

**Domestic Violence in Wisconsin:
An Overview of Criminal Justice and Training Issues**

Michelle Woolery
May 2004

Prepared for the *Wisconsin Women=Prosperity* Project

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Executive Summary

Domestic violence is a pervasive and costly problem in Wisconsin. In 2001, there were over 27,000 incidents reported to the Wisconsin Department of Justice. In 2002, over 32,000 women were served by the state's domestic violence agencies. Many more battered women go without services, and violence often goes unreported. Physical violence usually occurs as part of a pattern of emotionally, psychologically and financially abusive and controlling behavior. This pattern of behavior is commonly referred to as *battering*, and victims in abusive heterosexual relationships are most often women. In Wisconsin, it is likely that \$77 million is spent on direct health care costs and \$33 million is lost due to reduced productivity each year. Domestic abuse programs had a combined annual budget of \$22.3 million in 2002.

Although Wisconsin has made significant improvements in the criminal justice response to domestic violence over the past several decades, more work is needed. Dual arrest and case dismissal rates are high, and it is probable that battered women are occasionally being arrested. In addition, disorderly conduct charges are far more common than battery charges in every county besides Milwaukee County. Disorderly conduct charges carry a lighter penalty than battery charges, and the courts may not be enforcing the federal Gun Control Act in these situations. This issue should be explored in more depth.

Domestic violence may be more common in poor and minority households. Data from the Wisconsin Department of Justice indicates that minorities are more likely to be the victims of domestic violence. This data was not broken down by income, but many other studies indicate that poorer women are more vulnerable to abuse. Because poorer

women have fewer resources, they may be less able to leave abusive relationships.

Domestic violence may be more common in minority households because minority households are more likely to be low-income.

Training efforts have largely been directed at the criminal justice system. Training of criminal justice personnel is funded by federal grants and the budgets of local domestic violence agencies. The Department of Justice mandates that all police recruits complete 12 hours of training in domestic violence. Prosecutors and judges are not required to attend educational classes on domestic violence. The Wisconsin Domestic Violence Training Project was successful in promoting education on abuse in hospitals and schools. The project gave many local domestic violence agencies the tools to train health care and school employees in their own communities.

While it is important that Wisconsin continue to support efforts to end domestic violence through the criminal justice system, alternative approaches should be explored. Some battered women do not feel safe calling the police; some are not interested in utilizing the criminal justice system for other reasons. Criminal justice involvement does not always improve a battered woman's situation or increase her safety. Thus, I offer both general and criminal justice specific recommendations:

1. Domestic Violence training should be mandatory for prosecutors, judges, and veteran police officers.
2. Policy should be informed by the experiences that battered women have had with the criminal justice system.
3. The criminal justice system should establish a complaints center for battered women.

4. Prosecutors should move towards non-victim based prosecution of cases.
5. State funding for domestic violence services should be maintained and increased when possible.
6. Resources should be devoted to civil legal services for women.
7. Schools should screen for domestic violence and incorporate education on violent relationships into their curriculum and programs.

I. Introduction

Violence in the home is a widespread problem that negatively impacts the lives of women and children. Approximately one in three adult women will experience at least one physical assault by an intimate partner during their lifetime, and children in violent households are likely to be battered.¹ Domestic violence² results in injury, emotional damage, homelessness and, in the most extreme cases, death. Domestic violence can also cost a significant amount of money because financial resources need to be directed towards hospital bills and the operation of shelters and victim services. For instance, between 22 and 35 percent of female patients seeking care in hospital emergency rooms are domestic violence victims.³ Violence against women is more common and costly than most people realize.

Over 27,000 incidents of domestic violence were reported to the Wisconsin Department of Justice (DOJ) in 2001; this is a nearly ten percent increase from the number of incidents reported in 2000.⁴ It is important to remember that many incidents of domestic violence go unreported. Victims do not report abuse for many reasons, including fear of reprisal, concern for the offender, and desire for privacy.⁵ For instance, although there were 27,000 reported incidents of domestic abuse, over 32,000 women were served by the majority of domestic violence agencies in 2002. In areas outside of Milwaukee County and Dane County, there is an even greater gap between the number of incidents reported and the number of women seeking services.⁶

¹ American Psychological Association (1996)

² I use the terms *domestic violence* and *domestic abuse* interchangeably; in cases where my arguments directly apply to female victims, I also use the terms *violence against women*.

³ American Psychological Association (2000)

⁴ Department of Justice (2001)

⁵ Felson, et. al (2002), pg. 617

⁶ See Table 1, Overview of Domestic Abuse Trends by Region

Defining Domestic Abuse

Domestic abuse is defined by Wisconsin Statute, s.968.075, as “the intentional infliction of physical pain, injury or illness; intentional impairment of physical condition; sexual assault; or a physical act that causes the other person to reasonably fear that any of these actions will occur. Domestic abuse applies to acts engaged in by an adult person against his or her spouse, former spouse, an adult with whom the person resides or formerly resided, or an adult with whom the person has a child in common.”⁷ This description includes violent incidents between adult roommates and adult family members. Because I obtained the criminal justice data summarized in this report from the Department of Justice, the statistics will include both violent incidents between intimate (ex) partners and violent incidents between other family members or roommates.

Where it is possible, however, I focus on a more narrow type of domestic violence, which is the type commonly targeted by non-profit organizations assisting abused women. I define domestic abuse as *battering*, which the National Coalition Against Domestic Violence describes as “a pattern of behavior used to establish power and control over another person through fear and intimidation, often including the threat or use of violence. Battering happens when one person believes they are entitled to control another.”⁸ Although battering can occur in all types of relationships, this report is primarily focused on the effects of violence in intimate, or formerly intimate, relationships. As the statistics indicate, domestic abuse most commonly occurs in these types of relationships.⁹

⁷ DOJ (2001), pg. 1

⁸ National Coalition Against Domestic Violence (2004)

⁹ See Table 1: Overview of Domestic Abuse Trends by Region

Furthermore, domestic abuse victims tend to be female, and offenders tend to be male.¹⁰ This trend is witnessed across the nation: in 2001, 85 percent of the victims in reported intimate partner abuse incidents were female.¹¹ Other research indicates that the actual proportion of female victims in battering relationships is closer to 95 percent.¹² Thus, this report is focused on violence against women.

It is important to remember that men can be the victims of battering, and this type of domestic violence deserves attention and resources. However, domestic abuse is primarily a crime perpetrated against women, and female victims often face more obstacles, especially financial ones, than male victims. For instance, there is a 50 percent chance that a battered woman's standard of living will drop below the poverty line when she leaves a violent relationship.¹³ For these reasons, I focus on the impacts of domestic violence on the economic, psychological and physical well being of women. The effects of domestic violence on children, elderly victims and male victims are also problematic and costly, and they should be carefully considered in other research efforts.

