victims are still living with their abusers. Redesign of the position of the Follow-up Advocate is one of the major recommendations coming out of this research project.

The Network of Crime Victim Advocates in Jackson County

In this part of the chapter we examine the network of crime victim advocates in Carbondale and Jackson County who provide services to domestic violence victims and survivors. Not included in this analysis is the work done at the Domestic Violence Clinic in the SIU School of Law (Chapter 4), or the advocacy component of the community support groups (Chapter 5). Also, because the Steering Committee and grant participation of the half-time Victim Advocate at the Jackson County Sheriff's Department has been minimal, the present discussion does not include an analysis of her role. Here the focus is on the network of advocates greatly involved in the Pro-Arrest grants and the Steering committee, including the advocates at the Women's Center, the Carbondale Police Department, and the Jackson County State's Attorney's Office. Organizational location, specifically private, non-profit *versus* law enforcement or prosecution, is a major factor in understanding domestic violence advocacy in the county.

The Women's Center

At the Carbondale Women's Center, the Coordinator of Legal Advocacy Services provides direct legal advocacy services to women who are residents at the Shelter, as well as to walk-in clients seeking her assistance. While much of her work entails helping victims with emergency Orders of Protection and with understanding the criminal justice process, she works

in several counties in addition of Jackson County and coordinates services with Women's Center advocacy staff located in Marion County. The Follow-up Advocate works closely with the Coordinator of Legal Advocacy Services and will sometimes assist with Orders of Protection or other advocacy-related tasks.

Staff at the Women's Center pride themselves on being the only truly victim-centered agency in the network of advocates. As explained by the Executive Director in an interview, The Women's Center's position in the community and even in this project is really interesting. We are not part of the system. Nobody is mandated to use us. That goes for both our DV and sexual assault programs. That is the unique strength that we have because victims and survivors know that they can come here. We are not part of the system; we're not mandated to report anything to the police or the prosecutors. It is complete confidentiality. Being a victim-focused agency – that is a real strength. It has also been a frustration for prosecutors and police officers to say those people at the Women's Center know more about this case, but won't say anything because of their confidentiality. That is exactly true. Unless the victim has given us the permission to do this, and we really talk through the ramifications of doing that, because there will be ramifications of giving up that confidentiality.

What the Executive Director is describing here is the mandate her organization has to protect communications between domestic violence counselors and victims. According to the Illinois Domestic Violence Act of 1986 (750 ILCS 60/227), confidential communication means "any communication between an alleged victim of domestic violence and a domestic violence victim advocate or counselor in the course of providing information, counseling, or advocacy." The

same section of the Act prohibits domestic violence counselors or advocates from disclosing confidential communication or from being a witness in a civil or criminal case. Disclosing confidential communication is a Class A Misdemeanor. Victims may waive the privilege of confidentiality by signing a release of information form at the Women's Center.

At the Women's Center, the Coordinator of Legal Advocacy Services or the Follow-up Advocate explains to victims that they may choose to waive the privilege so that information may be shared with police and prosecutors. Although the Coordinator did not have numbers, she said that the overwhelming majority of victims she sees at the Center do not waive this privilege; that is, they do not sign the release of information form. This factor has become a bone of contention in inter-agency discussions of the sharing of information. Staff at the Women's Center say they fairly describe the ramifications of signing the release of information form and they do not try to sway victims in one direction or another. Additionally, they contend that when a woman is in crisis it is not the best time to approach her with issues such as this. On the other hand, crime victim advocates at the police and prosecution stages of the criminal justice process, as well as prosecutors and police involved in the Pro-Arrest grants, think that the Women's Center should do more to encourage victims to sign release forms, and their perception is that the Women's Center legal advocates are not always even-handed in presenting the consequences of waiving confidentiality.

The Coordinator of Legal Advocacy Services at the Women's Center says that the confidentiality helps in providing effective victim advocacy. In her words, confidentiality allows her to work with the victim in such a way that not every piece of information the victim reveals is potentially revealed to police or prosecutor:

There are plenty of advocates that cover this area, but none have the confidentiality that I have. Everything that a victim says (to a law enforcement or prosecution advocate) can be brought to the State's Attorney or law enforcement attention at any given time, because they (the victims) don't have that kind of protection. So, if they say I scratched him first, according to the law maybe they need to know that. . . . I would probably advocate a little in . . . talking with the victim first about the implications about not saying that first to the police department when they first interviewed them. That is the big difference.

Thus, the Women's Center advocate may help a victim shape her story in a way that makes her case a better case for the courts, at least in the view of the experienced advocate.

According to this staff member, the downside of confidentiality is frustration for other agencies. She spoke particularly of the Crime Victim Advocate at the State's Attorney's Office. The Victim Advocate at the SAO would call the Women's Center because she was trying to locate a victim to give her information about court proceedings, and the Women's Center staff member was prohibited from saying whether she had provided services to the woman. In this type of situation, if the Women's Center legal advocate knew how to contact the woman (for example she might be a Shelter resident), she would do so, and she would tell the victim to call the advocate at the State's Attorney's Office. Still, the SAO Victim Advocate could spend valuable hours trying to locate the victim before contact was made.

The police department's goals at times conflict with the confidentiality requirements of the Women's Center, particularly in terms of information for criminal investigations. As noted by the Coordinator of Legal Services, the Women's Center advocate may help the victim frame

her account. But still, according to staff at the Women's Center, there is somewhat of a misperception on the part of the local police. They contend that police may think that the Women's Center records contain valuable information for their investigations, when in fact this is most often not true, and if true, the police have other ways of getting the information. In addition, staff at the Women's Center believe there are aspects to their advocacy that police and prosecutors don't see. The Executive Director noted that, "We also help our clients communicate better with the police officers and the prosecutors, and that is the part that police officers and prosecutors don't see. They are getting the information, they are getting it directly from the victim herself, potentially, as she becomes more comfortable as a result of the support of the Center."

Nevertheless it is fair to say that the confidentiality requirements of the Women's Center are perceived by advocates and other personnel in law enforcement and prosecution to be an obstacle in developing a coordinated community response to domestic violence. One crime victim advocate external to the Women's Center said that referring a victim to the Women's Center was like sending her to a "black hole" – because she could never be sure if the victim received services from the Center, or even sought help there.

In addition advocates at law enforcement and prosecution view advocacy at the Women's Center, funded through grants rather than the city or county government, as operating in a manner to "keep their numbers up". Their view is that because the Women's Center must report numbers of clients served in order to receive continuation funding, a pressure to generate clients exists for the Women's Center that is not present for advocates in law enforcement or prosecution.

The Carbondale Police Department

While the Crime Victim Advocate at the Carbondale Police Department is not funded through the Pro-Arrest grant, it is important to consider the work in this position, as part of the network of advocates in the county, for two reasons: First, in many cases of domestic battery the CPD Crime Victim Advocate is the first advocate to work with the victim, and hence is crucial in getting Orders of Protection, providing crisis intervention, assisting the victim with the police investigation, and referring the victim to additional resources in the community. Second, in Illinois crime victim advocates are typically located in State's Attorney's Offices, but much less often in municipal police departments. The CPD Crime Victim Advocate provides crisis intervention services, counseling, court advocacy, and referrals to victims of violent crime in the City of Carbondale.

The Crime Victim Advocate at the CPD explained that she provides support services to the victim of domestic battery, domestic related incidents, aggravated battery, or if a victim has a disability or is over sixty years old. She gets additional referrals from elsewhere in the police department, but those have a lower priority because of the number of cases she handles that do involve violence. Most of her time is spent working with domestic violence victims and assisting them with Orders of Protection. In addition to providing support services to victims, the CPD Crime Victim Advocate is also active in the in-service training of police officers on domestic violence and other victim related matters.

The CPD Victim Advocate handles walk-in clients seeking her help, but most of her victims are identified by referrals from arrest and incident reports by responding officers. From the police information, she then makes contact with the victims. According to her,

Typically . . . I get here at 7:30 am. I normally have at least five or six messages on my machine. If it is the weekend I can count on between ten and fifteen. These are all related to incidents that have happened either the previous night or over the weekend. . . .

If there is a report, I will contact the victim to ask if they want a bond condition. A bond condition is a court order that the judge issues and they (the victims) don't have to be there for that so if the person (the offender) is still in jail and they want a bond condition, then the judge will issue that without the victim having to be there in court.

If the person (the offender) does not get arrested and they want to get an Order of Protection, then I normally will read the report and see what is going on, and to see what their chances are. I will speak with them and tell them what the judge is probably going to say, so they have some kind of idea of what they are walking into. Then they make the choice of if that's what they want to do or if they want to try something different.

The CPD Victim Advocate said that sometimes victims don't want to go to court for Orders of Protection, either because they are afraid to encounter their abusers in the court room, or because they are afraid that the judges may believe their offenders instead of them. She said,

Then what I urge them to do is send the other person a letter saying they do not want them on their property – because once they have been notified that they are not to be on their property, the police can arrest them for trespassing if they show up and the violator is there. So they have a couple of other options.

An important part of the CPD Victim Advocate's job is working with victims to obtain Orders of Protection, including helping them with the paperwork, explaining the court process, and telling them what to expect when they go into the court room. The CPD Victim Advocate

was somewhat critical of the way certain judges were handling Orders of Protection at the time – although *all of the advocates* interviewed for this project were experiencing problems with certain local judges. According to the CPD Advocate,

I would say like 80 percent of the clients that I deal with have not had an Order of Protection before and they're scared of the whole process, number one. Then I have to prepare them for the judge's attitude which adds a little bit more fear in there. And, quite honestly, we go in there not knowing what is going to happen.

The CPD Advocate will work with victims to obtain emergency Orders of Protection, and less frequently, to follow up with plenary Orders.

If a victim of domestic battery sees the CPD Advocate, but does not want to make a police report and doesn't want the police involved at all, then the CPD Advocate will refer the client to the Women's Center. According to the CPD Advocate, that worked best for everyone because certain judges were beginning to ask victims if they had made reports to the police. The Women's Center doesn't require victims to make police reports before assisting them with Orders of Protection, and they could simply tell that to the court. According to the CPD Advocate, one judge in particular said he was tired of "this pattern of victims bypassing law enforcement and going directly to the courts" even though the laws relating to Orders of Protection do not require that the victim make a police report. The CPD Victim Advocate will also refer some cases to the DV Clinic at the School of Law, or call the attorney there for advice if she has questions about difficult cases.

The CPD Crime Victim Advocate thought that the safety of domestic violence victims could be improved if there were better exchange of information between agencies and better

coordination of advocacy services. She mentioned two types of coordination specifically. First, she said that if she could get lists of offenders from the Abuser Treatment Program at SIRSS, then she could notify the SIRSS counselors when she knew of a police report or an arrest involving an offender in treatment. Second, she thought that, even though the network of victim advocates in the county got along personally very well and tried their best to coordinate services across agencies, the Steering Committee might be a place to discuss problems in coordination, specifically with the Women's Center. The example she cited was that everyone in the Steering Committee was aware that the Follow-up Advocate at the Women's Center was experiencing difficulties with her position, but the matter was not discussed openly at the Steering Committee so that members of the group might make suggestions on how to change the job description to make it work.

In addition, the CPD Victim Advocate identified a significant gap in victim advocacy services in Jackson County. She thought that it would be good to have one advocate that dealt just with juveniles, because they had special problems, often involving alcoholic or abusive parents, and it was difficult for them to report to the police. She said,

We have a pretty big population of fifteen to eighteen year olds that are involved in domestic situations or involved in other violent crimes. And because of the way that the judicial system is with juveniles, there is not a whole lot being done with them because it takes so much work. Number one, you have to get the parents . . . And then again, if the parents have different ideas about the ways things should be dealt with . . . You know, some parents will say, 'Oh, you know, I told her he was no good and she shouldn't be bothering with him but she just got involved with him anyway, so that's her problem and

I'm not going to deal with it.' . . . And then you get victims who are abused by their parents. . . . And when they go to the police and report this, it never turns out in their favor.

The Jackson County State's Attorney's Office

The Jackson County State's Attorney's Office publishes A Guide for Citizens, Victims, and Witnesses (Sixth Printing, 1999) which provides updated information to guide victims and witness through the court process, as well as critical information on Orders of Protection. This guide for victims explains that (p.9),

The State's Attorney's Office has a full-time Victim-Witness program staff. Their job is to notify victims and witnesses about the progress of the case in which they are involved.

The Victim-Witness staff is also available to answer questions and assist victims and witnesses in understanding the many phases of a criminal case.

In Jackson County, a long time Victim Advocate, Mary Hughes, passed away in the summer of 2000 and was replaced in September 2000 by a person who had been the half-time victim advocate at the Jackson County Sheriff's Department. Although many other agency positions experienced turnover during the life of this grant, the passing of Mary Hughes greatly affected the many advocates and other professionals dealing with domestic battery in Jackson County. Hughes was highly regarded and respected for her commitment to helping victims, and other advocates viewed her job as a difficult one, because Hughes had to work with domestic violence victims who wanted the prosecutor to drop the case. (By the time the current researchers were involved with the Pro-Arrest grant, Hughes rarely attended meetings and then was on an extended medical leave, so she was not interviewed by the research team.) An advocate from

another agency interviewed in this project in July of 2000 said,

It is going to be a hard job for someone to fill Mary's shoes. They are going to have to look for the right person, because Mary was able to reason with people. And, I guess the other part of her job was that she would have to deal with the families coming in, telling their side of the story, and then the defendant and his family wanting to tell their side of the story, you know. And she was able to let them know, this is what you've done and it was wrong and these are the consequences. And I think that she did it in a way that everybody understood and they weren't upset with her. She had the hard part of the whole thing, I think. Because, you know, getting them to take that initial step is a hard job. But once they take that initial step, to keep them going on, that becomes the job of the advocate at the State's Attorney's Office.

In the same interview, this victim advocate explained why she viewed the Crime Victim Advocate job at the State's Attorney's Office as so incredibly difficult, and she reveals the problems innate to the position of victim advocate in a prosecutor's office – supporting victims through a prosecution and sentencing, while at the same time helping victims face the likely outcomes. In her words,

Giving that support of the victims whose cases are going to court and the person is going to . . . have a trial or have a sentencing where they are going to decide what their punishment is going to be. The suspects tend to make the victims think that they are going to prison, that they are going to be sent off for this long time, and Mary has to re-educate (victims) . . . about that's not going to happen. In Jackson County, as a matter of fact, you can have several domestics before that would be a possibility. I have worked

with victims, and with Mary with victims, who were absolutely frightened that once this person was found guilty, that they were going to die. And I think that was real stressful and Mary did an excellent job at it but I know that it was stressful trying to convince them that what they are doing is right, and hoping it doesn't backfire on you, because it does happen.

As indicated above, by July 2000 an experienced victim advocate was hired by the Jackson County State's Attorney's Office. Although her job is working with all crime victims, notifying them of hearings and helping them through various stages of the court process, she spends most of her time working with victims of domestic violence. Victims do go directly to the State's Attorney's Office seeking Orders of Protection. On referrals from attorneys, police officers, and from walk-in clients, she can see up to 25 domestic violence victims a week who are seeking emergency Orders of Protection. Because the SAO Crime Victim Advocate has so much other work to do, and because the State's Attorney wants to lessen the load of Orders of Protection done at the SAO, she often refers victims to other crime victim advocates to provide assistance with emergency Orders of Protection (at the CPD, the Women's Center and the Jackson County Sheriff's Department); for victims seeking Orders of Protection after the emergency Order, she will make referrals to the DV Clinic at the SIU School of Law. The SAO Victim Advocate says the network of victim advocates in the county is cohesive and works well, and that there are excellent relations and a smooth exchange of information and referral among advocates. She coordinates cases closely with the victim advocates in law enforcement. She also has good working relations with the staff at the Women's Center as well, although the client confidentiality policy at the Women's Center, noted above, can be a problem for her.

The Crime Victim Advocate at the State's Attorney's Office works hand-in-hand with the Assistant State's Attorney who handles domestic batteries, communicating daily on the specifics of victim situations and victim preferences and what needs to be done in each case. Together, they provide assistance to victims to ensure successful prosecution of domestic battery cases. Frequently this involves talking to victims who come into the SAO asking for a "Request for Dismissal" – a form which they must sign, listing a reason for their request.

According to the SAO Victim Advocate, this is one of the truly challenging parts of her job. When a domestic violence victim requests a dismissal from the SAO, she will have the victim come in so she can speak with her. She explains the "cycle of violence" to victims and also explains that even though they request dismissal it is the State's decision whether to go forward with a case or not. According the Jackson County State's Attorney, recanting and uncooperative victims are the major obstacle to successful prosecution of domestic battery. He said that even when there is injury sometimes "the victim falls back in love." The SAO Victim Advocate and Assistant State's Attorney also talked about this problem. The Victim Advocate said the victim often is pressured by the defendant that he'll be sent to prison for a long term, or that he'll lose his job. He promises he'll quit drinking, that he'll get counseling, or that he won't beat her again. The combination of pressures and promises from the defendant will drive the victim to request dismissal from the SAO.

An interesting, but not unexpected, finding in our research is the amount of frustration criminal justice practitioners, and also staff at the Women's Center, feel trying to help victims while at the same time being realistic about the extent to which their interventions can affect the repetitive nature of domestic violence. The advocates, especially, say that it can be hard for them

to see victims repeatedly going back to relationships with men who abuse them. On the other hand, they believe that victim advocates are there *for the victim*. The problem of seeing victims go back to their abusers is most evident for the SAO Crime Victim Advocate, because the organizational goal of the SAO is successful prosecution. Prosecution may conflict not only with assisting the victim in doing what she wants to do, but also with her own safety.

Police officers also expressed frustration with the low rate of prosecution in Jackson County. At least at the Carbondale Police Department, officers are well-trained and the pro-arrest policy is generally operative. Officers say they are doing their jobs and they don't understand why cases aren't prosecuted.

