



INSTITUTE FOR WOMEN'S POLICY RESEARCH

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DOMESTIC VIOLENCE AND WELFARE RECEIPT

Recent research indicates that domestic violence may be a problem for many women on welfare. Estimates of the percentage of women recipients who experience abuse range from 20 to 80 percent.¹ However, not much is known about how this violence affects patterns of welfare and work. It is generally accepted that battered women may find it especially difficult to obtain jobs or become self-sufficient, and the new welfare law, the Personal Responsibility and Work Reconciliation Act (the PRWORA) of 1996 acknowledges this through special provisions in the law. The adequacy of these provisions is, however, questionable.

Research on Domestic Violence and Welfare Receipt

Research on domestic violence and welfare is still in its infancy and the full scope and magnitude of the impact of domestic violence on welfare recipients is still unknown. Several researchers, however, have begun to look at the relationship between domestic violence and welfare (see source list at end of newsletter).

A recently released study by the **McCormack Institute** and the **Center for Survey Research at the University of Massachusetts Boston** examined whether welfare reform will unintentionally harm domestic violence victims in Massachusetts. The researchers interviewed a scientifically representative sample of 734 women receiving Transitional Aid to Families with Dependent Children (TAFDC) in Massachusetts between January and June 1996. This survey found that a high percentage of women receiving welfare are current or past victims of domestic violence. The researchers found that one-fifth of the women interviewed had experienced violence by a husband, boyfriend, former husband, or former boyfriend within the previous 12 months. A majority of the women, 65 percent, had been victims of abuse by a husband or boyfriend or former husband or boyfriend at some point. The percentage of women who had experienced domestic violence increased to 70 percent of the sample when the definition was expanded to include verbal or emotional abuse, isolation from friends and family, and control of possessions.

Jody Raphael,² director of the Taylor Institute, has collected data from various service providers around the country on the incidence of domestic violence among welfare recipients in job training programs. Based on discussions with job training centers and other service providers around the country, Raphael estimates that between 20 and 60 percent of women welfare recipients are current victims of domestic abuse, and that as many or more have been past victims.³ The most comprehensive information was collected from the Chicago Commons West Humboldt Employment Training Center (ETC). Her findings indicate that domestic violence is prevalent among women in job training programs and that domestic violence makes it especially difficult for recipients to achieve self-sufficiency.⁴



In her latest monograph, *Prisoners of Abuse*, Raphael reported that of the 91 women welfare recipients participating in the Chicago Commons ETC job training program (1994-1995):

- 56% were current victims of domestic violence, and
- in addition, another 26% had experienced domestic violence in the past.

Of the 60 participants who **completed** the program:

- 50% were current domestic violence victims, and
- 32% were past victims of domestic violence.

Of the 31 women who **dropped out** of the program:

- 71% were current victims of domestic violence, and
- 19% were past domestic violence victims.

Raphael found that similar rates of abuse were reported among participants in the 1993-1994 ETC program.

Prisoners of Abuse contains a questionnaire developed by **William Curcio** of the New Jersey Passaic County Board of Social Services to track domestic violence among education and training program participants. Using this questionnaire on a sample of 105 Passaic County participants in December 1995, Curcio found that:

- 21% were currently victims of physical domestic violence;
- 58% of participants had been victims of physical domestic violence in the past; and
- 49% stated that boyfriends do not encourage them to participate in education and training.

Catherine T. Kenney and Karen R. Brown undertook a "key-person" survey, for NOW Legal Defense and Education Fund, interviewing knowledgeable service providers to determine the scope and extent of domestic violence in New York City welfare-to-work programs.⁵ Kenney and Brown did not conduct a random sample of job training programs; they did, however, include providers from different areas of the city and different types of programs. The study included 26 telephone or in-person interviews with job training and placement coordinators, vocational counselors, and job developers. *The service providers estimated that approximately 30 to 75 percent of the women enrolled in their programs were victims of past or current domestic violence.* Many of the providers interviewed expressed concern that, due to increasing budgetary cuts and more ambitious placement goals, especially in the face of the PRWORA, many states will be reluctant to adopt measures to help victims of domestic violence make the transition to work successfully. Instead, they fear that programs will screen applicants in an effort to exclude victims of abuse (who often take more time to complete programs and are more likely to drop out of programs, thus making it difficult for programs to meet placement goals).