Economic Costs

Domestic violence results in numerous personal and social economic costs. As mentioned previously, violence against women often results in serious injury and associated health care costs. In fact, a study conducted by the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention found that, nationally, "the health-related costs of rape, physical assault, stalking and homicide committed by intimate partners exceed \$5.8 billion each

¹⁰ Ibid

¹¹ Bureau of Justice Statistics Crime Data Brief (2003)

¹² WCADV (2004)

¹³ WCADV (2002), pg. 26

year. Of that amount, nearly \$4.1 billion are for direct medical and mental health care services, and nearly \$1.8 billion are for the indirect costs of lost productivity or wages.”¹⁴

It is likely that Wisconsin’s share of these health related costs total approximately \$100 million each year. Roughly \$77 million is spent on direct health care services and approximately \$33 million results from the costs of lost productivity.¹⁵

Furthermore, domestic related crimes consume law enforcement and criminal justice resources. Although I was unable to obtain an estimate of the amount of criminal justice resources spent on domestic related crimes, it should be noted that, “one-third of all police time is spent responding to domestic disturbance calls.”¹⁶ In addition, domestic abuse programs in Wisconsin had a combined annual budget of \$22.3 million dollars in 2002. The State of Wisconsin provided \$7.9 million of this amount.¹⁷

DHFS Domestic Abuse Program

The State of Wisconsin provided \$7.9 million of the total annual budget of domestic abuse programs through the Department of Health and Family Services’ (DHFS) Domestic Abuse Program.¹⁸ The sources of these funds include state GPR (\$5.1 million) and TANF dollars (\$750,000).¹⁹ The Domestic Abuse Program was established in 1981 and has three main purposes: “1) to provide crisis, safety and support services for victims of domestic abuse and their children, 2) to educate the community about issues related to domestic abuse, and 3) to promote a coordinated community response to domestic

¹⁴ Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (2003)

¹⁵ Calculations based on US Census population estimates for the United States (290,809,777) and Wisconsin (5,472,299). I applied Wisconsin’s proportion of the US population (1.88%) to the national estimates of the costs of intimate partner violence

¹⁶ WCADV (2002), pg. 26

¹⁷ WCADV/Governor’s Council on Domestic Abuse (2003), pg. 55

¹⁸ Ibid, pg. 55

¹⁹ Lewandowski (2004), pg. 1

abuse.”²⁰ The Domestic Abuse Program funds 59 non-profits, eleven tribes, and two county agencies. The program provides funds to the vast majority of domestic violence agencies within the state, and every county in the state has a DHFS sponsored domestic violence program.

The Domestic Abuse Program also provides financial assistance to two agencies that provide training and technical assistance to domestic abuse programs throughout the state: The Wisconsin Coalition Against Domestic Violence (WCADV) and American Indians Against Abuse. WCADV performs trainings for such places as domestic violence and criminal justice agencies. They also provide technical assistance to statewide domestic violence organizations and advocate for state policies that promote the safety and well being of survivors of domestic violence. Employees from the domestic violence agencies of the state’s eleven tribes form American Indians Against Abuse. They work to ensure that domestic violence information and education is culturally sensitive. Finally, the Domestic Abuse Program heads several other initiatives, including collaboration with Child Protective Services, working with under-served populations, addressing domestic abuse in later life, and measuring program outcomes.²¹

Governor’s Council on Domestic Abuse

The Council was created by the legislature in order to provide it with advice on policy related to domestic violence. The thirteen members of the Council also provide guidance to the Secretary of the Department of Health and Family Services on domestic related funding and policy. They are currently working on such issues as judicial

²⁰ Ibid, pg. 1

²¹ Ibid, pg. 3

education, the needs of underserved populations, and batterers' treatment programs.²²

They also recently collaborated with WCADV on a comprehensive overview of domestic violence programs and needs, entitled, "Liberty and Justice for All: A Comprehensive Plan to Provide Services to All Domestic Violence Victims in Wisconsin."

Services Available to Survivors of Domestic Abuse

Those DHFS funded programs operating a shelter must provide the following seven services, according to Wisconsin State statute: "24-hour hotline, temporary housing and food, counseling and advocacy, referral and follow-up, emergency transportation, arrangements for the education of school age children, and community education."²³

Supportive services, including legal advocacy and transitional housing assistance, are also provided by many domestic violence agencies. As mentioned previously, in 2002, over 32,000 women were served by domestic abuse programs in Wisconsin. Included in this number are the 6,600 people who stayed in shelter.²⁴ Not included in these numbers are the 64,500 crisis calls and 93,100 information and referral calls fielded by domestic violence organizations.²⁵

As pointed out in "Liberty and Justice for All," women living in rural areas are often isolated from support systems.²⁶ This includes support from neighbors, law enforcement, emergency medical services, and domestic violence organizations. In addition, smaller communities may be more resistant to change in the public response to

²² Lewandowski (2004), pg. 1

²³ Ibid, pg. 1

²⁴ Ibid, pg. 3

²⁵ Lewandowski (9 April 2004), personal communication via email

²⁶ WCADV/Governor's Council on Domestic Abuse (2003), pg. 7

domestic violence.²⁷ This report also points out that immigrant populations face similar issues of isolation. In contrast, women in urban settings typically have easier access to support and resources. However, waiting lists for services are more common in urban areas.²⁸ Due to the high volume of cases, domestic violence case workers (or advocates) may be unable to provide individualized services. In suburban communities, denial of the existence of domestic violence may be more common, because of the stereotypical associations of violence with poorer areas.²⁹

According to “Liberty and Justice for All,” there are several key challenges involved in the provision of domestic violence services. First, changing demographics, especially in regards to the growing immigrant populations, create a need for customized services. Second, although some tools, such as protection orders, have made families safer, many still lack the resources necessary to flee their abuser. Third, domestic violence advocates are often under paid and under trained. In addition, because working with survivors of domestic violence can be traumatic, advocates often face burnout.³⁰

II. Criminal Justice Overview

Wisconsin, as well as the rest of the United States, has made significant improvements in the criminal justice response to domestic violence over the past few decades. In the 1980s, leaders of the battered women’s movement finally succeeded in getting policymakers and law enforcement authorities to recognize domestic abuse as a

²⁷ Ibid, pg. 7

²⁸ Ibid, pg. 7

²⁹ Ibid, pg. 8

³⁰ Ibid, pg. 9

crime. In fact, during the late 1980s, the arrest rates for domestic crimes rose by 70 percent around the nation.³¹

Unfortunately, domestic violence continues to plague society. Most assaults continue to go unreported and when the police are involved the suspect is not always arrested. In addition, the prosecution of these cases is still in need of improvement. Too many cases are dismissed because the prosecutor is unable or unwilling to build a strong case that does not rely on the victim’s testimony. Finally, when batterers are convicted of domestic violence, they are sentenced to little more than a brief period of probation.

Table 1 presents an overview of several domestic violence statistics. For a breakdown of these statistics by county, see Appendix A.

Table 1: Overview of Domestic Abuse Trends by Region

Region:	Estimated 2001 Population	Reported Domestic Abuse Incidents (2001)	Number of Incidents per 1,000 People	Women Served by DHFS Funded Programs (2002)	Number of Women Served per 1,000 People	Percent of Incidents With Male Offender/ Female Victim	Percent of Incidents Involving (Ex)Partners	DV Homicides (2001)	DV Child Homicides (2001)
North Western	251,527	925	3.68	1,624	6.46	74.6%	86.9%	2	0
Western	645,925	2,700	4.18	6,084	9.42	67.1%	86.4%	4	1
North Eastern	1,277,444	4,344	3.40	9,006	7.05	68.0%	81.8%	3	0
Southern	3,278,554	19,485	5.94	15,550	4.74	68.4%	84.5%	18	9
Total	5,453,450	27,454	5.03	32,264	5.92	68.4%	85.5%	27	10

source: Skaggs, Department of Justice (calculations made by author); Women Served source, DHFS

First, it is important to note that there are more women being served by domestic abuse programs than there are reported incidents of abuse. Clearly, not all battered women are reporting the violence to the police. In reality, the number of unreported incidents of abuse is even greater than the table suggests because many survivors of domestic violence do not seek out services from agencies. For instance, a Minnesota

