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The Kentucky Civil Protective Order Study:

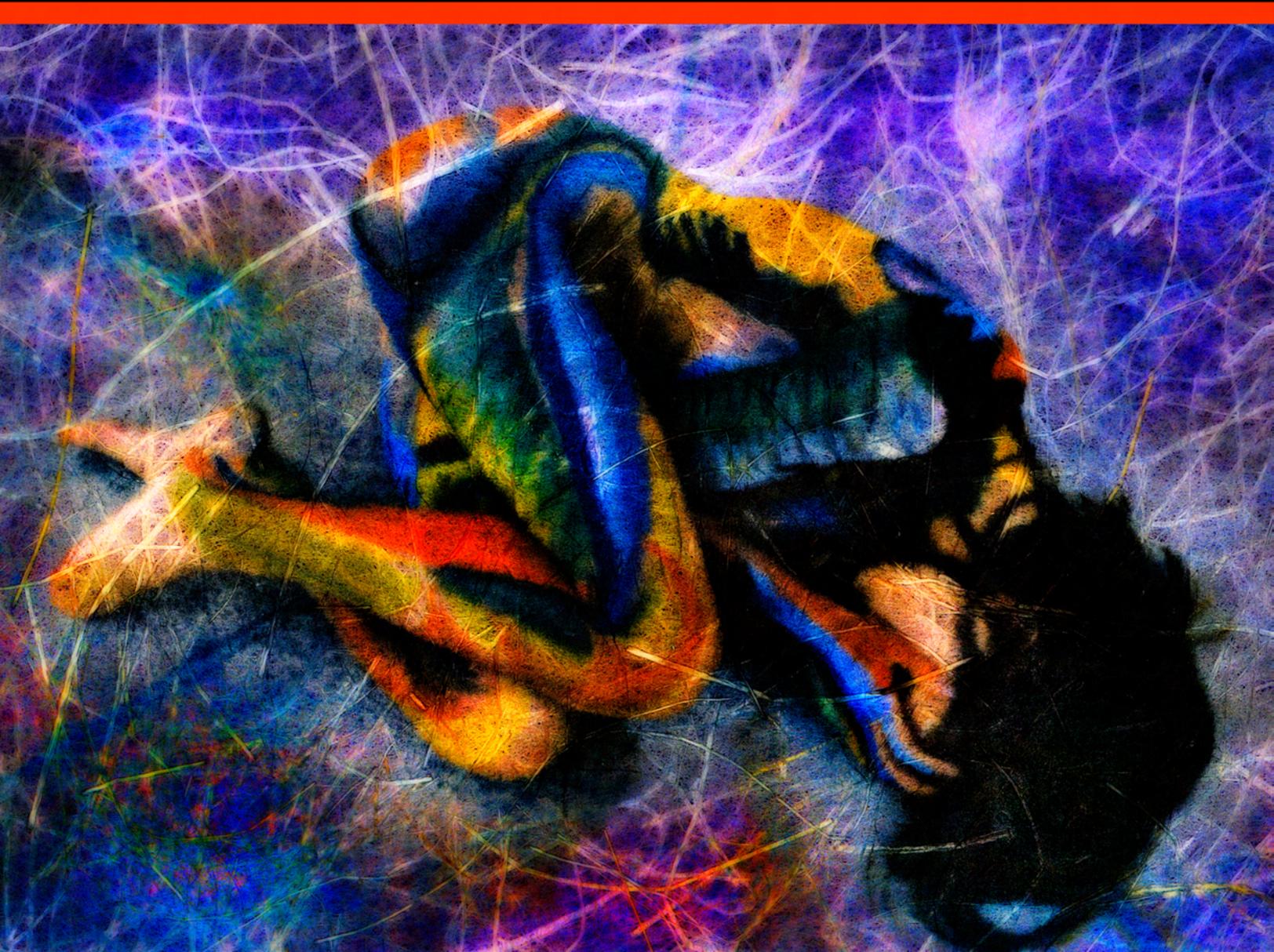
A Rural and Urban Multiple Perspective Study of Protective Order Violation Consequences, Responses, and Costs

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ABSTRACT

Intimate partner violence affects thousands of women each year and results in substantial personal and societal costs. In response to the need for victim protection, states have established civil protective orders (PO). This study addresses several gaps in the research literature on civil protective orders by examining PO effectiveness, enforcement, and cost effectiveness. A selected rural area and a selected urban area were compared to better understand subtle jurisdictional differences. This study used multiple data sources including victim self-reports, key informant interviews, and court data on offenders in order to address three major questions: (1) *Rural versus urban similarities and differences: Do community contextual factors matter?* This question was answered by examining official data and the current literature on rural versus urban differences and by examining rural and urban key informant (n=188) perceptions of factors associated with responses to PO violations to better understand community contextual factors in addressing partner violence. (2) *Civil protective orders: Justice or just a piece of paper?* This question was answered by following 106 rural and 107 urban women at baseline, 3-months, and 6-months after receiving a PO to examine partner violence prior to obtaining a PO and after obtaining a PO as well as the PO process, PO violations, victim decisions regarding whether or not to report the violations, and justice system responses to reported violations (99% follow-up rate, n=210). Also, civil and criminal system histories and justice system responses to PO violations were examined using official court records on PO respondents in the cases involving the rural and urban women who participated in the study. (3) *Costs of protective orders versus partner violence: Is it really worth it?* This question was answered by examining personal and societal costs of ongoing partner violence, including costs to the justice system and to victim quality of life, six months before and six months after a protective order was obtained to better understand the full spectrum of costs associated with partner violence and the economic impact of protective orders on partner violence and abuse. Results showed that half (50%) of the study participants indicated that the protective order had been violated while half did not during the six months after receiving the protective order. Even for those who experienced protective order violations, the abuse was significantly reduced over time. However, results also suggest that community contextual factors do matter in the protective order process and in the enforcement of protective orders. For example, more urban than rural PO violators had protective order violation charges during the six month follow-up period. Further, stalking the six months prior to obtaining the protective order was significantly associated with protective order violations even after controlling for a number of relevant variables. Finally, a wide range of costs was examined for each participant including medical, mental health, criminal justice, legal, lost earnings, property losses, and time lost for family and civic responsibilities as well as an index of quality of life six months before the protective order and six months after the protective order was issued. Overall, including changes in quality of life, protective orders saved the state \$85 million in a single year, a moderate estimate of cost savings. When the quality of life index is excluded from the cost analysis, study results show that victim safety is positively impacted by protective orders at very little cost except in cases with stalking. This study advances knowledge about PO effectiveness, enforcement, and costs, and provides information for policies and practice to increase both the effectiveness of protective orders and ultimately the safety of women threatened by partner violence in different jurisdictions.

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Introduction

Civil protective orders (PO) were introduced for the purpose of providing more efficient legal protections for individuals who are experiencing partner or other family violence. Despite three decades of research on various aspects of protective orders, there is still no comprehensive picture of how they are implemented in various jurisdictions across the country or their effectiveness in providing increased safety for partner violence victims. To begin to address this gap in the understanding of protective order effectiveness, the National Institute of Justice (NIJ) funded this project in 2006 to examine civil protective orders in Kentucky from multiple perspectives. This study focused on rural and urban jurisdictional differences in the protective order process, protective order outcomes, and costs of protective orders as well as the economic impact of protective orders on victim and societal costs of partner violence. This report presents findings for three substudies that comprised the grant-funded project.

Study Objectives

The overall goal of this NIJ project is to inform public policies and justice system practices to enhance the effectiveness of protective orders with the ultimate goals of increasing the safety of women threatened by partner violence and increasing offender accountability. Although partner violence can be perpetrated by both men and women, the vast majority of serious partner violence and protective order use is for cases of male violence against female partners. Thus, this project focuses on women victims of partner violence. This study used information from multiple perspectives to identify the primary case, incident, and community characteristics influencing civil and criminal justice system responses to protective order violations in one urban and four rural jurisdictions. This NIJ project included three substudies designed to examine five specific aims:

Substudy 1. Rural versus urban similarities and differences: Do community contextual factors matter?

1. To examine official court data and the current literature on rural versus urban differences to better understand community contextual factors in addressing partner violence in different jurisdictions.
2. To examine rural and urban key informant (n=188) perceptions of partner violence, protective orders, and protective order enforcement to better understand community contextual factors in addressing partner violence in different jurisdictions.

Substudy 2. Civil protective orders: Justice or just a piece of paper?

3. To follow 106 rural and 107 urban women at baseline, 3-months, and 6-months after receiving protective orders to examine partner violence during the 6 months prior to obtaining a protective order as well as the protective order process, protective order violations, victim decisions regarding whether or not to report the violations, and justice system responses to reported violations 6 months after obtaining the protective order (99% follow-up rate, n=210).

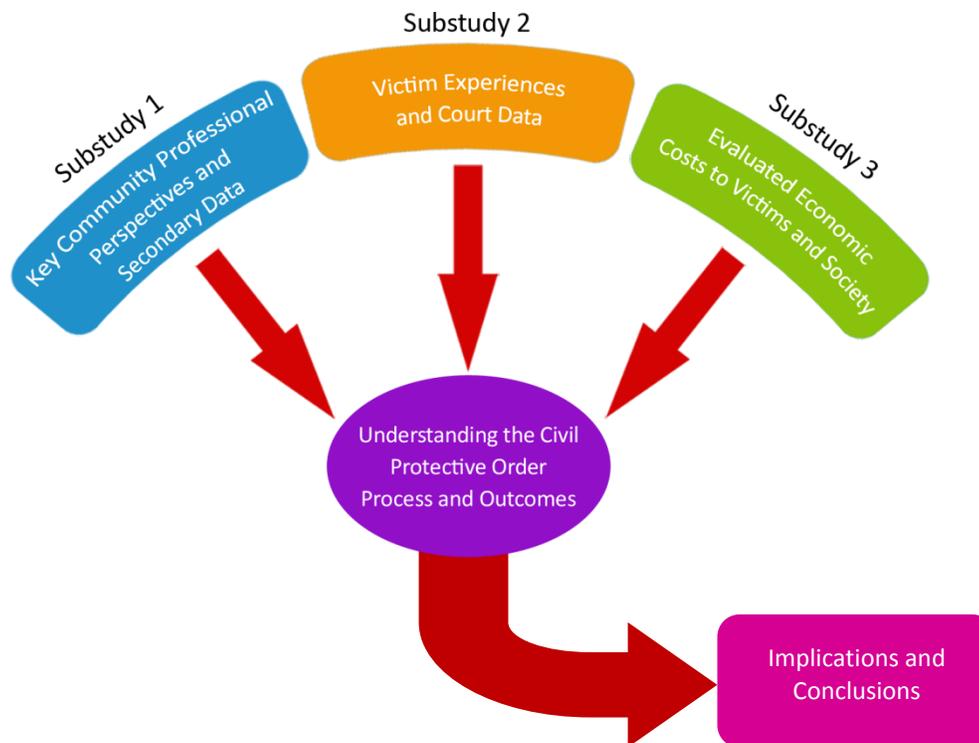
4. To describe the civil and criminal system histories of protective order respondents and justice system responses to protective order violations using official court records on protective order cases involving to the rural and urban women who participated in the study.

Substudy 3. Costs of protective orders versus partner violence: Is it really worth it?

5. To examine personal and societal costs of partner violence, including justice system costs and costs to victim quality of life 6 months before and 6 months after a protective order was obtained for 210 rural and urban women to better understand the full spectrum of costs associated with partner violence as well as the economic impact of protective orders.

Overall Study Method

This NIJ Project was completed in four phases. The first phase focused on implementing the study, including meeting with the advisory committees in the rural and urban areas and developing and piloting the face-to-face interviews. The second phase focused on recruiting 213 rural and urban women approximately 19 days after they received the PO and interviewing them about their history of partner violence, their experiences with the protective order process, and their experiences of partner violence since they received the protective order. Women were also interviewed 3 months (97% follow-up rate) and 6 months (n=210, 99% follow-up rate) after they received the PO. Key informant interviews (n=188, 82% response rate) were conducted in this phase. The key informant and individual interviews used a mixed methods approach, including both qualitative and quantitative data collected concurrently (Creswell, 2003). The third phase included collecting secondary data from the Administrative Office of the Courts and local jails for the rural and urban area in general, and specifically for the 210 protective order partners (PO partners) from cases involving women who participated in the study. This phase also included identifying economic cost sources. The fourth phase focused on analysis, integration of data, and data dissemination. All study procedures were approved by the University of Kentucky Institutional Review Board as well as the National Institute of Justice and have been used in prior studies. Results are presented by the three substudies as noted in the Figure below.



Definitions

Throughout the report, PO is used to refer to the civil protective order when referring to the general process of protective orders. The term DVO (Domestic Violence Order) will be used to refer to the longer-term or full order and EPO (Emergency Protective Order) will be used to refer to the temporary order. The terms “partner violence” and “domestic violence” are used interchangeably throughout this report. The term “victim” is used to refer to those who have experienced partner violence; however, the use of the term in this paper is not meant to imply that women who have experienced partner violence are not survivors. Finally, the terms “offender,” “perpetrator,” and “PO partner” are all meant to refer to the protective order respondent or the violent partner with the current protective order against him. These three terms are used interchangeably.

Substudy 1: Rural versus urban similarities and differences: Do community contextual factors matter?

To better understand the contribution of contextual factors in addressing partner violence, one urban and four rural jurisdictions were selected for this study. Even though state law clearly applies to every jurisdiction, it is hypothesized that jurisdictional differences may have a great impact on the process of obtaining protective orders and in the enforcement of protective orders. To understand the rural context two things are necessary: (1) having a comparison such as an urban area so that rural trends and unique differences can be identified; and (2) using multiple types of data to understand the overt and more subtle contextual differences between rural and urban areas. For this study, an urban and an Appalachian rural area were compared using several different data sources including: (a) census data, (b) official civil and criminal justice data, (c) news reports and other literature on rural areas, and (d) information from a large survey (n=188) of criminal justice and victim service representative key informants from the selected rural and urban areas.

Substudy 1 Method

Socioeconomic and demographic data about the selected urban and rural areas were obtained from the 2000 census and updated with estimates for 2007 when possible (U.S. Census Bureau, 2000). Information from the research literature, the Appalachian Regional Commission, the Kentucky State Police, the Administrative Office of the Courts, and news reports was used to describe the particular rural and urban areas selected for this study. Interviews with 188 key informants (77 urban and 111 rural) were completed mostly by telephone. The sample of key informants was generated using several different strategies including: (1) advisory group committee suggestions for whom to contact; (2) listing and contacting key agencies in each community (e.g., prosecutor offices, sheriff offices, local law enforcement, shelters); and (3) each survey participant was asked to provide names of other individuals in their community they believed should be included in the survey. Interviews were done to assess (both quantitatively and qualitatively): (a) rural versus urban differences in crime response, (b) attitudes toward partner violence and protective orders, (c) barriers to obtaining a protective order, (d) protective order violations and police responses, and (e) factors in prosecution and conviction for protective order violations. Chi-Squares and ANOVAs were used to examine bivariate relationships.

Substudy 1 Results

National prevalence rates of partner violence suggest that rates of partner violence are similar in rural and urban areas; however, prevalence rates do not provide information about the experience of partner violence which may vastly differ across jurisdictions. One interim step in understanding differences in the experience of partner violence is to carefully examine and compare contextual characteristics in different jurisdictions. This substudy provides insight into the general protective order process as well as information about contextual differences in rural and urban areas. These differences emerged from key informant surveys as well as from secondary data and information sources and are framed within the literature on Appalachian rural culture.

- First, results suggest that partner violence is a lower priority for the selected rural area compared to the selected urban area. Specifically, drug-related crimes appeared to be a higher priority in the rural area which may have an impact on overall justice system responses. Priorities may matter as using limited justice resources to address one crime may mean there are fewer resources to address another crime, and this tradeoff would impact victim safety and offender accountability for partner violence. Also, priorities can impact attitudes and perceptions. For example, when intimate partner violence occurs in the context of illegal drug and alcohol activity involving perpetrators and/or victims, police may be tempted to base their responses on the most tangible evidence, most likely the drug or alcohol use or on the drug and alcohol-related criminal activity which they perceive as the “cause” of the partner violence. A misunderstanding regarding the relationship between substance use and partner violence can influence interventions to focus on the substance abuse while neglecting perpetrator accountability for the partner violence and the safety of partner violence victims. Other information suggesting that partner violence is a lower priority for the rural area compared to the urban area included the low rates of success in serving protective order petitions, fewer charges, prosecutions and convictions of partner violence related crimes, and lower perceived access to protective orders and enforcement for women experiencing partner violence.
- Second, the politics of “who you know” or the “good ole boys” system is a consistent theme that emerged as playing a role in justice in the rural area, and was largely lacking in the urban area. The issue of politics or networks influencing justice and other resource attainment was also

highlighted in the literature on rural Appalachian culture. Thus, not only do priorities potentially influence decision-making among justice system representatives, but politics may also play an important role in influencing perceived payoffs for making specific decisions.

- Third, blame and negative attitudes or distrust of women were mentioned more frequently as reasons for partner violence and for obtaining protective orders in the rural area, not only from the justice system representatives but also from victim service representatives. Some of these attitudes may stem from cultural differences as highlighted in literature on rural Appalachian culture. On the other hand, discrimination against illegal immigrants and racism were mentioned more in the urban area than in the rural area. Further, several of the responses from key informants suggest there are persistent myths about partner violence as a relationship issue, as a poverty issue, and as an emotion regulation or control issue. Many of these persistent myths and misunderstandings were more prevalent in the rural area. What was missing in many key informant responses was the recognition that partner violence is a systematic and deliberate set of tactics designed to control another person, and that level of control erodes victims' freedom. Further, key informants indicated that women obtain protective orders for revenge or "to get something" which ignores the importance of maintaining women's safety through meeting their other tangible needs such as financial, residential, and child custody concerns. Protective orders were designed to provide protection and flexibility in meeting women's specific tangible needs to maintain their safety.
- Fourth, results suggest that it is important to examine both the justice system and the victim service perspectives to understand justice system responses to protective order violations. There were important differences by agency suggesting that victim service and justice system representatives may repeatedly see different subgroups of victims. For example, criminal justice representatives compared to victim service representatives, regardless of area, believed that fewer women with protective orders actually experienced violations, and of those who do experience violations, more are reported to the justice system. This may be because justice system representatives are likely to see a wide variety of cases (mild to severe) and to see cases that were resolved and did not need to intersect as much with victim services. On the other hand, victim service representatives were more pessimistic than criminal justice respondents about police responses (i.e., they thought action was less likely) when the offender flees the scene. Victim services may be more likely to repeatedly see more severe cases and cases that the justice system has had a harder time resolving. These kinds of differences in perceptions by agency can make interagency communication and collaboration more difficult.

Substudy 1 Limitations

This substudy is one of the most comprehensive key informant studies regarding protective orders to date. Although including key informant perceptions is critical to understanding the culture that contributes to the experiences of women seeking help for partner violence, they only tell part of the story. They must be combined with victim experiences. The findings from this substudy suggest some contextual factors to consider and how those factors may influence justice system representative decision-making regarding partner violence and protective order enforcement in any jurisdiction. However, the results must be interpreted with the caveat that findings may not apply to all rural and urban areas of Kentucky or to the rest of the nation.

Substudy 2: Civil protective orders: Justice or just a piece of paper?

Substudy 2 examined barriers to obtaining protective orders experienced by victims who have recently been through the system and the effectiveness of protective orders. Whether protective orders are effective or not can be answered in several different ways including: (1) Does the violence stop? (2) If the violence does not stop completely, is the violence reduced? (3) Under what circumstances do protective orders work best, and for whom? (4) Do women feel safer after they obtain a protective order? (5) Are women satisfied with the protective order? This substudy also examined protective order enforcement using victim perspectives in addition to official court data.

Substudy 2 Method

Overall, 227 women were recruited out of court from five jurisdictions (1 urban and 4 rural) when they obtained a DVO against a male intimate partner (PO partner) and one participant was referred to the study from a service agency. Participants were recruited and interviewed between June 2006 and August 2007. To be eligible for the study, participants had to be: (1) female, (2) 18 years and older, (3) planning to stay in, or close to, the recruitment jurisdiction for the next 6 months, and (4) without a DVO against that same male intimate partner for at least 6 months prior to the new DVO. Participants also had to complete the baseline within six weeks of obtaining a new DVO. The 3 month and 6 month follow-ups were done either on the telephone or face-to-face depending on participant preference. A 97.2% follow-up rate was obtained for the 3 month follow-up and a 98.6% follow-up rate was obtained for the 6 month follow-up (98.1% urban and 99.1% rural). Information was obtained for the entire 6 month period when possible for participants who completed the 6 month interview but missed the 3 month interview. Analyses included Chi-Squares, ANOVAs, and logistic and linear regressions.

Substudy 2 Results

It appears that protective orders provide justice for some, but for others they are just a piece of paper. That leaves bigger questions to be answered. Specifically, for whom do protective orders work best and under what circumstances? This substudy sought to potentially provide answers to these questions and to identify areas of strengths and weaknesses of the protective order process in order to increase access to protective orders as well as enforcement. Six main conclusions resulted from this substudy.

- First, there were similarities between rural and urban women in age, income levels, and the number of children. There were also important differences with more rural women reporting a history of severe violence and threats from the PO partner as well as fear of future harm from the PO partner at the baseline interview. Rural women were also more entrenched in the relationship potentially complicating their cases, safety, and court actions. For example, more rural than urban women were or had been married to the PO partner, had children in common with the PO partner, and had spent more time in the relationship with the PO partner.
- Second, obtaining a protective order and seeking enforcement of a protective order take courage and persistence to overcome obstacles. Also, women consider a variety of factors in deciding whether to report violations, including the seriousness of the violation, level of proof, and perceived potential outcomes of reporting the violation.
- Third, the vast majority of perpetrators had a history of charges (mostly unrelated to partner violence), incarceration, and convictions before the protective orders were issued against them. This may indicate that partner violence is part of a pattern of criminal behavior rather than an anomaly.

- Fourth, only half of the women in the study reported protective order violations during the 6 month follow-up period. Further, protective orders were associated with significant reductions in abuse, violence, and fear during the 6 month follow-up period. However, of those who experienced violations, rural women experienced more violations, on average, than urban women and more rural women were fearful of future harm from the PO partner than urban women at the 6 month follow-up interview.
- Fifth, stalking plays a significant yet unrecognized role in ongoing violence and protective order violations, fear of future harm, and distress due to the abuse for victims.
- And sixth, enforcement, especially for stalking victims, was limited regardless of area. However, even though enforcement was limited, there was some evidence that enforcement was stronger in the urban area than in the rural area.

In answer to whom protective orders work best for and under what circumstances, it appears that protective orders work best for victims who were not being stalked by the violent partner before the protective order was issued, and for those who live in the urban area. The rural area may have had a less effective response, in part, due to higher victim blaming attitudes that appeared to be more prevalent in the rural area based on the key informant interviews and literature about the rural culture identified in substudy 1.

Substudy 2 Limitations

The sample size was relatively small and the follow-up time of six months was relatively short. Because the sample size was small, the enforcement results must be interpreted with caution. It is also possible that more women would experience a violation of the protective order with a longer follow-up period.

Substudy 3: Costs of protective orders versus partner violence: Is it really worth it?

Regardless of how effective civil protective orders are, in these economically difficult times the bottom line is about costs. As noted in substudy 1, there are numerous alternative uses for limited judicial and police resources in both the rural and urban areas. More plainly, spending time on partner violence crimes means fewer resources spent on other kinds of crimes. Further, as shown in substudy 2, even if civil protective orders are effective at reducing violence, the question of whether or not they are cost effective is still not answered. This substudy focused on quantifying the costs of partner violence before and after a protective order was obtained, and examining the economic impact of protective orders after accounting for the costs associated with protective orders.

Specifically, this substudy examined: (1) direct and indirect victim costs incurred as a result of the abuse 6 months before and 6 months after the protective order was obtained in addition to criminal justice costs; (2) differences in costs before and after the protective order was issued; (3) avoided costs relative to protective order intervention costs; and (4) estimates of the statewide impact of avoided costs relative to the costs of a protective order. Costs were examined overall and separately for the rural versus urban area as well as for three groups: (a) those who experienced no protective order violations, (b) those who experienced protective order violations but no stalking, and (c) those who experienced protective order violations plus stalking.

Substudy 3 Method

The victim interviews used a Life History Calendar method to anchor important events over the course of the 12 months of the study (6 months before and 6 months after the DVO was issued) to facilitate memory recall for abuse-specific events. Women were asked direct questions about services utilized because of the abuse, in addition to time lost from work and other activities, mileage, and property losses incurred due to abuse and court related activities. Women were also asked about distress due to the abuse for each month. Some other information such as charges and convictions were obtained from court records. Next, a dollar value was attached to each reported incurred cost. The costs of an EPO and a DVO in Kentucky were reported previously (Logan et al., 2001a; 2004a) but were revised and updated with the help of key court personnel. Prior to the analysis, all costs were adjusted for inflation and standardized consistent with prices in 2007.

Substudy 3 Results

No evaluation of intervention effectiveness is complete without a cost component. This is not an easy undertaking and it is certainly not without controversy. It is difficult to quantify the impact of abuse and violence on a single life and it is especially difficult to quantify the impact of a justice system intervention on partner violence. This substudy contributes to the understanding of the overall and specific costs of partner violence in several important ways although there are a number of limitations and caveats that must be considered in the interpretation of the results. There are six major findings from the results.

- First, consistent with prior research, violence and abuse take a significant economic toll on a victim's life, even when looking at a short time period such as in this study.
- Second, relative to the toll that partner abuse takes on a victim's life, the cost of a protective order is small.
- Third, overall there was not a big difference for most costs before and after the protective order was obtained for rural or urban participants except with regard to quality of life and justice system costs. Urban participants reported increases in their quality of life after the protective order was obtained compared to rural participants who did not report as much relief from abuse-related distress. In contrast, police and justice system costs were higher before and after a protective order in the urban area but were lower in the rural area (suggesting less assertive enforcement). These differences in cost categories may have major implications for increasing the understanding of the depth of harm caused by partner violence and how harm might differ depending on jurisdiction.
- Fourth, this substudy identified a subpopulation of protective order cases that incur far higher costs – cases in which stalking is present.
- Fifth, there were significant savings or reduced costs to the state when victims' quality of life was considered in the cost analysis. Specifically, when applying cost estimates from the sample to the state protective order population of female victims (i.e., adjusting for male and same sex partner victims), estimates suggest that protective orders saved the state \$85 million for a one-year period, which is likely a conservative estimate of savings. Also, the impact of an intervention on quality of life has major implications for future avoided costs to society (i.e., beyond a one-year period of time).
- Sixth, protective orders are, at a minimum, a cost-neutral safety intervention. When the quality of life index is excluded from the cost analysis the savings are minuscule, suggesting that safety

for partner violence victims is achieved at very little cost. This finding is of great importance to policy development because many social and justice interventions may be costly with little net gain to society but are often provided because they are seen as necessary or morally justifiable. Thus, when the quality of life index is excluded from the cost analysis, study results show that victim safety is positively impacted at very little cost except in cases with stalking. Generalizing from this study's findings to the state's protective order cases, stalkers with protective orders against them cost the state \$9 million in a one-year period when quality of life is removed from the equation. It should be noted that this estimate only includes protective order cases in which stalking is present – including other stalking cases that received a protective order before 2007 or stalking cases without protective orders would likely engender far greater total costs to the state.

Substudy 3 Limitations

The cost analysis and estimates include many limitations that require they be interpreted with caution. The limitations are detailed in the substudy 3 summary section and are too numerous to report here. Even within the limitations, this substudy took a conservative approach and is most likely an underestimate of actual cost reductions.

Overall Study Implications

Findings from all three substudies have been presented and form the basis for eight main implications, each having several recommendations for policy, practice, and future research. There is a need to:

1. **Increase access to protective orders by identifying and reducing barriers.** This study shows that, for most women, protective orders reduce violence and save the state millions of dollars of avoided costs. However, results of this study also show that there are significant and unrecognized barriers for women in accessing protective orders. For example, bureaucratic red tape barriers can prevent, or certainly impede, victims from being able to obtain protection for which they are eligible under the statute. Further, there was limited key informant awareness of many of the factors women must overcome in asking for help from the court to address this very personal issue. There especially seemed to be a lack of recognition of how embarrassing, fear provoking, disheartening, and frustrating the process can be for victims.
2. **Address gaps in victim safety and offender accountability in the protective order process.** Once an EPO has been filed, several gaps in victim safety were identified by this study, including (a) the time between the filing of an EPO and the DVO hearing; (b) when attempts to enforce the order by the victim fail; and (c) when victims have dropped previous orders.
3. **Improve protective order enforcement by examining decision points in the enforcement process.** Protective orders clearly do have an impact on subsequent violence. However, study results suggest that protective order enforcement could be improved. Considering specific factors associated with enforcement of protective order violations and factors associated with ignoring violations would provide a map to target training for each critical agency that plays a role in partner violence protection.

4. **Respond to partner stalking more effectively.** Results from this study show a significant association of stalking and protective order violations; yet, the justice system and victim service representatives largely do not seem to acknowledge or appreciate the danger associated with stalking or the toll it takes on victims. Stalking was rarely mentioned by key informants, and more stalking victims, than victims who experienced violations but no stalking, indicated they did not report violations because there was no point or no proof. Further, there were few stalking charges in the 6 month follow-up period despite the fact that a significant proportion of victims experienced stalking and those victims experienced more violations. In fact, for the rural women, those who were stalked were less likely to see any domestic violence-related charges than those with DVO violations but no stalking. Partner stalking costs the state around \$9 million per year primarily for health services and justice system costs when quality of life costs are excluded from the analysis.
5. **Acknowledge the significant harm and toll partner violence and stalking impose on victims.** Among the many aspects of partner violence and protective orders examined by this study, one facet stood out as poorly addressed in the literature-- the quantification of the impact of partner violence and stalking on quality of life, such as pain and suffering for crime victims. It is clearly important to address direct and indirect tangible costs of the impact of abuse on victims and to society. But, given the results of victim interviews and the case studies, it becomes clear that the impact of partner violence and protective orders reach beyond direct and indirect costs. In fact, this study suggests the impact of partner violence and stalking, and specifically, the relief of distress provided by protective orders, is significant. While the metric used in this study to quantify harm or impact on quality of life may not be the best, it was an attempt to begin the process of quantifying harm for partner violence victims and to take a deeper look at the impact of protective orders. In other words, this study suggests that harm from partner violence and stalking needs to be understood from a dual perspective—as derived financial costs to society resulting from partner violence and concurrently, as a way to appreciate the damage to human lives as a result of partner violence.
6. **Recognize that different agencies may see different groups of victims which can interfere with incorporating community collaboration into the response to partner violence.** It is essential that agencies and communities work together to address partner violence. Results from this study suggest that sometimes justice system and victim service agencies are at odds with each others' perceptions of the criminal justice response to partner violence. For example, study results indicate that the justice system respondents viewed their response to protective order violations much more positively than did victim service representatives. It may be that each of these agencies is seeing a different group of victims, with victim service personnel seeing women who are having more trouble with the justice system response (and not seeing the women in cases that were successfully resolved through the justice system) while justice system representatives are focusing on those cases in which action was taken rather than thinking of the cases in which violations were not addressed.
7. **Target training of justice system and victim service personnel to increase the understanding of partner violence, protective order effectiveness, perpetrator characteristics, and partner stalking within jurisdictional and community contexts.** Trainings should target: (1) misperceptions about protective order effectiveness; (2) characteristics of partner violence perpetrators and their extensive histories of criminal justice system involvement indicating partner violence is part of a pattern of criminal behavior; (3) substance abuse as the cause of

partner violence; and, (4) persistent myths and misunderstandings about partner violence, stalking, and why women seek protective orders. Further, training must be ongoing and multidimensional in order to change deeply rooted misunderstandings and myths about partner violence. Some of these attitudes may be ingrained very deeply into the cultural context and will take more than an occasional training to address.

8. **Focus future research on gaps in the understanding of the protective order process and outcomes.** Although this study addressed many of the critical questions about the overall effectiveness and the strengths and weaknesses of the protective order process, three areas are suggested for the focus of future research including: (1) the need to address gaps in knowledge about the “black box” of protective order enforcement; (2) the need to identify problems with local statewide data that track arrests, charges, and dispositions as this information could be important in the tracking and analysis of progress and problems in addressing partner violence and developing more effective policies; and, (3) to better address the quantification of victim harm from partner violence.

Overall Study Conclusions

This study started by asking three questions. The results suggest that jurisdictional and community context does not matter in terms of overall impact of protective orders on continuing abuse and violence. Half of the victims in this study, regardless of area, did not experience protective order violations and even for those who did experience violations significant reductions were noted in overall abuse, fear of future harm, distress due to the abuse, and costs. Also, stalking before the PO was obtained was significantly associated with PO violations regardless of area. Further, women, regardless of area seem to appreciate the protective order and felt it was effective. However, context does matter in victim experiences of the protective order process with rural women experiencing more barriers to obtaining protective orders, less relief from the fear and abuse over time, weaker enforcement, and higher quality of life and lower justice system costs. Thus, protective orders work best for those who are not stalked the 6 months before obtaining the protective order and for those who live in the urban area. Finally, the cost analysis suggests that the costs of civil protective orders are very low, especially when compared with the toll that partner violence exacts on victims. In essence, this study suggests that, at a minimum, increased safety had no additional cost to society; but when victims’ quality of life was considered, substantial savings accrue to society. Further, without justice system interventions, partner violence offenders are likely to continue a variety of criminal behaviors because partner violence is part of a pattern of criminal behavior rather than an anomaly. Thus, when civil protective order interventions are successful, substantial reductions in costs are expected to accrue over time as the abuse abates and victims get on with their lives. Implications from this study suggest numerous areas for improvements to increase access to the protective order process and enforcement. Would improvement of the protective order process cost more money? The answer is most likely “yes.” But study results suggest improvements would also provide significant cost savings to society.

INTRODUCTION

Civil protective orders were introduced for the purpose of providing more efficient legal protections for individuals who are experiencing partner or other family violence. In spite of three decades of research on various aspects of protective orders, there is still no comprehensive picture of how they are implemented in various jurisdictions across the country or of their effectiveness in providing increased safety. In 2006, the National Institute of Justice funded this project to examine civil protective orders in Kentucky from multiple perspectives in order to examine rural and urban jurisdictional differences in the protective order process, protective order outcomes, and costs of protective orders, as well as potential avoided costs to society due to the protections that protective orders are supposed to provide. Although partner violence can be perpetrated by both men and women, the vast majority of serious partner violence and protective order use is for cases of male violence against female partners (Rennison & Welchans, 2000; Tjaden & Thoennes, 2000). Thus, this project focuses on women victims of partner violence. This report summarizes the results of this project by presenting findings for three substudies that comprised the entire grant-funded project.

The first substudy examined rural and urban key informant perceptions along with court records and other secondary data to provide an in-depth picture of jurisdictional differences in the protective order process. One goal of this substudy was to describe how statutory provisions play out in real world experiences by examining beliefs, attitudes, and opinions of court personnel and victim services representatives involved in the protective orders process.

The second substudy provides a picture of women's self-reported experiences with violence and the protective order system and its outcomes. This substudy not only provides a description of those who obtain protective orders, but also provides a detailed look at the process of obtaining a protective order as well as the sacrifices and barriers that women experience in obtaining protective orders and trying to get them enforced. This substudy also provides detailed information about protective order effectiveness and enforcement outcomes.

The third substudy examined the social and personal costs of abuse and violence, the costs of protective orders, and the potential avoided costs due to the protection protective orders provide. These costs are provided for the sample of women interviewed and are also extrapolated from the sample to the population of victims who obtained protective orders issued in 2007 in Kentucky in order to expand the policy implications of the findings from this substudy.

The report concludes with implications and recommendations for policy and practice developed by combining the results of all three substudies. As with all studies, this study has a number of limitations. However, even with the limitations this study provides one of the most comprehensive evaluations of civil protective orders.

Given the diversity of perspectives that were taken into consideration in this project and the complexity of findings, it is important to ground the findings in the immediate experiences that lead women to seek protective orders in the first place. The following examples were excerpted from actual protective order petitions¹...

- *...was arguing with husband when he became violent and grabbed me by the hair, hitting and punching, he took a belt and beat me across the back several times. He busted my mouth, took a clothes hanger and wrapped it in a towel and hit me with it. Pulled out big amounts of hair. Slapped and punched me numerous times in the head, face, and chest. Told me I had to take him home to another town and that I would not be coming back. Threatened to kill me if I went to the police. (45 year old woman with 3 children over 18 who are unrelated to the violent partner)*
- *Said he was going to kill me—that he could do anything he wanted [to me]. Now he keeps coming back and just hanging around watching me. In the past he has set the bedroom on fire while I was sleeping and he has hit me. [He has also hit] my brother who has been staying with me so he will stay away, but he doesn't [stay away]. (43 year old women with 3 children under 18 in common with the violent partner)*
- *He poured hot water on me and hit me in my face, I fell and he kept hitting me until he gave me a black eye and bruises. Earlier this month he choked me until I urinated on myself and turned purple. (21 year old woman with no children)*
- *He has threatened to beat my brains out. He says he is going to come to my home and shoot me, or burn my house down with me and my kids in it. He has told me to watch for his vehicle because when he saw me “he would hit me head on.” He has broken my toe. He has left bruises on my neck several times from choking me until I couldn't breathe. He has also threatened to get me and our children in a vehicle and hit the first 18 wheeler he saw to put us all out of our misery. (23 year old with 3 minor children all in common with violent partner)*
- *[He] beat me backwards over a chair and choked me until I blacked out and started losing consciousness. He then dropped me on the floor and spit on me. Later that morning he told me that he wished he had killed me. He has told me several times that he will kill me. [I am] afraid to go to sleep. He has gotten so violent that I fear for my life every day. (30 year old with 3 minor children all in common with the violent partner)*

These short petition descriptions give readers only a glimpse into the terror that victims of partner violence contend with daily. These excerpts from women seeking a protective order come from both the urban and rural areas included in this study. The area was deliberately left out of the petition descriptions to underscore the point that the reasons women seek protective orders do not vary by jurisdiction as much as their experiences differ in the process of obtaining a protective order and in trying to have a protective order enforced. This point is particularly highlighted from the results of substudy 1 and substudy 2. The next section provides information about current research findings on protective orders and gaps in the literature. The prior research literature provided a strong foundation which offered direction in developing and implementing the current study.

¹ These quotes were excerpted from actual Emergency Protective Order (EPO) petitions from study participants. Minor editing was done to make them readable and to protect confidentiality.

BACKGROUND AND PROJECT OVERVIEW

This report examined the protective order process from initiation by victims, to how orders are viewed and processed by law enforcement and the court systems, to how they affect violence after they are issued, to the personal and societal costs associated with them. This section provides an overview of the literature on several major aspects of protective orders including benefits of protective orders, jurisdictional influences on protective orders, characteristics of women seeking protective orders, the effectiveness of protective orders, factors associated with protective order violations, issues with protective order enforcement, and costs of partner violence and protective orders.

What Are The Advantages Of Civil Protective Orders?

To increase protections, all states have enacted civil protective orders which provide victims of partner violence with a time-limited judicial injunction that directs the offender to refrain from further abusive behavior (Buzawa & Buzawa, 1996; DeJong & Burgess-Proctor, 2006; Eigenberg, Berry, Hall, & McGuffee, 2003). There are several advantages to civil protective orders. First, because the overall purpose of the protective order is to prevent future unlawful and violent behavior, there is a lower burden of proof than would be required for criminal charges. Specifically, criminal cases require a high level of proof—beyond reasonable doubt—whereas civil protective orders only require a preponderance of evidence meaning there is a lower burden of proof than criminal processes (Buzawa & Buzawa, 1996; Finn, 1989; 1991). Thus, fewer financial and time costs are associated with civil protective orders than with criminal cases.

Second, punishment can be faster for those who violate civil protective orders because civil protective order violations can be addressed with a contempt of court charge. Contempt hearings are typically concluded quicker than criminal trials (Lemon, 2001). In addition, many states have protective order statutes that provide police with the authority to arrest for violation of its terms rather than having to determine probable cause as to whether another crime (other than a protective order violation) has been committed.

Third, civil protective orders can provide a source of empowerment and flexibility for victims in meeting their specific needs (Buzawa & Buzawa, 1996; Eigenberg et al., 2003; Finn, 1991; Fischer & Rose, 1995). Civil protective orders can be obtained through a direct individual petition process, unlike criminal or other legal proceedings which often require a legal representative to petition the court for various actions and relief. Further, civil protective orders offer an opportunity to provide situational specificity in meeting victim needs. For example, victims may be more interested in being free from future abuse and violence rather than punishing the perpetrator (Bachman, 1998; Herman, 2003; Orth, 2003). Also, civil protective orders allow judges to provide relief that can be crafted for each individual case in order to address victims' specific safety needs as well as other related needs such as provisions for children, child support, and counseling. Thus, civil protective orders allow courts the discretion to tailor protective order provisions to the specific needs of the victim and their particular situation.

Why Would Jurisdictional And Community Context Influences On Protective Orders Matter?

Jurisdictional and community context differences may profoundly affect access to protective orders as well as enforcement. Thus, no study of protective orders can avoid consideration of local jurisdictional and community contexts. For example, one context that is often considered in understanding partner violence and protective orders is rural versus urban contexts. In general, the literature suggests that rates of intimate partner violence are similar for women living in rural and urban areas (Rennison & Welchans, 2000). Specifically, estimates from the National Crime Victimization Survey (NCVS) suggested that 10 per 1000 urban women experienced partner violence in the prior year compared to about 8 per 1000 rural women and that this trend was similar from 1993-1998 (Rennison & Welchans, 2000).

Even though rates of intimate partner violence may be similar for women from different geographic locations, the experience of intimate partner violence may differ greatly (Kasturirangan, Krishnan, & Riger, 2004; Logan, Evans, Stevenson, & Jordan, 2005a; Logan, Shannon, & Walker, 2005b; Logan, Stevenson, Evans, Leukefeld, 2004b; Logan, Walker, Cole, Ratliff, & Leukefeld, 2003a). Take for example the excerpts from the Emergency Protective Order (EPO) petitions provided above. All that was provided was a description of the incident; what is unknown are the barriers these women overcame to obtain a protective order, responses from the justice system, and enforcement or lack of enforcement if the order was violated. Certainly there are similarities across jurisdictions but there are also differences that can make the process much easier or more difficult. In other words, similar incidents of violence (like those noted in the EPO petitions above) may have very different responses and outcomes depending on jurisdiction.

Certain environments are inherently diverse because of differences in structural constraints and the limited availability of resources (Deitz, 1991; Wheaton, 1999). In general, rural areas have more structural constraints such as lower education rates, lower incomes, higher rates of unemployment, and more limited services (Appalachian Regional Commission, 2009b; Eastman & Grant Bunch, 2007; Eastman, Bunch, Williams, Carawan, 2007; Fishwick, 1998; Grama, 2000; Iceland, 2003; Logan et al., 2003a; 2004b; 2005a; 2005b; Pruitt, 2008a; 2008b; Porter, 1993; Struthers & Bokemeier, 2000). Fewer housing options, jobs, and daycare options exist for rural women who are trying to separate from intimate partners (Billings, Ledford, & Norman, 1999; Logan et al., 2004b; Struthers & Bokemeier, 2000). Cultural norms may differ in rural versus urban areas. Culture can be defined as the sharing of similar beliefs, practices, values, norms, and behaviors which are used to initiate and maintain behavior among group members (Hammond, 1978). Rural areas may be more likely to have cultural norms that inhibit service access, delivery, and response to violence against women compared to urban areas (Duncan, 1999; Logan et al., 2003a; 2004b; 2005a; 2005b; Pruitt, 2008a; 2008b; Websdale, 1998).

Research examining jurisdictional differences in the protective order process and effectiveness is limited for a number of likely reasons. First, in order to understand differences in one jurisdiction there must be some kind of comparison. Second, it is difficult to quantify subtle contextual differences and multiple perspectives should be used so that identified differences are reliable. Third, no standard exists for what questions or measures should be used to examine subtle contextual differences, making the process of finding jurisdictional or community context differences even more difficult. Even with these difficulties, it is extremely important to understand factors that contribute to jurisdictional differences in access to protective orders and enforcement in order to better protect women and to tailor training more effectively. One of the key goals of this study was to attempt to understand jurisdictional and community context differences for a selected rural area and a selected urban area using multiple types of information and viewpoints.

How Many Abused Women Obtain Protective Orders?

Although there is limited data on how many partner violence victims actually obtain protective orders, the existing research suggests that between 16% and 37% of women received a protective order for the most recent incident of sexual assault, physical assault, or stalking they had experienced from a current or ex-partner (Tjaden & Thoennes, 2000). Another study found about one-third of victims of partner violence had received a protective order in the past 5 years (Morbidity and Mortality Weekly Report, 2000). Yet another study found that 40% of women in one shelter reported obtaining protective orders against their violent intimate partners at some point in their relationships (Penell, Burke, & Mulmat, 2002). Using official records to determine estimates, one study found that 12% of women who had reported partner violence incidents to the police had received protective orders during a 12-month follow-up period, although this study did not mention whether or not these were all women without protective orders at the time of the police reported incident (Holt, Kernic, Lumley, Wolf, & Rivara, 2002). Another study that used police reports of partner violence found that 22% had subsequently obtained a protective order within the 18-month follow-up period but it is not clear whether the sample included only women without protective orders at initial recruitment (Weisz, Tolman, & Bennet, 1998).

One challenge in interpreting data on the number of women seeking protective orders is that these rates may be affected by differences in study methodology, whether or not she is eligible to receive a protective order in the jurisdiction she lives in, and by procedural barriers that may differ by jurisdiction (Logan et al., 2005b).

What Are Some Of The Important Characteristics Of Women With Protective Orders?

A wide range of women experience partner violence, and a similarly wide range of women obtain protective orders to cope with the abuse (Logan, Shannon, Walker, & Faragher, 2006c). However, a few characteristics seem relatively stable across research studies. It appears that women who obtain protective orders have a history of severe violence (Carlson, Harris, & Holden, 1999; Gondolf, Hart, McWilliams, & Stuehling, 1994; Keilitz, Efke, & Hannaford, 1997; Klein, 1996; Logan, Cole, Shannon, & Walker, 2007a; Ptacek, 1999). Among the studies reporting relationship length, the average duration of the relationship was between 4 and 9 years, suggesting that women who obtain protective orders have a long history of violence (Logan et al., 2006c). Studies also indicate that between 35% and 95% of women filing protective orders have children (Logan et al., 2006c). Thus, protective orders not only potentially provide relief from long term, severe violence but also may help protect children living in these families.

Do Protective Orders Work?

The most critical question for any intervention is whether it works. Research on protective order violations suggests that violence is not automatically eliminated when the protective order is issued. In fact, studies report that between 23% and 70% of victims continued to experience violence after a protective order was issued (Carlson et al., 1999; Harrell & Smith, 1996; Keilitz et al., 1997; McFarlane et al., 2004; Tjaden & Thoennes, 2000). Specifically, the National Violence Against Women (NVAW) survey found that for women who obtained a protective order after the most recent incident of intimate partner victimization, 67.6% of rape victims, 50.6% of physical assault victims, and 69.7% of stalking victims reported a violation of the order (Tjaden & Thoennes, 2000). Harrell and Smith (1996) found that over half of all women reported unwanted contact after obtaining a protective order and over 80% of those with violations reported ongoing violence. In a study of over 750 women from multiple jurisdictions, Logan and Walker (2009a) found that 60% experienced a violation of a protective order

during the 12-month follow-up period.

Violation rates are likely to differ across studies depending on how new incidents of abuse (“re-abuse”) were measured and on other methodological factors (Cattaneo & Goodman, 2005; Harris, Dean, Holden, & Carlson, 2001; Hotaling & Buzawa, 2003). In particular, studies that examine only police reports typically show a much lower rate of re-abuse than victim reports. In fact, one study found that only about half of protective order violations were reported to the police when victim reports (49%) were compared to official data (22%) (Hotaling & Buzawa, 2003). Thus, measuring victim perceptions of violations is critical given police action hinges on victim notification of violations, yet not all victims report violations and even if they do, they do not report every violation that has occurred. Other factors that may differ across studies and make the rates of protective order violations appear widely disparate include length of time re-abuse was measured (e.g., 6 months or 2 years), the definition of re-abuse (e.g., severe violence, all abuse and violence including psychological abuse, any new charge, charges directly related to violations of a protective order), sample attrition rates, sample type (e.g., shelter sample versus general community samples), and the way re-abuse was assessed (e.g., with a single question versus multiple questions).

This study is designed to address many of the remaining questions on the effectiveness of the protective order by building on prior research findings, in particular to identify those for whom protective orders work best, and under what circumstances.

What Factors Are Associated With Protective Order Violations?

Several factors have been associated with protective order violations in prior research including: (1) Women with children in common with the violent partner were more likely to experience continued violence and threats (Carlson et al., 1999; Harrell, Newmark, & Smith, 1993; Harrell & Smith, 1996). (2) Shorter relationship length was related to increased rates of re-abuse (Carlson et al., 1999). (3) History of violence severity in the relationship has been associated with greater likelihood of re-abuse (Cattaneo & Goodman, 2005; Harrell et al., 1993). (4) Perpetrator age has been associated with protective order violations, with younger offenders more likely to violate the protective order than older offenders (Klien, 1996). (5) Offender prior criminal history has been associated with continued violence (Cattaneo & Goodman, 2005; Klein, 1996) even after court intervention (Klein & Tobin, 2008; Rempel, Labriola, & Davis, 2008). (6) Stalking has been associated with protective order violations (Harrell et al., 1993; Logan, Shannon, & Cole, 2007b). And (7) Jurisdictional differences exist in barriers to obtaining and enforcing protective orders and may influence violation rates and justice system responses to violations (Logan et al., 2005b). Another factor that has not typically been associated with protective order violations but anecdotally is thought to influence violations is whether or not the relationship continues after a protective order is issued. Some believe that continuing the relationship increases the risk of re-abuse due to increased access of the perpetrator to the victim while others suggest that separation is the time of increased risk (Goldfarb, 2008; Logan et al., 2006c). The current study incorporates these salient factors that were identified as being associated with protective order violations in the literature.

What Do We Know About Protective Order Enforcement?

Several researchers suggest that one of the major shortcomings of protective orders is the lack of consistent or effective enforcement (Buzawa & Buzawa, 1996; Finn, 1989; 1991; Kane, 1999; 2000; Mignon & Holmes, 1995). The presence of a protective order does not appear to affect arrest or prosecution rates of partner violence offenders (Kane, 1999; 2000; Mignon & Holmes, 1995). For example,

Kane (1999) found that the violation of a protective order led to only a 5% higher arrest rate when compared to the arrest rate in partner violence cases without a protective order. Mignon and Holmes (1995) concluded that even in a mandatory arrest jurisdiction, having a protective order does not guarantee that police will arrest the offender when the order has been violated. Harrell and Smith (1996) reported that, for their sample of 355 women with protective orders, 290 separate incidents of protective order violations were reported to the police but only 59 (20%) resulted in an arrest.

