

Charity begins at home



New
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July 2003

Sector Report

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Domestic violence
a guide for donors and
grant-makers

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New Philanthropy Capital is a registered charity, established in 2001, providing independent, research-based guidance to philanthropists, foundations, grant-making trusts, corporations, government and other donors.

The goal of our work is to increase the quantity and quality of charitable activity, by working with donors to achieve the best charitable outcomes for their money, and with charities to leverage their resources most effectively.

Research - New Philanthropy Capital's sector research seeks to provide high quality information and analysis on sectors and individual charities that helps to inform donor decision-making and improves the transparency of the voluntary sector. We also undertake specific research assignments for donors, thematic research which cuts across the charitable sector, such as how best to monitor and evaluate projects, and the optimum methods of allocating core costs.

Publications include:

- *Funding Our Future II: A manual to understand and allocate costs*
Martin Brookes, published by ACEVO, 2002
- *Charity begins at home – Domestic violence: A guide for donors and grant-makers*
Diana Barran, Claudia Botham, Martin Brookes, to be published in 2003
- *HIV/AIDS in South Africa: A guide for donors and grant-makers*
Iona Joy, Justin Alexander, to be published in 2003
- *Just the ticket – Understanding charity fundraising events*
Daniel Webber, to be published in 2003

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Charity begins at home

July 2003

Sector: Community and Family

Sub-sector: Abuse and Neglect

Executive summary

- **This sector report is a guide for grant-makers and donors to the problem of domestic violence against women in the UK.** It explores the role of charitable organisations which address this issue, focusing on the scale of the need for help and care, assesses current and potential interventions, and analyses outcomes.
- **Domestic violence is widespread. A conservative estimate suggests more than half a million women suffer serious incidents each year.** Historically, the problem has been both under-reported and under-recorded. The evidence is clear that women typically suffer multiple attacks before seeking outside help.
- **The statutory response to domestic violence has traditionally been weak.** Just 20% of incidents involving the police result in arrests and no more than 15% of arrests lead to prosecution. Successful prosecutions are much lower still. Historically the emphasis has been placed on ensuring the safety of the woman and her children, often through access to a refuge. As a consequence, the woman's options have effectively been limited to remaining with her violent partner or going to a refuge. The abuser has invariably gone unpunished. This represents an astounding social injustice.
- **The role of charities has traditionally been to provide refuge bed spaces as well as outreach, in part through helplines.** Private funding has a role in domestic violence, both supplementing the services provided by official bodies and also providing the funding for innovative approaches that may become government policy in due course.
- **Policy changes have improved the range of options available to women seeking safety. The range of organisations providing these services has grown.** Outreach to women facing domestic violence but living in the home is an important part of this work. A growing area is in "direct advocacy" where an organisation helps a woman navigate a path through the myriad agencies involved with domestic violence, in close co-operation with statutory agencies. Such organisations are relatively few but appear to be very effective. The engaged support they provide can help women explore the full range of options, leading to better outcomes in the criminal justice system, improving the accountability of the abuser and potentially making the woman safe in the home.
- **The outcomes of increased provision in this area are relatively clear cut,** unlike many areas of social policy: women and children can move from living with extreme risk and fear to safety, and their partners from abuse to accountability. There is considerable potential for private funders to make a radical difference in this area.
- **The research in this report is based on a survey of the subject together with detailed examination of a large number of individual charities.** The report provides background for private funders and should help improve the direction of such funding. A separate series of specific and detailed reports into a number of individual charities are also available to grant-makers and donors.
- **These charity reports form the basis of project recommendations, which offer funders the chance to support organisations providing effective outcomes in the area of domestic violence, maximising the impact of their funding.** New Philanthropy Capital seeks to encourage higher levels of funding for outstanding projects; we help donors to develop their grant-making strategies and propose specific grant-making recommendations through presentations to grant-makers and donors.

Section I - Background

Domestic violence is widespread, affecting more than 500,000 women each year and up to one in four women are affected at some point in their life. Violence ranges from assault through to murder. The police receive around 360,000 999 phone calls each year connected with domestic violence by men against women. Refuges provide the traditional route to safety for women. 54,000 women and children are given protection in refuges each year.

Domestic violence has clear economic costs, placing burdens on the police, social services, the NHS and the courts. However, it is not the financial cost alone that compels action. While domestic violence is not a crime in its own right, it usually involves criminal acts including most frequently common assault and actual bodily harm. As well as physical harm it also causes severe psychological suffering. Even without the financial cost society should feel compelled to act to reduce domestic violence.

Introduction

Domestic violence is a major contributor to violent crime in the UK and affects hundreds of thousands of women each year, with dramatic implications not only for their lives but also for those of their children. It is a cruel and sadistic crime that can involve vicious physical attacks for many years without anyone knowing. Emotional, sexual and financial abuse cause similar suffering for many women.

In its most extreme form domestic violence results in the murder of more than one hundred women each year. Violence within same sex relationships and from women to men is not unheard of, but the vast majority of such violence (81%) is done by men to women.

This report gives an overview of the problem of domestic violence by men against women, concentrating on England and Wales, from the scale of the problem through the statutory response to the role of the voluntary sector. This report is aimed at grant-makers and donors who wish to understand how the organisations they support are positioned within the sector and what approaches offer potential for future grants and donations. As such, the report seeks to provide an input into effective grant-making and philanthropy.

The report is based on research carried out through extensive meetings with researchers, policy makers, charities, analyses of charity accounts and visits to numerous organisations and projects. The wide range of organisations actively working to combat domestic violence makes it impossible to be exhaustive and this was not the intention. By providing an overview, the report illustrates the range of work going on in the field together with a framework to assess the effectiveness of projects. Full details of the organisations and individuals who helped with the project are in Appendices I and II.

This section discusses the problem of domestic violence and its prevalence. Section II discusses how the statutory sector deals with domestic violence, from the police through to the Crown Prosecution Service and the courts. This is followed by a discussion of the types of interventions made by charities. Section IV explores the topic of outcomes, examining the success of the intervention methods. Section V concludes and the appendices follow.

What is domestic violence?

Domestic violence may be defined as the systematic use of violence and abuse to gain power and control over a partner or ex-partner. It occurs across all ages, ethnic groups and social classes. It includes physical violence, all forms of aggressive or unwanted sexual contact and non-physical abuse such as verbal, racial, psychological and emotional abuse as well as neglect, threats (including against children) and harassment. Typically, the abuse escalates in severity and in frequency over time and often continues after a couple are separated.

Although found in all ages and communities, certain groups are more likely to be victims of domestic violence. Older women are more likely to endure domestic violence before seeking outside help. There is a higher recorded incidence among low income families, though domestic violence does take place in middle class families. Families where the head of household's occupational status declines are more likely to suffer domestic violence. Black and minority ethnic (BME) women make up 7½% of the population yet around 30% of women admitted to refuges in England are BME. Disabled women are twice as likely to

This report gives an overview of the problem of domestic violence, aiming to provide an input into effective grant-making and philanthropy.

Domestic violence has both physical and psychological impacts on women.

Victims usually suffer a cycle of increasingly violent attacks before seeking help.

suffer domestic violence and more likely to endure abuse for longer compared to non-disabled women. The same is true for women without children because their cases are often regarded as a lower priority by housing departments and both groups typically have least access to services.

Box 1 Kate, 38

Kate met Peter at church and they have been married for 13 years. They have two sons (11 and 8). Peter first became violent when Kate was pregnant with the first child. The police were called to several incidents, but she did not ever want to prosecute Peter because she was too afraid. She had spoken to her GP about Peter's violence and once sought treatment for cuts and bruising. But one afternoon, Peter and one of their sons were arguing in the house. Peter began to beat their son, Kate tried to stop him but he attacked her instead. In his rage he slammed her head on the wall a number of times until she fell. He continued to stamp on her head. As a result Kate was in intensive care for four weeks, she lost her sight and doctors had to monitor her for long term brain damage.

Source: Adapted from Stanko (1998)

Perpetrators of domestic violence are likely to deny and cover their abusive behaviour and may appear as quite a different person in public. Many women have described their violent partners as 'charming' at work, to the police and in court, but generally aggressive and abusive at home. In almost one third of domestic violence incidents the perpetrator has been drinking.

Domestic violence has both physical and psychological impacts on women. Most women survive domestic violence but are subjected to horrific acts of cruelty leading to broken limbs, extensive bruising, burns, strangulation, cuts, and threats of murder. The risk of suffering abuse increases when a woman is pregnant. For pregnant women, domestic violence is associated with increases in rates of miscarriage, low birth weight, premature birth, foetal injury and foetal death.

Research shows that pushing and shoving are the most common types of violence, accounting for about two-thirds of assaults. In almost half the incidents the victim was kicked, slapped or punched. Injury is usually restricted to bruising, though the range of injuries encountered in one survey included:

- Bruising and black eyes
- Cuts
- Broken teeth
- Unconsciousness
- Vomiting
- Sprained limbs
- Broken jaw or cheekbones
- Burst eardrums
- Burns
- Broken arm, leg or ribs
- Miscarriage
- Internal injury

This litany illustrates the scale of the physical misery caused by domestic violence, even leaving aside the large number of incidents which escalate and result in murder or the rapes which form part of the violence in 10% of cases. Some surveys put the incidence of sexual abuse as high as 25%.

Women usually suffer a pattern of increasingly violent incidents before seeking help, which in turn often ineffective, thus leaving the woman to continue suffering violence. Research undertaken in the 1970s suggests there are as many as 35 incidents before a woman seeks outside help. Although this figure is likely to have declined thanks to an improving response to the problem, violence is still marked by multiple repeat victimisation. According to the police, incidents which end in murder usually have a pattern of increasing severity. Abusive behaviour is reported to escalate if the woman seeks to leave or assert her independence in other ways.

Such violence also causes psychological damage. This includes low self esteem, depression and feelings of hopelessness about ending the violence. The woman frequently blames

herself for the abuse and feels unable to break free from the violence. Victims often minimise or deny the violence and put up with it for many years.

Scale of the problem

Domestic violence affects far more people than might be imagined. A widely quoted statistic is that one in four women will suffer domestic violence at some point in their lives. Estimates of the scale of the problem vary depending on whether it is the prevalence of domestic violence suffered among the population or its incidence in the last year that is considered. Table 1 shows different estimates of the scale of the problem.

Table 1: Different estimates of the scale of domestic violence

Estimate	Figure	Description
1 in 4	5,046,700	The number of women who have suffered domestic violence at some point in their lives
1 in 8	2,633,000	The number of women who suffer repeat attacks in their lives
1 in 40	514,000	The number of women who have suffered domestic violence in the last year
1 in 60	360,000	The number of women who call the police about domestic violence in one year
1 in 950	23,000	The number of women who found safety in a refuge in one year

See Appendix II for sources

In a self-completion questionnaire within the official British Crime Survey (BCS), 23% of women reported being physically assaulted by a current or former partner at some point. The BCS produces different estimates according to the nature of the survey technique. One estimate from the BCS suggests 514,000 are victims each year. A dedicated survey of domestic violence alone puts the figure at three times as high.

The gap between the number of incidents reported by women in surveys and the number of calls to police indicates the problem is under-reported. Various pieces of evidence support this conclusion.

There are several reasons why women who suffer domestic violence may not report incidents to statutory agencies, including:

- Fear that reporting the attack will trigger more violence
- Fear of not being believed
- A lack of confidence in the robustness of the response from the police and the criminal justice system (a scepticism borne out by the low prosecution rate, discussed below)
- A fear that telling the police will result in Social Services removing children from the family home
- A confusing array of options which individually do not meet her needs – one survey indicates that a woman may be sent to over ten different places before receiving the help they need
- A desire to remain with her partner but for the abuse to stop
- Social and cultural pressures
- The man promises to change his behaviour

A related problem to under-reporting is under-recording. The past tendency to under-report is evident in figures from the Metropolitan Police showing a 27,000% increase in the number of recorded incidents of domestic violence between 1985 and 2001. This increase certainly cannot entirely reflect growth in domestic violence (Table 2). Rather it reflects a growing willingness of the police to record data.

Domestic violence is widespread though estimates vary as to its precise scale.