While the Jackson County State's Attorney's Office has a "no-drop" policy, it is a "soft" no-drop policy – that is, it is rare for the SAO to prosecute against a victim's wishes. According to the Assistant State's Attorney, absent a victim or witness or corroborating evidence, there is often no case to take to court. Thus, the SAO must work on two fronts. First, instead of proceeding against the victim's wishes, the SAO tries to provide the services of the Crime Victim Advocate, including referrals to other agencies, to encourage the victim to work with the prosecution. Second, the SAO needs to collaborate with the police to generate better reports and evidence collection. The State's Attorney said in an interview that he was somewhat dismayed at the quality of reports and evidence collection by various police agencies in Jackson County. He was particularly critical of the domestic violence reporting form used by the CPD, which had been implemented by the former Chief, saying it made police officers lazy (i.e., they provided incomplete narratives) and that the "checklist" items on the form made it a defense attorney's dream (i.e., if an officer failed check-off certain items, the case look weak).

The SAO Crime Victim Advocate had some ideas about improving victim cooperation with the State's Attorney's Office. She suggested that enhanced police training, especially in areas of Jackson County outside of Carbondale, would help with victims because victims were more likely to cooperate with the system if they thought the police cared about their cases. Second, she suggested that getting the Women's Center Follow-up Advocate involved in the job earlier in the criminal justice process might help by providing more support.

Summary and Conclusions

Unlike advocacy situations in large metropolitan areas, the network of victim advocates in Jackson County is readily defined and is a small enough group that they know each other and meet fairly regularly on formal and informal bases. They telephone each other frequently with questions or with information, and for the most part, are not reluctant to refer potential victims of domestic to other agencies whose advocates would better meet their needs. The victim advocates we have worked with in this research are, to a person, knowledgeable, dedicated, and hard working.

A recurring theme in discussions of victim's advocacy and the victim's rights movement generally is whether victim services within criminal justice agencies are there to help victims or whether they are there to meet organizational mandates (to arrest, to prosecute). In Jackson County, while the advocates at the Women's Center contend they are the only truly victim-centered advocates, law enforcement and prosecution victim advocates do not agree. Instead, they see themselves working within a system of organizational goals, either law enforcement or prosecution, to promote victim safety and well-being and to prevent repeat violence. They say they are there for the victim, whatever the victim needs or wants, even if this interferes with the

goals of their agencies to arrest and prosecute. For example, if the Victim Advocate and the Assistant State's Attorney have solid reason to believe that prosecution will put the victim in serious danger, they are unlikely to proceed with the case. Putting the victim first is also what the CPD Victim Advocate does when she refers cases to the Women's Center if the victim does not want the police involved.

The confidentiality requirements at the Women's Center do create a rift between this agency and the police and prosecution. Referring to the Women's Center's unique position, an advocate external to the Center said that this put them "out of the loop" in criminal justice processing. The CPD and SAO Advocates don't want to "lose" victims by not being able to find out the results of their referrals to the Women's Center. Our interviews suggested that underlying the generally good cooperation among the advocates there were tensions and perhaps even competition in victim advocacy.

Beyond these on-going interagency problems, a significant problem and challenge to the Steering Committee is the lack of clients for the Follow-up Advocate at the Women's Center. Are there too many advocates in different agencies in the county, or is it the job definition? Is it the organizational location of the Follow-up Advocate, or the fact that she doesn't get involved in cases early enough? Or, could it be true that most women don't need or don't want additional help?

Other gaps in services have been identified. Steering Committee members believe that the Sheriff's Department truly needs a full time advocate (this will be discussed in Chapter 7). The CPD Advocate mentioned the need for a advocate specifically to work with juveniles. Finally, the SAO notes that the Women's Center should provide services to men.

Lessons Learned

1. Victim advocacy services are a critical component of coordinated community responses to domestic violence. Advocates are not only uniquely situated to understand the needs of the victim, they are critical to the overall project goal of victim safety.
2. Advocacy works best, as in Jackson County, when victim advocates in criminal justice and non-criminal justice agencies communicate regularly and coordinate their activities.
3. Matters of client confidentiality must be negotiated carefully and each agency providing advocacy services must be aware of the confidentiality requirements of other agencies. Agencies need to find creative ways, such as the creation of "limited waivers" to allow for the sharing of specific client information. The sharing of limited information by a private, not-for-profit agency with the criminal justice system may not be problematic for some victims if they know that the purpose is to enhance criminal justice processing.
4. Follow-Up advocacy may be an important component of a coordinated community response to domestic violence, but the advocate's job description must be negotiated carefully and clearly with all agencies so that the advocate can get involved earlier in the criminal justice process and can provide assistance to victims who choose not to cooperate with law enforcement or prosecution.
5. The coordinating council is potentially a useful forum for addressing inter-agency issues related to victim advocacy.

Chapter 4: The Domestic Violence Clinic

Introduction

The Domestic Violence Clinic Program at the Southern Illinois University School of Law Legal Clinic (the DV Clinic) was created to make attorneys available for victims who would otherwise go unrepresented, and thus enhance the likelihood of success in attaining plenary orders of protection. Without representation, many victims refuse to go forward with a plenary hearing and are reluctant to divorce spouses because of a fear that the abuser will be represented and overwhelm them in court. Many victims cannot afford to retain private counsel, and local legal service providers cannot represent every case that arises out of abuse ("Grants to encourage," 1998).

The DV Clinic also serves to educate law students in domestic violence issues and provide them with hands on legal experience. To reach the educational goals of the DV Clinic Program, an attorney provides classes that cover domestic violence and family law substantive areas that might be encountered, including orders of protection, divorce, and child custody. The classes present all aspects of domestic violence through presentations by the professor, local victim advocates, police officers, and others involved in prosecuting domestic violence cases. The students are responsible for actual cases with the close supervision of an attorney. Students present their cases in court, and the supervising attorney is present at all court proceedings.

This chapter examines several issues surrounding the DV Clinic: how it operates, who its clients are, and how it functions to educate future lawyers and provide them with experiences that cannot be found in normal classroom settings. Because the DV Clinic is part of an

interagency effort, this chapter also describes how it fits with the other agencies involved. First, it is important to discuss issues surrounding orders of protection, such as the different types, available remedies, and effectiveness, and to discuss domestic violence clinics and their role in legal education.

Orders of Protection in Illinois

In Illinois, an order of protection serves to relieve individuals of domestic violence in either civil or criminal court by placing legal conditions on the respondent, either through forbidding certain acts or requiring others. The available remedies will be discussed later. Those eligible for these orders include: any person abused by a family or household member, any high-risk adult with disabilities who is abused, neglected, or exploited by a family or household member, any minor or dependent adult in the care of such a person, or any person residing or employed at a private home or public shelter which is housing an abused family or household member (Illinois Domestic Violence Act of 1986). A petition for an order of protection may be filed only by a person who has been abused by a family or household member or by any person on behalf of a minor or adult who has been abused by a family or household member and who cannot file the petition because of health, age, disability, or inaccessibility, or by a person on behalf of a high-risk adult with disabilities who has been abused, neglected, or exploited by a family or household member (IDVA, 1986).

The IDVA states that any proceedings involving an order of protection must be governed by the rules of civil procedure, whether it is commenced alone or along with a civil or criminal proceeding. This Act also allows domestic abuse advocates to accompany the victim and confer with the victim in all circuit court proceedings and criminal proceedings in circuit courts (IDVA,

1986). Advocates are also allowed to assist victims in preparing petitions for orders of protection, but they are not allowed to engage in unauthorized practice of law when providing any assistance.

Illinois includes many types of remedies under orders of protection. The remedies available include: prohibition of abuse, neglect, or exploitation; grant of exclusive possession of a residence; order to stay away from those protected by the order; counseling, physical care and possession of a minor child; temporary legal custody; visitation; removal or concealment of minor child; order to appear in court; possession of personal property; protection of property; order for payment of support; order for payment of losses; prohibition of entry to residence or household while under the influence of drugs or alcohol; prohibition of firearm possession; prohibition of access to records; order for payment of shelter services, and order for injunctive relief (IDVA, 1986). All of these remedies will not be present in every order or protection; the remedies chosen in each case will depend on that particular situation.

Victims can request one of three different types of protection orders in Illinois; these are the emergency order of protection, the 30-day interim order of protection, and the plenary order of protection. Emergency orders are used when the harm that the protection order is intended to prevent would be likely to occur if the respondent were given prior notice (IDVA, 1986). They are effective for 14 to 21 days but may be extended beyond this time frame. Emergency orders may not include counseling, legal custody, payment of support or monetary compensation remedies (IDVA, 1986).

Interim orders of protection are issued if the petitioner has served notice of the hearing for that order on respondent (IDVA, 1986). This order also may not include counseling, legal

custody, payment of support or monetary compensation remedies unless the respondent has filed a general appearance or has been personally served. Interim orders of protection are effective for up to 30 days but can be extended one or more times.

The plenary order of protection is the third type of protection order and is valid for a fixed period of time, with a maximum time of two years (IDVA, 1986). The respondent of a plenary order must be notified of the petition. The respondent can then either appear and explain his situation or he can not appear, which admits his guilt. There are no limitations to remedies in plenary orders of protection, unlike the other two types of protection orders.

Finn and Colson (1990) suggest that civil protection orders can provide immediate relief to domestic violence victims. Despite this assertion, newer findings suggest that civil restraining orders do not adequately protect women from future abuse (Klein, 1996). Klein's research found that the reabuse rate does not differ for those victims who followed through with protection orders and those who dropped. This study also discovered that nearly half of the batterers in the study reabused their victims within two years of the order (Klein, 1996).

Keilitz, Hannaford, and Efke (1997) found that, although abusers usually violate protection orders in some manner, physical and psychological abuse is deterred by the order. Keilitz et al. (1997) also found that temporary orders can be effective even if the petitioner does not attempt to obtain a permanent protection order. The most common reason victims stated for not returning for the permanent order was that the abuse ceased (Keilitz et al., 1997). Harrell and Smith (1996) came to different conclusions and reported that less than half of the victims they studied believed that the abuser thought he had to obey the temporary order. Severe violence, physical violence, or property damage occurred as often for those victims with permanent orders

as those without (Harrell and Smith, 1996).

Although there are mixed conclusions about the effectiveness of orders of protection, they appear to help some women in some ways. Keilitz et al. (1997) found that, although abusers with a history of violent crime are more likely to reoffend after the order, their victims are more likely than others to report that the protection orders improved their self-esteem and feelings of security. Harrell and Smith (1996) found that physical violence continues to occur after protection orders, but psychological abuse is significantly reduced. Klein (1996) concluded that civil protection orders do not adequately protect women from further abuse, but they can be used better in conjunction with vigorous prosecution more severe punishment of abusers.

The Roles of Domestic Violence Legal Clinics

Experience in a domestic violence legal clinic can help students develop practical and substantive legal skills (United States Department of Justice, 1997). An entire domestic violence case can be handled from beginning to end during a semester-long course. Even these short-term cases require students to develop lawyering skills through interviewing clients and witnesses, constructing a theory of the case, and drafting petitions, which may include detailed motions or legal briefs. The students may also negotiate with opposing parties or counsel about the civil protection orders (USDJ, 1997). The students may then represent clients in civil protection order hearings. Many duties may accompany representing a client in court, including: preparing witnesses, presenting opening and closing statements, introducing evidence, conducting direct and cross examinations, and making objections. These skills are also useful in other areas of law.

Students in a domestic violence clinic are given the opportunity to develop professional responsibility and case management skills. The students may face ethical decisions if they are ordered to disclose information by the court when the disclosed information might jeopardize their client. Case management skills are also necessary when dealing with domestic violence issues because one client may request representation in a range of interwoven cases, such as: civil protection order, divorce, child support, criminal case against batterer, immigration where the abuser threatened to have client deported, or bankruptcy resulting from abuser's control over the finances (USDJ, 1997).

Domestic violence clinical programs can also provide direct services to victims while enhancing the students' skills. There are more than 50 law schools that currently have some form of domestic violence clinic (USDJ, 1997). Most of the domestic violence clinical programs teach students to represent clients in civil order of protection hearings. Clinics that focus on protection orders train students in many areas, such as interviewing clients, investigating cases, writing motions, preparing witnesses, counseling clients, negotiating with the opposing side, and practicing in the courtroom (USDJ, 1997).

Domestic violence victims often face a variety of legal problems arising out of the abuse. Many victims require legal representation in custody or divorce cases. Other victims may be facing eviction from their homes as a result of landlord-tenant or other housing problems that stem from the violence. Destitution is another problem many victims must deal with because the batterers have deprived them of economic resources by controlling their wages or ending their public assistance. Clinical programs provide a means to help victims in a variety of legal cases and expose students to different areas of substantive law (USDJ, 1997).

The American Bar Association (ABA, 2000) advises that all law students should be trained in the area of domestic violence. Law students should learn to conduct safety planning with domestic violence victims because the danger of violence increases when the victim tries to leave the batterer. Seeking legal help may threaten the batterer's sense of control and thus endanger the client. Lawyers who represent domestic violence victims who are attempting to leave the batterer must inform their client of the possibility of escalated violence and help the client develop safety plans.

The ABA (2000) also states that all law students should be taught to screen for evidence of domestic violence. These screening skills are especially critical for those dealing with family or criminal law clinics. Knowing how to screen for abuse can make a significant difference to the professionalism of all students. Teaching screening does more than introduce students to a specialized subject; it provides an example of interviewing techniques necessary for "issue-spotting", which few students practice during law school. Domestic violence clinics and teaching domestic violence in law schools provide important opportunities and experiences for law students and domestic violence victims

Research Methods

This chapter investigates several research questions about the Domestic Violence Clinic at the Southern Illinois University-Carbondale School of Law, including: What does the DV Clinic do and how does it operate? What is the DV Clinic's role in legal education? What are the potential gaps in the DV Clinic's services? And what is the DV Clinic's relationship to other local advocates and agencies? A variety of data collection techniques were used to address these questions: interviews, observations, and examination of DV Clinic records.

A member of the research team interviewed the three students who worked with the DV Clinic during the 2000 Summer semester. The researcher also attended Summer 2000 class sessions and staff meetings. The researcher interviewed all of the willing students enrolled in the course for the 2000 Fall semester (n = 6) but did not observe the class sessions. There were a total of 17 face-to-face, one-on-one interviews which were tape recorded. Each student signed an informed consent form before the interview.

The interviews were semi-structured and contained open-ended questions, including but not limited to the following: Why did you decide to work for the DV Clinic? Why did you choose the DV Clinic over the other options, what type of activities did you engage in? With what activities did you spend most of your time? Did you provide any extralegal support? What do you expect to gain from clinic experience? How do you think your experience will affect your future goals? How many clients did you handle during the semester? What were the outcomes of your cases? What is the process a client goes through beginning with intake? When do most clients drop out? Did the experience meet your expectations?

The researcher interviewed the first DV Clinic Director, who oversaw this program from its onset until July, 2000, and the current DV Clinic Director, who took over the position in September, 2000. These interviews were semi-structured and consisted of mainly open-ended questions. The questions focused on how the DV Clinic functions, what potential problems exist for the DV Clinic, and how the DV Clinic works with other local agencies. Unless there is a substantive reason for differentiation, the interviews with both Directors are merged and discussed together.

Staff meetings, classroom sessions, and court sessions were observed. The researcher sat in on several staff meetings during the 2000 Summer semester. During these once-a-week meetings, students discussed what was going on in each of their cases and asked for help or advice when necessary. Classroom sessions for the 2000 Spring semester and the 2000 Summer semester were also observed. The professor who taught these courses provided the students with substantive law issues that they might encounter. The researcher also observed ten court sessions where the students represented their clients during the 2000 Summer semester and the 2000 Fall semester. All these cases were in the Jackson County Courthouse and took place between July 11, 2000, and November 17, 2000.

The researcher then examined some of the DV Clinic records for information on client demographics and case outcomes. These forms consisted of two sheets – one filled out when the case was opened and the other was filled out when the case was closed. The sheets were used for all of the clinics in the School of Law and were not specific to the DV Clinic. The sheet filled out by the law students at the opening of the case included information such as age, sex, race, and residence. The law students had to check boxes on the second sheet regarding the results of the case (whether the goal was attained or not).

Cases which were opened and closed between January 1, 1999, and July 31, 2000, with a total of 109 forms, were then analyzed. This number includes all cases that were opened by the DV Clinic, even those that did not lead to some form of representation by the DV Clinic. There is a problem with missing values in some of these data. Not all of the law students filled out the forms completely, and the forms were not all filled out in the same manner. When examining different variables, cases that had that information missing were excluded. Because of this, each

variable has a different number of total cases, ranging from 83 to 107.

This was a problem for the variable "type of case". This particular item required the writing of a code that corresponded with the type of case. Although a numeric code was found on most of the forms, there were incidents where a word or abbreviation was written that did not correspond to the code sheet. The researcher created a new category for these incidents, "other". This happened in 12 of the 109 forms examined. In addition to these 12 unknown case types, nine of the forms were left blank.

Results

DV Clinic Overview

The DV Clinic is part of the Southern Illinois University School of Law Legal Clinic. The Legal Clinic includes the DV Clinic, the Alternative Dispute Resolution (ADR) Clinic, the Legal Clinic for the Elderly, the Agriculture Mediation Clinic, and the Self Help Legal Center Program. The employees of the DV Clinic include one attorney (the DV Clinic Director and also the professor of the course), one paid quarter-time law student, four to six law students each term, and a part-time secretary. The law students may choose to enroll in the DV Clinic but are not required to do so. The students are required to work 140 hours to receive three hours of course credit and may earn up to six hours of credit.

The paid student and the for-credit students perform similar tasks, except that the paid student has some additional, primarily administrative, duties. The Director's job includes closely supervising each student's cases. She is ultimately responsible for what transpires in the cases. The purpose of the program is to "provide representation to victims of domestic violence in plenary hearings and to the extent possible in the family law legal matters which often follow

these instances of abuse" ("Grants to Encourage", 1998, Appendix A).

What the DV Clinic Does and How It Operates

Class Sessions

The classroom session portion of the DV Clinic is run in a fashion similar to most school courses. The DV Clinic Director lectured and led classroom discussion. During the Spring 2000 and Fall 2000 semesters, speakers from various agencies and organizations also came in to discuss domestic violence from their perspective. The class topics included things such as: a historical perspective on domestic violence, the Illinois Domestic Violence Act, orders of protection, the Illinois Marriage and Dissolution of Marriage Act, and community responses to domestic violence.