Once an offender is arrested or brought to the attention of the court, the prosecutor must decide whether to pursue the charges. Although there are limited studies examining prosecution and conviction rates for partner violence in general, several important findings have emerged. For example, several studies suggest that an offender's prior criminal history as well as documentation of victim injury are associated with higher rates of prosecution and conviction (Hirschel & Hutshison, 2001; Kingsnorth, Berdahl, Blades, MacIntosh, & Rossi, 2001; Ventura & Davis, 2005). Another study found that cases in which prosecution was not pursued (arrested but no charges were filed) had higher rates of re-arrest than cases where prosecution was pursued (Wooldredge & Thistlewaite, 2002). However, few studies of prosecution and conviction of partner violence examine protective order status, thus leaving a gap in the understanding of how protective orders might impact prosecution and convictions in partner violence cases.

Many decisions are made about protective order violations starting with whether or not the victim perceives a violation, whether or not the victim reports the violation, what the police officer does with the report of a violation, what the prosecutor decides, and finally, what a judge or jury decides. One gap in the current literature on protective orders is an analysis of the decision making process at these various levels.

What Is The Decisional Process In The Enforcement Of Protective Orders?

There are four main role perspectives, each of which has a window of critical decision opportunity in the protective order enforcement process. For example, the initial decision point begins with the individual victim who has obtained a protective order. Before enforcement is even a question, an individual must perceive a violation and decide what to do about the violation (e.g., ignore it, call the police, or file a complaint through criminal procedures). If the victim decides to seek law enforcement remedies, a second decision point arises with police involvement. The police can: (a) decide to arrest or seek a warrant for arrest, and if so, they will decide how much effort to expend locating the offender; (b) encourage the woman to file a criminal complaint; (c) talk to the offender but take no other action; or (d) choose some other strategy. Assuming the matter becomes a formal complaint or arrest, the third decision point comes about with the prosecutor's office. The prosecutor must decide whether to proceed with a criminal case; a judge/jury must decide whether to dismiss the case, to acquit the defendant, or to convict the defendant. There may be other decision points in the process but these are the main decision points of focus for this study.

Two primary factors shape the decisional frame of the individual victim—how women understand protective order violations and how women evaluate the personal and social costs or benefits of reporting violations. First it is important to understand how women decide which violations to report. Not all women define violations in the same way or report every violation that occurs. For example, one study found that 49.2% of the sample of 118 victims surveyed reported they were assaulted by the offender, a protective order was violated, or that they were forced to take out another protective order during the 1-year follow-up; yet, when examining official court records, only 22.1% of the cases had an official record of violence (Hotaling & Buzawa, 2003). Negative as well as positive outcomes are

associated with using the justice system. For example, there are personal costs or perceived tradeoffs such as embarrassment/stigma, revictimization by the system, backlash from the perpetrator or perpetrator's family, difficulty in negotiating the system, and lack of system support (Logan et al., 2004b; 2005a; 2005b). Some costs may not be relevant until women become involved in the justice system while other perceived costs/tradeoffs may diminish as they progress through the system. In other words, perceived costs may change over time and at different stages in the justice system process. It is important to understand how women perceive the personal and social consequences of violations including possible interactions with the justice system and how they evaluate the potential negative interactions compared to the possible gains. An examination of the factors that play into whether or not a determination is made by the victim to report or file for a violation of a protective order is needed.

At a different level, police, prosecutors, and judges also weigh various costs and tradeoffs to pursuing enforcement of a protective order including: spending time on a crime they may think is less important than other crimes, factors about the case which may make the case less "viable," the level of community support for aggressive enforcement, and/or concern about victim support for enforcing the order. On the other hand, benefits of pursuing protective order enforcement may include protecting a victim, providing increased safety for the community, and/or punishing an offender for engaging in criminal behavior. More specifically, it may be that justice system personnel informally weigh the cost and burden of protective order enforcement on the system compared to the perceived gain in personal safety to victims and find the cost too great for a very limited gain. In addition to the decisional analysis of cost and benefit tradeoffs, there are actual costs to society of partner violence and protective orders. These economic costs and benefits have received limited research attention as well.

What Are The Economic Costs Of Partner Violence And Protective Orders?

A recent study estimated that intimate partner violence costs society \$8.3 billion in 2003, including the costs of partner rape, physical assault, stalking, and murder (Max, Rice, Finkelstein, Bardwell, & Leadbetter, 2004). This cost estimate accounted for consequences of partner violence such as medical care, mental health services, and lost productivity for both paid and household work. Unfortunately this cost estimate, like most other cost estimates of partner violence, does not include justice system costs. These costs are likely to be significant because, although women with violent partners use a variety of services to reduce their level of danger and exposure to further victimization (Coker, Derrick, Lumpkin, Aldrich, & Oldendick, 2000; Gondolf, 1998; Hutchison, & Hirschel, 1998; Logan, Shannon, Cole, & Walker, 2006b; Shannon, Logan, Cole, & Medley, 2006), the justice system represents an important avenue for women seeking safety (Keilitz et al., 1997; Logan et al., 2006c; Tjaden & Thoennes, 2000).

Women use two main strategies to enlist the justice system in helping them with partner violence: the police and protective orders. These two strategies are not mutually exclusive because many women learn about protective orders through the police (Gist et al., 2001), and once protective orders are obtained, many women call the police to enforce the order (Buzawa & Buzawa, 1996; Finn, 1989; 1991; Kane, 1999; 2000; Mignon & Holmes, 1995). Further, protective orders are often issued from civil divisions of the court but are typically enforced through the criminal divisions of the court system (Eigenberg et al., 2003). Hence, when examining the protective order processes, both civil and criminal justice responses must be considered.

Another limitation to cost estimates of social problems is that cost estimates do not always carefully examine personal quality of life costs. These costs do translate into economic costs but in far more complex ways. Specifically, the literature on costs of partner violence does not account for quality of life

changes resulting from protective orders over time. For example, thinking back to the incidents described in the Emergency Protective Order (EPO) petitions at the beginning of this report, the reader gets a picture of one incident or slice in time. It is difficult to estimate the extended personal and social costs of daily fear, survival strategies, and other effects of violence on the woman's capacity to provide child care, to work, and to be effective in her many social roles. There is also the question of the cost of a miserable existence and lost potential future opportunities. These costs are admittedly difficult to quantify and study. However, it is critically important to account in some way for the impact on an individual's quality of life and the potential change on quality of life due to a justice system intervention (Cohen & Miller, 1998; Max et al., 2004).

NIJ Project Goals And Research Questions

The overall goal of this NIJ project is to inform public policies and justice system practices to enhance the effectiveness of protective orders with the ultimate goal of increasing the safety of women threatened by partner violence and increasing offender accountability. Specifically, the multiple perspectives collected for each of the specific aims was used to identify the primary case, incident, and community characteristics influencing civil and criminal justice system responses to protective order violations in one urban and four rural jurisdictions. This NIJ project included three substudies to examine five specific aims:

Substudy 1. Rural versus urban similarities and differences: Do community contextual factors matter?

1. To examine official court data and the current literature on rural versus urban differences to better understand community contextual factors in addressing partner violence in different jurisdictions.
2. To examine rural and urban key informant (n=188) perceptions of partner violence, protective orders, and protective order enforcement to better understand community contextual factors in addressing partner violence in different jurisdictions.

Substudy 2. Civil protective orders: Justice or just a piece of paper?

3. To follow 106 rural and 107 urban women at baseline, 3 months, and 6 months after receiving protective orders to examine partner violence during the 6 months prior to obtaining a protective order as well as the protective order process, protective order violations, victim decisions regarding whether or not to report the violations, and justice system responses to reported violations 6 months after obtaining the protective order (99% follow-up rate, n=210).
4. To describe the civil and criminal system histories of protective order respondents and justice system responses to protective order violations using official court records on protective order cases involving to the rural and urban women who participated in the study.

Substudy 3. Costs of protective orders versus partner violence: Is it really worth it?

5. To examine personal and societal costs of partner violence, including justice system costs and costs to victim quality of life 6 months before and 6 months after a protective order was obtained for 210 rural and urban women to better understand the full spectrum of costs associated with partner violence as well as the economic impact of protective orders.

OVERALL STUDY METHOD

This NIJ project was completed in four phases. The first phase focused on implementing the study, including meeting with the advisory committees in the rural and urban areas, and developing and piloting the face-to-face interviews. The second phase focused on recruiting 213 rural and urban women approximately 19 days after they received the PO and interviewing them about their history of partner violence, their experiences with the protective order process, and their experiences of partner violence since they received the protective order. Women were also interviewed at 3 months (97% follow-up rate) and 6 months (99% follow-up rate) after they received the PO. Key informant interviews (n=188, 82% response rate) were conducted in this phase. The key informant and individual interviews used a mixed methods approach, including both qualitative and quantitative data collected concurrently (Creswell, 2003). The third phase included collecting secondary data from the Administrative Office of the Courts and local jails for the rural and urban area in general, and specifically for the 210 protective order partners (PO partners) from cases involving women who participated in the study. This phase also included identifying economic cost sources. The fourth phase focused on analysis, integration of data, and data dissemination. All study procedures were approved by the University of Kentucky Institutional Review Board as well as the National Institute of Justice and have been used in prior studies (Logan et al., 2005a; Logan, Hoyt, Leukefeld, 2001a; Logan, Hoyt, McCollister, French, Leukefeld, & Minton, 2004a; Logan et al., 2005b; Logan & Walker, 2009a; Logan, Walker, & Leukefeld, 2001b; Logan et al., 2003a; Logan, Walker, Shannon, & Cole, 2008; Logan, Walker, Stewart, & Allen, 2006e).

THE PROTECTIVE ORDER PROCESS AND DEFINITIONS

Protective order petitions in Kentucky can be filed against any family member including spouses and former spouses. Members of unmarried couples may also file a petition if they have a child in common or if they are currently living together or have lived together in the past (KRS 403.720). The protective order (PO) process is typically two-fold. First, victims must petition the court for an Emergency Protective Order (EPO) which must be signed by the judge. Once the order has been signed by a judge, both the petitioner and the respondent must receive notice of the order and the hearing date before the order is active (i.e., before the respondent could be arrested for a violation). The EPO cannot exceed 14 days each time it is issued; however it can continue to be issued indefinitely every 14 days or so. Getting the respondent served with notice of the order and hearing date can sometimes be difficult. Basically, if the respondent is not served with the order, the orders cannot be enforced leaving a gap in safety. Additionally, victims may have to invest more time trying to get the order served or re-filing the petition if it expires before it is served. Also, when a judge believes there is insufficient evidence for an EPO, the judge may issue a summons for both parties to appear for a Domestic Violence Order (DVO) hearing rather than granting an EPO. This means the initial phase of protection provided by the EPO is not granted.

Second, after notification of the EPO or summons, both parties are expected to attend a court hearing where a determination of findings will be entered and will either result in a Domestic Violence Order (DVO) or not. The DVO can be issued for up to 3 years. There are two types of Domestic Violence Orders: No Violent Contact and No Contact orders. Basically, the No Contact orders consider any contact a violation while the No Violent Contact orders allow contact, but not violent contact, for any reason such

as communicating about child issues or even to allow couples to live together.

Throughout this report, PO is used to refer to the civil protective order when referring to the general process of protective orders. The DVO term is used to refer specifically to the longer-term or full order and EPO term is used to refer specifically to the temporary order.

It must also be noted that domestic violence was defined as partner violence for the purpose of this study as well as for the key informant survey. The two terms, partner violence and domestic violence, are used interchangeably throughout this report. Additionally, the literature often uses the terms “victim” and “survivor” interchangeably, with some disciplines favoring one over the other. The use of the term victim in this paper is not meant to imply that women who have experienced partner violence are not survivors. Rather, the use of the word victim was simply chosen to provide a consistent terminology throughout the paper and should be thought of as synonymous with survivor.

Finally, the terms “offender,” “perpetrator,” and “PO partner” are all meant to refer to the PO respondent or to the violent partner against whom the PO is issued. These terms are used interchangeably.

It should be noted that the actual implementation of the EPO process differs by jurisdiction in three main ways. The description of procedural differences was derived from several sources, including an in-depth analysis of the process in the rural and urban areas (Logan et al., 2005b), data collected for this study (substudy 1) from key informants, and through the community advisory boards. First, in the urban area the court clerk’s office provides access to protective orders 24 hours a day 7 days a week. That is not the case in most of the rural jurisdictions. Due to budget constraints the court clerk’s office is not staffed all night. Thus, either women do not have access to EPOs after business hours or they can try to file an EPO petition with the local police, the sheriff’s office, or the state police. Second, in the urban area finding a judge to sign an EPO petition is the responsibility of the court clerk’s office after the victim files for the petition. Judges are available during business hours and typically a designated judge is on call for these matters after hours. However, in the rural area victims are often responsible for finding the judge to get the paperwork signed. This is challenging during the day and especially challenging after business hours. Third, once the petition is signed by the judge in the urban area court clerk personnel take the paperwork to the sheriff’s office so that the respondent can be served with notification of the order and the hearing date. In the rural area victims sometimes also have the responsibility of getting the order to the right office in order for the respondent to be notified of the order and the hearing date. More specific details of the process similarities and differences among the urban and rural areas are described in Logan et al. (2005b).

PHASE I: HIRING AND TRAINING OF STAFF, ADVISORY COMMITTEE, FINALIZING PROJECT POLICIES AND PROCEDURES, AND PILOTING FACE-TO-FACE INTERVIEWS

The activities in Phase I took about six months to complete. A study director and interviewers were hired and trained. Two advisory groups were used to inform the study, one from the urban area and one from the rural area. Advisory group membership in the urban area included representatives from the prosecutor’s offices, local law enforcement, legal aid, victim advocates from a variety of agencies, domestic violence shelters, the sexual assault nurse examiner program, and the friend of the court office. Those same agencies were represented in the selected study rural site along with representatives from social services, State Police, and a residential substance abuse program for women.

The selected rural jurisdictions were close in proximity, similar on selected census indicators, and had

OVERALL STUDY METHOD

similar numbers of civil protective order petitions. Four rural jurisdictions were selected to ensure a sample size comparable to the urban area as well as to ensure confidentiality. Because rural jurisdictions are so small and often only have one judge who handles domestic violence cases, there was concern that including only one or two jurisdictions would be too identifying. The goal of this study is not to identify anything negative about a specific person (e.g., judge), jurisdiction, or police department, but to determine strengths and areas for improvement in addressing partner violence.

The advisory group met in the selected urban area on March 29, 2006 and April 18, 2007 and in the selected rural area on July 17, 2006 and May 2 and 3, 2007 (two separate meetings were held in 2007 in the rural area to reduce travel time for key informants). The first meetings were held to help finalize study procedures. The second meetings were held to report on progress from both the study perspective and the community perspective and to obtain feedback on preliminary results. Also, on December 10, 2008, preliminary study results were presented at the Statewide Kentucky Domestic Violence Association and Kentucky Association of Sexual Assault Programs annual conference which had some of the advisory group members along with a wider group of people from across the state to provide feedback about the study and study findings (approximately 80 people attended the session). In addition, contact has been maintained with some members of the advisory group on an individual basis or at other community based meetings. More meetings, presentations, and publications are planned as the study results are finalized.

The last part of this phase included drafting the interview protocol and piloting the recruitment procedures and protocol along with intensive training of the study director and interviewers. Approximately 10 pilot interviews were conducted, split across rural and urban. Three of the pilots were not used as part of the study data because of substantial changes to the interview protocol after those pilot interviews.

PHASE II: KEY INFORMANT INTERVIEWS, PARTICIPANT INTERVIEWS, DATA ENTRY

Key informant interviews with 207 key informants (85 urban and 122 rural) were completed between June 2007 and April 2008. Overall there was an 82.8% response rate, an 11.6% refusal rate, and 6% were never scheduled. There were no significant differences by area for refusal rates or rates of those not scheduled. The sample was generated using several different strategies including: (1) advisory group committee suggestions; (2) listing and contacting key agencies in each community (e.g., prosecutors offices, sheriff offices, local law enforcement, shelters); and, (3) each survey participant was asked to provide names of other individuals in their community that he or she believed should be included in the survey.

Because of the methodology of asking people to refer others that should be interviewed, a few of the key informants who completed the survey (n=19, 9%) did not fit into the broad categories of criminal justice system representatives or victim service representatives (e.g., a pastor that did not serve partner violence victims, a homeless shelter director that did not serve partner violence victims, a food stamp worker, a journalist, a transitional housing director that did not service partner violence victims, perpetrator treatment, substance abuse counselor, health provider) or were not specifically from the target counties (e.g., community action council director). This left a final sample of 188 key informants (77 urban and 111 rural). Analysis of bivariate relationships was examined with Chi-Squares and ANOVAs. Specific methodological details about this component of the study are reported in the method section in substudy 1.

OVERALL STUDY METHOD

For participant interviews, 228 women were recruited and interviewed. Study participants were recruited out of court from one urban and four rural courts when they obtained protective orders against a male intimate partner between June 2006 and August 2007 (n = 227). One participant was referred from an agency but was screened as eligible and was interviewed. To be eligible for the study, participants had to be: (1) female, (2) 18 years and older, (3) planning on staying in, or close to, the recruitment jurisdiction for the next 6 months, and (4) without a DVO against that same male intimate partner for at least 6 months prior to the new DVO. Participants also had to complete the baseline within six weeks of obtaining a new DVO.

Overall, of those who were actively recruited there was a 66.8% participation rate, a 3.8% refusal rate, and 29.4% that were never scheduled. Fifteen interviews were pulled from the study for a variety of reasons explained in more detail under the method section of substudy 2, leaving a final baseline sample of 213. Participants were followed at 3 and 6 months with an overall follow-up rate of 99% (n=210). Analysis included Chi-Squares, ANOVAs, and logistic and linear regressions. Specific details regarding the methods are reported in the method section of substudy 2.

Data were entered into SPSS or Word concurrent with data collection throughout the course of the study. This allowed for an additional level of quality control while the study was ongoing as well as continuous reporting of study progress.

PHASE III: SECONDARY DATA ANALYSIS AND COST ESTIMATES

During this phase secondary data were extracted and used to estimate justice system costs as well as to characterize partner violence offenders on prior justice system involvement. Court records from the Kentucky Administrative Office of the Courts (AOC) were used to extract information about charges and convictions for the same 12 months in which the petitioners' experiences were assessed as well as to obtain history of involvement in the criminal justice system. Civil records of EPOs, DVOs, and contempt of court charges were also accessed through AOC data. Local jail data for the relevant time period were extracted from four jails. One jail refused to cooperate after numerous and varied attempts to access the information. Details about this portion of the study are reported in the method section of substudy 2.

Activities during this phase included identifying economic cost sources for each cost element included in the analysis as well as estimating the cost of a protective order. Details about this portion of the study are reported in the method section of substudy 3.

PHASE IV: ANALYSIS, INTEGRATION OF DATA, AND DATA DISSEMINATION

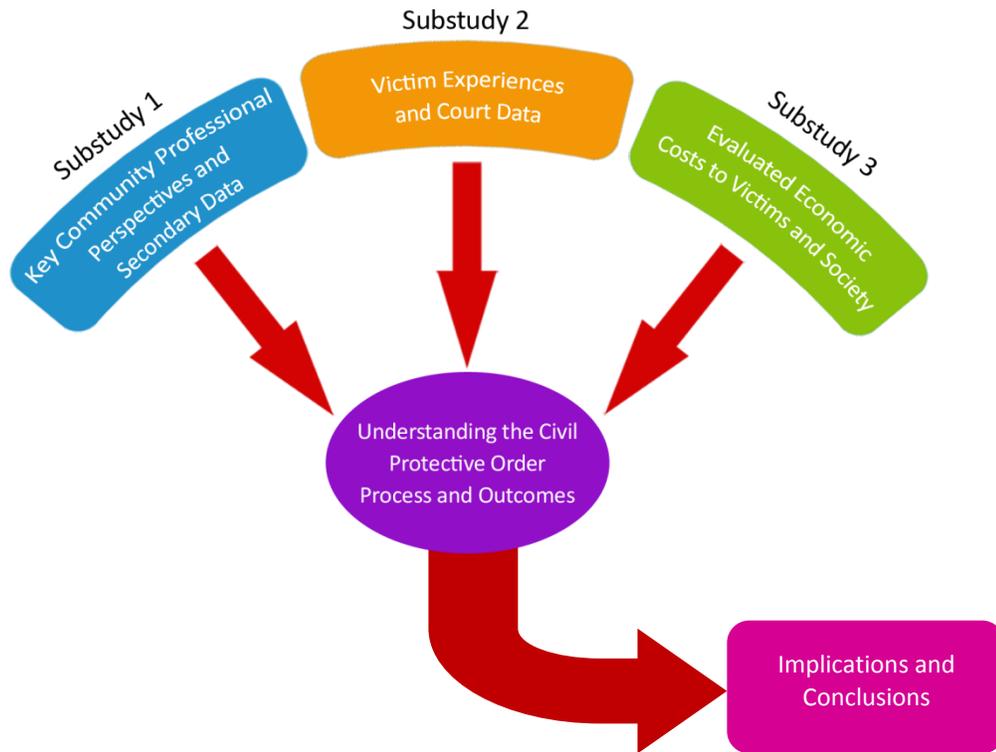
Analysis, integration of data, and data dissemination were completed during the last months of the study period. Because of the vast amount of data from multiple perspectives, results were divided into three substudies as noted in the Figure below:

- Substudy 1 Rural versus urban similarities and differences: Do contextual factors matter?
- Substudy 2 Civil protective orders: Justice or just a piece of paper?
- Substudy 3 Costs of protective orders versus partner violence: Is it really worth it?

OVERALL STUDY METHOD

An overall implication and conclusion section is presented at the end of this report. Data dissemination strategies including presentations and publications are ongoing; current efforts are listed at the report's conclusion.

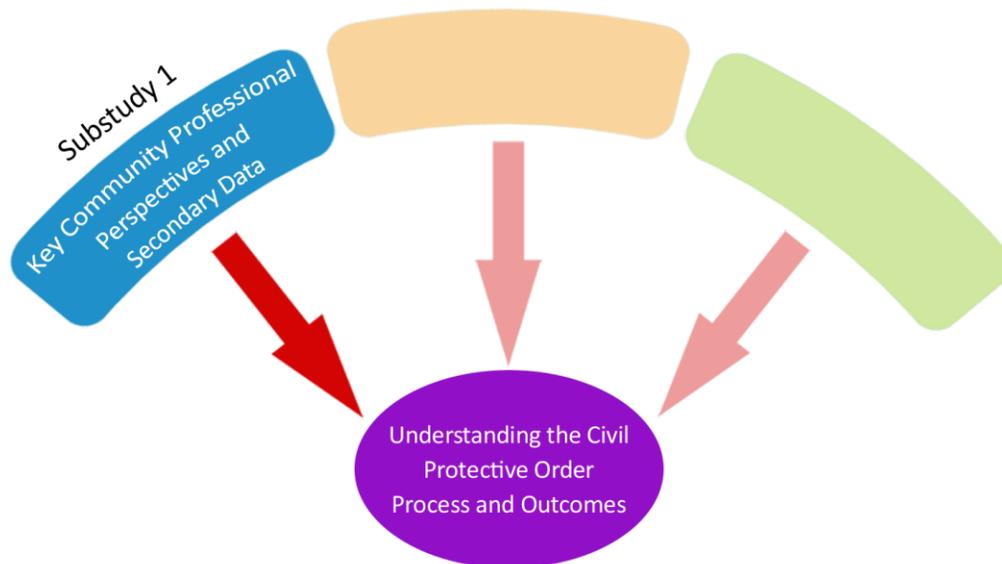
Figure For The Kentucky Civil Protective Order Study Components



SUBSTUDY 1:

RURAL VERSUS URBAN SIMILARITIES AND DIFFERENCES: DO COMMUNITY CONTEXTUAL FACTORS MATTER?

Figure For Substudy 1: The Kentucky Civil Protective Order Study Components



Victim Or Perpetrator, Criminal Justice System Sends Mixed Messages

Heather², a 39 year old rural woman, was 27 when she began a relationship with Kevin. Kevin and Heather were married for over ten years but had been divorced for about five years. Although they were divorced, Heather had recently ended another relationship and had nowhere to live, so Kevin offered to let her live with him until she could get back on her feet. One afternoon when Heather came home from work, Kevin was waiting for her at the door. As soon as she walked in, he slung her against the wall. Then, he forced her to sit down and kept her at knife-point for two hours. He walked away momentarily and she thought she could escape; she ran for the door but he caught her and threw her down on the ground. He threatened her with the knife to her face, screaming that he was going to cut her face so no one else could look at her. She threw her hands up to protect her face, and he stabbed her hands. She started screaming and he then took the knife and slid it gently against his neck, leaving small scratches. At that point, she got away from him and ran down the street to her workplace and called the police.

When the police officer arrived, he told her that he would gladly arrest the perpetrator but if there were any scratches on Kevin he would have to arrest her as well. She remembered that Kevin had used the knife on himself, so she told him not to arrest the perpetrator and went to the emergency room for her injuries. The hospital called the police and when the officer arrived he took her report of what happened. When she explained what happened the first time she talked to the officer, he told her that the first officer probably told her that because his shift was about over and he didn't want to fill out the paperwork. The officer who came to the emergency room filled out a report and advised her to get an EPO and to file criminal charges with the prosecutor; she did both.

During the DVO hearing the judge told her it was partially her fault that this incident occurred because she shouldn't have been in Kevin's home in the first place. Even so, Heather was granted a no-contact DVO for three years prohibiting the perpetrator from damaging her property, owning a gun, or visiting her work, and it required him to stay at least 1000 feet away from her at all times. However, she had also asked that a Personal Belonging Order be written up so that she could get her belongings out of the house, a request which the judge ignored.

Kevin violated the EPO twice. The first time he violated the EPO, he went to her work and claimed that he needed a license plate out of her car. She got it for him but reminded him that he was not supposed to have any contact with her. The second time, he found Heather and her male friend in a restaurant. He accused her friend of being her "new boyfriend" and began to cuss him out, claiming that "this shit has only begun." Heather reported each of these violations immediately to the police department. She also notified the judge of these violations at the DVO hearing. However, she was very frustrated because even though he had violated the EPO twice and she had reported the incidents as she was told to do, he was not given any sanctions. Kevin did not violate the DVO, Heather believed, in part because he was facing criminal charges for the EPO incident and he didn't want to spend any more time in jail, and in part he didn't know where she was living for some of the six month period after the DVO was issued. Heather reported high levels of fear and was unsure of whether she thought the protective order was effective because he got away with violating it twice.

² Names and details have been changed to protect confidentiality

INTRODUCTION

Heather's story highlights several barriers and obstacles that influence protective order outcomes. First, it appeared that several of the criminal justice representatives blamed the victim for her situation which may have been, in part, due to Heather's background (she had been married and divorced several times, had experienced partner violence from multiple partners, and had been arrested on substance-related charges in the past). Second, the crime of partner violence seemed to be a low police priority in both the initial responding officer's attitude and in addressing the violations of the EPO. And third, there seemed to be a lack of concern regarding the shared home and property which Heather was asked to forgo in the wake of the terror Kevin reigned on her. One question that comes to mind from Heather's story is how her experience might have differed had she lived in an urban area. In other words, one question this substudy seeks to answer is whether the obstacles that Heather encountered in help-seeking for partner violence differ in the rural versus the urban area in a systematic way.

In order to better understand the influence of contextual factors in the process of addressing partner violence, one urban and four rural jurisdictions were selected for this study. Even though the state law clearly applies to every jurisdiction, it is hypothesized that there are jurisdictional differences that may have a great impact on access to protective orders, the process of obtaining protective orders, and in enforcement of protective orders. Studying partner violence in rural areas has been recognized as important by the National Institute of Justice for a number of years. To better understand the rural context two things are necessary: (1) having a comparison such as an urban area so that rural trends and unique differences can be identified; and (2) using multiple types of data to understand the overt and more subtle contextual differences between rural and urban areas. For this study, an urban and an Appalachian rural area were compared using several different data sources including: (a) census data; (b) official civil and criminal justice data; (c) news reports and other literature on rural areas; and (d) information from a large survey (n=188) of criminal justice and victim service representative key informants from the selected rural and urban areas.

SUBSTUDY 1 METHOD

Secondary Data

Data were obtained from the 2000 census and were updated with estimates for 2007 when possible. Other data including information from the Appalachian Regional Commission, Kentucky State Police, the Administrative Office of the Courts, and news reports were used to describe the particular rural and urban areas selected for this study.

Key Informant Interviews

Interviews with 207 key informants (85 urban and 122 rural) were completed between June 2007 and April 2008. Overall there was an 82.8% response rate, an 11.6% refusal rate, and 5.6% were never scheduled. There were no significant differences by area for refusal rates or rates of those not scheduled. The sample was generated using several different strategies including: (1) advisory group committee suggestions of whom to contact; (2) listing and contacting key agencies in each community (e.g., prosecutors offices, sheriff offices, local law enforcement, shelters); and (3) each survey participant was asked to provide names of other individuals in their community he or she believed

should be included in the survey.

Interview Procedures and Effort

The vast majority of the key informant interviews were completed by telephone (90.8%) although there were area differences, with 96.4% done by telephone in the urban area and 86.9% done by telephone in the rural area ($Z=2.35, p<.05$). A very small percentage of interviews were completed by fax (1%) and 8% were completed through face-to-face interviews, although more face-to-face interviews were completed in the rural area (13%) than in the urban area (1%, $Z=3.08, p<.01$). Interviews took approximately 65 minutes on average to complete although they took slightly longer in the rural area (70 minutes) compared to the urban area (59 minutes, $F(1, 205)=19.3, p<.001$). In all, 223 hours and 40 minutes were spent to complete all of the interviews. Overall, 2,431 telephone calls were made to complete the survey and 155 call-ins were received. Thirty-two emails were sent and 32 in-person contacts were made to complete this portion of the study.

Because of the methodology of asking people to refer others who should be interviewed, a few of the key informants who completed the survey ($n=19, 9%$) did not fit into the broad categories of criminal justice system representatives or victim service representatives (e.g., a pastor that did not serve partner violence victims, a homeless shelter director who did not serve partner violence victims, a food stamp worker, a journalist, a transitional housing director who did not serve partner violence victims, a health provider, a substance abuse counselor) or they were not specifically from the target counties (e.g., community action council director). This left a final sample of 188 as Table 1 below shows.

Table 1. Key informants by broad categories and area

	Selected Urban Area N=77	Selected Rural Area N=111	Total N=188
Criminal justice (e.g., judges, law enforcement, prosecutors, defense attorneys, court clerks, jail, probation and parole)	33.8% N=26	41.4% N=46	38.3% N=72
Victim Services (e.g., advocates, legal aid attorneys, shelter staff, rape crisis staff, counselors/social workers, adult protective services, other government program personnel that serve victims)	66.2% N=51	58.6% N=65	61.7% N=116

Interviews used quantitative and qualitative information to assess: (1) rural versus urban differences in crime response; (2) attitudes toward partner violence and protective orders; (3) barriers to obtaining a protective orders; (4) protective order violations and police responses; and (5) factors in prosecution and conviction for protective order violations.

Analysis

Analysis of qualitative data was done using NVivo and then transferred into SPSS. The qualitative data were first surveyed for themes and then coded into those themes with new themes added as necessary. All qualitative data analysis was done by the Principal Investigator of the study. For quality control, 20%

SUBSTUDY 1

of the questions were independently coded by a research assistant and then compared to the original thematic analysis. There was a 90.4% agreement across all categories and questions double coded for quality control. All differences were resolved for 100% agreement. Some of the data were combined into larger categories once they were transferred into SPSS to facilitate communication of the results. Quantitative analysis was done with chi-square or ANOVAs to examine bivariate relationships.

Results reported below are reported for the study-selected urban and rural areas. However, results should not be generalized to all urban or all rural areas in the state.

SUBSTUDY 1 RESULTS

Census And Economic Indicator Differences

The rural area that was targeted for the current study incorporated four southeastern Kentucky counties which are also all central Appalachian counties. Three of the four counties are classified as economically distressed and the fourth is classified as economically at-risk (Appalachian Regional Commission, 2009a). In addition to being impoverished, recent studies have also identified the Appalachian rural areas as at risk for significant health disparities. For example, one study found that the life expectancy of low income white women in Appalachia has declined between 1982 and 2001. The authors concluded that income alone could not account for the decline because other low income white rural populations did not experience that kind of health decline suggesting there are other contextual factors that specifically put women at risk for health disparities in rural Appalachia (Murray et al., 2006). Another recent report indicated that more individuals living in Appalachia had serious psychological distress and a major depressive disorder compared to the rest of the nation (Zhang et al., 2008). Additionally, in general, rural areas tend to have fewer available services of all types, and the few that do exist must cover larger geographic areas. The quality and consistency of staff are also problematic and higher costs are associated with some rural services while individuals in rural areas have fewer personal resources to pay for costs (Booth, Ross, & Rost, 1999; DeLeon, Hagglund, & Wakefield, 2003; Leukefeld, Clayton, & Meyers, 1992; Ricketts, 1999; Zhang et al., 2008).

As Table 2 shows, the majority of the individuals living in the selected rural counties were classified as rural from the Census data, and the density indicator was significantly lower in the rural area (86 people per square mile on average) than in the selected urban area (980 people per square mile on average). Also, people living in the rural area were mostly white, born in Kentucky, and living in poverty with lower incomes than those in the urban area of the study. More housing units in the rural area did not have telephones or automobiles. Further, the selected rural area has a lower proportion of individuals with a high school degree and higher unemployment rates.

Table 2. County description for sample selection

<u>Census Data</u>	Selected Urban Area	Selected Rural Area	Kentucky
<i>Population estimate and indices of rural</i>			
Population estimate (2007)	279,044	160,819	4,241,474
% Population rural (2000)	4%	86.8% (78%-91%)	44%
Persons per square mile (2007)	980.8	86.3	106.8
Range		(70.9-106.6)	
Total area size square miles	284.52	1,863.17	39,728.18
Range		(339.04-787.69)	
<i>Population characteristics</i>			
% African American (2007)	13.8%	1.1%	7.7%
% Pop born in Kentucky (2000)	64%	84.3%	74%
<i>Poverty indices</i>			
% Population below poverty level (2007)	15.9%	25.8%	17.2%
Average income per capita (2000)	\$23,109	\$12,664	\$18,093
Median household income (2007)	\$46,726	\$29,545	\$40,299
% Housing units without telephone	3%	9%	5%
% Housing units without automobiles	8%	13.5%	9%
<i>Education and unemployment</i>			
Men and women 25+ high school graduate or more (2000)	85.8%	60%	74.1%
Unemployment rate July 2007 (Kentucky office of Employment and Training, 2007)	4.3%	7.2%	5.7%
Female population 16+ not in workforce (2000)	35%	62.3%	45.6%

The rural area selected for this study may or may not be representative of other rural areas. However, the selection of Appalachian counties adds to the understanding of the characteristics of this particular area that has long been characterized as “the other America” or as an undeveloped nation within the U.S. (Eller, 2008; Harrington, 1993). The people in Appalachia have experienced stigma, discrimination, high rates of poverty and high levels of governmental relief programs for decades with almost half the Appalachian population being on some form of governmental subsidy by the 1930s (Eller, 2008). Even in 2006-2007, following years of economic development, 35.9% of the rural area for this study was Medicaid eligible and 32.1% were on disability compared to 13.2% Medicaid and 15% for disability for the urban county in this study (U.S. Census, 2009; Foundation for a Healthy Kentucky, 2009). The rural Appalachian area has five key cultural characteristics that likely influence attitudes and responses to partner violence.

First, the literature on Appalachia has stressed the strong tendency among the residents to keep personal problems personal and within the family rather than using public services to solve them. This

theme is captured by a study on the social historical analysis of poverty in a central rural Appalachian county where one informant stated, “I don’t tell anybody else what to do and I don’t want anybody else telling me what to do” (Billings & Blee, 2000, p. 162). In other words, Appalachia is characterized by an intense self-reliance and has been this way throughout its history (Webb, 2004). This self-reliance may play an important role in the response to governmental interference in the home, which is seen as exclusively a family matter.

Second, and related to the first characteristic, rural areas are traditionally more conservative politically and socially, and have more traditional views of gender roles (Bush & Lash, 2006; Gagne, 1992; Pruitt, 2008a; 2008b; Websdale, 1998). These conservative political, social, and gender role views are deeply embedded in the high priority assigned to kinship ties and family identities that bound people together across the isolated communities (Burns, Scott, & Thompson, 2006; Webb, 2004). Along with these conservative views, the religious values among individuals in Appalachian rural areas may influence their understanding and responses to partner violence. The Appalachian religion, which is heavily Calvinist and fundamentalist, may contribute to more traditional views of gender roles as well as to what some have characterized as fatalism or the passive acceptance of fate (Drake, 2001). As one 83 year old Appalachian woman put it “I’m rich, rich as the Lord wants me to be” even though she lived in poverty (Kennedy, 1999, p. 11). The conservative and traditional gender role norms likely interact with the norm of privacy to create an environment that contributes to more tolerance of partner violence (Duncan, 1999; Logan et al., 2003a; 2004b; 2005a; 2005b; Pruitt, 2008a; 2008b; Websdale, 1998).

Third, some believe that the history of Appalachia is replete with absentee ownership of land, minerals, and the limited sources of wealth in the area which is hypothesized as contributing to the widespread feelings of powerlessness to change the culture or “the way things are” (Dunaway, 1995; Duncan, 1999; Gaventa, 1980; The Appalachian Land Ownership Task Force, 1983). A study of 20 million acres of Appalachian land found that large multinational corporations owned 40% of it as well as 70% of the mineral rights (Eller, 2008). Historically, the Appalachian political structure fed on poverty and the region’s dependent relationships of its citizens and, more importantly, it stymied serious planning and development. Eller has gone so far as to call this political system “feudal” (2008, p. 35). More specifically, the Appalachian culture fell under the legacy of local power-brokers handing out “favors” (thus the importance of politics or “who you know” in influencing access to jobs and other scarce resources as well as justice). This restricted distribution of power and control, combined with the fact that many local people do not own property and scarcely benefit from the area’s limited wealth, adds to the widespread feelings of powerlessness to change the way things are thought to prevail in the Appalachian culture (Duncan, 1999; Gaventa, 1980). These cultural characteristics may contribute to persistent tolerance of partner violence.

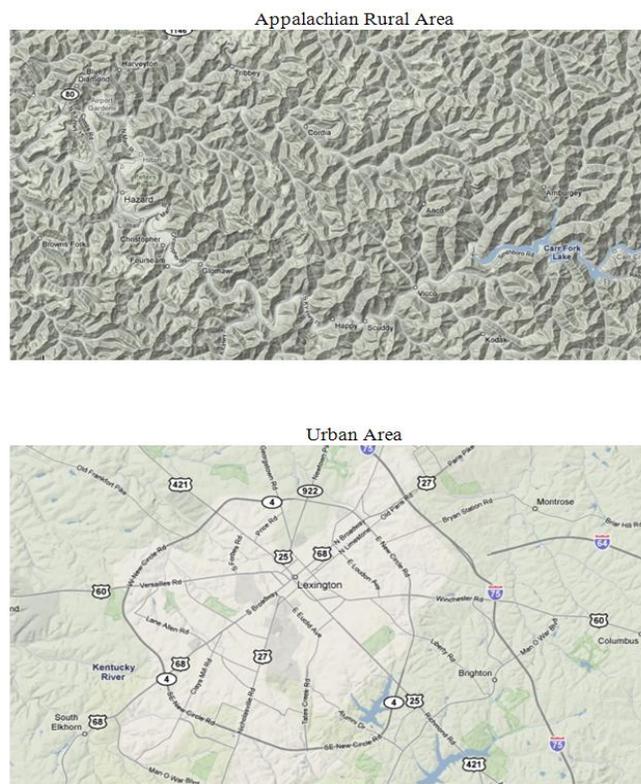
Fourth, the Appalachian region as a whole and specifically central Appalachia has a lengthy history of poverty with women and children carrying “the heaviest burden of poverty and income disparity” (Eller, 2008, p. 234). In central Appalachia in 2000, “nearly 70% of female-headed households with children under six years old had incomes below the national poverty level” (Eller, 2008, p. 234). Lower educational attainment also marks the area with only 65% of the adult population having completed high school (Eller, 2008). Along with poverty come health disparities, meaning both a higher rate of serious and chronic diseases as well as fewer healthcare choices (Behringer & Friedell, 2006). Resources are necessary to have independence from violent relationships and to change traditional gender roles.

Fifth, another important feature that distinguishes rural area from the urban area for this study is topography (see Figure 1). The specific part of rural Appalachia selected for this study is characterized by

a mountain and river topography where towns often exist solely in narrow serpentine valleys. The mountains do not consist of long ridges as in the ridge and valley provinces of Appalachia, but are of erratic directions and look from the air like a piece of wadded-up paper after it has been partially flattened again. Most of the poorest census tracts are found in the narrow valley areas far from interstate highways and the development they bring (Eller, 2008). This particular topography also contributes to isolation because homes are built within the narrow areas of flat land in the creek and river bottoms. In addition, the predominant exposed roadside rocks are brittle, composed of silica-rich clays that when wet are unstable at road cuts, and, as gravel, are slick and dangerous. All of the topographical features pose barriers to communication, transportation, and interaction within the community.

Difficult topography, feelings of powerlessness to change the way things are, fundamentalist religion and traditional and conservative political and social views especially with regard to gender roles, the strong tendency to feel that family matters are private, and limited financial and economic opportunities and resources combine to potentially create and sustain barriers to addressing partner violence and to obtaining help for partner violence from the justice system.

Figure 1. Rural and urban topographies



Rural Versus Urban Differences In Crime Response

In addition to the differences mentioned above, drug abuse patterns may differ for rural and urban areas. While overall illicit drug and alcohol use in rural areas is reported at similar or slightly lower levels than in urban areas (CASA, 2000; Kessler et al., 1994; Zhang et al., 2008), prescription drug abuse has been noted as a problem in the study-selected rural area (DEA, 2002; 2008). A recent report found a higher prevalence of non-medical use of psychotherapeutics by Appalachian adolescents compared to non-Appalachian adolescents, although the adult rates were similar (Zhang et al., 2008). Further, that same report found that admission rates for primary abuse of prescription drugs are higher in Appalachia, especially central Appalachia (the location of the selected rural areas), than for the rest of the nation. In addition, one study found considerable overlap of medical and non-medical use of opioids with self-reported physical health problems, disability, and chronic pain among an Appalachian sample from the location of the selected rural areas for the current study (Havens, Walker, & Leukefeld, 2008). Appalachia in general, and the rural area selected for this study in particular, has been recognized in the local and national media for significant prescription drug abuse problems including Oxycontin® (Bass, 2007; Daily Yonder, 2008; DEA, 2002; Meier, 2007; Miroff, 2008; New York Times, 2001; 2002), Lorcet®, Lortab®, Vicodin®, Valium®, and Xanax® (Lexington Herald Leader, 2003a; 2003b; 2003c; 2003d; 2003e; 2009a; 2009b). In fact, at one point 10 eastern Kentucky counties were listed all together as one of the areas receiving the most narcotics per capita from 1998-2001 (DEA as cited in the Herald-Leader, 2003f) and recently was ranked 7th in the nation in terms of per capita prescriptions overall (Kaiser State Health Facts, 2007). A more recent report lists abuse and diversion of prescription drugs, particularly of hydrocodone® and oxycodone® as the largest drug problem in southeastern Kentucky (where the target rural area is located) and notes that the availability of OxyContin® has actually risen in this area (DEA, 2008).

Even though the rural areas selected for this study had higher poverty levels and larger geographic areas for law enforcement to cover, the overall arrest rate per 1000 people, as averaged across the four rural counties, was larger than the rate for the urban area (see Table 3). This may be due, at least in part, to the much higher rates of drug and DUI arrests in the rural area versus the urban area (Beshear & Brewer, 2008). The rural area selected for this study was under special law enforcement and prosecution policies on drug offenses due to Operation UNITE, which greatly increased arrests for drug crimes from 2004 to the present (Operation UNITE, 2009). In 2003, prior to the implementation of Operation UNITE's law enforcement actions, the selected rural area had 64.07 arrests overall per 1000 people, with 10.46 drug-related arrests and 7.22 DUI-related arrests per 1000 people (Fletcher & Miller, 2004). Compare those rates with the arrest rates for the rural area in 2007 displayed in Table 3. It should be noted that there was a wide range of arrest rates across the four selected rural counties.

In contrast to the number of substance-related arrests, domestic violence-related arrests (which were not a focus of Operation UNITE) were lower in the rural area. Domestic violence-related arrests in 2007 were also lower compared to the urban area (Administrative Office of the Court, 2008). It is clear that rural public sentiment placed an increasing interest in law enforcement toward drug and alcohol-related crimes but the effort is not comparable with regard to partner violence-related crime. On the other hand, the urban area had received a 2-year grant starting in Fiscal Year 2007 to focus on protective order violations and stalking as well as working more closely with the community to address partner violence. It is unclear how much influence this grant had on 2007 arrest rates for partner violence in the urban area or on any of the study results given that the study period and the urban grant period only slightly overlapped. However, there was an increased emphasis on stalking charges in the police department starting in Fiscal Year 2006.

Table 3. Arrests and selected arrests per 1000 people by urban versus rural area for 2007

2007	Selected Urban Area	Selected Rural Area	Kentucky
Total arrests	21,313	15,696	393,913
Per 1000	76.38	97.6	92.87
Range		(68.92-147.88)	
Drug arrests	2,857	2,909	60,582
Per 1000	10.24	18.09	14.28
Range		(10.77-22.66)	
DUI arrests	2,312	2,009	35,252
Per 1000	8.29	12.49	8.31
Range		(6.36-15.29)	
DV related arrests*	1,271	600	17,249
Per 1000	4.55	3.73	4.07
Range		(2.97-4.28)	

*From FY 2007 and includes charges for Assault in the Fourth Degree (Assault 4th), Domestic Violence (DV), Violation of a PO, Stalking in the Second Degree (Stalking 2nd), Stalking in the First Degree (Stalking 1st), Assault in the First Degree, Second Degree, and Third Degree (Assault 1st, 2nd, 3rd) DV, Assault 4th 3rd offense or greater within 5 years DV, Enhanced Assault 4th DV, murder DV, Attempted murder DV, Conspiracy, Complicity, and Solicitation of Murder DV.

The official arrest data are consistent with the results of the key informant perceptions of what they thought the highest priority crimes were in their community in the past year, as shown in Table 4. The rural respondents cited drug and alcohol-related crime as the biggest priorities in the past year for the criminal justice system in their communities (97.8% of rural criminal justice and 90.8% of rural victim service representatives) compared to a much lower proportion of urban respondents (42.3% of urban criminal justice and 39.2% of urban victim service representatives). For the rural criminal justice respondents, the next most frequently cited crimes were property crime (52.2%) and domestic violence (47.8%); for the rural victim service representatives, the next most frequently cited crimes included other violent crime and property crime. On the other hand, significantly more urban criminal justice representatives mentioned other violent crimes as the biggest priority with domestic violence a close second. Also, more urban victim service representatives (64.7%) mentioned domestic violence as the biggest priority which contrasted with the proportion of rural victim services representatives that mentioned this crime as a big priority (44.6%). Stalking was only mentioned by a few urban participants.

Table 4. Mentioned as the highest priority crimes in the community in the past year

<u>Criminal Justice Representatives</u>	Urban (n=26)	Rural (n=46)	Total (n=72)
Drug-alcohol related crime ($X^2(1)=29.62, p<.001$)	42.3%	97.8%	77.8%***
Domestic violence	50%	47.8%	48.6%
Property crime	38.5%	52.2%	47.2%
Other violent crime total ($X^2(1)=3.83, p<.05$)	53.8%	30.4%	38.9%*
Sexual assault	19.2%	10.9%	13.9%
Stalking	7.7%	0%	2.8%
<u>Victim Service representatives</u>	Urban (n=51)	Rural (n=65)	Total (n=116)
Drug-alcohol related crime ($X^2(1)=35, p<.001$)	39.2%	90.8%	68.1%***
Domestic violence ($X^2(1)=4.64, p<.05$)	64.7%	44.6%	53.4%*
Other violent crime	49%	50.8%	50%
Property crime	35.3%	49.2%	43.1%
Sexual assault	17.6%	13.8%	15.5%
Stalking ($X^2(1)=9.5, p<.01$)	13.7%	0%	6%**

The responses above were those mentioned without specific prompting. In order to assess the perceived seriousness of specific crimes more systematically, key informants were asked to rate how serious each of a selected list of crimes was in their communities, as noted in Table 5 below.

Rural criminal justice and rural victim service representatives rated drug possession and trafficking as more serious in their community than urban key informants (a lower rating indicates they thought the crime was more serious). There were no other differences by area for criminal justice representatives; most notably, domestic violence was rated similarly. However, for victim service representatives, there were several significant differences beyond the drug crimes. Urban victim service representatives rated domestic violence and sexual offenses as more serious than rural victim service representatives. On the other hand, rural victim service representatives rated nonviolent property crime and repeat DUI offenses more seriously than did urban victim service respondents.

Table 5. Respondent ratings of the perceived seriousness of crimes

<u>Criminal Justice</u>	Urban (n=26)	Rural (n=46)	Total (n=72)
Drug possession (F(1,70)=5.77, p<.05)	1.54	1.2	1.32*
Drug trafficking (F(1,70)=11.74, p<.01)	1.73	1.2	1.39**
Domestic violence	1.62	1.83	1.75
Child abuse	1.81	1.87	1.85
Repeat DUI offenses	1.92	1.98	1.96
Non-violent property crimes, such as burglary and theft	2.04	2.04	2.04
Sex offenses	2.08	2.30	2.22
Violent crimes, such as homicide, assault, & robbery	2.19	2.35	2.29
<u>Victim Services</u>	Urban (n=51)	Rural (n=65)	Total (n=116)
Drug possession (F(1,114)=31.871, p<.001)	1.8	1.17	1.45***
Drug trafficking (F(1,113)=21.15, p<.001)	1.74	1.23	1.45***
Domestic violence (F(1,114)=10.75, p<.01)	1.25	1.63	1.47**
Child abuse	1.57	1.66	1.62
Repeat DUI offenses (F(1,114)=20.72, p<.001)	2.25	1.64	1.91***
Sex offenses (F(1,114)=5.26, p<.05)	1.73	2.06	1.91*
Violent crimes, such as homicide, assault, & robbery	2.04	2.17	2.11
Non-violent property crimes, such as burglary and theft (F(1,114)=13.94, p<.001)	2.51	2.03	2.24***

1=extremely serious; 2=quite serious; 3=somewhat serious; 4=no problem

In order to obtain a clearer picture of key informant concerns about specific crimes in their communities, another set of questions was used. These questions were based on the “willingness-to-pay” concept which uses a contingent valuation methodology developed in the environmental economics literature (Blomquist, Newsome, & Stone, 2004; Cohen, Rust, Steen, & Tidd, 2004). Using a methodology similar to the Blomquist et al. (2004), and in consultation with Dr. Blomquist (personal communication), the question asked:

If you were making the choices for the budget in your community and you found out there was an extra 1 million dollars to add to the existing budget, how much of the 1 million dollars would you put into the budget to increase prevention or enforcement for each of the following crimes? Keep in mind that if you put more money into prevention or enforcement for a specific crime, efforts will be expanded. If no money is given to a specific crime, then prevention or enforcement levels will remain the same as they are now.