Table 2: Growth in reported domestic violence incidents to the Metropolitan Police

Year	Number of incidents
1985	385
1998	38,500
2001	104,000

Traditionally domestic violence has been both under-reported and under-recorded.

In most parts of the country domestic violence is currently only comprehensively recorded by the police although all refuges record data relating to their clients. Even within the police the pattern of recording data varies between forces. For example, only 30 out of 43 police forces in England and Wales record statistics on arrests for crimes that form part of the pattern of domestic violence (domestic violence itself is not technically defined as a crime, as discussed below). Equally, there are no figures for how many domestic violence victims are treated in hospital accident and emergency departments. Besides the under-reporting and under-recording of domestic violence, measuring its scale is made more complex because it cuts across so many different agencies, including the police and social services as well as the National Health Service.

Response to the problem

Women with violent partners who have mustered the strength to seek outside help, face a range of options that can be confusing. There are many routes available for women seeking help with domestic violence but the most common first port of call is to talk to friends or relatives. Contacting the police is the next most common reaction, followed by a health professional or possibly a solicitor.

The most striking features of the general response to the crimes associated with domestic violence are the strength of the voluntary sector role and the weakness of the statutory sector role. The charitable sector has played a crucial part in:

- Providing safe accommodation for women and children
- Developing national and local 24 hour helpline services
- Complementing these with other outreach services, often designed to include minority communities and women with special needs
- Providing services for children
- Raising public awareness about the prevalence and importance of domestic violence and lobbying for effective policy changes

However, by its very nature, the voluntary sector cannot take the initiative to hold the abuser accountable. This responsibility falls to the State, notably through the police and the Crown Prosecution Service (CPS). In the past this has been weak, and although improving, still has far to go. This is evidenced by the low number of arrests by police and prosecutions by the CPS given the vast number of incidents. The poor response to the problem, explored in more depth in Section II, means that many women either put up with domestic violence or are obliged to flee a violent partner and seek safety in a refuge. However, it is important to note that separation from a partner by no means guarantees a cessation of the abuse. Hence, the charitable and statutory agencies have a continuing role to play, even after separation.

Many women either put up with domestic violence or flee a violent partner, seeking safety in a refuge.

The most visible form of providing safety to women has been through refuges and helplines, which represent effective emergency 'sticking plaster'. This is in no way to belittle the invaluable work that has been carried out, but rather reflects the necessary priorities of those working in the field, which in turn have been significantly determined by acutely limited resources. Sadly there can be little doubt that these emergency services will continue to be needed. However there is also a strong case for complementing these with more preventative work with both adults and children, as well as the development of new emergency services for women designed to give them a range of effective 'safety options', supported by engaged work on the part of the statutory sector. Sections II-V outline some of these options and the role played by charitable organisations in helping women through them.

Children and domestic violence

Children are frequently caught up in domestic violence. Indeed, children outnumber women in refuges, making up about 60% of residents in refuges. Children may be involved by hearing abuse, seeing the effect it has on their mother in terms of how she behaves and

injuries incurred. It has been estimated that in 90% of the cases of domestic violence, children have been in the same or an adjoining room when the attack took place.

Box 2 Children murdered on unsupervised child contact visit

On the 26th March 2003 Joshua Young aged 7 and his three younger brothers were picked up by their father, as arranged after school. Their mother became alarmed when he failed to return them home at the agreed time. He rang her at midnight to inform her he was going to kill himself and the boys who were in the car with him. He had rigged up a petrol driven lawnmower in the back and set it running. All four children were found dead when the police arrived. The couple had separated just before Christmas and neighbours spoke of rows and domestic violence incidents, describing Mr Young as hot-tempered and emotional.

Source: The Times, 28 March 2003

Children are caught up in domestic violence and may suffer directly or indirectly.

There is evidence that violence towards women often goes hand in hand with violence towards children. Estimates of the link between the incidence of domestic violence and physical child abuse range from 30% to over 65% depending on the study. In a recent review of child deaths in Wales, it was found that domestic violence had been present in seven out of ten cases. Some abuse of children may arise as a result of children intervening to protect their mothers and often a violent man can also present a risk to his partner's children.

Children who stay in refuges face particular problems. Many have experienced frequent changes of school or extended periods without education. Such disruption can adversely affect their ability to cope with the school curriculum and can result in low self-esteem, problems with their peers and anger, resentment and behavioural difficulties. Not surprisingly, bed wetting and nightmares are common problems faced by children who have been caught up in domestic violence.

Children differ in how they react to domestic violence which makes dealing with them even more complex. There are no simple solutions, however, research suggests that the two most common things children want are first to be made to feel safe and second to have someone to talk to about what has happened.

Even after the abuse has ended, for example the man has moved out, women and children are put at risk if the man manages to obtain a contact order for unsupervised visits with his children. Research shows that in a sample where prior abuse had taken place, 76% of children ordered by the courts to have contact with their estranged parents were said to have been abused during contact. Contact orders are rarely refused by courts – in 2001 just 1.3% of applications for contact under the Children Act were turned down – and in some cases this mistake can be fatal (see Box 2).

BME and specialist need

Certain groups face poor provision, including black and minority ethnic and disabled women.

It is widely acknowledged that certain groups are under-served in domestic violence. Black and minority ethnic groups (BME) are one such group. BME women often have specialised needs related to language difficulties or cultural barriers which make it difficult to seek appropriate help for domestic violence. Such women often face the invidious choice of remaining with a violent partner or somehow seeking to leave the country. Either can be extremely difficult, especially when they may face ostracism by their own community for leaving a marriage. Women who have recently arrived in the UK and are not eligible to receive statutory benefits are particularly vulnerable in this regard. Indeed a recent survey of women without recourse to public funds showed that only nine out of 251 women seeking safe accommodation were able to find places in a refuge.

Women with disabilities, substance abuse problems or mental health problems are also especially vulnerable and often under-served.

The financial cost of domestic violence

Emotional costs to individuals and society in general as a result of domestic violence are immense. However, these costs are often extremely complex to calculate. But it is possible to consider just financial costs. The best estimate of this was made by Professor Elizabeth Stanko who looked at the cost of domestic violence to the London Borough of Hackney in

The financial costs alone provide a compelling case for government to intervene and tackle domestic violence, but even without the financial cost society should feel compelled to act.

1998 by considering all the knock-on costs through the police, social services, NHS and other agencies. Scaling up her estimates for Greater London as a whole, Stanko estimated the minimum total cost of domestic violence to be in the region of £278 million per annum, including police, civil justice, housing, refuge provisions, social services, health and other agencies. Scaling these figures up for the whole of England and Wales, we can estimate that domestic violence costs a total of £2.0 billion a year. Further research into this is currently underway in the Women and Equality Unit.

It is difficult to know what the total charitable spend is on domestic violence or, indeed, the share of this spend that comes from statutory sources. Correspondingly, it is difficult to gauge what the total spend should be. However, the failings in the statutory response discussed below suggest a probable mis-allocation of monies spent on domestic violence. It is possible that a better overall outcome could be produced with a smaller sum of money.

Merely looking at the financial costs alone, there is a compelling case for government to intervene and tackle domestic violence more effectively, since it represents a material drain on the public purse.

However, it is not the financial cost alone that compels action. Domestic violence involves criminal acts and causes severe physical and psychological suffering. The fact that women who live with violent partners are often afraid to seek help is a dreadful situation. Even without the financial cost society should feel compelled to act to reduce domestic violence. We now look at how the various statutory bodies tackle domestic violence.

Section II — The government response to domestic violence

Successive governments have taken the problem of domestic violence increasingly seriously. Provisions within the law as well as the operations of the police and other agencies have been adapted to tackle domestic violence more effectively.

Despite these changes, the official response to domestic violence is failing. More than half a million incidents each year result in few injunctions, too few arrests and a paltry 13,000 cases taken up by the Crown Prosecution Service. Convictions are considerably lower still and sentencing frequently inappropriate. Services to address men's violent behaviour are patchy at best.

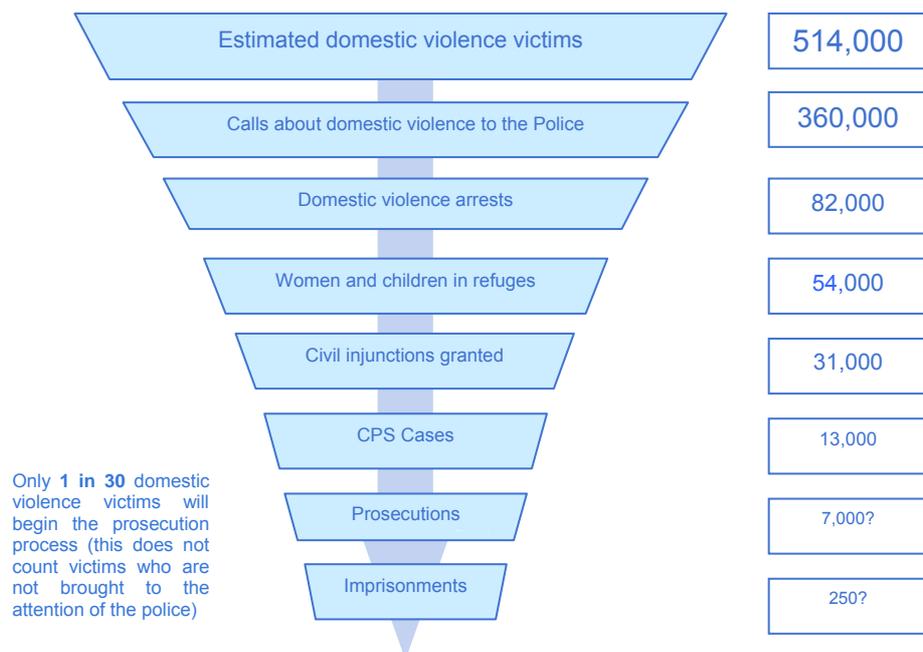
The official statutory response to the widespread incidence of domestic violence documented in Section I historically has been ineffective. Numerous agencies are involved working to counter domestic violence or to deal with its aftermath. There have been government initiatives to raise awareness about the problem and the services available to tackle it. Several legislative changes have been introduced to afford greater protection to victims of domestic violence and more accountability for perpetrators. These changes are welcome and do indeed provide greater protection and redress. Moreover, there are a few examples of best practice which show promise in tackling the problem of domestic violence. But the system is still failing. The need to address these shortcomings creates one of the roles for private grant-making and donors.

Two specific weaknesses can be detected. First, a lack of confidence in the ability of the system to offer genuine protection to victims has led to a reluctance on their part to take steps to seek protection. As discussed in Section I, only a small proportion of incidents result in calls to the police. This reluctance to seek help also shows up in the low number of civil injunctions taken out by victims. Just 31,000 injunctions are granted each year, a small fraction of the number of women living with a violent partner, although this is in part limited by restrictions on legal aid.

Second, perpetrators of domestic violence are not held to account. The police and criminal justice system do not provide an adequate service to victims. The huge number of domestic violence incidents each year, including more than one hundred murders that take place, result in a pitifully small number of prosecutions and considerably fewer convictions.

The statutory response to date has failed – the large number of incidents of domestic violence results in too few prosecutions.

Figure 1: The number of prosecutions relative to the number of domestic violence incidents per year



Source: NPC calculations, see Appendix II

Despite the failings, significant changes have been introduced, offering greater provision for women facing domestic violence.

Police can only respond to incidents brought to their attention. But, of the estimated 400,000 or so incidents reported to the police each year, most recent twelve month figures show just 82,000 arrests (scaling up the figures for those police authorities that actually record data). Prosecutions undertaken by the Crown Prosecution Service in domestic violence cases are far fewer at just 13,000 cases. Completed prosecutions constitute only a little more than half of this total.

This falling off in the response to the number of incidents of domestic violence is the basic problem. It is shocking that just 20% of the emergency calls about domestic violence to the police result in arrests and that only 16% of arrests become CPS cases. The last two figures in Figure 1 – actual prosecutions and imprisonments – are estimates taken from figures for one specialist domestic violence court. As such they are approximations only for the national picture. Nonetheless, it is striking how there are further failings in the low number of actual prosecutions and imprisonments for often very serious assaults.