The speakers vary each semester but have included some of the following: a local judge, police officers, various victim advocates, and an SIU professor who studies domestic violence. The current Director kept this format the same for Fall 2000, but added a few speakers in spring 2001, including a domestic violence survivor, a professor from International Programs, and a probation officer.

Staff Meetings

Staff meetings were held once a week for about an hour. During this time the students and the professor discussed progress and problems in the students' individual cases. Each student brought his/her case files and updated the group as to what had transpired since the last meeting. A large portion of the meeting time was used to keep everyone informed about ongoing cases. Time was also spent problem-solving. If a student had a problem and was uncertain how to proceed, the question was sometimes posed to the group for suggestions. When this occurred,

the Director tended to provide the response, but students added input occasionally. For example, one student had a case that originated in another state, and she was unsure how to proceed and who to contact in the other state. Because none of the other students had handled protection orders involving more than one state, the Director guided the student as to how to proceed.

Court Sessions

Observations of court sessions for orders of protection were important to identify how the students handled the cases in a real situation and how they interacted with the client and the court. The cases observed were fairly simple and straightforward. Generally, the law student spoke with the judge and questioned the petitioner and any witnesses if they were present. After this the judge made the decision to grant or deny the order. Most of the cases ran this quickly and smoothly, but the exceptions are discussed below.

The students usually did most of the talking, but the Director spoke up in certain situations. In one case the judge said she was in a hurry, so the Director took over the questioning to expedite the hearing. The Director also stepped in when a victim had difficulty talking because she was upset. Because the professor had more experience in these situations, she helped keep the petitioner on track.

The respondent was present in only two of the ten cases. In one of these cases, the law student spoke with the respondent in the courtroom while another hearing was taking place. The respondent agreed to certain terms in the order before the case was called. Because the petitioner accepted these terms, the judge did not have to hear the case. The order was entered with the agreed upon conditions. In the other case, the respondent plead innocent and represented himself. The law student questioned the petitioner and a witness, after which the Director asked

a few questions for clarification. The judge then granted the interim order of protection.

In two of the observed cases, the respondent had not been served notice of the order. Until the respondent is served, a plenary order of protection cannot be granted. In these two incidents, the law students asked for a new hearing date and an extension of the existing emergency or interim order. There was also one case in which the client did not come to the hearing. The respondent had also not been served, so the judge granted an interim order.

Students' Perspective

All of the students specified engaging in many activities including research, client interviews, and court appearances. More specifically, they mentioned drafting protection orders, drafting questions for direct examination, writing letters, and telephone contacts with clients, prosecutors, law enforcement personnel, and others.

The students answered differently about whether they felt that any of their work goes beyond legal work and services. One noted that she tries to educate people outside of the DV Clinic about domestic violence and does as much as she can for clients by contacting many different types of people and trying to allocate different resources. Another mentioned providing services such as helping clients gain access to cell phones through the Carbondale Women's Center. Several mentioned the necessity of dealing with clients' emotions: "They are very shaken. You have to calm them down a little bit before you understand what they are trying to tell you because you can tell they are not thinking clearly."

Most of the students handled about 15 to 20 clients throughout the semester but worked actively on only two or three at a time.

The students generally thought they had been successful with their clients. Many cases were settled through an agreement between the petitioner and respondent. Often, respondents did not show up at the hearing, so the petitioner most likely got the order. Even when respondents did come to the hearings, they often came to an agreement before the hearing began. One student claimed that many times both parties hate each other and do not want to see each other, so the respondent does not mind agreeing to an order.

Although the students felt that the outcomes of their closed cases were fairly successful, they noted that they could not provide services to all clients. Most of the students mentioned divorce as an issue. Because the DV Clinic cannot handle divorce cases, they generally referred clients involved in a divorce elsewhere to have the protection order dealt with along with the divorce. Other cases were referred because they did not involve domestic violence. The majority of cases referred go to Land of Lincoln Legal Assistance Foundation Inc., but some are referred to private attorneys. These problems and Land of Lincoln will be discussed in more detail later.

The students also described the process that clients go through, starting with their first contact with the DV Clinic. Their responses were similar, but some contained more detail than others. The client begins by contacting the DV Clinic, usually by phone. Many of the clients already have an emergency order when they make first contact. During this first call, the Director takes notes and tries to determine if the DV Clinic can provide services to the individual, but does not usually make that decision yet. The Director writes up notes and gives them to the student assigned to the case. The student then completes an intake form from the Director's notes.

The individual is then contacted to come in for an interview with both the student taking the case and the Director. After the interview, the potential client is called and told whether the DV Clinic is taking the case or not. Some of the individuals do not have an emergency order. As one student noted, "if it is something that we don't think we can help them with quick enough, we will send them to the Women's Center and have them come back to us." If the client has an emergency order or does not need one, then the student drafts the petition for the order, drafts the order, and mails it to the court.

At this point, a court date is usually set. Before going to court, the client must come back in to the DV Clinic to be prepared for the hearing. This preparation includes going over questions that might be asked by the student, the judge, or the respondent or his attorney, and explaining the process and what the client can expect to happen. Issues involving proper attire and necessary documents are also discussed with the client before going to court. On the trial day, the student and Director will both be present and meet with the client before the trial starts. After discussing any final issues with the client, they proceed to the courtroom.

The follow-up after court depends on the outcome and the type of order. If the client obtained an emergency order, she is told by the student to come back to the DV Clinic to obtain the plenary order. During this time, the respondent must be served notice. If the client successfully obtains a plenary order, the case is kept open for a while. The student then monitors the case to ensure that everything is going fine; if so, the case is closed.

Perspective of the DV Clinic Directors

According to the Directors, the students do most of the work at the DV Clinic. This work mainly consists of trying to obtain orders of protection for abused women. Eight students is the

maximum number that the Directors feel is manageable each semester. Because the Director must supervise each student and hold ultimate responsibility for each case, more than eight students would cause problems. There is not a limit to the number of cases the DV Clinic can handle at a time because each case is different. Some cases can be handled quite quickly while others can extend for months.

The DV Clinic does not charge a fee, and there is no strict income test. The Clinic does not agree to represent the client until a conflict of interest check is made. The conflict of interest check includes determining whether the Legal Clinic has ever represented the respondent before. If so, they cannot take the case. This does not occur frequently, and the Directors feel that most cases are worth pursuing. The Directors also stated that the respondents normally do not have representation in protection order cases. The students generally settle the cases in one hearing.

DV Clinic Form Data

The data analyzed here include 109 cases handled by the DV Clinic between January 1, 1999, and July 31, 2000. Although there are 109 total cases, some cases were dropped from analysis due to missing information. The total number of cases examined for each variable is included in the tables. The analysis includes the ethnicity, age, and city and county of residence of the DV Clinic clients, the types of cases handled by the DV Clinic, and the reason for closure and outcome of these cases.

The majority (84 percent) of the DV Clinic clients are White. African American women (12 percent) also access the DV Clinic's services, but there are few Hispanic and Asian clients. Most (77 percent) of the clients are under the age of 40, with the age group of 22 to 27 being the largest at nearly 30 percent. Only three (3 percent) of the clients were men. Most (97 percent) of

the clients speak English.

The DV Clinic is funded to serve Jackson and Williamson Counties. A majority 75 percent) of the clients reside in Jackson County, with the largest percent from the city of Carbondale. Williamson County (17 percent) is also represented along with several surrounding counties. Carbondale (40 percent) and Murphysboro (17 percent), both in Jackson County, are the primary cities of residence of victims. Marion and Herrin, both located in Williamson County, each accounted for a little more than 6 percent of the DV Clinic's clients. Eighteen other cities and towns accounted for the remaining clients.

Carbondale is the largest city in Jackson County and is home to Southern Illinois University and the DV Clinic. Carbondale residents have easy access to the DV Clinic and transportation is most likely not a problem. Murphysboro is smaller than Carbondale, but is located only six miles away. Marion and Herrin, both located in Williamson County, are further from Carbondale than is Murphysboro (at least 15 miles), but their residents have access to DV Clinic's services. The other towns contributing clients are significantly smaller than Carbondale and are more rural.

Jackson and Williamson Counties, which contain over 90 percent of the DV Clinic clients, have populations that are 40 and 43 percent rural, respectively. The surrounding counties are even more rural, with rural population percentages up to 100 percent in the case of Johnson County. It is important to mention this because clients from rural areas can face unique service barriers (Clark, Burt, Schulte, & Maguire, 1996). Batterers often isolate their partners as a means of maintaining power and control, but this is magnified for rural victims due to the added geographical isolation ("Problems", 2000). Other problems rural battered women face are: lack

of public transportation, availability of hunting weapons for abusers, intimidation of seeking help in larger cities, and extended response time for police and medical services ("Problems", 2000). These rural towns also do not have the same support services that larger areas can offer. Rural abused women have special needs and problems that require attention. Because these areas do not have their own services, it is important that they have access to the DV Clinic services. Although each rural town did not have many DV Clinic clients, when combined these towns accounted for nearly 30 percent of the Clinic's clients.

The DV Clinic handles cases that involve some sort of domestic violence problem, but victims of domestic violence can encounter a wide range of legal problems, and less than half (40 percent) of the Clinic's cases from 1/1/99 through 7/31/00 dealt specifically with spouse abuse. Other family law issues comprise a substantial share (about another 40 percent) of the Clinic's cases, although the Clinic's intake forms do not provide a breakdown of the specific areas of family law at issue, other than custody and visitation cases (7 percent of the total cases). There are a few other types of cases that have been handled by the DV Clinic, including: wage claims; neglected, abused, or dependent juveniles, and individual rights dealing with mental health.

The DV Clinic records include information on the reason for case closure and the results of the case. As shown in Table 4.1, the most common reason that cases ended was because the client withdrew or did not return (21.6%). This was followed by closure due to a court decision (19.6 percent of the cases). It is also important to note that in less than three percent of the cases the DV Clinic found that it had insufficient merit to proceed. It seems that most individuals who seek services from the DV Clinic have sufficient reason to do so. A majority of the cases, 67.5 percent, ended with the legal goal substantially obtained.

Exhibit 4.1

Reasons for Case Closure and Case Outcomes, 1/1/99 – 7/31/00

Variable	Number	Percent
Reason for Closure		
Advise	12	11.8%
Brief Service	7	6.9%
Referred After Assessment	8	7.8%
Insufficient Merit	3	2.9%
Client Withdrew	22	21.6%
Negotiated w/o Litigation	5	4.9%
Negotiated With Litigation	8	7.8%
Court Decision	20	19.6%
Change in Eligibility Status	1	1.0%
Referral w/o Assessment	1	1.0%
Other	15	14.7%
Total	102 ^a	100%
Outcome		
Substantially Obtained	56	67.5%
Partially Obtained	9	10.8%
Not Obtained	18	21.7%
Total	83 ^a	100%

^a Excludes cases with missing data

Not surprisingly, the reasons for case closure and the case outcomes are interrelated.

Although a full cross-tabulation of those variables is not justified because of the small number of cases, the relationship is clear in the largest of the case closure categories. Among the 14 cases closed because of client withdrawal and for which the outcome was noted, the legal goal was “not obtained” in 8 (57 percent) of the cases. In contrast, among the 19 cases closed via a court decision (and for which the outcome was recorded), the legal goal was “substantially obtained” in 18 of the cases (95 percent).

The DV Clinic's Role in Legal Education

As mentioned earlier, the class sessions that the DV Clinic law students attended were similar to standard law school courses. The students were familiarized with laws relevant to domestic violence that they might encounter when serving clients. The class speakers were used to help the students see different perspectives on domestic violence, which could then help them more fully understand the problem. For example, a Jackson County Circuit Court Judge spoke to the class about what the judge needs from the attorney to grant a protection order.

The class sessions were used to introduce students to laws and situations that they might encounter while working for the DV Clinic. Although they were taught in a manner similar to other courses, these classes were different because they were tailored more specifically to what the students were going to be doing in the DV Clinic than to general knowledge about the laws.

The staff meetings provided a time for the students to learn from each other. Because the students discussed what was happening in their cases, the other students learned how to handle situations that they might not have personally encountered. Although most of the students had similar experiences, their cases were not identical. For example, one student handled a case in which the client did not speak English. This required the use of translators. During the meetings, the students talked about the cases extensively. They discussed the situation, the client, what they had done so far, and what they planned to do to help the client obtain a favorable outcome. Although each student did not encounter every situation possible, they were able to learn through cases other than their own.

A career in family law was not an explicit goal of most of the students. They were seeking (in addition to course credit) the experience that Clinic participation offered, and many

would probably have been equally satisfied if they had participated in one of the other Law School Clinic programs. Nevertheless, all of the students reported finding the DV Clinic experience extremely valuable. One commented about the benefits of being able to see a case through from beginning to end and said, "I have clients that I have followed the whole file through, from beginning to end, which is nice because you get the experience of knowing every stage of the process. I really like it because you have multiple clients, always juggling different assignments for different people." The students' expectations of the DV Clinic were also met. They each enjoyed the experience and only wished that they could have done it longer.

One student felt that the most important thing he learned was getting over the fear of calling and talking with clients. He felt that his ability to communicate with clients improved substantially over the semester. Some other students felt that just learning all the little things that lawyers must do in the court process was helpful. As one pointed out: "Doing things like this make you see the more practical questions: where do I send this, who do I need to call, how many copies do I need to have, and certain courtroom demeanor." These are all things that the students felt cannot be learned in a classroom setting.

Potential Gaps in DV Clinic Services

The DV Clinic is unable to handle divorce cases, and many of their clients are in the process of a divorce. Because protection orders are often handled along with a divorce, the Clinic must refer people seeking those services elsewhere. One student noted that it would be "easier on them if they could get all the services in one place. It's probably a hassle to have to come here for one thing and then go somewhere else for the divorce." He thought it would be helpful if the students could handle a divorce along with a protection order. Not handling

divorces is troublesome for clients and many of the students also; they felt that they could benefit from learning how to handle divorces, and it could be done along with the order of protection.

Child custody issues also posed problems for the students. One student noted that there are, "a lot of child custody cases. We can do some of that as a temporary sort of thing, but it is very involved." Another commented on temporary services provided with child custody issues: "Whatever is temporary will happen here, and they will transfer the case to the divorce proceeding. The order will remain in effect until the divorce proceeding is over. Then whatever the divorce court decides goes."

The DV Clinic Directors also pointed to the inability of the Clinic to handle divorce cases as a problem. They said cases involving divorce must be referred, and this is generally to Land of Lincoln. The Clinic Directors also mentioned having problems with interstate orders. This occurs when states have difficulties enforcing protection orders from other states. These orders are not in the computer system, so some victims have had problems having them enforced.

The Directors discussed some difficulties getting emergency orders in Jackson County. They said there is inconsistency among the judges, and some judges disapprove of emergency orders. The purpose of an emergency order is to allow a victim to have an order in effect without the respondent being notified. This is important if notifying the respondent could cause the victim harm; some respondents might be angered by the order and seek to harm the victim. Not all judges view emergency orders this way. The Directors believed that judges view them in terms of time, not notice. The judges may view an emergency order as meaning that the event happened very recently or that the victim needs an order immediately, not that notifying the respondent could be dangerous.

Another problem noted was that the Clinic can serve only two counties, but there are several surrounding ones that could benefit from the services. Although it is apparent from the DV Clinic outcome sheets that there have been clients from other counties, expanded services could be beneficial. The current Director discussed attempting to determine which counties need and want help from the DV Clinic. Once it is determined which counties are seeking help, the Director can begin seeking alternative grant money to help fund such an expansion.

What Is the DV Clinic's Relationship to Other Advocates and Agencies?

When the students have to refer clients for legal representation, it is common to send them to Land of Lincoln. Land of Lincoln is part of a national network of legal service organizations funded by both the federal and state governments that represent people at or below the poverty line in civil matters. They provide services similar to those of a public defender but in civil rather than criminal cases. This particular agency covers the southern-most 13 counties in Illinois and employs only four attorneys. Although once Land of Lincoln starts working on a case it takes the same amount of time as it would with a private attorney, there is often a waiting list several months long before the case can be started.

It is not uncommon for students to refer clients to Land of Lincoln for legal assistance related to divorce. As one pointed out, getting a protection order can, "get the ball rolling," and lead a client to file for divorce. If this happens, the DV Clinic cannot help with any of the divorce proceedings. Clients are also referred if they want help that does not involve domestic violence. Other cases are referred to private attorneys if the individual can afford those services.

Clients are referred to the DV Clinic by the Carbondale Women's Center, victim advocates at police stations, sheriffs' departments, and the State's Attorney's Office, or by local

attorneys. The DV Clinic also refers clients to the Women's Center. The Directors stated that most of the referrals come from a victim's advocate at the Carbondale Women's Center. The Directors also noted that most of the clients already have an emergency order (which one of the referring advocates helped her obtain) before contacting the DV Clinic. The DV Clinic then helps the client get a plenary protection order. Once an order is granted, it is entered into the system at the Sheriff's Office.

Summary of Findings

1. DV Clinic represented more than 100 clients between January 1, 1999, and July 31, 2000 in cases that consist mostly of plenary protection orders
2. Domestic violence victims benefit by receiving free legal services
3. Law students benefit by gaining course credit and lawyering skills not easily obtainable in standard classroom settings
4. Evidence indicates that the DV Clinic has met its objectives and is generally successful in obtaining its goal for each case
5. Unsuccessful cases are partially explained by client behavior and case merit
6. Problems and service coverage gaps center around: client withdrawal, inability to handle divorce cases, non-domestic violence related questions, and a limited geographical service area
7. DV Clinic interacts with other agencies, including the Carbondale Women's Center, the Carbondale Police Department, the Sheriff's Department, the State's Attorney's Office, and the Land of Lincoln Legal Assistance Foundation, Inc.

Lessons Learned

1. A Domestic Violence Clinic located in a law school can be an important component of a coordinated community response to domestic violence because it can make attorneys available for victims who would otherwise go unrepresented, thus enhancing their likelihood of success in obtaining plenary orders of protection. Because it meets critical needs, such a clinic can be a great asset for all involved (community, victims, students, etc.), especially when the clinic is part of a coordinated response.
2. A Domestic Violence Clinic in a law school setting is also useful in educating law students in domestic violence issues and providing them with hands on experience.
3. It is important for Domestic Violence Clinics located in law schools to find stable sources of funding that will allow them to handle matters of divorce and child custody.