³¹ Farmer and Tiefenthaler, (2003), pg. 163

survey of domestic violence victims found that over 80 percent of the victims did not report the abuse to the authorities.³² The table above also suggests that underreporting of domestic violence is more common in the more rural areas of Wisconsin, such as the North Western and Western regions. This supports the argument made by WCADV and the Governor's Council on Domestic Abuse: women in smaller communities are less likely to report abuse.³³

Second, the vast majority of domestic abuse incidents involve a male offender and female victim (nearly 70 percent overall), and most incidents occur between people who are currently or were formerly involved in an intimate relationship. Third, given that a significant amount of research indicates that over 90 percent of victims in abusive relationships tend to be women³⁴, it is likely that battered women are being arrested in some of these situations. This is not to say that some of the female offenders are not batterers. Still, this situation is far less common (less than 10 percent of abusive relationships) and does not account for the fact that in approximately 20 percent of the domestic abuse incidents in 2001, there was a female offender and a male victim. (In the remaining 11 percent of incidents the violence occurred between people of the same sex.)³⁵

There are several possible explanations for why battered women are being arrested. One possible reason may be that battered women sometimes use force in a way that is technically illegal. Although they are the person that is being controlled and battered over the course of the relationship, there may be instances where they use

³² Minnesota Department of Public Safety (2003)

³³ WCADV/Governor's Council on Domestic Abuse (2003), pg. 7

³⁴ WCADV (2004)

³⁵ Skaggs (2004), calculations made by author

violence against their batterer. Many victims of abusive partners eventually strike out in retaliation.³⁶ Obviously, the police and prosecutor are obligated to treat the woman as the suspect in these cases. In other cases, however, it is probable that battered women are erroneously arrested. For instance, if a woman scratches her abusive partner in self-defense, the police may interpret the injury as evidence of an offensive attack. Furthermore, batterers tend to be very skilled at manipulation and often try to convince the police that they are the true victims. It is important that police officers continue to receive training on the common psychological aspects of abusive relationships so that they can effectively investigate and interpret crime scenes.

Several specific criminal justice statistics are summarized in Table 2. For a breakdown of these numbers by county, see Appendix B.

Table 2: Overview of Arrests and Charges by Region

	Reported Domestic Abuse Incidents (2001)	Percent of Incidents resulting in Single Arrest	Percent of Incidents Resulting in Dual Arrest	Percent of Incidents Charged	Ratio of Disorderly Conduct to Battery Charges	Percent of Charged Cases Dismissed
North Western	925	71.2%	11.9%	61.3%	3.71 to 1	16.2%
Western	2,700	66.3%	14.7%	60.9%	5.67 to 1	27.5%
North Eastern	4,344	76.5%	10.1%	64.8%	5.49 to 1	17.3%
Southern	19,485	73.2%	11.2%	59.5%	1.04 to 1	43.2%
Total	27,454	64.34%	11.5%	62.0%	1.44 to 1	32.9%

source: Skaggs, Department of Justice (calculations made by author)

Since 1989, Wisconsin has had a mandatory arrest law, which means that the primary physical aggressor of a domestic incident must be arrested.³⁷ Indeed, the proportion of incidents resulting in arrest (64 percent overall) seems relatively high. For

³⁶ House (1998)

³⁷ Uekert (2000), pg. 4

instance, in Minneapolis, Minnesota, only 50 percent of domestic abuse incidents resulted in an arrest in 2002.³⁸ The arrest rate in Wisconsin increases to 72 percent when Milwaukee County is not factored into the calculation.

The percent of incidents resulting in a dual arrest, however, is troubling. In abusive relationships, there is almost always one person that is the batterer and one person that is the victim. These roles are not reversible. The batterer uses violence and other tactics to maintain control in the relationship. A dual arrest, then, results in the punishment of both the batterer and the victim. It should be noted that this most often occurs in the rural Western region of Wisconsin.

Dual arrests frequently occur when the responding police officer(s) is (are) unable to identify the primary aggressor. Indeed, it is often very difficult for the police to determine what transpired before they arrived on the scene. When police make a dual arrest, they may feel that they are fulfilling their obligation to obey the mandatory arrest law. Unfortunately, it is nearly impossible for a prosecutor to press charges when both parties are arrested. This is because the prosecutor relies on the officer's investigation when making decisions about issuing charges. If the officer struggled to identify the primary aggressor, the prosecutor will have a difficult time justifying that there is sufficient evidence to move forward with the case. Thus, incidents involving a dual arrest rarely lead to criminal charges, and the batterer is not held accountable for being abusive.

Another issue highlighted in the table is the prevalence of disorderly conduct charges compared to battery charges. A disorderly conduct charge carries a maximum

³⁸ Minnesota Department of Public Safety (2003)

penalty of 90 days in jail and a battery charge involves a maximum of 9 months in jail.³⁹ In addition, while battery is considered a Class A misdemeanor, disorderly conduct is a Class B misdemeanor.⁴⁰ In effect, disorderly conduct is treated as a less substantial crime; a person who beats their spouse and a person who appears nude in public may both be charged with disorderly conduct.

According to Dane County, disorderly conduct charges are more common because cases are more likely to be referred to the District Attorney's (DA) office by police with this recommendation.⁴¹ When a police officer submits their report to the DA, they specify a charge (or charges). Milwaukee County is the only county that issues more battery charges than disorderly conduct charges.⁴² In other states, these cases charged with disorderly conduct would instead be charged as domestic violence crimes. A charge of domestic violence tends to carry a harsher penalty, including an automatic forbiddance of possessing firearms.⁴³ The federal Gun Control Act [18 U.S.C. 922 (g)(9)] prohibits anyone convicted of a violent domestic related misdemeanor, including disorderly conduct, from possessing firearms. Unfortunately, this law is not enforced by all judges.

A final trend illustrated in Table 2 is the high rate of dismissed cases. Over 30 percent of cases are dismissed statewide. One of the most common reasons that the district attorney or the court dismisses cases is the non-cooperation of the victim. This may occur if the victim does not appear on the day of the trial, or if the victim recants her accusation of abuse during testimony. There are many reasons why a battered woman

³⁹ Howe (19 April 2004)

⁴⁰ Wisconsin Statute, Chapter 940.19 and Chapter 947.01

⁴¹ Howe (19 April 2004)

⁴² See Appendix B, Table 11

⁴³ United States Code Section 921 of Title 18, PUBLIC LAW 104-208, SEC. 658

would do either of these things, and they are similar to the reasons why she would not report the incident in the first place. Again, she may fear her abuser or want to protect him. She may also believe that the case would prevent them from salvaging the relationship, or she may believe that her partner has already learned his lesson.

Whatever her reasons may be, the state still has an obligation to prosecute the defendant. Domestic violence should always be treated as a crime. Thus, it is important that District Attorneys around the state begin or continue to find ways to prosecute cases without victim testimony. This is being done in areas with progressive criminal justice domestic violence policies, such as Washtenaw County, Michigan. Instead of relying solely on victim testimony, prosecutors are building cases with 9-1-1 recordings and encouraging officers to take pictures of injuries during their investigations.

Several other important domestic violence trends are illustrated in Table 3. A breakdown of these statistics by county is available in Appendix C.