These statistics show that society does not hold men accountable for domestic violence and that women's safety in the home or after separation is not guaranteed. This has led to a strong focus on the role of refuges as the main route to safety and the dominant form of 'intervention' to curb domestic violence.

Traditionally a woman has faced just few real choices to resolve her situation. Most have either remained with a violent partner or separated but remained at risk of violence. Others have contacted the police and some have moved to a refuge, although in practice a place may not be available. A greater focus can and should be placed on removing the man and making the woman safe in the home.

Despite the enormous failings of the system to address domestic violence, significant changes to provide greater safety have been introduced. The charitable sector was first to take practical steps to address domestic violence, with the first ever women's refuge established in Chiswick in 1971. Since that time government has become increasingly concerned about domestic violence and more willing to take steps to address it.

In recent years there have been a number of important changes to the law and various publicity campaigns and research commissioned by government which have increased public awareness and drawn attention to the services for domestic violence victims. The government has also published information for domestic violence victims and guidelines on how professionals should deal with victims and what advice or support should be given.

Criminal legislation

Domestic violence involves criminal behaviour of varying degrees of severity from harassment to homicide. The two main pieces of legislation covering criminal aspects of domestic violence are the Offences Against the Person Act 1861 (OAPA) and the Criminal Justice Act 1988 (CJA). Table 4 shows the legislation and relevant crimes most often associated with domestic violence. Charges of common assault and assault occasioning actual bodily harm constitute the large majority (70-75%) of cases appearing before specialist domestic violence courts although experts suggest that this may often constitute a downgrading of charges.

Criminal remedies open to victims of domestic violence are substantially under-used. There are several reasons for this, including:

- The reluctance of women to give evidence against their abuser, leading to the withdrawal of many cases
- This in turn has led the police and the CPS to be reluctant to pursue cases, even where the abuse constitutes physical assault
- The likelihood of conviction is low and imprisonment is rare. One study of 79 prosecutions (now somewhat dated) revealed that just one received a custodial sentence. More recent evidence from the Leeds cluster court supports this – in 1999-2000 there was an imprisonment rate of just 2% of prosecutions. However, there is tentative evidence from other cluster courts that this may be improving.

(See below for a discussion on civil law)

A high number of withdrawals of statements by victims of domestic violence is a key reason given by the CPS for the lack of prosecutions.

Table 4: Criminal justice legislation used for domestic violence

Legislation	Crime
The Offences Against the Person Act 1861	Assault occasioning actual bodily harm Grievous bodily harm Threats to kill Wounding with intent
The Sexual Offences Act 1956	Rape and sexual assault
The Criminal Damage Act 1971	Criminal damage
The Public Order Act 1986	Threat of violence Threatening behaviour Affray
The Criminal Justice Act 1988	Common assault
The Protection from Harassment Act 1997	Criminal harassment Putting a person in fear of violence

The government has recently published a consultation paper entitled “Safety and Justice” that includes its proposals on domestic violence and builds on the proposals set out in the “Justice for All” White Paper published in June 2002. It aims to tighten further the legal protection offered to victims of domestic violence and to co-ordinate better the civil and criminal responses. The government’s proposals include:

- Making common assault an arrestable offence (i.e. that the police can arrest without a warrant)
- Measures to clarify what information can be shared between the civil and the criminal courts, and to avoid inappropriate bail conditions, particularly regarding child contact
- That the courts should receive guidance from the Sentencing Advisory Panel about dealing with domestic violence cases
- That a breach of a non-molestation or an occupation order would be a criminal offence, and that the police could always arrest for such a breach
- Extending the availability of restraining orders under the Protection from Harassment Act 1997 to cover all violent offences

Other issues under review include creating a register of offenders and improving the way that the law on homicide operates in domestic violence cases.

These proposals, if made law, would mark another important milestone in the establishment of adequate legal protection for victims of domestic violence.

Crown Prosecution Service and the courts

The CPS decides whether to proceed with a prosecution under criminal law, according to whether there is enough evidence to afford a realistic prospect of conviction and whether it is in the public interest to prosecute. While the CPS publicly stresses the desirability of proceeding with prosecutions of cases involving domestic violence, the actual number of prosecutions is low at just 13,000 a year according to the most recent figure, a little over 15% of the estimated arrests for domestic violence.

A high number of withdrawals of statements by victims of domestic violence is a key reason for the lack of prosecutions. One study carried out in 1997 showed that the victim withdrawal rate is around 30%, significantly above the withdrawal rate elsewhere in the criminal justice system. Statistics on withdrawals of statements appear confusing as many people report higher national rates when assessing projects aimed at improving prosecution rates.

It would be a mistake to suppose that a high withdrawal rate is entirely due to the withdrawal of victims’ statements. Rather, the poor collection of evidence at the scene of the crime, including photographic evidence, has led to over-dependence on the part of the CPS on witness statements. The victim often has to put up with persistent postponements of legal hearings, during which time she may suffer further fear and intimidation that in turn increases the risk that she will withdraw her statement. Such postponements are often

Perceived failings in the criminal justice system were behind the establishment in 1999 of the first specialised cluster court dealing only with domestic violence one day each week.

Domestic violence represents a considerable part of police work – up to 5% of emergency calls to the police are related to domestic violence.

caused by delays in supplying evidence. Prosecutions are often discontinued because different statutory agencies are ultimately unable to provide evidence to support the case.

Perceived failings in the criminal justice system were behind the establishment in 1999 of the Leeds domestic violence “cluster court” (LDVCC), a magistrates’ court which devotes one day each week solely to cases involving domestic violence. The objectives behind setting up this court were:

- To provide a more user-friendly environment for cases to be heard
- To achieve greater consistency in dealing with perpetrators
- Above all, to increase the successful prosecution rate, thereby increasing safety for women by raising the costs to men of domestic violence

Cluster courts have subsequently been established in the West Midlands, Cardiff and Hammersmith in West London.

During a visit to LDVCC by NPC analysts, five out of six cases heard were adjourned because the prosecution wanted more time to collect information and evidence. While delays are inevitable, some of the lengths of delay are unacceptable and increase the risk that the victim withdraws her evidence before the case is fully heard. Early evidence from the LDVCC showed a decrease in the length of time between arrest and court hearing from 29 days to just three, helped in part by the introduction of the Narey measures which obliged the criminal justice agencies to speed up the time from charging to the first hearing. This evidence showed no improvement in the number of successful prosecutions. Remarkably, there has been no subsequent assessment of the performance of this first domestic violence cluster court. Other specialist courts where evaluations have taken place are discussed in Section IV, and the early data relating to completed prosecutions, the length of time taken to hear a case and guilty pleas are all encouraging.

Victims frequently face threats of further violence from their former partners and the prospect of uncomfortable cross-examination in court. There is also the possibility of charges for obstruction of justice in the event that evidence is withdrawn. Together with the likelihood of cases being discontinued for lack of evidence, it is easy to understand why so many victims of domestic violence choose not to go down the path of criminal sanctions. In turn this makes the CPS reluctant to commit resources to this area and the police become reluctant to pursue cases with sufficient vigour. Thereby, a vicious circle is created in which domestic violence is not addressed adequately.

Even with cluster courts improving the efficiency of dealing with cases concerning domestic violence, the performance of the CPS and associated agencies desperately needs improving if the criminal justice system is to serve as an effective tool to combat domestic violence. The recent introduction of specialist domestic violence lawyers in each of the 42 CPS regional offices is a step towards improving this.

Civil legislation

Several important changes to civil law legislation have improved the protection afforded to victims of domestic violence. The first significant legislation to address the subject was the 1976 Domestic Violence and Matrimonial Proceedings Act. This allowed a married or co-habiting woman to obtain a court order to exclude her violent partner from the shared home. The most substantive changes followed with the Family Law Act 1996 (FLA) and the Protection from Harassment Act 1997 (PFHA).

The FLA introduced the occupation order, giving the applicant the right to occupy the home. This order may also restrict the right of occupation, excluding named parties. Non-molestation orders were also introduced under the FLA.

A significant element of the FLA is the presumption in favour of attaching powers of arrest to these orders where violence has been used or been threatened. This reverses the previous situation in which power of arrest was discretionary. There has been a substantial increase in the number of orders obtained with powers of arrest attached, as shown in Table 3. However, the absolute number of orders remains low compared with the incidence of domestic violence.

The large majority of orders now have powers of arrest attached. The effect of this is to raise the threat of arrest and punishment if the man transgresses.

Civil law protection for women has improved.

Table 3: Court orders granted under Domestic Violence and Matrimonial Proceedings Act 1976 and the Family Law Act 1996

Year	Total	Occupation orders	Non-molestation orders	Orders with power of arrest	Power of arrest as % of orders granted
1985	13,020	3,818	9,202	3,314	26%
1996	22,652	2,945	19,707	10,049	44%
2001	30,757	9,789	20,968	25,270	82%

Source: Lord Chancellor's Department

The mechanics of occupation and non-molestation court orders under the FLA are as follows:

- Woman sees a solicitor who makes an application to court
- Notice of hearing is given to both parties
- Woman's statement serves as evidence for court but she may also have to give evidence, depending in part on whether hearing is contested
- If order granted, man is served with injunction papers
- Court order may
 - order man to leave the home – she stays
 - order man to remain within specific areas of the home
 - order man to let woman back into the home
 - order the couple to share the property
- The police station is served with papers if power of arrest is attached
- If power of arrest is attached, the police should arrest if order is breached
- Man can be fined or imprisoned for breach of order

Obtaining an order can cost from £1,000 upwards together with solicitor's fees, which may be covered by legal aid (now called Community Legal Services). According to the Lord Chancellors' Department, it is rare that an application for a court order is dismissed.

The introduction of the FLA markedly improved the protection provided to women under civil law. The Protection from Harassment Act (PFHA) further increased this protection. This Act broadens the scope of legislation to cover other forms of abuse, and introduced two new criminal offences of 'criminal harassment' and 'putting a person in fear of violence', thereby providing protection where a non-molestation order would not apply. A woman can pursue a civil injunction under the PFHA, but it provides for criminal sanctions if these are breached. The police can also charge an offender directly under the act.

The importance of civil law protection should not be under-estimated. It may be argued that domestic violence involves criminal offences and that seeking remedies under civil law undermines the criminal nature of the offence. However, the weakness of the criminal justice response to date to domestic violence means the ability to seek protection under civil law is valuable.

Despite the promise of civil law, relatively few women go down this path. The most recent figures from the Lord Chancellor's Department for 2001 show just 31,000 court injunctions under the FLA, a small fraction of the number of women affected by domestic violence each year. The PFHA is used only narrowly in civil law and on an inconsistent basis across the regions. Just 499 applications were made under the PFHA to County Courts in England and Wales in 2002 and 482 granted. However statistics are not collated according to type of conduct or relationship of victim to suspect so they do not indicate the number of cases that involve domestic abuse. The Home Office has recently carried out research into the criminal application of the PFHA. This showed that in 43% of cases the reason for the harassment was that the complainant had ended an intimate relationship. In 1998 there were 5,788 defendants under both sections of the act, and of these 91% pleaded guilty. However, evidence suggests that police and prosecutors are applying the act differently in individual regions.

Civil law protection for women has been improved but research suggests that not only are too few women told about their options under civil law, but also that they often cannot pursue either because of the shortage of legal aid funding. Both the statutory and non-statutory sectors should do more to protect women by encouraging use of this path to safety.

Civil law provisions to protect women have been under-used, as evidenced by the relatively low number of injunctions.

Too few women are told about their options under civil law.

Police

Police attitudes to domestic violence have changed markedly in recent years. As noted above, during the 1980s domestic violence was barely recorded in statistics. As this improved, the number of recorded incidents rocketed. Arrests connected with domestic violence are now separately recorded in 30 out of the 43 police authorities in England and Wales. However, statistics for a few forces look somewhat peculiar. For example, based on figures for the 12 months to March 2002, West Yorkshire made just 76 arrests whereas North Yorkshire made 648 and Northumbria 5,663.