The Better Homes Fund, a Massachusetts based non-profit organization, undertook a study of 426 women with children who were either homeless or living in low-income housing in 1992 to discover the causes of homelessness among families. Using a stringent definition of domestic abuse, excluding pushing, shoving, or slapping fewer than six times, 63 percent of the women in these precarious housing situations reported that they had been assaulted by a male partner.⁶

Susan Lloyd, of the Institute for Policy Research at Northwestern University, conducted a study of the effects of family violence on women's labor force participation.⁷ The study entailed a random survey of English and Spanish speaking women, aged 18 years and older, in the Humboldt Park community of Chicago. Standardized interviews were conducted by female interviewers with 824 women in their homes and 24 in-depth interviews conducted in a neighborhood center. The survey's findings suggest that

domestic violence and control may affect women's labor market experiences over time rather than at any particular point in time. *The women in the sample who reported experiencing domestic violence were more likely to experience spells of unemployment, job turnover, physical and mental health problems, low personal incomes, and to receive public assistance. The women in the sample who received AFDC reported much higher levels of violence and coercion in their intimate relationships than women who did not receive aid.* Nearly 20 percent of women who received AFDC reported having experienced severe aggression (including kicking, hitting, biting, beating, injuring, raping, and threatening with or using a weapon) in the twelve months preceding the survey, compared to eight percent of the women who did not use public assistance. Lloyd concludes that "due to the violence in their lives, some AFDC recipients may find it especially difficult to meet the work and other requirements mandated by the new federal and state public assistance regulations," and suggests that victims of abuse be exempted from some of these requirements.⁸

Policy Issues Involving Welfare and Domestic Violence

These research findings raise many policy questions regarding what impact the new welfare law, with provisions such as time limits, paternity identification, restrictions on teen parents, and the exclusion of legal immigrants, will have on victims of domestic violence.

- The authors of the McCormack Institute and Center for Survey Research study believe *the new laws may unintentionally keep some women from leaving abusive situations or may cause some women to return to abusive situations.*
- They are also concerned that *time limits that mandate work after two years, and in some states two months, of TANF receipt and the five year lifetime limits on the collection of benefits will not be adequate to address the situations of abused women.*
- Finally, the survey reports that many abused women are currently in conflict over child custody, child support, or visitation, and the authors fear that *increased enforcement of paternity identification and the consequences of paternity establishment could make it more difficult to avoid an abusive partner since visitation rights could force the women to live in a nearby community.*⁹

Loss of Entitlement

The PRWORA ends the federal entitlement to welfare for poor women and their families. Each state will now have a distinct welfare program, with eligibility rules and criteria differing between states, and minimal federal requirements. Under the new system, even if a family qualifies, they are not guaranteed assistance, as states are not required to ensure assistance for every qualified applicant. For instance, a state may stop accepting applications for assistance when it has exhausted the funds allotted to assistance. The end of the entitlement status of welfare could have serious implications for battered women, who may be forced to return to a violent relationship if they are unable to find and retain jobs to support themselves and their children.