Chapter 5: The Community-Based Support Groups

Introduction

The re-funding proposal submitted by Carbondale in 1998 pointed out a need for domestic violence victim support groups: "In November 1997, a focus group of Jackson County victims/survivors identified the need for community-based victim support groups". Accordingly, the grant incorporated funding for a quarter-time counselor, based at the Carbondale Women's Center, who would "establish and facilitate three such groups in various locations in Jackson County" (1998 Proposal, p.5).

The idea of community support groups is grounded in the realization that victims of domestic violence share common life experiences stemming from abusive treatment to which they have been exposed (Barnett and LaViolette, 1993). Support groups offer women not only a sense of commonality, they also act as an educational source for women. Victims of domestic violence need to know about various forms of abuse (physical, psychological, emotional) in order to understand the significant impacts their experiences can have on themselves as well as their children (Shepard and Pence, 1999). In conjunction with the support, acknowledgment, and education that community-based support groups offer, basic decision-making and crises handling skills are offered. Essentially, support groups offer women the ability to learn self-help tactics to facilitate individual healing.

During the period of the research, the Women's Center was sponsoring one community support group, which met weekly at a local church on Monday evenings from 6-8 pm. A member of the research team conducted observations and interviews from July through

November 2000 to examine the operation of this support group from the perspectives of both the counselor/facilitator and the participants.

Methodology

Observations of the support groups were conducted weekly, from July 10, 2000, through November 27, 2000. A total of 17 support group sessions were observed. During the observation period, four group sessions were canceled because of illness or legal holidays. Each member of the support group was made aware that a researcher was attending the meetings, and members were given a consent form that was previously approved by the Southern Illinois University at Carbondale Human Subjects Committee. The consent form explained to the support group members the researcher's reason for attending the meetings and the procedures for ensuring confidentiality. Over the observation period, 15 different women participated in the support group for varying numbers of sessions. The researcher observed and recorded the members' interactions with each other and with the group facilitator, the issues that were discussed at the sessions, concerns voiced by the group members, and emotions of the members. Member attendance was recorded for each support group session.

The support group was lead by a counselor with a Master's degree in Social Work employed by the Carbondale Women's Center. Three interviews were conducted with the support group facilitator, one at the beginning of the observations and the second and third at the end of the support group observations. An additional interview was conducted with the Carbondale Police Department's victim advocate. This interview explored the services provided by the advocate and how the advocate's role relates to the Carbondale Women's Center, and the support groups in particular.

Description of the Support Groups

Attendance

Support group members' attendance was not stable over time. While the total number of different members attending is 15, some members attended group almost weekly while others attended only once. The average attendance during the observation weeks was five members, ranging from a low of two to a high of nine. The support group was open to all female community members who wished to utilize its services. However, based on the group's overall membership, attendance by community members remained low. Since an average of more than 400 charges for domestic battery are filed yearly in the county, it is apparent that only a small proportion of domestic violence victims chose to attend the community-based support groups.

Support Group Facilitation

The support group facilitator directed each group session along the same lines during the 17 observation weeks. At the beginning of each group session, the facilitator would ask the members how their past week was. This probing started conversation among the group members. Each group member would discuss details of her week and any problems that she was experiencing. This question by the group facilitator provided each member with the ability to participate in the group and interact with the other members. This technique was especially beneficial for new members who were hesitant about talking in front of the group. Being asked to discuss their past week also allowed the women to discuss experiences and issues without the facilitator having to specifically ask the members to talk about their personal experiences.

The group members typically engaged in discussion without being probed by the facilitator. The members seemed to have had specific issues that they wanted to discuss at each

group session. To help facilitate the educational component of the group, the facilitator would provide handouts to the members. The group would review the handouts and discuss any comments that the members had about them. The handouts came from the Duluth model's curriculum for support groups and contained information on how women can empower themselves and overcome their abusive relationships.

At the end of each support group session, the facilitator would ask the women to say something that they were going to do for themselves that week. The reasoning behind this technique was to help the members learn to develop and enhance themselves.

Based on the observations and interviews, it is apparent that the community-based support groups were based on the model of psychoeducational groups (Corey, 2000). The support group facilitator counseled women, helped develop and enhance their self-awareness, imparted information, and offered support. The central theme of the support groups was empowerment. The support groups were both educational and therapeutic because they were based on the theme of empowerment and were aimed at educating women about empowerment, the criminal justice system, and healthy relationships.

Group Versus Individual Counseling

Because the support group facilitator also worked as a counselor for the Women's Center, she often met with women from the support group for individual counseling sessions. Based on the interview data, there were systematic differences between the group and individual needs of the women that she counseled, provided therapy to, and educated. It was important for the facilitator to keep individual counseling separate from the support groups because everything that the women would discuss with the facilitator in one-on-one counseling sessions was confidential.

Anything that a support group member would discuss in individual sessions was up to her, and thus whether or not she wanted to share that information with the group was entirely up to her.

Based on issues that women would discuss with the facilitator during private sessions, sometimes the facilitator would prompt members to share and discuss certain issues with the members of the group. For the most part, the facilitator felt that the support group members shared a lot of information and discussed any of their issues with the other group members. This belief was based on the information that the women would share with the facilitator in individual counseling sessions versus what the women would share when in the support group. Overall, the facilitator believed that the women would discuss matters more deeply and would delve a little more into their personal issues in individual sessions than in the group setting. For example, in individual counseling sessions, the facilitator would probe more personal sexual issues (i.e., marital rape). Personal sexual issues did not come up in the support group meetings.

Key Themes Incorporated into the Support Group Sessions

The Cycle of Violence

The three stages of the cycle of violence—tension building, acute battering, and the nonviolent, honeymoon stage—are explained to the support group members. Explaining stages of the cycle of violence was considered to be part of the educational component of the support group. The support group members received a handout relating to the cycle of violence that illustrated different abusive methods used for power and control. Each group member would discuss the background of her abuse and when she did, it was apparent that all of the members had experienced the cycle of violence. More specifically, all of the group members stated that they repeatedly went through all three stages of the cycle. For example, during the observations,

the group members all stated that when their relationships were in the non-violent, honeymoon stage, their abusers would constantly bring the women flowers, cards, candy, and other gifts. The members stated that the gifts were how their abusers apologized.

Learned Helplessness

According to the facilitator, learned helplessness was characteristic for all 15 members of the support group members. As a result of their abuse, all of the members felt that when they were in their abusive situations, they did not have control. For example, during the observations, the group members often stated that they felt as if they had no choice but to deal with the abuse because that was how their relationships were always going to be. This feeling of a lack of control over their situations was the reason why the members stayed and coped with the abuse rather than trying to leave the situation. The facilitator provided a handout for the group members that illustrated how abusers control their partners.

The group members also stated that their perceptions of societal expectations were another factor that made them believe that they did not have control over their abusive situations. The members felt that by staying and coping with their abuse, they were doing what was expected of them (staying with their partners), and that the abuse was just what came along with their relationships.

Traumatic Bonding

In an interview, the facilitator stated that she believed all of the women who attended the community support groups experienced close relationships with their abusers based on the abuse that they endured and had developed traumatic bonding. The facilitator believed that traumatic bonding was partially evident in how long the women stayed in their relationships before they

decided to leave their abusive partners. During the observations, 10 of the 15 support group members stated that they stayed with their abusers for so long because they were still in love with their abusers. These same members also stated that they could not leave because they were so attached to their abusers and could not be without them. Support group members often discussed in group sessions that their decisions to leave were very difficult because they did not believe that they could survive without their partners, even though the partners were abusive. The members also stated that whenever they would think about leaving their abusers, they never felt as if it was the appropriate time for change. The facilitator stated that even though the women did not want to be abused and they wished the abuse would stop, they were still so attached to their abusers that they could not leave. Typically, the group members had very long relationships with their abusers, and they were very much still in love with the abusers, despite the abuse.

The facilitator stated that these feelings and statements made by all of the members were consistent with the concept of traumatic bonding. Thus, the facilitator would discuss the bonds that the members had with their abusers and try to educate the women on how victims of domestic violence can form bonds with their abusers. The facilitator believed that providing the women with this information aided them in their grieving process by revealing why the members felt so attached to their partners, even when they were being abused. For example, the facilitator provided the group members with a handout that described women's need to please others and how this need places other's needs in front of the needs of the women.

Choice and Battered Women Who Stay

Whether a woman decides to stay with her abuser or leave, the support group facilitator believed that by employing a theoretical perspective that relies upon empowerment, a choice

model could be a good way to address victims of domestic violence. The facilitator believed that she could propose empowerment through the choices that the support group members had made. Although the members who were still with their abusers typically did not see their decision to stay as being their choice, the facilitator would try to make the women believe that they always had a choice. For example, the facilitator would ask the group members who were still with their abusers if they felt that it was their right to decide whether to stay or to leave. The members stated that they never considered their decisions to stay as being a right that they had. When the facilitator told the members that staying in their relationships was their right if they decided that was what they wanted, the members stated that perceiving their staying as their right made them feel more in control of their lives and their relationships.

The facilitator would present the women with the information to try and make them feel as if their staying was by choice and was strictly their decisions and thus that they had the freedom to stay. For example, the facilitator provided support group members with a handout that described the rights that women have, such as making their own decisions. This perspective can be difficult to apply because even when the members who were still living with their abusers were presented with this information, this line of thinking was still something that the members had to develop and believe within themselves.

Two of the support group members had decided to stay with their abusers. These two reported that the abuse had ceased; however, they felt that other group members often thought they were wrong for deciding to stay with their partners who had abused them in the past. The facilitator observed that women who decide to stay with their abusers are often referred to as being deviant and are stigmatized for staying.

To address the stigmatization of staying with their abusers, the support group facilitator helped the women view their choice to stay as a right that they had. The facilitator explained to the group members that all of them had specific needs and rights, and they could make decisions that they felt would meet their needs. The members had the right to make their own decisions. Thus, the women had the right to stay with their abusers if they so chose. Educating the women about their needs and rights helped the group members to be empowered at the individual level. It helped the members see that they were the empowering actors who were responsible for their own decisions and had the right to make them.

Secondary Victimization

The support group facilitator believed that all 15 of the support group members experienced secondary victimization. All of the women had contact with individuals who were caregivers or service providers (e.g., doctors, law enforcement officials, prosecutors, victim advocates, and counselors). During the observations, the support group members all reported that when they sought resources, assistance, and intervention from a caregiver or a service provider, the members felt that they were refused the support and help they sought.

The facilitator stated that all of the support group members reported feelings of secondary victimization from their experiences with the legal system. All 15 of the group members never really felt as if justice had been done. This was particularly the case for those women whose abusers had been arrested or charged. Typically, after a group member's abuser had been arrested or criminally charged for domestic violence, the abuser would be out of jail the same day. The group members felt that justice was not served when, after their abusers were arrested and formally charged, they would plead to a lesser crime (i.e., disorderly conduct) or the case

would be dismissed or not prosecuted. Based on the group observations, the group members felt like they went through many long proceedings with the legal system just to have their abusers get a slap on the hand and then be back out on the street.

Because of their negative experiences with the legal system, the support group members felt that women needed to be educated more about the legal system. However, the facilitator felt that if the group members had more knowledge about the legal system and how it typically operates, such knowledge could have been a double-edged sword. The facilitator believed that even though all of the support group members did feel victimized a second time by their dealings with the legal system, although unfortunate, their involvement with the legal system probably would not have happened if the members would have known what they were getting into. Thus, the facilitator believed that the members' ignorance about the law might have been beneficial to them to a slight degree because they were more willing to go through all of the legal proceedings.

Rebuilding and Empowerment

The facilitator acknowledged that an unfortunate part of support groups for victims of domestic violence is that members often do not continue attending the groups. Consequently, many of the members' issues were not addressed. It is unknown why support group members had varied and lacking attendance. However, because of the reality of sporadic support group attendance, the facilitator stated that the first goal she had for the group was to provide the members with a lot of information about abuse, the cycle of violence, empowerment, gender equality, and the criminal justice system. The reason why information was always provided at every support group session was so that if any member did not return to the group, she would at least have a lot of information to take with her and process.

Consistent with the Duluth model's curriculum for community-based support groups, the group facilitator had new group members begin by addressing personal issues. New people who came into the group needed to have validated what they were going through and their experiences. Having the members share their stories and backgrounds helped each group member's feelings and experiences be validated and assure the members' that their situations were not uncommon. The facilitator stated that it was also very important for the group members to reassure one another that they were not crazy, and what they were experiencing was the same as what any normal person would have been experiencing in the same situation. This validation also helped the members know that they were not alone. New members needed to be supported in their decision-making and essentially needed more basic things out of the group.

Once a member had addressed her personal issues, she was ready to move on to bigger issues, such as institutional issues and societal policy issues. The Duluth curriculum emphasizes empowerment for victims of domestic violence, empowering victims at the individual/personal level first, and then moving on to empowering them through addressing broader, social issues. Based on the observations, it appeared that the majority of the group members had already addressed their personal issues and wanted to address broader, social issues.

Common Issues Articulated by Support Group Members

During the 17 observation periods, every issue, problem, and concern that support group members expressed was recorded by the researcher. Some issues were discussed repeatedly at different sessions and by large proportions of the members; these issues are covered in this section. Other issues appeared to be unique to one or two group members and were not raised as frequently. There also appeared to be a pattern to how discussions of issues evolved over time.

Issues shared by the group members and discussed repeatedly during the 17 observed sessions were: having a fearless attitude, censoring of their own true feelings, distrust of others, apprehension of people they meet, being defensive, society that does not condemn domestic violence offenders, a stigma attached to the Women's Center based on perceptions that the Center was meant to serve only women of low socioeconomic status, a lack of education about the criminal justice system (i.e., criminal and civil law, attorneys, and law enforcement officials), a lack of police training for domestic violence situations, the need for increased victim's rights, difficulty leaving their abusive relationships because of particular consequences of leaving, personal empowerment as well as empowerment through broader social and systems issues, and health care concerns.

All of the group members stated that they had developed a fearless attitude and that this attitude was the direct result of the physical, mental, and emotional abuse they had endured. Due to everything that these women had gone through, they believed that they are no longer fearful of anything that could possibly happen to them. All the support group members also felt that whenever they tried to write down their feelings and thoughts, they censored themselves and did not really express their true feelings. The majority (80 percent) of support group members believed that their censoring of feelings was due to their distrust of other people. The members believed that this lack of trust was the result of their abuse because if their loved ones could harm them, then anyone could. Thus, the women felt that if they were to truly express their feelings, there was the possibility that these thoughts could be used against them.

The majority (80 percent) of the group members stated they were apprehensive of other people they come into contact with. This apprehension was believed to be the direct result of the

members' abuse; it was also believed to be due to the lack of trust that they have. The members felt that this apprehension had a large impact on their ability to become involved in another relationship with a man; they do not believe that they will ever be able to trust someone enough to be in a relationship. Being defensive is also another characteristic that the support group members (93 percent) stated was an effect of their abuse. The women stated that being defensive went right along with their inability to trust other people now.

Almost all of the support group members (87 percent) believed that society is not very condemning of men who abuse their partners, and that most men do not feel as if they are doing anything wrong by abusing their partners. They felt that if society were more condemning, men would be more hesitant to be abusive.

A majority of the members (73 percent) believed there was a socioeconomic stigma attached to the Carbondale Women's Center Shelter. The group members felt that women who reside at the shelter are stereotyped as having a low socioeconomic status. They felt that this stigma attached to the shelter was based on the misconception that women who do not have any financial resources have nowhere but the shelter to go to, while women with financial resources have other options.

All of the support group members felt that women in general needed to be better educated about the criminal justice system, criminal and civil law, attorneys, and law enforcement. Often times, the member's felt that they did not know to whom they should have turned, what their best course of action would have been in the criminal justice system, or what legal options they had.

Almost all of the support group members (93 percent) had issues with leaving their abusive situations because of the ramifications that were attached to their departure. Women

who just leave could be accused of abandoning their husbands. The women also stated that it was often very hard to make people believe that they left because they were tired of being abused. Most people in their lives did not know that these members were enduring years of physical, emotional, and mental abuse. Therefore, it often came as a shock to others who did find out about the abuse. Sometimes when friends, family, and associates found out about the abuse, they were in disbelief.

The majority (87 percent) of group members agreed that there was a lack of police training for domestic violence calls. For example, the group felt that when police arrived at a domestic situation, they often were unable to determine who the primary aggressor was and who the actual victim was.

All of the women continuously brought up issues of empowerment over the 17 weeks of observations. The majority of the women had already received direct services to address their individual situations, and most of these women were ready to address broader systems and societal issues. The biggest societal frustrations that the group members had were with the legal system as a whole. These members (93 percent) felt that the legal system does not have the best interest of survivors of domestic violence in mind.

Based on group observations, the facilitator believed that the majority of the group members had moved past the rehashing experience of their abuse and that most of them were ready for the educational component. Those participants who had been attending the groups for a long time were more "advanced," and therefore the members, alongside the facilitator, felt they were ready to address different and broader issues. However, when the members were given the option of having two separate support groups, one group for the newer members and a second

group for the older group members, the women all agreed that it was beneficial to have just one support group that had a combination of new and old members.

Almost all of the women (93 percent) stated that they received motivation from seeing and listening to longer-term support group members who had gone through situations similar to their own. The longer-term members stated that, when they first began attending the support group, they did not feel completely isolated because when they looked around, they saw other survivors and different women who had lived through many of the same experiences. Overall, the group felt that it would be more beneficial and effective to have a mixture of longer-term and shorter-term participants. The group members also believed that, even though the longer-term participants may be into the educational component, both the educational and advocacy information would be beneficial for the newer members because the new participants would need this information later.