Almost 60% of police forces have dedicated domestic violence or community safety units and close to 90% have domestic violence officers. These specialised functions review the number of domestic violence incidents and ensure that a thorough investigation of incidents takes place as well as advising victims on the range of available services. Much of this work involves follow-up letters or in some cases direct contact.

Domestic violence represents a considerable part of police work. One third of all assaults – including over a quarter of actual bodily harm and one in eight of grievous bodily harm – are the results of domestic violence. Up to 5% of all emergency calls to police are related to domestic violence.

The police are often the first contact a domestic violence victim has with a statutory body through making a 999 call. One survey of women using outreach services showed that around 80% had been in contact with the police.

The police make a visit following every 999 call. In the case of a suspected domestic violence incident, the police speak to both parties and collect evidence as necessary. If no arrest is made the police may “signpost” the victim to agencies which can provide support and advice. If an arrest is made, the same signposting may take place but, as discussed below, in the most progressive areas where all agencies work closely together, the police may pass details to a charitable organisation that provides support for victims passing through the criminal justice system. Where no charges are brought the signposting may result in civil law proceedings.

In theory, if the police visit an incident and the woman discloses that she has been assaulted and has visible signs of injury but does not want to make a statement, the police may still charge the man. In practice this does not happen very often and the priority is usually to keep the victim safe. “Third party charging” is seen by some as putting the victim at further risk. Third party charging does work well elsewhere, e.g. in Canada, though other aspects of dealing with domestic violence also differ there. One survey of women suffering abuse shows that more than half would favour the introduction of third party charging.

The likelihood of victims withdrawing their statement at some point during the prosecution process places a greater onus on the police to gather independent evidence from the scene of the crime if they wish to increase the chances of completing the case. Using cameras to record pictures from the scene of the crime has proved very successful in increasing charging rates, prosecutions and guilty pleas. A Home Office evaluation of one pilot using cameras shows a doubling in the percentage of guilty pleas. One quarter of police services now use cameras to record evidence.

Other initiatives involving the police include providing alarms or mobile phones to women deemed vulnerable and educating taxi drivers to spot signs of domestic violence and take victims to a police station or hospital as appropriate (voluntary agencies are also involved in this initiative within London).

The dilemma for the police is the low rate of successful prosecutions for domestic violence. Inevitably, this reduces the incentive to pursue cases as vigorously as desirable. Nonetheless, many police forces are making considerable efforts to improve their record in tackling domestic violence. In addition, some police forces take steps to make women more aware of the available help, including going to a refuge.

Local authorities

Local authorities encounter the problem of domestic violence principally through social services and through housing. In addition, section 17 of the Crime and disorder act placed a duty on Local Authorities to consider the community safety implications of all of their activities although there is no specific duty to consider domestic violence issues. There is also no statutory duty or requirement on Crime and Disorder Reduction Partnerships (which

Using cameras to record pictures from the scene of the crime has proved successful in increasing arrests, CPS cases and guilty pleas.

Over 17,500 women and children were made homeless as a result of domestic violence in 2001, more than 15% of the total.

A new government programme, Supporting People, is starting to improve the funding of refuges.

were formed under the Crime and Disorder Act) to develop a domestic violence strategy, although some obviously do.

Under certain circumstances local authorities have a duty under homelessness legislation to provide suitable accommodation for women facing domestic violence who are unable to remain in the family home. Domestic violence is a primary cause of statutory homelessness. Legislation defines women with children as in priority need. Local authorities have discretion as to whether women alone are technically "vulnerable" and therefore become a priority need. According to one survey, close to half of local authorities accept women without children suffering domestic violence as a priority need.

Over 17,500 women and children were accepted as homeless due to domestic violence in 2001, more than 15% of the total number of people made homeless in that year. Around 54,000 women and children are housed in refuges during the course of a normal year and there are close to 3,000 refuge bed spaces for women available in England and Wales with just over 4,000 additional spaces available for children.

Women and children accepted as homeless are housed by local authorities in a variety of places. For example, short-term bed and breakfast accommodation is one possibility, though this is often not secure for women at risk of further attacks. Women's refuges are a common and widely used source of temporary housing.

Though refuges are run by non-statutory and not for profit bodies, usually charities or housing associations, women in refuges are usually housed at the expense of the local authority with housing benefit paid directly to the refuge to cover the housing costs. Stays in refuges are intended to be short-term to provide relief from domestic violence before either being re-settled in permanent accommodation or safely in their own home, for example with civil injunctions. This is frequently not the case in practice owing to a shortage of second stage supported housing for women to move on to, and the poor housing stock offered for permanent residence.

A new government programme, Supporting People, was introduced in April this year, which aims to boost the funding streams for services provided to vulnerable people. This includes domestic violence and is starting to affect the funding of refuges. Services eligible for Supporting People funding are largely restricted to those related to housing. The Supporting People programme will fund approximately £1.4 billion in the first year.

Social workers need to be conscious of the importance of children when encountering domestic violence. Throughout England and Wales, 53% of Social Service departments have a designated person responsible for either domestic violence policy or practice development. An amendment to the Children Act has given the courts the power to exclude someone from the home who is suspected of abusing a child. Although not specifically referring to domestic violence, this legislation is often applied in such cases. A new act, the Adoption and Children Act, is due to be implemented this year which empowers courts to consider the harm suffered by children from witnessing domestic violence.

Under Section 8 of the Children Act a court may make different types of orders within family proceedings in respect of a child's welfare, including contact orders and residence orders.

CAFCASS (The Children and Family Court Advisory and Support Service) is the statutory body charged with advising on contact orders. CAFCASS needs to make an assessment of the risk to the child. Given the correlation between domestic violence and child abuse, the former should make court mandated contact less likely. Contact was refused in only 3% of County Court cases in 1997/8. Where such contact is mandated there is growing interest in the role of supervised contact centres.

Probation services

The main role of probation services in tackling domestic violence concerns perpetrator programmes. These are schemes designed to address the behaviour and attitude of the perpetrators. It is described in more detail in Section IV below.

The National Probation Service is currently exploring the potential of perpetrator programmes and there are a few pilot "pathfinder" schemes that may lead to a more widespread adoption of this approach in time.

We discuss perpetrator programmes in further detail in Sections IV and V below.

Growing recognition of the need for co-operation between the various agencies has led to increased partnership working in different forms.

Health service

The health service witnesses the effects of domestic violence daily in accident and emergency departments, GP's surgeries and through the work of midwives and health visitors. However, there has been no formal co-ordination of this information between the health service and external agencies, and so many opportunities to help women at risk have been missed. Given the propensity of men to start abusing their partners when they are pregnant, this clearly has very serious implications. A valuable contribution that the health service could make would be in the area of screening and sharing information where appropriate with other agencies.

Multi-agency working

A growing recognition of the need for co-operation between the various agencies that encounter domestic violence has led to the creation of a domestic violence forum in most areas of the country. These inter-agency forums have been created as a method of sharing information and learning how agencies, statutory and non-statutory, can work together in the most effective and beneficial way for domestic violence victims. The complexity of response highlights the risk that a woman's case might not be handled in a consistent, coherent, timely and effective fashion. The large number of contacts that women have to make before they get the help they need can cause confusion and deter many women from seeking help.

Box 3 Newham Domestic Violence Forum

Overall aim:

To co-ordinate and develop services to effectively meet the needs of women and children experiencing domestic violence.

Aims:

- Reduce the extent and impact of domestic violence on women and children
- Achieve a policy of co-operation and co-ordination of services between agencies
- Ensure that each agency plays an integral role in providing a response that is strategic in the prevention of domestic violence
- Identify gaps in provision of services that are meaningful to the women and children seeking help
- Identify mechanisms whereby abusers can be held accountable for their behaviour
- Raise awareness and understanding of domestic violence amongst the general public with the aim of reducing its tolerance of violence toward women and children.

Meetings are held every two months.

Agencies include:

Newham Action Against Domestic Violence, Alcohol East, Newham Police, Newham Healthcare NHS Trust, Community Safety Unit Plaistow Police, Newham Social Services.

Membership of this forum includes the police, Social Services, health services and voluntary sector bodies. There are around 200 inter-agency domestic violence forums across England and Wales. Box 3 describes the agencies and objectives of one such forum.

There is also a growing interest in the creation of partnerships, taking the inter-agency approach further to the point where agencies work together on specific cases. Clearly these partnerships are an attempt to move away from 'talking shops' to operational teams, but as ever they are limited by the strength of practice of each individual agency. The merits of this approach are discussed in Sections IV and V.

The role of private funding

Given the range of statutory bodies working to combat domestic violence, one might legitimately ask what role there is for private funding.

Through criminal law legislation, government has an obligation to stop domestic violence. Successive governments have also made changes in other areas. The improvements in civil law, increased recognition of and understanding of domestic violence by the police, the increased provision of housing for victims and greater focus on agencies working together are all welcome. They show a willingness to address the issue. Government funding devoted specifically to tackling domestic violence is also welcome.

More needs to be done to combat domestic violence and many of the available intervention methods sit within the charitable sector.

Despite this increased attention, domestic violence remains widespread. The need for action is greater than the impact of the accumulated changes to date. Moreover, a huge proportion of self-reported incidents are not brought to the attention of the police and do not result in prosecutions under criminal law. Nor are the increased routes to safety available under civil law as widely used as they might be.

Faced with this situation, private individuals and institutions could respond by wringing their hands and saying the government should do more. Or they can actively engage with the problem. At least two distinct positions might be adopted.

First, it can be argued that the failure of statutory organisations adequately to tackle domestic violence shows the need for private action. The fact that statutory bodies and provisions exist helps charitable bodies to be more effective in tackling domestic violence.

Second, it might be argued that actions taken by charitable organisations to increase protection for women and actions against perpetrators can blaze a trail for future government policy. In this context, private funding provides the capital to test propositions about what works in tackling domestic violence and, in due course, government can take over.

Whichever of these views one signs up to, the key point is that more needs to be done to counter domestic violence and many of the available intervention methods sit within the charitable sector. Indeed, the charitable sector has long been in the forefront of addressing domestic violence and the main bodies in the sector have a tradition of innovation which has subsequently become integrated into government provision.

Section III — The charitable sector's role

Charitable organisations play a vital role in tackling domestic violence. The first refuge was set up in West London in 1971 by Erin Pizzey and there are now around 400 refuges in England and Wales. The Women's Aid Federation is the main umbrella body for these refuges, most of which are run by small local providers. Domestic violence helplines are another key part of emergency services with Refuge and Women's Aid the being two main national providers.

A number of other intervention methods are used by charities, ranging from "direct advocacy" in the form of legal and other support to specialised children's services and perpetrator programmes.

In order to combat domestic violence women need to be made safe and men need to be held accountable. There are a number of ways this can be done and different organisations have different approaches. This section focuses on the intervention methods used by charities.

Charities have an impressive history in providing services for victims of domestic violence. The charitable sector was quicker than government to recognise the need for specialised services. The provision of services for victims of domestic violence was initiated by the women's movement in the late 1960s and early 1970s.

A key consideration in addressing domestic violence is the complexity of the necessary response. No single action alone is likely to be efficient in tackling the problem. For example, to tackle domestic violence properly requires improving the performance of the police in terms of gathering evidence at the scene of the crime. But the police must be able to "signpost" victims to appropriate services, including refuges, legal advice and support. Such signposting may involve no more than providing a domestic violence helpline number but it may involve more specialised advice if, say, the victim has specialised needs such as difficulties with English language.

The same problem can be illustrated with a refuge. All good refuges do more than provide bed spaces. They also provide personal support, children's services, legal support and advice or are able to recommend an organisation that can provide this. They are likely also to operate a helpline providing access to the refuge together with other outreach services to support women in the community, living with or without their abusive partner.

While something of a cliché, it is true that a comprehensive response to domestic violence needs to join together all the separate pieces. Any organisation engaged in a given activity will be less effective if it does not co-ordinate the range of other organisations operating in the field. An organisation operating in isolation will fail either to access all the potential beneficiaries it is in a position to help or to help fully its actual beneficiaries by being unable to deal with all their needs.

Figure 2 shows some of the pieces of the jigsaw needed for an effective response to domestic violence, statutory and non-statutory. Boundaries between some of these are a little fuzzy, complicating the picture.