Time Limits

One of the few federal mandates on state welfare programs is the five year lifetime limit on the collection of benefits. States can (and some have) set time limits of less than five years.¹⁰

Time limits may induce women to leave violent situations in an effort to make a successful welfare-to-work transition. Time limits do not, however, recognize that leaving a violent situation may take a long time, often longer than the time limits would allow. Arbitrary time limits, according to Raphael, "restrict women's ability to make and implement safe choices for themselves and their families."¹¹

Medicaid

Under the PRWORA, Medicaid eligibility is determined by the AFDC standards that were in effect in each state in July 1996. Thus, eligibility for Medicaid is not tied to eligibility for assistance under the state's TANF program. This means that some low-income families who do not qualify for assistance under TANF (for example, because the income standards are lower than for AFDC or the time limit has expired) may still qualify for Medicaid. The new law, however, permits states to terminate Medicaid benefits for adult recipients (other than pregnant women) whose cash assistance is terminated because of refusal to work. In addition, the PRWORA continues transitional Medicaid coverage to low-income families that would otherwise lose their coverage due to earnings or child support that put them above the state's July, 1996 AFDC eligibility limits.

Battered women are often in desperate need of access to medical care, either on an emergency basis or for long-term problems related to past abuse. For women on welfare, access to Medicaid provides the medical treatment that they would otherwise not seek for lack of money. Battered women's eligibility for Medicaid will not be threatened by the PRWORA's five year time limit, even though the five year lifetime limit on the collection of benefits denies further aid to any family that has an adult who has received any assistance from a PRWORA-funded state program for five years from the date of enactment of the new state welfare plan. However, to ensure real access to care, battered women and other poor women will need to be informed how they can apply separately for Medicaid for themselves and their children.

Employment

Past and current victims of domestic violence face many obstacles to a successful transition to employment. For example, past victims of domestic violence may suffer from post-traumatic stress disorder, of which the symptoms include poor concentration, little or low interest in activities, and problems with authority and control.¹² Jill Davies, an attorney at The National Resource Center on Domestic Violence, described how domestic violence produces mental and physical health problems for some battered women and may keep a woman from meeting program requirements.¹³

According to Raphael, "Anecdotal evidence from program providers suggests that many men, threatened by their partners' education and job training, will continue to prevent them from working, even at the risk of losing welfare benefits."¹⁴ Battered women, bruised or hospitalized or with broken bones, may be prevented from participating in work related activities as a result of their injuries, or they may be too embarrassed to continue to go to work or to a training program in such a condition.

Families and Children

Child Support: The PRWORA mandates that states penalize families that do not cooperate in establishing and enforcing child support collection from the absentee parent. Battered women's advocates acknowledge that enhanced child support enforcement, and the paternity identification in the process of child support collection, could benefit the families of battered women by providing these poor families with additional needed income. They also fear, however, that aggressive child support collection efforts could endanger battered women. Batterers may become angry at the effort to collect child support and become violent, or they may discover the location of a battered woman in hiding.¹⁵

Teen Parents: The PRWORA prohibits states from using federal funds to assist teen parents under the age of 18 who are not living with a parent or other adult relative or in an approved adult supervised setting. Battered women's advocates are concerned that this may force some teen parents back into violent homes, especially in areas where there are no approved adult supervised homes.

Immigrants: Immigrants, even legal immigrants, are virtually denied the receipt of any federally funded assistance. There is no provision in the PRWORA to waive the denial of benefits for immigrant women in cases of abuse (although they are eligible for Medicaid in emergency situations). The 1994 Violence Against Women Act (VAWA) may make it easier for battered immigrant women and their children to become qualified aliens under the PRWORA; however, states have the option to deny assistance to even qualified aliens.