Another common issue among all the group members was the need for increased rights for victims of domestic violence. The group members believed they should be able to obtain copies of police evidence (i.e., photographs) when their abusers were arrested for domestic violence. The group also believed that the abuser should be made to leave the house rather than the woman having to leave and seek shelter elsewhere. Victims should not have to leave their homes in order to get away from the abuse that is being imposed on them. Also, some women have no other place to go, and their abusers will not leave, so these women end up staying with their abusers. These members felt that legislation is needed in this area so that women are not victimized a second time by having to leave their homes or by having to stay with their abuser because he is not made to leave.

Most of the support group members (73 percent) raised issues and concerns regarding health care. If abused women had health insurance that was not tied to their spouses, it would be easier for them to leave the relationship. Separate health care would also counter general issues of control and possession. On the same hand, the members felt that health care needed to be affordable for women. Many women would not be insured or able to afford insurance if they left their abusers. Also, if there were national health care, victims of domestic violence would not have to worry about being able to afford coverage.

The group members also believed that counseling should be made available for anyone who wishes to receive it. Many women could not afford the cost of counseling services, and therefore, were not able to receive it. The group also believed that there should be regulations mandating that husbands not be able to cancel their wives' insurance. Another issue the group thought needed to be addressed was doctors' reporting of domestic violence on medical records. Doctors need to realize that they are usually the first professionals that women who are being abused reach out to. Therefore, doctors should be made more aware of the signs and symptoms of domestic violence so that they know what to look for when victims come to see them. This would also help with doctor's reporting abuse in medical records so that the abuse could be traced.

Individual and Group Evolution

Assessment of the changes in the individual group members and the group itself is based primarily on interviews with the support group facilitator. All 15 of the support group members' evolution could not be gauged because of the short length of time that some of the members attended the group.

According to the facilitator, when women who joined the support group were still with their abusers, they did not stay with the support group for very long. The facilitator believed that this might be because, after hearing the experiences of the support group members who had left their abusers, the reality of the situations were too much for the women to hear. The women who were still with their abusers began to feel that they had to do something about their situations, but they simply were not ready. Therefore, according to the facilitator, the members who stayed in the group for a long time tended to be women who were separated from their abusers.

According to the group facilitator, the issues of all 15 group members had changed over the course of the sessions. When members first started attending the group, they were all in the healing and grieving stages. When the group members went through healing and grieving, they had to confront and deal with their anger, sadness, disappointments, frustrations, and pain.

The length of the healing and grieving process varied for the support group members. Based on the facilitator's experience, the group members who were involved in the legal process (e.g., divorce proceedings, custody battles) went through the grieving and healing process much longer. The extended grieving and healing process was due to the members being continuously entangled in the legal process and, thus, constantly having to deal with their abusive partners. For example, divorce proceedings are often contentious and require the members who are involved in them to endure decisions such as division of property and child custody.

The facilitator stated that grieving and healing was longer for support group members who had children and who went through child custody proceedings. The reason was that the members had to stay involved with their abusers for the sake of their children as well as having to develop and maintain general and polite parenting relationships.

The facilitator stated that the support group members who were not married to their abusers and/or who did not have children with their abusers were in a better position to break off their relationships. This allowed the members to get out of their abusive situations a lot easier, and therefore, they were able to go through the healing and grieving process much quicker.

Another variable in the length of time support group members went through the healing and grieving process depended on the member's socioeconomic status. According to the facilitator, the members of higher socioeconomic status, even though their lifestyles after they left their abusers were not what they were used to, did not have to "beat the streets" like other support group members had to (e.g., find transitional housing). Therefore, their healing and grieving process seemed to progress a little quicker because they did not have to face as much stress in trying to deal with basic necessities.

Because there were so many different variables that affected the length of the support group members' healing and grieving, the facilitator stated that she believed the members came to the point of time when they were all at very different places. Some members progressed very quickly, whereas other members were continuously dealing with some issues. This difference in progress, according to the facilitator, made for a good balance within the group.

The facilitator believed that the majority of the group members really progressed from individual level concerns to readiness for action at the societal and policy level (e.g. lobbying legislation for domestic violence victims, speaking to law school students about the needs and issues of domestic violence survivors, and educating the community about domestic violence). Interestingly, though, when it reached the point of actually engaging in empowerment activities at the societal level, the group members backed off and did not carry through. The facilitator

stated that she did not know if the empowering of members at the societal and policy level was an area in which she needed to take more of a lead or if that was something that the members needed to take on themselves. The members seemed to have wanted to start taking some action steps, but when the facilitator started talking about what those action steps might be, the facilitator turned the responsibility to act back to the members, and they did not take action. The facilitator stated that, in hindsight, she did not believe that she had facilitated the group long enough to address this issue of empowerment at the societal level effectively.

The facilitator stated that three of the long-term support group members had views that were so strong that they may have been discouraging to some of the newer members. Although these three members had been attending support group sessions for a long time, they still had many issues with trust, feeling equal to men, and anger. The facilitator believed that some of the newer members listened to these three, were aware of how long they had been dealing with these same issues, and that saw that they had not made a lot of progress; this was discouraging some of the newer members. Although the three members had made progress on some issues, there were issues that they still had a long way to go on, and their attitudes about men, trust, and anger might have hindered the progress of other members.

On the other hand, the same three long-term members made positive contributions to the group as well. When new members joined the support group, the three felt that their experiences and knowledge could help the newer members progress. The facilitator believed that this desire to help was beneficial to the other group members. Often, the three would stay after the group sessions and offer their phone numbers to members who may have needed somebody to talk to who understood the situation. Although this interaction outside of the group was contrary to

what the literature says on support groups, the facilitator did not believe that this interaction was detrimental for open groups like community support groups. With community support groups, the members have typically been isolated, and interaction with members outside of the group setting may be their only outlet or opportunity to socialize. The members had common ground, and they developed other common interests, so the facilitator did not see these other relationships as being counter-productive.

Support Groups in a Broader Context

Community-based support groups and victim advocacy are important components in the overall array of services offered to victims of domestic violence. This section discusses how support groups and victim advocacy relate to each other in this array of services by examining the connections between the support group facilitator and the Carbondale Police Department's

The support group facilitator believed that victim advocacy in Jackson County was very strong and beneficial to victims. The facilitator stated that the Carbondale Police Department's victim advocate did a good job of informing women she came into contact with about the community-based support groups and of referring victims to the Women's Center. The facilitator reported that occasionally women would come to the support groups via referral from the CPD's victim advocate.

The CPD's advocate, in her work with domestic violence victims, interacts with other advocates and community agencies. If a victim does not want to file a police report against her abuser or does not wish to involve the police, the victim is referred to a follow-up advocate at the Carbondale Women's Center. The CPD's advocate is required to make a report when a victim comes to see her and reports abuse. Referring victims to the Women's Center's keeps the CPD's

advocate out of any dealings when the victim does not want law enforcement to be involved in her situation. The Women's Center does not require the victim to make a police report in order to be eligible for assistance.

The CPD's advocate often shares information about cases with the Women's Center counselor/support group facilitator. The CPD's advocate can ask the victim to sign a release so the advocate can disclose information to the counselor. When a release has been signed, the advocate can call the counselor and tell her what had gone on with the victim. This is useful for the victim as well as the facilitator/counselor because the support group facilitator is more informed about what is going on in the group members' lives and can better help to address those issues.

This communication and networking between the advocate and counselor is considered a form of preventative action. If the victim's issues can be addressed more effectively, there is a better chance of ending the abuse. Also, because the CPD's advocate has to deal with so many individuals as well as go to court, she does not have the time to provide counseling services to victims. Therefore, it is beneficial for victims if they are referred to see a counselor and attend the community support group.

Lessons Learned

1. Community support groups for victims/survivors of domestic violence provide important services because they offer women a sense of commonality, they are source of education, and they may help in victim safety by offering self-help tactics to women.
2. While it may be difficult to establish and sustain support groups in rural locations (see Chapter 2), and while groups may be small, participants benefit from group attendance.

Chapter 6: Joint Police-Probation Patrols

The second grant proposal for Carbondale's coordinated response to domestic violence, for the period beginning 9/1/99, added several components. One of these was a joint effort by the Carbondale Police Department and the First Circuit/Jackson County Probation Office involving "weekly directed patrol activities specifically related to monitoring offenders who are subject to" no-contact court orders in DV cases. Grant funds were allocated to cover the overtime costs of the police and probation officers conducting the patrols.

Overview of the Patrols

During the late winter/early spring of 2001, the patrols were observed by one of the researchers. At that time, the patrol program had settled into the following routine. Probation identified a set of dates and times for the patrols during the upcoming month. The list of dates and times was posted in the briefing area of the Carbondale Police Department (CPD), giving police officers opportunities to volunteer for specific shifts. The probation officer arrived at the CPD about 15 minutes before the scheduled start of a shift to meet with the police officer who had signed up for that shift. The two reviewed the suspects/offenders/victims who might be visited during the shift as well as recent CPD bulletins, alerts, and incident summaries to determine if there had been recent events relevant to the individuals of interest. Then, the team departed to begin the visits in a marked CPD patrol car, unless there were no marked cars available.

To identify suspects/offenders/victims for visits, the team relied primarily on two lists. One, prepared by probation, identified offenders on probation (or conditional discharge/court

supervision) for DV or DV-related offenses; most, but not all, had no-contact orders as conditions of their probation or conditional discharge. The second list, prepared by the CPD's victim advocate, focused primarily on individuals who had been arrested for DV offenses and who had no-contact bond conditions. Both lists contained the name of the offender/accused, the name of the victim (with whom, in most cases, the offender/accused was prohibited from having contact), and some indication of address – usually the address of the victim. The list prepared by probation was used primarily for offender compliance checks, and not surprisingly, there was an emphasis on offenders who had missed probation appointments or had shown other signs of not complying. The list prepared by the CPD's victim advocate was used primarily for victim safety checks; of course, the victim safety checks generally involved indirect checks on offender compliance with no-contact bond or probation provisions.

Because the police officers on the patrols were members of the CPD, the addresses visited were mostly restricted to ones within the Carbondale city limits. The major exception to this involved a large trailer park immediately outside the city limits which was a well known "hot spot" for a variety of offenses and disturbances, including domestic incidents. This trailer park is in an unincorporated area, technically in the jurisdiction of the Jackson County Sheriff's Department. However, the volume of demand for police services generated at the location and its proximity to the city limits have helped to create a situation in which the city and county routinely cooperate in dealing with the law enforcement issues that arise at the trailer park.

The research observations took place during a 3 ½ -month time span, from late January to mid May 2001. A total of 12 patrol shifts were observed; 4 additional shifts were scheduled for observation but were canceled because of the unavailability of a Carbondale police officer.

Most of the observed shifts (8 of the 12) occurred on Friday evenings, from 6 to 9 p.m. The remaining observations involved one 3 to 6 p.m. shift on a Monday, two 4 to 6 p.m. shifts (a Tuesday and a Wednesday), and one abbreviated shift that started at 4 p.m. on a Tuesday but lasted for only a little more than an hour because of another commitment that the police officer had.

Although the observations extended across 3 ½ months, there was little variability in the people conducting the patrols. The same probation officer conducted all of the observed patrols. In the Jackson County Probation Office, two officers handle all of the DV and DV-related cases, and one of those officers volunteered for the patrol overtime duty. The 12 observed shifts involved four different Carbondale police officers. However, one of those officers conducted 9 of the observed patrols, while the other three officers conducted just one patrol each. The issue of getting police officers to volunteer for this overtime duty will be discussed in the closing section of this chapter.

Most of the observed patrols were three-hour shifts. During a typical three-hour shift, the police and probation officers visited 5 to 12 addresses, seeking to make contact with specific individuals at those addresses. Variability in the actual number of visits was related primarily to two factors: the number and length of other (non-visit) activities in which the team became involved during the shift, and how long the team spent at each visit.

The most common non-visit activity that consumed substantial time was responding to the scenes of other police calls. If a call came over the radio about a dispatch to a domestic dispute, or if some other kind of dispatch dealt with an individual or address of concern to the team (e.g., an address on one of the team's lists, an individual who was known as having a prior

history of domestic violence), the team would go to the scene and "hang back" until it was convenient to ask the responding officers about the nature of the problem. The thinking was that responding to these types of calls offered the possibility of catching offenders/suspects who were violating no-contact orders or of identifying victims who could be referred to sources of assistance. These responses were rarely productive for the team. However, there were instances in which the responses could have been productive were it not for circumstances beyond the control of the team. For example, one response was to the scene of a reported dispute (and unauthorized taking of a vehicle) between the victim and offender in an on-going case being handled by the team. The parties could not be located when the team arrived at the scene, and a considerable amount of time on the shift was spent cruising in search of the parties or the vehicle.

The amount of time spent on individual visits to victim or offender addresses during the observed shifts varied from not much more than a minute (e.g., when nobody was home or when the address information was, apparently, incorrect) to 30 minutes. Longer visits were with victims rather than offenders. During the longer visits, the victim would describe recent contacts with the offender (or relatives of the offender), ask questions about various criminal justice processes, and talk about problems she was encountering. The probation/police team offered a sympathetic ear, answered questions, gave advice, and provided referrals when appropriate. During these longer visits, it was clear from the observations that the team members showed genuine concern for and responsiveness to the victim. Discussions with the team members indicated that they viewed these victims as the ones for whom the patrol program was most relevant: ones who appreciated the attention and help the program was offering.

However, lengthy visits were not the norm, even with victims. More common was a brief conversation with a victim who would assure the team that things were going well; the probation officer would leave a business card and urge the victim to call if there were any problems, and the visit would end. Sometimes the victim would indicate that she viewed the problems with the offender as finished – they had broken off their relationship, for example – and that she preferred to not be visited by the team; the team, of course, respected the victim’s wishes in these cases.

Visits with offenders tended to be perfunctory. The probation officer would ask a few questions; offenders’ replies were usually curt, sometimes evasive. However, as the probation officer noted in an interview, the importance was in the visits themselves, not in any verbal exchanges that might occur. The visits “let them know that we are checking on them – that we might drop by at any time”. This pertains to probationers; arrestees with no-contact bond conditions were rarely contacted, at least not during the period of the observations.

Nature of the Cases Subject to Patrol Visits

The characteristics of the cases dealt with during the observed patrols reflect the great variety among DV situations as well as their ongoing and evolving natures. During the 12 shifts observed by the member of the research team, the cases involved relationships ranging from husband-wife, to boyfriend-girlfriend, to lesbian couple, to brother-sister. A substantial portion of the time on each patrol shift involved dealing with cases that were active before the observations began and were still active when the observations ended.

In this section, three ongoing, relatively long-term cases are described first. Then a sampling of more short-term cases is considered to illustrate the variability in the kinds of situations handled by the team. Finally, some common characteristics of the cases are discussed.

Long-Term Cases

Case One

The longest-running, most active case during the observation period involved a male and female who were apparently married (although this was never completely clear to the observer); they had one child together, and she was pregnant with a second. The case had been active well before the beginning of the observations. The offender was on probation, and several petitions to revoke had been filed by the probation officer – for not attending a required batterer treatment program and for missing probation appointments. During the 3 ½- month observation period, the offender was arrested on two new DV charges and a court hearing on one of the petitions to revoke his probation; the researchers also observed the revocation hearing.

This case displayed many of the factors heard in complaints by criminal justice personnel about DV cases: the victim continues to want a relationship with the offender even after repeated episodes of abuse (in this case, including one very serious episode with a weapon); the victim does not cooperate with the criminal justice system when it tries to hold the offender accountable; the offender shows little concern about the legal ramifications of his behavior because the system does not succeed in holding him accountable for his actions; the police have to respond repeatedly to conflicts between the same people because the situation never changes.

The frustration of the probation/police patrol teams with this case became very evident toward the end of the observation period. A court date had been set for a hearing on a petition to revoke the offender's probation. About a month before the hearing date, the offender was arrested for a new assault against the victim. He was unable to make bail and remained in jail during the month between the arrest and the court hearing.

During this one-month period, the patrols had frequent contact with the victim, sometimes stemming from her request that the team drop by and talk to her. However, her conversations with the team always related to ways in which the offender's situation might be alleviated. She was not defiant, and she did not express anger toward the team members or others in the criminal justice system, but she was very concerned about the possibility that the offender could be sentenced to prison at the probation revocation hearing. Not only did she believe that he would not be able to survive in prison, but she also believed that it would be beneficial for him and for their relationship if he could be free when their second child was born – which was due to occur about 2 ½ months after his impending revocation hearing. She asked the team about how to get a no-contact provision lifted so she could visit the offender at the jail; she indicated that his family was trying to raise bail money for him and inquired whether the hearing might go better for him if, when released, he started attending the batterer's treatment program (even though he had failed to attend the program when previously ordered to do so as a condition of probation). It was quite clear that the victim did not want the offender punished and that she wanted him back in their home, despite the previous DV incidents.

During all of the conversations with this victim, the patrol team members were polite and responsive to her questions. Occasionally, their body language and facial expressions would suggest skepticism about what she was saying, and they made a few, subtle suggestions to her that perhaps her faith in the offender's willingness to change was overly optimistic, given his behavior in the past. But they did not try overtly to convince her that she should support the prosecution or break off her relationship with the offender.

Out of the victim's presence, however, the team members expressed mixtures of frustration, anger, and hopelessness about the case. They were clearly hoping that the pending revocation hearing would produce a prison sentence for the offender. But no prison sentence was given. At the revocation hearing, the defense and prosecution made a joint recommendation for a re-sentencing of 180 days in jail followed by 24 months on probation with mandatory batterer's treatment. With good time credits and credit for time already served, the offender's expected release date would be in less than two months; thus, he would be free – as the victim had hoped – before the expected birth date of his second child with the victim. The judge accepted the recommendation “reluctantly” and commented about how “your father-in-law thinks a lot of you”, suggesting that the victim's family had contributed to efforts on behalf of the offender.

The outcome of the revocation hearing generated a combination of resentment and resignation from the patrol team members. Resentment was directed at both the prosecution for agreeing to make the re-sentencing recommendation and at the court for accepting it. Resignation was also evident, as the outcome seemed to solidify an underlying skepticism about whether anything could be done to improve this particular domestic situation (and perhaps others like it). As one police officer described it, the victim was “doomed” because she seemed to believe that “having a bad man is better than having no man”. The prevailing attitude was that it was time to give up on the case, to respond to it with only the required formalities. The criminal justice system had offered opportunities to the offender and assistance and support to the victim; neither had wanted to take advantage of what was offered. Thus, the feeling was that, when new DV incidents occurred with this couple – as they surely would – the criminal justice system should just respond “by the book”, without any hope of changing the situation. Because neither

the victim nor the offender was willing to change, patrol team members viewed the situation as virtually predestined to result in fatal or near-fatal injuries to the victim. But since the victim and offender were adults who had, in a sense, chosen this course, any sympathy should be reserved for their innocent children who would be caught in the situation rather than for the couple.