Table 3: Other Issues by Region

Region:	Reported Domestic Abuse Incidents (2001)	Percent of Population Nonwhite (2000)	Percent of Victims Nonwhite (2000)	Percent of Incidents with Children Present (2000)	Percent of Incidents Unknown if Children Present (2000)
North Western	925	5.3%	14.9%	34.5%	16.5%
Western	2,700	3.7%	5.0%	29.4%	19.7%
North Eastern	4,344	5.7%	12.1%	33.4%	20.2%
Southern	19,485	15.0%	38.9%	36.9%	15.8%
Total	27,454	11.1%	30.6%	22.6%	11.3%

source: Skaggs, Department of Justice (calculations made by author)

First, it is important to note that there is a higher percentage of non-white victims than there are non-white people in the population. However, this does not necessarily mean that non-white women are more likely to be victims of domestic violence. There is

conflicting evidence over whether or not non-white women are more likely to experience abuse. The National Crime Victim Survey, an annual phone survey of 76,000 people in the United States, indicates that African-American women are 35 percent more likely than white women to be victims of domestic abuse. Other research, however, shows that women of all racial and ethnic backgrounds are almost equally as likely to experience abuse in intimate relationships.⁴⁴ One possible explanation for the disparity between the proportions of the population and victims that are non-white is that African-American women are more likely to report violent incidents to the police.⁴⁵

On the other hand, African-American and other women of color may be more vulnerable to abuse. Economic theories on domestic violence argue that women with fewer options are more likely to be battered. In other words, if a woman is financially dependent on her partner or lacks economic resources, she will be less able to leave an abusive relationship. Indeed, this theory is supported by several studies.⁴⁶ Because minority women have, on average, lower incomes than their white counterparts, they may face a higher probability of being abused.⁴⁷

Another important issue pertains to the young witnesses of domestic violence. Children were present during at least 22 percent of incidents, possibly over 30 percent of incidents. Children face both psychological and physical danger in a violent home; witnessing domestic violence involves significantly negative repercussions. According to the Family Violence Prevention Fund, “children who witness domestic violence are more likely to exhibit behavioral and physical health problems including depression, anxiety,

⁴⁴ Bureau of Justice Statistics (August 1995)

⁴⁵ Felson, et. al. (2002), pg. 633

⁴⁶ Farmer and Tiefenthaler, (2003), pg. 160

⁴⁷ Ibid, pg. 160

and violence towards peers. They are also more likely to attempt suicide, abuse drugs and alcohol, run away from home, engage in teenage prostitution, and commit sexual assault crimes.”⁴⁸ Boys who witness domestic violence are also twice as likely to be abusive in intimate relationships as adults.⁴⁹ The cycle of abuse is perpetuated when children witness domestic violence.

It is essential that domestic violence be considered a crime by the state of Wisconsin. Social institutions should make every effort to hold batterers accountable for their behavior. If batterers are not punished by the state, they may be more likely to continue violent behavior. If they can get away with these crimes, they have no incentive, besides the moral one, to stop being abusive. Thus, domestic violence arrests and convictions are important in deterring violence.

At the same time, however, not all women are interested in seeking help from the criminal justice system. As mentioned previously, there are many reasons for this, including fear of the abuser and desire for privacy. In addition, some victims do not want their partners to face criminal punishment. Instead, they prefer that their partners receive counseling. Some women, especially those who have had unsatisfactory experiences with the criminal justice system, believe that court involvement is ineffective in stopping the violence. Although some batterers are deterred by lawful punishment, others are not. In fact, some research indicates that arrest is not an effective deterrent of future acts of violence.⁵⁰ Efforts to stop domestic violence must extend beyond work in the criminal justice arena.

⁴⁸ Family Violence Prevention Fund (2004)

⁴⁹ Ibid

⁵⁰ Farmer and Tiefenthaler, (2003), pg. 164

III. Overview of Training

Training has been a significant component of anti-domestic violence work. Domestic violence advocates and others train a wide variety of groups of people. Traditionally, training has been focused on the criminal justice system. Mandatory domestic violence training for police recruits is now common, and many prosecutors and judges are also educated on domestic violence issues. Some of these training efforts are sponsored by federal grants and others are funded by the budgets of local domestic violence shelters. Schools and hospitals are also often targeted as appropriate training sites. An understanding of the dynamics of abusive relationships can enable those in frequent contact with victims of domestic violence, such as doctors, nurses, and police officers, to offer them appropriate assistance. Training also empowers actors in the criminal justice system to deal with domestic violence cases in a more just and effective manner.

Law Enforcement Training

Twelve hours of domestic violence training is mandatory for police recruits. The Department of Justice has established the standards for this training. They have created a curriculum that addresses the dynamics of abusive relationships and provides guidance for the investigation of domestic related crimes. Veteran police officers, however, are not required to attend trainings on domestic violence. Wisconsin's Office of Justice Assistance is implementing a new program, Justice Systems Training, which will be geared towards the training of officers who are not recruits, as well as other criminal justice personnel.

Judicial and Prosecution Training

Domestic violence training is not mandated for prosecutors. Although they must complete a certain number of credits in continued criminal justice education each year, the topic does not have to be focused on domestic violence. Prosecutors are trained on legal issues through State Prosecution Education Training (SPET), and trainings are offered twice a year. In the past, the Wisconsin Council Against Domestic Violence has conducted classes on domestic violence for SPET sponsored trainings. It is unclear what percentage of prosecutors has been trained on domestic violence issues.

Judges and court commissioners are also not required to complete domestic violence training. As with prosecutors, they are required to complete a certain number of continued education credits over the course of their appointed term, but the training can be on any topic they desire. Judges and commissioners are trained through Wisconsin Supreme Court's Office of Judicial Education. Each year, classes related to domestic violence are offered. Unfortunately, a small percentage of judges and commissioners attend these trainings. Although there are 500 judges in the State of Wisconsin (7 in the Supreme Court, 16 in the Court of Appeals, 241 in the Circuit Courts, and 236 in Municipal Courts) and 153 court commissioners, only 20 to 59 of these judges and commissioners choose domestic abuse related training programs to fulfill their continued education requirements each year.⁵¹

In addition, the judges who are already aware of and sensitive to domestic violence issues tend to be the ones that select these classes. Finally, other court personnel who deal with or impact the lives of domestic violence survivors, such as probation officers, court administrators and bailiffs, are not required to complete training on

⁵¹ Hass (1999-2003)

domestic violence dynamics. One exception to the trends listed above is the Judicial Oversight Demonstration Project in Milwaukee, which has involved more extensive training of prosecutors and judges.

Wisconsin Domestic Violence Training Project

Although this program recently came to an end, it has had a tremendous impact on domestic violence training in schools and hospitals across the state of Wisconsin. Established in 1991, the Domestic Violence Training Project (DVTP) organized and conducted over 500 training activities. According to a fact sheet written by Nancy Worcester, the former director of DVTP, “the UW-Madison’s Wisconsin Domestic Violence Training Project [was] designed to train health professionals and school personnel about domestic violence issues, the effects of domestic violence on children, and the unique roles health care providers and educators can play in recognizing, responding to, and preventing domestic violence and its impact on children.”⁵² Although Ms. Worcester conducted many statewide and regional conferences, she primarily assisted local domestic violence agencies in addressing the training needs of their communities. She often utilized a “train the trainers” approach, empowering local domestic abuse agencies to effectively educate school and health care personnel in their communities. The work formerly conducted by DVTP will soon be handled by the Wisconsin Council Against Domestic Violence.

⁵² Worcester (September 2001) Nancy, “Wisconsin Domestic Violence Training Project”

IV. Summary and Analysis

This report has only highlighted some recent domestic violence programs and trends. It should not be considered an exhaustive review of domestic violence issues in Wisconsin. The report prepared by the Wisconsin Council Against Domestic Violence and the Governor's Council on Domestic Abuse, "Liberty and Justice for All," provides an overview of what they see as some of the pressing issues facing domestic violence victims and the organizations that serve them. They organize their findings into five different themes: a summary of domestic violence services, economic self-sufficiency and support, under-served and marginalized populations, advocacy in ever-expanding systems, and prevention of domestic violence. They also summarize current funding patterns of domestic violence agencies. Each section is followed by policy recommendations. This report should be consulted by anyone interested in improving the public policy response to domestic violence.