How the PRWORA Addresses Domestic Violence

The new welfare law addresses domestic violence through two primary provisions. The first provision, Sec. 103 - Sub.Sec. 408(7)(C)(I) and (iii), is the "hardship exemption," which provides for a 20 percent caseload exemption from the five year time limit due to hardship. This exemption acknowledges that some families may not be able to fulfill the requirements of the PRWORA within the five year time limit and that it would be unfair to deny families aid if, through no fault of their own, they cannot meet the requirements. The definition of hardship includes battering and extreme cruelty.¹⁶

The second provision, the Wellstone/Murray Family Violence Amendment to the PRWORA, Sec. 103- Sub.Sec. 402(a)(7), is a state option regarding domestic violence.¹⁷ The Wellstone/Murray Amendment provides that the governor of a state can opt to establish and enforce standards and procedures to:

1. Screen welfare recipients to identify those with a history of domestic violence while maintaining their confidentiality;
2. Refer individuals with a history of domestic violence to counseling and support services; and
3. Exempt individuals with good cause, for as long as necessary, from certain requirements such as time limits, residency requirements, child support cooperation requirements, and family cap provisions, when compliance with these requirements would make it more difficult for these individuals to escape domestic violence or would unfairly penalize past, present, or potential further victims of domestic violence.

The Wellstone/Murray Amendment gives states authority and flexibility in dealing with the special needs of welfare recipients who are or have been victims of domestic abuse or extreme cruelty. By screening for domestic violence, states could help victims receive services they might otherwise be unaware of. ***The Wellstone/Murray Amendment is, however, optional, rather than required.*** A state can opt to implement the amendment, to implement parts of it, or to reject it altogether. On the one hand, if a state implements the amendment effectively, it could be a powerful tool for advocates who are helping victims obtain the services and the time needed to make a successful transition to work. On the other hand, some states will no doubt choose to ignore the Family Violence Amendment, and state welfare plans are likely to differ greatly in terms of how they address domestic violence. These plans could prove advantageous or disadvantageous to battered women (see the table below for states that have adopted the Wellstone/Murray Amendment).

Summary of State Activity Regarding the Family Violence Provisions in their State Welfare Plans

As of March 12, 1997, the following states had adopted some or all of the provisions of the Wellstone/Murray Family Violence Amendment in their state welfare plans:

Delaware	Massachusetts	New Jersey	Washington
Georgia	Missouri	North Carolina	West Virginia
Kentucky	Montana	Pennsylvania	Guam
Maryland	New Hampshire	Utah	

Some states have not adopted the Wellstone/Murray Amendment but have some domestic violence language or provisions in their state plans or may be considering the amendment.* These states are:

Alabama	Florida**	Michigan**	Nevada
Connecticut	Indiana	Mississippi	South Dakota
District of Columbia**	Iowa**	Nebraska	Tennessee

The following states have state welfare plans that do not include any domestic violence provisions:

Arizona	Maine	Oregon	Vermont
California**	New York**	South Carolina	Wisconsin
Kansas	Ohio	Texas**	Wyoming
Louisiana	Oklahoma	Virginia	

** There is disagreement among advocacy groups and the Department of Health and Human Services in the reading and interpretation of state plans. Some states may believe they have opted for the Wellstone/Murray Family Violence Amendment simply because their state plans mention domestic violence.*

*** These states have the Wellstone/Murray Amendment under consideration.*

The above list was provided by the NOW Legal Defense and Education Fund. NOW LDEF is updating this information on a weekly basis. For more information, contact Pat Reuss or Vivian Todini at (202) 544-4470.

What Protections Are There Against the Loss of Assistance to Battered Women?

A protection against the loss of entitlement is the "maintenance of effort requirement" in the PRWORA, which mandates that a state spend 80 percent of its historic state expenditures on qualified state expenditures or its block grant will be reduced. Qualified state expenditures for eligible families include cash assistance, childcare assistance, and any other use not prohibited by the block grant. Historic state expenditures are the non-federal funds a state spent on welfare-related programs, such as AFDC, JOBS, or child care, in fiscal year 1994.

The existence of the Wellstone/Murray Amendment does not guarantee battered women assistance, because states will not necessarily adopt any or all parts of the Amendment. In states that have not opted for the third part of the amendment (described on page 5), which permits states to waive certain program requirements for victims, this may leave battered women with little choice but to remain in a violent relationship. The National Task Force on Violence Against Women fears that without federal regulations or guidance, states may use the amendment to exclude battered women from essential services, such as job training and placement programs, rather than using the Amendment to address the needs of battered women.