As displayed in Figures 2 and 3, the urban criminal justice representatives gave the most money to domestic violence, child abuse, and drug possession. The amount allocated for each of the other crimes for urban criminal justice representatives was at or below the equal distribution of the 1 million dollars for eight categories (\$125,000). On the other hand, the rural criminal justice representatives allocated the most money to drug possession and drug trafficking, although only drug trafficking was significantly

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different from urban criminal justice representatives (\$122,161.15 versus \$205,217.37, $F(1,70)=4.65$, $p<.05$). The amounts allocated to non-violent property crime, repeat DUI offenders, sex offenders, and other violent crimes were at or below \$125,000 for rural criminal justice representatives.

Urban victim service representatives allocated the most money to domestic violence (\$287,936.51 versus \$200,178.79, $F(1,112)=8.61$, $p<.01$) and child abuse, with the other crimes close to or below \$125,000. The rural victim service representatives allocated the most money toward domestic violence, child abuse, drug possession (\$58,552.75 versus \$153,792.62, $F(1,112)=24.279$, $p<.001$), and drug trafficking (\$98,487.41 versus \$140,935.48, $F(1,112)=5.65$, $p<.05$).

Figure 2. Allocation of hypothetical funds to crimes from criminal justice representatives

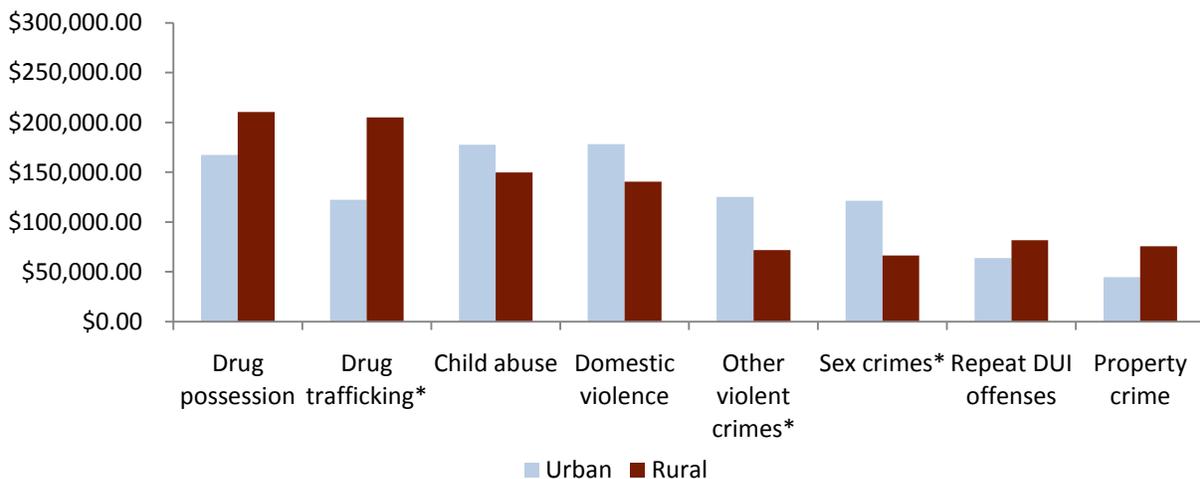
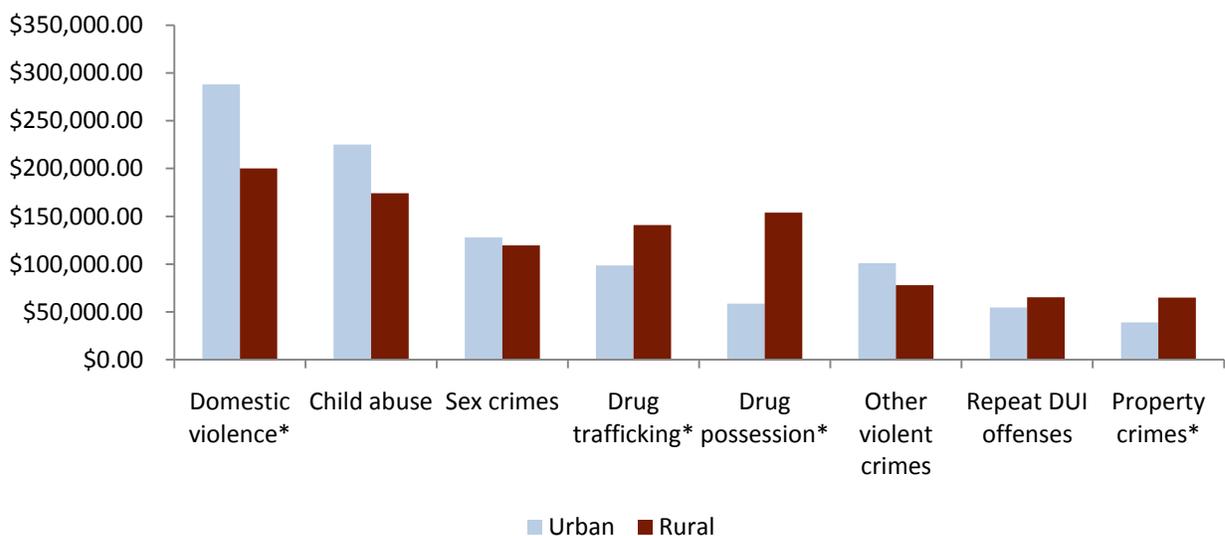
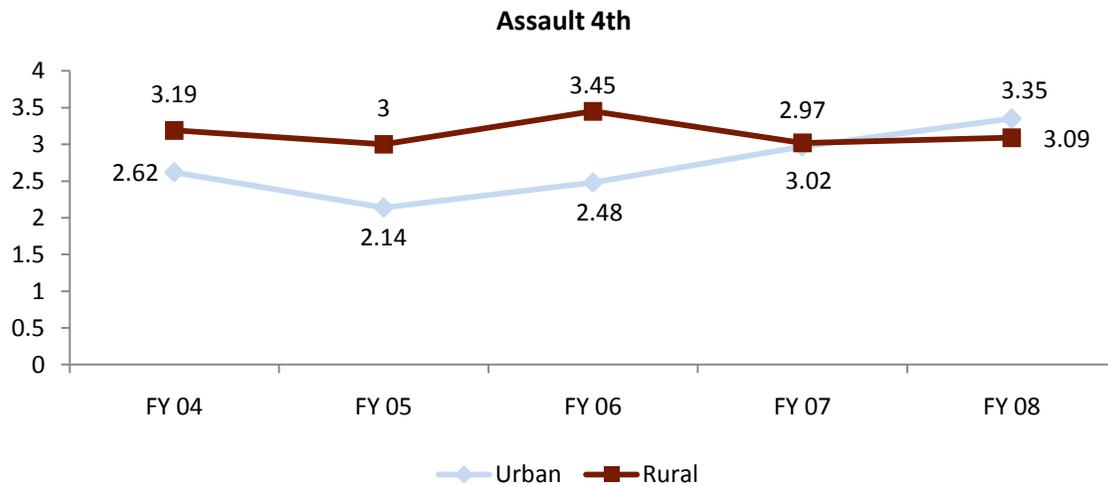


Figure 3. Allocation of hypothetical funds to crimes from victim service representatives



Priorities in each area can also be examined using official court data for charges of specific crimes like domestic violence. Actual charge trends for a 5-year period for three specific domestic violence related charges were examined. Figure 4 below shows the Assault in the Fourth Degree (Assault 4th) domestic violence charges per 1000 people for each area. The rural area started out with slightly higher rates of Assault 4th domestic violence charges; however, the urban area has increased the number of charges over time while the rural area has remained relatively level.

Figure 4. 5-year trends for Assault in the Fourth Degree (assault 4th) domestic violence charges by area (charges per 1000 people)



Charges for protective order violations show a very different trend. Urban rates are higher and have remained higher over time while the rural rates are not only relatively low compared to the urban area but also show a slight downward trend (see Figure 5).

Figure 5. 5-year trends for violation of a protective order by area (charges per 1000 people)

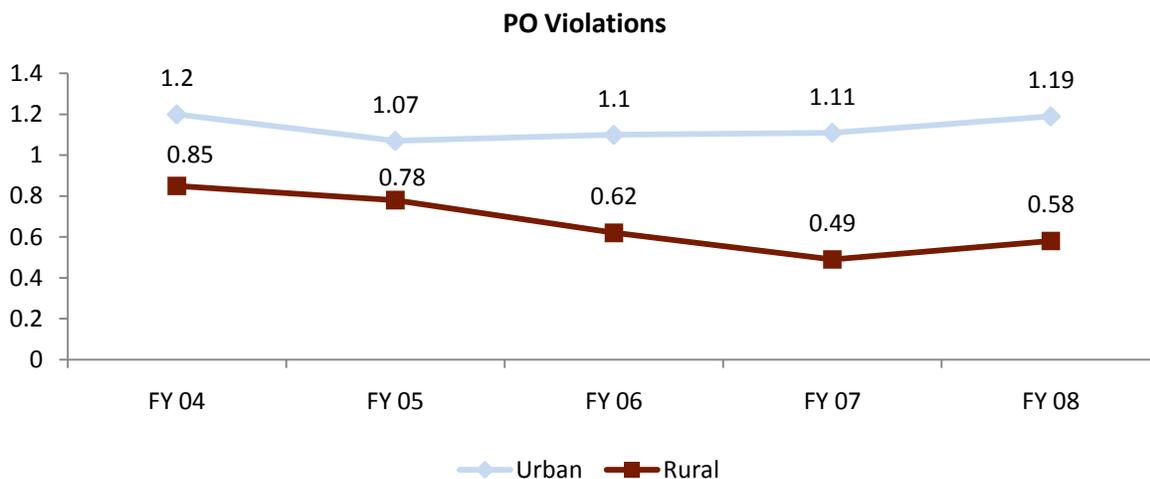
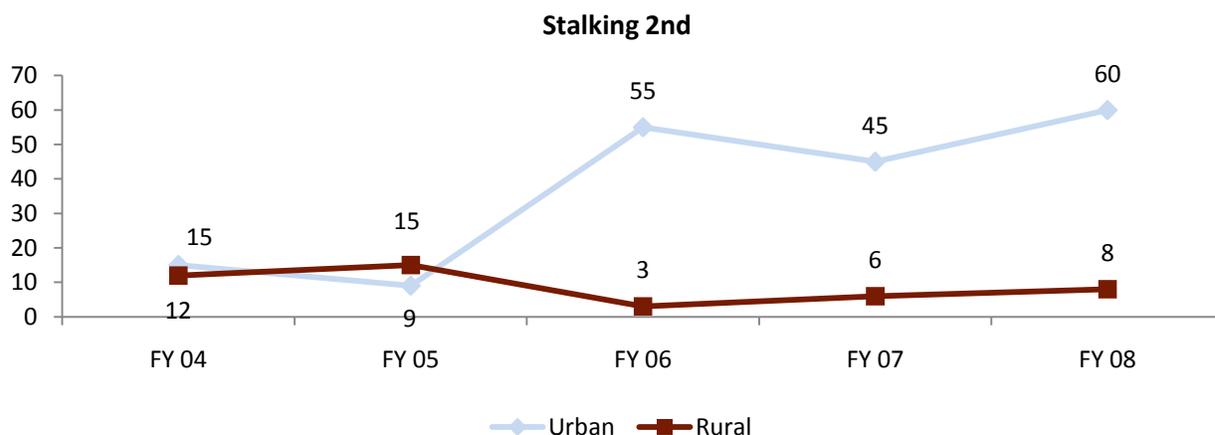


Figure 6 shows the 5-year trends for Stalking 2nd Degree charges. The numbers displayed represent the actual charges given the rate per 1000 people was so low. Although stalking charges are low in both areas, stalking is clearly something the urban area has focused on in recent years unlike the rural area.

Figure 6. 5-year trends for stalking 2nd degree by area (actual number of charges)



Attitudes Toward Partner Violence And Protective Orders

Key informants were asked to describe the three biggest reasons they thought partner violence happens. The responses only represent what participants spontaneously mentioned; it does not necessarily mean these are the only factors they thought contributed to partner violence. In other words, if key informants were systematically asked about a number of factors that they thought contributed to partner violence they would likely endorse many more than they would mention spontaneously.

As Table 6 shows, substance abuse was mentioned as a factor contributing to partner violence by more rural criminal justice representatives than urban criminal justice representatives. Although most comments around substance abuse were related to perpetrator substance abuse, some did indicate victim substance abuse was also a contributor.

Perpetrator characteristics such as impulse control or lack of emotion regulation (including general stress), personality or mental health problems, and the need for power control or jealousy were also cited by rural and urban criminal justice representatives. Victim service representatives also recognized perpetrator characteristics as a factor contributing to partner violence; however more rural victim service representatives mentioned this than urban victim services representatives. See below for some example statements about impulse control or emotion regulation problems.

- *Perpetrators are controlling/abusive because they don't know how to deal with circumstances and lashing out has gotten them what they wanted.*
- *No adequate modeling on how to cope with anger.*
- *Inability to control emotions like anger/rage.*

- *The perpetrator's mental health issues, anger management, and emotional control issues.*
- *Perpetrators don't know how to control or manage their emotions or how to solve life problems other than by violence.*
- *Frustration by partners who feel that they have been denied something they wanted the most.*
- *Broken hearts will make someone do something that they normally wouldn't do.*

More rural than urban victim service representatives indicated they believed partner violence happens because of family-of-origin learning for perpetrators.

Victim characteristics were also mentioned by about one-fifth of key informants as contributing to partner violence; this theme included victim mental health problems or personality problems that perpetrators target (such as low self-esteem) and limited education. This category also included statements about victims' tolerance of abuse and lack of resources. More urban than rural criminal justice representatives indicated that partner violence happens because there is a lack of resources or support for the victim.

Many urban criminal justice and victim service representatives indicated that partner violence happens because of societal tolerance. The societal tolerance theme included statements about the lack of consequences for partner violence, media portrayal of partner violence diminishing the seriousness of the crime, and general societal acceptance of partner violence.

In addition, one-quarter of rural criminal justice respondents indicated that partner violence occurs because of relationship issues which included comments such as "just not meant to be together," "infidelity," and "communication problems." Some other examples of statements from rural criminal justice representatives categorized into this theme include:

- *Children—some people can deal with children better than others.*
- *Married too young.*
- *Marital problems.*
- *People just can't get along.*
- *People not making good decisions, bringing in a boyfriend/girlfriend.*
- *The parties aren't meant to be together-they fight all the time.*
- *People not working together all the time.*
- *Victims spend more at the store and do not pay bills.*
- *Infidelity.*
- *Arguments over common things.*

More rural respondents, from both the criminal justice system and victim services, indicated poverty as a factor contributing to partner violence. Specifically, many comments about poverty from the rural key informants revolved around the stress related to financial issues:

- *When people are in a poverty situation they are more materialistic and that leads to fighting.*
- *Financial issues of both the victim and the perpetrator.*
- *Stressful financial situations.*
- *Arguments over money.*
- *Folks who have significant debt are under stress.*

Table 6. Reasons domestic violence happens

<u>Criminal Justice</u>	Urban (n=26)	Rural (n=46)	Total (n=72)
Substance abuse ($X^2(1)=4.67$, $p<.05$)	53.8%	78.3%	69.4%*
<i>Perpetrator characteristics</i>	73.1%	54.3%	61.1%
Impulse control-emotion regulation	34.6%	21.7%	26.4%
Personality-mental health problems of perpetrator	23.1%	28.3%	26.4%
Power, control, jealousy ($X^2(1)=6.5$, $p<.05$)	42.3%	15.2%	25%*
Family learning by perpetrators	34.6%	32.6%	33.3%
SES-poverty ($X^2(1)=5.6$, $p<.05$)	11.5%	41.3%	30.6%*
<i>Victim characteristics</i>	26.9%	15.2%	19.4%
Victim characteristics	11.5%	10.9%	11.1%
Victim tolerates	3.8%	4.3%	4.2%
Lack of resources or support ($X^2(1)=9.51$, $p<.01$)	19.2%	0%	6.9%*
Relationship issues	7.7%	26.1%	19.4% ^a
Poor societal response to partner violence/tolerance ($X^2(1)=4.26$, $p<.05$)	26.9%	8.7%	15.3%*
Social cultural influence of male entitlement-ownership-superiority	15.4%	6.5%	9.7%
<u>Victim Services</u>	Urban (n=51)	Rural (n=65)	Total (n=116)
<i>Perpetrator characteristics</i> ($X^2(1)=5.69$, $p<.05$)	49%	70.8%	61.2%*
Impulse control-emotion regulation	17.6%	23.1%	20.7%
Personality-mental health problems	19.6%	30.8%	25.9%
Power, control, jealousy	33.3%	43.1%	38.8%
Family learning perpetrators ($X^2(1)=3.89$, $p<.05$)	43.1%	61.5%	53.4%*
Substance abuse	31.4%	46.2%	39.7%
Poor societal response to partner violence/tolerance	43.1%	29.2%	35.3%
Social cultural influence of male entitlement-ownership-superiority ($X^2(1)=5.18$, $p<.05$)	39.2%	20%	28.4%*
SES-poverty	11.8%	26.2%	19.8% ^a
<i>Victim characteristics</i>	11.8%	12.3%	19%
Victim characteristics	5.9%	9.2%	7.8%
Victim tolerates	3.9%	1.5%	2.6%
Lack of resources or support	3.9%	4.6%	4.3%
Relationship issues	7.8%	3.1%	5.2%

^a Significant at $p<.10$

Key informants were also asked to indicate the three biggest costs associated with partner violence in their communities (see Table 7). Because there were few rural-urban differences by agency, agency was collapsed to examine general rural-urban differences. The biggest costs mentioned, across area, for both criminal justice and victim service representatives, were criminal justice system costs including the costs of police, courts, judges, and serving EPOs.

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The next largest category of costs mentioned were quality of life costs, although more urban respondents mentioned this as a cost than rural respondents. There was also an agency difference with more victim service representatives (52.6%), regardless of whether they were from the rural or urban area, mentioning quality of life as a cost of partner violence than criminal justice representatives (29.2%, $\chi^2(1)=9.91$, $p<.01$). This category included statements surrounding victims' quality of life, victim job loss or work productivity, housing, and emotional suffering caused by partner violence.

About one-third of participants mentioned the effect on children as a cost of partner violence.

- *The damage done to the children- they are caught in crossfire emotionally, not taught good adult skills.*
- *Victims and children are always affected by the lack of freedom, safety, and security.*
- *Number one cost-family devastation through the impact on the victim, in-laws, and children due to trauma that has been inflicted by the perpetrator.*
- *Lack of stability in the life of a child in a domestic violence situation.*
- *It creates a low quality family life. Kids are raised in dangerous homes and not happy, healthy homes.*
- *The effect of abuse on the children who witness the abuse or get the impact of the abuse.*
- *Costs to children- psychological- can last a lifetime.*
- *The effects on kids, growing up in domestic violence situations. It limits their ability to be happy, well, and productive citizens.*
- *Effect on children, recreating the cycle of domestic violence through the generations.*
- *Children-domestic violence results in more juvenile delinquent behavior.*

As expected, health, social, and victim service costs were mentioned as partner violence costs.

It should be noted that the cost of perpetrator treatment was mentioned by very few respondents; although more urban criminal justice respondents mentioned this cost (11.5%) than did rural participants (0%, $\chi^2(1)=5.54$, $p<.05$). It may be that perpetrator treatment programs are limited in both areas, but especially in the rural area.

Table 7. Respondent views of the costs of domestic violence

<u>Agency</u>	Urban (n=77)	Rural (n=111)	Total (n=188)
Criminal justice system costs	72.7%	64%	67.6%
Quality of life ($\chi^2(1)=7.93$, $p<.01$)	55.8%	35.1%	43.6%**
Effect on children and broken homes	33.8%	39.6%	37.2%
Health care costs	39%	27%	31.9%
Social services	18.2%	12.6%	14.9%
Victim services	14.3%	12.6%	13.3%
Mental health care costs	10.4%	7.2%	8.5%
Child Protective Services (CPS), child removal	9.1%	4.5%	6.4%
Treatment for domestic violence perpetrators	3.9%	.9%	2.1%

Key informants were asked two additional questions to assess general attitudes toward partner violence victims. The first was why they thought women obtained protective orders (see Table 8) and the second was why they thought men violate protective orders (see Table 9). As expected, a general category of protection was mentioned by almost every single respondent. Yet, about one-third of the criminal justice representatives, regardless of area, indicated that women sometimes obtain protective orders for revenge or to “get something.” More rural than urban criminal justice representatives thought that women obtained protective orders to get custody, property, or an upper hand in divorces. Also, more rural victim service representatives (one-third) indicated that women obtain protective orders for revenge or to “get something.” Although protective orders do have the flexibility to meet women’s needs for custody and property secondary to safety needs, the tenor of the comments regarding this theme seem to imply some women are solely using protective orders to gain property, custody, or revenge rather than to meet their primary safety and other-related needs. A sample of comments from rural participants is provided below.

- *Protective orders influence custody debates.*
- *Out of spite/to get perpetrator out of the home.*
- *To control the situation, to get the divorce.*
- *Retaliation in divorce/child custody.*
- *To gain an advantage in a divorce.*
- *Lawyers encourage the women to get EPOs to look better at divorce court.*
- *Defiance against her partner, to get back at him because she is just angry at her husband.*
- *Sometimes there are no grounds; they just seek them for attention.*
- *In revenge against the perpetrator for abusing her and to be vindictive.*
- *Got mad because boyfriend got a new girlfriend.*
- *They want to get away from the relationships and they don’t want to deal with the perpetrators, does not necessarily mean domestic violence.*
- *To use it to break up and be able to go out with someone else.*
- *Women hold EPOs over the men’s heads to get what they want.*

More urban than rural victim service representatives mentioned that women obtain protective orders to protect their children or to leave the abuser. About 15% of victim service representatives also mentioned that women seek protective orders for validation, support, or documentation, or because they are pressured by others including by child protective services.

Table 8. Why respondents think women obtain protective orders (PO)

<u>Criminal Justice</u>	Urban (n=26)	Rural (n=46)	Total (n=72)
<i>Protection</i>	100%	93.5%	95.8%
Children protection	42.3%	32.6%	36.1%
To leave-to get some peace	34.6%	37.0%	36.1%
<i>Revenge or to get something</i>	30.8%	30.4%	30.6%
Revenge, vindictive	26.9%	15.2%	19.4%
Get custody, property, child support	3.8%	19.6%	13.9% ^a
<i>Validation, support, documentation</i>	3.8%	6.5%	5.6%
<i>Pressure by others</i>	0%	4.3%	2.8%
Forced by child protective services	0%	0%	0%
<u>Victim Services</u>	Urban (n=51)	Rural (n=65)	Total (n=116)
<i>Protection</i>	98%	96.9%	97.4%
Children protection ($X^2(1)=5.12, p<.05$)	68.6%	47.7%	56.9%*
To leave-to get some peace ($X^2(1)=6.16, p<.05$)	37.3%	16.9%	25.9%*
<i>Revenge or to get something ($X^2(1)=5.39, p<.05$)</i>	13.7%	32.3%	24.1%*
Revenge, vindictive ($X^2(1)=4.86, p<.05$)	3.9%	16.9%	11.2%*
Get custody, property, child support	11.8%	21.5%	17.2%
<i>Validation, support, documentation</i>	13.7%	16.9%	15.5%
<i>Pressure by others</i>	19.6%	10.8%	14.7%
Forced by child protective services	9.8%	6.2%	7.8%

^a significant at $p<.10$

In response to the question about why they thought men violated protective orders, more urban criminal justice representatives compared to rural criminal justice representatives indicated it was due to perpetrator attitudes including statements such as they do not take the order seriously, they have impulse control problems, they have power and control issues, anger and retaliation, and/or they have attitudes of entitlement or ownership of the partner (see Table 9). Regardless of area, almost one-quarter of the criminal justice representatives believed the perpetrators violate the order due to personality or mental health problems, and close to one-fifth believed it was due to the perpetrator's wanting to get back together with the victim or to communicate for other reasons (e.g., financial, children). Other reasons mentioned by urban and rural criminal justice representatives included statements like women "allowing" the violations to occur and that the violations occur because of substance abuse. Almost one-fifth of the urban criminal justice representatives compared to 2% of the rural criminal justice representatives believed that protective orders are violated because the perpetrators do not understand the order.

There were no significant area differences in responses for why victim service representatives thought men violated protective orders. The overwhelming majority felt violations were due to perpetrator attitudes; substantially fewer felt violations were due to personality or mental health problems, because

the perpetrator wanted to get back together, or to communicate about other family issues such as finances or children.

Table 9. Why men are thought to violate POs

<u>Criminal Justice</u>	Urban (n=26)	Rural (n=46)	Total (n=72)
Perpetrator attitudes of power and control, anger and retaliation, lack of impulse control, and entitlement ($X^2(1)=8.14$, $p<.01$)	100%	73.9%	83.3%*
Personality-mental health problems	26.9%	21.7%	23.6%
Get back together, family issues (finances), children	11.5%	28.3%	22.2%
Substance use	11.5%	17.4%	15.3%
Women allow it-don't report	11.5%	10.9%	11.1%
Do not understand order ($X^2(1)=6.33$, $p<.05$)	19.2%	2.2%	8.3%*
<u>Victim Services</u>	Urban (n=51)	Rural (n=65)	Total (n=116)
Perpetrator attitudes of power and control, anger and retaliation, lack of impulse control, and entitlement	98%	96.9%	97.4%
Personality-mental health problems	17.6%	12.3%	14.7%
Get back together, family issues (finances), children	7.8%	13.8%	11.2%
Substance use	5.9%	10.8%	8.6%
Women allow it-don't report	2%	1.5%	1.7%
Do not understand order	3.9%	6.2%	5.2%

Barriers to Obtaining Protective Orders

The next group of questions examined perceived access and barriers to obtaining protective orders. Respondents were first asked how many women out of 10 experiencing partner violence they thought actually requested a protective order. Key informants indicated they perceived that, on average, 4 out of 10 women experiencing partner violence petition for an Emergency Protective Order (EPO).

When participants were asked how many women out of 10 they thought actually ended up with an EPO, which is the first step to receiving a Domestic Violence Order (DVO) in Kentucky, the answer varied by agency but not area (see Table 10). Criminal justice representatives thought 8 out of 10 women who petitioned for EPOs received them while victim service representatives thought 6 out of 10 women received EPOs ($F(1,183)=20.62$, $p<.001$).

Next participants were asked "how many women out of 10 with EPOs actually end up with DVOs?" Urban victim service and criminal justice representatives indicated that 6 out of 10 women would obtain DVOs as compared to rural victim service and criminal justice representative responses that 4 women out of 10 women with EPOs actually end up with DVOs.

When asked whether women are sometimes charged fees for something related to the EPO or DVO process (e.g., charged to serve notice to the respondent), 3% across both the urban and rural criminal

justice respondents said they thought women were sometimes charged fees. However, 14% of the rural victim service representatives compared to 2% urban victim service representatives indicated that women are sometimes charged fees.

In addition, the criminal justice representatives, across rural and urban areas, estimated the non-service rate (i.e., the rate that notice of the EPO and DVO hearing date was not served to respondents) at 21% while victim service representatives estimated their community non-service rate, across the rural and urban areas, at about 33%.

Table 10. How many women are thought to obtain Emergency Protective Orders (EPO)

<u>Criminal Justice</u>	Urban (n=26)	Rural (n=46)	Total (n=72)
How many women out of ten experiencing partner violence try to obtain a PO?	4.04	4.33	4.23
How many women out of ten petitioning for an EPO actually end up receiving an EPO?	7.46	8.15	7.9
How many out of ten who have EPOs actually end up with a DVO? (F(1,68)=7.08, p<.05)	5.56	4.18	4.67*
Women are sometimes charged fees for something related to the EPO/DVO process	0%	4.8%	3%
Perceived jurisdiction non-service rate	25.6%	18.9%	21%
<u>Victim Services</u>	Urban (n=51)	Rural (n=65)	Total (n=116)
How many women out of ten experiencing partner violence try to obtain a PO?	3.32	3.75	3.56
How many women out of ten petitioning for an EPO actually end up receiving an EPO?	6.56	6.27	6.4
How many out of ten actually end up with a DVO? (F(1,110)=12.18, p<.01)	5.92	4.38	5.05*
Women are sometimes charged fees for something related to the EPO/DVO process (X ² (1)=4.74, p<.05)	2.1%	14.3%	8.8%*
Perceived jurisdiction non-service rate	33.1%	32.7%	32.9%

Table 11 below displays the perceived barriers to accessing protective orders. The answers came from three main questions: (1) What do you think are the three biggest barriers in your community to obtaining a protective order? (2) What do you think are the three main reasons why a woman might not receive an EPO? And, (3) What are the three biggest reasons a judge would dismiss or not grant a DVO?

The barriers mentioned for all three of these questions were broken down into three main categories—availability, accessibility, and acceptability. Because there were only a few agency differences, results are displayed for the urban versus the rural area with the few specific agency differences noted in the text.

The first main category of barriers, availability includes that impact whether or not the services are available to a population in need. This overall barrier had only one response category: failing to meet statutory requirements. Overall, about half of the rural and urban respondents mentioned this as a barrier. The Kentucky statute does not allow civil protective orders for dating violence—thus civil protective orders in Kentucky are not available for victims of dating violence. Therefore civil protective orders are only available to women who have lived with, been married to, or had a child in common with the respondent. There was a rural-urban agency difference, however, with more urban victim service representatives (52.9%) mentioning this barrier than rural victim service representatives (30.8%, $X^2(1)=5.83, p<.05$).

The next general category of perceived barriers, accessibility, was broken down into three subcategories—barriers related to victim credibility, barriers related to systemic issues, and barriers related to judicial bias.

Of the three subcategories under accessibility, victim credibility was mentioned by the largest proportion of respondents. See below for some examples from urban and rural respondents:

- *A sincere victim may not appear mentally stable due to heightened emotion.*
- *Either by the way she looks or how she acts, the judge may view her as “not believable.”*
- *She may not be believed if police have written-up both the perpetrator and victim as being mutually violent.*
- *If there is drug use by the victim and the perpetrator, the incident will be a drug case not domestic violence.*
- *The judge won’t believe her if she has drug use issues.*
- *If the EPO is filed for power or ammunition in divorce cases.*
- *If it’s a bogus report; and if women are using it to try to get custody.*
- *If it is only for revenge against the perpetrator, judge would dismiss.*

A substantial proportion of respondents recognized that there were significant systemic barriers to obtaining a protective order including inconvenience, bureaucracy (such as limited hours, difficulty navigating the system, and not understanding the steps in the process), and negative gatekeeper attitudes.

Negative gatekeeper attitudes included statements about clerks telling victims they do not qualify and clerks, police, or judges discouraging victims from seeking protective orders.

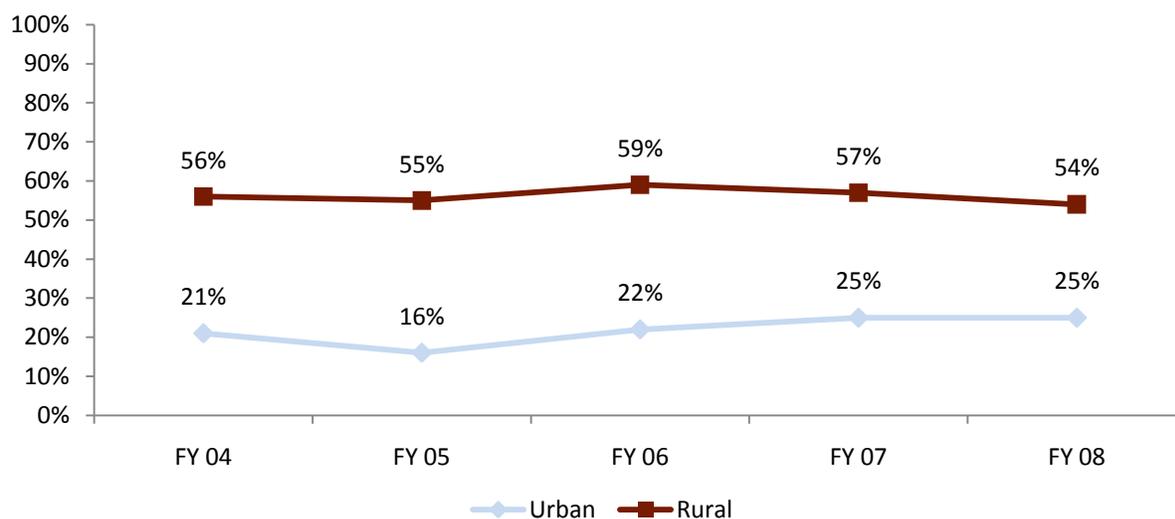
- *Unintentional obstruction by clerks and officers—the lack of knowledge of clerks prevents the victim from getting an order.*
- *What I like to call “judicial rudeness,” specifically the people who work in the court system who are rude to victims. This kind of rudeness may make a victim walk out and not file for a protective order or cause a victim to withhold information from the petition to avoid having to explain themselves to the already rude clerks.*

- *Victim being told she can't get them over weekends, no cooperation from afterhours clerks.*
- *Employees at courthouse make it difficult or they will deliberately talk them out of it.*
- *Victims fear the legal system and fear the clerk who humiliates them when they ask for EPO.*
- *Sheriff's office worker doesn't want to write the order depending on the seriousness of the domestic violence.*
- *Support of law enforcement, for example, if women try to file on weekends, the sheriff's department refuses to help until business days.*

There were three other barriers mentioned under this section. In the urban area, which is currently dealing with immigrant issues, lack of access to protective orders for those that do not speak English was mentioned, an issue which was not mentioned in the rural area.

Another barrier that a small proportion of key informants (5.3%) mentioned was the non-service rates (i.e., the rate of non-service of notice to respondents regarding the EPO). The small number of key informants who mentioned non-service as a barrier stands in stark contrast to the official non-service rates for the two areas, suggesting key informants may not realize how much of a barrier non-service is for victims. Specifically, as Figure 7 shows, the urban area has had a fairly stable non-service rate of around 22% over a 5-year period. On the other hand, the rural area has had a relatively stable non-service rate over double that of the urban area (56%) over the same 5-year period. However, the 56% non-service rate is an average across the four rural jurisdictions which is an important caveat because one of the rural counties had a much lower non-service rate (22%), while two had a much higher non-service rate (89% and 72%), and the final county had a non-service rate of around 55% (Kentucky State Police, 2008). Clearly, non-service of notice of the EPO is an issue in the rural area, especially in particular counties, but seems to be unrecognized as a barrier by key informants.

Figure 7. Non-service rates by area



Another barrier that was mentioned was that other pending court cases, including divorce and criminal cases, may reduce the likelihood that a victim receives a protective order in some jurisdictions. For example, sometimes the petitioner and respondent are asked by the judge to agree to stay away from each other and then told that agreement will be written into the divorce decree. This practice is

problematic in that not all petitioners realized they did not have an actual civil protective order, and violations of the agreement in the divorce decree can only be enforced by going back to the divorce court judge which can take weeks (police cannot enforce this agreed order). Thus, protections under the civil protective order do not apply to these cases. In fact, two rural participants were pulled from the current study (substudy 2) because neither the interviewer nor the petitioner realized they did not have an actual civil protective order until after they were interviewed and information from the court was obtained. In both of these cases the judge had made reference to an agreed order in the divorce case but the process was confusing.

Also, there are some cases in which the judge is hesitant to have a hearing and thus grants a protective order because there is a perception that if there is a criminal case pending, the information obtained during the civil hearing might be used against the respondent in the criminal case.

The next subcategory of accessibility barriers are those related to judicial bias with about 40% of participants mentioning this theme. Breaking this down a bit further, 1 out of 5 respondents mentioned that victims who have had prior EPOs or DVOs and who have dropped one or more in the past are less likely to get another one (more rural respondents mentioned this as a barrier than urban respondents, $p < .10$). For example,

- *Judge has a negative opinion of the victim because she is always filing, dropping, and filing again.*
- *If it's a woman who's filed many times she loses her credibility.*
- *Judge is reluctant to grant one if victim had been to court repeatedly.*
- *"Frequent flyer;" victims come to the court house and keep dropping them (protective orders).*
- *Multiple appearances of couple; the judge is tired of looking at them.*
- *Quantity of past EPOs that have been dropped, if there were a lot of past EPOs, they won't get another one.*

Another barrier mentioned under this section was politics. This was a more salient barrier in the rural area than in the urban area. In the rural area, respondents talked about barriers such as "who you know" and the "good ole boy" systems. For example,

- *Political connections could prevent the issue of protective orders.*
- *The political system here-family influence on the criminal justice system.*
- *The official knowing the perpetrator and not wanting to serve it.*
- *Social status, "who you know".*
- *Politics, if the partner has [political] pull with the judge.*
- *If the judge or police know the family, whether the perpetrator has a reputation of being a good person, or judge thinks victim is on drugs can all influence whether or not the victim would get one.*
- *The judge gets paid off by perpetrator or perpetrator's family.*

The last barrier mentioned under judicial bias included statements that there are certain circumstances that might not warrant protective orders. For example, several respondents indicated that if the couple had children, if the couple has reconciled, or if the DVO would negatively affect the perpetrator (e.g., financially, his job) the petitioner would not receive a protective order.

Acceptability factors, the last main category of barriers, are always important considerations when trying to understand barriers to service utilization.

The most frequently mentioned theme in this category was related to the notion that women do not follow through with the protective order because they “just want the whole situation to go away.” In other words, some key informants felt that women might not proceed with the DVO hearing because they do not want to continue to talk about or deal with the situation, or because they are in denial about it happening again.

Other acceptability barriers include fear of retaliation, no faith in the justice system, lack of resources or support, embarrassment, fear of being blamed or not believed, and fear of child protective services involvement.

Table 11. Barriers to protective orders

	Urban (n=77)	Rural (n=111)	Total (n=188)
<u>Availability</u>			
Failing to meet statutory requirements	58.4%	43.2%	49.5%
<u>Accessibility</u>			
<i>Barriers related to victim credibility</i>			
Negative victim characteristics	74%	60.4%	66%
Not presented well – no fear	39%	40.5%	39.9%
Lack of proof/not serious enough	41.6%	37.8%	39.4%
<i>Barriers related to systemic issues</i>			
Inconvenience, bureaucracy, lack of knowledge	68.8%	62.2%	64.9%
Clerks/gatekeeper attitudes	22.1%	14.4%	17.6%
Language-Disability ($X^2(1)=15.23, p<.001$)	13%	0%	5.3%*
Non-service of notice regarding EPOs	5.2%	5.4%	5.3%
Divorce/criminal case pending	6.5%	2.7%	4.3%
<i>Barriers related to judicial bias</i>			
Dropped prior orders	15.6%	27%	22.3% ^a
Politics/bias ($X^2(1)=8.16, p<.01$)	5.2%	19.8%	13.8%*
Circumstances don't warrant	7.8%	5.4%	6.4%
<u>Acceptability</u>			
Just want it all to go away, victims do not follow through	57.1%	56.8%	56.9%
Fear of retaliation from the perpetrator or perpetrator's family	40.3%	29.7%	34%
No faith in the system	23.4%	25.2%	24.5%
Lack of resources/support	13%	17.1%	15.4%
Embarrassment	15.6%	13.5%	14.4%
Fear of being blamed or not believed	15.6%	12.6%	13.8%
Fear of Child Protective Services involvement	5.2%	3.6%	4.3%

^a significant at $p<.10$

Protective Order Violations and Police Responses

Key informants were asked a series of questions about protective order violations and police responses. The first series of questions asked how frequently they thought women experienced violations and how often they thought women reported the violations. There were no rural-urban differences by agency; thus, results were compared for criminal justice versus victim service representatives in Table 12 below.

Criminal justice representatives believed that fewer women experienced violations, but those that did experience violations were more likely to take some kind of action through the civil or criminal justice system (e.g., calling the police, filing a contempt of court charge, or filing for criminal charges) compared

to victim service representatives. Also, criminal justice representatives believed that 5 out of 10 women with protective orders experienced violations while victim service representatives believed about 7 out of 10 women experienced violations.

Table 12. Violation and reporting frequency by agency

Agency	Criminal Justice (n=72)	Victim Services (n=116)	Total (n=188)
How many women out of 10 will experience a violation? (F(1, 185)=17.09, p<.001)	5.48	6.72	6.25***
Out of 10 violations a woman experiences how many will she report to the police? (F(1, 179)=5.68, p<.05)	4.66	3.83	4.14*
How many women out of 10 who experience a violations but where no arrest was made will file a contempt of court charge? (F(1, 181)=7.99, p<.01)	3.44	2.49	2.84**
How many women out of 10 experiencing a violation where no arrest was made will file criminal charges? (F(1, 180)=14.54, p<.001)	4.06	2.82	3.27***

Respondents were then asked what they thought the three biggest problems with protective orders were. As Figure 8 shows, the top three problems mentioned were that the respondent does not take them seriously, that the victim does not report the violation or “allows” contact to happen, and enforcement.

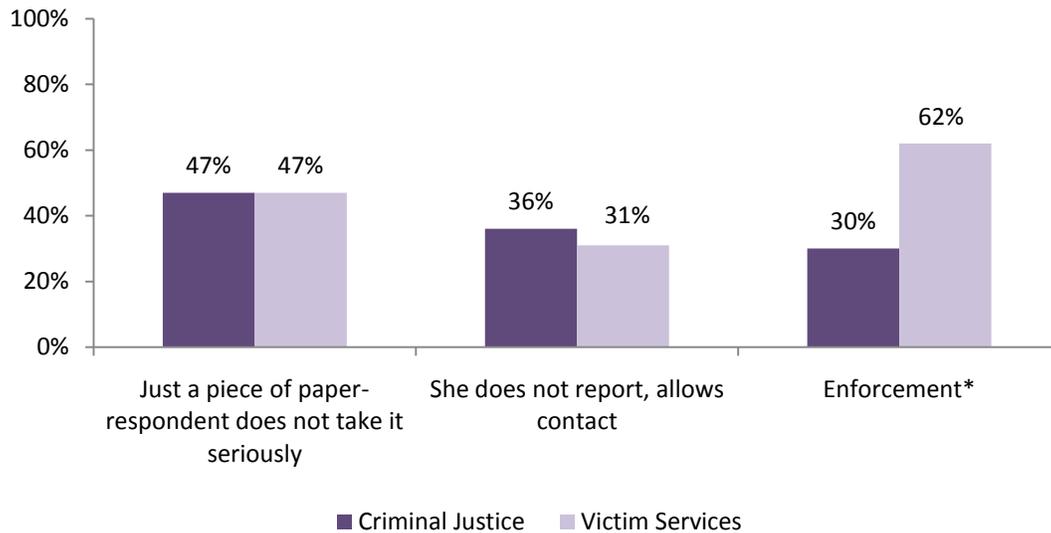
Examples of statements classified into the theme that women “allow” violations include:

- *Victims not reporting violations when they should, especially minor things.*
- *Victim failing to report every violation.*
- *The petitioner not seeking enforcement and not amending the DVO to allow contact when she wants to be back with the offender.*
- *Women take men back regardless of the protective order.*
- *Letting the perpetrator stay all night.*
- *The victim allows perpetrator to contact her which violates EPOs.*
- *Victims invite perpetrators to come over.*
- *Petitioner tends to violate the protective order, makes initial contact.*
- *Victim wants some contact with perpetrator so purposely violates it then it becomes meaningless.*

There were significant differences by agency regarding enforcement problems with protective orders, with victim service representatives seeing enforcement as a much bigger problem with protective orders than criminal justice representatives ($X^2(1)=17.65$, $p<.001$).

There was also a significant difference for rural and urban victim service representatives with more urban victim service representatives indicating that the perpetrator does not take the order seriously (60.8%) than rural victim service representatives (35.4%, $X^2(1)=7.41$, $p<.01$).

Figure 8. Problems with protective orders by agency



Next, participants were asked about barriers to enforcing a protective order (see Table 13). The largest barrier, according to the criminal justice representatives, was that victims allow or even initiate contact with the perpetrator, as noted in the responses to the previous question. This category also included acknowledgement that victims do not bother the criminal justice system with every violation, that they may be too afraid to report, or that they may not have the kind of support which would allow them to report violations.

About half, overall, of victim service representatives mentioned that victims allowing contact or not reporting violations was a barrier to protective order enforcement. However, more of the urban (56.9%) than rural (40%) victim service representatives mentioned victims not reporting as a barrier to enforcement of protective orders ($p < .10$). As noted in the examples below, some statements in this theme recognized barriers victims have to reporting violations while other statements seem more blaming.

- *Victim allows abusive behavior to continue.*
- *Victims don't always report every violation or report violations in a timely manner, only when it is convenient for them.*
- *Women's willingness to allow perpetrator to violate the protective order.*
- *Getting back together with the perpetrator.*
- *Victims don't want to go forward with charges. We can't keep him in jail against her will.*
- *The victim feels that she deserves the abuse.*
- *Women not believing the order will protect them.*
- *Access to filing for violation such as not having the opportunity or means to contact that agency to file for a violation (e.g., no transportation or not having a phone).*
- *Women are afraid of something worse happening from the perpetrator if they call the police.*
- *Women's fear of the criminal justice system.*

The next barrier to enforcing protective orders mentioned by criminal justice system representatives

was limited police response with about half mentioning this as a barrier (47.2%). In contrast, the majority of victim service representatives mentioned limited police response as a barrier to protective order enforcement (74.1%). Themes included in this category were: limited police resources/low departmental priority, difficulty in finding the perpetrator, and limited police knowledge or response to partner violence. The theme of limited police resources and/or low departmental priority was mentioned by more rural victim service representatives (49.2%) than urban victim service representatives (23.5%). Some of the statements about limited resources from rural respondents included:

- *Not enough police officers to deal with drug crimes and other crimes.*
- *Police not having enough staff; lack of manpower.*
- *Layout of the land. We are in the biggest county in the state and it sometimes takes over an hour to get to the victim.*
- *Many women live so far out that it takes a long time for law enforcement to respond.*
- *Some homes are hard to find in the rural area.*

Priorities, especially when resources are tight, do influence responses to partner violence in general and, more specifically, they influence situations in which perpetrators have fled the scene according to respondents:

- *Question of priority, law enforcement agency is so covered up.*
- *Violations are not a priority to the police.*
- *Apathy on part of the police-the police don't try hard to find the perpetrator.*
- *Law enforcement is lazy and doesn't want to enforce the order.*
- *Lack of arrests made by officer.*
- *Police not taking the time to help victims of domestic violence.*

Also, limited police knowledge, response, and action were noted by respondents. Specifically, police response is influenced by knowledge about partner violence, protective orders, and what constitutes a violation:

- *Lack of knowledge by officers about domestic violence in general.*
- *Police training is needed to increase the understanding of domestic violence. Need more training about dynamics of domestic violence. Many say, "It was only a phone call." A violation is a violation regardless of severity, many police don't understand this.*
- *The police don't realize their responsibility in enforcing a protective order.*
- *Laws on protective orders are not clearly understood or interpreted consistently.*

Certainly police attitudes affect responses:

- *The police officer feels that women are as bad as the men.*
- *If there's a history of repeat protective orders for the wrong reasons such as calling for attention or women may be encouraging the violation, making the police hesitant to go out. In other words, if the police perception is that the complaining witness is manipulating the system, they may not want to help.*
- *Police not taking the protective order or violations seriously.*
- *Lack of interest of law enforcement; victims are not believed and often blamed.*

And again, the themes of politics or the “good ole boy” system and the subordinate social status of women are thought to influence the lack of police action or response to partner violence, especially in the rural area:

- *Violations are often overlooked if the officer knows the respondent.*
- *“Good ole boy” network may influence law enforcement to look the other way.*
- *It’s so small around here, everyone knows everyone—some officers know the perpetrator and will take their time serving or responding.*
- *“Good ole boy system,” small communities, men know each other, the perpetrator knows the police, lawyers, judges, who won’t enforce the law on the perpetrator.*
- *Men in this community, even police officers, may have view that women should be subordinate and so officers maintain stereotype and feel domestic violence is okay.*
- *Attitude on the part of law enforcement that domestic violence is a family matter.*

A closely related barrier, “nothing is done,” including the difficulty in proving violations, perpetrators not taking the orders seriously, and lack of consequences, was mentioned by more urban than rural criminal justice and victim service representatives (see Table 13).

The final barrier mentioned was the burden on the victim for reporting violations, which included the lack of education about violations or how to report, the burden of filing criminal charges, language barriers, not having a copy of the DVO for the police when they are called, and their willingness to prosecute or cooperate to keep violation charges.

Table 13. Barriers to enforcing a Domestic Violence Order (DVO)

<u>Criminal Justice</u>	Urban (n=26)	Rural (n=46)	Total (n=72)
Victim allows contact, does not report	65.4%	45.7%	52.8%
<i>Limited police response</i>	42.3%	50%	47.2%
Limited police resources/low department priority	15.4%	26.1%	22.2%
Can't find perpetrator	23.1%	17.4%	19.4%
Limited police knowledge, response, or action	11.5%	21.7%	18.1%
<i>Nothing is done</i> ($X^2(1)=7.65, p<.01$)	61.5%	28.3%	40.3%**
No proof	34.6%	19.6%	25%
Perpetrators don't take them seriously/consequences do not stop them	19.2%	8.7%	12.5%
Lack of consequences ($X^2(1)=7.49, p<.01$)	15.4%	0%	5.6%**
Victim burden-barriers	11.5%	2.2%	5.6%
<u>Victim Service</u>	Urban (n=51)	Rural (n=65)	Total (n=116)
Victim allows contact, does not report	56.9%	40%	47.4% ^a
<i>Limited police response</i>	68.6%	78.5%	74.1%
Limited police resources/low department priority ($X^2(1)=8.02, p<.01$)	23.5%	49.2%	37.9%**
Limited police knowledge, response, or action	33.3%	40%	37.1%
Can't find perpetrator	37.3%	23.1%	29.3%
<i>Nothing is done</i> ($X^2(1)=8.84, p<.01$)	54.9%	27.7%	39.7%**
No proof ($X^2(1)=6.19, p<.05$)	35.3%	15.4%	24.1%*
Lack of consequences ($X^2(1)=4.63, p<.05$)	21.6%	7.7%	13.8%*
Perpetrators don't take them seriously, consequences do not stop them	11.8%	7.7%	9.5%
Victim burden-barriers	13.7%	6.2%	9.5%

^ap<.10

Key informants were asked how often they thought an arrest of an offender occurred when an officer was called for a PO violation. Almost half of urban respondents indicated that an arrest occurred often (48.1%) compared to about one-third of rural key informants (34.2%, $X^2(1)=3.62, p<.10$). More criminal justice representatives indicated that the offender is often arrested (51.4%) compared to victim service representatives (32.8%, $X^2(1)=6.43, p<.05$).