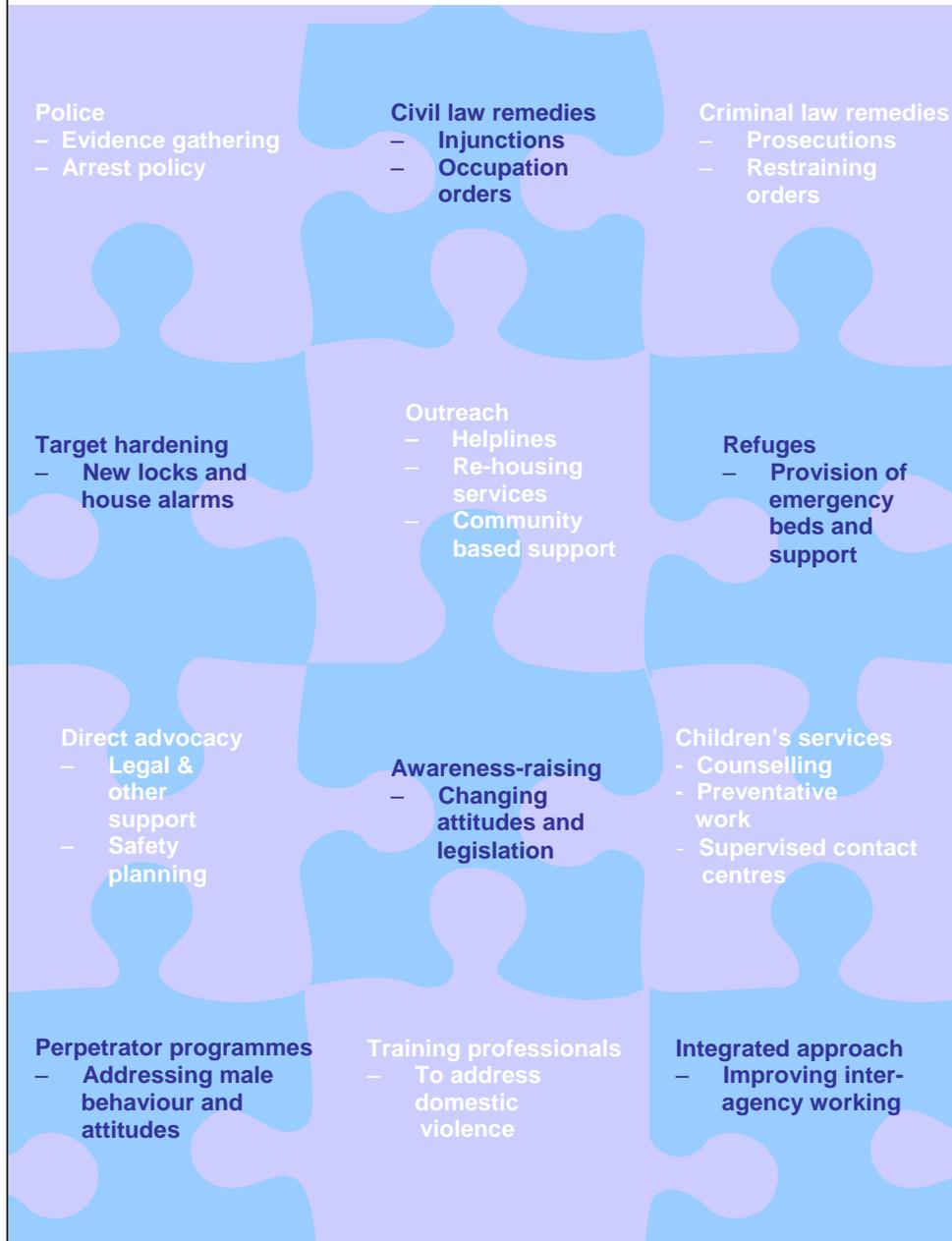
There are other reasons the picture is complicated. First, any given method of tackling domestic violence, what one may call a "delivery mechanism", invariably involves a combination of several pieces of the jigsaw combined into a single approach. For example, "refuges" usually run refuges and engage in outreach through helplines and other services. Similarly, organisations engaged in direct advocacy are also usually involved in outreach to reach women in need of help. Such organisations may also be involved with improving the workings of the civil and criminal justice systems.

Second, for any given delivery mechanism, specific organisations often are not engaged in precisely the same combination of activities. This can complicate comparisons between organisations.

Third, the nature of the response to domestic violence blurs the boundaries between statutory and non-statutory bodies. This is important for private funders to understand as the split between statutory and non-statutory responsibilities becomes unclear. For example, who should be responsible for ensuring prosecutions can take place effectively? One could argue that this is clearly the responsibility of the Crown Prosecution Service. But charitable organisations are increasingly active in this field. Funders seeking to make a difference in domestic violence must necessarily confront these ambiguities.

A key consideration in addressing domestic violence is the complexity of the necessary response.

Figure 2: Intervention methods to combat domestic violence



There are many connected elements required to tackle domestic violence effectively. A comprehensive approach requires all pieces of this jigsaw.

Refuges

Refuges provide more than a roof over a survivor's head. Refuge staff also offer practical and emotional support.

There is insufficient capacity within refuges. On a single day in 2000, 236 women could not be accommodated, close to 10% of the stock of refuge bed spaces.

The development of approximately 400 refuges in England and Wales over the past 30 years, providing safety to an estimated 54,000 women and children every year is an achievement of which the charitable sector and the women's movement can justifiably be proud. Refuges represent the cornerstone of provision for women fleeing violent partners, and they literally are a lifeline for many. Most refuges are members of the Women's Aid Federation and as such benefit from the central support that the Federation provides. They are almost invariably managed by not for profit agencies, and many are run by individual local Women's Aid groups. Their funding comes principally from statutory sources, notably from Housing Benefit and Supporting People.

A refuge is a safe house, typically accommodating five women and their children, where a survivor of domestic violence can escape to, and from where she receives the necessary support to plan her future. In order to protect all the residents, refuge living has inevitable constraints. Thus, the refuge address is secret, residents cannot have any male guests, and in most refuges male children over the age of 14 are not permitted. Accommodation usually consists of one room for each family unit, with shared facilities for cooking, washing and play, although some refuges are able to provide family 'flats'. There is usually a refuge worker on duty during working hours, but at night most refuges are un-staffed. The degree of security varies considerably, with some refuges resembling ordinary houses, while others are equipped with window bars and CCTV cameras. Finally, many refuges will not accept local women (particularly in London) for fear that their partners may pursue them, and put all the residents at risk.

Refuges provide much more than just a roof over a survivor's head. Refuge staff will also offer practical and emotional support to residents about a wide range of issues, including benefits rights, legal rights, counselling and support for her children. This support is invaluable for many women. Our principal reservation regarding refuges relates to their suitability for some women. We would surmise that the disruption associated with leaving home, and taking one's children out of school, would be enough to dissuade some women from even attempting to access refuge provision, and in the absence of an alternative, they would be forced to withstand continued violence.

Refuge provision faces many challenges, and again it is a testament to the responsiveness of the sector how these have been met. The range of needs which abused women have is very broad. Many women suffering from domestic violence also suffer from a range of additional problems including serious mental health illness and substance abuse. Equally, women from black and minority ethnic backgrounds face a different range of problems, as again do women with disabilities. In addition to 'generic' refuge provision, a number of specialist refuges have been set up (and continue to be so) to address the particular needs of these women.

An estimated 54,000 women and children find safety in a refuge each year in England and Wales. There are just fewer than 3,000 women's bed spaces currently available. At this level of provision, there are very few beds available each day, and most refuges operate at effectively 100% occupancy rates. Detailed research has shown that on a single day in 2000, 236 women could not be accommodated in a refuge. This represents close to 10% of refuge space. While there is little debate that more refuge beds are needed, the issue of capacity is complicated by a number of factors. First, the average length of stay in a refuge is approximately two months, although for a small minority of women it is over 12 months. However the length of the average stay varies considerably in different parts of the country, with approximately 23% of women in London staying in a refuge for over four months, compared with only 4% in the North East. Similarly, the percentage of women in London refuges coming from outside the area is far higher than in provincial refuges. This is exacerbated by the shortage of suitable accommodation for women leaving refuge accommodation. Second, the level of provision for women with specific needs such as disabilities or substance abuse problems is far lower per capita than generic provision. Finally, the ability of refuges to accept women without recourse to public funds is severely limited. This excludes women who are applying for residency in the UK and women in employment who are not able to claim housing benefit but whose earnings cannot meet the costs of refuge accommodation which can be between £250-400 a week.

The funding of refuges is largely covered by Housing Benefit and most recently, by Supporting People. This latest funding stream has been generally welcomed by the refuge sector since it appears to underpin the provision of a refuge's basic services. It does not include a number of supplementary services such as children's support. We estimate that each bed space in a refuge costs between £15-20,000 a year. London bed spaces are

typically more expensive, as are those where the residents have needs that require greater staffing and support.

As noted above, the majority of refuges are run by charities that are members of Women's Aid and as such receive a range of support services from the central organisation and typically share common values in their approach to their work. The sector remains highly fragmented with approximately 250 agencies running about 400 refuges. They range in size from single refuges with a budget of say £100,000 to organisations that have a budget that is ten times that size. Indeed, the largest single grouping of refuges is represented by the charity Refuge which manages about 4% of the beds in England and Wales, although this figure is forecast to rise in the coming two years.

In many cases it can be misleading to talk about 'refuge providers', since most refuges aim to offer the full range of support that their residents need, albeit within constrained budgets. Thus, Refuge provides both generic refuges and specialist BME accommodation. They have also sought to locate their refuges in 'clusters' to permit the efficient provision of complementary services such as children's counsellors and play workers. In other cases, charities seek rather to focus on specific issues. Thus, the Sahara Black Women's Refuge in Leeds provides dedicated accommodation, outreach and resettlement services to black and Asian women, while Eaves Housing for Women seeks to accommodate women without recourse to public funds, and those with specific problems which make it impossible to accommodate them within a conventional refuge.

There are some important differences in approach among individual refuges. Most notable among these is the policy regarding accepting local women. The majority of the London refuges will not accept local women, for fear of putting their fellow residents at risk. One refuge provider who will offer such beds is Hackney Women's Aid, whose experience suggests that the woman herself is the best judge of what accommodation represents 'safety' for her and her children.

Outreach

As mentioned above, refuges are usually actively involved in outreach and are the dominant providers of such services. Outreach consists of providing support to women experiencing domestic violence but still living in the community, either with or without their partners.

Helplines are a core component of outreach and are often an early port of call for women suffering violence.

Helplines are a core component of outreach and are often an early port of call for women suffering violence. They act as a catalyst to encourage women to seek outside help. They can provide invaluable advice, ranging from access to short-term accommodation, help on resettlement to a new home through to simple "signposting" to the appropriate bodies or agencies. Resettlement of women who have fled violent partners is an important component of outreach provided both within refuges, on helplines and, also, through direct advocacy described below. We estimate that between 25% and 40% of calls fielded by helplines concern accommodation. As part of their work, helplines make several calls for every one that they receive, whether it be seeking refuge accommodation or making contact with other agencies on behalf of the caller.

There are two 24-hour national helplines run by Refuge and Women's Aid as well as many local helplines, many of which are connected to a specific refuge, although these do not normally offer a 24-hour service. Data published by Refuge shows that its helpline took about 50,000 calls. The Women's Aid helpline received almost 18,000 calls and a further 60,000 callers are estimated to have been unable to get through. Many thousands of calls also do not get through to the Refuge helpline. In practice many callers try to call repeatedly and it is unclear how many women fail to get through. A significant proportion of callers are professionals seeking advice on how to deal with domestic violence in their work.

The existence of two national helplines has led to some confusion among women seeking support and advice. An important innovation due to be launched later this year is the provision of a single national free-phone helpline number which will then re-route calls between these two organisations according to demand and the geographical location of the caller. Funding for this integration has come from the Office of the Deputy Prime Minister (ODPM) and from Comic Relief. The funds are expected to pay only for the free-phone facility and its set up and so operating costs will not be included.