In this report I have focused on two areas that are closely tied to efforts to end domestic violence: the criminal justice system and training. As mentioned previously, a great deal of energy and resources has been devoted to improving training and policy in the criminal justice system. Indeed, it is important that Wisconsin continue to support efforts in this arena. While the mandatory arrest law seems to be enforced, case dismissal and dual arrest rates are too high, disorderly conduct charges may be too commonly used, and actors in the criminal justice system lack training on domestic violence issues. Furthermore, the voices of the people most affected by domestic violence, women and their children, are often absent from policy decisions. I offer several criminal justice

policy recommendations that are informed by academic research and interviews with domestic violence experts in Wisconsin:

1. Domestic Violence training should be mandatory for prosecutors, judges and veteran police officers. A significant proportion of cases that go through the criminal justice system involve situations of domestic violence. Domestic violence cases are especially complicated because the offender and the victim have a close relationship. In some cases, they are still residing together and are intimately involved. Some victims do not want to cooperate with the prosecution of these cases, often because they are afraid for the safety. Many of the cases involve a high risk of lethality. It is crucial that personnel in the criminal justice system be educated on the dynamics of domestic violence, so that they can deal with the case in a way that maximizes the safety of the woman and her children. Training could also help law enforcement officials identify the primary aggressor, thereby decreasing the dual arrest rate.

Domestic violence training is funded by several federal grants and is already available to prosecutors, judges and veteran police officers. If training was mandatory, additional funds may or may not be required. This recommendation was also suggested by Tess Meuer of WCADV and by the 1995 Wisconsin Supreme Court Gender Equality Committee.⁵³

2. Policy should be informed by the experiences that battered women have had with the criminal justice system. Survivors of domestic violence who have been involved in criminal justice cases should be surveyed. Interviews should be designed to determine positive and negative experiences. Did the prosecution of the case put them in danger? Or did it discourage further acts of violence? Was it difficult financially and

⁵³ Meuer (11 March 2004)

otherwise to attend court dates? Did they cooperate with the prosecutor? How were they treated by the prosecutor and the judge? Would they call the police again? These questions and others would provide valuable feedback and could guide future policy analysis and recommendations.

3. The criminal justice system should establish a complaints center for battered women. This recommendation was suggested by Tess Meuer. She and other domestic violence advocates have been told by many battered women that they are often frustrated with the way their cases are handled. Currently, their grievances are not being recorded or tracked. As a result, battered women often feel even more isolated and helpless. If a complaints center was established, court decisions and actions could be evaluated. This would allow court officials and policymakers to determine whether or not changes were needed in the prosecution and judgment of cases.

4. Prosecutors should move towards non-victim based prosecution of cases. I did not investigate the reasons for case dismissals, but it is likely that victim non-cooperation is a driving factor. I also did not research the current policies that guide the prosecution of domestic violence cases. Some county DA offices may be using non-victim based evidence, such as 9-1-1 tapes. Most counties, however, still rely on victim testimony. If this is the case in Wisconsin, prosecutors should try to emphasize other types of evidence. Domestic violence training could assist law enforcement officials in building stronger cases and could outline innovative prosecution policies in other areas of the country.

Changes in domestic violence policy should also extend beyond the criminal justice arena. Many women never report abuse to the police and are never involved in a criminal case. It is important that these women are aware of the services available to them. Furthermore, the prosecution of domestic violence cases is not a sufficient approach to ending domestic violence and keeping women safe. Women ultimately need the financial and social resources that will empower them to make decisions about their own lives and safety. Research continuously indicates the importance of financial independence in keeping women and their children safe. Recent research has also shown that access to civil legal services, including divorce and child custody services, is significantly associated with lower rates of domestic violence.⁵⁴ Finally, because domestic violence is cyclical in nature, early intervention is important. I make several recommendations based on these observations. These recommendations are also informed by academic research and interviews with domestic violence experts.

5. State funding for domestic violence services should be maintained and increased when possible. Resources should especially be devoted to programs that work to empower battered women. Emergency services, such as hotlines and shelters, are essential and should also be supported. However, it is those programs that assist women in becoming self-sufficient that are especially crucial. Research shows that improvements in women's economic status are closely linked with a lower probability of abuse.⁵⁵ Women who are less dependent on their abusive partners are more able to leave dangerous situations. Resources should also be devoted to domestic violence agencies with outreach programs.

⁵⁴ Farmer and Tiefenthaler (2003), pg. 159

⁵⁵ Ibid, pg. 165

6. Resources should be devoted to civil legal services for women. This could be accomplished by expanding legal advocacy programs at domestic violence organizations, or by developing domestic violence programs at legal aid centers. Battered women often do not have access to the legal help that makes leaving abusive relationships possible. Legal battles over divorce and the custody of children are especially complicated and costly in violent relationships.

7. Schools should screen for domestic violence and incorporate education on violent relationships into their curriculum and programs. Boys who witness domestic violence are twice as likely to become batterers as adults.⁵⁶ This pattern could be stopped for many of these children if their psychological needs are addressed in schools. All children need to be taught the skills that allow them to participate in health relationships.⁵⁷ Access to information on dating violence can help young women recognize the signs of violent relationships. Anti-violence task forces that are being established in school districts should address domestic and dating violence.⁵⁸

⁵⁶ Family Violence Prevention Fund (2004)

⁵⁷ Worcester (1996)

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Appendix A: Region Overviews

Table 4: Overview of North Western Region

	Estimated 2001 Population	Reported Domestic Abuse Incidents (2001)	Women Served by DHFS Funded Programs (2002)	Number of Incidents per 1,000 People	Percent of Incidents With Male Offender/ Female Victim	Percent of Incidents Involving (Ex)Partners	DV Homicides (2001)	DV Child Homicides (2001)
North Western Region								
<i>North Woods Women*</i>			215					
Ashland	16,979	98		5.77	74.5%	82.7%	0	0
<i>Timeout Shelter</i>			601					
Barron	45,633	222		4.86	71.2%	82.9%	0	0
Price	15,891	40		2.52	75.0%	95.0%	0	0
Rusk	15,458	121		7.83	62.0%	81.0%	0	0
Washburn	16,438	NA		NA	NA	NA	2	0
<i>CASDA</i>			425					
Bayfield	15,263	44		2.88	79.5%	88.6%	0	0
Douglas	43,677	135		3.09	87.4%	87.4%	0	0
<i>DOVE</i>			44					
Iron	6,932	20		2.89	80.0%	85.0%	0	0
<i>Community Referral Agency</i>			339					
Burnett	16,051	24		1.50	87.5%	95.8%	0	0
Polk	42,621	110		2.58	73.6%	96.4%	0	0
Sawyer	16,584	111		6.69	74.8%	90.1%	0	0
Region Totals	251,527	925	1,624	3.68	74.6%	86.9%	2	0

* Domestic Violence Shelters are followed by the counties they serve
source: Skaggs, Department of Justice (calculations made by author); Women Served source: DHFS