When asked about what factors influence an arrest for PO violations, there were few rural-urban differences so results are presented by agency category (see Table 14). Evidence was the principal factor mentioned as influencing whether or not an arrest would be made. Specifically, physical injury, other corroborating evidence (e.g., property damage, witnesses), and police actually witnessing the violation or violence were mentioned as evidence. More urban criminal justice representatives (57.7%) indicated that physical injury would influence an arrest than did rural criminal justice respondents (32.6%, $X^2(1)=4.3, p<.05$).

The next most frequently mentioned category was whether or not the offender had fled the scene.

Perpetrator characteristics were mentioned by about 21% of criminal justice representatives but by almost 40% of victim service representatives.

Also, more victim service representatives than criminal justice representatives believed that a perpetrator's history of violence influenced an officer's decision to arrest for a violation of a protective order.

Victim credibility was mentioned by about one-third of respondents. This category included victim demeanor at the time of the call and victim characteristics such as drug use and mental health problems.

Situational factors were also mentioned by one-third of victim service representatives, although only about 10% of criminal justice representatives mentioned this factor. Specifically, more victim service representatives compared to criminal justice respondents mentioned that whether or not children were present, police knowledge of partner violence, and politics would positively influence the likelihood of arrest. Also, some key informants indicated that if a "no contact order" was in effect and the offender was on the victim's premises it was more likely there would be an arrest because they would have proof that the offender violated a no-contact order if they saw that he had made contact with the victim.

Severity of a violation and proof of a DVO were mentioned as factors as well. Although only about 10% of respondents mentioned proof of a DVO as a factor, several respondents indicated that the victim must have a copy of the order for an arrest to be made even though the information should be entered into a statewide database accessible to law enforcement.

Table 14. Factors that influence an arrest for DVO violations

<u>Agency</u>	Criminal Justice (n=72)	Victim Service (n=116)	Total (n=188)
<i>Evidence</i>	69.4%	60.3%	63.8%
Physical injury	41.7%	37.1%	38.8%
Other evidence (e.g., witnesses, property destruction)	48.6%	35.3%	40.4%
Police witness	5.6%	12.1%	9.6%
<i>Whether or not the offender has fled the scene</i>	48.6%	43.1%	45.2%
<i>Perpetrator Characteristics</i> ($X^2(1)=7.18, p<.01$)	20.8%	39.7%	32.4%**
History of violence ($X^2(1)=5.82, p<.05$)	6.9%	19.8%	14.9%*
Perpetrator demeanor	11.1%	14.7%	13.3%
Substance use	6.9%	12.9%	10.6%
Offender has other warrants	0%	1.7%	1.1%
<i>Victim Credibility</i>	27.8%	31.9%	30.3%
Victim demeanor	25%	23.3%	23.9%
Victim characteristics	4.2%	11.2%	8.5%
<i>Situational Characteristics</i> ($X^2(1)=10.71, p<.01$)	9.7%	30.2%	22.3%**
Children present ($X^2(1)=4.3, p<.05$)	2.8%	11.2%	8%*
Police knowledge of partner violence	4.2%	9.5%	7.4%
Politics	2.8%	8.6%	6.4%
If offender is there and there is a no contact order	1.4%	3.4%	2.7%
Severity of violation	13.9%	24.1%	20.2%
Aware or proof of order	13.9%	6.9%	9.6%

To better understand police responses to difficult partner violence circumstances, participants were asked about two specific situations—what typically happens in their community when police respond to a protective order violation call and the perpetrator has fled the scene, and what typically happens in their community when it is difficult to determine the primary or predominate aggressor.

Key informants were first asked how often they believed an offender flees the scene when an officer is called in response to a violation of a protective order in their community. Overall, 88.8% of respondents indicated that the offender often flees the scene, with more urban respondents indicating that the offender often flees the scene (94.7%) compared to rural respondents (84.7%, $X^2(1)=4.57, p<.05$).

Because there were few rural-urban differences in responses to the question concerning what happens when the perpetrator has fled the scene, the results are reported by agency.

As Table 15 shows, 63% of respondents regardless of agency indicated that police do not sufficiently take any action when the offender has fled the scene. Specifically, more victim service representatives than criminal justice respondents explicitly mentioned that police will not look for the perpetrator and that police only tell the victim to call them if the perpetrator comes around again. More criminal justice representatives than victim service representatives indicated that the police would inform the victim she can file for a violation of a protective order if she wants to pursue the violation charges.

Overall, just over half of the respondents indicated that the police would either look for the perpetrator or file for a warrant for arrest. More criminal justice representatives than victim service representatives indicated that the police would file for a warrant. And more urban victim service representatives (15.7%) said the police would file for a warrant when compared to the rural victim service representatives (3.1%, $X^2(1)=5.77, p<.05$).

Only about 12% of respondents indicated that the police would do any kind of safety planning; of those who did mention this would happen, most indicated it would consist mostly of referrals or offers to take the victim to the shelter.

Table 15. Police response to domestic violence when perpetrator flees the scene by agency

<u>Agency</u>	Criminal Justice (n=72)	Victim Service (n=116)	Total (n=188)
<i>Police inaction</i>	58.3%	65.5%	62.8%
Won't do anything-won't look for him ($X^2(1)=15.6, p<.001$)	8.3%	33.6%	23.9%***
Tell victim to file for a violation ($X^2(1)=5.77, p<.01$)	51.4%	28.4%	37.2%**
Call us next time he comes around ($X^2(1)=8.03, p<.01$)	5.6%	20.7%	14.9%**
<i>Police action</i>	59.7%	47.4%	52.1%
Any mention of look for him	48.6%	42.2%	44.7%
Police will file warrant ($X^2(1)=6.9, p<.01$)	22.2%	8.6%	13.8%**
Safety planning (mostly go to shelter)	12.5%	11.2%	11.7%

When asked about what happens when it is difficult to distinguish the primary aggressor, more rural criminal justice representatives (87%) than urban criminal justice respondents (42.3%) indicated that both parties would be arrested (see Table 16). About 70% of victim service representatives indicated that both parties would be arrested with no differences by area. On the other hand, more urban criminal justice representatives thought police would tell them to stay away from each other, to have one party leave, lecture them, or tell them to file criminal charges or to petition for EPOs. In other words, respondents basically indicated the police would let them sort it out in court. About one third of victim service representatives indicated that they thought the police would tell the parties to stay away from each other or have one of them leave. Only about 8% of the victim service representatives thought the police would tell them to file criminal charges or an EPO against each other.

Table 16. Police response when it is difficult to distinguish the primary aggressor

<u>Criminal Justice</u>	Urban (n=26)	Rural (n=46)	Total (n=72)
Arrest both parties ($X^2(1)=16.03$, $p<.001$)	42.3%	87%	70.8%***
Tell them to stay away or have one party leave or just warn them/talk to them ($X^2(1)=11.47$, $p<.01$)	46.2%	10.9%	23.6%**
Tell them to file criminal charges or EPOs on each other ($X^2(1)=7.67$, $p<.01$)	38.5%	10.9%	20.8%**
<u>Victim Services</u>	Urban (n=51)	Rural (n=65)	Total (n=116)
Arrest both parties	64.7%	72.3%	69%
Tell them to stay away or have one party leave or just warn them/talk to them	35.3%	29.2%	31.9%
Tell them to file criminal charges or EPOs on each other	3.9%	10.8%	7.8%

Respondents were also asked about specific factors they thought would be more or less likely to influence an arrest. As Table 17 shows, there were few rural-urban differences. Further, when examining responses by agency the factors rated as most likely to influence an arrest (proof, offender demeanor, and officer knowledge and emotion) were the same for both groups, as were factors cited as making an arrest less likely (factors related to victim credibility).

More victim service respondents than criminal justice respondents indicated that minor children at the scene would influence the likelihood of an arrest ($X^2(2)=22.62$, $p<.001$). Also, more urban participants compared to rural participants indicated departmental priorities influence the likelihood of an arrest. This may be due in part to the fact that the urban police department had received a 2-year grant starting in 2007 to focus on protective order violations and stalking as well as to work more closely with the community to address partner violence.

In addition, criminal justice respondents indicated that race and knowing the parties were not likely to influence an arrest. On the other hand, urban victim service representatives were much more likely than rural victim service representatives to indicate that race plays a role in the likelihood of arrest.

Table 17. Factors that influence the likelihood of arrest of the offender

<u>Criminal Justice</u>	Urban (n=26)	Rural (n=46)	Total (n=72)
% More likely			
<i>Proof</i>			
Visible injury to victim	100%	97.8%	98.6%
Severity of injury (on victim)	96.2%	97.8%	97.2%
<i>Offender demeanor</i>			
Offender is belligerent to police	96.2%	93.5%	94.4%
Offender is intoxicated	84.6%	91.3%	88.9%
<i>Officer knowledge and emotion</i>			
Officer knowledge/understanding of DV	96.2%	86.7%	90.1%
Officers have been to that scene repeatedly	100%	82.6%	88.9% ^a
Officer is annoyed or becomes angry at the scene	84%	71.7%	76.1%
Minor children are at the scene	53.8%	65.2%	61.1%
Departmental priorities ($X^2(1)=14.58, p<.01$)	80%	32.6%	49.3%*
% Less likely			
Victim's story is inconsistent	65.4%	73.9%	70.8%
Victim is intoxicated	60%	45.7%	50.7%
Offender has minor injuries	34.6%	55.6%	47.9%
Victim is belligerent	46.2%	46.7%	46.5%
Victim seems extremely calm	34.6%	39.1%	37.5%
Victim and perpetrator have different stories	42.3%	35.6%	38%
% No effect on arrest			
Couple is mixed race	84%	88.9%	87.1%
Offender is a minority (African American/Hispanic)	76%	88.9%	84.3%

Table 17. Factors that influence the likelihood of arrest of the offender, continued

Victim Services	Urban (n=51)	Rural (n=65)	Total (n=116)
% More likely			
<i>Proof</i>			
Visible injury to victim	100%	98.5%	99.1%
Severity of injury (on victim)	100%	95.4%	97.4%
<i>Offender demeanor</i>			
Offender is belligerent to police	100%	100%	100%
Offender is intoxicated	98%	95.4%	96.6%
<i>Officer knowledge and emotion</i>			
Officer knowledge/understanding of DV	92.2%	89.2%	90.5%
Officer is annoyed or becomes angry at the scene	72%	83.1%	78.3%
Officers have been to that scene repeatedly	72.5%	72.3%	72.4%
Minor children are at the scene	78.4%	89.2%	84.5%
Departmental priorities ($X^2(1)=9.97, p<.01$)	79.2%	50%	62.5%*
Offender is a minority (African American/Hispanic) ($X^2(1)=18.21, p<.001$)	70.6%	31.2%	48.7%*
Couple is mixed race ($X^2(1)=7.87, p<.05$)	56.9%	31.2%	42.6%*
% Less Likely			
Victim's story is inconsistent	72.5%	75.4%	74.1%
Victim is belligerent	70.6%	70.8%	70.7%
Victim is intoxicated	68.6%	58.5%	62.9%
Offender has minor injuries	51%	61.5%	56.9%
Victim seems extremely calm	39.2%	56.9%	49.1%
Victim and perpetrator have different stories ($X^2(1)=6.16, p<.05$)	37.3%	54.7%	47%*

^a significant at $p<.10$

Factors In Prosecution And Conviction For Protective Order Violations

The last section of the key informant interviews focused on prosecution and conviction for violations of protective orders. As noted in Table 18 below, criminal justice respondents believed that about 7 out of 10 cases charged with a protective order violation would be prosecuted. Victim service representatives viewed the number a bit differently, with urban victim service representatives indicating close to 6 out of 10 cases would be prosecuted compared to only 4 out of 10 cases for the rural victim service representatives.

Of those charged with a PO violation, criminal justice representatives believed only about 3 cases out of 10 would end up with a trial. Again there was a rural-urban difference for victim service representatives with urban respondents suggesting, on average, that 3 out of 10 would end up with a trial while rural respondents suggested only 2 out of 10 would end up with a trial.

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There were rural-urban differences for both criminal justice and victim service representatives with rural respondents, regardless of agency, indicating that fewer cases would be found guilty than did urban respondents. There were also differences by agency, as rural criminal justice representatives were more optimistic regarding the number of cases that would be found guilty than were rural victim service representatives ($F(1, 105)=6.25, p<.05$). A similar trend existed for urban respondents but with a greater discrepancy between agencies ($F(1,73)=9.37, p<.01$).

Table 18. The number of women perceived to experience a violation, and the perceived number of cases that would be prosecuted and convicted for a PO violation

<u>Criminal Justice</u>	Urban (n=26)	Rural (n=46)	Total (n=72)
How many cases out of ten cases charged with a violation of a protective order will actually be prosecuted?	7.76	6.69	7.07
How many cases out of ten will end up in front of a judge or jury rather than a plea bargain?	3.88	2.8	3.18
How many cases out of ten that end up in front of a judge or jury will be found guilty? ($F(1,65)=8.68, p<.01$)	7.42	5.65	6.28**
<u>Victim Service</u>	Urban (n=51)	Rural (n=65)	Total (n=116)
How many cases out of ten cases charged with a violation of a protective order will actually be prosecuted? ($F(1,113)=14.27, p<.001$)	5.5	3.6	4.43***
How many cases out of ten will end up in front of a judge or jury rather than a plea bargain? ($F(1,113)=5, p<.05$)	3.04	2.12	2.52*
How many cases out of ten that end up in front of a judge or jury will be found guilty? ($F(1,113)=8.91, p<.01$)	5.76	4.33	4.97**

When examining perceptions of guilty dispositions for specific charges like protective order violations, it is informative to compare perceptions to actual data. Figures 9 and 10 below show the rate of guilty dispositions for three common domestic violence related charges across a 5-year period for the rural and urban areas. When comparing key informant perceptions to official records of charge outcomes, the urban criminal justice representative perceptions (using the rounded values) were similar to the official data (about 7 out of 10) while the rural criminal justice representatives were slightly more optimistic than the official data (6 versus 5). The urban victim service representatives were less optimistic than the official data (6 versus 7) as were the rural victim service representatives (4 versus 5).

As an additional consideration in understanding enforcement in the rural and urban areas dispositions of protective order violation charges versus several other common domestic violence-related charges are compared below (see Figure 9). The first trend to note is that protective order violations, compared to the other charges, have a higher rate of guilty dispositions in the rural and urban areas. The second trend to note is that the urban area has almost double the guilty dispositions for Assault in the Fourth Degree (Assault 4th) and Stalking in the Second Degree (Stalking 2nd) as well as more guilty dispositions for Violation of a Protective Order. At the same time, the rural area has more dismissals for all charges.

Figure 9. 5-year trends for the urban area in dispositions for Assault 4th domestic violence, Protective Order Violations, and Stalking 2nd Degree

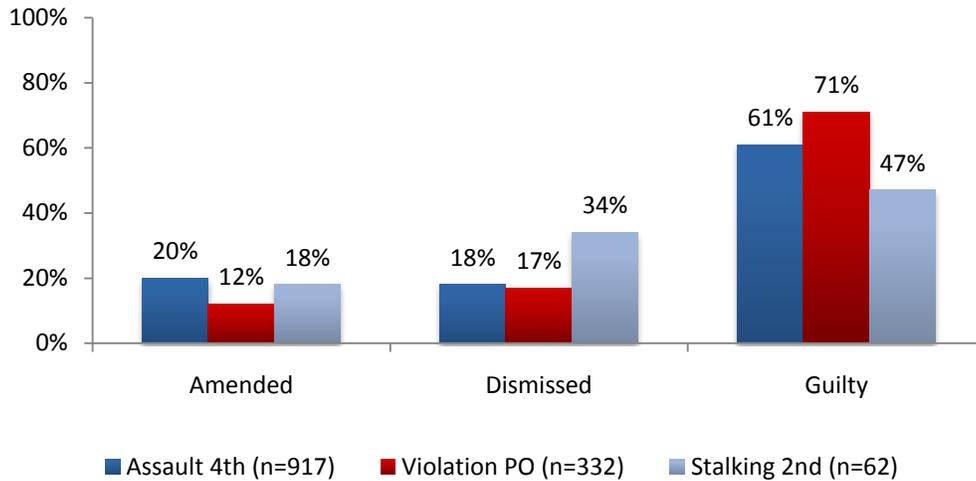
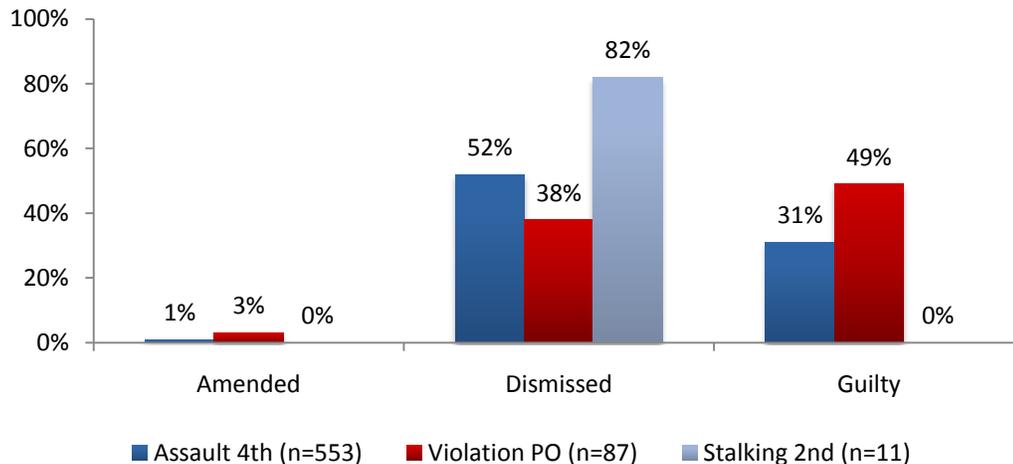


Figure 10. 5-year trends for the rural area in dispositions for Assault 4th domestic violence, Protective Order Violations, and Stalking 2nd Degree



Given the differences in the actual data regarding charge dispositions for the rural and urban areas, it is important to consider key informant perspectives on factors that contribute to prosecution and conviction of protective order violations. Table 19 displays the most frequently mentioned factors thought to influence decisions of whether to prosecute for a violation of a protective order. Not surprisingly, credibility and evidentiary issues are important factors in prosecution. However, more urban respondents, across agencies, mentioned this than rural respondents. When broken into subcategories, the differences are most pronounced with regard to victim credibility (i.e., poor victim presentation or negative characteristics), with more urban respondents mentioning it than rural respondents regardless of agency.

The next most frequently mentioned category was “severity of incident.”

Victim cooperation was mentioned by 40% of the criminal justice representatives regardless of area and by about 30% of urban victim service representatives; however, this was mentioned by only 12% of rural victim service representatives.

Politics was mentioned by a small proportion of the rural criminal justice representatives but was perceived as a much bigger factor for rural victim service representatives. Comments categorized into the politics category centered on who the perpetrator was connected to in the community, whether or not the perpetrator is a known troublemaker, and the perpetrator’s social standing or status in the community.

Themes from comments about prosecutor issues centered on prosecutor time or caseload, how winnable the case is, pressure about the case from the community or the media, and prosecutor understanding of partner violence.

Table 19. Factors in prosecution

<u>Criminal Justice</u>	Urban (n=26)	Rural (n=46)	Total (n=72)
<i>Credibility/Evidentiary issues</i> ($X^2(1)=4.97, p<.05$)	92.3%	69.6%	77.8%*
Presence of solid corroborating evidence/proof	50%	37%	41.7%
Perpetrator history of domestic violence and criminal history	34.6%	37%	36.1%
Victim credibility ($X^2(1)=9.5, p<.01$)	42.3%	10.9%	22.2%**
Negative perpetrator demeanor	0%	2.2%	1.4%
Severity of incident (e.g., physical injury, imminent threat)	57.7%	52.2%	54.2%
Cooperative victim	30.8%	45.7%	40.3%
<i>Politics</i>	3.8%	13%	9.7%
Politics	0%	6.5%	4.2%
Prosecutor issues (e.g., case load, bias, media and community pressure)	3.8%	6.5%	5.6%
<u>Victim Services</u>	Urban (n=51)	Rural (n=65)	Total (n=116)
<i>Credibility/Evidentiary issues</i> ($X^2(1)=4.5, p<.05$)	82.4%	64.6%	72.4%*
Presence of solid corroborating evidence/proof	43.1%	30.8%	36.2%
Perpetrator history of domestic violence and criminal history	37.3%	38.5%	37.9%
Victim credibility ($X^2(1)=10.17, p<.01$)	35.3%	10.8%	21.6%**
Negative perpetrator demeanor	9.8%	3.1%	6%
Severity of incident (e.g., physical injury, imminent threat)	56.9%	61.5%	59.5%
Cooperative victim ($X^2(1)=5.26, p<.05$)	29.4%	12.3%	19.8%*
<i>Politics</i> ($X^2(1)=11.01, p<.01$)	15.7%	44.6%	31.9%**
Politics ($X^2(1)=10.72, p<.01$)	2%	23.1%	13.8%**
Prosecutor issues (e.g., case load, bias, media and community pressure)	13.7%	27.7%	21.6%

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Factors mentioned by respondents as influencing convictions of protective order violations in a trial are presented in Table 20. Both evidence and proof once again emerge as the most frequently mentioned factors influencing conviction in a trial. Severity of the violation was the second most frequently mentioned category (with no differences by area).

Victim credibility was mentioned by more criminal justice representatives (51.4% versus 32.8%, $X^2(1)=6.43$, $p<.05$) while perpetrator credibility was mentioned by more victim service representatives (44.8% versus 22.2%, $X^2(1)=9.83$, $p<.01$).

Judge or jury bias, discrimination, and knowledge of partner violence were mentioned by more urban than rural respondents; they were also mentioned by more victim service representatives than criminal justice representatives (19.8% versus 5.6%, $X^2(1)=7.36$, $p<.01$).

- *Sexism against the victim (who is typically a woman).*
- *Bias of the jury/judge towards race of perpetrators and victims.*
- *Judge's values- judge's perceptions of domestic violence and victims are warped by his/her religious values.*
- *Judge's opinion on domestic violence and victim prior to proceedings.*
- *Stereotyping.*
- *Depends on the jury, who they are, their feelings toward domestic violence.*
- *Education about domestic violence; more education leads to more convictions.*
- *Media-if they picked up on the case there would be more pressure to convict.*

Victim cooperation, how well the attorney (prosecutor or defense) presented his/her case, and politics ("who you know") were mentioned by only a few participants regardless of agency. However, more rural participants (8.1%), across agency, mentioned politics such as "who you know" than urban participants (0%, $X^2(1)=4.56$, $p<.05$)

Table 20. Factors in conviction by jury/judge trial

	Urban (n=77)	Rural (n=111)	Total (n=188)
Solid corroborating evidence/proof	55.8%	60.4%	58.5%
Severity of violation (e.g., physical injury, number of violations)	44.2%	49.5%	47.3%
Victim credibility	44.2%	36.9%	39.9%
Perpetrator credibility	39%	34.2%	36.2%
Jury/judicial bias, discrimination, knowledge ($X^2(1)=4.37$, $p<.05$)	20.8%	9.9%	14.4%*
Cooperative victim	11.7%	5.4%	8%
Effective attorney representation/case presentation	7.8%	6.3%	6.9%
Politics ($X^2(1)=6.56$, $p<.05$)	0%	8.1%	4.8%*

SUBSTUDY 1 SUMMARY

National prevalence rates of partner violence suggest that rates of partner violence are similar in rural and urban areas; however, prevalence rates do not provide information about the experience of partner violence which may vastly differ across jurisdictions. One interim step in understanding differences in the experience of partner violence is to carefully examine and compare contextual characteristics in different jurisdictions. This substudy provides insight into the general protective order process as well as information about contextual differences in rural and urban areas. These differences emerged from key informant surveys as well as from secondary data and information sources and are framed within the literature on Appalachian rural culture.

Overall there were four main findings from this substudy. First, results suggest that partner violence is seen as a lower public safety priority within the selected rural area compared to the urban area. Second, the politics of “who you know” or the “good ole boys” system seems to influence justice system responses to partner violence in the rural area. Third, key informants have several misunderstandings and persistent myths about partner violence that may impact their response to partner violence. Also, there was more frequent mention of blame, negative attitudes, or distrust of women regarding reasons for partner violence and for obtaining protective orders in the rural area, not only from the justice system respondents but also from victim service respondents. Fourth, there are important agency culture differences, regardless of area, that should be considered in assessing the overall community response to partner violence. Below are more details for each of these findings.

- **Violence against women is a lower public safety priority for the rural area than the urban area.** From the survey responses and the secondary data, it appears that partner violence is a lower priority in the rural area compared to the urban area. Placing partner violence as a lower priority crime would be consistent with the rural literature suggesting that residents tend to have more conservative attitudes toward gender roles and that family matters should remain private rather than being subject to public social controls. Four main results from secondary data and key informant responses support this theme, including results suggesting that partner violence is a lower public safety priority than substance-related crimes in the rural area, information from court records and key informant responses indicating that access to protective orders is more difficult in the rural area, perceptions indicating there is less assertive enforcement of protective orders in the rural area, and responses suggesting that victim injury may not be a big enough factor to determine probable cause for an arrest for a violation of a protective order.

In the rural area, the priority assigned to substance-related crimes stands in contrast to the somewhat lower importance placed on partner violence crimes. For example, the rural respondents from both the criminal justice and victim service agencies indicated that drug-related crimes were higher priority crimes than other crimes, a consistently different finding (using a variety of questions) from urban respondents who consistently placed domestic violence as a higher priority and as a more severe crime than rural respondents. Whether this view is formed because of a more significant drug abuse problem in rural Appalachia or whether it is simply viewed as more serious or more “criminal” is unanswerable in this substudy. The rural area’s higher ranking of drug-related crime compared to partner violence crimes may be more related to the less emphatic justice system responses to partner violence than to illegal drug use. Regardless, priorities may matter as using limited justice resources to address one crime may mean there are fewer resources to address another crime, and this tradeoff would

impact victim safety and offender accountability for partner violence. Also, priorities can impact attitudes and perceptions. For example, when intimate partner violence occurs in the context of illegal drug and alcohol activity involving perpetrators and/or victims, police may be tempted to base their responses on the most tangible evidence, most likely the drugs or alcohol use or on the drug and alcohol-related criminal activity which they perceive as the “cause” of the partner violence. A misunderstanding regarding the relationship between substance use and partner violence can influence interventions to focus on the substance abuse while neglecting perpetrator accountability for the partner violence and the safety of partner violence victims.

Further, although key informants, regardless of area, identified a number of barriers to obtaining and enforcing protective orders there were indications that access to protective orders was more difficult in the rural area compared to the urban area. For example, official data showed much higher average non-service rates for the rural compared to the urban area. Rural respondents, from both the justice system and victim services, compared to urban respondents, estimated that fewer women who petition for a protective order will end up with one (approximately 6 out of 10 for the urban area versus 4 out of 10 for the rural area). More rural respondents suggested that victims may be charged fees during the protective order process (which is a significant barrier given rural women’s lower financial resources and opportunities), that politics influences access to protective orders, and the more negative and blaming attitudes toward partner violence victims may interfere with access to protective orders.

Additionally, information from court data and from key informants suggests protective order enforcement is less assertive in the rural area compared to the urban area. Specifically, there were fewer domestic violence-related arrests, fewer protective order violation charges, fewer perceived prosecutions for protective order violations, and fewer perceived guilty convictions as well as fewer actual convictions of protective order violations in the selected rural area compared to the selected urban area. Further, the rural respondents were less likely to indicate that an arrest of an offender occurs for a PO violation, and more rural respondents than urban respondents indicated that if there was any question about the primary aggressor that both parties would be arrested. The high rates of perceived arrests of both parties, especially in the rural area, are concerning, given the situation can sometimes look like both parties are responsible when that may not at all be the case. However, if partner violence is a low priority, an officer may be less inclined to spend time trying to sort out the situation. Together, these responses suggest protective order enforcement is a lower priority in terms of allocating investigative time and making an arrest in the rural compared to the urban area.

Overall, there were few rural-urban differences in responses about evidence or the types of evidence needed to obtain a protective order or to enforce a protective order—with one exception. Urban criminal justice representatives were almost twice as likely (60%) as rural criminal justice representatives (30%) to indicate that victim physical injury would positively influence an arrest of an offender. This may suggest that rural criminal justice representatives believe that having additional corroborating evidence is important in making an arrest for a protective order violation. This need for corroborating evidence, even in the wake of a physical injury, may be related to more negative and victim blaming attitudes or lack of knowledge about partner violence.

- **The politics of “who you know” or the “good ole boys” system appears to influence justice system responses to partner violence.** Politics was mentioned as a factor influencing the justice system response to partner violence throughout many of the responses from key informants. The literature on rural areas, and especially Appalachian rural areas, confirms the idea that politics is something community members face on a daily basis. More specifically, in any small, relatively isolated community, social networks play an important role in every aspect of life. These networks are often thought of as “politics.” Politics may play an especially important role in eastern Kentucky for several reasons including: (1) social networks are associated with obtaining resources and become especially important when resources like jobs, economic security, and access to goods and services are scarce (Sloman & Gilbert, 2000), as is often the case in impoverished areas such as those of the selected rural area. (2) Concern with keeping a job or social position often relies on social networks in rural areas. In other words, rural communities are often characterized by their protection of certain individuals because of fear of retribution or loss of social supports (Potter & Gains, 1992). The concern for keeping a job or social position has led to such extreme measures as vote buying as noted in the news media. Specifically, eastern Kentucky has been under fire for a number of years for vote buying or other fraud related to voting (Dao, 2004; United States Department of Justice, 2004; Lexington Herald Leader, 2009c). This may make justice officials hesitant to take action against an individual (and the individual’s family) when that family may have a large influence over votes for political offices. And elected officials have influence over law enforcement activities (Potter & Gains, 1992). (3) Corruption of the civil and criminal justice systems can also be influenced by social networks or by “who you know.” However, it should be noted that corruption and the influence of politics occur in all kinds of official agencies and in a variety of jurisdictions, urban and rural. The main point here is that it was mentioned more often as a factor in justice system responses to partner violence in the selected rural area compared to the selected urban area.
- **Key informants have several misunderstandings and persistent myths about partner violence that may impact their response to partner violence and some of these misunderstandings and myths were especially prevalent in the rural area.** Stereotypes, prejudices, and lack of knowledge about the dynamics of partner violence are prevalent in the U.S., regardless of region, and do influence responses to partner violence. However, they seem to be especially prevalent in the rural area selected for this study and this is consistent with the literature on rural culture. Literature on Appalachian rural culture suggests that these areas are more conservative politically and socially and that they espouse more traditional views of gender roles. These more conservative attitudes may also influence attitudes toward the causes of partner violence. For example, more rural criminal justice respondents indicated that substance abuse (78.3%) and poverty (41%) are important factors in why partner violence happens compared to urban criminal justice system respondents (53.8% and 11.5% respectively), while more urban than rural criminal justice system respondents indicated perpetrator characteristics were to blame for partner violence (73.1% versus 54.3%). Other important attitude differences that suggest myths persist in the rural area include the notion that partner violence is associated with relationship issues or emotion regulation and control issues. Specifically, one-quarter of the rural criminal justice respondents indicated that relationship issues were a factor in partner violence compared to only 7.7% of urban criminal justice representatives. There were no differences by area in those that suggest partner violence is caused by emotion regulation or control issues but about one in four criminal justice key informants mentioned this factor. Certainly some of these factors (e.g., substance abuse, poverty, emotion regulation or control) are associated with partner violence but in order to hold offenders accountable, responsibility

for perpetration of partner violence must be placed with the perpetrator. And these factors do not recognize that partner violence is a systematic and deliberate set of tactics designed to control another person for the direct and personal benefit of the perpetrator (Bancroft, 2002; Logan et al., 2009b; Stark, 2006).

Further, more rural criminal justice representatives than urban criminal justice representatives indicated that women seek protective orders to gain the upper hand in custody, property, or child support proceedings. These attitudes add to the notion that rural respondents, regardless of agency, were significantly less likely to acknowledge the significant effect partner violence has on the victims' quality of life when compared to urban respondents. On the other hand, urban criminal justice representatives were more likely to indicate that partner violence occurs because of the perpetrators' need for power, control, and jealousy, due to a lack of resources for victims, and due to poor social responses or tolerance of partner violence. It is very likely that these different attributions affect responses and decisions made with regard to partner violence crimes, especially when the circumstances in a partner violence case are less clearly defined.

Differences in persistent myths and attitudes toward partner violence and protective orders also prevailed in victim service responses. For example, one-third of rural victim service representatives believed that women seek protective orders for revenge or to gain the upper hand in divorce, custody, or property proceedings, compared to about 14% of urban victim service representatives. On the other hand, more urban victim service representatives than rural victim service representatives specifically indicated that they believed women seek protective orders to protect their children (69% versus 48%), and to leave/get peace from the violence and abuse (37% versus 17%). Protective orders were designed to address primary safety needs as well as to address a variety of other needs to maintain safety including housing, child custody, and child support. Some key informants seemed to misunderstand the importance of addressing victim's tangible needs concurrently with their safety needs. Thus, not only are specific stereotypes and negative attitudes toward partner violence and partner violence victims more prevalent in the rural area for the criminal justice system representatives, but there is similar evidence in the victim service representative responses, suggesting a robust cultural difference that likely contributes to women's experiences of help-seeking from a variety of agencies.

Other responses from rural key informants indicated more blame and distrust of women throughout the survey responses. For example, the perception that women are "frequent flyers," or drop orders frequently, is another way that mistrust of victims is expressed, in part, because it may reinforce beliefs that there is not a "real" problem. In part it may also increase perceptions of victims as being uncooperative with the system. Unfortunately, the victims who drop orders frequently may be high risk cases and yet may have less opportunity to go back to the court for help.

It should be noted that the urban area was not free of prejudice, bias, and persistent myths. Not only did some urban key informant respondents espouse the same kinds of attitudes and persistent myths as rural key informants, but also there was more mention of discrimination against illegal immigrants and racism in the urban area than in the rural area, although the rural area is primarily composed of white Americans born in Kentucky (see Table 2).

- **Differences in agency perspectives, regardless of area, must also be examined and addressed in order to facilitate the response to partner violence.** In general, results suggest that the two agency perspectives, justice system versus victim services, are important to examine when it comes to understanding justice system responses to protective orders and protective order violations even within jurisdiction. For example, victim service representatives indicated they believed that fewer women seeking protective orders, regardless of area, actually receive one compared to criminal justice representatives (estimating approximately 6 out of 10 compared to 8 out of 10 respectively). Also, criminal justice representatives compared to victim service representatives, regardless of area, believed that fewer women with protective orders actually experienced violations, and of those who do experience violations, more are reported to the justice system. In addition, victim service representatives were more pessimistic than criminal justice respondents about police responses (i.e., they thought action was less likely) when the offender flees the scene. What may be happening is that victim service and justice system representatives repeatedly work with different subgroups of victims. In other words, victim services may be more likely to work with victims who have experienced extremely severe abuse and with victims for whom the justice system presents significant barriers or even fails them in a major way. At the same time, criminal justice representatives may work with victims with a variety of different abuse experiences (mild to severe) and may be more likely to see victims for whom the justice system did work or who had situations that were easier to address. Working with different subgroups of victims may influence generalizations and wider perceptions about victims, about victim needs, and about the justice system response to partner violence. These differences in perceptions by agency can make interagency communication and collaboration more difficult.

This substudy is one of the most comprehensive key informant studies regarding protective orders to date. Although including key informant perceptions is critical to understanding the culture that contributes to the experiences of women seeking help for partner violence, they only tell part of the story. They must be combined with victim experiences. The findings from this substudy suggest some contextual factors to consider and how those factors may influence justice system representative decision-making regarding partner violence and protective order enforcement in any jurisdiction. However, the results must be interpreted with the caveat that findings may not apply to all rural and urban areas of Kentucky or for the rest of the nation.

Going back to Heather's story presented at the beginning of the substudy, themes emerge that are consistent with the factors thought to play a role in decision-making. For example, Heather had a history of partner violence with different partners and a history of drug use. Her reputation in the community very well may have played a role in the response of the first officer and the judge. Even though the judge blamed her for the abuse for living with Kevin again, he granted her the DVO. At the same time, the judge provided her no recourse to get her property from the home which is very concerning and sends a negative message to all victims. The first officer's attitudes toward partner violence and perhaps departmental priorities may have played a role in his initial response, which was to warn her that she may go to jail if she pushed the situation. Further, the lack of enforcement of the EPO left Heather afraid of what might happen if Kevin were to violate the order, likely having a significant impact on her quality of life.

In summary, the findings from this study contribute to the literature and the understanding of rural versus urban context. The findings from this substudy suggest that context does in fact matter in understanding responses to partner violence. However, the question of whether or not context matters

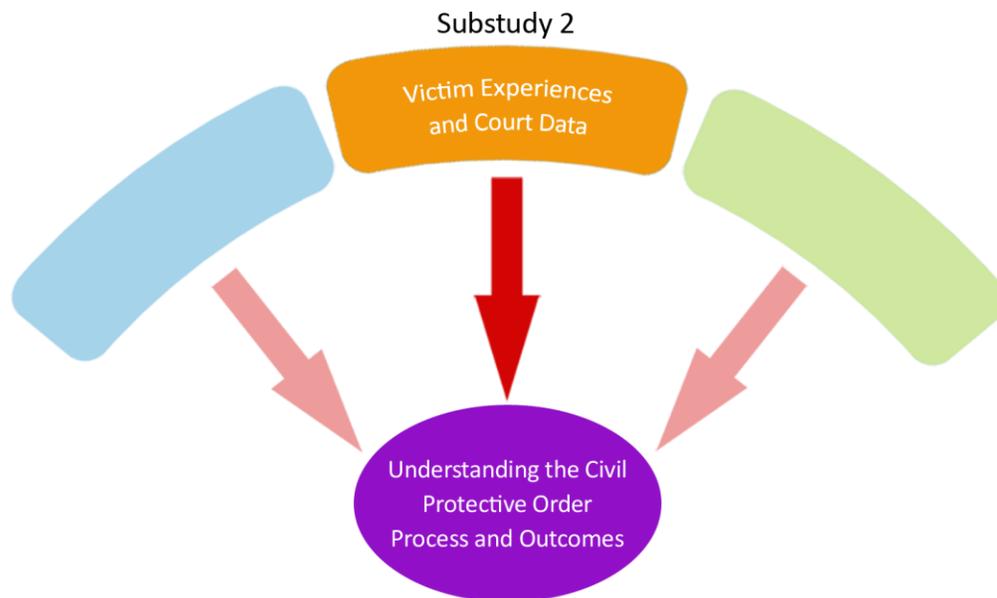
SUBSTUDY 1

is not fully answered with this substudy because it does not include victim experiences. The next section describes the results from all of the victims who were interviewed for this study about their experiences of abuse and with the protective order process and outcomes. After those results are reviewed, the question of whether context matters will be answered in the summary for substudy 2.

SUBSTUDY 2:

CIVIL PROTECTIVE ORDERS: JUSTICE OR JUST A PIECE OF PAPER?

Figure for Substudy 2: The Kentucky civil protective order study components



Woman Survives Nightmare, Finally Receives Justice

Emily, a 36-year old urban woman, had been living with Peter for several years. Peter was abusive, jealous, controlling, and physically violent during the course of their relationship. Several months before Emily sought an EPO, Peter had spent 7 days in jail for abusing her. Unfortunately, 7 days in jail was not enough to deter Peter from abusing her more; in fact, the abuse escalated. One seemingly normal evening Emily was cooking dinner and Peter went crazy with jealousy. He accused her of not really going to see a friend she had visited earlier. He forced her in the car and hit her in the face as she was struggling to get out, giving her two black eyes. He then proceeded to drive to a nearby cemetery and rammed her car into the locked gate. Peter told Emily to get out of the car and to get into the trunk. He struck her repeatedly in the head and back with a metal tool, breaking several ribs in the process. Peter then made her get out of the trunk. He tied her hands behind her back and tied something around her head to hold a sock he had placed in her mouth. He then took her shorts off and put them over her head and put her in the trunk again. The whole time Peter was accusing her of cheating on him. Emily thought she was going to die that day; after all wasn't that why he had driven to the graveyard? He took her out of the trunk again to yell at her more about her cheating. She managed to calm him down and eventually talked him into taking her home. He made her promise to tell everyone they were in a car wreck. When they got home, they noticed her mother had left several messages so Emily called her back and explained how she had been in a car wreck. Her mother was worried about her and had called the police. By the time the police arrived, Peter had left.

The police took photographs of her injuries and took a report. Initially, Emily stuck with the car wreck story because she was afraid of what Peter would do to her if she revealed the truth, but she knew the police did not believe her. Eventually she broke down and told them what had happened to her. After the police left, she went to the emergency room to treat her three broken ribs and broken arm. A few days later she filed for an Emergency Protective Order (EPO) and criminal charges against Peter. Emily did receive a DVO and Peter was prosecuted for what he had done to Emily. Emily said she was very scared of following through with the court procedures because she was afraid Peter would retaliate, especially because she had promised him she wouldn't tell anyone what had happened. Peter was in jail for the criminal charges during most of the six month study follow-up period. At the follow-up interview Emily indicated Peter had only contacted her once since she obtained the DVO; he had sent her a letter asking if she would lie at his trial so he would get a lesser sentence. She did not report this violation to the police but did give it to her lawyer to use at Peter's trial.

Recovering from this attack not only took a physical toll on Emily but a significant financial toll as well. She did not have health insurance and had medical debt for the treatment of her injuries and car repairs. She also lost her job because of the time she missed due to her injuries. At the follow-up, Emily reported that although she was doing fairly well, she was still recovering and she thought every single day about what Peter will do to her when he is released from jail.

INTRODUCTION

Emily's story highlights the terror and fear that partner violence has on victims. In Emily's case, the civil and criminal justice system worked in that she was not only granted a protective order, but the offender

SUBSTUDY 2

was also put in jail for the crimes he committed against her, giving her some temporary peace. Luckily in Emily's case, there were people willing to help her find the courage it took to tell her story and to stand up to the person she feared most. Unfortunately, that is not the case for every victim of partner violence.

Results from substudy 1 suggest, as is consistent with the current literature, that partner violence continues to flourish for at least three interrelated reasons: (1) perpetrator's need for power and control as well as entitlement; (2) social and cultural tolerance of partner violence; and (3) lack of assertive responses to partner violence and protective order violations from the civil and criminal justice system. When there are no consequences for partner violence, even when victims ask the courts for help, the effects are compounded. In other words, "When the State fails to hold the perpetrators accountable, impunity not only intensifies the subordination and powerlessness of the targets of violence, but also sends a message to society that male violence against women is both acceptable and inevitable. As a result patterns of violent behavior are normalized" (United Nations General Assembly, 2006, p. 29). Of course, many factors affect the criminal justice response to partner violence including competing demands, limited resources, and the long and arduous process of criminal proceedings.

While substudy 1 focused on perceptions of key victim service and criminal justice representatives, this substudy examined victim perceptions of their experiences with the protective order process and whether protective orders are effective. Whether or not protective orders are effective can be answered in several different ways including: (1) Does the violence stop after the issuance of a protective order? (2) If the violence does not stop completely, is the violence reduced? (3) Under what circumstances do protective orders seem to work best, and for whom? (4) Do women feel safer after they obtain a protective order? (5) Are women satisfied with the protective order? Additionally, this substudy examined victim perceptions of protective order violations and enforcement as well as official court data regarding charges against PO partners related to domestic violence and protective order violations over time.

SUBSTUDY 2 METHOD

Recruitment and Sample

Overall, 227 women were recruited out of court from five jurisdictions (1 urban and 4 rural) when they obtained a DVO against a male intimate partner (PO partner) and one participant was referred to the study from a service agency. Participants were recruited and interviewed between June 2006 and August 2007. To be eligible for the study, participants had to be: (1) female, (2) 18 years and older, (3) planning to stay in, or close to, the recruitment jurisdiction for the next 6 months, and (4) without a DVO against that same male intimate partner for at least 6 months prior to the new DVO. Participants also had to complete the baseline within six weeks of obtaining a new DVO. The average length of time between issuance of the DVO and entry into the study was 19 days (22 days for urban interviews and 16 days for rural interviews ($F(1, 211)=18.2, p<.01$).

Interviewers were all female staff members who had been extensively trained on interview protocols and on any potential safety issues that could arise in the research process. A female staff member approached women who had obtained a protective order against a male intimate partner from a judge after a court hearing.

In total, 546 women were approached in court from one urban (n=332 approached) and four rural (n=214 approached) jurisdictions who were eligible for the study. The majority of women approached in court gave their contact information (85%) with no differences by area. Three women who completed the study did not give contact information but took a study informational brochure and later called to participate. Further, only a very small percentage of women, regardless of area, refused in court (2.4%). Of the 466 women who gave contact information, 126 were not actively recruited because of study scheduling. There was not enough time to actively recruit all of the potential participants because either the study ended or the potential participant could not be scheduled within 6 weeks of obtaining the DVO, leaving a sample of 340. Overall, of those who were actively recruited there was a 66.8% participation rate, a 3.8% refusal rate, and 29.4% who were never scheduled with no significant differences by site. "Actively recruited" was defined as at least 2 telephone calls plus 1 interview scheduled; or 4 telephone calls plus a mailing or a call in; or 5+ telephone calls (n=340).

Although 228 women were interviewed, 15 interviews were not used in the final sample. Three of these were pilot interviews and substantial changes were made to the interview protocol based on those interviews, rendering the data collected for these three pilots unusable. One rural participant completed a small portion of the interview initially but never finished the rest of the interview and thus her information was not used. Two rural interviews were pulled from the study after revealing during the baseline interview that they did not believe they needed the protective order but that child protective services forced them to obtain the order for custody of their children. These two cases were used to change the screening of rural women to ensure this did not happen again. One rural participant insisted that her new boyfriend (not the PO partner) sit in on the interview and the interviewer wanted to accommodate her wishes. However, it was study policy that nobody else be present during these interviews, so her data were not used. All interviewers were retrained on this particular policy and how to handle these sometimes difficult situations. Interviews for two rural and one urban participant were pulled from the study after the court records indicated they had not actually received a protective order, even though they and the interviewer thought that the judge had in fact given them a civil protective order. Finally, three rural and two urban interviews were pulled from the study after court records showed that they did not have a 6 month time period between their last protective order and their current protective order, which was one of the criteria for the study.

Baseline Interview Process

After consenting, participants began the baseline interview. The interview was separated into six sections.

- (1) Locator information.
- (2) Basic demographic, socioeconomic status, children, and community context information. Also, Life History Calendars (LHC), which anchored each month with important events from the participant's life, were completed for each of the 6 months before obtaining the protective order and for each month between the baseline and follow-ups (approximately 6 months) to facilitate recall of abuse-related events, their timing, and their duration (Caspi et al., 1996; Marcus, 1982; Means, Nigam, Zarrow, Loftus, & Donaldson, 1989).
- (3) Information about the relationship and victimization history with the PO partner, consequences of violence, and fear of future harm from the PO partner.
- (4) Information about the Emergency Protective Order (EPO) and Domestic Violence Order (DVO) process, barriers, incidents, and violations.

- (5) Month-by-month information for victimization, consequences, service use, and losses related to the abuse from the PO partner for six months preceding receipt of the DVO. More detail on this section is provided in Substudy 3.

After the interview was completed, participants reviewed the locator information for accuracy and for anything else they wanted to add to ensure future contact. Before leaving, participants received information about partner violence and safety planning, as well as a resource referral sheet tailored to their communities. Participants were also compensated \$50 for their time. Offering incentives for participation is critical to the success of the study (especially longitudinal studies) in part because it communicates to the women who participate that their time and opinions are valuable and that the study is important (Logan et al., 2008).

Baseline interviews lasted about 3 hours on average (ranging from 1 hour and 39 minutes to 6 hours). The rural interviews lasted about a half hour longer on average (3 hours and 16 minutes) than urban interviews (2 hours and 44 minutes) ($F(1, 211)=38.2, p<.001$). Overall, 632 hours and 5 minutes were spent interviewing 213 participants for the baseline interview (see Table 24).

Interviews were conducted in a variety of places including public libraries, community agencies, government buildings, and private residences as Table 21 shows below. There were significant differences by area ($X^2(5)=129.36, p<.001$).

Table 21. Place of baseline interview by area

<i>Interview place*</i>	Urban (n=107)	Rural (n=106)	Total (n=213)
Public library	86%	9.4%	47.9%
Community agency/government building/hospital, restaurant	3.7%	52.8%	28.2%
Private residence	6.5%	31.1%	18.8%
Spouse abuse shelter	2.8%	3.8%	3.3%
Her workplace	.9%	1.9%	1.4%
Jail	0%	.9%	.5%

The interviews in each area were mostly done by one interviewer (85%) and the interview was split but completed within one week of starting for a very small number of participants (6%). Twenty-four percent of the participants were scheduled two times and 5% were scheduled three or more times suggesting that persistence in scheduling interviews is important for almost 30% of those interviewed (i.e., just because someone does not show up or reschedules their interview does not mean they won't eventually participate). For the 213 participants in the sample, 900 telephone calls were made and 291 confirmation or reminder cards, no-show or can't contact cards, and thank you cards were sent (see Table 24).

Follow-Up Interview Process

The 3 month and 6 month follow-up interviews were done either on the telephone or face-to-face depending on participant preference. Participants were reminded of their rights as a research participant before beginning each follow-up. The follow-up interviews had three main sections:

- (1) The locator information was reviewed (only at the 3 month interview) and participants were reminded of their Life History Calendar for events they had mentioned at baseline and were asked to fill in other important events to facilitate recall of abuse-related information.
- (2) Month-by-month information about partner violence victimization, consequences, service use, and losses related to the partner abuse was gathered for the three months after receipt of the DVO, and for the three months after the first follow-up.
- (3) Fear of future harm from the PO partner was assessed at the 6 month interview.

Referral resources were provided to participants who wanted them and thank you cards were sent after each interview. Participants were compensated \$25 for each completed follow-up interview.

A 95% follow-up rate was originally proposed; however as Table 22 shows, a 97.2% follow-up rate was obtained for the 3 month follow-up and a 98.6% follow-up rate was obtained for the 6 month follow-up (98.1% urban and 99.1% rural). For participants who missed the three month interview but did complete the 6 month interview, information was obtained where possible for all 6 months. One urban participant refused to continue participation after the baseline interview and did not complete the 3-month or the 6-month follow-up interview. Two participants (one urban and one rural) could not be located for either the 3-month or the 6-month follow-up interviews.