This case is not the typical DV case. It is extreme in terms of victim non-cooperation and offender resistance to interventions. Nevertheless, it represents the type of case that appears to have a disproportionate impact on the shaping of stereotypes about domestic violence, especially among people in the criminal justice system who deal directly with this type of case, and who experience the frustrations that are generated.

The next long-term case to be discussed involves a major contrast in terms of how the victims related to the criminal justice system.

Case Two

This case involved a boyfriend-girlfriend relationship gone sour. The difficulties predated the beginning of the observation period and had not even begun to reach a resolution by the end of the observation period. But unlike Case One, the victim in this case was anxious to have on-going intervention from the criminal justice system.

Since the patrols almost always occurred in the evening, and since the victim worked evenings, all of the observed visits with her were at her place of employment, a retail establishment. Although the victim was always pleased to be visited and always communicated with the patrol team members openly, there was a degree of awkwardness in having the probation officer, a uniformed patrol officer, and the researcher in the establishment while customers were coming and going. Thus, there was a tendency for the police officer and researcher to "hang

back” and be as inconspicuous as possible while the probation officer talked to the victim. While this probably helped to alleviate the awkwardness, it also meant that the researcher missed some of the details of the case, as they were being discussed by the victim and the probation officer.

The victim was visited, in late January, on the first patrol shift observed by the researcher. The ex-boyfriend had been harassing the victim for some time, and an order of protection was in effect. The offender, however, had filed for a court hearing to have the order of protection vacated. On this first visit, the victim described the kinds of harassment that had been occurring, which included many telephone calls and some acts of vandalism. She was quite clearly afraid of what the offender might be capable of doing. The patrol team members listened sympathetically, urged her to continue documenting each incident of harassment and notifying the police about them, and discussed the upcoming court date pertaining to the order of protection.

Subsequent visits to the victim followed much the same pattern. However, there were several occasions that departed from the routine. One incident illustrates the continuing awareness of and concern about this case among members of the patrol team. During an observed shift in early February, the team overheard a radio call about a suspect fleeing from the establishment where the victim worked. They immediately thought that the subject might be the offender who had been harassing the victim, so they responded to the scene. It turned out to be a false alarm. When the patrol team arrived, other police officers had already apprehended the subject, who was the suspect in a retail theft.

Another incident similarly reflects a high level of concern. During a later visit to the victim, she informed the team that the offender had been arrested again, but was out on bail and

was very angry. The victim appeared to be more frightened during this visit. The probation officer got a description of the offender's vehicle from the victim, and the team cruised the area around the victim's residence. The team was not only looking for the offender's vehicle, but was also surveying the area around the victim's residence – looking at ways of access and escape, lighting, hiding spots, etc. The same type of cruising around this residence was done on a subsequently observed shift as well.

As late as the end of April, the victim was still reporting additional incidents of harassment, and had filed several new complaints against the offender. The victim was visited by the patrol on the last shift that was observed, in mid-May. At that time, she reported that the offender had been arrested again, this time for threatening her, that he had posted bail, and that court dates had been set in June for two previous charges brought against the offender.

In this case, the victim always seemed pleased to have the patrol visit her; she was always openly communicative about the events related to the case; she was seeking criminal justice intervention actively. Despite the receptiveness of the victim, this case also illustrates some of the frustrations that accompany incidents stemming from intimate relationships. Here, the ability of the criminal justice system to intervene effectively was limited by the low seriousness level of the individual offenses involved and by the fact that many of them (such as repeated phone calls and minor vandalism without witnesses) were difficult to link to the suspect, in a legal sense. Aside from occasionally cruising the area around the victim's residence, the patrol team's responses to this case involved urging the victim to record and report every incident (to establish the pattern of harassment) and to utilize all available legal measures (e.g., order of protection, victim-initiated criminal complaints, and giving the victim information about things such as

criminal justice procedures and other services that she might be eligible for.

Case Three

This case had none of the drama associated with Cases One and Two. It involved an older married couple. When they were visited during the first observed patrol shift in late January, the man was on probation for a DV conviction. There had been a no-contact provision as a probation condition, but the couple went to court, jointly petitioning to have the no-contact provision removed. There had been two previous DV incidents, primarily related to the man's periodic alcohol abuse.

The probation officer on the patrol team (who was also the man's probation officer) explained that this couple is not a major problem. When he drinks, things can go awry, but when he's sober, the couple appears to get along very well. The man complies with all of his probation conditions and keeps a job. The woman is very nervous and fearful when he is away. It should be noted that the couple resides in a low-rent apartment complex that is a well-known setting for drug dealing, assaults, and a variety of other crimes, and the woman is physically small and frail; thus, the woman's nervousness and fearfulness is probably more a rational response to the context than a character trait.

The couple was visited periodically by the patrol during most of the observation period. The last visit observed was in late March, and its primary purpose was to inform the man that his case was being transferred to a different probation officer. During all of the observed visits, the man and the woman were both cooperative and friendly, engaging in quite a bit of informal conversation with the probation officer and the police officer. There were never any indications of conflict between the man and woman reemerging during the observation period.

In this case, the couple apparently has a relationship that is basically stable. Intermittent problems occur when the man drinks too much, but both parties want to maintain the relationship. When the man is not drinking, he is hard-working and does not get into other kinds of trouble, such as drug dealing or theft. The immediate challenge with this couple appears to be dealing with the man's periodic lapses into alcohol abuse. The criminal justice system has little to offer this couple, other than mandated alcohol abuse treatment as a condition of the man's probation.

The ideas of offender accountability and victim safety take on different meanings with this couple. The man accepts responsibility for his periodic outbursts; he works hard at a menial, low-paying job and willingly complies with the conditions of his probation. The woman feels safer with the man present than without his presence. Given the stresses in the life situation of this couple – very low income with few prospects for improving their economic status, and residency in a high-crime apartment complex with few housing alternatives available – it would not be surprising if they continued to experience occasional flare-ups of conflict.

Examples of Short-Term Cases

“Short-term” refers to cases that were picked up and disposed of (or simply faded away) during the observation period. They do not share common characteristics that would allow them to be discussed as a particular type of case; rather, they represent a great diversity of situations. In this section, some examples are described briefly in order to illustrate the diversity.

One of the short-term cases had characteristics similar to Case Two described in the section on long-term cases. This case was picked up by the patrols in mid April, close to the end of the observation period. It involved a boyfriend-girlfriend relationship gone bad. The woman

had broken off the relationship, but the man and members of the man's family (including his grandmother!) had threatened and harassed the woman. She had gotten a plenary order of protection, and when she was first contacted by the patrol team at the suggestion of the CPD's victim advocate, she was considering whether or not to apply for a permanent OP; she did decide to go forward, and the order was granted. During the last observed visit with this woman, she reported that the permanent OP had been granted, and that her former boyfriend and his family were very upset about it. She asked if the patrol would check by periodically for a while in case she was being harassed, but she believed the situation would be resolved very soon because she had accepted a new job and was going to be relocating to another state.

Had the woman remained in the area, this case had the potential of becoming very complicated and long-lasting, not only because the former boyfriend's family was involved but also because the victim herself had mixed feelings about using the legal (criminal and civil) processes. Several times during visits, she mentioned a reluctance to go forward (to get a permanent OP or to seek criminal charges) because she thought her former boyfriend was doing better, and she did not want to cause him more trouble. She also resisted the idea that the former boyfriend had beaten her, in the face of encouragement from someone in the local Women's Center to define the physical confrontations she had experienced as "beating". Her response was that she had previously been married to a man who did beat her, so she know what a beating was, and her experiences with the former boyfriend did not fit her definition.

Some of the other cases handled by the patrols departed from the intimate relationship pattern. In one case, the offender was a brother of the victim; in another, the female offender was a cousin of the victim. The pattern for such cases seemed to be that there was a family member

with problems: drug addiction, alcohol abuse, mental problems. There had been conflict and disruptive incidents for a long time, and eventually some more serious incident would motivate the family to call the police. In both of the observed cases, the offender had been convicted, and the disposition included some form of no-contact provision vis-a-vis the victims.

There were a surprising number of cases in which people could not be found. The addresses listed for victims or offenders occasionally turned out to be erroneous. In a few other instances, the patrol found the residence at a listed address to be vacant. In a few other cases, someone would answer the team's knock on the door and inform the team that the person being sought did not live there any longer. In some instances, these cases probably reflect transiency; Carbondale is a university town with a relatively high population turn-over rate, and people with turmoil in their lives tend to move relatively often. In some instances, people may have simply wanted to evade contact with the patrols. In other instances, the cases reflected a need for improved procedures related to recording and verifying the addresses of victims and offenders.

Another set of short-term cases consisted of victims who really did not want to have the patrols visiting them because they didn't believe the visits were necessary and/or they felt embarrassed by the visits. In one case, for example, a young woman victim was puzzled and flustered by the team's visit. An initial attempt to explain the purpose of the probation-police patrol visits elicited the response: "But I'm not on probation". After further explanations clarified the situation for her, she still made it clear that she preferred to not be a subject of the patrol team's attention.

Finally, there were short-term cases that were really long-term, but in a different sense than was used in describing long-term cases in the previous section. The three cases previously

described as long-term all involved on-going conflicts between the same individuals. The cases of interest here are ones in which one individual – an offender or a victim – is known to the criminal justice system because of earlier DV incidents with other people or because of involvement with other types of crime.

One example is a woman who had been the victim of a recent incident of DV; the offender had been arrested, and there was a no-contact bond condition in effect. After the patrol team had visited the victim to determine that the offender was abiding by the condition, both the police office and the probation officer indicated to the researcher that they knew this victim from DV incidents with other men, one of whom was serving a prison term for a very serious assault on her. The team's view seemed to be one of a "moth-to-the-flame" syndrome – that this woman was inextricably drawn to men who would do her harm.

Another example is a residence that the patrols periodically cruised by, looking for signs of trouble, but did not visit because there was no currently active case. According to patrol team members, the sons in this household were constantly in and out of trouble with the law, and periodically one or more would live there temporarily – and periodically one or more of the sons would get into arguments with their mother and beat her.

Finally, there were a number of cases in which the offender was known to local criminal justice agencies as one of the "bad guys", not because of an on-going DV problem but because he had been arrested before for other crimes and was a suspect in still others – usually someone who had been in and out of jail several times, on and off probation, and even in and out of prison.

What Do the Cases Have in Common?

Given the wide variety of relationships and situations that existed in the cases that received attention from the joint police-probation patrols, it does not seem fruitful to look for commonalities. Other than the fact that DV was present in some form, the cases represent a wide variety of different types. Perhaps the one factor that is most prevalent among the cases is low income. There were a few cases involving middle-class victims; interestingly both of the cases with non-intimate relationships (offender was a brother, a cousin) involved such victims. But the victims and offenders visited by the patrols were, for the most part, poor. They lived in public housing, in low-rent apartment complexes, in trailer parks. They were on welfare or they worked in very low-paying, unskilled positions. They were not highly educated (except for the few student cases), and thus, had very few prospects for the future. The issue of whether DV is associated with low income or more equally distributed across income levels is controversial, but there is no doubt that the cases handled by the criminal justice system involve low-income victims and offenders disproportionately.

Conclusion

The joint patrols fielded by the Carbondale Police Department and the First Circuit/Jackson County Probation Office engaged in activities consistent with the grant proposal under which they were funded. The proposal called for the patrols to engage in "activities specifically related to monitoring offenders". If this is conceived broadly within the framework of victim safety and offender accountability, then most of the patrol efforts were directed toward the specified goal.

Probationers were visited to help monitor and reinforce adherence to the conditions of their probation; much of the content of conversations with victims focused on determining the extent to which offenders posed continuing threats to the victims; most of the cruising done by the patrols consisted of surveilling for signs of problems or looking for specific offenders; when the patrols responded to other calls for service that they overheard on the police radio, they did so believing that there might be a DV incident in which their presence could be helpful.

The patrols visited victims and offenders involved in a wide range of DV incidents. Some of the situations were long-lasting and on-going; others were short-term. The kinds of relationships between the victims and offenders varied: spouses, lovers, brother-sister, cousins. The patrol teams received a variety of different responses from the victims and offenders they visited. Although most offenders tended to be evasive or quiet, some were openly cooperative. Most victims welcomed the visits by patrol teams, but others were uncomfortable with the visits, while some were clearly opposed to being visited at all.

Although the patrols are engaging in the activities for which they were designed, some problem areas did become evident during the observations. The problem areas pertain mostly to having "cold", first-time encounters with victims, some of whom would prefer to not be visited, and not being able to locate some victims and offenders because of erroneous or incomplete address information.

A full set of recommendations relating to the patrols is presented in Chapter 8.

Lessons Learned

1. Directed patrols partnering probation officers with police offices can enhance victim safety and offender accountability by monitoring offender compliance with no-contact provisions of protection orders or bond conditions.
2. Accurate address information as well as procedures to explain such a program to victims before the patrols first contact them at home (giving victims the option of not participating if they feel the contacts will create problems for them) are vital considerations for success.

Chapter 7: Program Model, Information Exchanges, and Plans for the Future

This chapter covers three separate but related topics relevant to the future of the coordinated community response to domestic violence in Jackson County. First, we examine the program model outlined by the research team that displays goals and activities of the Pro-Arrest grants in Carbondale and Jackson County. Next, we outline agency “needs and wants” for information and referrals from other agencies. The information “needs and wants” discussion is important, first, because it identifies some problems in information exchange that are likely to remain obstacles to a fully coordinated community response, and second, because it identifies aspects of interagency communication that can be enhanced. The final part of the chapter talks about plans for the future, primarily as detailed in Steering Committee discussions and outlined in the FY 01 grant proposal which will fund grant activities beginning March 1, 2002.

The Program Model

As discussed in Chapter 2, the researchers worked from grant proposals to outline specific grant activities and goals in a “program model”. We presented these to the Steering Committee and asked for feedback in March of 2000. The researchers received little feedback, and although the Steering Committee appeared interested in seeing how project goals and activities were tied together, the researchers did not receive additional clarification from agencies on various questions posed in a cover memo to the Steering Committee describing the diagrams. It is probably fair to say that for the Steering Committee, the diagrams were not immediately relevant to their work – either the researchers did not explain model well, or the practitioners in the Steering Committee were simply more interested in progress on concrete activities than an

abstract presentation of those activities. The researchers subsequently revised the two diagrams based on their own understandings of grant activities obtained from interviews and observations.

The two revised diagrams appear at the end of this chapter. Solid lines show connections that are stated or clearly implied in the grant proposals. Dashed lines show connections about which we remained uncertain after discussions with Steering Committee members. Exhibit 7.1 is labeled "Direct Services to Victims" and Exhibit 7.2 is labeled "Criminal Justice System Changes", reflecting what the researchers inferred to be the two primary program goals: (a) enhancing the ability of domestic violence victims to cope with and recover from their victimizations, while at the same time enhancing their safety, and (b) reducing the incidence of domestic violence in the community.

Exhibit 7.1 includes four types of direct services to victims: education (in the forms of a video and brochures), follow-up advocacy, community support groups, and the assistance to victims seeking Orders of Protection, as well as other assistance, provided by the DV Clinic. Those services are interpreted as attempts to address a range of problems encountered by victims: problems related to the criminal justice system, psychological problems, legal problems (non-criminal justice, civil and family law issues), financial problems, and medical problems.

Also, it is possible to interpret most of the services as being geared toward increasing the willingness of victims to participate in the criminal justice process, although this is probably a secondary, unstated goal for the service providers. Note that although the Women's Center does provide services to women who are not necessarily involved in criminal justice proceedings, as does the DV Clinic, most of the agency representatives believe victims are more likely to cooperate with the criminal justice system if the system helps them solve their problems.

Turning to Exhibit 7.2, Criminal Justice System Changes, the logic of these portions of the program is relatively clear. Most of the program activities in this realm are meant to decrease the incidence of domestic violence in the community by decreasing the recurrence of domestic violence through specific deterrence and/or incapacitation of offenders. For example, police training is clearly linked to enhanced evidence collection and an increased certainty of prosecution.

As indicated by the italicized note at the top of Exhibit 7.2, we are uncertain about the roles of the State's Attorney's office and the judiciary *in the grant funded program*, as opposed to their regular roles in the criminal justice process. Apart from brochures for victims and witnesses and an educational video, the State's Attorney's Office has not benefitted from grant monies directed towards it, but has benefitted indirectly from participation in the Steering Committee. As Chapter 2 indicates, Steering Committee members see the participation of the State's Attorney's Office as crucial in the coordinated community response to domestic violence. However, this is not spelled out in grant proposals for developing the coordinated community response. In addition, the State's Attorney's Office participation in the Steering Committee is uneven at best, as demonstrated in Chapter 2. As far as the judiciary, Chapter 2 details some of the ongoing concerns of Steering Committee with the attitudes and behaviors of specific judges. It was anticipated that activities of the DV Clinic – in terms of their presence in the court room – would help educate the judiciary. Judges were also invited to participate in training and local symposia. Project activities related to changing judicial attitudes and behaviors have never been clearly articulated by the Steering Committee.

Also in Diagram 2, it is unclear how treatment activities (at Southern Illinois Regional Social Services, or SIRSS) are linked to the goals of this particular program. While SIRSS was not a formal participant (that is, they did not sign the memorandum of understanding accompanying the grants and did not receive funding for activities other than staff training) under the first two grant proposals, SIRSS staff have routinely attended Steering Committee meetings. In addition, advocates and probation officers attend "staffings" (meetings) at SIRSS to learn of victim safety and offender behavior concerns that arise in the context of treatment. At least in this program, treatment is a component primarily through these conferences and through less formal communications with advocates about offenders in treatment. More generally, treatment would be expected to reduce recidivism, but this has not been a focus of the Pro-Arrest grants – i.e., treatment has not been funded under this grant program.