Table 5: Overview of Western Region

	Estimated 2001 Population	Reported Domestic Abuse Incidents (2001)	Women Served by DHFS Funded Programs (2002)	Number of Incidents per 1,000 People	Percent of Incidents With Male Offender/ Female Victim	Percent of Incidents Involving (Ex)Partners	DV Homicides (2001)	DV Child Homicides (2001)
Western Region								
<i>New Horizons*</i>			1,819					
Buffalo	13,955	22		1.58	72.7%	90.9%	1	0
LaCrosse	108,433	511		4.71	65.9%	85.7%	0	0
Trempealeau	27,393	168		6.13	82.1%	98.8%	0	0
<i>Family Support Center</i>			574					
Chippewa	56,588	342		6.04	64.0%	85.1%	1	0
<i>Personal Development Center (Clark, Wood)</i>			407					
Clark	33,860	66		1.95	72.7%	89.4%	0	0
<i>Family Center</i>			186					
Wood	75,982	372		4.90	65.6%	86.3%	0	0
<i>Bolton Refuge House</i>			882					
Eau Claire	95,132	435		4.57	66.7%	85.5%	1	1
<i>Turning Point</i>			789					
Pierce	37,757	157		4.16	61.8%	79.0%	0	0
St. Croix	67,649	381		5.63	64.6%	86.6%	0	0
<i>Monroe County Shelter Care</i>			286					
Monroe	41,865	NA		NA	NA	NA		
<i>Bridge to Hope</i>			261					
Dunn	40,828	157		3.85	68.8%	82.8%	0	0
Pepin	7,384	NA		NA	NA	NA	0	0
<i>Stepping Stones</i>			880					
Taylor	19,718	57		2.89	75.4%	87.7%	1	0
Jackson	19,381	32		1.65	78.1%	96.9%	0	0
Region Totals	645,925	2,700	6,084	4.18	67.1%	86.4%	4	1

* Domestic Violence Shelters are followed by the counties they serve, unless specified otherwise
source: Skaggs, Department of Justice (calculations made by author); Women Served source: DHFS

Table 6: Overview of North Eastern Region

	Estimated 2001 Population	Reported Domestic Abuse Incidents (2001)	Women Served by DHFS Funded Programs (2002)	Number of Incidents per 1,000 People	Percent of Incidents With Male Offender/ Female Victim	Percent of Incidents Involving (Ex)Partners	DV Homicides (2001)	DV Child Homicides (2001)
North Eastern Region								
<i>Family Violence Center</i>			1,779					
Brown	231,858	955		4.12	68.8%	87.7%	0	0
<i>Harbor House</i>			1,162					
Calumet	42,497	141		3.32	NA	NA	0	0
Outagamie	165,570	786		4.75	63.4%	86.9%	1	0
<i>HELP</i>			118					
Door	28,641	61		2.13	73.8%	86.9%	0	0
<i>Caring House</i>			35					
Florence	5,187	6		1.16	66.7%	100.0%	0	0
<i>Violence Intervention Project</i>			117					
Kewaunee	20,487	41		2.00	68.3%	85.4%	0	0
<i>AVAIL</i>			208					
Langlade	21,017	92		4.38	66.3%	90.2%	0	0
<i>HAVEN</i>			469					
Lincoln	29,944	NA		NA	NA	NA	0	0
<i>The Women's Community</i>			745					
Marathon	127,968	448		3.50	67.0%	83.3%	0	0
Rainbow House			1,251					
Marinette	43,804	120		2.74	84.2%	91.7%	0	0
Oconto	36,804	NA		NA	NA	NA	0	0
<i>Manitowoc County DV Center</i>			447					
Manitowoc	83,925	66		0.79	87.9%	100.0%	0	0
<i>Tri-County Council (Oneida, Forest, Vilas)</i>			488					
Oneida	37,418	91		2.43	60.4%	91.2%	0	0
Forest	10,113	NA		NA	NA	NA	0	0
<i>Lac du Flambeau Statewide Shelter (Vilas)</i>			112					
Vilas	21,457	42		1.96	66.7%	78.6%	0	0
CAP Services			490					

	Estimated 2001 Population	Reported Domestic Abuse Incidents (2001)	Women Served by DHFS Funded Programs (2002)	Number of Incidents per 1,000 People	Percent of Incidents With Male Offender/ Female Victim	Percent of Incidents Involving (Ex)Partners	DV Homicides (2001)	DV Child Homicides (2001)
Adams	20,327	144		7.08	64.6%	79.9%	2	0
Portage	68,216	98		1.44	73.5%	81.6%	0	0
Waupaca	52,622	217		4.12	65.0%	95.4%	0	0
Waushara	24,560	134		5.46	NA	NA		
<i>Domestic Abuse Support Center</i>			447					
Shawano	41,273	198		4.80	69.7%	89.9%	0	0
<i>Christine Ann DA Services</i>			1,138					
Winnebago	159,161	700		4.40	68.9%	86.9%	0	0
Menominee	4,595	4		0.87	100.0%	100.0%	0	0
Region Total	1,277,444	4344	9,006	3.40	68.0%	81.8%	3	0

* Domestic Violence Shelters are followed by the counties they serve, unless specified otherwise
source: Skaggs, Department of Justice (calculations made by author); Women Served source: DHFS

Table 7: Overview of Southern Region

	Estimated 2001 Population	Reported Domestic Abuse Incidents (2001)	Women Served by DHFS Funded Programs (2002)	Number of Incidents per 1,000 People	Percent of Incidents With Male Offender/ Female Victim	Percent of Incidents Involving (Ex)Partners	DV Homicides (2001)	DV Child Homicides (2001)
Southern Region								
<i>Hope House</i>			938					
Columbia	53,472	406		7.59	63.3%	85.2%	0	0
Juneau	25,052	113		4.51	68.1%	85.8%	0	0
Marquette	14,771	22		1.49	72.7%	95.5%	0	0
Sauk	56,663	293		5.17	63.1%	85.0%	0	0
<i>Catholic Charities</i>			141					
Crawford	17,406	NA		N/A	N/A	N/A	0	0
<i>DAIS</i>			1,519					
Dane	438,881	3057		6.97	68.4%	81.6%	0	0
<i>PAVE</i>			484					
Dodge	87,083	252		2.89	65.9%	90.5%	1	0
<i>FAVR</i>			492					
Fond du Lac	98,589	106		1.08	66.0%	88.7%	1	1
<i>Family Advocates</i>			362					
Grant	50,165	55		1.10	85.5%	96.4%	1	0
Iowa	23,153	87		3.76	67.8%	93.1%	0	0
Lafayette	16,252	16		0.98	75.0%	93.8%	0	0
<i>Greenhaven</i>			418					
Green	34,351	151		4.40	63.6%	78.1%	0	0
<i>Women's and Children's Horizons</i>			2,216					
Kenosha	153,009	978		6.39	68.3%	80.5%	1	1
<i>People Against Domestic Violence</i>			380					
Jefferson	77,106	160	0	2.08	76.3%	87.5%	0	0

	Estimated 2001 Population	Reported Domestic Abuse Incidents (2001)	Women Served by DHFS Funded Programs (2002)	Number of Incidents per 1,000 People	Percent of Incidents With Male Offender/ Female Victim	Percent of Incidents Involving (Ex)Partners	DV Homicides (2001)	DV Child Homicides (2001)
<i>Sojourner Truth House</i>			713					
<i>Milwaukee Women's Center</i>			412					
<i>HAFA</i>			186					
<i>Task Force on Family Violence</i>			696					
<i>Asha Family Services</i>			1,370					
Milwaukee	941,091	9,328	0	9.91	N/A	N/A	12	6
<i>Advocates of Ozaukee</i>			202					
Ozaukee	83,964	165	0	1.97	69.1%	89.1%	0	0
<i>Women's Resource Center</i>			1,312					
Racine	190,446	1,084	0	5.69	69.7%	87.2%	0	1
<i>Passages</i>			272					
Richland	18,056	58	0	3.21	70.7%	82.8%	0	0
<i>Janesville YMCA</i>			426					
<i>Salvation Army</i>			143					
Rock	154,001	809	0	5.25	68.9%	86.0%	0	0
<i>Safe Harbor</i>			800					
Sheboygan	114,139	382	0	3.35	68.8%	90.1%	0	0
<i>Vernon County Domestic Abuse Project</i>			152					
Vernon	28,584	38	0	1.33	73.7%	92.1%	0	0
<i>APFV</i>			588					
Walworth	94,532	461	0	4.88	65.9%	82.2%	1	0
<i>Friends of Abused Families</i>			328					
Washington	120,429	415	0	3.45	59.0%	81.2%	1	0
<i>Women's Center</i>			1000					
Waukesha	368,077	975	0	2.65	72.7%	87.6%	0	0
Green Lake	19,282	74	0	3.84	81.1%	93.2%	0	0
Region Total	3,278,554	19,485	15,550	5.94	68.4%	84.5%	18	9