It is likely that even if a state adopts the Wellstone/Murray Amendment and screening procedures, some women in abusive relationships will not come forward and identify themselves as battered. If they are not identified and exempted as victims of violence, these women remain subject to work requirements and time limits.

Can Battered Women Be Exempted From Potentially Harmful Time Limits?

The Wellstone/Murray Amendment acknowledges the issue of safety for battered women and their families by allowing states to waive both the two year work requirement and the five year lifetime limit on benefit collection. There are, however, many questions regarding how (and if) the amendment will ultimately be implemented by states.

- Will the Wellstone/Murray Amendment be used to deny social services to battered women who are exempt from the time limits?
- Will the number of domestic violence victims exempted from time limits under the amendment be counted toward a state's 20% hardship exemption? And if so, will this lead to a reluctance on the part of states to adopt the Amendment?
- Will states implement a fair process for determining who will be exempted from time limits using the domestic violence provisions? Or will the method of determination be ad hoc and arbitrary?

How Can Battered Women Avoid Losing Medicaid?

- How many battered women in low-wage jobs will earn too much to qualify for Medicaid but not enough to afford health insurance? They will qualify for up to 12 months of transitional Medicaid only if the family's gross income (not including child care expenses) is less than 185% of the poverty level.
- How many battered women who reject low wage jobs without health benefits will lose TANF benefits, potentially for the whole family, and Medicaid for themselves because they have "refused to work?"
- Will battered women who have difficulty keeping jobs that offer a living wage and health benefits because of the violence to which they are subjected find themselves without Medicaid or health insurance when they are between jobs? They may be eligible for Medicaid, but how long will it take for them to re-qualify for Medicaid if their coverage lapsed while they were working?

How Are the Employment Barriers Faced by Battered Women Addressed?

The obstacles to employment that battered women face will be dealt with differently depending upon state action.

- Will states implement programs to address the specific needs of battered women making the transition from welfare to work?
- Will states' job training programs take precautions to ensure the physical safety of battered

women who are enrolled in those programs?

Are the Needs of Families and Children Dealing with Domestic Violence Addressed?

Child Support: The PRWORA provides privacy precautions for battered women who could be endangered by aggressive child support collection, including the exemptions described in the Wellstone/Murray Amendment above (see page 5); however, these precautions must be carefully implemented to ensure the safety of battered women.

- How will states modify their paternity identification and child support policies to ensure the safety of battered women?

Teen Parents: Teen parents who are unable, due to domestic violence, to live at home and who cannot find a suitable adult supervised setting may be at risk, depending upon state action.

- What alternative arrangements will be made for teen parents who are unable (because of violence) to live with a parent and who cannot find a suitable supervised setting that will not penalize them for circumstances beyond their control?

Immigrants: The 1994 Violence Against Women Act (VAWA) allows a female victim of domestic violence who is married to a U.S. citizen or lawful permanent resident to file her own application for lawful permanent residency without having to obtain the cooperation of her abusive husband, a process called self-petitioning. Battered women and children who have pending or approved VAWA applications are qualified aliens under the PRWORA. However, *states have the option to make even most qualified immigrants, including battered women, ineligible for TANF, non-emergency Medicaid, and other forms of public assistance.*

Resources for Research on Domestic Violence and Welfare

Ayuda, Inc./Tel. (202) 387-4848

- "Some Common Questions on the Impact of Recent Legislation on Battered Immigrants," by Minty Siu Chung and Deeana Jang. October 2, 1996.
- *For more information regarding the Violence against Women Act, contact Ayuda at (202) 387-0434 or visit their website at <http://www.incacorp.com/ayuda>.*