Finally, in Exhibit 7.2, there are two activities mentioned in the grant proposals but not clearly described in terms of how they are supposed to operate or what they are supposed to accomplish: community education and in-service training on the topic of officer-involved domestics. We assume that both of these are intended to change attitudes that are conducive to domestic violence offending. In Exhibit 7.2 we show three possibilities, using dashed lines: primary prevention (directed at general community attitudes), secondary prevention (directed at changing the attitudes of people at high risk of committing offenses), and tertiary prevention (directed at changing the attitudes of people already identified as offenders – a form of treatment).

As a final comment on the diagrams of the program model, the Steering Committee and important agency activities not funded through these grants provide the context in which the

grant funded activities flourish and succeed. That is, it should be apparent that not all criminal justice and non-criminal justice services for victims and offenders in Carbondale and Jackson county are funded through the Pro-Arrest monies; in fact, most are not. Steering Committee members view the grant funded activities as enhancing victim safety and offender accountability, that is, as important supplements to the existing array of agencies.

Information Exchange

In the winter of 2001 the Project Coordinator and the researchers discussed ways to get the Steering Committee focused on resolving some of their unspoken interagency difficulties. It was decided that representatives from agencies on the Steering Committee would be asked to complete forms that identified "information we want" from each of the other Steering Committee agencies. It took some time to get most agencies to complete these forms. The results were summarized by the researchers and presented to the Steering Committee in April 2001. It is important to note that a number of people from various agencies attended this meeting in anticipation of the discussion that would ensue. Notably, Gail Thomas, Assistant State's Attorney, and Theresa Miller, Victim Advocate, both attended the meeting representing the State's Attorney's Office. Representing the Women's Center were Audry Adams, Follow-up Advocate, Jen DeLuc, Coordinator of Legal Advocacy Services, and Camille Dorris, Shelter Coordinator. The DV Clinic's representative was Sarah Williamson, a law student employed by the project. Tina Brooks and Lisa Courter, Probation Officers, represented their office. Todd Sigler, from SIU Public Safety, attended the meeting, as well as Susie Toliver, Amber Floyd, and Bob Ledbetter from the Carbondale Police Department.

The DV clinic and the State's Attorney's Office did not complete the worksheets. The researchers presented the following compilation of information "needs and wants" to the Steering Committee, including information from Probation, SIRSS, the Women's Center, and the Carbondale Police Department:

"INFORMATION WE WANT" from other Steering Committee Agencies

Probation wants:

from the **Women's Center**: List of women in support groups; information on what's been done with referrals from Probation.

from the **Carbondale Police Department**: Weekly, bi-weekly, or monthly list of all DV police contact, including those contacts in which no arrest was made.

SIRSS wants:

from the **State's Attorney's Office**: 1) From the Victim Advocate to SIRSS information about the victim's abuse if the offender was referred to SIRSS; 2) To establish a better line of communication with both the Assistant State's Attorney who prosecutes domestic violence cases and the Victim Advocate in the State's Attorney's Office.

from the **DV Clinic**: Information related to active orders of protection against men currently in service.

from **Probation**: 1) The consistent inclusion of the court order with the other documents sent to SIRSS; 2) Information related to new or existing orders of protection against those in service.

from the **Women's Center**: 1) To develop a system that provides feedback to SIRSS as to when each referral made to the Women's Center receives or is sent the informational packet with resource information and information about the process of the group; 2) More timely feedback updates when issues of potential victim safety arise in group and SIRSS requests a safety check

from the **Carbondale Police Department**: Access to Victim Advocate as needed.

Women's Center wants:

from **State's Attorney's Office:** 1) Regularly updated list of cases and status of cases (weekly); 2) Explanation of why cases not prosecuted or why delayed to allow us to work with victim and help her deal with the situation.

from **SIU Dept. Public Safety:** Referrals.

from **DV Clinic:** 1) The freedom to pick up the phone and discuss issues, procedures, and concerns, not necessarily case specific; 2) The opportunity to spend time with the Clinic Director to talk about how things worked out in the past and re-evaluate for the future.

from **Probation:** 1) Requests for our take/opinion on additional conditions of probation; 2) Information on requests to revoke or other changes in probationary status; 3) When Probation checks will take place and can advocates from the WC go along.

Carbondale Police Department wants:

from **SIRSS:** Have releases so information can be exchanged.

from **Women's Center:** Need to be creative.

Several things happened during this meeting. First, a number of Steering Committee members were highly critical of the Women's Center for not sharing information on clients. As seen in the list above: Probation wanted a list of women in support groups; SIRSS wanted feedback on referrals it made to the Women's Center; and the final line of the list – the CPD wants the Women's Center to be creative – referred to the idea of innovation in finding ways to share information. In addition, the State's Attorney's Office, which did not fill out a worksheet, also wanted information from the Women's Center; specifically the SAO wanted the ability to call the staff at the Women's Center when they were trying to locate a specific victim to notify her of hearings or other legal matters. As indicated in Chapter 3 on victim advocacy, the

confidentiality of Women's Center client records is protected by law. Attorneys for the Illinois Coalition Against Domestic Violence have advised the Women's Center that this extends to a prohibition against sharing information that a specific victim had ever been or was currently a client of the Women's Center. Thus, in effect, few of the "needs and wants" for information from the Women's Center are problems that can be resolved. And while all agencies involved in the Steering Committee are aware of the confidentiality restrictions, this knowledge does not stop them from venting about the problems they encounter as a result of the restrictions. Thus, Women's Center staff took a lot of heat at this meeting, but could do little except explain one more time their policies.

Second, a separate discussion occurred between Women's Center staff and representatives from the State's Attorney's Office. As the above list shows, the Women's Center was requesting weekly updates from the SAO on the status of cases and information on why cases are not prosecuted. According to the SAO, they did not have the staff to do this kind of reporting and the Women's Center could also access the Circuit Clerk's database for case information. (Note that the Circuit Clerk's database is very limited and would not, for example, include information on why cases were not prosecuted.) The dialogue between the Women's Center staff and the SAO over the issue of how specific cases are handled is grounded in differences in organizational goals and perspectives that inevitably lead to conflict between the two agencies. The Women's Center sees one of its functions in the community as monitoring courts and prosecutors, in effect, trying to hold them publicly accountable for their behavior related to domestic violence prosecutions. The State's Attorney's Office does not believe it is accountable to the Women's Center any more than it is to the public generally; therefore it resists

the intrusion. Moreover, the agency is short staffed and not automated, so extra weekly reports are burdensome. Finally, the irksome, more general question of the State's Attorney's Office is, Why should we (SAO) give information to the Women's Center when they won't help us out?

A third result of discussions at this meeting was that staff from different agencies revealed, in a few cases, how little they understood other jobs and components of the overall coordinated community response. For example, while staff from the Women's Center were asking Probation to allow them some input into conditions of Probation, the Probation Officers explained that they had no control over this – that conditions were set by the judge, not Probation. Women's Center staff also wanted to participate in the joint CPD/Probation directed patrols, but Probation explained that this would not be a productive way for the Follow-up Advocate to make contact with potential clients.

Subsequent to this meeting, at least to date, the Steering Committee as a whole has not returned to the discussion of information exchange. Progress has been made, however, on several fronts. Most notably, a meeting was held in June 2001 at the State's Attorney's Office in Jackson County. Attending were victim advocates and Assistant State's Attorneys from Jackson County and Williamson County, as well as SIRSS and Probation. The purpose of the meeting was to have SIRSS give an overview of their partner Abuse Intervention Program (by then called PEACE Group – Promoting Equality Among Couples through Education) and other services that the SAO's, Probation, and Victim Advocates should know about. The idea was to educate agencies about how to make referrals for treatment, and what to expect. SIRSS explained to the State's Attorney's that if treatment was to be a condition of probation, the written court order should be worded in terms of "domestic violence assessment and any follow-up treatment"

instead of simply "domestic violence assessment". At this meeting SIRSS representatives also said that they received arrest and criminal history records from Probation in the course of doing their assessments. An unsolved problem, at least in Jackson County, was that some offenders delayed getting assessments at SIRSS until the end of their probationary periods, when it was too late to receive treatment, and that judges would not revoke probation for this reason.

In addition, several "side-meetings" (that is, not Steering Committee meetings, but meetings between specific agencies) have occurred to try to resolve some of the problems of information exchange noted above. For example, in May 2001 a meeting occurred between the State's Attorney and the Women's Center staff. Since the researchers did not attend these meetings, and since they were not discussed by the Steering Committee, we cannot report on the substance of these discussions, but can only report that the "side-meetings" seem to be helpful in settling matters that, for various reasons, people are reluctant to raise at the Steering Committee.

Future Grant Plans

A number of agency representatives attended a meeting in February 2001 to "brainstorm" about potential grant activities for the proposal to be submitted the next month. This is the FY 01 proposal, submitted in March 2001 by the City of Carbondale, under Grants to Encourage Arrest Policies. This was the third in the series of proposals, and would fund initiatives beginning March 1, 2002, after the continuation funding ended. The February meeting was attended by representatives of: the Women's Center (Kelly Cichy, Executive Director, Camille Dorris, Shelter Coordinator, and Audrey Adams, Follow-up Advocate); the DV Clinic (Lori Crenshaw, DV Clinic Director, and Mary Rudasill, Associate Dean); SIRSS (Barb Grear and Jim Novelli, in charge of the domestic violence assessments and the treatment group); the State's

Attorney's Office (Theresa Miller, Victim Advocate); the Jackson County Sheriff's Department (Theresa Bastein, Victim Advocate); SIU Public Safety (Todd Sigler); and the CPD (Amber Floyd, Project Coordinator).

At this grant writing meeting the Project Coordinator, Amber Floyd, presented the group with a list of potential initiatives that she had compiled from conversations with individuals in agencies. These included:

For the State's Attorney's Office: 1) one Assistant State's Attorney to help with prosecution of domestic batteries; 2) an additional full or part-time victim advocate to work strictly with domestic violence victims; and 3) a computer system for tracking cases.

For the SIU DV Clinic: 1) an attorney to handle divorce and child custody cases; 2) an attorney to handle Orders of Protection in other counties.

For the Carbondale Police Department: 1) a domestic violence unit; 2) money for overtime pay for the victim advocate to extend her hours.

For rural law enforcement training: 1) money for training materials and salaries.

Miscellaneous: 1) money for a neutral office to be used by all advocates; 2) money for an advocate to serve rural areas; and 3) money to purchase locks and contract a locksmith to change locks for victims when needed.

Discussion at the meeting centered almost entirely on these ideas. Mary Rudasill, representing the entire Clinic Program at the Law School, said that at that point the Law School had no plan to start a Family Clinic (the suggestion of an attorney for child custody and divorce cases), although she said that if grant funds were available a Family clinic would be beneficial and could probably

be done by a part-time attorney. The group consensus was that expansion of the DV Clinic to other counties, in addition to Jackson and Williamson, was an important initiative.

At the CPD, the proposal was for a domestic violence unit for all of Jackson County. The group did not discuss this initiative at length because there was insufficient information on how a domestic violence unit would work and what it would look like. The overtime pay for the crime victim advocate was seen as necessary for victims who could not come into the police department during the day.

In addition, the grant writing group talked about money for domestic violence training and training materials for rural law enforcement agencies. This would include funding for training materials, as well as trainers and overtime pay for officers to attend the training. Theresa Miller, from the SAO, said she had been in communication with many of the smaller agencies and that they were interested in training their officers in domestic violence. She also told the group that in many of the smaller departments officers worked part-time at more than one department and this would make training a little easier in terms of the total number of officers eligible,

Other initiatives discussed at this meeting were directed more to victim safety and services. These included money to help pay for changing locks for victims and new pamphlets for victims in Jackson County explaining the range of resources and contact information. Also, the victim advocates said that it would be extraordinarily helpful if the victim advocate job at the Jackson County Sheriff's Department could be expanded to a full-time job. The Sheriff's Department Victim Advocate was Theresa Bastein and she worked only 20 hours per week, in the morning hours, to go to court with victims for Orders of Protection. Theresa Miller, Victim

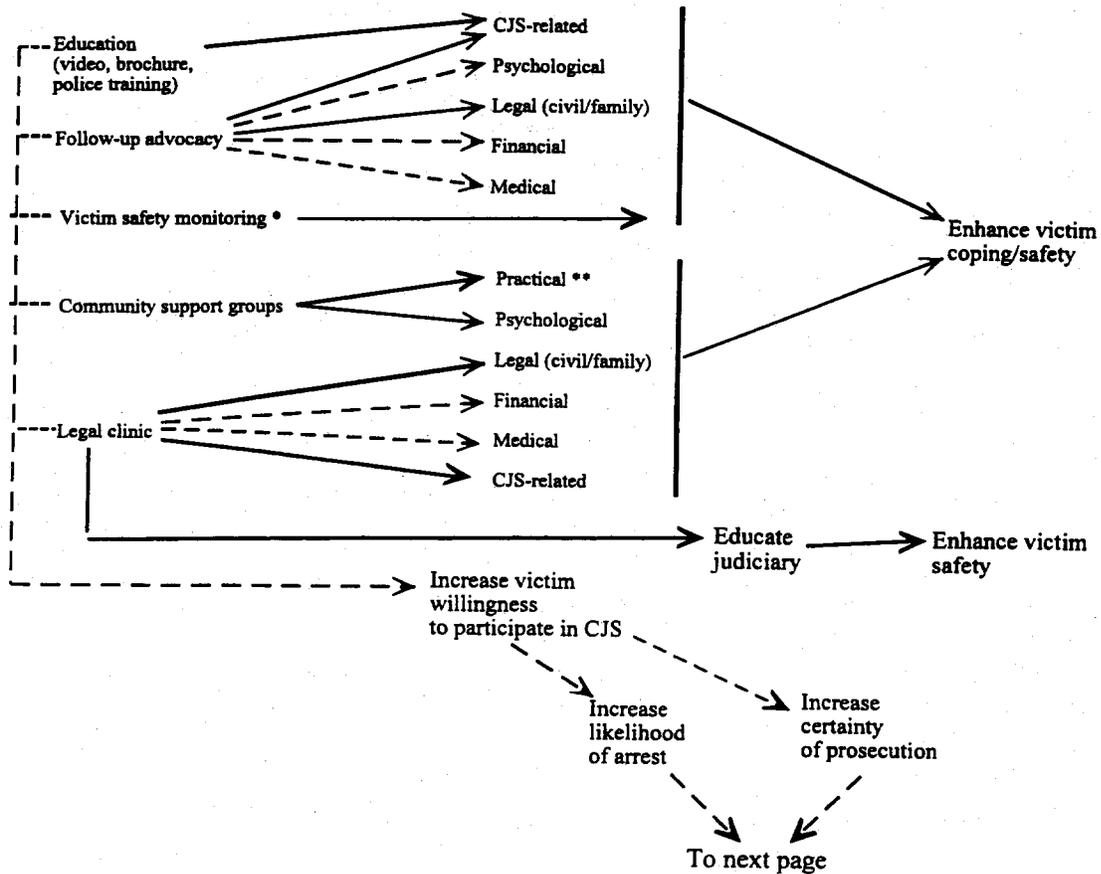
Advocate from the SAO, said that overflow from the Sheriff's Department, in terms of victims seeking help in afternoons when Bastein was not there, would usually be referred to the State's Attorney's Office, adding to her own (Miller's) workload.

The brainstorming session also included some talk about the feasibility of a Domestic Violence Court (this would need follow-up investigation and working with the judiciary). Finally, staffing needs at the State's Attorney's Office were discussed. The issue was whether grant money was needed or whether SIU law students might help (Rudasill noted that Wepsiec, State's Attorney, did not allow law students to work with the Assistant State's Attorney in charge of domestic batteries).

After the Project Coordinator received the grant application and had follow-up discussions with agencies, the activities included in the March 2001 proposal were scaled back greatly from the ideas generated and talked about at the February meeting. The grant request for \$226,357 was to continue existing services and expand others, but contained no truly new initiatives. Money was requested to continue the full-time Follow-up Advocate position at the Women's Center, but allow her to expand her services to Williamson and Franklin counties. Also for the Women's Center, the .25 percent salary for the counselor who runs the support groups was included in the proposal. Other victim advocacy funding was simply to produce an updated brochure for victims and to expand the hours of service for the victim advocate at the Carbondale Police Department. In addition, the DV Clinic at the SIU School of Law, which was already serving clients in Jackson and Williamson counties, planned to expand to Union County. Finally, grant funds were also requested to continue the CPD/Probation directed patrols, for training, and for data collection by the CPD.