* Domestic Violence Shelters are followed by the counties they serve, unless specified otherwise;
source: Skaggs, Department of Justice (calculations made by author); Women Served source: DHFS

Appendix B: Overview of Arrests and Charges

Table 8: Overview of Arrests and Charges in North Western Region

	Reported Domestic Abuse Incidents (2001)	Percent of Incidents resulting in Single Arrest	Percent of Incidents Resulting in Dual Arrest	Percent of Incidents Charged	Ratio of Disorderly Conduct to Battery Charges	Percent of Charged Cases Dismissed
North Western Region						
Ashland	98	86.7%	10.2%	73.5%	5.11 to 1	31.9%
Barron	222	70.3%	14.4%	61.7%	28. to 1	8.0%
Bayfield	44	79.5%	4.5%	77.3%	5.33 to 1	2.9%
Burnett	24	62.5%	0.0%	70.8%	.45 to 1	17.6%
Douglas	135	85.2%	5.2%	77.8%	2.27 to 1	25.7%
Iron	20	35.0%	0.0%	65.0%	.63 to 1	15.4%
Polk	110	78.2%	7.3%	61.8%	.78 to 1	19.1%
Price	40	85.0%	7.5%	35.0%	5 to 0	7.1%
Rusk	121	41.3%	38.0%	35.5%	2.4 to 1	11.6%
Sawyer	111	68.5%	1.8%	57.7%	54 to 0	9.4%
Washburn	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
Region Totals	925	71.2%	11.9%	61.3%	3.71 to 1	16.2%

source: Skaggs, Department of Justice (calculations made by author)

Table 9: Overview of Arrests and Charges in Western Region

	Reported Domestic Abuse Incidents (2001)	Percent of Incidents resulting in Single Arrest	Percent of Incidents Resulting in Dual Arrest	Percent of Incidents Charged	Ratio of Disorderly Conduct to Battery Charges	Percent of Charged Cases Dismissed
Western Region						
Buffalo	22	36.4%	27.3%	68.2%	0 to 5	6.7%
Chippewa	342	72.8%	7.9%	77.5%	22.63 to 1	15.5%
Clark	66	83.3%	9.1%	100.0%	4.71 to 1	1.5%
Dunn	157	80.3%	16.6%	57.3%	5.67 to 1	38.9%
Eau Claire	435	67.1%	20.9%	82.3%	5.44 to 1	52.8%
Jackson	32	90.6%	0.0%	46.9%	7 to 0	26.7%
LaCrosse	511	73.2%	14.5%	36.6%	3.33 to 1	12.3%
Monroe	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
Pepin	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
Pierce	157	45.2%	5.1%	47.1%	3.88 to 1	40.5%
St. Croix	381	55.9%	11.0%	27.8%	8. to 1	30.2%
Taylor	57	73.7%	21.1%	94.7%	2.8 to 1	20.4%
Trempealeau	168	63.7%	4.2%	60.1%	5.78 to 1	34.7%
Wood	372	60.5%	26.1%	84.4%	6.38 to 1	15.9%
Region Totals	2,700	66.3%	14.7%	60.9%	5.67 to 1	27.5%

source: Skaggs, Department of Justice (calculations made by author)

Table 10: Overview of Arrests and Charges in North Eastern Region

	Reported Domestic Abuse Incidents (2001)	Percent of Incidents resulting in Single Arrest	Percent of Incidents Resulting in Dual Arrest	Percent of Incidents Charged	Ratio of Disorderly Conduct to Battery Charges	Percent of Charged Cases Dismissed
North Eastern Region						
Adams	144	87.5%	1.4%	85.4%	13.29 to 1	10.6%
Brown	955	66.2%	14.2%	57.5%	11.56 to 1	27.5%
Calumet	141	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
Door	61	73.8%	13.1%	77.0%	2.56 to 1	10.6%
Florence	6	66.7%	16.7%	100.0%	.17 to 1	33.3%
Forest	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
Kewaunee	41	43.9%	19.5%	43.9%	5.5 to 1	0.0%
Langlade	92	54.3%	10.9%	33.7%	26 to 0	12.9%
Lincoln	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
Manitowoc	66	98.5%	0.0%	39.4%	10. to 1	23.1%
Marathon	448	78.8%	21.0%	73.0%	9.52 to 1	26.0%
Marinette	120	79.2%	5.8%	100.0%	2.67 to 1	36.7%
Menominee	4	75.0%	0.0%	75.0%	0 to 0	0.0%
Oconto	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
Oneida	91	80.2%	13.2%	98.9%	3.47 to 1	20.0%
Outagamie	786	70.7%	6.2%	63.7%	4.47 to 1	13.4%
Portage	98	86.7%	9.2%	64.3%	4.3 to 1	25.4%
Shawano	198	60.1%	17.2%	72.2%	2.79 to 1	24.5%
Vilas	42	92.9%	4.8%	97.6%	0 to 6	4.9%
Waupaca	217	70.5%	16.1%	100.0%	7.7 to 1	0.9%
Waushara	134	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
Winnebago	700	99.3%	0.3%	72.7%	4.52 to 1	7.5%
Region Total	4,344	76.5%	10.1%	64.8%	5.49 to 1	17.3%

source: Skaggs, Department of Justice (calculations made by author)

Table 11: Overview of Arrests and Charges in Southern Region

	Reported Domestic Abuse Incidents (2001)	Percent of Incidents resulting in Single Arrest	Percent of Incidents Resulting in Dual Arrest	Percent of Incidents Charged	Ratio of Disorderly Conduct to Battery Charges	Percent of Charged Cases Dismissed
Southern Region						
Columbia	406	48.8%	9.6%	50.0%	3.62 to 1	20.2%
Crawford	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
Dane	3,057	81.7%	5.4%	61.9%	2.82 to 1	89.5%
Dodge	252	68.3%	12.3%	49.6%	3.53 to 1	25.6%
Fond du Lac	106	73.6%	18.9%	48.1%	3.88 to 1	31.4%
Grant	55	80.0%	3.6%	96.4%	6. to 1	5.7%
Green	151	68.9%	11.9%	28.5%	3.25 to 1	62.8%
Green Lake	74	66.2%	6.8%	35.1%	7. to 1	34.6%
Iowa	87	52.9%	12.6%	67.8%	5.5 to 1	13.6%
Jefferson	160	71.3%	11.3%	77.5%	3.3 to 1	16.1%
Juneau	113	55.8%	24.8%	71.7%	5.09 to 1	35.8%
Kenosha	978	72.7%	12.5%	54.3%	5.89 to 1	35.2%
Lafayette	16	68.8%	6.3%	100.0%	5.5 to 1	6.3%
Marquette	22	95.5%	4.5%	81.8%	1.6 to 1	66.7%
Milwaukee	9,328	NA	NA	NA	.49 to 1	NA
Ozaukee	165	72.7%	21.2%	54.5%	6.44 to 1	6.7%
Racine	1,084	50.6%	9.6%	18.3%	1.95 to 1	59.1%
Richland	58	87.9%	3.4%	58.6%	2. to 1	50.0%
Rock	809	83.4%	13.3%	68.0%	3.71 to 1	25.1%
Sauk	293	71.3%	21.5%	62.5%	10.06 to 1	21.3%
Sheboygan	382	80.1%	15.7%	94.8%	14.19 to 1	17.4%
Vernon	38	97.4%	0.0%	97.4%	8. to 1	29.7%
Walworth	461	90.0%	4.6%	73.8%	3.23 to 1	4.1%
Washington	415	59.8%	35.4%	48.7%	4.34 to 1	32.2%
Waukesha	975	73.6%	14.3%	84.1%	8.66 to 1	7.0%
Region Total	19,485	73.2%	11.2%	59.5%	1.04 to 1	43.2%

source: Skaggs, Department of Justice (calculations made by author)