An important adjunct to this project is the development of an internet-based system, "Refuges Online", to enable refuge bed spaces to be tracked and allocated more efficiently and so avoid the current situation where helpline staff make many wasted calls before they can establish whether or not a bed exists for their caller.

Many small refuge providers also operate local helplines, but it is not just refuge providers who run helplines. Some helplines form the initial contact with a broader outreach service, such as Newham Action Against Domestic Violence (NAADV) in Newham, East London and Hackney Women's Aid.

Following an initial call, such charities are able to offer other services including home visits, advice centres, counselling, safety planning or services in community centres. Outreach also includes the simple provision of information in doctor's surgeries, hospitals etc. NAADV is a good example of a charity providing not only a broad range of these services, but also one that makes great use of volunteers in their delivery. Thus the staff of eight has a team of almost 30 trainee social workers and counsellors who support their clients.

Hackney Women's Aid is an example of an organisation which carries out part of its outreach through an advice centre which sits in the charity's offices. This serves as the first point of assessment of a woman's needs and risks. About 850 callers to the centre are dealt with each year.

Outreach services can be particularly appropriate for women from the Asian community, where social and family pressures may limit a woman's choices regarding her safety. Barnardo's Phoenix project in Bolton, Lancashire is an example of outreach to BME women and children. Through a resource centre women are able to seek help and advice about living with a violent partner, re-housing and other issues.

Survivors of domestic violence can also access other services through the work of the two national charities, Relate and Victim Support. The charity Relate is the UK's largest and most experienced relationship counselling organisation. Relate found through its internal research that 20% of couples mentioned domestic violence in their counselling session. The national charity Victim Support, together with the numerous regional Victim Support charities, work with victims of all crimes, both through the provision of advice via a helpline and, also, support for individual victims up to and including supporting them with a court appearance. According to Victim Support, 9% of calls taken on their helpline are linked to domestic violence. In terms of further, more detailed work with victims, it is difficult to extrapolate from this figure because of the complexity of domestic violence cases and anecdotal evidence suggests that many Victim Support schemes refer clients on to more specialist services.

Direct advocacy

Direct advocacy involves working closely with a woman to help her navigate a path through the various agencies and processes which arise in the wake of domestic violence.

Our definition of "direct advocacy" is drawn from a model of community working from the United States, specifically from Duluth, Minnesota. This is a comprehensive community-based programme that seeks to stop the violence towards the woman and to protect her. In doing this it seeks to avoid further victimisation of the woman by working with her abuser and getting him to take responsibility for his actions. It involves the close co-operation and common aims of the police, the criminal justice system, charitable sector agencies and the local community. Direct advocacy projects form a critical part in this process. Their role involves working closely with a woman to help her navigate a path through the various statutory agencies, legal processes and benefits issues which can arise in the wake of domestic violence. It addresses safety planning, as well as remedies available under both civil and criminal law and where appropriate, refuge accommodation and emotional support. An advocate will also help a woman with risk issues relating to her children. The key distinguishing feature of direct advocacy is its focus on working in direct partnership with the police in particular, and where possible with the CPS, Social Services and the Health Service.

Such work is important because a woman is confronted by a bewildering array of institutions and procedures that she must negotiate in order to pursue a path to safety. Many women simply give up as they become confused by the process and the interminable delay. We believe that relatively few direct advocacy projects currently exist. Each has a local, specialised focus reflecting its origins within the area.

Direct advocacy can involve detailed work on a particular case. For example, HALT in Leeds employs workers each of whom has a caseload of around 50 clients. The primary focus of their work is on supporting women during a criminal prosecution. A HALT worker helps a woman prepare her statement, explains legal processes and accompanies her to court where appropriate, helps pursue criminal remedies when, for example, bail conditions are flouted.

Other charities that are active in this work include Advance in West London, the Women's Safety Unit in Cardiff as well as Staying Put in Bradford and Domestic Violence Matters in

The large children's charities tend to have a handful of projects which are specifically concerned with tackling the effects of domestic violence.

Supervised contact centres, where children can safely meet their fathers, are a growing area of interest.

Islington, North London. Each has particular emphases in their work. Thus, Staying Put has developed a strong civil protection package which helps Muslim women who are rarely prepared to give evidence in a criminal trial. The Women's Safety Unit has been successful in developing multi-agency risk assessment committees (MARACs) focusing in particular on areas of heightened risk such as pregnant women and risk to children. This permits Social Services teams and mid-wives to prioritise the support that they give to these cases.

Inevitably, direct advocacy is a time-consuming activity. However, it is not necessarily more expensive than general outreach as it is typically highly focused, thus improving the chances of a successful outcome (outcomes are discussed in Section IV).

Awareness raising

Charitable organisations have been pivotal in changing the landscape for domestic violence in the UK, in terms of both legislation and attitudes. In particular, Women's Aid has made an invaluable contribution to this through its long-term campaigning work. More recently other groups have become active in this area such as the Greater London Domestic Violence Project in London.

There are two elements to awareness-raising. The first is to change attitudes in society. Research shows that a large proportion of people still think some level of domestic violence is acceptable, including many children, particularly boys. A recent study showed that over 75% of boys aged 11-12 think it acceptable for a man to strike a woman if she makes him angry. The figure declines only slightly, to 62%, for boys aged 15-16. Charities can potentially play a key role in changing such attitudes through their dogged campaigning. Women's Aid has proved a key body in this respect including with the recent Zero Tolerance campaign.

The second element regards lobbying for changes in legislation to provide more effective protection for women. The shifts in legislation during the past three decades have been tremendously important. It is difficult to over-estimate the importance of charities and other charitable organisations in helping create these changes.

In terms of ongoing work and on a smaller scale than Women's Aid, Southall Black Sisters in Ealing, West London, is widely known and active in lobbying for legislative change, particularly in the area of providing effective support to victims of domestic violence within the BME community. Imkaan also works to raise awareness about domestic violence among BME women, carrying out research and policy work.

Children's services

As we have mentioned at several points, children caught up in domestic violence are badly affected, even where they do not directly suffer violence themselves. Both the children themselves and their mothers cite children's services as one of the most important forms of support that they need.

Children's services encompass a range of activities, including providing play facilities and play workers in refuges, 'safety planning' so that children are better equipped to avoid the violence in their homes and counselling services to help children come to terms with their experiences. Charitable organisations and funding are especially important in this area particularly as these services are not covered by the Supporting People funding stream. Children's services are usually combined with services for the mother (and occasionally for the abuser too).

Most Women's Aid refuges provide at least part-time play workers but restricted resources limit the provision of counselling and groupwork support for the children and the funding of these posts is often dependent on private sector funding. For example, Refuge has a team of therapeutic children's workers dedicated to their refuge clients while the Sahara Black Women's Project, in Leeds, has a children's therapeutic worker who supports children both in the refuge and in the community, as well as a play worker dedicated to children living in the refuge.

The large children's charities tend to have only a handful of projects which are specifically concerned with tackling the effects of domestic violence, though for a large number of projects domestic violence is a consistent theme encountered in their work.

Barnardo's launched a campaign "Bitter Legacy" last year to raise awareness about children and domestic violence. The main theme of this campaign was the prevalence of domestic

Perpetrator programmes work with violent men to moderate their behaviour and “cure” their violent tendencies.

There are a few experimental perpetrator programmes currently running.

violence through much of Barnardo’s work. In a survey of projects, three quarters of projects said that domestic violence was significant and almost 3,500 children Barnardo’s projects were working with had experience of domestic violence in their home although the number of projects that work exclusively with domestic violence is small.

The National Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children (NSPCC) similarly works with children who are caught up in domestic violence. The NSPCC has around a dozen or so projects that work directly with domestic violence, but encounters the problem frequently through its general work.

An important adjunct to conventional children’s services is supervised contact centres. As discussed in Section I, children where the mother has been a victim of domestic violence are vulnerable to violence themselves when having contact with their violent fathers, as can be their mothers. Often such contact is sanctioned by a court. There is growing provision of safe contact centres where children can safely spend time with their fathers. The Coram Family Trust is an important provider of these centres.

DVIP (Domestic Violence Intervention Project) in Hammersmith, West London is interested in extending its work into this area. DVIP already does some work for CAFCASS (The Children and Family Court Advisory and Support Service) undertaking risk assessments ahead of court orders sanctioning contact between children and their violent fathers. Providing these safe contact centres themselves would be a natural extension of this activity.

The charity ChildLine provides the only free confidential national phone line service to children. While ChildLine takes calls across a wide range of issues, including bullying, family separation etc., a significant number of its calls are likely to be related to domestic violence. Recall that as mentioned in Section I, research shows that most children express a desire for someone to talk to about their experiences. ChildLine is a major provider of this service for children.

Perpetrator programmes

Perpetrator programmes involve a response to domestic violence quite different from the norm. The traditional response to domestic violence involves protecting the victim and punishing the perpetrator where possible. No other work with the perpetrator usually takes place.

Perpetrator programmes involve working with violent men to moderate their behaviour and attitudes. The model for this work comes from the US, and forms part of the Duluth approach.

These programmes work with both men who have a court referral for a place on a programme and men who self-refer themselves. Courts refer perpetrators who have been prosecuted to courses that they must attend that are typically run by the probation service, leaving self-referrals to be dealt with by the voluntary sector. Earlier intervention is only possible if a man self-refers himself onto a course. This can be triggered by women saying that they will leave if he does not do anything about his violence. The completion rate for self-referrals is far lower than for court-mandated attendees.

DVIP is one charity running perpetrator programmes whose work has been positively evaluated. Another charity provider of perpetrator programmes is the NSPCC. NSPCC, Cardiff, Wales works with male perpetrators. All good perpetrator programmes work with the female partners as well as with the male abuser. A distinct feature of the NSPCC project is that it also works with the children.

Target hardening

Target hardening often goes hand in hand with safety planning and sometimes with legal remedies. It involves providing additional physical protection to the woman in her home either after the abuser has been removed following appropriate legal action or after separation. Alarms and new locks are the basic means of providing such security. Alarms are connected directly to the local police station.

A large number of projects including the Women’s Safety Unit in Cardiff, and Staying Put in Bradford provide target hardening as one of their services to help prevent women having to leave their homes, or to give them greater security if they have done so. Clearly, this work while helpful, does not address the issue of a woman feeling safe in her neighbourhood.

Charities can play a role in ensuring the police provide consistent and effective guidance to women.

The large number of bodies, statutory and charitable, means that an integrated approach is necessary.

Police

As discussed earlier, the police are in the front-line of dealing with domestic violence and many police services are improving both their understanding of domestic violence and their response when incidents do take place. Ensuring the police provide consistent and effective guidance to women, at the minimum signposting them to appropriate bodies, is an important part of a comprehensive approach to domestic violence. Charities can play a role in this.

The police are represented on each of the many domestic violence forums that now exist and that were discussed in Section II. Charitable organisations can aid the effective policing of domestic violence through membership of and participation of these forums. Some charities work more closely with the police. For example, Hammersmith and Fulham police, West London, work closely in operational partnership with the charities Standing Together and Advance.

Training professionals

As discussed in Section I, public service professionals from a wide range of fields encounter domestic violence. Besides the unacceptable emotional cost domestic violence causes, it is this which causes its marked economic cost.

NHS professionals, teachers, social workers, lawyers as well as police and court officials all work with women suffering domestic violence. Training these groups to deal effectively and sensitively with the subject is desirable. Most training is done within the respective professional bodies but charitable organisations have a role to play. For example, Standing Together does training of the police in Hammersmith and Fulham and is in demand to extend this work and the Greater London Domestic Violence Project (GLDVP) delivers the national police domestic violence training as part of its goal to ensure consistency of provision for both survivors and perpetrators of domestic violence.

An integrated approach

Each of the methods discussed in this section represents a valid and important means of intervening to combat domestic violence. Many of them go hand in hand and many organisations are active in more than one type of intervention. It is easy to tire of clichés about joined up working, strategic partnerships, information sharing etc. But in the area of domestic violence the large number of bodies, statutory and charitable, which encounter victims and have the opportunity to intervene means that an integrated approach really is necessary.

Standing Together works to bring together all agencies that are active in dealing with domestic violence in Hammersmith and Fulham. This is an operational partnership that enables all agencies, including the police, to work most effectively. Besides its training work, Standing Together provides the glue ensuring all the linkages between the intervention points is solid.