Table 22. Final sample and follow-up rates

	N	Out of	Follow-up rate
Urban baselines	107	--	--
Rural baselines	106	--	--
<i>Total</i>	<i>213</i>	--	--
Urban 3 months	104	107	97.2%
Rural 3 months	103	106	97.2%
<i>Total</i>	<i>207</i>	<i>213</i>	<i>97.2%</i>
Urban 6 months	105	107	98.1%
Rural 6 months	105	106	99.1%
<i>Total</i>	<i>210</i>	<i>213</i>	<i>98.6%</i>

Follow-up procedures for this study focused on facilitating research study participation as well as for comfort and safety of victims and interviewers. The strategies were identified and combined using the literature on follow up and interviewing safety strategies, from the research teams' experience, from the advisory group input, and from preliminary work with women in the targeted rural and urban

communities about conducting research in their communities (Logan et al., 2008).

About half of the participants chose to do the interview on the telephone at the 3 and 6 month follow-up. On average the follow-up interviews took about 36 minutes although there were slight differences by area with the rural interviews taking a little longer (43 minutes) compared to the urban interviews (31 minutes). Overall, the average time between the DVO and the 6 month follow-up was 6 months and 13 days. Basically, there were, on average, 88 days between the baseline interview and the first follow-up and 88 days between the 3 month and 6 month interviews.

Most of the follow-up interviews were conducted by one interviewer and about one-quarter of the interviews were scheduled more than one time.

Interviews were conducted in many of the same locations as the baseline as noted in Table 23. Consistent with the baseline interview locations there were significant differences by site for the 3 month ($X^2(5)=57.8, p<.001$) and the 6 month ($X^2(5)=34.5, p<.001$) follow-up interviews.

Table 23. Follow-up interview locations by area

	Urban (n=47)	Rural (n=63)	Total (n=110)
97.2% 3 MONTH FOLLOW-UP RATE			
Of those who did the interview in person (n=110),			
Interview place*			
Public library	70.2%	4.8%	32.7%
Community agency, private business, restaurant	10.6%	52.4%	34.5%
Private residence	10.6%	30.2%	21.8%
Spouse abuse shelter	2.1%	0%	.9%
Her workplace	6.4%	6.3%	6.4%
Jail	0%	6.3%	3.6%
98.6% 6 MONTH FOLLOW-UP RATE			
Of those who did interview in person (n=100),			
Interview place*			
Public library	53.3%	3.6%	26%
Community agency, private business, restaurant	24.4%	49.1%	38%
Private residence	17.8%	38.2%	29%
Spouse abuse shelter	2.2%	0%	1%
Her workplace	2.2%	5.5%	4%
Jail	0%	3.6%	2%

Overall Study Effort

Overall a significant amount of work was done to conduct this study as Table 24 outlines. In all, 6,763 calls out were made, 2,125 cards were mailed, and 626 calls in were received. For a subset of participants a slight increase in incentive was offered for a variety of reasons such as additional travel, childcare, or because study staff had to reschedule an interview which inconvenienced the participant.

SUBSTUDY 2

For 57 participants (including both follow-ups), personal visits were made to the participant’s home, work, or neighborhood to complete the follow-up interview. All participants received study gifts multiple times—magnets, pens, pens and pads, bookmarks, nail files, and safety key chains (with a light and whistle). These small gifts all had a generic study name (University of Kentucky (UK) Women’s Stress and Coping Study) and toll-free number. A generic study name was used for safety reasons as well as to protect confidentiality with regard to study content.

Approximately 56,652 miles were driven to conduct interviews, go to court, and to travel to and from rural offices for trainings, quality control, and other meetings specifically related to recruitment and interviews with women.

In all, 944 hours were spent interviewing the 228 participants, not including the court recruitment time, missed interviews, waiting for participants to show up for the interview, travel time to and from interviews, interview preparation time, or other activities such as scheduling interviews, reminder calls and mailings, thank you card mailings, mailings and calls in between interviews, and locating activities which were all time-consuming as well.

Table 24. Total effort

	Calls out	Mailings	Calls in	Home/work/ neighbor visits for follow-up	Total hours of interview time
Baseline (n=213)	2,007	403	240	0	632 hours and 5 minutes
3 month (n=207)	1,479	746	148	18 people	130
3 months not completed (n=6)	89	22	1	4 people	0
6 month (n=210)	1,662	740	136	33 people	123
6 months not completed (n=3)	7	5	0	1 person	0
Pilots/pulled (n=15)	338	97	28	1 person	59
Total	5,582	2,013	553	57	944 hours and 5 minutes
Those recruited but not interviewed (n=184)	1,085	107	71		
Those recruited but not interviewed because study ended (n=22)	96	5	2		
Total	6,763	2,125	626	57	944 hours and 5 minutes

Key Measures

Demographic And Socioeconomic. Participants were directly asked about their age, race, education level, employment, household income, and the number of children they had.

Relationship Characteristics. Each participant was directly asked about the relationship with the partner she had a protective order against (PO partner), including the length of their relationship, how old she and her partner were when they began the relationship, whether or not she had ever been married to the PO partner, the number of children she had in common with the PO

partner, whether she was still in the relationship with the PO partner at the baseline interview or whether they thought they might get back together, and how much time she had spent in the relationship with the PO partner after the PO was issued.

Partner Abuse And Violence. Partner abuse and violence were measured by asking a series of questions about different abuse tactics including verbal abuse, degradation, jealousy and control, financial control, work interference, symbolic violence, children threats, threats of serious harm, threats to kill, serious threats to her about close others, actual threats to close others, moderate physical, severe physical, and physical assault of others (see Table 27 for example items for each tactic type). Women were also asked if their partner had ever forced them to have sex. Stalking was measured by asking women, “Throughout your relationship with this partner, did he ever frighten you on more than one occasion because he repeatedly followed you, watched you, phoned you, wrote letters, notes or email messages, communicated with you in other ways such as through another person, or engaged in other harassing acts that seemed obsessive or made you afraid for your safety (e.g., stalked you)?” This question asks women about their perception of being stalked and was adapted from Tjaden and Thoennes (1998) and from an extensive pilot study conducted with women in the target population (Logan et al., 2003a).

An index for the severity of physical violence by the PO partner was created using assigned weights. The following weights were assigned for tactics: 2 for symbolic violence; 4 for moderate physical violence; 5 for serious threats (direct threats to seriously harm or kill); 6 serious physical violence; and 8 for threats or actual use of a weapon. The possible range in scores was 0 to 38.

Fear Of Future Harm. Women were asked a series of questions about how afraid they were of future harm because of the PO partner. These questions were adapted from Dutton, Goodman, & Schmidt (2006). Subscales of fears were then developed. The specific question was “How afraid are you that the following will happen in the next 6 months by or because of the PO partner?” The fear categories were: ongoing harassment and threats; physical injury; emotional and physical harm of children or interference with child custody; financial problems such as loss of a job, loss of housing or other financial problems; public humiliation/damaged reputation; loss of control over life; and harm or harassment of close others. All participants were asked these questions at baseline. Possible responses ranged from not at all fearful, not very fearful, not sure, somewhat fearful, and extremely fearful. The fear questions were added to the follow-ups after the follow-ups had started; thus, 170 participants were asked about fear of future harm at the follow-up.

EPO Incident. A series of questions was developed to obtain information about the EPO incident, including types of violence experienced.

EPO-DVO Process. A series of questions was developed to assess barriers/problems with obtaining an EPO and the EPO process as well as barriers/problems with obtaining the DVO and the DVO process.

DVO Type Of Orders. Women were asked direct questions about the length of their DVO and DVO stipulations.

Perpetrator Characteristics. Women's reports of perpetrator characteristics as well as official court records of civil and criminal histories were used to describe characteristics of perpetrators including age, race, and charge and conviction history.

Protective Order Violations And Effectiveness. Protective order violations were classified as violations if any violent contact occurred (including property damage, direct threats to the victim of harm, death, or with a weapon, moderate physical violence, severe physical violence, and use of a weapon on the victims but excluding stalking) and/or if the participant reported the DVO was violated during the 6 month period after a DVO was obtained. Effectiveness was also measured by asking a direct question about how effective the participant thought the DVO had been for her.

Protective Order Enforcement. Protective order enforcement was examined several ways. Women reported the number of times they talked to the police, filed criminal charges, or filed contempt of court charges. Each woman also reported on whether the PO partner was arrested and how many days he was in jail. These questions were asked for each time period including for the EPO incident, the DVO period at the baseline, follow-up 1, and follow-up 2. Also, official data were examined for the time during the 6 months after the DVO was issued for any felony or misdemeanor charges, substance-related charges, and narrow domestic violence related charges including Assault in the Fourth Degree (Assault 4th) domestic violence (misdemeanor charge), PO violation (misdemeanor charge), and stalking (both Stalking in the First Degree (1st) which is a felony charge and Stalking in the Second Degree (2nd) which is a misdemeanor charge).

Several open-ended questions were asked to assess participant responses about why they chose not to report a violation, why they thought the PO partner did not violate the EPO/DVO if there was a period with no violations, and why they thought the PO partner did violate the EPO/DVO if there were violations.

Perpetrator History Of Criminal Justice Involvement. Court records from the Kentucky Administrative Office of the Courts (AOC) were used to extract information about PO partner's histories of charges and convictions. Civil records of EPOs, DVOs, and contempt of court charges were also accessed through AOC. Local jail data for the relevant time period were also extracted from four jails. One jail refused to cooperate after numerous and varied attempts to access the information. Because of the missing official data from one jail, victim reports of jail time for her partner were used in the analysis. Victim reports were compared to official jail data from the jails that did provide information and the rates and days of jail time were very similar (see limitations section of substudy 3 for more detail). Respondent incarceration periods were recorded for 6 months before the index protective order was issued and for the 6 months after the index protective order.

The charges and convictions were specifically extracted for three time periods (a) 6 months prior to the index protective order date; (b) 6 months after the index protective order date; and (c) the time before the 6 months prior to the index protective order date (history). Information that was extracted included (1) Type of Charge—misdemeanor or felony; (2) Convictions; and, (3) domestic violence-related charges and convictions including protective order violations, stalking, and assault 4th domestic violence. In addition, the number of DVO amendments was extracted from the court record.

SUBSTUDY 2

All of the secondary data (e.g., jail data, civil and criminal history data) were obtained in hard copy form and were extracted by the study staff using a standardized protocol. For quality control purposes, 23% of the AOC records of charges, convictions, and civil histories were coded independently by two individuals with an interrater reliability of 99.3%. All disagreements were resolved for 100% agreement.

Analysis

Chi-Squares and ANOVAs were used to examine bivariate relationships. Multivariate analysis was done using logistic and linear regressions. Qualitative information was initially analyzed by the study Principal Investigator using NVivo. The results were then imported into SPSS for bivariate analysis. For quality control, 20% of the qualitative questions were independently analyzed by a research assistant and then compared to the original thematic analysis. There was a 93.4% agreement across all categories and questions double-coded for quality control. All disagreements were resolved for 100% agreement.

SUBSTUDY 2 RESULTS

Demographics, Employment, And Income

Women in this study were an average age of 33 years old (ranging from 18 to 63 years old), were primarily Caucasian (86%), and the majority had children (79%) as Table 25 shows. More rural women had children than urban women, and of those with children, more rural women (89%) than urban women (77.3%) had children younger than 18 years old. Overall, 54% of urban women had children younger than 18 years old versus 79% of rural women ($X^2(1)=15.02, P<.001$)

Just over a quarter of the sample had less than a high school education and no GED (27%), and just over a quarter had a high school education or GED (26%), while about one-third (34%) had at least some college education. About half were unemployed at the time of the baseline interview (48%) while 21% were working part-time and 31% were working full time. Just over one-third of the rural women reported they had not had a job at all in the past year compared to about 20% of the urban women.

Overall, the average annual reported household income was \$21,949. The median household income for urban women was \$16,000 which is much lower than the median income estimate of \$46,726 for the selected urban area from the 2007 census. There is a similar trend for the selected rural area with the participants in this study reporting a median household income of \$13,900 compared to the census estimate of \$29,545 for this area.

Table 25. Demographic, employment, and income

	Urban (n=107)	Rural (n=106)	Total (n=213)
Age	33	32	33
Race			
Caucasian ($X^2(2)=30.12, p<.001$)	72.9%	99.1%	85.9%***
Black	26.2%	.9%	13.6%
Hispanic	.9%	0%	.5%
% with any children (n=169) ($X^2(1)=11.22, p<.01$)	70.1%	88.7%	79.3%**
Of those with any children, average number	2.5	2.2	2.3
Of those with any children, % with children under 18 ($X^2(1)=4.5, p<.05$)	77.3%	89.4%	84%*
Education			
Less than HS/GED	25.5%	28.3%	26.9%
HS/GED	25.5%	26.4%	25.9%
Some college	34%	34%	34%
College grad and/or grad school	15.1%	11.3%	13.2%
Current employment status ($X^2(2)=11.24, p<.01$)			
Full time	39.3%	21.7%	30.5%**
Part time	23.4%	18.9%	21.1%
Unemployed	37.4%	59.4%	48.4%
Average number of paid jobs past year ($F(1, 211)=8, p<.01$)	1.5	1	1.3**
No jobs past year ($X^2(3)=10.24, p<.05$)	17.8%	34.9%	26.3%*
1 job past year	39.3%	38.7%	39%
2 jobs past year	29%	17%	23%
3+ jobs past year	14%	9.4%	11.7%
Mean annual household income	\$24,178	\$19,698	\$21,949
	(\$0-\$107,000)	(\$0-\$82,000)	(\$0-\$107,000)
Median annual household income	\$16,000	\$13,900	\$15,000

Relationship Characteristics

Table 26 describes the relationship characteristics between the participants and the partner they received a protective order against. More rural women had been or were married to the PO partner while more urban women had cohabitated with the PO partner. More rural women had children in common with the PO partner (57.5%) than urban women (39.3%). Only 20% of the urban women and 2% of the rural women indicated they were in the relationship with the PO partner at the time of the interview. Rural women had been in the relationship with the PO partner longer compared to urban women, and began seeing the PO partner at a significantly younger age than did the urban women. The rural PO partners were also significantly younger than the urban PO partners at the time the relationship began.

A few of the women continued the relationship with the PO partner after the DVO was issued, although more urban women did so than rural women and, of those who continued the relationship, urban women spent more days, on average, in the relationship during the follow-up period than rural women.

Table 26. Relationship characteristics

	Urban (n=107)	Rural (n=106)	Total (n=213)
Relationship status ($X^2(1)=18.66$, $p<.001$)			
Spouse or ex-spouse	36.4%	66%	51.2%*
Boyfriend or ex-boyfriend	63.6%	34%	48.8%
# years together ($F(1, 211)=5.14$, $p<.05$)	5.1	7.2	6.1*
% kids in common with the PO Partner ($X^2(1)=7.14$, $p<.01$)	39.3%	57.5%	48.4%**
<u>Of those with completed follow-ups</u>	Urban (n=105)	Rural (n=105)	Total (n=210)
Maintained a relationship after the DVO was issued ($X^2(1)=5.42$, $p<.05$)	34.3%	20%	27.1%*
Of those who maintained the relationship, number of days spent in the relationship after the DVO was issued ($F(1,55)=4.06$, $p<.05$)	(n=36) 134	(n=21) 101	(n=57) 122*

History Of Violence And Fear of Future Harm

The history of violence and abuse was high for both groups as displayed in Table 27. Overall, there were significant differences on the physical violence severity index with rural women having higher scores compared to urban women. There were also several significant differences when specific abuse tactics were examined, including more rural women than urban women reporting financial control, threats regarding child interference, and serious threats to close others. Also, more rural women experienced threats with a knife or gun (50.5% versus 32.4% of urban women) or had actually had a knife used against them or gun fired at them by the PO partner (22.9% versus 4.8% of urban women). Across both groups, 31% of women reported being raped (forced penetration or sex acts).

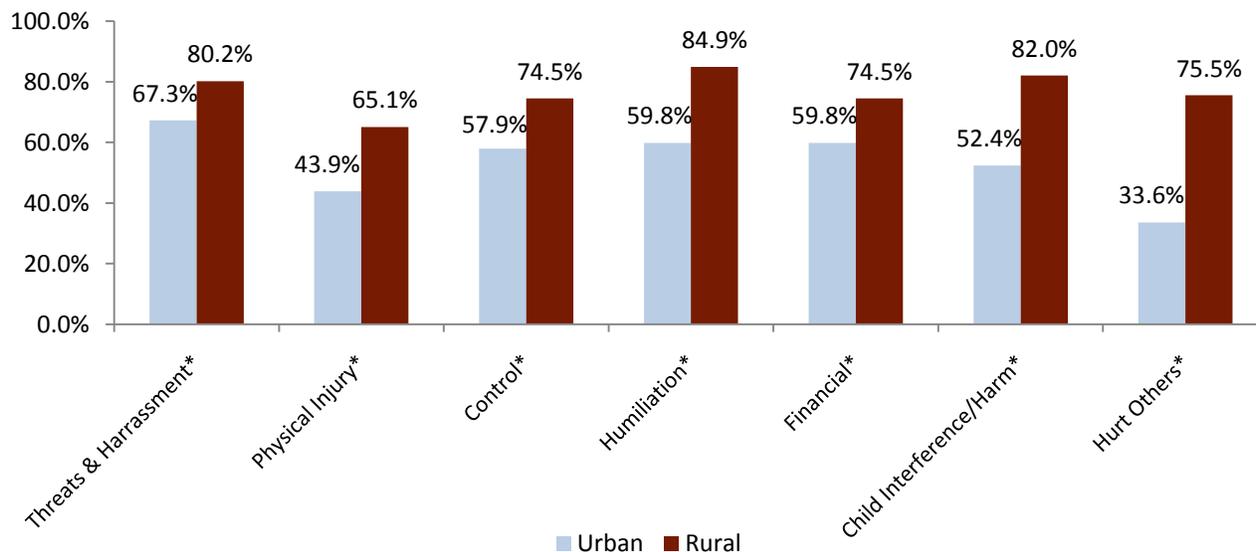
Table 27. History of violence

	Urban (n=107)	Rural (n=106)	Total (n=213)
Physical severity index ($F(1, 211)=10.27, p<.01$)	20.37	24.08	22.22**
Verbal abuse (such as insulting or shouting)	100%	100%	100%
Degradation (such as treating you as an inferior, blaming you for his problems, doing something to spite you)	99.1%	100%	99.5%
Jealousy and control (such as monitoring your time, isolating you, accusing you of having an affair)	100%	99.1%	99.5%
Financial control (such as denying you access to money or bank accounts) ($X^2(1)=5.9, p<.05$)	58.9%	74.5%	66.7%*
Work interference (such as keeping you from having or getting a job, causing you to be fired or quit your job)	57%	55.7%	56.3%
Symbolic violence (such as smashing/kicking something, destroying your property, threatening to hit or throw something at you)	98.1%	99.1%	98.6%
Child interference threats (of those with minor children, n=142) (such as threatening to call child protective services, threatening to kidnap your children) ($X^2(1)=11.29, p<.01$)	51.7%	78.6%	67.6%**
Threats to kill	66.1%	77.1%	71.9%
Threats to seriously harm	72.4%	82.9%	77.6%
Serious threats about close others (such as threatening to harm your children or others close to you) ($X^2(1)=15.29, p<.001$)	38.1%	65.1%	51.6%***
Threats with a weapon ($X^2(1)=7.08, p<.01$)	32.4%	50.5%	41.4%**
Actual use of a weapon ($X^2(1)=14.44, p<.001$)	4.8%	22.9%	13.8%***
Actual threats to others (such as actually threatening others close to you) ($X^2(1)=16.92, p<.001$)	26.2%	53.8%	39.5%***
Stalking (such as showing up at your work or school against your wishes, following you, making harassing phone calls to you or your family, threatening to harm himself, breaking into your home/car)	57.9%	64.2%	61%
Moderate physical violence (such as throwing something at you that could hurt you, twisting your arm/hair, pushing or shoving you)	91.6%	94.3%	93%
Severe physical violence (such as trying to run you down with a car, punching or hitting you, kicking or biting you, beating you up, choking you, burning you)	86.9%	84.9%	85.9%
Physical assault of others	75.7%	82.1%	78.9%
Rape	25.2%	36.8%	31%

Women were also asked about how afraid they were of future harm from the PO partner. As Figure 11 shows, more rural women were fearful of future harm across every single category than urban women, including fear of ongoing threats and harassment ($X^2(1)=4.57, p<.05$), fear of physical injury ($X^2(1)=9.62, p<.01$), fear of being humiliated ($X^2(1)=16.74, p<.001$), fear of financial harm or damage such as losing a job, losing housing, or other financial problems ($X^2(1)= 5.23, p<.05$), fear of loss of control over their life

or fear of being controlled and dominated ($X^2(1)=6.55, p<.05$), fear that others would be harassed or physically harmed by the PO partner ($X^2(1)=37.56, p<.001$), and, for those with children in common with the PO partner, fear that the PO partner would take away or kidnap the children, try to get custody of children, or emotionally or physically harm children ($X^2(1)=10.35, p<.01$).

Figure 11. How afraid are you the following will happen over the next 6 months



Barriers to Protective Orders

Like key informants, women were also asked to describe the barriers victims of partner violence might experience in trying to obtain help from the criminal justice system. Table 28 below combines responses to three open-ended questions: (1) What do you think are the three biggest problems or issues for women seeking help through the criminal justice system in your community? (2) What were the three main issues or problems with obtaining the EPO; what problems do you think other women might encounter during the EPO process? (3) What were three main issues or problems with obtaining the DVO; what problems do you think other women might encounter during the DVO process?

Similar to the analysis of barriers to obtaining protective orders mentioned by key informants in substudy 1, victim responses were organized into two overall categories: accessibility and acceptability. Within each of those overall categories, there were a number of specific barrier subcategories.

Table 28 displays the results for the responses to barriers to obtaining a protective order. Fifteen percent of the participants indicated that needing a high level of proof of violence and abuse, fear of not being believed, and being told the incident was not serious enough were barriers. For example, one rural woman petitioned for an EPO because her ex-partner was stalking her and had called her work threatening to kill her and anyone else she was seeing. She indicated that not only did she feel that no-one believed her, but that also the county attorney said there was “nothing they could do” and the judge told her at first that he did not think that was a reason to get an EPO. Another rural woman wrote

on her petition, “I’m pregnant and I’m scared that he may try and hurt me and my baby. He calls and comes to my house uninvited.” She said that the “judge laughed at me and told me that I would not get a DVO because I had no case.”

Overall the majority of respondents from both areas mentioned barriers related to systemic issues which was consistent with key informant results. Within the subcategory of systemic issues, “navigating the system” was mentioned by the most participants, although more urban women mentioned it than rural women. Included in this category were not having knowledge of what to do or where to go; confusion about the process, conditions, or terms of the order; difficulty in filling out paperwork; not having any help through the process; and gatekeeper attitudes. It was surprising to see the number of participants from both areas who mentioned the difficulty they had with those they first approached about petitioning for an EPO, especially the clerks. For example:

- *When I filed my EPO- the woman was really rude. She made me feel like I did not deserve an EPO.*
- *Person at courthouse didn't want to give me an EPO because I had dropped one before.*
- *Lady at courthouse was rude saying there wasn't enough evidence to get EPO- but she gave me one anyway.*
- *I went after hours and the woman asked me if I wanted to wait until the next day. She asked me if it was an emergency! Had all four kids with me and they were really rude and got an attitude with me.*
- *I had to wait almost 45 minutes before somebody waited on me. There were people there and I felt they just didn't care.*
- *Clerks tried to discourage me from getting an EPO. She told me it would take a lot of time to fill out the paperwork. She was very rude and even asked me why I didn't just stay away from the PO partner.*
- *Clerks made me feel two inches tall because they wouldn't help me understand how to fill out an EPO.*
- *Clerks made me feel like my life was not important.*

Other accessibility barriers included inconvenience such as the inconvenience of having to take off work, arrange for child care, park, limited hours of access, or difficulty in access for the disabled; the time it takes to get an EPO and/or DVO; and, “getting the run-around.”

More urban women mentioned inconvenience as a barrier, while more rural women mentioned “getting the run-around.” In the rural area, women are expected to take the forms from office to office and in some cases to find the judge themselves to get the EPO signed (Logan et al., 2005b). But some of the women seemed to feel the “run-around” was used as an attempt to deliberately frustrate their efforts to obtain a protective order as noted in a few of the examples below:

- *Couldn't find judge to sign the EPO, the judge was gone.*
- *Court clerks gave me the run-around. I was sent place to place to try and get an EPO.*
- *I was given the run-around for who I needed to give EPO to in order to get EPO served- which law enforcement agency.*
- *The court clerks wanted to save themselves a trip to the Sherriff's office and asked if I would take some warrants (unrelated to my case) since I was going to the Sheriff's office anyway. But then the Sheriff's office wanted to charge me \$20 for them.*

- *Giving women the run-around thinking that the women aren't telling the truth.*
- *Court system gives women the run-around hoping women will drop the complaint.*

As expected, service of the protective order was also mentioned as a barrier. Service of the order is particularly important because due process requires that the order be served before it can be enforced. About 18% of the participants overall indicated that service was a barrier for them or that they thought it would be a barrier for someone else trying to obtain a protective order. This is more consistent with the actual rates of non-service (see Figure 7) but stands in stark contrast to the few key informants (5%) who mentioned service as being a barrier (see Table 11).

Barriers related to justice system bias were mentioned by almost twice as many rural women as urban women. In particular, politics was mentioned as a barrier by mostly rural women. The category included statements about the community reputation of those involved and “who you know” as important in influencing justice outcomes along with more general statements that men simply have more rights than women in rural communities. Similar proportions of victims and key informants mentioned politics as a barrier.

Also, a number of women from both the rural and urban areas mentioned that they did not feel the judge listened to them, felt they were rushed through the system, and/or felt that the judge was rude and condescending toward them. Below are a few examples,

- *I feel like I didn't get to say what I wanted to say because the judge cut me off.*
- *The judge was extremely rude to me because I had dropped previous EPOs.*
- *I felt the judge wasn't as focused on my situation/side as she was on the perpetrator's.*
- *The judge was “cutting up” with the perpetrator and that made me feel uncomfortable.*

The category of acceptability barriers included several important themes as well. The most frequently mentioned barrier in this category was lack of faith in the system. Statements classified into this theme centered on women’s perception of the lack of enforcement or the lack of a response to the violent partner violating the protective order.

Other problems mentioned included having to sit or stand so close to the PO partner before and during the hearing and how the PO partner was allowed to try to intimidate the victim through words or stares during the hearing process. More urban women mentioned this than rural women.

- *Perpetrator kept giving me intimidating looks and no one asked him to stop.*
- *It was hard to face perpetrator, to be in same room with him.*
- *When the judge asked me if I wanted to drop it, I knew perpetrator was going to stare me down. I was very scared.*
- *I didn't want to stand that close to perpetrator- I needed more distance between us.*
- *Perpetrator was staring at me when we were sitting in courtroom waiting to have our case heard.*
- *Someone, like the police, should be there to keep you safe in hallway before court.*
- *It was uncomfortable facing the perpetrator; I didn't realize I would be in the same room with him.*

Other acceptability barriers included fear of perpetrator retaliation, embarrassment, and fear of the

court system in general.

Table 28. Barriers to EPOs/DVOs

	Urban (n=107)	Rural (n=106)	Total (n=213)
<u>Accessibility</u>			
<i>Barriers related to victim credibility</i>			
High level of proof, not serious enough, do not believe her	14%	16%	15%
<i>Barriers related to systemic issues ($X^2(1)=11.5, p<.01$)</i>			
Navigating the system ($X^2(1)=3.99, p<.05$)	63.6%	50%	56.8%*
Lack of knowledge, support, help ($X^2(1)=9.07, p<.01$)	32.7%	15.1%	23.9%**
Gatekeeper attitudes	16.8%	19.8%	18.3%
Clerks	14%	12.3%	13.1%
Inconvenience-hours, parking, work, childcare ($X^2(1)=5.4, p<.05$)	47.7%	32.1%	39.9%*
Takes too long	25.2%	15.1%	20.2%
Run-around ($X^2(1)=6.44, p<.05$)	6.5%	17.9%	12.2%*
Service	17.8%	18.9%	18.3%
<i>Barriers related to justice system bias ($X^2(1)=7.61, p<.01$)</i>			
Politics ($X^2(1)=8.07, p<.01$)	3.7%	15.1%	9.4%*
Judge problems	16.8%	26.4%	21.6%
<u>Acceptability</u>			
No faith in the system	29%	28.3%	28.6%
Fear of facing perpetrator ($X^2(1)=6.89, p<.01$)	25.2%	11.3%	18.3%*
Fear of perpetrator retaliation	24.3%	6.6%	15.5%
Embarrassment-social consequences	18.7%	10.4%	14.6%
Fear of process and not being believed	14%	7.5%	10.8%
Didn't get some things needed	12.1%	4.7%	8.5%
Just want it all to go away ($X^2(1)=8.73, p<.01$)	10.3%	.9%	5.6%*

EPO Incident And Process

Significantly fewer rural women (24.5%) reported living with the PO partner at the time of the EPO incident compared to urban women (59.8%, $X^2(1)=27.17, p<.001$). When examining the reported specific tactics or types of abuse endured during the EPO incident, the vast majority of women reported verbal abuse and degradation (90.1%), 73.2% reported threats of serious harm or death (with more rural women indicating serious threats of harm or death, $p<.10$), and 59.2% reported some form of physical assault (see Table 29).

There were a few significant differences by area with regard to violence during the EPO incident. More rural women reported that stalking occurred during or around the time of the EPO incident as did threats to them about hurting others close to them. More urban women reported jealousy, control, and actual physical assault of others during the incident.

Another difference was that more rural women (58.5%) reported others (not including children) witnessed all or part of the EPO incident than did urban women (35.5%, $X^2(1)=11.29$, $p<.01$).

Also, regardless of area, women reported that almost two-thirds of the PO partners were using drugs or alcohol at the time of the EPO incident (59.6% reported the PO partner was using drugs or alcohol and 5.6% reported they were not sure if the PO partner was using drugs or alcohol at the time of the EPO incident).

Table 29. EPO incident violence

	Urban (n=107)	Rural (n=106)	Total (n=213)
Verbal abuse and/or degradation	88.8%	91.5%	90.1%
Jealousy and control ($X^2(1)=9.79$, $p<.01$)	70.1%	49.1%	59.6%**
Stalking ($X^2(1)=8.01$, $p<.01$)	26.2%	44.8%	35.4%**
Symbolic violence	47.7%	35.8%	41.8%
<i>Threats to seriously harm or kill</i>	68.2%	78.3%	73.2% ^a
Threaten to kill you	52.3%	64.2%	58.2%
Threaten to seriously harm you ($X^2(1)=5$, $p<.05$)	64.5%	78.3%	71.4%*
Threaten you with weapons such as a knife, gun or bat	16.8%	20%	18.4%
Serious threats to you about hurting close others ($X^2(1)=12.73$, $p<.001$)	27.1%	50.9%	39%**
Of those with minor children, child threats	22.6%	28.4%	26%
<i>Any physical assault</i>	63.6%	54.7%	59.2%
Moderate physical	56.1%	46.2%	51.2%
Severe physical	48.6%	35.8%	42.3%
Used a knife or gun on you or some other kind of weapon (e.g., bat)	4.7%	9.4%	7%
Sexual coercion and rape	11.2%	5.7%	8.5%
Actually threatened others	17.8%	28.3%	23%
Physical assault of others ($X^2(1)=5.07$, $p<.05$)	4.7%	0%	2.3%*

Rural women spent, on average, 3 hours and 36 minutes getting the EPOs compared to urban women who spent, on average, 1 hour and 42 minutes ($F(1, 206)=8.15$, $p<.01$). As Table 30 shows, about one-third of participants indicated they missed time or activities in getting the EPO with no differences by area. Not surprising, the rural women spent more on transportation costs to obtain the EPO than did the urban women, probably due to longer travel times to get to the courthouse and to get the paperwork where it needed to go.

There were also significant differences by area for whether or not women had contact with the PO partner during the EPO period – the period between when the EPO was in effect and the DVO was granted. More urban women than rural women reported contact with the PO partner during this time period. However, there was no significant difference in the number of women who perceived violations of the EPO by area. Overall, close to one-third indicated that the EPO was violated — the average number of violations was 6.

Trying to estimate violations during the EPO period was difficult for several reasons. First, many women were not sure when the respondent was actually served, so they were not clear whether or not a specific contact or incident was technically a violation. Second, some women thought the EPO was in effect when it was first signed by the judge so they counted all contacts as violations, when in reality the EPO is not active until the respondent has been served notice (there was likely at least a day’s delay). Third, several women indicated they did not realize that any contact (even non-violent contact) was a violation of the no-contact EPO so they did not count all contacts as violations. Fourth, some women needed to contact/coordinate certain things with the PO partner such as custody, property, and other issues and felt that contact was necessary; whether they counted those as violations or not is unclear. Fifth, some contacts were made through third parties which many women did not consider to be a violation while others did. Thus, the information on EPO violations should be interpreted with caution.

Even with all of the barriers, time spent getting through the process, and confusion during the EPO period, 80.7% of the women regardless of area indicated they were fairly or extremely satisfied with the EPO process.

Table 30. EPO process

	Urban (n=107)	Rural (n=106)	Total (n=213)
Missed any time or activities to get the EPO (n=75)	37.4%	33%	35.2%
Total hours of missed time for those who missed time	5 hours 22 min	8 hours 4 min	6 hours 38 min
Average transportation cost for EPO (F(1, 205)=37.6, p<.001)	\$5.93	\$15.19	\$10.45***
Had any contact with PO partner during EPO period (X ² (1)=8.66, p<.01)	45.8%	26.4%	36.2%**
Any violation of EPO during EPO period	33.6%	25.5%	29.6%
Of those with violations, average number of violations	4.6	8.1	6.1

DVO Process And Stipulations

The next set of questions pertains to the DVO process and stipulations. Only a small percentage of women indicated they were living with the PO partner at the time of the DVO hearing (11.2% of urban women and 1.9% of rural women, X²(1)=7.55, p<.01).

Although on average there were about 17 days between the EPO filing and the DVO hearing, the range of days varied between 1 day and 147 days. Basically, the vast majority of women (73.7%) received the DVO within 14 days of petitioning for the EPO with another 18.8% receiving the DVO within 4 weeks of petitioning for the EPO. Almost 5% (4.7%) of the participants had to wait between 5 and 8 weeks from the time they petitioned for an EPO and the time they received the DVO and 2.8% waited between 9 and 21 weeks. There were no differences by area for length of time between filing for an EPO and receiving a DVO.

Overall, it took about 4 hours (3 hours and 48 minutes) to get the DVO, and the time did not differ significantly by area. About half of the participants indicated they had missed work time or any time

from other activities because of the DVO hearing. Also, rural women spent more money, on average, on transportation than did urban women.

A series of questions was asked about the DVO hearing proceedings (see Table 31). The majority of women said the judge had asked them if they had any questions and that they felt there was adequate opportunity to ask questions at the hearing. However, about 30% of women did not feel they had time to ask questions at the hearing. About 15% of women indicated they left the hearing confused about something, and although over 90% of both rural and urban women indicated they understood the terms of the DVO, more rural women indicated they did not understand the terms (10% versus 3%) of the DVO. A small percentage of the women had already discovered errors with the DVO (7.5%). Also, the vast majority of women, regardless of area, believed that the PO partner understood the terms of the DVO, although 12% did not think the PO partner understood the terms of the DVO.

Table 31. DVO process

	Urban (n=107)	Rural (n=106)	Total (n=213)
Missed any time or activities to get the DVO (n=112)	55.1%	50%	52.6%
Total hours of missed time for those who missed time	7 hours 42 min	5 hours 36 min	6 hours 42 min
Average transportation cost for DVO (F(1, 206)=20.77, p<.001)	\$8.09	\$16.76	\$12.38***
Judge asked if you had any questions	65.7%	65.4%	65.5%
Felt you had time to ask questions at DVO hearing	75.7%	66%	70.9%
Participant was confused about something after the DVO hearing	12.1%	17.9%	15%
Participant feels the respondent understood the DVO and the terms	87.7%	87.7%	87.7%
Participant has discovered errors with the DVO	6.5%	8.6%	7.5%
Participant understood DVO terms (X ² (1)=4.09, p<.05)	97.2%	90.6%	93.9%*

About half of the women in the sample received a DVO for 3 years, and 30% received a DVO for 2 years (see Table 32). However, as Table 32 shows, using an average number of months the DVO was granted, rural women had significantly shorter DVOs than urban women.

The vast majority of women in the rural area (90.6%) received No Contact DVOs while about 60% of the urban women received No Contact DVOs and about 40% received No Violent Contact DVOs.

Overall, 80% of women indicated they were fairly or extremely satisfied with the DVO process.

Table 32. DVO length and stipulations

	Urban (n=107)	Rural (n=106)	Total (n=213)
<i>DVO issued average months (F(1, 209)=4.81, p<.05)</i>	26.6	22.9	24.8*
DVO issued less than 6 months	.9%	4.9%	2.9%
DVO issued for 6 months	3.8%	10.5%	7.1%
DVO issued for 1 year	29.2%	30.5%	29.9%
DVO issued for 2 years	7.5%	8.6%	8.1%
DVO issued for 3 years	58.5%	45.7%	52.1%
<i>DVO stipulations</i>			
No Contact Order ($\chi^2(1)=28.25, p<.001$)	58.9%	90.6%	74.6%**
No Violent Contact ($\chi^2(1)=28.25, p<.001$)	41.1%	9.4%	25.4%**

PO Partner Information

Age and race of the PO partner was extracted from the court records (see Table 33). On average, PO partners were 34 years old. Half of the PO partners from the urban area were Caucasian compared to 98% from the rural area.

Almost 90% of participants reported that the PO partner had ever been in a controlled environment with the vast majority of those reporting that their PO partner had been in jail. About one-third of the urban women indicated that the PO partner had ever been in prison compared to 15% of rural women. More urban than rural women reported that the PO partner had worked in the past 30 days, while more rural women reported their partners were drawing disability in the past year than did urban women.

Table 33. PO Partner information from victim

	Urban (n=107)	Rural (n=106)	Total (n=213)
PO partner age at the time of the DVO	35	34	35
% Caucasian ($\chi^2(1)=58.89, p<.001$)	52.4%	98.1%	75.2%***
PO partner ever in any controlled environment	93.4%	85.8%	89.6%
PO partner ever in jail	89.5%	84.9%	87.2%
PO partner ever in prison ($\chi^2(1)=10.74, p<.01$)	34.6%	15.1%	24.8%**
PO partner employment past 30 days ($\chi^2(1)=9.55, p<.01$)			
Unemployed	34.4%	56.4%	45.3%**
Part time	7.3%	6.4%	6.8%
Full time	58.3%	37.2%	47.9%
PO partner on disability past year ($\chi^2(1)=13.84, p<.001$)	7.5%	26.7%	17%***

The next few tables examine civil and criminal histories for the PO partners of the participants with completed follow-up interviews using official court data from the state in which the study was conducted (n=210). Charges from other states are not included in this data. As Table 34 shows, 77.9% of the PO partners had either misdemeanor or felony charges with an average of almost 9 charges, and 62.9% had any misdemeanor or felony convictions with an average of about 7 convictions. There were no differences by area.

Breaking down the charges into specific felony and misdemeanor charges and convictions, the majority of the charges and convictions were misdemeanors as shown in Table 34. About half of those with felony charges actually had felony convictions, while the misdemeanor charges and convictions were more closely aligned.

Table 34. Criminal history from official court records (before DVO was issued)

	Urban (n=105)	Rural (n=105)	Total (n=210)
<i>Any charges or convictions</i>			
Any misdemeanor or felony charges	76.6%	79.2%	77.9%
Average number of misdemeanor or felony charges	8.97	8.18	8.58
Any misdemeanor or felony convictions	65.4%	60.4%	62.9%
Average number of misdemeanor or felony convictions	7.91	6.39	7.19
<i>Type of Charges</i>			
Any misdemeanor charge	76.6%	77.4%	77%
Average number of misdemeanor charges	6.61	6.27	6.44
Any felony charge	51.4%	42.5%	46.9%
Average number of felony charges	4.6	4.49	4.55
<i>Type of Convictions</i>			
Any misdemeanor conviction	63.6%	59.4%	61.5%
Average number of misdemeanor convictions	6.86	5.68	6.3
Any felony conviction	28%	17%	22.5%
Average number of felony convictions	2.7	2.83	2.75

When examining specific types of charges, as noted in Table 35, 57.3% of the PO partners had substance-related charges and 53.1% had substance-related convictions and this did not differ by area.

Domestic violence charges can incorporate a broad range of charges and unfortunately the criminal history data from the courts do not identify victims. With that limitation in mind, a narrow domestic violence charges category was created which only included Assault 4th domestic violence (misdemeanor), Stalking 1st degree (felony) and Stalking 2nd degree (misdemeanor), and violation of a protective order (misdemeanor).

As Table 35 shows, more urban than rural PO partners had domestic violence specific charges, especially Assault 4th. There were no differences in convictions.

Table 35. Substance use and domestic violence-related charges and conviction history

	Urban (n=105)	Rural (n=105)	Total (n=210)
Substance related <i>charges</i>	57%	57.5%	57.3%
Average number of substance related charges	4.62	6.03	5.33
Substance related <i>convictions</i>	55.1%	50.9%	53.1%
Average number of substance related convictions	3.85	4.33	4.08
<i>Any Narrow Domestic Violence (DV) Specific Charges and Convictions</i>			
Any Assault 4 th DV, Violation of a PO, or Stalking charge ($X^2(1)=6.15, p<.05$)	46.7%	30.2%	38.5%*
Average number of charges	1.32	1.21	1.27
Any Assault 4 th degree DV, Violation of a PO, or Stalking conviction	22.4%	15.1%	18.8%
<i>Specific Narrow DV charges</i>			
Assault 4 th DV charges ($X^2(1)=8.84, p<.01$)	38.3%	19.8%	29.1%**
Violation of PO charges	13.1%	14.2%	13.6%
Stalking 1 st and 2 nd degree charges	3.7%	.9%	2.3%

PO Effectiveness

Protective order effectiveness was examined five ways, by examining: (1) the proportion of rural and urban women that experienced protective order violations within the 6-month follow-up period; (2) factors associated with protective order violations; (3) violence severity before and after the protective order for those who experienced violations; (4) the proportion of women who were afraid of future harm before and after the protective order; and (5) perceived effectiveness of protective orders.

Protective Order Violations

During the 6 month follow-up period after women obtained a protective order, half (50%) reported a violation of the protective order and half did not. There were no differences by area. Of those who experienced a violation (n=105), urban women experienced 9 violations, on average, and rural women experienced 15 violations on average (adjusted for outliers at the 95th percentile; $F(1, 103)=4.11, p<.05$).

Factors Associated With Protective Order Violations

A logistic regression was used to examine factors most associated with protective order violations. Variables that were examined included area (rural versus urban), PO partner age, PO partner race, number of felony and misdemeanor charges the PO partner had the 6 months before the DVO was granted, relationship to PO partner (ever married versus never married), years total spent in the relationship at baseline, any kids in common with PO partner, physical violence severity 6 months before the PO, any forced sex 6 months before the DVO, number of days spent in the relationship with the PO partner during the follow-up period, and whether or not they were stalked 6 months before the DVO was obtained. Two factors were significantly

associated with violations: forced sex 6 months before the DVO ($B=1.179$, $OR=3.25$, $p<.05$) and whether they were stalked during the 6 months before the DVO ($B=.617$, $OR=1.85$, $p<.05$).

A parallel multiple regression was used to examine the association of the number of days stalked six months prior to the DVO with the number of violations after the DVO using the same variables as noted above. Only the number of days of stalking 6 months before the DVO was significantly associated with the number of violations ($B=.239$, $t=3.04$, $p<.01$).

Violence Severity

Using repeated measures ANOVA, it is clear that even among those who experienced DVO violations, the severity score was significantly reduced at follow-up (see Table 36). In order to examine rural urban differences for physical violence severity, an ANCOVA was used, controlling for physical violence severity index scores at baseline and number of days in the relationship with the PO partner after the DVO was obtained. There were no significant area differences in follow-up physical violence severity index scores.

When specific abuse tactics were examined for women who experienced violations, the number of women who experienced each of the abuse tactics was significantly lower at follow-up (except for stalking) compared to baseline. And of those who experienced a specific abuse tactic, the average number of days each of the tactics was experienced was lower at follow-up compared to baseline for almost all of the abuse tactics. Repeated measures ANOVA was used to test significance for the number of days each tactic was experienced, but because of the low numbers for many of the abuse tactics some differences were not found to be statistically significant even though they were much lower.

Table 36. Abuse tactics experienced 6 months before and 6 months after the DVO for those who experienced violations

	Before (n=105)	After (n=105)
Physical severity index (F(1, 104)=189.63, p<.001)	18.98	5.3***
Verbal abuse (z=5.99, p<.001)	96.2%	62.9%***
Of those who experienced, the number of days experienced	93	21***
Degradation (z=5.95, p<.001)	93.3%	58.1%***
Of those who experienced, the number of days experienced	90	26***
Jealousy and Control (z=5.8, p<.001)	89.5%	53.3%***
Of those who experienced, the number of days experienced	135	24***
Financial control (z=3.97, p<.001)	41%	16.2%***
Of those who experienced, the number of days experienced	100	32*
Work interference (z=3.12, p<.001)	28.6%	11.4%***
Of those who experienced, the number of days experienced	66	14
Symbolic violence (z=6.65, p<.001)	68.6%	22.9%***
Of those who experienced, the number of days experienced	26	11**
Child threats (z=3.25, p<.001)	29.5%	11.4%***
Of those who experienced, the number of days experienced	27	10
Threats to kill (z=6.76, p<.001)	72.4%	25.7%***
Of those who experienced, the number of days experienced	16	9
Threaten to seriously harm you (z=7.81, p<.001)	83.8%	30.5%***
Of those who experienced, the number of days experienced	27	13*
Serious threats to you about close others (z=5.78, p<.001)	54.3%	16.2%***
Of those who experienced, the number of days experienced	21	3*
Threats with a weapon (z=4.62, p<.001)	33.3%	7.6%***
Of those who experienced, the number of days experienced	10	1*
Use of a weapon (z=2.47, p<.01)	13.3%	3.8%**
Of those who experienced, the number of days experienced	3	1
Actual threats to others (z=3.2, p<.001)	34.3%	15.2%***
Of those who experienced, the number of days experienced	16	2
Stalking	59%	48.6%
Of those who experienced, the number of days experienced	122	53***
Moderate physical (z=8.87, p<.001)	76.2%	15.2%***
Of those who experienced, the number of days experienced	30	2
Severe physical (z=7.27, p<.001)	58.1%	10.5%***
Of those who experienced, the number of days experienced	19	1
Physical assault of others (z=3.07, p<.001)	8.6%	0%***
Of those who experienced, the number of days experienced	2	0
Rape (z=4.34, p<.001)	21%	1.9%***
Of those who experienced, the number of days experienced	43	5

*p<.10; **p<.01; ***p<.001

Given that stalking played such a significant role in violations of the protective order, subsequent analyses examined outcomes by violation group. Specifically, three violation groups were defined as: (1) those who experienced no violations (n=101); (2) those who experienced violations but no stalking (n=54); (3) and those who experienced violations plus stalking (n=51). Four participants were not included in the violation group analysis because it was too difficult to categorize them into violation groups. Specifically, three participants reported they were stalked but did not report that the DVO had been violated. One participant was not included because although the DVO was not violated while it was in effect, it was in effect for a very short time and when it expired she was severely physically abused. Some of the outcomes were only relevant for the two groups that experienced violations: the Violation but No Stalking group and the Violation Plus Stalking group, while other outcomes were relevant for all three violation groups.

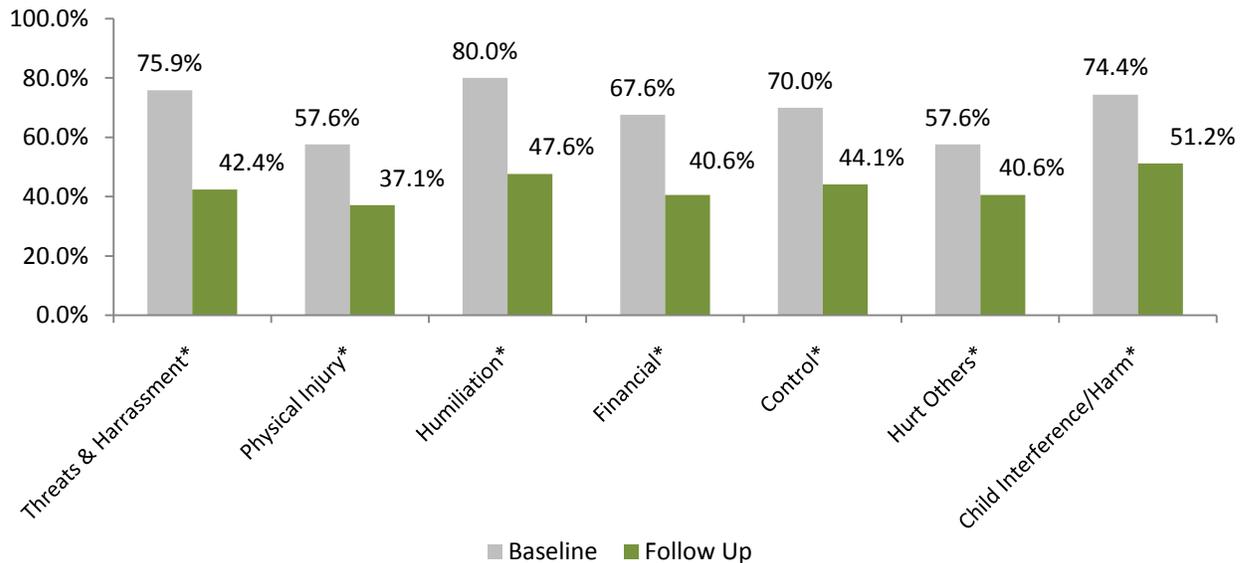
On average, the Violation but No Stalking group (n=54) had 7 violations compared to 18 for the Violation Plus Stalking group. Adjusted mean physical violence severity scores at follow-up were examined for the Violation but No Stalking group (n=54, M=4) and the Violation Plus Stalking group (n=51, M=6.6) controlling for their baseline physical violence severity index score, number of days spent in the relationship after the DVO was obtained, and area. There was a trend toward significance by group ($F(1,100)=4.1, p<.10$). Thus, victims who experienced violations plus stalking reported more overall violations and more severe violence during the follow-up period than did victims who experienced violations but no stalking.

Fear Before And After The PO

Fear dimensions were examined in three ways: (1) the overall reduction in the proportion of women who were afraid of future harm from baseline to follow-up; (2) comparisons of fear of future harm at follow-up for rural and urban women; and, (3) comparisons of fear of future harm at follow-up by violation group. Fear subscale means were examined by violation groups controlling for area (rural versus urban area). The sample for this analysis includes only those who had a follow-up measure of fear (n=170).