Appendix C: Other Issues

Table 12: Overview of Other Issues in North Western Region

	Reported Domestic Abuse Incidents (2001)	Percent of Population Nonwhite (2000)	Percent of Victims Nonwhite (2000)	Percent of Incidents with Children Present (2000)	Percent of Incidents Unknown if Children Present (2000)
North Western Region					
Ashland	98	12.9%	29.6%	29.6%	43.9%
Barron	222	2.3%	9.9%	30.2%	16.2%
Price	40	1.8%	7.5%	55.0%	0.0%
Rusk	121	2.3%	7.4%	30.6%	0.0%
Washburn	NA	2.7%	NA	NA	NA
Bayfield	44	11.5%	27.3%	43.2%	0.0%
Douglas	135	4.7%	3.0%	40.0%	18.5%
Iron	20	1.7%	0.0%	40.0%	10.0%
Burnett	24	6.8%	12.5%	45.8%	29.2%
Polk	110	2.4%	6.4%	37.3%	10.9%
Sawyer	111	8.4%	44.1%	27.9%	25.2%
Region Totals	925	5.3%	14.9%	34.5%	16.5%

source: Skaggs, Department of Justice (calculations made by author)

Table 13: Overview of Other Issues in Western Region

	Reported Domestic Abuse Incidents (2001)	Percent of Population Nonwhite (2000)	Percent of Victims Nonwhite (2000)	Percent of Incidents with Children Present (2000)	Percent of Incidents Unknown if Children Present (2000)
Western Region					
Buffalo	22	1.3%	0.0%	72.7%	0.0%
LaCrosse	511	5.8%	7.8%	26.2%	2.7%
Trempealeau	168	1.2%	3.0%	29.2%	15.5%
Chippewa	342	2.2%	1.2%	28.1%	21.3%
Clark	66	1.9%	6.1%	36.4%	9.1%
Wood	372	3.6%	7.8%	30.1%	28.5%
Eau Claire	435	5.0%	5.7%	29.4%	5.5%
Pierce	157	2.0%	2.5%	0.6%	99.4%
St. Croix	381	2.6%	2.1%	34.1%	17.3%
Monroe	NA	3.5%	NA	NA	NA
Dunn	157	3.9%	5.7%	36.9%	28.0%
Pepin	NA	1.1%	NA	NA	NA
Taylor	57	1.3%	1.8%	57.9%	12.3%
Jackson	32	10.4%	21.9%	40.6%	28.1%
Region Totals	2,700	3.7%	5.0%	29.4%	19.7%

source: Skaggs, Department of Justice (calculations made by author)

Table 14: Overview of Other Issues in North Eastern Region

	Reported Domestic Abuse Incidents (2001)	Percent of Population Nonwhite (2000)	Percent of Victims Nonwhite (2000)	Percent of Incidents with Children Present (2000)	Percent of Incidents Unknown if Children Present (2000)
North Eastern Region					
Brown	955	8.9%	23.7%	31.5%	53.1%
Calumet	141	3.3%	NA	NA	NA
Outagamie	786	6.1%	10.0%	30.3%	12.5%
Door	61	2.2%	4.9%	36.1%	9.8%
Florence	6	1.8%	0.0%	16.7%	0.0%
Kewaunee	41	1.4%	7.3%	51.2%	4.9%
Langlade	92	2.1%	25.0%	27.2%	23.9%
Lincoln	NA	2.2%	NA	NA	NA
Marathon	448	6.2%	8.5%	41.7%	1.8%
Marinette	120	1.9%	1.7%	40.8%	9.2%
Oconto	NA	2.2%	NA	NA	NA
Manitowoc	66	4.1%	4.5%	37.9%	0.0%
Oneida	91	2.3%	4.4%	28.6%	19.8%
Forest	NA	14.1%	NA	NA	NA
Vilas	42	10.3%	40.5%	47.6%	0.0%
Adams	144	2.4%	0.0%	37.5%	36.1%
Portage	98	4.3%	3.1%	21.4%	41.8%
Waupaca	217	2.1%	1.8%	30.9%	10.1%
Waushara	134	3.2%	NA	NA	NA
Shawano	198	7.3%	23.7%	47.5%	7.1%
Winnebago	700	5.1%	5.3%	29.9%	2.9%
Menominee	4	88.4%	100.0%	0.0%	0.0%
Region Total	4,344	5.7%	12.1%	33.4%	20.2%

source: Skaggs, Department of Justice (calculations made by author)

Table 15: Overview of Other Issues in Southern Region

	Reported Domestic Abuse Incidents (2001)	Percent of Population Nonwhite (2000)	Percent of Victims Nonwhite (2000)	Percent of Incidents with Children Present (2000)	Percent of Incidents Unknown if Children Present (2000)
Southern Region					
Columbia	406	2.8%	3.9%	31.3%	26.8%
Juneau	113	3.4%	7.1%	20.4%	77.9%
Marquette	22	6.3%	4.5%	18.2%	9.1%
Sauk	293	18.3%	7.5%	29.7%	46.8%
Crawford	NA	2.7%	NA	NA	NA
Dane	3,057	11.0%	29.9%	36.7%	6.0%
Dodge	252	4.7%	11.1%	43.3%	4.0%
Fond du Lac	106	3.8%	7.5%	30.2%	52.8%
Grant	55	1.8%	0.0%	52.7%	5.5%
Iowa	87	1.3%	2.3%	48.3%	4.6%
Lafayette	16	1.0%	0.0%	43.8%	12.5%
Green	151	1.9%	4.0%	49.7%	3.3%
Kenosha	978	11.6%	20.8%	41.1%	17.7%
Jefferson	160	3.7%	21.9%	45.6%	16.3%
Milwaukee	9,328	34.4%	59.2%	NA	NA
Ozaukee	165	3.3%	6.1%	43.0%	10.9%
Racine	1,084	17.0%	41.6%	35.4%	32.0%
Richland	58	1.6%	1.7%	44.8%	5.2%
Rock	809	9.0%	17.4%	36.1%	18.5%
Sheboygan	382	2.2%	9.9%	35.3%	17.5%
Vernon	38	1.2%	2.6%	34.2%	34.2%
Walworth	461	5.5%	9.3%	36.0%	11.1%
Washington	415	2.3%	4.3%	44.3%	5.1%
Waukesha	975	4.2%	7.3%	32.2%	14.1%
Green Lake	74	2.2%	12.2%	33.8%	6.8%
Region Total	19,485	15.0%	38.9%	36.9%	15.8%

source: Skaggs, Department of Justice (calculations made by author)