Such a coherent approach requires ensuring all the pieces of the jigsaw fit together to ensure women receive adequate protection from abusers and that where abuse has taken place, proper redress is sought, including punishment of the male abuser. While provided in a few areas, it is lacking in most parts of the country.

The purpose of an integrated approach is clearly to ensure that "outcomes" are better. We now turn to the subject of outcomes.

Section IV – Outcomes

Charities increasingly distinguish their outcomes from their outputs.

The aim of this section is to try and analyse and define what might be regarded as 'a successful outcome' as it applies to different types of intervention, each seeking to combat domestic violence. The complexity of this subject and the paucity of robust data as it applies to outcomes make this a very difficult task. However, grant-makers and donors are faced with the reality of having to choose between several charities, either using the same intervention method, or different ones. Our aim is provide practical guides for grant-makers and donors to assist them in the effective allocation of their resources between a range of applicants. We hope that the conclusions that we have drawn and the costings that we have tentatively applied to these are useful in this regard. In no way do they represent a definitive analysis of the problem and we would stress that each charity deserves individual analysis to apply the general benchmarks we have sketched out in as appropriate fashion as possible. Thus for example, a refuge that provides accommodation to women with disabilities will have a different cost structure, different average length of stay and different criteria for a successful outcome than one that works with other specific issues, such as helping women from BME communities. Our definitions and costings should be used only as general benchmarks, and might also serve to prompt further questions and analysis of individual projects.

Charities increasingly distinguish their outcomes from their outputs. An output of, say, a domestic violence helpline is the phone calls and advice provided to women. The outcome is that a woman and her children can be helped to safety.

It is outcomes that most interest charities, grant-makers and donors. The difficulty with outcomes lies both in articulating them and in measuring them.

In common with most parts of the charitable sector, organisations working against domestic violence have traditionally spent little time considering outcomes owing to the practical constraints of working day to day and the lack of pressure to record outcomes. This section provides some insights into outcomes in this area and the problems and possibilities in measuring and costing such outcomes.

As referred to earlier in this report, there are certain features of domestic abuse that make it particularly complicated to analyse in relation to the measurement and costing of outcomes.

Basic outcomes from tackling domestic violence

On one level, it is easy to articulate the outcomes from charities and projects that tackle domestic violence. The basic outcome all organisations seek is to make women and children safe. Additionally, some organisations seek is to hold abusers accountable, but this has not been the prime focus of most charitable organisations in the field until relatively recently.

One can go further and articulate a number of distinct outcomes each of which contributes towards the basic outcome of safety for the woman, and addresses her specific needs:

- Safe re-housing of a woman and children
- Effective criminal sanctions, i.e. increasing the number of prosecutions, and the number of guilty verdicts and the application of appropriate sanctions, e.g. restraining orders
- Effective civil law sanctions, i.e. preventing the male perpetrator of the abuse from entering the family home or molesting his partner
- Re-housing of a woman and children either to a refuge or some other safe house
- Stopping abusers through perpetrator programmes.
- Reducing the time that a woman suffers abuse, and the number of incidents that she withstands before finding effective help
- Providing her children with appropriate support
- Providing the woman with appropriate safety planning advice
- For women who are obliged to be re-settled, to provide them with adequate support to increase their chance of successful independent living
- Effective education and awareness raising to change attitudes towards domestic violence both among professionals and society in general

An obvious question is whether these outcomes are equivalent. While the woman is theoretically made safe in each case, there are important qualitative differences that make comparison difficult. The male perpetrator should be held accountable in an ideal world and

The basic outcome that all organisations tackling domestic violence seek is to make women safe.

the woman and children should be able to have the choice as to whether or not to stay in the home.

The inadequacy of the official response has necessitated the development of an alternative, namely making the woman safe in a new location, via a stay in a refuge, with little criminal sanction taken against the abuser. As a consequence, a woman's options have been limited to, in many instances, remaining with their violent partner or going to a distant refuge. This represents an astounding social injustice.

A chain of outcomes

While relatively easy to define outcomes, it is less easy to measure and cost outcomes and often difficult to attribute specific outcomes to certain projects. For example, a helpline might signpost a woman to a legal advice centre, the ultimate effect of which might be to help the woman get an injunction and exclude her abuser from her home. Alternatively a helpline might provide the woman access to a refuge bed space through which she ultimately becomes safe through re-housing.

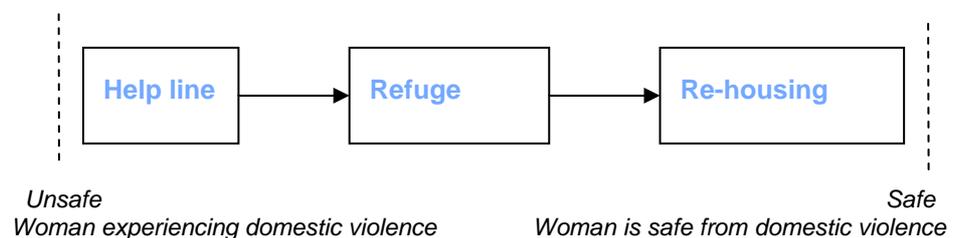
One can think of a chain of outcomes where each link in the chain is necessary to secure the final outcome of safety for the woman (Figure 3). This is by necessity an over-simplified model, and does not reflect the reality that many women continue to be pursued by their abuser after leaving a refuge or other safe 'solution'.

If a helpline did not exist it would be more difficult for women to find their way to a refuge and so less likely to be safe. If the refuge did not exist then the helpline would be limited in terms of its effectiveness in making women safe (unless they had time to talk through the civil options and make a woman safe in her home, which would, in turn, create a different link in the chain to safety). In practice the chain is much longer with each stage a necessary part of the whole.

In domestic violence, one may think of a chain of outcomes the overall result of which is to make the woman safe.

Figure 3: A chain of possible outcomes to make women safe from abusers

A woman calls a helpline and is given a bed space in a refuge. Once in the refuge the woman receives emotional support and practical advice to including help her get re-housed. When re-housed the woman is finally potentially safe from her abuser and able to rebuild her life, often with the support of outreach work.



Attribution of the final outcome to one intervention alone is misleading because of this chain of outcomes. In assessing the outcomes from individual interventions we need to bear this in mind. This chain of outcomes is the corollary of the jigsaw of intervention methods in Section III.

One tremendously important implication flows from this reasoning. It is not possible to say that intervention "A" is bad and intervention "B" is good. Both intervention A and B are likely to be necessary to be confident that a woman is made safe. Therefore, it is not possible to rank them against one another.

This is important for any grant-maker or donor seeking to allocate funds in the area of domestic violence. Within a given intervention type it might be possible to make comparisons of projects. For example, one helpline may cost £20 per call and another might cost £100. It can be useful to compare such costs across helplines. Taking into account other factors regarding the severity of problems of the caller, the service provided by the individual helpline, the nature of the calls it receives and the support it offers, this can provide useful information about the relative value of additional donations or grants to each helpline.

The other factor that a grant-maker needs to consider is the likelihood of their grantee being able to ensure the outcome that they are striving for. The more links in the chain of outcomes that an individual charity 'controls', the greater the chance of achieving their goal.

There are a number of areas where grant-makers and philanthropists can make a difference in domestic violence.

Thus at one extreme, you might take the stand-alone helpline which acts as a referral point for women to other agencies. In this case, the helpline staff have little or no control over the outcome for that individual, since it will fall to a number of other agencies to support her. This is not to say that helplines are not worthwhile. We believe that they are a vital part of the fabric of interventions to address domestic violence. Rather we are seeking to point out the limits of the intervention. In contrast, some multi-agency partnerships work in a highly integrated fashion, hence from the perspective of a grant-maker, the likelihood of their grant funding a specific successful outcome is theoretically much higher.

Where outcomes are difficult to measure or attribute, it is useful to gauge outputs as a proxy for outcomes. In this case the cost per user is an appropriate benchmark within the given intervention type. In some cases, though, outcomes within a given intervention method can be compared.

Indicative costings of outcomes

The following are the main areas where grant-makers and donors can make a difference to domestic violence:

- Direct advocacy partnerships
- Outreach, including helplines
- Children's services, including counselling and safe contact centres
- Preventative education
- Specialised provision, including for BME women and for those without recourse to public funds
- Refuges

Each of these approaches is an important link in the chain of outcomes making a woman safe from domestic violence or providing valuable emotional support to women and children. Table 5 shows specific outcomes tackled by some of these interventions and some outline estimates of cost per user and per successful user. The figures are indicative only and are based on experiences from actual projects assessed during the course of researching this report. Where there is research available we have tried to adjust the cost per success for those cases where the abuse would have ceased anyway without the intervention. Thus for example, in the case of perpetrator programmes there is some longitudinal research (from the US) that compares relapse rates between convicted offenders who have completed a perpetrator programme with those who have not. We have adjusted the cost per success for this figure. The costs only relate to those specifically incurred by an individual project, and do not take into account the costs that success might imply for another agency. Thus, in the case of the direct advocacy/partnership projects, their success will inevitably increase the costs to the state of a criminal justice prosecution which might not have occurred had they not been involved in a woman's case.

Table 5: Interventions, outcomes and indicative costings

Intervention	Safe Accommodation of woman and children	Effective civil law sanctions	Effective criminal law sanctions	"Curing" abusers	Cost per user	Indicative Cost per successful user
Direct advocacy-partnership working'	→y	y	y	x	£250	£325-£600
Outreach						
– general	→	→	→	x	£200	–
– helplines	→	→	→	x	£25	c. £170
Refuges	y	→	→	x	£3,000	c. £6,000
Perpetrator programmes	x	x	x	y	£4,300	c. £24,000

- y – indicates the intervention leads to this final outcome
 → – indicates the intervention can serve as a staging post to this final outcome
 x – indicates the intervention does not lead to this final outcome

Definitions of success for domestic violence projects

These interventions clearly ignore the invaluable support offered to survivors of domestic violence from their friends and family, which is often the most common and important support available. We do not address this, since this is not relevant to the decisions of grant-makers and donors.

All of these definitions of success raise multiple questions which are critical to a private funder in deciding which applicants to support. In our specific charity research we address these issues for each project, but we have attempted to summarise some of the key ones below. Clearly, there is no one definition of success, and we believe that the skill of the funder and their advisers lies in analysing and interpreting the subtleties of each case and where appropriate structuring the grant in such a way as to achieve the desired outcomes.

The model of partnership working is really the only approach that targets all of the outcome criteria relating to the safety of the woman.

- a. Direct Advocacy Partnerships: In this area we believe that success may be defined in at least three ways. The first is the ability of a charity to support the woman such that she is able to live safely without abuse through possibly target hardening or civil protection and the second is to help support the survivor, and the criminal justice agencies such that her abuser is convicted of a crime. In the first case, early indications suggest that 80% of the women supported in this way left their partners safely. However, it does not say where they went, or whether they were able to stay at home, nor does it look at how long they were 'safe' for. In the case of direct advocacy as it relates to criminal prosecutions, obviously the ideal signs of success here are convictions and guilty pleas although in most cases, the lack of record keeping by courts leaves the onus on individual projects to do this. An exception to this, is West London Magistrate's Court, and also Wolverhampton where an evaluation is underway. Although the evidence is still limited because of the short time of operation of these projects, the early indications are extremely encouraging, in particular from the Cardiff Women's Safety Unit and Advance in West London (who operate with local 'cluster courts' where statistics are available) where independent evaluations have been completed. These measures of success include shorter case times, fewer cases of repeat victimisation, greater number of referrals of at risk children, fewer victim retractions etc. The former are clearly quantifiable, the latter are very important but less easy to measure. The third measure of success is for the partnership to engage other agencies in an effective fashion so that the full range of support is made available. This might range from specific help for the children, to enrolling the abuser on a perpetrator programme.

The model of partnership working, is really the only approach that targets all of the outcome criteria relating to the safety of the woman, the accountability of the abuser and the accountability of the state and society to support the woman and her children. As such, we believe that it is the best alternative for a woman facing domestic violence, but equally is dependent on the positive support of a number of statutory authorities for its success, namely the police and the CPS at the least, and the Health Service and Social Services where possible. However, from the point of view of the grant-maker, the direct advocacy group effectively takes responsibility for this, thus making the likelihood of an individual grant achieving its aims higher than might otherwise be the case.