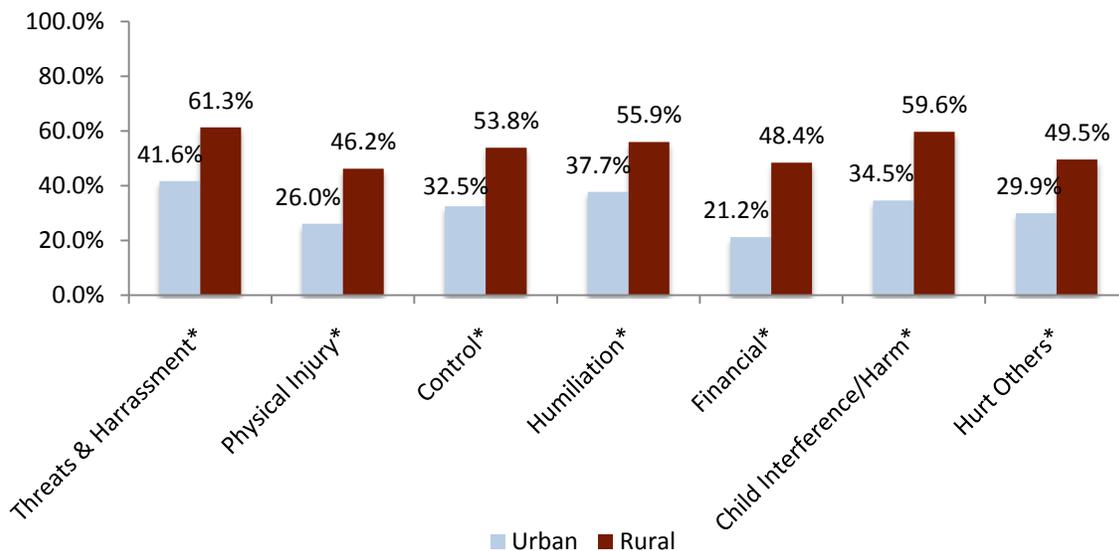
Starting with the examination of the proportion of women experiencing fear from baseline to follow-up, as Figure 12 shows, there were significantly fewer women who reported fear of future harm at follow-up compared to baseline in every one of the fear categories including ongoing harassment and threat ($z=3.91, p<.001$), fear of physical injury ($z=3.51, p<.001$), fear of public humiliation/damaged reputation ($z=5.37, p<.001$), fear of financial consequences ($z=4.52, p<.001$), fear of loss of control over life ($z=4.31, p<.001$), fear that close others will be harassed or harmed ($z=2.89, p<.001$), and, for those with children in common with the PO partner, fear of child harm or interference ($z=2.23, p<.01$).

Figure 12. Fear of future harm for baseline and follow-up



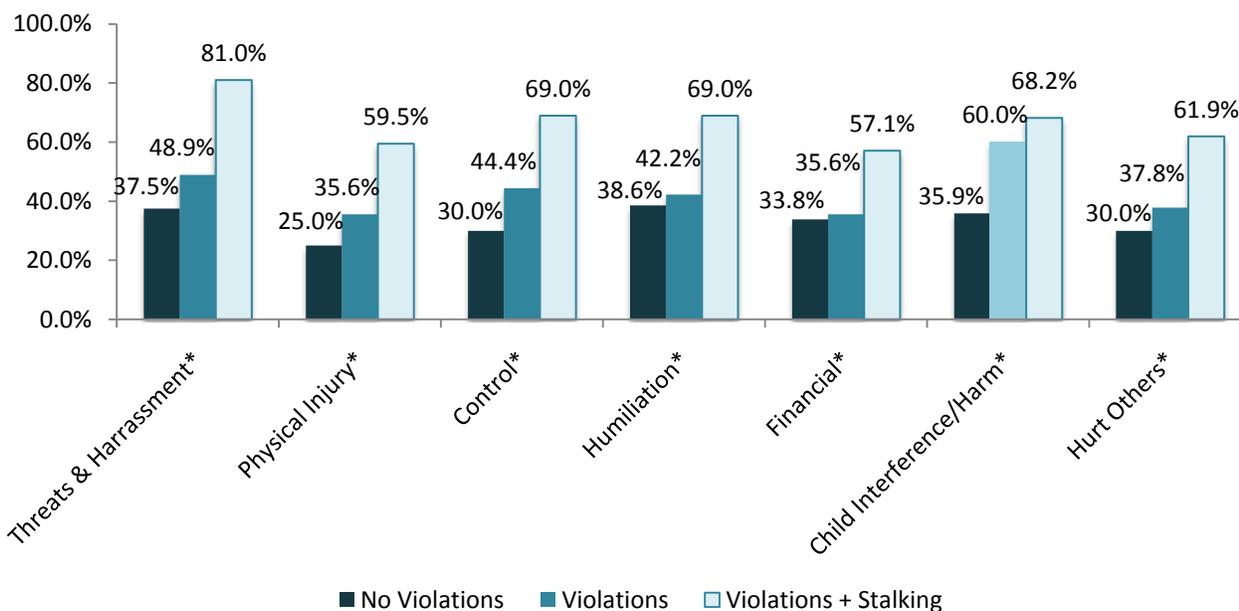
Consistent with the baseline fear results, at the 6 month follow up more rural women compared to urban women feared future harm by the PO partner in the form of: ongoing harassment and threat ($X^2(1)=6.58, p<.05$), physical injury ($X^2(1)=7.42, p<.01$), public humiliation/damaged reputation ($X^2(1)=5.63, p<.05$), financial consequences ($X^2(1)=5.18, p<.05$), loss of control over life ($X^2(1)=7.75, p<.01$), that close others will be harassed or harmed ($X^2(1)=6.71, p<.05$), and, for those with children in common with the PO partner, fear of child harm or interference ($X^2(1)=4.87, p<.05$). Figure 13 shows the proportion of rural and urban women who reported they were afraid of future harm.

Figure 13. Proportion of rural and urban women who say they were afraid of future harm at the 6 month follow-up



The proportion of victims for each of the three violation groups for fear of future harm at the follow-up were also compared (see Figure 14). There were significant differences on every fear subscale including: fear of ongoing harassment and threat ($X^2(1)=20.99, p<.001$), fear of physical injury ($X^2(1)=14.18, p<.01$), fear of public humiliation/damaged reputation ($X^2(1)=10.78, p<.01$), fear of financial consequences ($X^2(1)=6.81, p<.05$), fear of loss of control over life ($X^2(1)=17.08, p<.001$), fear that close others will be harassed or harmed ($X^2(1)=11.81, p<.01$), and, for those with children in common with the PO partner, fear of child harm or interference ($X^2(1)=6.97, p<.05$). As the Figure shows, there was a linear relationship of violation group and fear of future harm with the No Violation group having the lowest proportion of women indicating they were afraid of future harm from the PO partner, the Violation but No Stalking group having more women indicating fear of future harm than the No Violation group but fewer than the Violation Plus Stalking group, and the Violation Plus Stalking group having the highest proportions of women indicating fear of future harm.

Figure 14. Proportion of women in each of the three violation groups who say they were afraid of future harm at the 6 month follow-up



An ANCOVA was used to examine follow-up fear subscale means for violation group controlling for area. There were significant differences for every subscale including fear of: ongoing harassment and threat ($F(2,163)=13.25, p<.001$), fear of physical injury ($F(2,163)=9.07, p<.001$), fear of public humiliation/damaged reputation ($F(2,163)=4.98, p<.01$), fear of financial consequences ($F(2,163)=5.16, p<.01$), fear of loss of control over life ($F(2,163)=6.99, p<.01$), fear that close others will be harassed or harmed ($F(2,163)=7.88, p<.01$), and, for those with children in common with the PO partner, fear of child harm or interference ($F(2,82)=2.63, p<.10$).

Perceived Effectiveness Of The PO

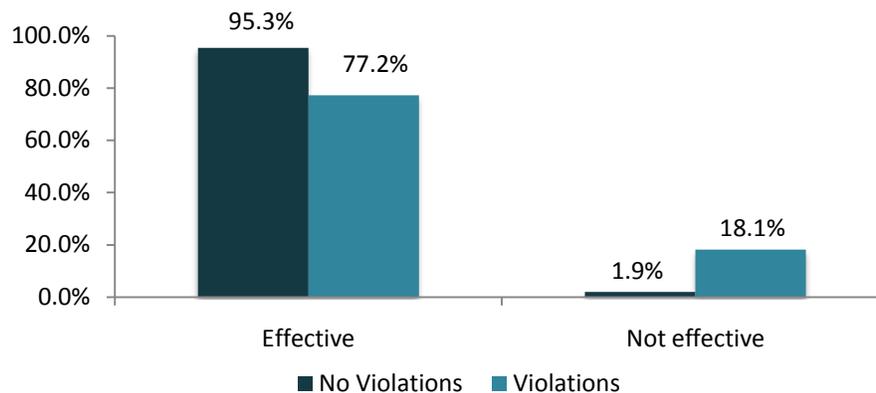
It is important to note here that at the 6 month follow-up interview 91% of the protective orders were still in effect. Almost 5% (4.8%) of women indicated that their orders had expired, and only 4.3% indicated they had dropped the order.

Women were asked, at the 6 month follow-up, how effective they thought the DVO was for them. There were no differences by rural or urban area with the mean rating at 3.3 (fairly effective).

However, when mean ratings of effectiveness were examined by those who experienced violations ($M=2.85$, fairly effective) versus those who did not ($M=3.76$, extremely effective) there were significant differences ($F(1, 208)=43.76$, $p<.001$).

Figure 15 displays the distribution of effectiveness ratings for those who experienced violations and those who did not. Fewer women who experienced DVO violations, compared to those who did not experience any violations, indicated that they felt the DVO was fairly or extremely effective.

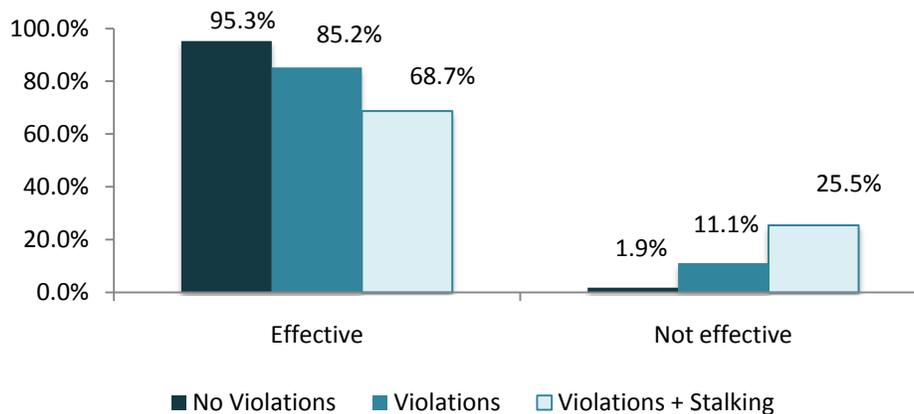
Figure 15. DVO effectiveness ratings by violation group



When broken down further, those who did not experience violations ($M=3.76$), those who experienced violations but no stalking ($M=3.17$), and those who experienced violations plus stalking ($M=2.51$), results showed an overall significant difference for violation group ($F(2,203)=31.77$, $p<.001$).

Figure 16 shows the distribution of effectiveness ratings by violation group. More women in the No Violation group indicated they thought the DVO was fairly or extremely effective than the other two groups. More women in the Violation but No Stalking group indicated they thought the DVO was fairly or extremely effective than the Violation Plus Stalking group. More women in the Violation Plus Stalking group indicated they did not feel the DVO was effective compared to the other two groups.

Figure 16. DVO effectiveness ratings by violations plus stalking groups



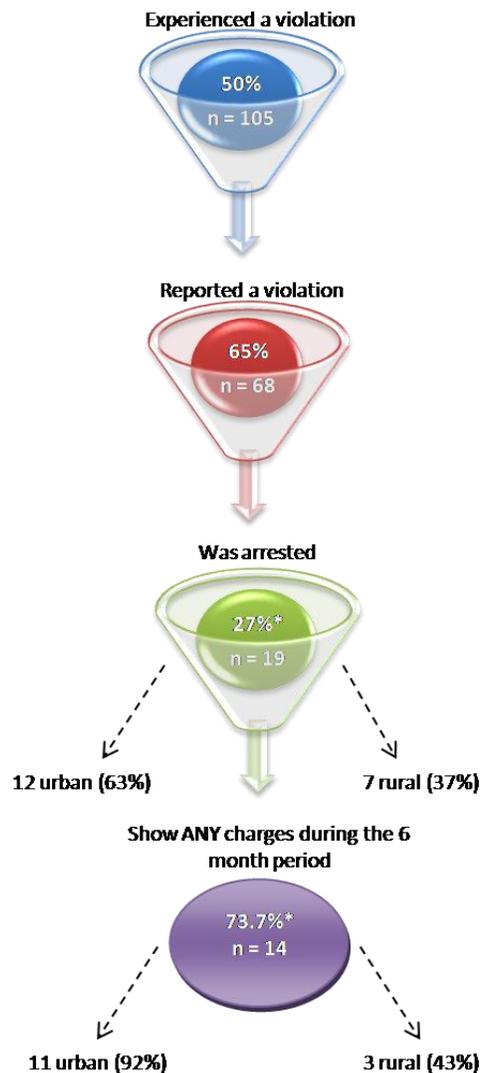
PO Enforcement

Overall, of those who experienced a violation after obtaining a DVO, 62% indicated they talked to the police, to the county attorney (2%), or to a judge for contempt of court charges (1%) with no difference by area or by violation group (65% reported the violation to some entity within the criminal justice system). Figure 17 shows that of those who officially reported a violation, 27.9% said the PO partner was arrested, although more were arrested in the urban area (37.5%) than in the rural area (19.4%, $X^2(1)=2.74$, $p<.10$).

And of those who reported violations and reported that the PO partner was arrested, 91.7% of urban PO partners had an official charge during the follow-up period compared to 42.9% of rural PO partners ($X^2(1)=5.43$, $p<.05$).

Figure 17 highlights the considerable attrition from violations to actual charges. Starting at the top with the number of victims who experienced a violation ($n=105$), followed by those who reported the violation to the justice system ($n=68$), then those who reported there was an arrest ($n=19$), then those who had any charge in the court record during the 6 month follow-up period ($n=14$), suggests that, overall, only 18% of violation cases resulted in arrest and only 13% had any kind of charge during the follow-up period.

Figure 17. Violations, arrests, and charges



Also, those who experienced violations and reported them to criminal justice officials experienced the same number of violations on average (12.3) as those who did not report violations, after adjusting for area and follow-up physical violence severity index score. However, of those who experienced violations, those who reported violations to the criminal justice system experienced more severe violence (6.2 versus 3.7, $F(1, 101)=3.5$, $p<.10$) than those who did not report violations.

Official data for those who experienced any violation during the follow-up period and who reported the violations to the criminal justice system are presented in Table 37 below. More urban PO partners had any charges during the 6 month follow period, and specifically more narrow domestic violence related charges than rural PO partners. Over half of the urban PO partners who violated the PO and who were reported to the justice system had PO violation charges and just over one-fifth had Assault 4th domestic violence charges compared to less than 3% of the rural PO partners. There were few stalking charges regardless of area.

Table 37. Of those with reported violations, charges during the follow-up period by area

	Urban (n=32)	Rural (n=36)	Total (n=68)
Any felony or misdemeanor charges ($X^2(1)=5.79$, $p<.05$)	62.5%	33.3%	47.1%*
Any substance-related charges	15.6%	22.2%	19.1%
Narrow domestic violence charges ($X^2(1)=20.97$, $p<.001$)	56.2%	5.6%	29.4%***
Assault 4 th domestic violence ($X^2(1)=5.95$, $p<.05$)	21.9%	2.8%	11.8%*
Violation of a protective order ($X^2(1)=22.06$, $p<.001$)	53.1%	2.8%	26.5%***
Stalking 1 st or 2 nd degree	6.2%	0%	2.9%

Because there were significant rural and urban differences for charges, Table 38 shows charges by violation group and area (only for those with reported violations).

For the urban area there were significant differences by violation group, with more of the PO partners in the Violation Plus Stalking group having any charge, and specifically, Assault 4th degree domestic violence charges and stalking charges. This is in stark contrast to the rural area, with more PO partners in the Violation but No Stalking group having any charges and specifically more narrow domestic violence charges than those from the Violation Plus Stalking group. It is also important to note that for the rural area, more PO partners from the Violation but No Stalking group were charged with substance-related charges than those in the Violation Plus Stalking group.

Table 38. Of those with reported violations, charges during the follow-up period by group and area

<u>Urban</u>	Violations (n=18)	Violations + Stalking (n=14)
Any felony or misdemeanor charges ($X^2(1)=2.74$, $p<.10$)	50%	78.6%*
Any substance-related charges	11.1%	21.4%
Narrow domestic violence charges	50%	64.3%
Assault 4 th domestic violence ($X^2(1)=6.4$, $p<.05$)	5.6%	42.9%*
Violation of a protective order	50%	57.1%
Stalking 1 st or 2 nd degree ($X^2(1)=2.74$, $p<.10$)	0%	14.3%*
<u>Rural</u>	Violations (n=13)	Violations + Stalking (n=23)
Any felony or misdemeanor charges ($X^2(1)=5.79$, $p<.05$)	46.2%	26.1%*
Any substance-related charges ($X^2(1)=3.11$, $p<.10$)	38.5%	13%*
Narrow domestic violence charges ($X^2(1)=3.75$, $p<.10$)	15.4%	0%*
Assault 4 th domestic violence	7.7%	0%
Violation of a protective order	7.7%	0%
Stalking 1 st or 2 nd degree	0%	0%

The next set of analyses focused on the relationship of reporting violations to the police and an arrest of the PO partner in one timeframe and the effect, if any, that it had on subsequent time periods (EPO incident, DVO period at baseline, follow-up 1 period, and follow-up 2 period).

Starting with the EPO incident, 73.8% reported talking to the police about the incident and there was no difference by area.

Of those who talked to the police about the EPO incident, more urban women indicated that the PO partner was arrested (44.7%) than did rural women (17.7%, $X^2(1)=13.22$, $p<.001$). There was no impact of arrest for the EPO incident on whether or not a violation occurred during the entire follow-up period; just over half experienced a violation regardless of arrest for the EPO incident. This pattern did not vary by area. Further, there did not appear to be any impact of an arrest for the EPO incident on the number of violations or the severity of physical violence during the entire 6 month follow-up period.

Because there was only one total arrest during the DVO period at baseline (19 days on average), subsequent analysis examined whether reporting violations to the police had any impact on later violations (see Table 39).

There was no significant difference in violations for follow-up 1 by area for those who experienced a DVO violation and talked to the police during the DVO period. However, of those who experienced a violation and talked to the police during the DVO period, 28.6% of the rural women ($n=4$ who were also all from the Violation Plus Stalking group) experienced a violation at follow-up 2 compared to 0% of urban women ($X^2(1)=2.8$, $p<.01$). There was no significant difference in violations at follow-up 2 for those who experienced a violation and talked to police during the follow-up 1 period.

Overall, it appears that an arrest for the EPO incident had little impact on subsequent violations. Further, it does not appear that talking to police in one period had much impact on future violations. Unfortunately the small numbers of reported violations and even smaller number of arrests within each time period make it difficult to examine the impact of violation reports and arrests on continuing violence with this sample. Thus, these results must be interpreted with caution.

Table 39. Violations, reports of violations, and arrests for each time period by area

	Urban (n=105)	Rural (n=105)	Total (n=210)
<i>DVO period violations at baseline ($X^2(1)=4.27, p<.05$)</i>	19%	31.4%	25.2%*
Of those with DVO period violations at baseline, % reported to the criminal justice system	40% (n=8)	45.5% (n=15)	43.4% (n=23)
Of those with a DVO period violation at baseline and who reported violations to the criminal justice system, % arrested	0% (n=0)	6.7% (n=1)	4.3% (n=1)
<i>FU 1 period violations</i>	21.9%	30.5%	26.2%
Of those with FU 1 violations, % reported to criminal justice system	69.6% (n=16)	53.1% (n=17)	60% (n=33)
Of those with FU 1 violations and who reported the violation to the criminal justice system, % arrested ($X^2(1)=7.34, p<.01$)	56.2% (n=9)	11.8% (n=2)	33.3%** (n=11)
<i>FU 2 period violations</i>	16.2%	23.8%	20%
Of those with FU 2 violations, % reported to the criminal justice system	58.8% (n=10)	56% (n=14)	57.1% (n=24)
Of those with FU 2 violations and who reported the violation to the criminal justice system, % arrested ($X^2(1)=7.34, p<.01$)	30% (n=3)	35.7% (n=5)	33.3% (n=8)

Victim Perceptions Of Protective Order Enforcement

To better understand victim perceptions, three questions were asked at each interview: (1) why they chose not to report a violation (for those who did not report at least one violation); (2) why they think the PO partner did not violate the PO (if there was any period where the PO was not violated); and, (3) why they thought the PO partner did violate the PO (if the PO partner violated the PO). Responses to each of these questions across all three interviews were combined and are shown in Tables 40, 41, and 42 below.

Before results of the open-ended questions are presented it is important to present some background information. Of women who experienced violations, when the number of violations and the number of times talked to the police were considered, there were significant differences by area. On average, urban women reported 74% of the total number of violations they experienced to the police; however, rural women, on average, reported 31% of the total number of violations they experienced to the police ($F(1,103)=3.19, p<.10$) although it is important to remember that, of those who experienced violations, rural women experienced more violations on average (15) than urban women (9, $F(1,103)=4.14, p<.10$).

However, when violation groups were examined there were no significant differences; overall, 51% of the total number of violations was reported to police regardless of violation group (Violation but No Stalking and Violation Plus Stalking). Because not every single violation was reported, the reasons for why women did or did not choose to report every violation is important to consider.

Table 40 displays, by area, the reasons women had for not reporting PO violations, if there were any violations that were not reported. There were no rural-urban differences. The biggest reason reported

was that they did not believe the justice system would take it seriously, either because they had not received help in the past, they did not feel the violation was that serious, there was no proof, or they believed they would be in trouble themselves or blamed somehow for the violation. See some examples below:

- *Because he is already on the run from the cops so I don't feel like they could do much for me if they haven't gotten him yet for the other charges against him.*
- *Because it's a pain in the ass. They aren't helpful. When I've called the cops in the past because the perpetrator was destroying the property and the cops said they couldn't do anything because it's a law in Kentucky that since we're married half the property is the perpetrator's so he can destroy it. Plus a lot of cops are men and so they take the perpetrator's side.*
- *Police had told me the last time that I called over a violation that they [the police] had to catch him breaking DVO.*
- *I just didn't want to deal with the hassle of reporting it and there's no way to prove it. It's my word against his.*
- *I was tired of speaking to police because they weren't helpful.*
- *I felt police wouldn't really do anything except give me the run-around.*
- *I thought him hitting me wasn't bad enough to call the police.*
- *It does no good. They are absolutely no help to me. He has to be in my house and beat me or my daughter before they do something. Maybe if he killed me it would get their attention.*

The next most frequently mentioned theme was that they did not report the violation because they did not want the PO partner to experience any negative consequences. Statements classified under this theme included:

- *I don't want to hurt the perpetrator more, or get him in trouble for just threatening me, he hasn't hit me.*
- *Because he has young kids and I didn't want him going to jail.*
- *I know he doesn't mean to be abusive; he just can't control his anger.*
- *Because he is on probation and would go to jail, I don't want to see him go to jail.*
- *I am trying to be nice to him and I don't want him to go to jail.*

One urban participant did not report violations of the PO in the second follow-up because she had reported a violation in the first follow-up and felt that the police charged the PO partner with things he did not do and put him in jail for all of those charges. She was afraid that if she reported a violation again the PO partner would be treated unfairly again.

“Bureaucracy” with reporting a violation was also mentioned as a reason for not reporting violations. This theme included statements like, “not really being sure of how to go about reporting the violation,” “planning on telling the judge next time I am in court,” and, “someone from the court system told me not to report telephone call violations but to just hang up.”

Approximately 11% of participants indicated they did not call the police because they just didn't want to deal with it or wanted it all to go away. Statements classified into this theme included:

- *I wished the abuse would stop. I just wanted it all to go away.*
- *I didn't want to bother with it. I wanted to put it behind me.*

- *I thought the perpetrator would stop calling me on his own if I ignored it.*
- *I was hoping the perpetrator would stop bothering me before I have to resort to taking him to court.*
- *I really don't want the perpetrator to go to jail. I just want him to leave me alone. I just want a divorce.*

Participants also mentioned that they did not report violations sometimes because it was too much to deal with or that they were too stressed to deal with the police or court. Some examples of statements that fit into the “too much-too stressed theme” are presented below:

- *I don't know. I guess I get tired of dealing with it. It's annoying to go to court.*
- *Because it takes me all day and then I'll miss work and I'll get nothing done.*
- *When he was calling me which was a violation of the EPO, I didn't call police because I was too stressed out and didn't feel like dealing with police.*
- *Because the court is in [town] and that's just too far away.*

A minority of women reported they were too afraid of the PO partner to report violations.

A very small proportion of women indicated they did not report violations because of their children. These women were concerned about the impact calling the police might have on their children and included statements like:

- *Didn't want to make a big deal out of it in front of kids.*
- *I don't want my kids to say I sent daddy to jail.*
- *Didn't want to explain to kids why daddy had to go to jail.*
- *Don't want kids to hate me for sending daddy to jail.*

Table 40. Reasons for not reporting violations EPO/DVO by area

	Urban (n=105)	Rural (n=105)	Total (n=210)
The justice system won't take it seriously	40%	41%	40.5%
Don't want the PO partner to experience negative consequences	17.1%	14.3%	15.7%
Bureaucracy	12.4%	14.3%	13.3%
Just wanted it all to go away	9.5%	11.4%	10.5%
Too much—too stressed	9.5%	12.4%	11%
Afraid of the PO partner	9.5%	8.6%	9%
Children	4.8%	4.8%	4.8%

Reasons for not reporting were also examined by violation group (see Table 41). More of those from the Violation Plus Stalking group indicated they did not report violations because there was no point, because there was no proof, or because of bureaucracy. On the other hand, more of the Violation but No Stalking group indicated they did not report violations because they did not feel they were serious enough.

Table 41. Reasons for not reporting violations of EPO/DVO by violation group

	Violations no Stalking (n=54)	Violations + Stalking (n=51)
<i>The justice system won't take it seriously</i>	62.3%	76.9%
No point ($X^2(2)=3.46$, $p<.10$)	34%	51.9%*
Not that serious ($X^2(1)=4.88$, $p<.05$)	43.4%	23.1%*
No proof ($X^2(2)=9.73$, $p<.01$)	9.4%	34.6%**
Don't want the PO partner to experience negative consequences	34%	23.1%
Just wanted it all to go away	20.8%	17.3%
Bureaucracy ($X^2(2)=3.66$, $p<.10$)	15.1%	30.8%*
Too much—too stressed	15.1%	19.2%
Afraid of PO partner	13.2%	15.4%
Children	13.2%	5.8%

Participants were also asked why they thought the PO partner did not violate the protective order if there was a period (EPO period, DVO period at baseline, follow-up 1, or follow-up 2) with no violations (see Table 42). The overwhelming majority of women reported that the PO partner did not violate the PO because he did not want to go to jail or back to jail.

- *I think he is devastated with everything that has happened and the way his life has gone. He has had so much legal trouble lately I don't think he wants to contact me and go back to jail.*
- *Because he doesn't want to go to jail.*
- *He is scared of being arrested.*
- *Because the judge informed him that he would go to jail if he violates DVO order.*
- *Because he was scared to go back to jail.*
- *He spent two days during the EPO period in jail due to outstanding warrants, failure to appear, failure to pay fines, and for no fishing license. He is afraid to go back to jail.*
- *Because he understood what EPO meant; he knew I wasn't playing and he is scared of jail.*
- *Because he is scared of me calling the police and scared of going to jail.*
- *Because he knows he could go to jail if he contacts me; or he is coming to terms with the restrictions and consequences of the DVO.*

About one-fifth of participants indicated that the PO partner did not violate the PO because he was in jail, although more urban women said this than rural women.

Also, one-fifth of the participants said he hadn't violated the PO because the PO partner loves her and wants the relationship to work, he wants help or wants to change, because they think the PO partner has changed, or they think that the treatment program helped him change. More urban women said this than rural women as well.

Almost one-fifth of participants indicated that the perpetrator did not violate the PO because he realized that she was serious about stopping the abuse and that she would not continue to put up with it.

Close to 15% of participants indicated that the PO partner did not violate the PO because he had moved on with his life. Some examples of statements classified into this theme include:

- *Because he doesn't care and is not interested in working things out.*
- *He is with another woman now, and he was shocked that I had gotten EPO because I don't usually take up for myself.*
- *Because he doesn't care about me.*
- *He is with another woman.*

A few women indicated that the PO partner had limited access to her; she thinks he is just waiting for the right time to get her.

Another theme was that the PO partner was afraid of other social consequences (e.g., losing his gun, losing his job), because of family pressure, or because he is not using substances any more.

Reasons why the PO partner did not violate the PO were also examined by violation group. However, the only significant difference was that fewer women from the Violation Plus Stalking group reported that the PO partner was afraid of the law (63.5%) than women from the Violation but No Stalking group (79.2%, $\chi^2(1)=3.2$, $p<.10$).

Table 42. Reasons why the PO partner did not violate the EPO/DVO by area

	Urban (n=105)	Rural (n=105)	Total (n=210)
He doesn't want trouble with the law	83.8%	75.2%	79.5%
He was in jail ($\chi^2(1)=4.29$, $p<.05$)	25.7%	14.3%	20%*
He loves me, wants help, changed, treatment helped ($\chi^2(1)=3$, $p<.10$)	24.8%	15.2%	20%*
He realized I was serious	20%	16.2%	18.1%
He has moved on-does not care anymore	11.4%	18.1%	14.8%
His access is limited because he does not know where I am or there are others around me most of the time	10.5%	7.6%	9%
He is waiting to strike	6.7%	6.7%	6.7%
He is afraid of other social consequences	3.8%	3.8%	3.8%
Family pressure	4.8%	2.9%	3.8%
He was clean ($\chi^2(1)=8.3$, $p<.01$)	7.6%	0%	3.8%*

On the other hand, women who had experienced any violation of the protective order were asked about their perceptions of why the PO partner violated the PO (see Table 43). Just over one-third reported that the PO partner simply did not take the order seriously or that he wanted to harass, control, or check up on her. For example,

- *He violated EPO to see what I am up to and to make me mad.*
- *Because he was trying to put fear in me.*
- *Perpetrator has been verbally abusive and threatening me because he wants control over the situation.*
- *Because he wants me back so he can have control.*
- *He was being nosy and while I was at a friend's house, he was lying in the backyard of my friend's house spying on me.*
- *Because he is just violent and has done it so long; he doesn't know how to control his violence. He is a control freak too.*
- *He told me he didn't care about the DVO order.*
- *Because he was just being mean and he thinks he's above the law.*

Also, almost one-third of the participants indicated that the PO partner just wanted to talk or to get back together. Examples of statements that were classified into this theme include:

- *Because he loves me and wanted to tell me he was sorry.*
- *He wants to get back together with me and for me to drop all charges.*
- *Because he wants me to run back to him and forgive him.*
- *Because he keeps thinking that I am just mad at him and that I will get over it. He keeps thinking we are going to get back together.*
- *Because he wasn't supposed to call, but he knew what he did was wrong and called to apologize. He also tried to make me feel guilty because he didn't have anywhere to go.*
- *Because he wanted to talk to me and wanted to see the baby.*

Only about 8% of participants indicated that the PO partner contacted her because the PO partner wanted her to drop the PO or pending criminal charges.

There were no significant differences for any of these themes by violation group.

Table 43. Reasons the PO partner violated the EPO/DVO by area

	Urban (n=105)	Rural (n=105)	Total (n=210)
<i>Did not take it serious and wanted to harass me</i>	33.3%	38.1%	35.7%
Did not take it serious ($\chi^2(1)=4, p<.05$)	16.2%	27.6%	21.95*
To harass me, control me, check up on me	21.9%	17.1%	19.5%
He just wanted to talk or to get back together	27.6%	25.7%	26.7%
He wanted me to drop the PO	9.5%	5.7%	7.6%

SUBSTUDY 2 SUMMARY

It appears that protective orders provide some with justice, but to others, they are just pieces of paper. That leaves a bigger question to be answered. Specifically, for whom do protective orders work best, and under what circumstances? This substudy sought to potentially provide some answers to these questions and to identify some areas of strength and weakness in order to increase access to protective orders as well as enforcement. There were six main conclusions from this substudy. First, although there were some similarities between rural and urban women, there were also some important differences. Second, obtaining a protective order takes an inordinate amount of courage and persistence to overcome obstacles. Also, it is clear that women consider a variety of factors in deciding whether to report violations. Third, the vast majority of perpetrators had a history of charges, incarceration, and convictions before the DVOs were issued against them. Fourth, protective orders were associated with significant reductions in violence during the 6 month follow-up period. Fifth, stalking plays a considerable yet unrecognized role in ongoing violence, fear, and frustration for victims. And sixth, strong enforcement, especially for stalking victims, seemed to be lacking in this study regardless of area. Below are more details for each of these results.

- **The rural and urban women in the study had some important similarities.** Women who obtained protective orders and participated in this study were, on average, in their early 30s although the ages ranged from 18 to 63 years old. Participants, regardless of area, had extensive histories of abuse by the PO partner. Median incomes were also similar across area but were much lower than those reported from the census data, suggesting study participants had more limited financial resources than the general population in each of these areas. Also, almost 70% of the women in the study had children younger than 18 years old, signifying that the abuse not only affected the participants but also their children.
- **Rural women were more entrenched in the relationship and experienced more severe violence and fear.** Specifically, more rural than urban women were or had been married to the PO partner, had been in the relationship longer, had children younger than 18 years old (just over 50% of urban women compared to about 80% of rural women), had children in common with the PO partner, and were unemployed in the year prior to the DVO. Rural women also endured more severe violence and more of them reported serious threats of harm to close others as well as threats and actual harm from a knife or gun than did urban women. Also, more rural than urban women reported fear of future harm from the PO partner at the baseline interview as well as at the 6 month follow-up interview. At the same time, more rural than urban women were separated from the PO partners at the time of the EPO incidents and fewer rural women maintained relationships with the PO partners after the DVOs were obtained.
- **There are significant barriers to obtaining a protective order.** Consistent with key informant responses that identified a number of barriers to protective orders this substudy of victims strongly suggests that there are a number of obstacles and inconveniences women must endure to obtain a protective order regardless of jurisdiction. In fact, many of the same barriers were mentioned by both the key informants and the victims. In particular, high proportions of both samples mentioned the difficulty in navigating the system as a barrier to obtaining a protective order, that politics and bias play a role in accessibility of protective orders, and that women must overcome a number of acceptability barriers (e.g., fear of perpetrator retaliation, embarrassment, their lack of faith in the system, and their fear of being blamed or not believed).

Particular barriers and obstacles were more salient for women from rural or urban jurisdictions. For example, more urban women mentioned problems navigating the system, not having knowledge or support during the process, fear of facing the perpetrator, and transportation difficulties than rural women. On the other hand, more rural women mentioned politics and the difficulty of getting the EPO signed by the judge and served as barriers. Rural women also reported spending more time, on average, obtaining the EPO and more on transportation costs for the EPO and the DVO than did urban women. Even with so much effort put forth by the rural women, they received shorter DVOs, on average, than urban women did.

- **The decisional context for women experiencing ongoing abuse after a protective order is important to examine.** As mentioned in the introduction, there are decisions that are made at the victim level including deciding whether or not a violation has occurred, and, if so, whether and where to report the violation. It is clear that women do not report every single violation and that their decisions about whether or not to report the violation take into consideration the seriousness of the violation, proof, and past history of the justice system response. Results also suggest that women want the violence to stop but do not necessarily want the perpetrator to go to jail. These goals meet the spirit of what the civil protective order was meant to do. However, when the PO is violated, sometimes women's goals are not met. Some women want the perpetrator punished and almost seem to be defeated because of the lack of response from the criminal justice system. Others do not want the perpetrator to go to jail such that they continue to put up with violations, especially if they are perceived by the victim as not that serious.

Closely related to the notion of goals, women appear to do a kind of cost-benefit analysis for whether or not to report the violation, trading off the seriousness of the violation with the probability that anything, or nothing, would come from reporting the violation to the justice system. Women also appear to consider whether reporting a violation might result in retaliation from the PO partner for "stirring things up." Other reasons some women indicated they did not report violations included statements about not wanting to harm the perpetrator and not wanting the children to see their father in trouble. This seemingly careful consideration of factors about whether or not to report a violation stands in stark contrast to some of the key informant responses suggesting women are vindictive toward the perpetrators on one hand, and on the other hand that they just do not care about enforcing the violation.

Consistent with many women's fears, of those who experienced a violation and reported the violation, few perpetrators were arrested and even fewer had official charges that were noted in their court records. This trend was even greater for cases from the rural area. For example, of those who reported violations, more urban perpetrators were charged with domestic violence-related charges than were rural perpetrators (56% versus 6%). These low charge rates may be the reason rural women reported a smaller proportion of violations (31%) than urban women (74%) even though the rural women experienced more violations on average (15) than urban women (9).

The decisional context that victims consider must be understood from all sides including justice system and victim service personnel in order to best meet victim safety needs. These results also highlight the importance of understanding victims' perceptions of contextual differences in obtaining and enforcing protective orders.

- **Perpetrators had extensive histories of involvement in the criminal justice system and other characteristics that should be considered when addressing partner violence.** Over three-fourths of perpetrators had prior charges (mostly unrelated to partner violence crimes), with the average being 9 charges and over 60% had prior convictions. Also, close to 60% had substance-related charges. Further, close to 90% had been incarcerated. These characteristics were present for rural and urban perpetrators. However, more rural perpetrators were unemployed and more were on disability than urban perpetrators. This means that they may have more time to spend around the house with access to the victims, or more time to stalk and harass them.
- **Protective orders are effective in reducing abuse and violence.** Only half of the participants, regardless of area, indicated that the DVO was violated during the 6 month follow-up. Even for those who did experience violations, violence and fear of future harm were significantly reduced during the follow-up period. However, of those who experienced violations, rural women experienced more violations, on average, than urban women. And, rural women continued to be more fearful of future harm from the PO partner than urban women.
- **Victims indicated they thought the protective order was effective.** The majority of women, regardless of area, felt the protective order was effective. Only 4.3% of women dropped the order by the end of the 6 month follow-up. When asked why they thought PO partners did not violate the DVO, the majority of women indicated it was because the PO partner was afraid of going to jail.
- **Partner stalking is a significant risk factor for ongoing violence and fear.** Stalking was significantly associated with violations even after controlling for a variety of factors, such as severity of physical and sexual violence 6 months before the DVO was issued, involvement of the PO partner in the criminal justice system 6 months before the DVO was issued, number of days in the relationship during the follow-up period, and other relevant factors. Being stalked was also associated with more fear of future harm and with lower perceptions of DVO effectiveness. At the same time that stalking wreaks havoc on the victims' lives, the criminal justice system does not seem to be acknowledging it as a serious issue, as evidenced by few to no charges of stalking and the lack of differences in arrests or charges for victims who experienced violations but no stalking and victims who experienced violations plus stalking. Further, stalking victims seemed more pessimistic about their ability to obtain help from the criminal justice system, as evidenced by their reasons for not reporting violations. More stalking victims indicated they did not believe the criminal justice system would do anything about the ongoing violence and harassment, and that it would be too difficult to prove, basically rendering them with little hope of protection.
- **Partner stalking does not seem to be aggressively addressed through the justice system.** Overall there were very few domestic-violence related charges in general and specifically very few stalking charges noted in the official records for this study. However, although there were few charges overall during the 6 month follow-up for perpetrators who had a PO violation reported to the police, there were more domestic violence-related charges in the urban area for PO partners who violated the PO and stalked the victim compared to PO partners who violated the PO but did not stalk the victim. This trend is reversed for the rural area. More rural PO partners who violated the PO but did not stalk the victims had charges, especially substance abuse and domestic violence-related charges, than PO partners who violated the PO and stalked

the victims. This striking contrast may be related to a greater disregard on the part of the rural justice system of the seriousness of stalking.

Results from this substudy help to answer several questions that are currently gaps in the research literature on protective order effectiveness. The question from substudy 1, does context matter, can be more fully answered when this study's results are combined with results from substudy 1. Context does not appear to impact the number of victims who experience protective order violations. Further, stalking is a significant risk factor for protective order violations regardless of area. Context does seem to matter with regard to barriers to obtaining protective orders and with regard to protective order enforcement. The rural area may have had a less effective response, in part, due to higher victim blaming attitudes that appeared to be more prevalent in the rural area based on the key informant interviews and literature about the rural culture identified in substudy 1. In answer to the question posed in the current study, for whom do protective orders work best and under what circumstances, it appears that protective orders work best for victims who are not being stalked by the violent partner before the protective order was issued, and for those who live in the urban area.

This substudy also has a number of limitations which must be noted. First, the sample size was relatively small and the follow-up time of 6 months was relatively short. Because the sample size was small the enforcement results must be interpreted with caution. Also, it is possible that with a longer follow-up period more women may experience a violation of the protective order. However, the results on protective order effectiveness in these same two selected rural and urban areas were generally replicated in an earlier study that incorporated a larger sample (756 women) and a longer follow-up (12-months) (Logan & Walker, 2009a).

Enforcement was difficult to measure in this study because women do not always know the legal outcomes of a reported violation. At the same time, it is difficult to distinguish partner violence-related charges in official court records given that a variety of charges can result from a domestic violence call. It is also possible that there is a delay in reporting a charge from the local courthouse to the Administrative Office of the Courts and perhaps some of the charges in the 6 month follow-up period were from the first 6 month period (e.g., charges from the EPO incident, violation of the EPO), or perhaps some of the charges that were incurred had not yet been officially noted in the record when the records were obtained for the study.

In conclusion, several issues are highlighted by Emily's story and underscored with study results. First and most importantly, the civil and criminal justice systems are the key to safety for women experiencing terror from partner violence. The efforts that many in the justice system put into this crime must be recognized and applauded. Certainly the results of this study and others suggest there are still inroads to be made, but these inroads must build on the strengths that are present in every jurisdiction.

Second, it takes courage to face not only a person who has put you through unspeakable terror but also to face the court system which can be overwhelming and sometimes difficult to navigate or predict. Emily revealed during the course of her interview that she was very afraid to reveal the details of what transpired that terrible day that initiated the EPO and criminal process. The ambiguity about how the justice system would respond to her story and what would happen once she did disclose likely increased her anxiety, stress, and fear levels. Not only is it embarrassing to admit this had happened to her in a public forum, but she had to overcome all of the stress and anxiety associated with the justice system processes.

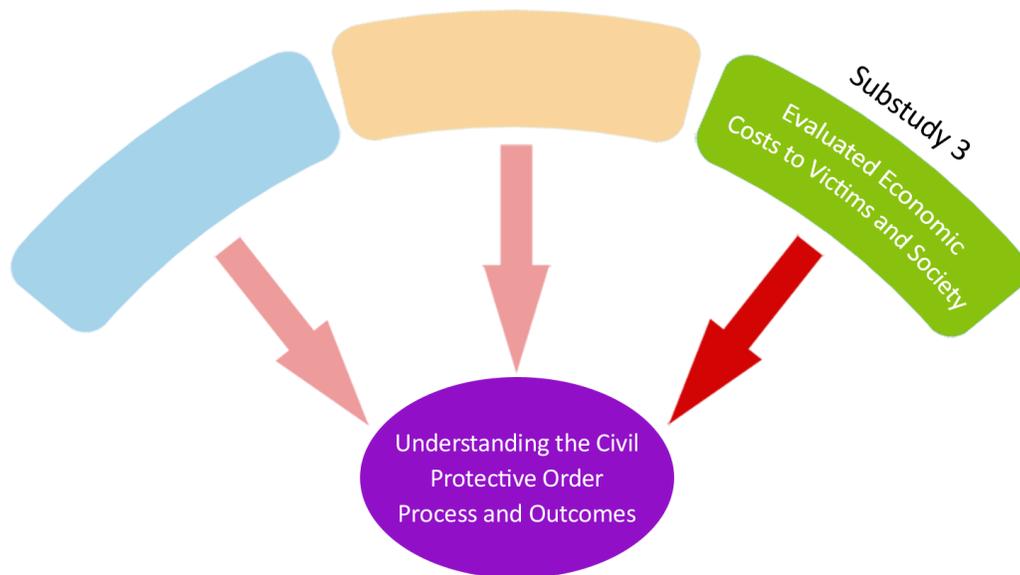
Third, it is critically important to remember that what is revealed during the EPO petition and DVO hearing only provides a small glimpse into the daily terror, harassment, degradation, threats, and other kinds of abuse women deal with and provides almost no picture of the lasting financial, emotional, and physiological effects the abuse will have on a person in the future, even if perpetrators are removed from their lives. As in Emily's case, the consequences of what happened to her during this relatively short relationship will likely stay with her for a very long time. Likewise, the fear she lives with regarding what Peter might do when he is released from jail will linger. It is important for justice system personnel to realize that what they see and hear is likely a shallow picture of what really happened in the past and what may happen in the future when she walks out the courtroom door. Luckily, Emily did get justice and peace from turning to the criminal and civil system, at least temporarily.

One remaining question is whether or not one can put a price on quality of life and relief from being verbally, psychologically, and physically battered on a regular basis. The next study, substudy 3, will attempt to answer that question.

SUBSTUDY 3:

COSTS OF PROTECTIVE ORDERS VERSUS PARTNER VIOLENCE: IS IT REALLY WORTH IT?

Figure For Substudy 3: The Kentucky Civil Protective Order Study Components



Stalking Victim Seeks And Finally Finds Relief

Lauren was a 27 year old urban woman who was currently attending college. Lauren was in a relationship with Mike for five years. They had moved from the Seattle area to Kentucky during their relationship but had been separated for three years prior to Lauren's obtaining a DVO. Lauren experienced severe physical and psychological abuse from Mike. For example, Mike would sometimes lock the refrigerator during finals week so that she could not eat. He would sometimes pour buckets of water on her as she was leaving to take her exams, forcing her to take the tests soaking wet. When they got to Kentucky, Mike told her that Kentucky was different from Seattle and that he could "do whatever he wanted and nothing would happen to him." Lauren reported that Mike had stalked her during their relationship and during periods of separation, including all six months before she obtained the DVO. Even though they had been separated for years and Mike had a new girlfriend, he continued to follow her, read her mail, harass her friends and family about her, had a friend sometimes follow her, and called her repeatedly. The final straw for Lauren was one day when Mike called her at work and threatened to take her car, house, and dog. He also threatened to come to her workplace and "show how serious he was." After she hung up on him, he called back fifteen more times. That day she filed for an EPO.

Mike's current girlfriend called her after the EPO was in effect and left a message from Mike saying that Lauren could have custody of the dog, and that he was only fighting for the dog to have control over her. She did not report this third party contact to the police because she didn't feel threatened and also because she feared it would make Mike mad, and that if he became angry enough he might change his mind and fight for custody of the dog. She did, however, tape-record the message and played it in court during the DVO hearing. Lauren was frustrated with the DVO hearing because she felt the judge disregarded the EPO violation and because Mike lied under oath and the judge overlooked it. However, Lauren did receive a 3-year no-contact DVO. Mike did not violate the DVO one time during the six month follow-up. Lauren believed that he did not violate the DVO because he was afraid of going to jail. Lauren reported finally feeling safe and was excited about finishing college and what the future held for her.

Stalking Victim Seeks Respite To No Avail

Sarah was a 22 year old rural woman who had started dating Eric when she was 16 years old. They had two children together. Sarah and Eric had separated two months before she obtained the EPO; however, Eric took the kids while she was running an errand and when she called the police, the police advised her to get back together with Eric to get the kids and then leave with them when she felt safe enough to do so. The next month they separated again and she filed for an EPO shortly after. Sarah had endured years of abuse and stalking. Eric stalked her while they were in the relationship and during periods of separation. Most recently he had been following her, driving by her home and work, watching her at home and work, showing up unexpectedly at various places, waiting for her where he expected her to be, harassing others to get information about her, and leaving her numerous threatening phone calls. Sarah sought a protective order after Eric tried to run her off the road and into a semi-truck and also for the constant threatening phone calls. The judge granted Sarah a six month no-contact DVO and ordered Eric to stay at least 1000 feet away from her and to stay away from her work.

Sarah believed the DVO was useless because it did not stop Eric from calling, threatening her, or continually stalking her on a daily basis. He even called her family and harassed them regularly. The few times she had called the police they were not helpful. Several times they told her that they couldn't help her unless they caught him in the act of violating the protective order so she should call them next time

he was violating the order. For example, one day Eric showed up at her work and yelled at her to come home. When she said no, he ripped his shirt off and began punching her car and threatening her. A co-worker called the police, but Eric had gone before they got there. The police told Sarah to call them if he came back to her workplace. Over the course of the six month follow-up period, Eric violated the DVO over 150 times and Sarah spent almost \$4,000 fixing property that Eric had damaged. Sarah reported being stressed and depressed because of the abuse every single day six months before the DVO and every single day the six months after the DVO was issued. She didn't feel that she would likely report future violations to the police because the police were not very helpful and had repeatedly refused to arrest him.

INTRODUCTION

The two stories above illustrate disparate protective order outcomes. The first story exemplified a positive outcome—one which provided relief after many years of abuse, harassment, and stalking. In the second story not only was the criminal justice system response ineffective but may have actually been harmful to Sarah by showing Eric there were no consequences for violating the order and by decreasing Sarah's quality of life due, in part, to her frustration with not being able to obtain help.

As shown in substudy 2, civil protective orders reduced abuse and violence for most of the victims in the study. However, public policies must be based not only on the outcomes for the affected individuals, but also for society at large. In substudy 1, key community professionals who are involved in the protective order process indicated they had concerns about multiple crimes in their communities. In many cases law enforcement and court resources are limited and allocating them to one crime type may limit resources toward another. However, to justify the allocation of justice system resources to the processing and enforcement of protective orders – even though they are shown to be effective – it is necessary to also establish the cost effectiveness of an intervention such as protective orders. This substudy focused on quantifying the costs of partner violence before and after a protective order was obtained and examined the economic impact of protective orders after accounting for the costs associated with protective orders.

Although a few studies on the costs of violence against women suggest that partner violence exacts a significant toll on society (e.g., Max et al., 2003; Miller, Cohen, & Wisersema, 1996), cost estimates often vary. The differences in cost estimates arise for several reasons including differing definitions of partner violence, differences in which specific costs were included in the analysis, different methodologies used to estimate costs, and different estimates of specific costs such as the cost of a dental or doctor visit.

Two main categories of costs that are often considered in the cost estimates of social or health problems are direct and indirect costs (World Health Organization, 2008). *Direct costs* are those that require actual payments by individuals or institutions. These costs can be divided into medical and non-medical costs and are most often considered when thinking about the direct victim costs of partner violence. For example, the costs most often mentioned by key informants (80% of the categories) in substudy 1 were direct costs such as health services, mental health services, and victim safety services as well as non-medical direct costs such as civil or criminal justice system costs.