The Center for Law and Social Policy (CLASP)/Tel. (202) 328-5140

- "A Brief Summary of Key Provisions of the Temporary Assistance to Needy Families Block Grant of H.R. 3734," by Mark Greenberg and Steve Savner. August 13, 1996. \$4.00
- *Access the CLASP website through: <http://www.epn.org>*

McCormack Institute and Center for Survey Research at the University of Massachusetts Boston/ Tel. (617) 287-7200

- "In Harm's Way? Domestic Violence, AFDC Receipt, and Welfare Reform in Massachusetts: Executive Summary of a Report from the University of Massachusetts Boston," by Mary Ann Allard, Randy Albelda, Mary Ellen Colten, and Carol Cosenza. February 1997.

National Resource Center on Domestic Violence/Tel. (800) 537-2238; TTY (800) 553-2508

- "The New Welfare Law: State Implementation and Use of the Family Violence Option," Welfare and Domestic

Violence Series, Paper #2, by Jill Davies. December 1996.

NOW Legal Defense and Education Fund/Tel. (202) 544-4470 in DC or (212) 925-6635 in NYC

- "The Wellstone/Murray Family Violence Amendment to the New Welfare Law," September 27, 1996. No Charge.
- " Summary of State Activity Regarding the Family Violence Provisions in their State welfare Plans," January 14, 1997. No Charge.
- *For more information, contact Pat Reuss in the DC office or visit NOW LDEF's website at <http://www.nowldef.org>*

Taylor Institute/Tel. (312) 342-5510

- "Prisoners of Abuse: Domestic Violence and Welfare Receipt," A Second Report of the Women, Welfare and Abuse Project, by Jody Raphael, April 1996. No Charge.
- "Domestic Violence: Telling the Untold Welfare-To-Work Story," A Taylor Institute Report, by Jody Raphael, January 30, 1995. No Charge.
- *To order either of these publications, fax request to Jody Raphael at (773) 342-4532.*

IWPR Announcements

New IWPR Staff

The Institute for Women's Policy Research (IWPR) would like to announce the arrival of three new staff members. Dr. Diana Zuckerman has recently joined IWPR as our Director of Research and Policy Analysis. She brings to IWPR almost fourteen years of public policy expertise and leadership, including work as a policy analyst in Congress and the White House, examining issues such as women's health and domestic violence. Barbara Gault, of the University of Pennsylvania, will be joining IWPR as the study director for the *Coordinating Nationwide Research Efforts on Welfare Reform*. Shannon Garrett is IWPR's new Administrative/Research Assistant. Shannon has been working as a Legislative Correspondent for Rep. Sander M. Levin.

Other Welfare Research Resources

The Children's Defense Fund (CDF) is encouraging community-level monitoring of the impacts of the welfare law on the well-being of families and children. To facilitate this information gathering, CDF is distributing a **Client Survey packet** developed in partnership with the Coalition on Human Needs (CHN). CHN has already begun to disseminate the survey through Catholic Charities USA, the Child Welfare League of America, and other national groups. This survey includes a two-page check-off form and optional open-ended questions designed to obtain welfare families' detailed stories. CDF is developing an accompanying survey covering domestic violence issues.

The Northwestern University/University of Chicago Joint Center for Poverty Research (Poverty Center) started to operate in the fall of 1996. The Poverty Center plans to operate a broad range of research projects, conferences, and dissemination activities that will extend beyond the perimeters of the college campuses. In order to promote research on poverty and policy, the Center will offer funds, provide research support, and engage in mentoring. The Center also publishes a newsletter, **Poverty Research News**. For more information, contact the Poverty Center by phone at (847) 491-4145 or by e-mail at povcen@nwu.edu.

IWPR's Welfare Reform Research Listserv

As part of the project to coordinate welfare research, IWPR has set up a listserv (electronic bulletin board) which is devoted to the discussion of welfare reform. You can subscribe to the list by sending the following command to the listserv address, at listserv@american.edu:

SUBSCRIBE WELFAREM-L Full Name

(Use your full name, not your e-mail address. The listserv software can read your e-mail address automatically.)