The range in costs reflects the difference in outcomes depending on whether a woman is supported down the criminal or the civil justice route. In this area, we do not have a counter-factual in terms of how many women would have found safety without the involvement of these services. However, given the shortage of alternative provision (particularly refuge beds), it is reasonable to believe that their clients would not have received satisfactory support.

- b. Refuge provision: Every refuge provides immediate safety, and in this sense nearly everybody there could be defined as a success i.e. the cost of success roughly equals the cost of the stay. This could be refined by adjusting the figure for the percentage of women who choose to return to their abuser without civil protection orders. This figure will vary considerably depending on the aftercare support offered, the local housing situation and the severity of the abuse that a woman faces.

However the longer term objective of refuge work is a woman's continued safety as she leaves and much of their work is towards this end. In our

The range in costs reflects the differences in outcomes depending on whether the woman is supported down the criminal or the civil justice route

Costs per successful user are not comparable as not only may one outcome lead to another but also the duration of success varies considerably.

estimate of £6,000 per success we have used the data from the Women's Aid survey which shows the breakdown of where women went to when they left a refuge, and excluded those parts that do not constitute direct success e.g. returning to the abuser, going to another refuge etc. This is unquestionably a crude measure but we have been unable to find any data on longer term outcomes, i.e. does a woman stay safe. We have used the average length of stay in the refuge and have made no adjustment for whether 'successful' leavers have typically had longer or shorter stays. This is partly because of an absence of data and also because we do not know how important this is relative to the severity and nature of the abuse that has been suffered. Once again, we attempt to interpret these details more accurately in our work on specific charities, and highlight them here to illustrate the complexity of the issue.

- c. Outreach: This is a complicated area including a very wide range of interventions. To try and define success we have divided it into sub-sectors. The first of these is helplines which play two important roles. One is in finding refuge accommodation. We estimate that between 25% and 40% of calls to Women's Aid and Refuge are seeking emergency accommodation. If you assume that about half of these are found a bed space, then this could be deemed to constitute success. There are about 44,000 calls a year that get through to the two lines, of which say 14,700 are seeking accommodation, implying that almost 7,500 women and their children are found a safe home. The second is in the provision of information, signposting etc. We have not assigned a figure for the cost of success to this area since it includes too many unknowns in terms of how a woman uses the information that she is given. Again, on a project specific level we adjust the individual costing for the number of times that a user typically calls a helpline, which varies considerably.

The second main type of outreach intervention includes direct contact with women, most of who will still be living with their abuser. Projects working in this field have a wide range of goals from emotional support to focused safety planning, including legal protection. We feel that it is not appropriate to estimate a general 'sector' cost of a successful outcome, but rather that each type of intervention is assessed separately.

- d. Perpetrator Programmes: In this case we have defined success by taking the number of men completing a programme who do not re-offend and adjusting it for the number who would not have re-offended even if they had not done the programme. To be cautious, this work is based on longitudinal research done in the US, so critics could argue that it does not apply accurately to the UK, but it is the only research that we know of where there is with a large sized cohort of participants. Note also, that although the price of success here looks very high, the duration of the success (i.e. the number of years that a man will not re-offend for) is also longer than might be the case for other types of provision.

Given the discussion earlier about chains of outcomes, it is important to stress that the costs per successful user are not comparable as not only may one outcome lead to another, making the interventions complementary rather than substitutes, but also the duration of the success varies considerably. Moreover, in some cases the lack of cost per successful user does not imply that the intervention is unsuccessful. Rather it implies that the intervention sits in the middle of the chain of outcomes leading to one of the final outcomes listed above.

In conclusion, it is difficult to rank outcomes from different intervention methods in terms of absolute effectiveness. The very nature of the problem of domestic violence requires a broad range of interventions. However, comparisons can be made in some cases, and certainly can be between different projects within a single approach. Understanding the chain of outcomes and the potential cost of a successful outcome is an important part of effective grant making. Equally, an understanding of the context in which organisations work, specifically the role of local partnerships or agency groupings is critical to the potential effectiveness of any single agency.

Section V – Conclusion

This is an exciting time to be supporting projects working to counter domestic violence. The combination of innovative voluntary sector services and a more robust and committed statutory response make the potential impact of charitable work even greater.

There is now a greater will and means to tackle domestic violence and private funding can play an important role in ensuring that society shifts to more equitable and just outcomes for women suffering domestic violence.

The last 30 years have witnessed a tremendous change in the public's perception of domestic violence and in the services available to women and children who suffer it. The key focus of this work has quite rightly been on the safety of the woman and her children. However, the absence (until recently) of an adequate legislative framework, combined with both ignorance and a lack of will on the part of the police, has meant that in practice this safety has commonly had to be sought by the woman leaving the family home. There are clear signs that this is beginning to change.

As with many areas of social welfare, the interface between the voluntary sector and the state is crucial. Domestic violence charities have often been notable for their flexibility and responsiveness. Thus, as the statutory commitment to the safety of the woman and the accountability of her abuser has increased (albeit from a very low base), so both the existing charities working in this field, and a number of new ones have re-focused their work, thus offering their clients the most appropriate support and range of choices. The local response from the police and the CPS remains patchy, which in turn limits the potential of voluntary sector work in areas where their commitment is weak. We believe that we are potentially witnessing an important change in this area, and that clearly targeted philanthropy can accelerate this trend. We are fortunate to be working in a field with strong academic traditions of practical evaluation, allowing all the organisations working in it to learn from the experience of others and to apply it in their own areas. Despite the marked success of direct advocacy partnerships in achieving both safety for the woman and accountability for her abuser, these projects remain pitifully few in number and most face serious uncertainty about their future funding. Funders can help to address these weaknesses.

The potential for a funder to encourage change and innovative new practice should not exclude the importance of supporting and indeed expanding areas of 'traditional' work. The need for refuge spaces remains great, particularly for certain minority groups and women with specific needs. The fabric of many refuges is in poor repair, and the services offered to the residents, and most particularly the children are too often limited by a lack of funds. Equally, the national helplines each face an important funding challenge each year to continue to provide a vital service. Community based work for women and children is often insecurely funded yet very important. It is easy to overlook the needs of that group of people who offer early and sustained support to women; namely their friends and family. Education and awareness-raising about how best to support a woman suffering from domestic abuse are also vital pieces in the jigsaw of provision. Finally, there is a clear need for more preventative work with children to underpin a genuine change in attitudes and behaviour.

Domestic violence causes misery and suffering for hundreds of thousands of women and children. The work of some charities active in this field creates the hope that they may face a more equitable and just future. Private funding can play an important role in encouraging society to shift in this direction by supporting those projects that are working to provide genuine choices for women suffering domestic violence and who thereby put pressure on the State to fulfil its responsibilities.

Appendix I – Projects contacted by NPC that tackle domestic violence

Principal intervention method	Annual expenditure 2002	Geographical location	Other activities
Refuges			
Eaves housing for women	£1,353,711	London	Outreach Support for other domestic violence agencies (Lilith project)
Hackney Women's Aid	£496,572	London	Advice centre Family support
Newham Asian Women's Project (BME)	£1,064,835	London	Advice centre Resettlement Training Counselling Mental health Young Asian women work
Refuge	£3,487,627	South East, mainly London	24 hour helpline Awareness raising Children's services
Sahara Black Women's Refuge (BME)	£267,025 (budget 2003)	Leeds, West Yorkshire	Children's services Outreach Resettlement
South Somerset refuge	£160,160 (budget 2003)	Somerset	Children's services
Awareness raising and public information			
Greater London Domestic Violence Project	£75,000	London	
Southall Black Sisters	£214,828	London	Direct advocacy
Women's Aid Federation of England (WAFE)	£988,162	Bristol, Avon	24 hour helpline and advocacy
Woman Kind	£1,313,165	London	
Direct advocacy / Integrated approach*			
Advance	£141,963	Hammersmith, London	
Domestic Violence Matters	£86,000	Islington, London	Direct advocacy (based in a police station)
HALT	£109,588	Leeds, West Yorkshire	
One Stop Shop		Croydon, Surrey	
Standing Together	£191,660	London	
Staying Put	£380,000	Bradford, Yorkshire	Target hardening, direct advocacy
Victim Support	Part of group of larger charities	Regional offices all over	Helpline
Women's Safety Unit	£234,000	Cardiff, Wales	Direct advocacy

Outreach

Newham Action Against Domestic Violence	£250,445	London	Counselling/advocacy
Barnsley Domestic Violence Group	£86,000	Barnsley, Yorkshire	Counselling
Rights of Women	£164,748	London	
Sunflower Centre	£189,237	Northampton, N'thamptonshire	Advocacy

Children's services

Barnardo's Phoenix Project (BME)	£150,000	Bolton, Lancashire	Counselling and advice centre Local awareness raising for BME
Coram Family	Part of larger charity	London	Child contact centres
The Children's Society, Wyrley Birch project	Part of larger charity	Birmingham, West Midlands	
NSPCC York	Part of larger charity	York, Yorkshire	Services for women

Perpetrator programmes

Ahimsa	£179,295	Plymouth, Cornwall & Devon	Women's services Child contact Training professionals
Domestic Violence Intervention Project	£368,860	Hammersmith, London	Women's support services Child contact and risk assessments
NSPCC, Cardiff	Part of larger charity	Cardiff, Wales	Women's support services Children's group work
TRYangle	£87,643 (budget 2003)	Woolwich, London	Perpetrator programme
8 Days a week	n/a	Bradford, Yorkshire	

* In the direct advocacy/ integrated approach not all additional services provided have been listed because the projects co-ordinate existing provision to meet the woman's individual needs.

Appendix II – Acknowledgements and bibliography

This report has entailed widespread use of published sources. References are given below. In addition, at a number of points the authors made calculations to produce data mentioned in the text. Some examples illustrate this.

First, Table 1 includes the figure 514,000 for the number of women who are victims of domestic violence in any year. This figure derives from a combination of two sources. First, according to the British Crime Survey 2001-02, there were 635,000 incidents of domestic violence in the 12 month period covered by the survey. This figure includes all victims, male and female, and all perpetrators. Our research was focused on female victims and male perpetrators. According to statistics published by the Home Office (2002), 81% of domestic violence was carried out by men against women. Applying this proportion to 635,000 gives 514,350 ($=635,000 \times 0.81$), which rounds to 514,000. Combining this with an adult female population statistic for England and Wales in 2001 of 21,942,000 (from National Statistics) gives the proportion of 1 in 40. Other sources for the figures in Table 1 are as follows:

1 in 4	Mirrlees-Black (1999)
1 in 8	Mirrlees-Black (1999)
1 in 40	Denham (2003)
1 in 60	Stanko (2001)
1 in 950	WAFE Gold Book (2003)

Second, Figure 1 on page 8 refers to the number of arrests for crimes arising from domestic violence in England and Wales. Exact numbers for this do not exist. In a written parliamentary answer on 15 January 2003, Home Office Minister Hilary Benn MP provided statistics on police arrests for domestic violence. These figures covered the 12 months April 2001 to March 2002. 30 out of 43 police forces provided statistics. The total number of arrests for these 30 authorities was 57,117. In order to estimate a figure for the whole of England and Wales we assumed the arrest rate of the 30 authorities was representative of the missing 13 authorities. Therefore, we scaled up the figure 57,117 to arrive at 82,000 (i.e. $57,117 \times 43/30 = 81,868$ which rounds to 82,000).

The figures for domestic violence incidents and for total arrests are included in Figure 1. Sources for other figures in this table are Stanko (2001), Women's Aid (various publications), Lord Chancellor's Department, Harman (2003) and calculations for the Leeds domestic violence cluster court based on data in Grundy et al (2001).

Similar calculations to those described here abound in the text but the precise details are suppressed in order to improve the readability of the report. Rather than cluttering the text with countless footnotes and references, we have relegated all sources to this appendix. References are given below. The authors are happy to answer any questions about specific material contained in the report.

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