Exhibit 7.1: Direct Services to Victims

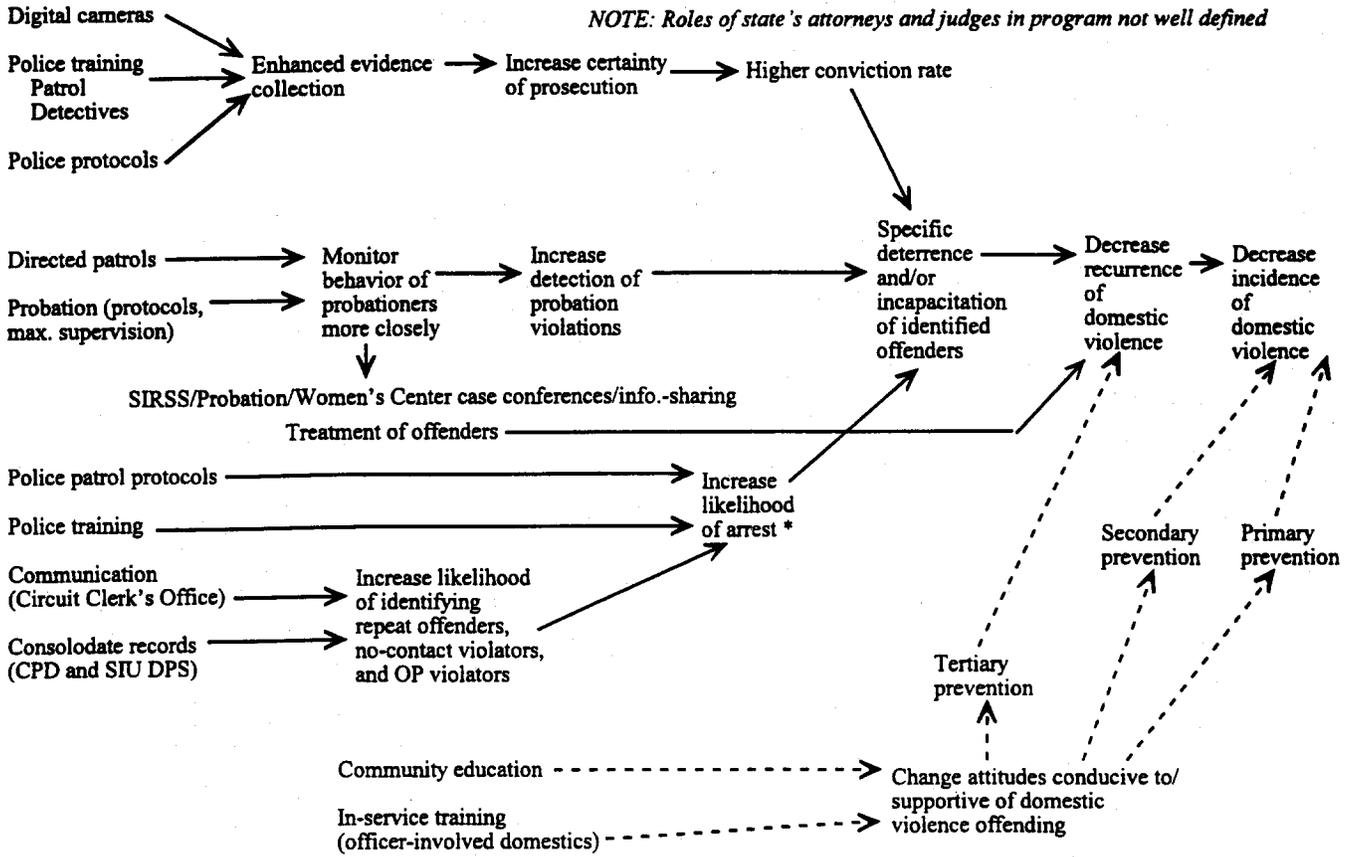
Dealing With Victims' Problems



* Refers to patrols by CPD and Probation.

** Refers to coping with day-to-day living – e.g., “life skills”.

Exhibit 7.2: Criminal Justice System Changes Offender Accountability



* Also, decrease use of dual arrests.

Chapter 8: Analysis and Recommendations

Recommendations from the research were submitted to the Steering Committee in September 2001. By December 2001 the researchers had had conversations with the Steering Committee as a whole, as well as with representatives from specific agencies, to modify the research recommendations with input from agencies. These recommendations are in three parts, and each of the parts (below) is preceded by analysis and commentary to explain the basis of the recommendation. The first section of recommendations focuses on project coordination and the project Steering Committee. The second part contains recommendations pertaining to specific grant activities or agencies. The final part presents questions for future research that have been identified by Steering Committee members.

Project Coordination and Steering Committee

Commentary

Recommendations pertaining to the coordination of the project and the Steering Committee are based on research interviews with and observations of the Steering Committee over the time period of the research grant. As described in previous chapters (especially Chapter 2 on project history) the purpose, format, and attendees of the Steering Committee meetings have been discussed numerous times by the group. Monthly Steering Committee meetings have become largely a matter of routine project monitoring and attendance is uneven. Our recommendations A.1 and A.2 below address the specific issue of developing the Steering Committee into more of a problem-identification and problem-solving group than it is currently. Recommendation A.3 refers to the composition of the Steering Committee and attendance at

monthly meetings. The intent is to have greater involvement of "agency heads" for policy and program development, and more consistent attendance by agency representatives at monthly meetings. Finally, we suggest in recommendation A.4 that the coordinated community response to domestic violence should continue after the cycle of federal funding ends.

Recommendations: Part A. Project Coordination and Steering Committee

1. Purpose: The Steering Committee should continue to meet monthly to share information and coordinate activities related to offender accountability and victim safety. The Steering Committee should focus its efforts on identifying issues and aspects of interagency relationships that appear to be problematic and then developing solutions to those problems. An additional purpose may be the sharing of information on specific cases (defendants, probationers, hearings, etc.), as needed.
2. Format: Meetings should follow a standard format of beginning with the Coordinator's report, moving to updates from agencies, and lastly, focusing on a specific issue or problem (examples include confidentiality, the question of how race and class stereotypes of victims may affect service delivery of agencies and help-seeking behavior of victims, education of the judiciary, and so on).
3. Attendees: As much as possible, participants from the involved agencies should be the same at all meetings, and all agencies should be represented at all meetings. Agencies which receive funding under the grant should be required to be represented by appropriate staff at meetings. The Jackson County State's Attorney should be encouraged send both the Victim Advocate and the Assistant

State's Attorney who handles domestic battery cases to Steering Committee meetings. Agency heads (e.g., the Jackson County State's Attorney, the CPD Chief of Police, the Regional Director of Probation, the Executive Director of the Women's Center) should be invited to specific meetings, as needed, to contribute to information sharing, problem solving, and policy development.

4. When external funding ends: When federal funding eventually ends, the Steering Committee should determine a mechanism for continued coordination of agency activities related to offender accountability and victim safety. If a source of funding for the Project Coordinator cannot be found, the Steering Committee should consider a rotating, elected Chair.

Specific Grant Activities and Individual Agencies

Commentary

Recommendations regarding specific initiatives or agencies are based on research reported in previous chapters. We identify as a high priority in B.1, the need for the Steering Committee to coordinate discussions and agreements to enable the Follow-up Advocate position to meet its potential (see Chapter 3). We encourage the continued efforts of the Women's Center to establish community support groups in B.2.

Recommendations in B.3 for the Domestic Violence Clinic at the SIU School of Law are twofold. First, because of the enormous contribution of the DV Clinic to the coordinated community response (see Chapter 4), we strongly recommend that the School of Law find a stable funding source for the DV Clinic, and one that will allow the Clinic to handle matters of divorce and child custody. Second, we think that analysis of the DV Clinic's workload would be

enhanced by additional collection of data on the intake forms that are used by the clinic. We also recommend that law students be trained consistently in the importance of keeping these records.

Recommendations in part B. 4 for the Women's Center are related to specific agency policies. First, we recommend that the agency examine its legal advocacy practices related to working with clients at the stage in which the release of information form is explained. The sharing of limited information with criminal justice agencies may not be problematic for some victims if they understand that the purpose is to enhance criminal justice processing. Along these lines, we also recommend the creation of "limited waivers" to allow for the sharing of highly specific client information with external agencies. That is, it should be possible for the Women's Center to design narrow release of information forms to enable the agency to work more compatibly with law enforcement and prosecution without jeopardizing client safety or confidential communications about her specific circumstances. In offering these recommendations we are attempting to balance the confidentiality requirements of the Women's Center with the needs of criminal justice agencies to locate and contact victims. A second recommendation is that the Women's Center consider again its policy relating to advocacy staff not making home visits to clients.

Our chief recommendation in B.5 for the State's Attorney's Office is that it should computerize its record-keeping and case tracking and consider linkages to law enforcement agencies. The condition of non-automated record keeping at the State's Attorney's Office and the dependence on hand-written logs and case files severely limits the ability of the Steering Committee to evaluate domestic violence prosecution in Jackson County or to even consider doing an outcome evaluation. More important, automation would enhance day-to-day operations

for the SAO and coordination with other agencies. We also recommend that the Jackson County State's Attorney's Office participate more fully in the coordinated community response to domestic violence through working with the Steering Committee on a regular basis.

Finally, recommendation in B.6 for the directed patrols concern solving some minor problems in the process and what to do when external funding no longer is available.

Recommendations: Part B. Specific Grant Activities and Individual Agencies

1. Follow-up Advocate: The Steering Committee should have as a high priority maximizing victim advocacy for domestic violence victims and survivors in Jackson County. To do this it is essential that the Steering Committee re-examine the job description, and potentially the agency placement, of the Follow-up Advocate. More specifically, the recommendation is for the Follow-up Advocate (whether the title of this position remains the same or not) to actively assist victims early in the criminal justice process (through referrals from law enforcement victim advocates), and also to assist victims who may not wish to cooperate with the law enforcement and prosecution. If this early advocacy can be achieved to the satisfaction of all agencies *without violating the legislated confidentiality requirements of the Women's Center*, then the position should remain within the Women's Center.
2. Support Groups: The Women's Center should strengthen its efforts to develop stable community support groups in Jackson County for victims and survivors of domestic violence.

3. Domestic Violence Clinic at SIU School of Law:
 1. The School of Law is strongly encouraged to develop a funding source for the Domestic Violence Clinic that is stable and will allow the Clinic to handle divorces.
 - b. The DV Clinic is encouraged to develop specific intake forms for its use and to collect additional, relevant client and case information (e.g., specifics on type of case, actions taken, and resolution). The Clinic should consistently train all of its students in the use of these forms and instill in them the importance of keeping careful records of outcomes.
4. Carbondale Women's Center:
 - a. Confidentiality: The Carbondale Women's Center should strive to cooperate as fully as possible with local criminal justice and social service agencies. The goal of inter-agency participation from the Women's Center should be to maximize the sharing of client information without jeopardizing client safety, and without breaking the laws which govern the agency. Accordingly, specific recommendations include: the Women's Center should re-examine its policies and practices with regard to explaining to clients the waivers for the sharing of information; and, the Women's Center should consider the option of developing "limited waivers" for the sharing of specific information with specific interagency personnel.

- b. The Women's Center should re-examine its policy of not allowing advocacy staff to make home visits. For example, since SIRSS notifies the Women's Center about attendance at group treatment, an advocate might make a home visit to a victim during the period when the offender is known to be in group treatment at SIRSS.
- 5. Jackson County State's Attorney's Office:
 - a. The Jackson County State's Attorney's Office should computerize its record-keeping and case tracking, beginning with arrests reported to this office. Consideration should be given to linkages to municipal systems and to SIU-C Public Safety.
 - b. A representative from the State's Attorney's Office should work with the Steering Committee, or specific agencies, to identify and solve inter-agency problems that contribute to problems in prosecution. For example, reduced case attrition and increased evidence-based prosecution might result from enhancing communication between law enforcement and prosecution.
- 6. Directed Patrols by Probation and CPD:
 - a. There are a few changes that could be made in current practices to help improve the patrols. First, a mechanism should be developed to ensure that more accurate address information is available to the patrols; the greatest problem appears to be with victim addresses in no-contact bond provision cases. Second, some procedure should be developed to explain

the program to victims before the patrol first contacts them at home; when the program is explained, victims should have the option of not participating if they feel that contacts by patrol will create problems for them. Third, additional efforts are needed to encourage CPD officers to sign up for the patrols.

- b. When external funding is no longer available, the agencies involved will have to determine whether the patrols are sufficiently valuable to justify incorporating them into regular operating budgets (which is mostly a question of allocating staff time to the patrols). Since an impact evaluation was not conducted, the issue of effectiveness cannot be addressed with great confidence. Based on observations, however, the patrols appear to have value for some victims. Whether or not they have effects on offenders (or those accused of offending, in bond cases) is unclear. The best approach would seem to be trying to improve the program, based on known weaknesses, then attempting to conduct at least a modest evaluation of the patrols' impacts so that the information necessary to weigh costs against benefits will be available.
- c. If the patrols are judged to be beneficial, relative to their costs, attempts should be made to expand them beyond the city of Carbondale.

Future Research

Commentary

An objective of the local evaluation partnership was to identify research questions of interest to the local coordinating group. The SIU researchers at various junctures had discussions with the Steering Committee that were intended to elicit topics of interest for local research. The research questions that emerged from these discussions center on examining the effectiveness of treatment or doing a follow-up on clients at SIRSS, examining police behavior and protocols, and doing an in-depth study of domestic violence prosecution. Each of these questions is aimed at assessing local activities that are linked to concerns for victim safety and offender accountability. The SIRSS treatment group is based on the Duluth model of abuser treatment. Staff at SIRSS say they have no grasp of what they are accomplishing, unless they happen to read about his arrest or he returns for treatment another time. The subjects of police behavior and police protocols are ripe for examination in Carbondale because of the extensive training that has occurred and the development of a domestic violence protocol. Finally, members of the Steering Committee, but particularly the CPD and the Women's Center, are interested in enhancing rates of prosecution in Jackson County. Their specific interest is in determining if it is possible to improve "evidence-based" prosecutions.

Recommendations: Part C. Future Research

1. Treatment effectiveness and offender follow-up: Is court-ordered abuser treatment in SIRSS Peace Group, the local offender treatment group which is run on the Duluth model, effective in reducing recidivism and enhancing victim safety? Absent a rigorous research design that would entail random assignment to

treatment and control groups, it is difficult to answer this question with certainty. However, it should be possible with records from SIRSS, along with local arrest records and court records, to produce a descriptive analysis of what happens during and after treatment.

2. Police protocols and police behavior: Do the local police follow the domestic violence protocols that have been developed by their agencies? Given the protocols, what types of situations remain problematic for responding officers? Does the behavior or characteristics of the victim or offender influence police response? Is police behavior affected by a low rate of successful prosecution? Is additional training necessary?
3. Prosecuting the batterer without the victim's testimony: According to the State's Attorney's Office, absent corroborating evidence or the testimony of witnesses, the inability or unwillingness of victims to testify is a significant obstacle to successful prosecution of domestic battery. Are there ways that local agencies (police, emergency medical personnel, victim advocates, prosecution) can cooperate to increase the rate of evidence-based prosecution?

Postscript

This brief postscript is intended to update readers on the progress of the project in Carbondale and Jackson County. Included here are two separate types of updated information. First, attention is given to responses to specific recommendations made in the research and contained in the previous chapter. Second, some comments are made concerning recent and current initiatives and discussion in the project Steering Committee.

Responses to Recommendations

Although the project Steering Committee has not revised the job description of the Follow-Up Advocate located at the Women's Center, the Steering Committee and the Project Coordinator have a much better understanding of the services she provides. While previously the Follow-Up Advocate was on a monthly basis reporting only referrals and intakes to the Project Coordinator, she now reports details on types of services provided to victims and survivors (e.g., legal advocacy, order of protection, referral, etc.). It is clear from the data that she is providing a range of services to victims whose offenders have entered the criminal justice system.

At the Women's Center, efforts continue to establish additional community support groups. A second group of four was meeting for a time in Murphysboro, but has since disbanded because two of the four members dropped out. The Carbondale support group is thriving.

It is also worth noting that at the Carbondale Women's Center staffing changes have occurred. Kelly Cichy, Executive Director, resigned in June 2002. She has been replaced by Camille Dorris, as of July 2002 Acting Executive Director, who was formerly Shelter Coordinator at the Women's Center.

Directed patrols by Probation and officers from the Carbondale Police Department are continuing and efforts have been made to explain the program to victims when they request no-contact bond conditions, thereby giving them the option of not participating. In addition, according to the Project Coordinator, it is rarely the case that officers do not sign up for overtime to participate in these patrols.

As for the Steering Committee, it continues to meet monthly, although it is still the case that the State's Attorney does not attend meetings. Sometimes the Crime Victim Advocate from the State's Attorney's Office will attend meetings and she continues to be a vital part of the coordinated delivery of victim advocacy services in Jackson County.

An important and very recent change in the Steering Committee concerns representation from the local agency that had been providing abuser treatment services, Southern Illinois Regional Social Services (SIRSS). With recent cutbacks in the State of Illinois mental health budget, SIRSS is not longer able to provide abuse treatment services. This has been a major blow to the coordinated community response to domestic violence because SIRSS had been the only local agency providing these court-ordered services. Much time has been spent over the spring months of 2002 in locating private service providers who would be willing to step in and pick up the caseload of probationers ordered to participate in evaluation and treatment. Two providers have been identified and Probation officers give offenders information on both, although one provider follows the Duluth model and offers a six month program, while the other does not follow the Duluth model and delivers a three month program. It will be important for the Steering Committee to continue to monitor the delivery of abuser treatment services. Initial assessments suggest that most abusers are choosing the shorter, and hence cheaper, program.

News on Current and Future Initiatives

Although not funded under the current grant, a significant activity of the Steering Committee has been the development of Certified Law Enforcement Training in Domestic Violence. The course and instructors are certified and recognized by the Illinois Law Enforcement Training and Standards Board. The training employs a team approach, with each training session conducted by a police officer (from CPD or SIU) and a victim advocate (from CPD, the Women's Center, or the State's Attorney's Office). Currently training is being delivered to agencies in Jackson County, although under a future grant it is anticipated that the training will be expanded to surrounding counties.

Victim advocacy has been expanded at the Carbondale Police Department with additional money under the current grant. The Victim Advocate is able now to have evening hours during the week for scheduled appointments and she reports that this is going very well. Apparently, the evening hours are more comfortable and less chaotic for the advocate and victims.

The Project Coordinator reports an update on the Short Form Order of Protection (discussed in Chapter 2 of this report). Sam Jordan, of SIU Public Safety, spearheaded the effort to have Illinois adopt the Short Form Order of Protection. The Short Form is for use on the spot when an officer makes a stop and finds that an Order needs to be served. As indicated in Chapter 2, legislation in Illinois was needed to implement the Short Form. The legislation has been passed and the Short Form will be implemented in Illinois.

Finally, a number of initiatives are planned under a grant submitted in January of 2002. In addition to the on-going project activities such as directed patrols, the DV Clinic, the support groups, and the Follow-Up Advocate, monies are requested to expand victim advocacy services

at the Jackson County Sheriff's Department, to provide a part-time law clerk at the State's Attorney's Office, to provide for victims funding to have locks changed, and as discussed above, to expand law enforcement training to surrounding counties.

Thus, the coordinated community response to domestic violence in Carbondale and Jackson County continues to thrive. The Project Steering Committee and the Project Coordinator continue to identify needs and develop plans to address them. Overall, the project is viewed as a major success at the local level and has resulted in significant improvements both in terms of the goal of victim safety and the goal of offender accountability.

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