Indirect costs include resources and opportunities that were lost to victims as a result of abuse and violence. This category of costs includes reduced productivity (e.g., lost time at work, lost time for caregiver duty, lost time for other activities), transportation costs, and lost personal property or

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property damages. Also included in this category are indirect intangible costs such as health-related quality of life, often referred to in civil litigation or as part of victim impact testimony as “pain and suffering” resulting from a crime or violence.

Few studies have incorporated a wide variety of costs and then examined potential reduced costs after a justice system intervention. One way to frame reduced costs after an intervention is to think of them as *avoided costs* to society. In other words, if it is assumed that costs before an intervention are stable, then it is assumed that the costs would have continued without the intervention. Thus, any reduced costs due to the intervention can be thought of as avoided costs. Using an analysis of avoided costs, it is possible to show whether there is a benefit to society at large.

Specifically, this substudy examined: (1) direct and indirect victim costs incurred as a result of the abuse 6 months before and 6 months after the protective order was obtained in addition to criminal justice costs; (2) differences in costs before and after the protective order was issued; (3) avoided costs relative to protective order intervention costs; and (4) estimates of the statewide impact of avoided costs relative to the costs of a protective order. Costs were examined overall and separately for the rural versus urban area as well as for three groups: (a) those who experienced no protective order violations, (b) those who experienced protective order violations but no stalking, and (c) those who experienced protective order violations plus stalking.

SUBSTUDY 3 METHOD

Estimates of Costs Incurred

Direct Costs

A Life History Calendar was used in the victim interviews to anchor important events over the course of the 12 months of the study (6 months before the DVO and the 6 months after the DVO). Women were asked direct questions about services utilized to cope with the abuse for each month. Monthly assessments and anchoring time with key life events facilitated recall and helped women separate service use associated with the abuse from service use unrelated to the abuse. Questions to assess tangible costs of partner violence for the study sample were developed using methodology from prior studies (Cohen, 2001; Max et al., 2003; Miller et al., 1996) and in collaboration with Dr. William Hoyt, the economic consultant for this study. Dr. Mark Cohen Justin Potter, Professor of American Competitive Enterprise and Professor of Law, Owen Graduate School of Management, Vanderbilt University, was also consulted by telephone at the beginning of this project regarding the development of the interview protocol and cost categories to include.

Women were prompted to report service utilization for doctor, dental, and emergency room visits, urgent treatment care, hospital use, ambulance, and physical therapy visits for each of 6 months before the DVO was obtained and for each of the 6 months after the DVO was obtained. Mental health services were also assessed by asking about specific use of mental health counseling, psychiatry, marriage counseling, pastoral counseling, group therapy for mental health or substance abuse, and residential substance abuse treatment.

Victim services utilization included information about the use of a victim advocate, crisis line, in-person crisis counselor, and nights stayed in a domestic violence shelter or homeless shelter. Use of legal services, including private attorneys and legal aid attorneys, was assessed.

The number of times that women reported talking to the police and the number of nights victims reported that the perpetrator was in jail before and after the DVO was used along with information from court records. Charges and convictions were extracted from official court records for the study time period.

Tangible and Intangible Indirect Costs

Women were also asked a series of questions about time missed from work and other family and civic responsibilities including household chores, childcare, other family care, school, and volunteer activities due to the abuse. Transportation costs directly related to court, prosecution, or other justice system activities were assessed. Also, the value of lost or damaged property for each month was reported.

To fully evaluate the impact of domestic violence on its victims and the costs and benefits of any programs intended to address it, it is important to attempt to quantify the impact of violence and its impact on quality of life for victims (Cohen, 1999; 2005; Cohen & Miller, 1998). Women were asked to detail the number of days that they experienced serious stress, depression or anxiety due to the abuse. They were asked to do this for each of the 6 months before and the 6 months after the issuance of the protective order. The maximum number of days for any one of the three conditions was used as an index of the negative impact on quality of life.

Cost Sources

The next step was to attach specific dollar values for each reported incurred cost. Local and state data were used where possible. The final cost estimates used in the analysis and the sources are noted in Tables 44, 45, and 46.

Table 44 provides more details about the direct health-related cost estimates. Direct costs, such as doctor visits, were estimated based on state Medicaid data for females 18 years and older. For these estimates it is important to note that the data represent only fee-for-service claims that are not Medicare cross-over cases. Estimates are for the billed average per claim for females 18+ for each type of provider (Kentucky Department of Public Health, Division of Epidemiology and Health Planning, 2008).

Several estimates were based on average Kentucky hourly rates for the specific profession (Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2007).

Mental health service costs include the costs associated with a visit to a mental health professional, psychiatrist, marriage counselor, or pastor. Each of these is measured as the number of hours of use with the exception of a visit to a psychiatrist which was estimated at 30 minutes per use, the cost of a group therapy session (1.5 hours), and the cost of residential substance abuse treatment (per day).

Most of the mental health service costs were estimated using the 2006 annual cost report compiled by the Kentucky Department of Mental Health, Developmental Disabilities and Addiction Services

(Kentucky Department of Mental Health, Developmental Disabilities, and Addiction Services, 2007). This report is a composite of cost reports filed by each of the 14 regional community mental health centers who provide publicly-funded treatment services in Kentucky. The costs included both Medicaid-funded services as well as services funded by federal block grants or by state general funds. Cost reports follow the cost accounting procedures recognized by the Center for Medicare and Medicaid Services (CMS). The reports show actual and allowed costs of services independent of charges or actual reimbursements. Reported costs include only those direct and allocated costs that are tied to allowable activities. So, for example, staffing time devoted to prevention services is deducted from the Medicaid per unit service cost estimates because prevention is not an allowed cost under the Kentucky Medicaid Program. All allowed costs are bundled by service category and are divided by the number of client service units to arrive at estimated cost per unit of service. Thus, the proportion of all staff time devoted to outpatient services (both direct services time and indirect time such as record-keeping) is allocated to the outpatient cost modality. This aggregated cost is then divided by the number of units of service provided to arrive at the unit cost of outpatient treatment. The urban area estimates were mean costs of services for the Bluegrass Region and the selected rural area estimates were mean costs for the Kentucky River and Mountain Comprehensive Care Center Regions that served women in the rural area.

Psychiatric inpatient treatment was derived using data from 36 psychiatric facilities from several cities across the nation (Cromwell et al., 2005). Within facilities, one to three routine care units were selected in a non-random manner in order to ensure significant numbers of Medicare patients and a mix of specialty care (e.g., geriatric, med-psych). The primary data were provided by all staff seeing patients on a study unit over a 7-day period using an adjusted estimate of the number of staff minutes for each patient on each shift termed “resource intensity” (RI). Shift RIs were then summed to the patient-day level. Because occupational groups have different hourly wage costs, they were weighted across 11 different groups (e.g., therapists, mental health specialists, psychiatrists) by a set of constant RN-relative wages. Primary data were augmented with information from the Medicare Cost Reports that detail each facility’s routine costs and the kinds of labor and non-labor resources assigned to the unit. Overhead costs were derived from general service cost centers.

Table 44. Direct health and mental health service costs

Cost Category	Cost Per Service Unit	Cost Source
<i>Health Service Costs*</i>		
Dental	\$205.10	2006 Fee-for-service Medicaid data females 18+
Doctor	\$277.24	2006 Fee-for-service Medicaid data females 18+
Emergency room	\$1,042.76	2006 Fee-for-service Medicaid data females 18+
Outpatient clinic (urgent treatment)	\$277.24	Estimated at the cost of a doctor visit
Hospital night	\$3,120.36	2006 Fee-for-service Medicaid data females 18+
Ambulance	\$973.85	2006 Fee-for-service Medicaid data females 18+
Physical therapy	\$34.38 per hour	Hourly wage per national labor statistics
<i>Mental Health Service Costs**</i>		
Mental health professional	\$124.32 Urban \$88.88 Rural	KY Department of Mental Health Services FY 06
Psychiatrist (30 minutes)	\$137.08 Urban \$123.37 Rural	KY Department of Mental Health Services FY 06
Marriage counselor	\$17.61 per hour	Average KY salary 2007
Pastor	\$20.44 per hour	Average KY salary 2007
Group therapy for mental health (1.5 hours)	\$39.99 urban \$28.38 rural	KY Department of Mental Health Services FY 06
Residential substance abuse treatment	\$92.11 per day urban \$128.30 per day rural	KY Department of Mental Health Services FY 06
Psychiatric inpatient	\$595 per day	Cromwell et al., 2005 Estimated in 2003 dollars

*Rural site costs were averaged across rural service areas. ** Mental health service costs were estimated in 1 hour units unless otherwise noted.

Table 45 shows the direct non-health related costs. Victim service costs were estimated from personal communication with three shelter directors (one in the selected urban area and two serving all four of the selected rural areas). Victim service costs include costs associated with the use of a victim advocate, crisis line, crisis counselor, domestic violence (DV) shelter nights, and homeless shelter nights. Total costs of victim services are based on the number of uses (contacts) of each of these services for each victim.

Legal fees are the costs of attorneys used by victims in proceedings related to domestic violence cases. These include the costs of legal aid attorneys and private attorneys; the costs are not necessarily paid for by the victim. The same cost (per hour) is applied to both legal aid and private lawyers using the average hourly wage for an attorney in Kentucky (Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2007).

The cost sources for charges and convictions were more challenging. After reviewing the literature and personally speaking with several nationally recognized economists including Dr. Cohen, costs were used from Aos, Miller, and Drake (2006). Aos et al. estimated costs of arrests from police and sheriffs' offices' expenditures. Expenditure data for each jurisdiction were obtained from the Washington State Auditor. Sub-categories such as DARE expenses were excluded. Arrest data were divided into violent felonies, non-violent felonies, and arrests for misdemeanor offenses (traffic arrests were not included). The

felony arrest cost source used for the current study was the lowest reported felony arrest estimate from the Aos et al. (2006) report. The conviction estimates were from “The marginal operating costs for court processing expenses were estimated with expenditure data from the Washington State Auditor and workload data from the Washington State Administrative Office of the Courts” (p. 38). Expenditures from district courts, municipal courts, family court fees, and law libraries were excluded from the total superior court expenditures. Also, the prosecutor expenditure data were adjusted to exclude the costs of the civil, consumer affairs, and child support enforcement divisions.

The average statewide cost of a night in jail was provided by Kentucky Department of Corrections for FY 2005-2006 (Kentucky Department of Corrections, 2008).

Each contact with the police was estimated to be one hour and an hourly rate was obtained from the Bureau of Labor Statistics.

Contempt of court DVO violations were estimated using the same methodology as the PO intervention costs which are described below.

Table 45. Direct non-medical costs

Cost Category	Cost Per Service Unit	Cost Source
<i>Victim Service Costs*</i>		
Victim advocate	\$6 per contact urban	Personal communication with shelter directors
	\$13 per contact rural	
Crisis line (phone)	\$6 per contact urban	Personal communication with shelter directors
	\$3.75 per contact rural	
Crisis counselor (face-to-face)	\$6 per contact urban	Estimated at the same as advocate per personal communication with shelter directors
	\$13 per contact rural	
DV shelter night	\$55 per night urban	Personal communication with shelter directors
	\$34 per night rural	
Homeless shelter night	\$15.31 per night urban	Personal communication with shelter director
	\$31 per night rural	
<i>Legal Fees</i>		
Legal aid attorney	\$41.41	Hourly wage in KY 2007
Private lawyer	\$41.41	Hourly wage in KY 2007
<i>Police and Justice System Costs</i>		
Felony charges/arrest	\$5,370	2004 dollars Used the lowest cost for a felony arrest from Aos, Miller, & Drake (2006)
Misdemeanor charges/arrest	\$305	2004 dollars from Aos, Miller, & Drake (2006)
Felony conviction	\$1,522	1996 dollars-used the lowest cost for a felony conviction from Aos, Miller, & Drake (2006)
Misdemeanor conviction	\$593	1996 dollars from Aos, Miller, & Drake (2006)
Night in jail	\$32.64	KY Department of Corrections FY 06
Police	\$18.10	Average hourly wages in KY given by the BLS (2007)
Contempt of court DVO violations	\$122.22	Estimates based in interviews and reviews by key court personnel

*Rural site costs were averaged across rural service areas.

Table 46 displays information about lost opportunities, mileage, and property. Though the survey instrument provided information on earnings, the minimum wage was used to value the lost earnings associated with time lost from employment due to the abuse (there was little difference whether the minimum wage was used or whether the participant reported wage was used to estimate costs).

The survey also assessed estimates of lost time in other activities including household chores, childcare, other family care, school, and volunteer activities. These are aggregated together into the category of Family and Civic Responsibilities. Following the practice of assuming that the alternative use of time in these activities could be time in compensated employment, the minimum wage was used as the cost of a foregone hour from one of these activities.

Mileage and transportation costs were based on the estimated travel of the victims specifically associated with partner violence including criminal proceedings, legal advice, and health and medical care due to the abuse. However, most of the participants reported only mileage directly related to justice system activities. For reported mileage, the official Internal Revenue Service (IRS) mileage rate was applied (Internal Revenue Service, 2007).

Estimates by the victims of lost or damaged property attributable to the actions of the PO partner are included in the category “Lost Property.”

The final cost in the indirect costs category is the quality of life index. To create an estimated value for the cost of a day of stress, anxiety, or depression due to the abuse, the cost of an outpatient visit to a mental health professional was used. While this proxy may be controversial, in the absence of an established quality of life cost barometer, this proxy at least provides one way to characterize the impact of a full day of depression, serious stress, or anxiety. This cost source is a fairly conservative estimate and does not account for any medication women may be taking to reduce stress, anxiety, or depression due to the abuse. Further, it is well-documented that sustained periods of stress, anxiety, or depression have a significant impact on health and other areas of life (Logan, Walker, Jordan, & Leukefeld, 2006d).

Table 46. Tangible and intangible indirect costs

Cost Category	Cost and Source
<i>Employment and Lost Earnings*</i>	
Employment	Minimum Wage (\$5.85 in 2007)
<i>Family and Civic Responsibilities*</i>	
Household chores	Minimum Wage
Childcare	Minimum Wage
Other family care	Minimum Wage
School	Minimum Wage
Volunteer activities	Minimum Wage
<i>Transportation and Lost Property</i>	
Transportation costs	Values based on those reported values from the survey OR computed by taking reported mileage x the official mileage rate.
Lost property	Values computed based on victim reports.
<i>Quality of Life Index</i>	
Max days of stress, anxiety, or depression	Cost of a visit to a mental health professional (\$124.32 urban, \$88.88 rural)

*Employment and family and civic responsibilities are measured in hours.

Cost Of A Protective Order

The estimated costs of an EPO and a DVO in Kentucky were previously reported (Logan et al., 2001a; 2004a). These prior estimates were revised and updated with the help of key court personnel, including the urban Family Court Administrator, Supervisor for the District Court Clerks, Chief Family Court Judge, the Sheriffs Family Court Domestic Violence Monitor, and the Assistant Director for the Domestic Violence shelter who also worked in a County Sherriff's office with domestic violence cases for over nine years. Once the estimates were updated, they were reviewed by the Family Court Administrator and three family court judges. Changes were made accordingly.

The basic procedure for estimating costs was to break down the EPO, DVO, and DVO amendment court process into finite steps and estimate average time for each step along with the appropriate salary. Salaries for judges and other court personnel were obtained from a public database of state salaried workers (Kentucky.com). The average per case cost of serving an EPO was estimated assuming three service attempts, with one hour for each attempt and an estimated average of 30 miles for each service attempt. Table 47 shows the resulting costs of an EPO, a DVO, and an amendment. The cost of a contempt of court hearing was similarly estimated.

Several caveats must be made here. Although it is assumed that with a protective order more vigorous law enforcement responses are applied, police and justice system costs were not counted as PO costs for several reasons. First, criminal justice system costs were present before the DVO was issued and it is plausible to assume that criminal justice costs would be incurred in partner violence situations even in the absence of a DVO. Second, it is difficult to know which charges and convictions are associated with the PO and which are not. Given these limitations, police and justice system costs were included in the cost categories in order to examine changes before and after the DVO rather than as part of the PO cost.

Table 47. Protective Order Costs

EPO	\$148.12	Interviews with multiple individuals
DVO	\$100.04	Interviews with multiple individuals
DVO Amendment	\$114.83	Interviews with multiple individuals

Analysis

Information was analyzed for the 6 months before the DVO was issued and for the 6 months after the DVO was issued. This means that the EPO period, including violations, personal costs or losses, and justice system costs associated with the EPO are included in the 6 months before the DVO was issued.

To reduce the number of cost categories used in the analysis, costs were aggregated by related services or other functions. Specifically, nine cost categories were used: Health Service Costs; Mental Health Service Costs; Victim Service Costs; Legal Fees; Police and Justice System Costs; Employment and Lost Earnings; Family and Civic Responsibilities; Transportation and Lost Property; and, Quality of Life Index.

Prior to the analysis, all costs were adjusted for inflation and standardized so that they are consistent with prices in 2007. Thus, for example, the 2006 Medicaid fee of \$277.24 for a doctor visit was converted to \$285.07 reflecting the 4.1% increase in average prices from 2006 to 2007. The Bureau of

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Labor Statistics Consumer Price Index for all goods was used to make inflation adjustments (<http://www.bls.gov/cpi>).

The means of several cost categories were skewed by extreme outliers. In these cases, the means were adjusted for measured costs in such a way that for any individual whose cost was above the 95th percentile, the outlier value of their reported cost was replaced with the cost at the 95th percentile. These adjustments were made for reports of health and mental health service use, family and civic responsibility losses, and the quality of life index. While this adjustment reduced costs, it was done for both costs before and after the issuance of the DVO and did not have any significant impact on the difference in total costs before and after the issuance of the DVO.

The first set of analysis compared costs before and after the issue of a DVO/EPO. As discussed earlier, the victims' reports were used to construct cost estimates for 6 months before and 6 months after the issuance of the DVO/EPO. The total sample used in the analysis was 209. One participant was excluded from the analysis because she had very high costs due to longer-term care from a psychiatric inpatient facility before and after the DVO was obtained and was thus an outlier from the rest of the sample. Costs were compared for the selected rural area (n=105) and the selected urban area (n=104). Costs were also examined by violation groups: 1) those with no DVO violations during the 6 month-follow-up period (n=100); 2) those with DVO violations but no stalking (n=54); and, (3) those with DVO violations plus stalking (n=53).

SUBSTUDY 3 RESULTS

Utilization and Losses

Tables 48, 49, and 50 show the proportion of the sample that reported any use of a service and the average number of times the service was used. Overall, the number of women using health and mental health services actually increased slightly (see Table 48). This is especially true for dental visits, doctor visits, hospital stays, mental health counseling, psychiatrist visits, and group therapy. Even though there were some slight increases in utilization, it is important to note that only about one-third of participants used any kind of mental health services before or after the DVO was issued and only one-fifth to one-fourth indicated they went to counseling with a mental health professional before or after the DVO was issued.

Table 48. Direct health and mental health service use

	Before (n=209)	After (n=209)
<i>Health Services</i>	66%	76.1%
Dental visit	11.5%	23.4%
Of those with dental visit, average number of times	1.17	1.49
Doctor visit	47.4%	64.1%
Of those with doctor visit, average number of times	4.2	3.68
Emergency room	38.3%	23.4%
Of those with emergency room visits, average number of times	1.6	1.47
Outpatient clinic (urgent treatment)	1.9%	1.9%
Of those with outpatient clinic visit, average number of times	1	1.5
Night in hospital	8.1%	14.8%
Of those with any time in hospital, average number of nights	1.76	3.42
Ambulance	3.8%	1.9%
Of those with any ambulance care, average number of times	1	1
Physical therapy	1%	3.3%
Of those with any physical therapy, average number of times	9	12.29
<i>Mental Health Services</i>	30.6%	33%
Mental health professional visit	21.1%	24.9%
Of those with any mental health counseling, average number of times	8.52	7.81
Psychiatrist	4.8%	10%
Of those who saw a psychiatrist, average number of times	15.3	6.86
Marriage counselor	1%	1.9%
Of those who saw a marriage counselor, average number of times	7.5	8
Pastor	5.7%	3.3%
Of those who sought counseling through a pastor, average number of times	7.75	7.29
Group therapy for mental health	4.8%	10%
Of those with any group therapy, average number of times	13.3	21.86
Residential substance abuse treatment	2.4%	2.4%
Of those with any residential substance abuse treatment, average number of days	76.8	49.2
Psychiatric inpatient	1%	0%
Of those with any psychiatric inpatient treatment, average number of days	1	0

Victim services use decreased slightly from before to after the DVO was issued, but again, only about one-third of the sample reported using any victim services before or after the DVO, with the majority of service use being from victim advocates (see Table 49). Legal services increased from the 6 months before to the 6 months after. There is a rural-urban difference in the use of advocate and legal services. More urban women that reported talking to a victim advocate before (39% versus 25.7%, $X^2(1)=4.26$, $p<.05$) and after (38.1% versus 24.8%, $X^2(1)=4.33$, $p<.05$) than rural women, while more rural women reported using legal services before (33.3% versus 17.1%, $X^2(1)=7.29$, $p<.01$) and after (27.6% versus

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53.3%, $X^2(1)=14.41$, $p<.001$). The rural area traditionally has fewer victim advocates and rural women often rely on legal aid or private attorneys to help them navigate the justice system.

Fewer misdemeanor arrests occurred during the follow-up period than during the 6 months before the DVO was issued, but misdemeanor convictions were higher during the follow-up period. Victim use of the police declined greatly for the 6 months after the DVO was issued.

Table 49. Direct non-medical costs

	Before (n=209)	After (n=209)
<i>Victim Services</i>	36.8%	33%
Victim advocate	32.1%	31.1%
Of those who talked to a victim advocate, average number of times	4.12	4.23
Crisis line	8.6%	1.4%
Of those who talked to a crisis counselor on the phone, average number of times	1.17	4
Crisis counselor	6.2%	2.9%
Of those who talked to a crisis counselor face-to-face, average number of times	1.15	2.83
DV shelter night	5.7%	3.3%
Of those who spent the night in a shelter, average number of nights	15.33	64.71
Homeless shelter night	0%	.5%
Of those who spent the night in a homeless shelter, average number of nights	0	67
<i>Legal</i>	25.4%	40.7%
Legal aid attorney	14.8%	24.4%
Of those who spoke with a legal aid attorney, average number of times	2.35	4.94
Private lawyer	14.8%	25.8%
Of those who spoke with a private lawyer, average number of time	3.26	6.2
<i>Police and Justice System Costs</i>		
Police	81.3%	35.4%
Of those who talked to the police, average number of times	2.31	3.28
Jail	44.5%	40.7%
Of those with any time in jail, average number of nights	18.54	54.31
Contempt of court DVO violations	0%	9.6%
Of those with any contempt of court violations, average number of times	0	1
Felony charges/arrest	11%	10.5%
Of those with a felony charge, average number of charges	1.57	1.91
Misdemeanor charges/arrests	41.6%	27.8%
Of those with a misdemeanor charge, average number of charges	2	2.53
Felony conviction	1.4%	3.3%
Of those with a felony conviction, average number of convictions	1	1.57
Misdemeanor conviction	19.1%	33%
Of those with misdemeanor convictions, average number of convictions	1.78	1.94

Table 50 displays time lost from work and from other responsibilities for the 6 months before and the 6 months after the DVO was issued. The number of women reporting missing time from work and other activities declined from the 6 month period before the DVO to the 6 month period after the DVO. However, of those who reported lost time in the 6 months after the DVO, in most cases they reported a greater number of hours lost compared to the 6 months before the DVO. This trend holds for transportation and property losses as well.

For quality of life, there is a slight decrease in the number of women reporting any stress, depression, or anxiety from the abuse from the 6 month period before the DVO was issued to the 6 month period after the DVO was issued. For those who did report any days of distress during the 6-month period after the DVO was issued, there was a decline in the average number of days in which distress was experienced because of the abuse.

Table 50. Tangible and intangible indirect costs

	Before (n=209)	After (n=209)
Any lost time from work, family, or civic responsibilities	59.8%	23.4%
Employment	37.3%	12%
Of those who lost time from work, average number of hours	16.47	38.16
Household chores	21.5%	12.4%
Of those who lost time from household responsibilities, average number of hours	96.44	142.35
Childcare	14.4%	1.4%
Of those who lost time from or had to provide for child care, average number of hours	28.53	51
Other family care	3.3%	.5%
Of those who lost time from other family care responsibilities, average number of hours	47.36	32
School	8.1%	3.3%
Of those that missed time from school, average number of hours	16.47	69
Volunteer activities	.5%	1.4%
Of those that missed time from volunteer activities, average number of hours	7	4.33
Transportation costs	99%	14.4%
Of those with any transportation costs, average number of costs	\$31.78	\$59.05
Lost property	45.9%	11.4%
Of those with any lost property, average value of that property	\$1,114.05	\$1,568.35 ^a
Health Related Quality of Life	98.6%	93.3%
Of those reporting any days of stress, depression, or anxiety due to the abuse, average number of days in the past 6 months	129.59	85.58

^aAdjusted at the 95th percentile for outliers.

Table 51 shows the protective order costs. Specifically, 100% of the sample received DVOs and 100% received an EPO (or a summons which is estimated to cost the same), but almost 26% of the sample received more than one EPO with the average number being three EPOs. Also, using court records, 18.6% had the DVO amended during the 6 month follow-up period.

Table 51. Protective order costs

	Before (n=209)	After (n=209)
EPO	100%	0%
More than one EPO	25.8%	0%
Of those with more than one EPO, average number of EPOs	3.02	
DVO	100%	0%
DVO Amendment	0%	18.6%
Of those with a DVO amendment, average number		1.33

Costs Before And After The DVO And Differences In Costs

Table 52 shows the overall costs for the sample for the 6 months before the DVO and the 6 months after the DVO as well as for the differences in costs. In column (a) of the table, the mean costs for each of the nine cost categories before the issuance of the DVO are reported. Columns (b) and (c) give the lower and upper bound for the ninety percent confidence interval for each cost category. Column (d) gives the mean costs after the issuance of the DVO with columns (e) and (f) providing the ninety percent confidence interval. Finally, column (g) gives the differences in costs after and before the issuance of the DVO, with columns (h) and (i) providing the confidence intervals.

The total costs associated with partner violence in the sample are extremely high both before and after the issuance of the DVO. Total costs before the DVO are, on average, almost \$17,500 per person and approximately \$12,800 per person after the DVO. By far the largest costs are associated with quality of life with these averaging approximately \$13,400 per person before the DVO and \$8,500 per person after the DVO. Other major costs include health services, police and justice system costs, and costs from property loss.

Column (f) shows the difference between costs before and after the issuance of the DVO. A negative number, denoted by (.), means there was a cost savings while a positive number means there was an increase in costs. As can be seen in column (f), there is a dramatic reduction in the costs associated with the quality of life, meaning that the number of days that the victim reported stress, anxiety or depression was significantly reduced – in fact, a reduction of approximately 36% occurs from before to after the DVO. Smaller reductions in costs are associated with mental health services, employment and lost earnings, family and civic responsibilities, and lost property. Categories in which costs increased after the DVO include victim services, health services, legal fees, police time, and justice system expenditures. Of course, some of these cost increases might simply reflect increased utilization of public services once the victim has obtained a DVO that were difficult for them to access before the DVO was issued.

As can also be seen in column (f), when including costs associated with quality of life, there is an extremely large reduction in costs – \$4,665 per victim, a reduction of 27%. When quality of life costs are not included, there is an increase in costs of \$225 after the DVO, though as suggested by the range of the confidence interval on this estimate, this difference in costs is not significantly different from zero.

Table 52. Costs for all victims (6 months)

	Before DVO			After DVO			Difference		
	(a) Mean	(b) 90% Confidence Interval	(c)	(d) Mean	(e) 90% Confidence Interval	(f)	(g) Mean	(h) 90% Confidence Interval	(i)
<i>PO Costs</i>				<i>354.37</i>	<i>330.32</i>	<i>378.41</i>			
Victim Service Costs	17.07	10.66	23.49	20.37	13.50	27.24	3.30	(2.90)	9.49
Mental Health Service Costs	309.55	232.63	386.46	234.89	165.85	303.94	(74.65)	(133.44)	(15.86)
Quality of Life Index	13,428.05	12,593.17	14,262.93	8,537.56	7,765.09	9,310.02	(4,890.49)	(5,819.61)	(3,961.37)
Health Service Costs	1,613.19	1,338.93	1,887.44	1,889.71	1,571.29	2,208.14	276.53	(93.15)	646.21
Legal Fees	30.05	21.89	38.21	70.52	56.58	84.47	40.48	26.78	54.17
Police and Justice System Costs	1,432.22	1,164.54	1,699.89	1,762.78	1,457.03	2,068.54	330.57	(15.09)	676.22
Employment and Lost Earnings	53.57	32.87	74.26	34.15	17.57	50.72	(19.42)	(45.77)	6.93
Family and Civic Responsibilities	102.23	77.94	126.52	70.06	47.50	92.62	(32.17)	(59.80)	(4.53)
Lost Property	493.20	311.07	675.33	193.52	91.77	295.28	(299.67)	(504.39)	(94.96)
<i>Total Costs¹</i>	<i>17,479.12</i>	<i>16,498.69</i>	<i>18,459.54</i>	<i>12,813.57</i>	<i>11,831.41</i>	<i>13,795.73</i>	<i>(4,665.54)</i>	<i>(5,703.97)</i>	<i>(3,627.00)</i>
<i>Total Costs excluding Quality of Life Index</i>	<i>4,051.07</i>	<i>3,598.33</i>	<i>4,503.81</i>	<i>4,276.02</i>	<i>3,785.64</i>	<i>4,766.39</i>	<i>224.95</i>	<i>(327.88)</i>	<i>777.00</i>

¹Note that the sum of costs in columns (b), (c), (e), and (f) does not equal the total costs reported in these columns as the 90% confidence interval is calculated for total cost. For the same reason, the differences for the 90% confidence interval (columns (h) and (i) do not equal the difference in the columns (e) – (b) and (f) – (c).

Costs Before And After The DVO And Differences In Costs By Rural Versus Urban Areas

Table 53 summarizes both the costs before and after the DVO as well as the differences in these costs for rural participants. The analogous information is reported for urban participants in Table 54. Costs before the issuance of a DVO (column (a) in Tables 53 and 54) in the two areas are relatively similar. Overall total costs before the DVO in urban and rural areas differ by only \$612.47, or 3.6%, with costs for urban participants being higher. However, when quality of life costs are excluded, the difference in costs before the DVO was issued actually increases to \$1,020 or 28.8%. Specifically, the biggest difference in costs before the issuance of a DVO is in the quality of life (\$408 higher in the rural area), mental health (\$286 higher in the urban area), and police and justice system costs (\$722 higher in the urban area) cost categories. Table 55 column (a) reports the difference in costs before the issuance of a DVO (Urban costs – Rural costs).

Following the issuance of the DVO, total costs are actually lower in the urban area compared to the rural area (\$12,693 vs. \$12,930). When quality of life costs are excluded, however, costs are substantially higher in the urban area (\$5,145) than in the rural area (\$3,423), with a difference of \$1,723 or 40.2%. Even more pronounced is the difference in some of the specific cost categories. Following the issuance of the DVO, quality of life costs are now substantially lower for participants in the urban area (\$7,548) than in the rural area (\$9,508), a difference of \$1,960, or 23%. While police and justice system costs rose in both areas following the issuance of a DVO, the increase is much greater for the urban area which increased from \$721 before the DVO to \$1,204 after the DVO was obtained.

The differences in costs before and after the DVO in the two areas were compared to get an indication of the relative effectiveness of the issuance of a DVO (see Table 55). In the urban area, total costs are \$3,295 lower after the issuance of a DVO while in the rural area they are \$2,514 lower. The difference between the difference in urban costs from before and after the DVO was issued and the difference in rural costs from before and after the DVO was issued was \$850 (see Table 55). When quality of life costs are excluded, costs after the DVO are \$342 lower in the urban area but \$1,077 lower in the rural area. Specifically, the largest difference between the two areas before and after a DVO is due to the differences in the changes associated with the quality of life; the reduction in these costs in the urban area is \$1,550 more than in the rural area.

Table 53. Costs to rural victims (6 months)

	Before DVO			After DVO			Difference		
	(a) Mean	(b) 90% Confidence Interval	(c)	(d) Mean	(e) 90% Confidence Interval	(f)	(g) Mean	(h) 90% Confidence Interval	(i)
<i>PO Costs</i>				357.73	312.73	402.74			
Victim Service Costs	17.88	6.21	29.55	22.33	9.42	35.25	4.45	(8.06)	16.97
Mental Health Service Costs	167.96	90.84	245.08	94.51	36.89	152.14	(73.45)	(162.54)	15.65
Quality of Life Index	13,630.03	12,442.45	14,817.62	9,508.11	8,323.84	10,692.38	(4,121.92)	(5,669.30)	(2,574.54)
Health Service Costs	1,551.98	1,083.82	2,020.14	1,745.22	1,205.69	2,284.74	193.24	(473.18)	859.65
Legal Fees	37.23	22.94	51.51	97.70	71.24	124.16	60.48	34.51	86.44
Police and Justice System Costs	1,074.92	681.11	1,468.73	1,166.59	751.01	1,582.17	91.67	(451.58)	634.92
Employment and Lost Earnings	55.13	12.90	97.36	30.07	2.64	57.50	(25.06)	(75.10)	24.99
Family and Civic Responsibilities	89.81	54.15	125.48	57.38	21.73	93.03	(32.43)	(82.08)	17.22
Lost Property	550.91	199.31	902.52	209.04	20.40	397.68	(341.87)	(727.34)	43.59
<i>Total Costs</i> ¹	17,175.85	15,813.19	18,538.51	12,930.96	11,480.11	14,381.80	(4,244.90)	(5,976.02)	(2,513.77)
<i>Total Costs excluding Quality of Life Index</i>	3,545.82	2,918.25	4,173.38	3,422.85	2,621.90	4,223.79	(122.97)	(1,077.16)	831.21

¹Note that the sum of costs in columns (b), (c), (e), and (f) does not equal the total costs reported in these columns as the 90% confidence interval is calculated for total cost. For the same reason, the differences for the 90% confidence interval (columns (h) and (i) do not equal the difference in the columns (e) – (b) and (f) – (c).

Table 54. Costs to urban victims (6 months)

	Before DVO			After DVO			Difference		
	(a) Mean	(b) 90% Confidence Interval	(c)	(d) Mean	(e) 90% Confidence Interval	(f)	(g) Mean	(h) 90% Confidence Interval	(i)
<i>PO Costs</i>				350.94	314.77	387.11			
Victim Service Costs	16.25	6.18	26.33	18.37	8.10	28.64	2.12	(5.89)	10.12
Mental Health Service Costs	453.91	289.12	618.70	378.03	225.93	530.13	(75.88)	(186.16)	34.39
Quality of Life Index	13,222.10	11,594.87	14,849.34	7,547.98	6,136.93	8,959.02	(5,674.13)	(7,274.88)	(4,073.38)
Health Service Costs	1,675.59	1,210.71	2,140.48	2,037.05	1,494.28	2,579.81	361.45	(225.83)	948.74
Legal Fees	22.73	9.42	36.04	42.81	23.81	61.81	20.08	0.72	39.45
Police and Justice System Costs	1,796.52	1,294.76	2,298.28	2,370.67	1,783.99	2,957.34	574.15	(53.81)	1,202.11
Employment and Lost Earnings	51.98	25.99	77.97	38.31	9.34	67.27	(13.67)	(52.34)	24.99
Family and Civic Responsibilities	114.89	68.52	161.26	82.98	42.10	123.87	(31.90)	(76.03)	12.22
Lost Property	434.35	175.29	693.42	177.71	22.35	333.06	(256.65)	(561.45)	48.15
<i>Total Costs¹</i>	17,788.32	15,854.30	19,722.35	12,693.89	10,820.73	14,567.04	(5,094.44)	(6,894.33)	(3,294.54)
<i>Total Costs excluding Quality of Life Index</i>	4,566.22	3,682.53	5,449.91	5,145.91	4,312.22	5,979.60	579.69	(341.66)	1,501.05

¹Note that the sum of costs in columns (b), (c), (e), and (f) does not equal the total costs reported in these columns as the 90% confidence interval is calculated for total cost. For the same reason, the differences for the 90% confidence interval (columns (h) and (i) do not equal the difference in the columns (e) – (b) and (f) – (c).

Table 55. Difference in costs between rural and urban victims (Difference in Urban Costs – Difference in Rural Costs)

	Difference in Before DVO Costs (a) Mean	Difference in Post DVO Costs (b) Mean	Difference in Difference in Costs (c) Mean
Victim Service Costs	(1.63)	(3.97)	(2.34)
Mental Health Service Costs	285.95	283.51	(2.44)
Quality of Life Index	(407.93)	(1,960.14)	(1,552.21)
Health Service Costs	123.62	291.83	168.22
Legal Fees	(14.50)	(54.89)	(40.39)
Police and Justice System Costs	721.60	1,204.07	482.48
Employment and Lost Earnings	(3.15)	8.24	11.38
Family and Civic Responsibilities	25.07	25.60	0.53
Lost Property	(116.56)	(31.33)	85.23
	-	-	-
<i>Total Costs</i>	<i>612.47</i>	<i>(237.07)</i>	<i>(849.54)</i>
<i>Total Costs excluding Quality of Life Index</i>	<i>1,020.40</i>	<i>1,723.07</i>	<i>702.67</i>

Costs Before And After The DVO And Differences In Costs By Violation Group

The next set of tables shows the same comparisons of costs before and after the DVO for each of the three violation groups: (1) the No Violation group; (2) the Violation but No Stalking group; and (3) the Violation Plus Stalking group.

Table 56 provides the mean costs for the No Violation group for the 6 month period before and the 6 month period after the DVO was issued. Total costs including quality of life are reduced by almost six thousand dollars (\$5,987), or 37% of the costs before the DVO. When the quality of life costs are not included, there is a small (\$321) reduction in costs though this reduction is not statistically significant.

In Table 57, costs are reported for the Violation but No Stalking group during the 6 months before and the 6 months after the DVO was issued. The pattern of costs is generally similar to that found for the No Violation group. However, total costs, both before and after the DVO, are higher for the Violation but No Stalking group compared to the No Violation group, particularly for lost property and quality of life. Similar to the previous group, there is a significant reduction in quality of life costs from the 6 month period before the DVO was issued to the 6 month period after the DVO was issued. In addition, there is a sizable reduction in costs associated with property losses. In contrast, police and justice system costs increase considerably over time. Of course, as this group was classified based on DVO violations, this result is not surprising.

The differences in total costs for the Violation but No Stalking group are of similar magnitudes to those for the No Violation group. The difference in costs before and after the issuance of the DVO is approximately the same for both groups as is the difference in quality of life costs. In the absence of quality of life costs there is a small (\$152) reduction in costs that is not statistically significant.

Costs for the Violation Plus Stalking group are provided in Table 58. Although this group had lower costs before the DVO was issued than the Violation but No Stalking group, the costs after the issue of the DVO are much higher (\$17,591 vs. \$13,452). This is primarily due to much higher quality of life costs (more days of stress, depression, and anxiety), higher health service use costs, and higher costs associated with lost property.

As can be seen in column (g), the reduction in quality of life costs after the issuance of the DVO for the Violation Plus Stalking group is much smaller than it was for the other two groups (\$2,712 vs. \$5,666 and \$5,498) and the increase in justice costs is much higher (\$1,048 vs. \$570). While there is a reduction in total costs of \$1,006 when quality of life is included, this estimate is not significantly different from zero. When quality life costs are not included for the Violation Plus Stalking group, costs increase from before the DVO was issued to after by \$1,706.

Table 56. Cost for the No Violation group (6 months)

	Before DVO			After DVO			Difference		
	(a) Mean	(b) 90% Confidence Interval	(c)	(d) Mean	(e) 90% Confidence Interval	(f)	(g) Mean	(h) 90% Confidence Interval	(i)
<i>PO Costs</i>				342.26	309.81	374.71			
Victim Service Costs	15.87	4.82	26.93	19.15	7.74	30.55	3.27	(6.31)	12.86
Mental Health Service Costs	260.82	140.16	381.48	187.20	73.65	300.76	(73.62)	(150.82)	3.59
Quality of Life Index Costs	12,203.84	10,691.64	13,716.03	6,537.90	5,276.87	7,798.94	(5,665.93)	(7,325.84)	(4,006.03)
Health Service Costs	1,534.60	1,080.89	1,988.30	1,767.86	1,229.69	2,306.02	233.26	(409.56)	876.08
Legal Fees	28.69	14.76	42.63	41.39	22.12	60.65	12.69	(7.51)	32.90
Police and Justice System Costs	1,636.09	1,114.15	2,158.03	1,475.66	987.99	1,963.33	(160.43)	(790.53)	469.66
Employment and Lost Earnings	26.92	11.83	42.01	9.78	(0.50)	20.06	(17.14)	(34.84)	0.55
Family and Civic Responsibilities	56.42	28.88	83.97	10.06	(0.20)	20.32	(46.36)	(73.44)	(19.28)
Lost Property	283.50	86.85	480.14	10.50	(10.33)	31.32	(273.00)	(471.34)	(74.66)
<i>Total Costs¹</i>	16,046.75	14,280.15	17,813.35	10,059.49	8,526.90	11,592.07	(5,987.26)	(7,691.51)	(4,283.02)
<i>Total Costs excluding Quality of Life Index</i>	3,842.91	3,026.35	4,659.48	3,521.58	2,769.04	4,274.12	(321.33)	(1,193.02)	550.36

¹Note that the sum of costs in columns (b), (c), (e), and (f) does not equal the total costs reported in these columns as the 90% confidence interval is calculated for total cost. For the same reason, the differences for the 90% confidence interval (columns (h) and (i)) do not equal the difference in the columns (e) – (b) and (f) – (c).

Table 57. Costs for the Violation but No Stalking group (6 months)

	Before DVO			After DVO			Difference		
	(a) Mean	(b) 90% Confidence Interval	(c)	(d) Mean	(e) 90% Confidence Interval	(f)	(g) Mean	(h) 90% Confidence Interval	(i)
<i>PO Costs</i>				377.70	302.10	453.31			
Victim Service Costs	10.25	0.18	20.32	24.05	6.92	41.18	13.80	(0.40)	27.99
Mental Health Service Costs	405.52	186.04	625.00	339.41	149.11	529.71	(66.11)	(220.05)	87.83
Quality of Life Index	14,583.73	12,732.20	16,435.26	9,085.77	7,408.11	10,763.43	(5,497.96)	(7,597.25)	(3,398.67)
Health Service Costs	1,568.66	1,035.56	2,101.75	1,679.22	1,043.97	2,314.46	110.56	(482.41)	703.53
Legal Fees	29.52	8.14	50.90	69.75	38.09	101.42	40.24	9.83	70.64
Police and Justice System Costs	1,418.23	871.43	1,965.03	1,988.87	1,223.54	2,754.19	570.64	(186.49)	1,327.76
Employment and Lost Earnings	114.06	26.56	201.56	49.56	(0.61)	99.72	(64.50)	(166.75)	37.74
Family and Civic Responsibilities	152.95	79.39	226.51	90.93	29.84	152.02	(62.02)	(129.43)	5.40
Lost Property	819.26	188.25	1,450.27	124.67	(24.02)	273.36	(694.59)	(1,347.07)	(42.12)
<i>Total Costs¹</i>	19,102.17	16,785.45	21,418.89	13,452.22	11,258.68	15,645.76	(5,649.95)	(8,131.94)	(3,167.97)
<i>Total Costs excluding Quality of Life Index</i>	4,518.44	3,512.92	5,523.96	4,366.45	3,291.49	5,441.41	(151.99)	(1,315.45)	1,011.47

¹Note that the sum of costs in columns (b), (c), (e), and (f) does not equal the total costs reported in these columns as the 90% confidence interval is calculated for total cost. For the same reason, the differences for the 90% confidence interval (columns (h) and (i) do not equal the difference in the columns (e) – (b) and (f) – (c).

Table 58. Costs for the Violation Plus Stalking group (6 months)

	Before DVO			After DVO			Difference		
	(a) Mean	(b) 90% Confidence Interval	(c) 90% Confidence Interval	(d) Mean	(e) 90% Confidence Interval	(f) 90% Confidence Interval	(g) Mean	(h) 90% Confidence Interval	(i) 90% Confidence Interval
<i>PO Costs</i>				353.65	314.40	392.89			
Victim Service Costs	26.67	7.05	46.30	18.90	1.67	36.12	(7.78)	(25.69)	10.14
Mental Health Service	304.43	130.42	478.44	218.68	69.50	367.85	(85.75)	(269.29)	97.79
Quality of Life Index	14,628.81	12,772.56	16,485.07	11,917.20	10,075.28	13,759.13	(2,711.61)	(4,825.72)	(597.49)
Health Service Costs	1,815.97	990.92	2,641.02	2,353.92	1,444.08	3,263.76	537.95	(585.85)	1,661.75
Legal Fees	33.29	15.24	51.34	129.04	87.69	170.39	95.75	56.73	134.77
Police and Justice System Costs	1,043.28	502.84	1,583.72	2,092.03	1,294.04	2,890.01	1,048.75	285.99	1,811.50
Employment and Lost Earnings	42.29	19.84	64.75	66.10	8.97	123.22	23.80	(36.45)	84.06
Family and Civic Responsibilities	139.24	71.39	207.08	166.77	86.40	247.15	27.54	(73.44)	128.52
Lost Property	563.25	127.25	999.26	628.90	175.39	1,082.41	65.65	(536.45)	667.74
<i>Total Costs¹</i>	18,597.23	16,557.85	20,636.61	17,591.53	15,232.14	19,950.93	(1,005.70)	(3,500.04)	1,488.64
<i>Total Costs excluding Quality of Life Index</i>	3,968.42	2,898.31	5,038.53	5,674.33	4,247.59	7,101.07	1,705.91	82.93	3,328.89

¹Note that the sum of costs in columns (b), (c), (e), and (f) does not equal the total costs reported in these columns as the 90% confidence interval is calculated for total cost. For the same reason, the differences for the 90% confidence interval (columns (h) and (i)) do not equal the difference in the columns (e) – (b) and (f) – (c).

Avoided Costs Relative To PO Costs

Table 59 presents the same results described above in a slightly different format. Unlike the earlier tables, these costs were estimated for a one-year period assuming the same rate of incurring costs, both before and after the issue of the DVO. That is, costs for a year before the DVO was issued and a year after the DVO was issued were assumed to be twice the costs for 6 months in all categories of costs. Table 59 displays the total difference (reduction) in costs from before to after the issuance of the DVO. PO costs are those associated with the PO, including the costs of EPOs, DVOs, and Amendments. These costs vary only slightly among the three groups, between approximately \$350 and \$377.

On an annual basis, the net reduction in costs (avoided costs – PO intervention costs) is quite large for the entire sample, with a net reduction of \$8,976 per year. For the No Violation group it is \$11,632 and for the Violation but No Stalking group the net reduction is \$10,922. While there is still a net reduction for the Violation Plus Stalking group, it is extremely small at \$652. If quality of life costs are excluded, only the No Violation group showed a net reduction in costs of \$300, although this reduction is not statistically significant.

Alternatively, relative costs can be expressed as the ratio of avoided costs to PO costs or reduction in alternative costs per \$1.00 of PO costs. This is essentially producing a benefit-cost ratio in which the benefits are the reductions in costs from before to after the issuance of the DVO and the cost is the PO cost. Then a ratio exceeding one would indicate benefits (avoided costs) exceeding PO costs.

For the entire sample this measure is quite large – \$30.75 of avoided costs per \$1.00 of PO costs. Avoided costs are even higher for the No Violation group at \$40.58. For the Violation but No Stalking group, the avoided costs per \$1.00 of PO costs were about \$35. There is a very small gain for the Violation Plus Stalking group of \$2.98.

When quality of life costs are not included, there is either no reduction in avoided costs or the reduction is very small and not statistically different from zero overall and for each specific violation group.

Table 59. Avoided costs relative to PO costs (12 months)

	A. Avoided Costs Relative to PO Costs, All Victims			B. Avoided Costs Relative to PO Costs, No Violation group		
	Mean	90% Confidence Interval		Mean	90% Confidence Interval	
<i>PO Costs</i>	354.37	330.32	378.41	342.26	309.81	374.71
Avoided Costs – PO Costs	8,976.71	6,899.77	11,053.66	11,632.27	8,223.73	15,040.81
Avoided Costs - PO Costs excluding Quality of Life	(804.27)	(1,910.20)	301.66	300.40	(1,443.30)	2,044.10
Avoided Costs per \$1.00 of PO Costs	30.75	(160.71)	187.32	40.58	28.68	52.48
Avoided Costs per \$1.00 of PO Costs excluding Quality of Life	(1.57)	(145.37)	79.34	2.44	(3.51)	8.39
	C. Avoided Costs Relative to PO Costs, Violation but No Stalking group			D. Avoided Costs Relative to PO Costs, Violation Plus Stalking group		
	Mean	90% Confidence Interval		Mean	90% Confidence Interval	
<i>PO Costs</i>	377.70	302.10	453.31	353.65	314.40	392.89
Avoided Costs - PO Costs	10,922.20	5,956.80	15,887.60	652.05	(1,841.35)	3,145.46
Avoided Costs - PO Costs excluding Quality of Life	(73.72)	(2,408.28)	2,260.84	(2,059.56)	(3,678.00)	(441.12)
Avoided Costs per \$1.00 of PO Costs	35.80	18.68	52.91	2.98	(5.34)	11.30
Avoided Costs per \$1.00 of PO Costs excluding Quality of Life	0.86	(6.47)	8.19	(6.05)	(11.40)	(0.70)

Estimating The Statewide Impact

As a final measure of the economic impact of DVOs, the estimates of the differences in costs before and after the issuance of a DVO were extrapolated from the sample to the state population of victims with DVOs issued in a one year period. For this analysis, it is assumed that the same pattern would hold throughout the Commonwealth. Of course, this assumes a similar population of victims and perpetrators in addition to similar enforcement of DVO and costs. Thus these estimates should be interpreted with caution.

In FY 2007, 11,212 DVOs were issued (Kentucky State Police, 2008). Although there is no way to know what proportion of these were female victims of male perpetrators, the number was adjusted by taking 15% of that population for male victims or victims in same-sex relationships consistent with what U.S. Department of Justice estimated (Rennison & Welchans, 2000). This leaves an estimated population of 9,531. Applying the proportions from substudy 2, it is estimated that 50% would not experience DVO violations (n=4,766). Likewise, this would suggest that just over a quarter (25.25%) would experience

DVO violations but no stalking (n=2,454) and just under a quarter (24.75%) would experience DVO violations plus stalking (n=2,359).