When you sign up you will receive a welcome message which will provide further instructions for the listserv. IWPR's welfare reform newsletters will be disseminated through the listserv as well as by mail and stored in the archive files of the WELFAREM-L listserv. This listserv offers the opportunity to share with other interested, like-minded scholars your research and questions on welfare and welfare reform in individual states and at the national level. Discussion can also be related to other issues, such as domestic violence or health. Other information such as calls for papers, conference information, fact sheets, and legislative updates are also welcome. For more information on the listserv, please contact Jackie Chu at chu@www.iwpr.org.

1. Institute for Women's Policy Research. *Research-in-Brief: Measuring the Cost of Domestic Violence Against Women*. Washington, DC: Institute for Women's Policy Research, December 1996); J. Raphael. *Prisoners of Abuse: Domestic Violence and Welfare Receipt*. A Second Report of the Women, Welfare and Abuse Project. (Chicago: Taylor Institute, April 1996).
2. Raphael. April 1996, op. cit.; J. Raphael. "Domestic Violence and Welfare Receipt: Toward a Feminist Theory of Welfare Dependency," *Harvard Women's Law Journal* 19 (Spring 1996): 201-227; J. Raphael. *Domestic Violence: Telling the Untold Welfare-to-Work Story*. (Chicago: Taylor Institute, January 1995).
3. Data in the above paragraph are from Raphael, April 1996, op. cit., pp. 11-14.
4. Raphael. April 1996, op. cit.
5. C.T. Kenney and K.R. Brown. *Report From the Front Lines: The Impact of Violence on Poor Women*. For the Women, Welfare and Abuse Working Group. (Washington, DC: NOW Legal Defense and Education Fund, 1996).
6. E.L. Bassuk, A. Browne, and J.C. Buckner, "Single Mothers and Welfare," Reprint from *Scientific American* (October 1996): 60-67.
7. S. Lloyd. *The Effects of Violence on Women's Employment*. Prepared for Presentation at the Eighteenth Annual APPAM Research Conference. (November 2, 1996).
8. Lloyd. 1996, op. cit., p. 30.
9. M.A. Allard, R. Albelda, M.E. Colten, and C. Cosenza. *In Harm's Way? Domestic Violence, AFDC Receipt, and Welfare Reform in Massachusetts*. Executive Summary of a report from the University of Massachusetts Boston. (February 1997).
10. M. Greenberg and S. Savner. *A Brief Summary of Key Provisions of the Temporary Assistance for Needy Families Block Grant of H.R. 3734*. (Washington, DC: Center for Law and Social Policy, August 13, 1996).
11. Raphael. April 1996, op. cit., p.17.
12. Raphael. April 1996, op. cit., p.10.
13. J. Davies. *The New Welfare Law: State Implementation and Use of the Family Violence Option*. Welfare and Domestic Violence Paper #2. (Harrisburg, PA: National Resource Center on Domestic Violence, December 1996), p. 8.
14. Raphael. April 1996, op. cit., p.17.
15. Davies. December 1996, op. cit.
16. Battered or Subject to Extreme Cruelty, as defined in Sub.Sec. 408(a)(7)(C)(iii): "...an individual has been battered or subject to extreme cruelty if the individual has been subjected to - (I) physical acts that resulted in, or threatened to result in, physical injury to the individual; (II) sexual abuse; (III) sexual activity involving a dependent child; (IV) being forced as the caretaker relative of a dependent child to engage in nonconsensual sexual acts or activities; (V) threats of, or attempts at, physical or sexual abuse; (VI) mental abuse; or (VII) neglect or deprivation of medical care."
17. The Wellstone/Murray Amendment defines domestic violence as described in Sub.Sec. 408(a)(7)(C)(iii) (see footnote 1).