Table 60 summarizes the estimates of annual statewide reductions in cost after the issuance of a DVO based on the application of case characteristics and cost estimates from this study sample to the state DVO population. When applied to the entire population of victims, when quality of life costs are considered, the reduction in costs after the issuance of the DVO is extremely large – \$85.5 million for all victims (see Figure 18). The majority of this cost savings, \$55.4 million, is attributable to the 50% of the population of victims who encounter no DVO violations. Significant reductions in costs also arise in cases in which the victim encountered DVO violations but no stalking (\$26.8 million). Only in the case in which there were violations plus stalking is there no significant reduction in costs when quality of life is considered.

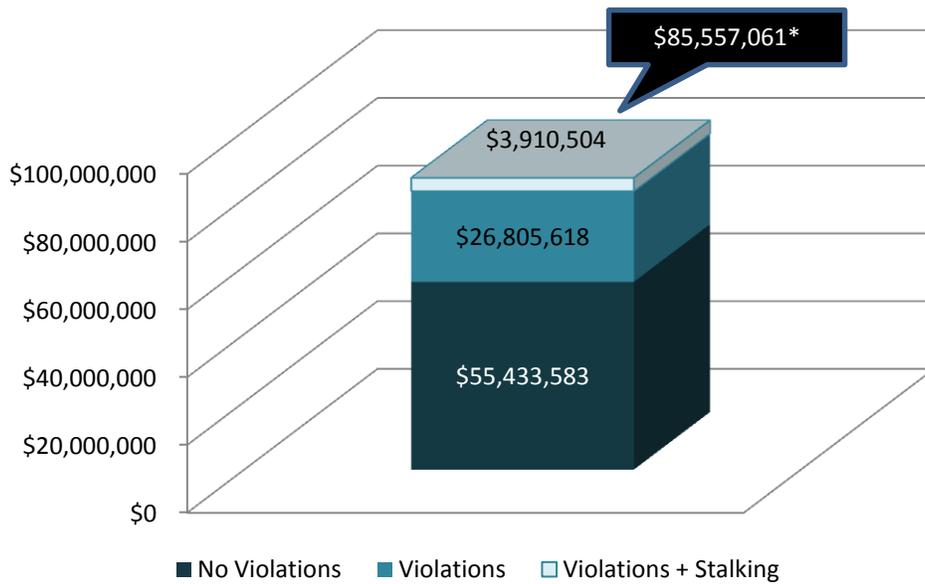
When quality of life costs are not considered, the differences in costs before and after the issuance of the DVO are not statistically different for the No Violation group or for the Violation but No Stalking group. These figures should be considered a lower bound of the estimate of the cost impact of DVOs as it is placing a zero value on any reductions in stress, anxiety, and depression suffered by the victims. As these reductions are real benefits, they should be considered. The difficulty is knowing how they should be valued.

However, it is also important to note that when quality of life is not considered, there is a significant loss of almost \$9 million for those who continue to experience violations plus stalking (see Figure 19).

Table 60. Avoided costs relative to PO costs extrapolated from the sample to the population (12 months)

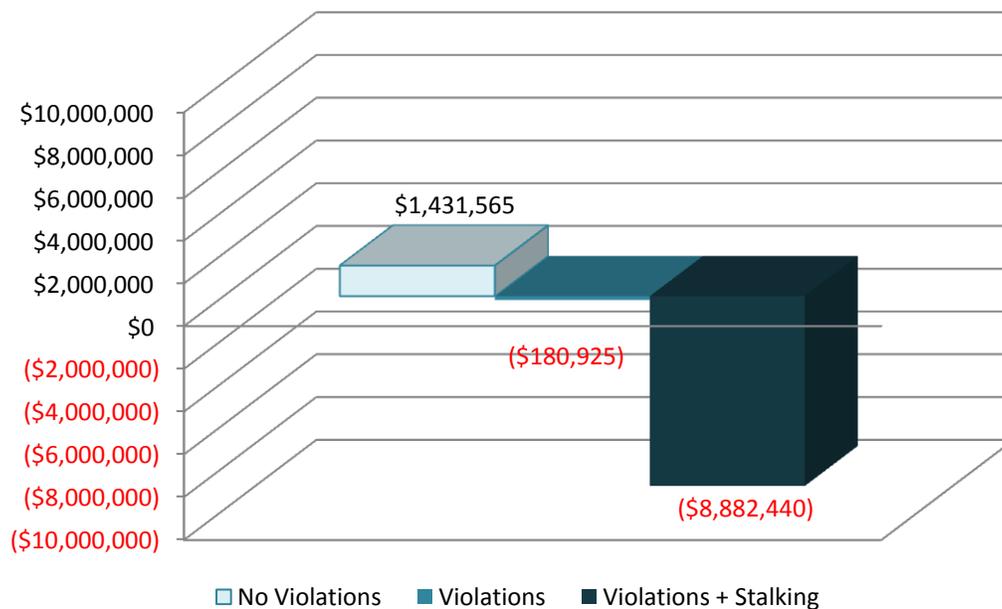
	A. Avoided Costs Relative to PO Costs, All Victims			B. Avoided Costs Relative to PO Costs, No Violation group		
	Mean	90% Confidence Interval		Mean	90% Confidence Interval	
Avoided Costs - PO Costs	85,557,061	65,761,736	105,352,433	55,433,583	39,190,166	71,676,980
Avoided Costs - PO Costs excluding Quality of Life	(7,665,469)	(18,206,069)	2,875,125	1,431,565	(6,878,027)	9,741,154
	C. Avoided Costs Relative to PO Costs, Violation but No Stalking group			D. Avoided Costs Relative to PO Costs, Violation Plus Stalking group		
	Mean	90% Confidence Interval		Mean	90% Confidence Interval	
Avoided Costs - PO Costs	26,805,618	14,619,377	38,991,864	3,910,504	(7,854,834)	15,675,844
Avoided Costs - PO Costs excluding Quality of Life	(180,925)	(5,910,469)	5,548,620	(8,882,440)	(16,528,137)	(1,236,744)

Figure 18. Overall annual statewide savings (including quality of life costs) by violation group



*Numbers do not add up to the exact total due to rounding

Figure 19. Overall annual statewide savings/losses (without quality of life costs) by violation groups



SUBSTUDY 3 SUMMARY

No evaluation of intervention effectiveness is complete without a cost component. This is not an easy undertaking and it is certainly not without controversy. It is difficult to quantify the impact of abuse and violence on a single life and it is especially difficult to quantify the impact of a justice system intervention on partner violence. This substudy contributes to the understanding of the overall and specific costs of partner violence in several important ways although there are a number of limitations and caveats that must be considered in the interpretation of the results. After reviewing the major findings of this substudy the limitations will be discussed in detail.

There are six major findings from the results. First, consistent with prior research, violence and abuse take a significant economic toll on a victim's life, even within a very short time period as in this study. Second, relative to the toll that partner abuse takes on a victim's life, the cost of a protective order is small. Third, overall there were no significant difference in costs before and after the DVO was obtained for rural and urban victims; however there were some important differences in specific cost categories that may have major implications for increasing the understanding of the depth of harm caused by partner violence and how harm might differ depending on jurisdiction. Fourth, this substudy identified a subpopulation of protective order cases that incur far higher costs – cases where stalking is present. Fifth, there are significant savings or reduced costs to the state when victim quality of life is considered in the cost analysis. And sixth, when the quality of life index is excluded from the cost analysis, study results show that victim safety is positively impacted at very little cost except in cases with stalking. More details about study findings are presented below.

- **Partner violence and abuse take a significant toll on victim's lives.** This substudy sought to quantify economic costs of partner violence 6 months before a DVO was issued and 6 months after a DVO was issued. The literature was used to develop specific cost categories primarily focused on direct costs related to service utilization including health service use, mental health service use, victim service use, legal services use, and civil and criminal justice system costs. Also, indirect costs related to lost opportunities such as the opportunity to work, perform other activities and duties, lost property, and transportation costs were estimated. It was assumed that these losses would not have been incurred if not for the abuse and violence. There are other losses that could have been included, such as the time spent dealing with child protective services initiated after filing for an EPO, impact of the abuse and service utilization due to the abuse of the children, and other costs. However, this study focused on clearly identifiable direct victim costs which were relatively conservative estimates.

Overall, for the 6 months of violence before the DVO, the average per case cost of partner violence (including quality of life) was about \$17,500. For the 6 month period after issuance of a protective order, the average cost per case was about \$13,000. The largest reductions over time were associated with the quality of life index, lost time, and property losses. Some costs increased including health care and justice system costs. Health care costs may have increased because women may have had more time to go to the doctor or to the dentist after the DVO was issued. On the other hand, there may have been injuries from the EPO incident that required ongoing treatment which would have increased costs. This is one area of inquiry that needs more investigation.

- **Relative to the toll that partner abuse takes on a victim's life, the cost of a protective order is small.** This study also quantified the cost of a civil protective order including the cost of

obtaining an EPO, the cost of obtaining a DVO, and the cost of amendments to the DVO. The costs of protective orders were estimated in a previous study (Logan et al., 2001a; 2004a) and those estimates were updated for this study following a similar process but in collaboration and with scrutiny by more court personnel. The estimated average cost of the PO intervention for the total sample was about \$354, a very low cost to the justice system compared to the costs associated with partner violence before and after the DVO.

- **Important cost differences between urban and rural areas were identified.** Overall no significant differences in costs were found before and after the DVO was obtained for either rural or urban victims. However, when specific cost categories were examined there were several key differences. While the relatively small sample limits the ability to make strong statements about differences in costs, urban participants reported a larger increase in quality of life after the protective order was obtained compared to rural participants who did not report as much relief from abuse related distress. In contrast, police and justice system costs were higher before and after a protective order in the urban area but were lower in the rural area (suggesting less assertive enforcement). These differences in specific cost categories may have major implications for increasing the understanding of the depth of harm caused by partner violence and how harm might differ depending on jurisdiction.
- **One group of victims incurred far higher costs overall—those cases where stalking was present.** To obtain a better understanding of the costs and cost reductions before and after a DVO was obtained, results were examined by violation group (No Violation group, Violation but No Stalking group, and Violation Plus Stalking group). Overall, including the quality of life index, for every dollar of the PO intervention spent (using a 12-month period of time), there was \$31 in avoided costs (cost savings). This ratio increases for the No Violation group to almost \$41 and is not much different for the Violation but No Stalking group at \$36. However, the cost savings are significantly lower for the Violation Plus Stalking group (\$3). Thus, the victims who experience persistent stalking do not benefit as much as the other two groups from a PO economically or with regard to distress.

The cost ratios discussed above represent costs that include the quality of life index, the largest cost category. When this category is excluded, there are still net gains, albeit very small ones, for the No Violation group (\$2.44) and the Violation but No Stalking group (\$.86). However, for every dollar spent on the PO intervention, there was \$6 in losses for the Violations Plus Stalking group.

- **There were significant cost savings or avoided costs to the state from protective orders overall.** The cost estimates from the sample were extrapolated to the population of victims who obtained a DVO in 2007. Results from the extrapolation should be interpreted with caution. Even so, this study attempted to generalize the costs and avoided costs of protective orders to an entire state taking into account the initial costs of violence before any intervention. The first step in this analysis was to take the total number of DVOs issued in 2007 for the state (n=11,212). This number was adjusted by 15% to account for male victims and victims with same sex partners, as costs and service utilization may differ for these populations, leaving an estimated 9,531 DVOs issued to female victims in 2007. Specifically, when applying cost estimates from the sample to the state protective order population, estimates suggest that protective orders save the state \$85 million for a one-year period, which is likely a conservative

estimate of savings. Also, the impact of an intervention on quality of life has major implications for future avoided costs to society (i.e., beyond a one-year period of time).

The total number of DVOs was partitioned into the same proportions for violation groups based on the sample data (50% with no DVO violations, about 25% with DVO violations but no stalking, and about 25% with DVO violations plus stalking). Including the quality of life index both for those with no DVO violations and those with DVO violations but no stalking saved the state close to \$55 million and almost \$27 million, respectively, in a one year period. Even the group that experienced DVO violations plus stalking saved the state close to \$4 million.

- **Protective orders are, at a minimum, a cost-neutral safety intervention.** When the quality of life index is excluded from the cost analysis the savings are minuscule, suggesting that safety for partner violence victims is achieved at very little cost. At the most conservative reading of the cost estimates, the net cost outcome is a very slight increase after the protective order issuance. For the 6 months before the order, the average per case cost was \$4,051 and for the 6 months after the order it was \$4,276, a 5.5% increase, which is negligible. This finding is of great importance to policy development because many social and justice interventions may be costly with little net gain to society but are often provided because they are seen as necessary or morally justifiable. Thus, when the quality of life index is excluded from the cost analysis, study results show that victim safety is positively impacted at very little cost except in cases with stalking.

Generalizing from this study's findings to the state's protective order cases, stalkers with protective orders against them cost the state \$9 million in a one-year period when quality of life is removed from the equation. It is worth noting that this estimate only includes protective order cases in which stalking was present – including other stalking cases that received a protective order before 2007 or stalking cases without protective orders would likely engender far greater total costs to the state.

This substudy has a number of limitations. The estimates of costs were primarily based on self-reported measures of service utilization and may represent over-estimates or under-estimates. It is also sometimes difficult for women to attribute services or losses specifically to the violence and abuse. Although every attempt was made by interviewers to help women make those attributions, it is difficult to know whether some costs related to the abuse were forgotten while others that were reported as related to the abuse may have been incurred regardless of the abuse, such as a preventive doctor visit.

Clearly, enforcement of the protective order is a critical piece of protective order intervention—it is assumed that with a protective order comes a stronger response from the criminal justice system to ongoing partner violence and abuse. However, data about the enforcement of protective orders are very difficult to obtain, given that women often do not know the legal outcomes, such as specific charges and convictions after they have reported incidents to the police. Also, the official data may or may not reflect domestic violence-related charges. As noted in substudy 2, there were few specific charges related to protective order violations in the whole sample (n=25), but that does not mean that police were not called or that no action was taken to arrest and charge the PO partner. In fact, it is likely that more PO partners were charged because of a domestic violence-related call, but the specific charges may vary greatly. Thus, this substudy used all charges and convictions as part of the cost estimates 6 months before and 6 months after the DVO was issued.

It is also challenging to attach an accurate and fair cost to each service, and the cost sources used may have under- or over-estimated specific costs. In particular, the cost of an arrest/charge and conviction is extremely problematic. After a lengthy literature review and speaking to several nationally recognized economists cost sources for charges and convictions were used from Aos et al. (2006).

Jail time was another problematic cost to determine. Because data were unable to be obtained from one local jail, victim reports of jail time were used. It is likely that victims may not always know if an offender spent a few hours or maybe even a few days in jail; however, it is likely that they knew if the offender spent a longer time in jail. Further, when victim reports of PO partner jail time were compared to official records for the jails that did provide information, the estimates were very close and unlikely to have significantly changed the cost estimates. For example, using only those areas where official jail data were obtained, victim reports indicated at baseline that 42% of PO partners spent any nights in jail during the 6 month period before the DVO was issued, while data from official records indicated 44% spent any time in jail. Victims reported that, on average, PO partners were in jail 14 days before the PO was issued versus the official jail data of an average of 19 days. Similar trends were found for jail time after the DVO was issued, with 41% of victims reporting that the PO partner had spent any time in jail for an average of 54 days. Official data indicated 38% of PO partners spent any time in jail for an average of 56 days.

Also, the estimate of the PO intervention may have been underestimated although the overall costs of the PO intervention were very similar across the two separate cost estimates that were made over a period of several years. Thus, it is likely that there would be very little variation if another estimate were done. However, the costs were developed based on mileage and salaries from the urban area. The rural area may incur larger mileage costs due to longer travel times, but salaries may have been lower for some of the key personnel. Further, including enforcement as part of the PO intervention may have been important. However, linking charges and convictions specifically related to the PO was difficult as noted above. Further, police and justice system costs were incurred before the DVO was issued and may have been incurred in the absence of a DVO. So, the police and justice system costs were included both before and after the DVO was issued rather than as a part of the PO intervention.

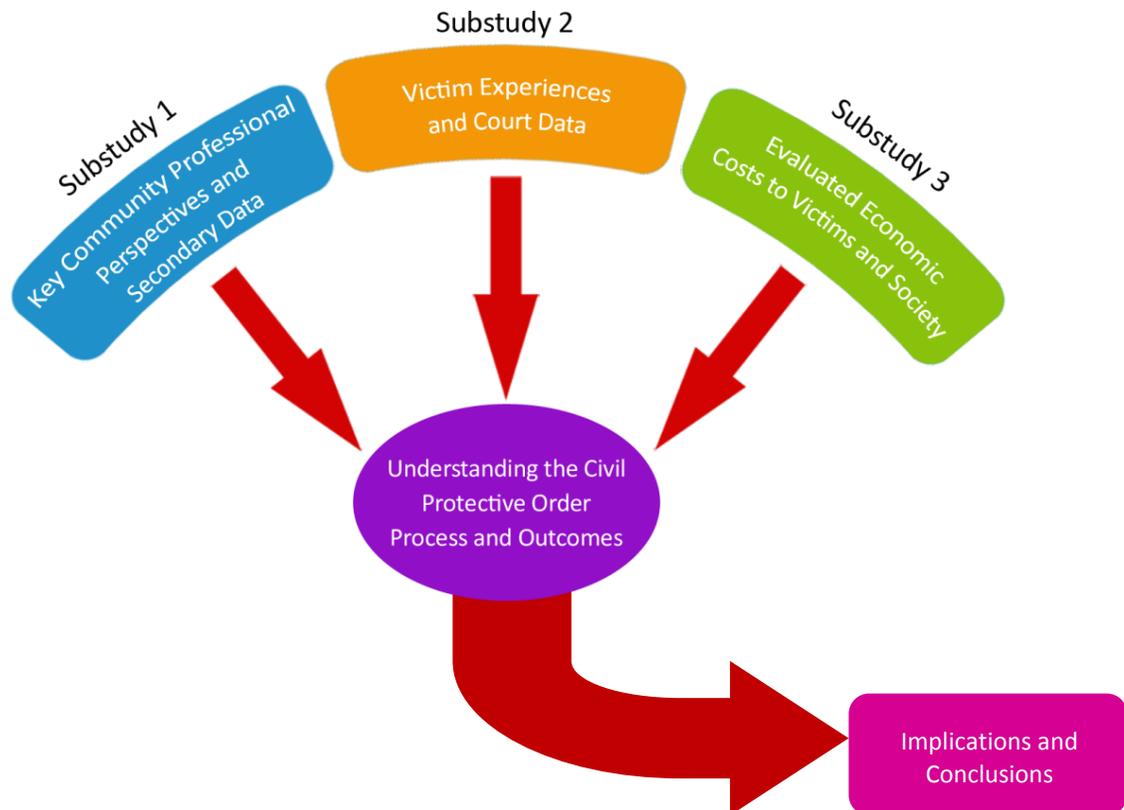
Another limitation is related to the estimate and value of the quality of life index. Quantifying the impact of abuse and violence on quality of life is very difficult to do, especially at the individual level. Some studies have used “willingness-to-pay” methodologies and others have used jury awards (Cohen, 2001) to estimate pain and suffering from crime. The quality of life estimate used in this study seemed to be the most reasonable way to estimate the impact on victim quality of life, especially on an individual basis. It is important to remember that individual victims react differently such that one woman may experience significant anxiety and stress while another woman in seemingly the same situation may not experience as much anxiety and stress. These individual differences are accounted for with the methodology used in this substudy, although it is not without limitations. The second step in the process, assigning a value to the quality of life index could also be considered a limitation of the study. The cost of a mental health visit was used which was basically about \$100 per day of distress from the abuse. It is difficult to know whether this is a fair or accurate estimate of the impact on a woman’s quality of life due to constant abuse, harassment, and violence. On the other hand, some of the women in the study may have taken medication to relieve stress, depression, and/or anxiety and their days of stress were reduced due to the medication, yet medication used to reduce distress from the abuse was not accounted for with the quality of life index used in this study. Even within the limitations, by focusing on economic costs and including a quality of life index, this study builds a foundation toward better quantification of harms experienced by partner violence victims.

As mentioned previously, results of the extrapolation from the sample to the Kentucky population of victims with DVOs should be interpreted with caution. This estimate was only for those who were issued a DVO in a one year period and does not consider savings or reduced costs for a longer follow-up period or for those who had POs issued previously but that were in effect during that year. It was also assumed that the costs and savings over a 6 month period before the DVO and a 6 month period after the DVO were stable for 12 months before and after the DVO. Although it is likely that the costs 6 months before the DVO do not differ greatly for a 12 month period, the reduction in costs would be expected to decline in the second 6 month period for the year after the DVO was issued. Thus, the extrapolation results are likely an underestimate of the actual cost savings to the state.

In conclusion, findings from substudy 2 suggest that stalking plays an important role in protective order violations, ongoing fear, and perceived protective order effectiveness. Consistent with those findings, the two stories introduced at the beginning of this section illustrate the devastating impact that stalking can have on a victim's life as well as two very disparate outcomes of a protective order intervention. Lauren experienced ongoing harassment for years even after she had separated from Mike. The few examples of abuse she experienced in the relationship are only a short glimpse into the terror she lived through during her relationship with him. It is likely the abuse she suffered was continually present in his ongoing stalking and harassment of her even years after they had separated. When she finally got the courage to face him and the court system, she did find relief and could move on with her life and her future. The removal of daily stalking and harassment cannot truly be quantified. Her story underscores the critical role that civil protective orders play in protecting women and helping them to live lives free of violence and harassment. On the other hand, Sarah was not so lucky. Eric did not seem deterred by the protective order in any way, and probably for good reason, as there were no consequences for violating the order. Not only did Sarah have to suffer ongoing stalking, harassment, and property damage because of Eric, she also had to suffer from the frustration of not being able to get any help from the criminal justice system. It is very likely that Sarah's level of distress from the abuse was heightened by the inaction of the criminal justice system. And, it is cases like Sarah's, where perpetrators continue to cost the state money because of their continued stalking and harassment of victims even after a court intervention. Stories like Sarah's also show just how devastating partner violence can be on one's quality of life. The next section focuses on implications for practice and policy from the stories of women presented in this report as well as from the results of all three substudies.

IMPLICATIONS AND CONCLUSIONS

Figure Of The Complete Kentucky Civil Protective Order Study Components



IMPLICATIONS AND CONCLUSIONS

The purpose of this comprehensive study was to better understand the civil protective order process, effectiveness, and enforcement from multiple perspectives. Outcomes were examined for a selected urban area and a selected rural area within one state to better understand jurisdictional and community context differences. One state was selected in order to have uniform statutory and regulatory frameworks for community implementation.

This study had the advantage of building on prior research which informed the selection of measures and investigative methods and also identified areas of substantial gaps in knowledge. To date, this study is one of the most comprehensive studies of civil protective orders in the U.S. and the results provide information that could profoundly shape practice, policies, and future research. This study attempted to address three main questions: (1) Rural versus urban similarities and differences: Do community contextual factors matter? (2) Civil protective orders: Justice or just a piece of paper? (3) Costs of protective orders versus partner violence: Is it really worth it? Three substudies were designed to address the three questions. Findings from across all three substudies have been presented and form the basis for the implications and recommendations for policy, practice, and future research.

IMPLICATIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

- 1. Increase access to protective orders by identifying and reducing barriers.** This study shows that, for most women, protective orders reduce violence and save the state millions of dollars of avoided costs. However, results of this study also show that there are significant and unrecognized barriers for women in accessing protective orders. For example, bureaucratic red tape barriers can prevent, or certainly impede, victims from being able to obtain protection for which they are eligible under the statute. Further, there was limited key informant awareness of many of the factors women must overcome in asking for help from the court to address this very personal issue. There especially seemed to be a lack of recognition of how embarrassing, fear provoking, disheartening, and frustrating the process can be for victims.

Recommendation 1A: Local key community representatives need to understand the barriers victims encounter in their specific jurisdictions in the process of trying to obtain protective orders. Creating a mechanism for the justice system as well as other key community professionals to obtain feedback from victims who have and have not obtained a civil protective order for partner abuse and violence is one way to address barriers. Future research is needed to better understand why some women succeed in obtaining protective orders in spite of the barriers while other women are discouraged.

Recommendation 1B: Providing victims with more information about the process and more help with obtaining civil protective orders is critical to addressing barriers. Obviously, court personnel cannot tell victims what to say, but they can help victims in a variety of ways, such as ensuring all parts of the form are filled out correctly, asking victims if the incident or reasons for the petition are fully explained, and providing victims with information about the statute and the overall process.

Recommendation 1C: Identifying the salient barriers to obtaining protective orders and training personnel from key agencies to reduce or eliminate them is essential. This assessment of barriers and training must be ongoing as barriers can change over time and the impact of training can diminish over time.

Victims seeking protective orders first encounter several individuals, or gatekeepers, to file petitions and obtain a hearing. These gatekeepers are often court clerks but may also include police or sheriff officers and judges who must sign the petitions. Every partner violence victim who meets the statutory eligibility should at least be given the right to a protective order hearing. However, it appears that some women, even when they meet the statutory eligibility criteria, are being discouraged from seeking a protective order (or even outright denied the opportunity) by gatekeepers even before they get to the hearing. Other serious problems included limited access to civil protective orders for disabled or injured victims who cannot easily access the courthouse and for victims with language barriers.

Recommendation 1D: Court personnel, clerks, and judges need continuing education or training in protective order statutes and regulations to increase compliance in practice. This should also be required as a part of orientation for new court personnel.

Recommendation 1E: The state-level corollary administrative agencies, which oversee court procedures, should put in place a complaint process whereby victims could give information about refusals to process petitions and other barriers to accessing protective orders. Further, a tracking system should be implemented to provide more information about who requests a petition, the outcome of the request, and the reason for the denial of a petition at any level. This information should be tracked to understand better who is and is not being served by the civil protective order process. Such a tracking system could identify specific jurisdictions within which an atypical pattern of denials was emerging and interventions could therefore be developed to address these anomalies.

2. **Address gaps in victim safety and offender accountability in the protective order process.** Once an EPO has been filed, several gaps in victim safety were identified by this study, including (a) the time between the filing of an EPO and the DVO hearing; (b) when attempts to enforce the order by the victim fail; and (c) when victims have dropped previous orders.

Victims indicated that the time between filing for an EPO and obtaining a DVO was one of confusion and frustration. Some women indicated they did not know the full scope of an EPO violation or how to report EPO violations, such as whether they should call the police or wait until the DVO hearing to report the violation. Some women did not know when the order had been served, meaning that they were unsure whether certain contacts with the PO partners were violations. Further, some women were especially frustrated that the EPO was violated with no consequences. All of this suggests a significant gap in victim safety during this time period which may be one of great risk because this is when the perpetrator discovers she has filed for a PO. Key informants seemed to have minimal recognition of the particular risks that are inherent during this time period which likely contributes to increasing even further the risk to victim safety.

Recommendation 2A: One way to address the gap in victim safety between filing the EPO and the DVO hearing would be to offer follow-up or advocacy services to victims during this period which may also encourage more women to follow through with the PO process. The majority of victims who obtain EPOs in Kentucky do not receive advocacy services or law enforcement follow-up prior to (or even sometimes after) the domestic violence order court hearing approximately two weeks later (or perhaps much

later if non-service is a problem) unless a violation is reported (and in some cases not even then). In other words, there is often no proactive support for victims who obtain protective orders sometimes leaving the perpetrator as the person with the greatest access to the victim whether or not there is a “no contact” provision. The findings from key informants and victims suggest a need for more proactive support of victims with protective orders early in the process. It is possible that the offer, but not the imposition, of advocacy or law enforcement follow-up services to victims when they obtain EPOs and DVOs may increase victim safety and offender accountability.

Recommendation 2B: Another interim step in addressing the problem of not having information available about the status of the order would be to provide a notification service like the Victim Information and Notification Everyday (VINE) PO notification services. This service has recently been implemented in Kentucky and several other states (<http://www.appriss.com/VPO.html>). Victims can access information about their protective orders, such as terms, conditions, and expiration dates, through a free telephone service. Victims can also register to be notified when their protective order is served, when court hearings are held, about any filed amendments, and when the order is about to expire. This service has an operator available 24 hours a day to register victims, answer questions, and provide information about local victim services.

For half of the victims in this sample, all it took was the issuance of the protective order to stop the violence. The other half experienced protective order violations. Protective orders are just pieces of paper in the absence of assertive enforcement. This study suggests that protective order enforcement has room for improvement. Specifically, consistent with many women’s fears that nothing would be done if they did make a violation report, results of this study show that in those cases with reported violations few perpetrators were arrested and even fewer had official charges that were noted in their court records. This trend was even greater for cases from the rural area.

It is interesting that the majority of victims, regardless of area, indicated they believed the protective order was not violated because the perpetrator was afraid of legal repercussions, especially of going to or back to jail. This underscores the importance of the criminal justice system response to protective order violations; if protective orders are violated without consequences this fear would be eliminated. Evidence of weak enforcement can be gleaned from the official court data as described above and from key informant respondents who indicated only one-third (rural) to one half (urban) of offenders are likely to be arrested in response to a PO violation. Even more concerning, it is possible that when an offender violates the order without any sanctions, there is increased risk of ongoing and more severe violence toward the victim. If offenders learn there are no consequences to violations but victims take the risk of reporting violations, offenders may retaliate. Thus, reported violations with no consequences likely further increases risk to victims.

There are especially problems with enforcement when offenders flee the scene upon knowledge that a victim or someone else has reported a violation. If law enforcement does not make an assertive attempt to arrest the violator, victims may be at increased risk of further harm. The lack of prompt and aggressive enforcement can mean that an offender may perceive that he can evade consequences. It also may result in a desire for retribution, thus increasing danger to the victim.

Another problematic area in protective order enforcement is the high potential for law enforcement to arrest victims or make dual arrests when they cannot easily determine the primary or predominant aggressor. Situations in which determining the primary aggressor is difficult and may be exacerbated by negative stereotypes and biases about partner violence, perceptions of low victim credibility (e.g., victim presentation and characteristics such as substance use and mental health problems) and the perceived high level of proof needed to enforce the order (e.g., officer must witness the violation). If officers know both the right questions to ask and investigative techniques that can determine the primary aggressor, perhaps there would be fewer dual arrests or inaction on the part of police officers. Again, this situation creates a gap in victim safety for several reasons—the victim will quickly learn that calling the police is ineffective in helping her and may even be harmful if she is arrested, and the offender will learn that his version of the story is always just as, if not more, credible as her version, both of which likely ensure that the violence and abuse will continue.

Recommendation 2C: There is a serious need for training law enforcement about the increased risk in safety for victims who have attempted or failed to have their orders enforced. The lack of a strong criminal justice response to a violation reinforces the offender’s ability to continue controlling the situation and the victim’s perception that she is “on her own” and the justice system will not help her. This means that law enforcement will likely be dealing with the offender again in the future, increasing costs to the justice system. Failure to enforce the order also includes situations where the offender flees the scene and police do not attempt to locate the offender. In cases in which the offender has fled the scene, it may be that much less investigative time would be needed to apprehend the offender than is initially thought and that, over time, the initial investigation time that results in an arrest of the offender would save time in dealing with the offender in the future.

Also, training law enforcement personnel on why women do not report every violation may also be important. This may be more of a rational and logical decision-making process for victims than key system personnel recognize. Between one-third and two-thirds of key informants indicated that victims “allowing” contact with the perpetrator or not reporting violations is a big problem with protective orders or is a barrier to enforcing protective orders. This may very well be the case, but many responses classified into this theme were victim-blaming rather than acknowledging that women may not report violations because of their history of non-response from the criminal justice system or for other legitimate reasons. This should also help to sensitize police and judges to the idea that when women do report violations, they need to pay closer attention to her safety risk and to carefully investigate the situation given it is not likely the only violation she has experienced.

Recommendation 2D: Training law enforcement to efficiently and effectively assess for the primary aggressor would reduce erroneous and harmful responses to partner violence. Further, thorough law enforcement assessments and investigations in these cases could be helpful in building stronger cases, which helps prosecutors hold offenders accountable.

Another gap in victim safety in obtaining a protective order is the bias against women who have dropped previous orders. There was an indication in this study that it may be more difficult for

women to obtain an EPO and a DVO if they have previously dropped an order. This is particularly concerning given that women drop or do not follow through with orders for a variety of reasons including threats and fear of personal and family safety, hope that things will change, and the fact that separation is a process rather than a sudden event (Logan, Walker, Jordan, & Campbell, 2004c).

Obtaining a civil protective order is not predicated on the requirement that women leave the abusive relationship, yet there seems to be an assumption that women have to leave if they have a protective order. This was especially evident in key informant responses to questions about problems with protective orders and barriers to enforcement with a large proportion of respondents indicating women allow contact, initiate contact, or don't report every violation. Not only does the state statute allow women to have protective orders and maintain contact (No Violent Contact orders), but the assumption that all women are able to discontinue all contact with their violent partner who also may be the father of their children is, in some cases, very difficult to do. Another indicator that there is an assumption that women with protective orders must separate from their violent partner is the high number of No Contact orders given in the rural area (90.6%) especially compared to the urban area (58.5%). Giving a No Contact order to women who continue in the relationship or who need to communicate with the violent partner may send a message that they cannot have a PO and continue a relationship with the violent partner leading some women to drop the order. Recently there has been a focus on the importance of recognizing that women may continue a relationship with the violent partner but that does not diminish the importance of safety planning or providing court protection from violence (Goldfarb, 2008; Davies, 2008; 2009).

Thus, those who drop orders may need the support of the court even more than other women and may be at higher risk for violence and ongoing abuse. Protective orders are essential for victim safety but also for the safety of the children in the home. Disallowing women from obtaining protective orders when they qualify, solely because they have dropped orders in the past, is problematic. Further it does not appear that many women are dropping orders. For example, only a small proportion of women in the current study dropped the order by the 6 month follow-up (4%) and, in a larger study of victims from the same target counties, only 9% had dropped the order over the course of the 12 month follow-up (Logan & Walker, 2009a). Yet, it is these cases that justice system personnel seem to remember the most, in part, because they repeatedly see these cases. Victims who have successfully received help from the system do not come back. This creates a situation that severely slants one's perspective unless a larger view is taken.

Recommendation 2E: It is important to provide justice system and victim service personnel with the bigger picture of protective order outcomes and effectiveness. Victims who benefit from the protective orders do not come back through the system (they have received the help they need), which gives service providers and the justice system a biased picture of what is really happening with protective orders. Most women benefit from the orders and do not drop them. However, it appears there are women who do drop orders for a variety of reasons and then need to come back to the court for help. Training should include information on the dynamics of separating from a violent partner and how victims cope with violence and fear during this especially dangerous time, as well as the importance of recognizing that sometimes women ask for protection but do not always leave the violent relationship or stop communication. Thus, training

justice system personnel on the number of women who drop orders using actual data and reasons some women might drop their orders in addition to the potentially increased risk to this subgroup of women is crucial to increasing victim safety.

- 3. Improve protective order enforcement by examining decision points in the enforcement process.** Protective orders clearly do have an impact on subsequent violence. However, study results suggest that protective order enforcement could be improved. Considering specific factors associated with enforcement of protective order violations and factors associated with ignoring violations would provide a map to target training for each critical agency that plays a role in partner violence protection.

Recommendation 3A: Create a proactive system where the assessment of agency and victim feedback is regularly considered in the protective order enforcement process for cases with positive outcomes as well as for cases with negative outcomes. This feedback would need to be collected within several different agencies directly involved in the protective order process in addition to agencies indirectly involved with the protective order process but who serve partner violence victims. Victim feedback about both positive and negative experiences of protective order enforcement is also necessary to do a full assessment of the process.

Recommendation 3B: Closely related, it is important to create a system whereby victims can express their concerns and complaints about the protective order enforcement response without retaliation from agencies. Each agency should have an easily accessible and visible procedure for victims to register concerns or complaints. Currently, few outlets exist for victims to express concern about the handling of their cases or concern for their future safety after a failed response. Once a victim has received a protective order through the court hearing process, violations of the order must be taken very seriously or the risk to victim safety could be increased.

Recommendation 3C: Another way to improve protective order enforcement is for communities to examine each step in the process, including the police and prosecutors responses as well as the judge/jury conviction process. Considering specific factors associated with enforcement of protective order violations and factors associated with ignoring violations would provide a map to target areas needed for improvement, obstacles that could be removed, and training that is needed for each agency central to addressing partner violence. A similar system called The Network for the Improvement of Addiction Treatment (NIATx) “walk through approach” (<https://www.niatx.net>) has been used to improve substance abuse treatment and a variety of health services. This process uses key informants from service agencies as mock victims literally “walking through” the whole process. Naturally, this method involves some fake conditions, but it gives decision-makers a view of services that is otherwise obscured. Examining factors associated with decision-making is critical within each of these steps. For example, clearly articulating community and departmental priorities, rewards or payoffs for various decisions and actions, the implicit and explicit influence of trust and cooperation in social contexts (i.e., addressing politics), and addressing stereotypes, traditional gender role biases, victim blaming attitudes, and other barriers will provide a deeper contextual view of the process.

Recommendation 3D: System accountability can also be increased through monitoring secondary data that provide information such as charges, convictions, service rates, and number of EPOs and DVOs. This information should be made public through an annual statewide report that includes information for each jurisdiction as well as for the state at large. Tracking this information over time may be especially helpful in monitoring progress.

- 4. Respond to partner stalking more effectively.** Results from this study show a significant association of stalking and protective order violations; yet, the justice system and victim service representatives largely do not seem to acknowledge or appreciate the danger associated with stalking or the toll it takes on victims. Stalking was rarely mentioned by key informants, and more stalking victims than victims who experienced violations but no stalking, indicated they did not report violations because there was no point or no proof. Further, there were few stalking charges in the 6 month follow-up period despite the fact that a significant proportion of victims experienced stalking and those victims experienced more violations. In fact, for the rural women, those who were stalked were less likely to see any domestic violence-related charges than those with DVO violations but no stalking. Partner stalking costs the state around \$9 million per year primarily for health services and justice system costs when quality of life costs are excluded from the analysis.

Results of this study are buttressed by prior research suggesting that partner stalking is often a form or extension of partner violence and that relational history provides a context in which cues of implicit or explicit threat are more meaningful to the victim than they would be to someone without an understanding of the relationship history. This makes the stalking potentially very frightening and concerning to the victim while seeming benign to outsiders (Logan & Walker, 2009b; Logan, Cole, Shannon, & Walker, 2006a). The relationship history also gives stalkers a wider array of tactics to use against the victim, including intimate knowledge of victims and their lives. Perpetrators' intimate knowledge of victims makes taking safety precautions even more challenging. Adding to the terror of being stalked by a prior violent partner is evidence that intimate partner stalkers are more likely to threaten their victims and to follow through on those threats. Partner stalkers show more disregard for court intervention than non-partner stalkers (Mohandie, Meloy, McGowan, & Williams, 2006). Another unique dimension of partner stalking is that it often begins or occurs while the relationship is intact and continues during periods of separation; however, stalking during periods of separation may be especially dangerous, especially when stalking persists after a protective order has been granted. Stalking victimization is associated with psychological distress, and some preliminary evidence suggests that stalking by a violent partner contributes uniquely to psychological distress (Logan & Walker, 2009b).

Recommendation 4A: There is clear need for training on the unique implications of partner stalking for justice system interventions. While there has been inconsistent research on batterer typologies based on psychological characteristics and basic patterns of violence, the tactics used in stalking clearly define a heightened risk factor for harm to victims. This study suggests that assertive enforcement of protective orders in stalking cases could increase victim safety and offender accountability and reduce general costs to society.

Recommendation 4B: Partner stalking must no longer be ignored in addressing partner violence and protective order effectiveness. Assessments for stalking should be done at every partner violence police call, EPO petition, and DVO hearing. Also, protections should be crafted to specifically address the stalking behavior as well as victim safety concerns. Targeted advocacy support and safety planning should be offered to each victim, but when stalking is involved a more targeted and creative safety plan may be warranted. Further, while many advocates and mental health professionals have received training on partner violence, it is unlikely that they have been sensitized to the additional risk posed by stalking within violent relationships. Advocates and mental health professionals should also receive training on stalking as part of client risk assessment.

5. Acknowledge the significant harm and toll partner violence and stalking impose on victims.

Among the many aspects of partner violence and protective orders examined by this study, one facet stood out as poorly addressed in the literature-- the quantification of the impact of partner violence and stalking on quality of life, such as pain and suffering for crime victims. It is clearly important to address direct and indirect tangible costs of the impact of abuse on victims and to society. But, given the results of victim interviews and the case studies, it becomes clear that the impact of partner violence and protective orders reach beyond direct and indirect costs. In fact, this study suggests the impact of partner violence and stalking, and specifically, the relief of distress provided by protective orders, is significant. While the metric used in this study to quantify harm or impact on quality of life may not be the best, it was an attempt to begin the process of quantifying harm for partner violence victims and to take a deeper look at the impact of protective orders. In other words, this study suggests that harm from partner violence and stalking need to be understood from a dual perspective—as derived financial costs to society resulting from partner violence and concurrently, as a way to appreciate the damage to human lives as a result of partner violence.

Recommendation 5A: Future research on partner violence should move toward greater concentration on ways to measure the extent of social, personal, vocational, and parental care harm women experience rather than solely focusing on mental health or health symptoms. This has the added importance of shifting the focus of research away from women's psychopathology and toward the actual harms caused by offenders.

Recommendation 5B: Training of justice system personnel should focus on the significant harm and toll that partner violence and stalking take on victims and their children. It goes beyond simple physical injury and isolated incidents. This will take a paradigm shift for justice system officials who often focus on incident-based crimes. However, partner violence and stalking are part of a system of coercive control or a pattern of ongoing tactics designed to control victims. Physical violence is only a tool within the arsenal of coercive control (Logan & Walker, 2009b; Stark, 2007). Without a clear picture of what partner violence and stalking are really about, understanding cannot be increased.

6. Recognize that different agencies may see different groups of victims which can interfere with incorporating community collaboration into the response to partner violence. It is essential that agencies and communities work together to address partner violence. Results from this study suggest that sometimes justice system and victim service agencies are at odds with each

others' perceptions of the criminal justice response to partner violence. For example, study results indicate that the justice system respondents viewed their response to protective order violations much more positively than did victim service representatives. It may be that each of these agencies is seeing a different group of victims, with victim service personnel seeing women who are having more trouble with the justice system response (and not seeing the women in cases that were successfully resolved through the justice system) while justice system representatives are focusing on those cases in which action was taken rather than thinking of the cases in which violations were not addressed.

Recommendation 6A: Given that different agencies are likely to have different perspectives on partner violence and perhaps are dealing with different types of cases, it may be important for communities to establish a way to communicate about these differences. This will help ensure that new procedures can evolve from discussion and shared perceptions can take on new meaning for the group as a whole. This is a continuing process and is far more likely to anchor change than training sessions alone.

- 7. Target training of justice system and victim service personnel to increase understanding of partner violence, protective order effectiveness, perpetrator characteristics, and partner stalking within jurisdictional and community contexts.** Study results clearly have implications for training in a variety of areas in addition to those already mentioned. Specific factors identified in this study are suggested to be incorporated into training for justice system and victim service personnel.

Recommendation 7A: Misperceptions about the effectiveness of protective orders should be addressed. Protective orders are successful in reducing abuse and violence in most cases and they save millions of dollars in avoided costs to society. Further, women appreciate the orders and enjoy significant positive effects on their lives as evidenced by their reduced distress. This information needs to be widely distributed to justice system and victim service representatives.

Recommendation 7B: Training must also emphasize the characteristics of partner violence perpetrators. Partner violence perpetrators with protective orders against them tend to have significant histories of criminal justice system involvement (mostly unrelated to partner violence crimes), with 75% having prior charges and 90% having been in jail. Thus, partner violence offenders are often engaged in a wide pattern of criminal conduct (Klein & Tobin, 2008). Several studies show that those charged with stalking also have a significant history of involvement in the criminal justice system (Klein, Salomon, Huntington, Dubois, & Lang, 2009; Logan, Nigoff, Jordan, & Walker, 2002a). Partner violence and stalking are more than relationship problems or romance gone wrong; rather, these behaviors should be viewed as an extension of criminal behavior and as part of a campaign of terror over victims.

Recommendation 7C: Both rural and urban respondents indicated that partner violence happens because of substance abuse. Although clearly the two are linked, it is important to address the specific dynamics and differences between the two issues. The high rate of substance abuse in the rural communities, combined with key informants' perceptions of drug and alcohol-related crimes as the highest priority crimes in those communities, suggests a need for targeted criminal justice and victim service policies

and interventions to address the co-occurrence of domestic violence and substance abuse. When intimate partner violence occurs in the context of illegal drug and alcohol activity involving perpetrators and/or victims, police may be tempted to base their responses on the most tangible evidence, most likely the drugs or alcohol use or on the drug and alcohol-related criminal activity which they perceive as the “cause” of the partner violence. A misunderstanding regarding the relationship between substance use and partner violence can influence interventions to focus on the substance abuse while neglecting perpetrator accountability for the partner violence and the safety of partner violence victims.

Recommendation 7D: The results of the key informant survey underscore the fact that myths about partner violence continue to persist, especially in the rural area. For example, over one in four rural criminal justice representatives indicated that partner violence happens because of relationship issues while two out of five criminal justice representatives suggested financial strain caused partner violence. A few urban respondents from both agencies also mentioned relationship issues and one in four rural victim service representatives indicated financial strain contributes to partner violence. Further, a number of key informants mentioned perpetrator anger and lack of emotion control or regulation is associated with partner violence. All of these factors may be associated with partner violence. But what is missing in naming these factors is the recognition that partner violence is a systematic and deliberate set of tactics designed to control another person, and that level of control erodes victims’ freedom (Logan & Walker, 2009b; Stark, 2006). Further, the perpetrator directly benefits from controlling his partner in numerous ways (Bancroft, 2002). Training community agency personnel who work with victims and perpetrators, especially justice system personnel, to better understand partner violence and stalking as coercive control may help to diminish the persistent beliefs in the myths about partner violence.

Further, this study did not provide any evidence that victims seek protective orders for “revenge” or to “gain the upper hand” as many key informant respondents indicated. In fact, victim responses imply the opposite, that women are willing to continue to risk their safety to protect the PO partner. Protective orders were designed to address primary safety needs, but they were also designed to address a variety of other needs partner violence victims have including housing, child custody, and child support. Judges don’t always use all of these stipulations but they are there to meet victim needs. Of course, just like with any crime, there are some who try take advantage of the system; and, just like any crime, most crime victims are sincere in their needs. The negative perceptions of women who obtain protective orders must be addressed in ongoing trainings.

Recommendation 7E: This study showed marked differences between jurisdictions, not only among the key community professionals representing the two different areas, but also in victim responses and outcomes. Although there are many similarities across jurisdictions, the key to connecting with key community agencies and truly helping victims may very well lie in the context that is unique to that jurisdiction. Some of these differences are simply a function of different community resources and barriers (such as geographic isolation and travel difficulties). However, other differences represent less assertive employment of safety protections for victims. These differences deserve closer

scrutiny at the community level to prevent a community from becoming a higher risk area for serious partner violence victimization. Although this study provides a foundation for identifying some unique factors, more research is needed to efficiently identify unique jurisdictional and community contextual factors.

Recommendation 7F: Training events for criminal justice personnel may have impact over time; however, this study raises a question as to how deeply anchored some of these beliefs might be in a culture, particularly for the rural area of this study. As mentioned earlier in this report, the rural Appalachian culture places a high value on the privacy and integrity of family systems as well as having more conservative political and social views which may contribute to more victim blame and negative attitudes toward helping partner violence victims. It may be that a broader and multidimensional approach to training is needed to make inroads into traditional ideas about partner violence as a private family matter in which both parties share responsibility.

- 8. Focus future research on the remaining gaps in knowledge about the protective order process and outcomes.** Although this study addressed many of the critical questions about the overall effectiveness and the strengths and weaknesses of the protective order process, three areas are suggested for the focus of future research.

Recommendation 8A: Although this study examined some aspects of protective order enforcement, important gaps in knowledge regarding protective order enforcement still exist, and these gaps have important policy implications. In other words, protective order enforcement continues to be a “black box.” Future research should link and measure enforcement that is clearly and directly associated with protective order violations. Knowing what happens in protective order enforcement and clarifying which actions are directly linked to the enforcement of the protective order versus other criminal charges are important.

Recommendation 8B: More research is needed to identify problems with local and statewide data that track arrests, charges, and dispositions. There are always problems with any large data system, but the problems are not always identified and articulated, and without these measures the problem cannot be addressed. Further, without a full understanding of the limitations of statewide and local data, it is difficult to clearly interpret findings. Given advances in networked data systems, there is a clear need for improving court and law enforcement data systems and research could help identify ways to improve these systems as this information could be important in the tracking and analysis of progress and problems in addressing partner violence and for developing more effective policies.

Recommendation 8C: This study went beyond the routine mental health and physical health measures of victim harm. By using a quality of life index, this study opened the door to a different way to quantify harm to victims. However, future research is needed to better quantify the harm of partner abuse, violence, and stalking so that a more accurate evaluation of justice system interventions can be done. The quantification of harm should include dimensions of daily living that are affected by violence and stalking such as impairment in the ability to work, to obtain education, to provide nurturing care

for children, to have free access to social contacts and other family members, and to experience freedom of movement within one's community.

CONCLUSIONS

This study started by asking three questions. The results suggest that jurisdictional and community context does not matter in terms of overall impact of protective orders on continuing abuse and violence. Half of the victims in this study, regardless of area, did not experience protective order violations and even for those who did experience violations significant reductions were noted in overall abuse, fear of future harm, distress due to the abuse, and costs. Also, stalking before the PO was obtained was significantly associated with PO violations regardless of area. Further, women, regardless of area seem to appreciate the protective order and felt it was effective. However, context does matter in victim experiences of the protective order process with rural women experiencing more barriers to obtaining protective orders, less relief from the fear and abuse over time, weaker enforcement, and higher quality of life and lower justice system costs. Thus, protective orders work best for those who are not stalked the 6 months before obtaining the protective order and for those who live in the urban area. Finally, the cost analysis suggests that the costs of civil protective orders are very low, especially when compared with the toll that partner violence exacts on victims. In essence, this study suggests that, at a minimum, increased safety had no additional cost to society; but when victims' quality of life was considered, substantial savings accrue to society. Further, without justice system interventions, partner violence offenders are likely to continue a variety of criminal behaviors because partner violence is part of a pattern of criminal behavior rather than an anomaly. Thus, when civil protective order interventions are successful, substantial reductions in costs are expected to accrue over time as the abuse abates and victims get on with their lives. Implications from this study suggest numerous areas for improvements to increase access to the protective order process and enforcement. Would improvement of the protective order process cost more money? The answer is most likely "yes." But study results suggest improvements would also provide significant cost savings to society.

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DISSEMINATION OF RESEARCH FINDINGS

PUBLICATIONS

Logan, T. & Walker, R. (2009). Civil protective order effectiveness: Justice or just a piece of paper? Accepted to *Violence & Victims*

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PRESENTATIONS

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