

When home is not a safe haven

SAFE AND AFFORDABLE HOUSING WITHIN A HOLISTIC RESPONSE TO INTIMATE PARTNER VIOLENCE

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Key findings

- Access to safe and affordable housing is a critical factor enabling victims/survivors to escape intimate partner violence (IPV) at home. Yet throughout OECD countries, too many women have nowhere to go when they leave their abuser. Violence remains a strong driver of women's homelessness cross-nationally.
- To reduce housing insecurity caused by IPV, national governments generally focus on funding
 and providing women with emergency shelter, often administered by subnational governments
 or non-governmental service providers. This is an important first step to address immediate,
 short-term housing needs, but in most countries the number of available spaces is insufficient
 to meet demand.
- Fewer medium- and long-term support programmes exist for victims/survivors who need to transition to affordable housing as part of their long-term recovery. A handful of OECD governments offer rent subsidies or priority access to social/public housing to women who have experienced violence, often in the context of exiting emergency shelters. These policies show good potential to promote long-term safety and independence from an abuser. In practice, however, few victims/survivors benefit from these provisions because there is an inadequate supply of social and affordable housing in general in most countries.
- Housing is an important component of an integrated service delivery (ISD) response to IPV.
 Emergency health services (typically hospitals) and police stations are frequently connected with shelters in their community via case workers, formal or informal referral networks, datasharing systems, or multi-agency risk assessment conferences.
- Housing shelters are important hubs of ISD. Shelters frequently connect clients with income and employment-related supports and child-related services (e.g. psychological counselling), though these services risk being cut off when women and children leave shelters.
- To support victims/survivors' access to safe and affordable housing, governments must increase their focus on medium- and long-term housing supports; offer adequate and regular funding to housing providers; consider ways by which victims/survivors can remain safely in their homes, placing the burden of relocation on the perpetrator; and improve policy coherence across Ministries and levels of government. Governments must better prioritise housing within broader strategies to integrate service delivery for victims/survivors, as detailed in the report Supporting Lives Free from Intimate Partner Violence (OECD, 2023[1]).

Note: This report focuses on the issue of intimate partner violence (IPV) within the broader context of gender-based violence (GBV) against women. For definitions of these and other key terms, please see (OECD, 2023[1]).

Source: (OECD, 2023_[1]), Supporting Lives Free from Intimate Partner Violence: Towards Better Integration of Services for Victims/Survivors, https://doi.org/10.1787/d61633e7-en.

Housing is a critical foundation to building a life free from violence

OECD governments devote considerable public resources to addressing *emergency* needs of victims/survivors of intimate partner violence (IPV). Yet a sustainable, integrated, and victim/survivor-centred policy strategy must incorporate an additional critical dimension – time. It can take months or years for a victim/survivor to escape IPV, for a variety of reasons (OECD, 2023[1]), and for many women escaping violence means completely redefining "home". Often they must find ways to address their physical and mental health needs, secure reliable income that enables them to live independently of their abuser, afford to maintain their current home or establish a new one, and ensure the well-being of their children. More often than not, victims/survivors bear the high costs of leaving an abusive relationship.

A vertically- and horizontally-integrated service delivery response to support women experiencing IPV must therefore incorporate medium- and long-term supports to reduce the risk of continued harm for women experiencing violence; help them re-assert their safety and independence; and curb the repeated use of limited and costly emergency services.

The OECD report *Supporting Lives Free from Intimate Partner Violence: Towards Better Integration of Services for Victims/Survivors* finds that governments in the OECD have room to improve in providing an integrated, long-term service delivery response to IPV, including in the sphere of safe and affordable housing for victims/survivors (OECD, 2023[1]).

Violence is a leading driver of homelessness among women

Women experiencing IPV may remain in violent relationships as a result of economic co-dependence, limited housing alternatives, and/or complications and liabilities related to home co-ownership, joint leases and rental arrears. Women with children face these challenges all the more.

IPV has been found to hinder a woman's ability to remain in a formerly-shared dwelling (if the abuser has left) or to secure alternate housing. Victims/survivors are often economically co-dependent on the perpetrator and unable to pay ongoing bills themselves. If they need to move, it is not uncommon to be discriminated against when looking for new housing; landlords fear police interventions, damaged property or unpaid rent. In some cases, subnational governments develop eviction policies that may not align with (or may actually undo) national-level action plans to mitigate IPV. In the United States, for example, local nuisance property laws can lead to fines or evictions of people who repeatedly call for emergency police services – including women experiencing violence, who, however, are simultaneously protected by the federal Violence Against Women Act (see Box 4.1 in (OECD, 2023[1]).

Violence – combined with inadequate emergency housing capacity – is consequently a leading cause of homelessness and housing instability for women and their children (Yakubovich et al., 2022_[2]). ¹ This holds across countries. The numbers are striking:

¹ While violence is a cause of homelessness, it is also a *consequence* of homelessness. Women fleeing GBV may be sleeping rough or accessing homelessness services that predominantly serve men and are not equipped to provide safety, security and privacy for women. These challenges are compounded when women suffer from mental health issues or substance abuse, as many facilities are not equipped to offer integrated services to address complex needs (FEANTSA, 2019_[25]).

- A recent survey of homeless populations in Germany found that nearly eight out of ten (79%) women experiencing homelessness without shelter had experienced some kind of violence (Brüchmann et al., 2022[3]).²
- In Ireland, two-thirds of homeless women report having experienced IPV (Mayock and Bretherton, 2016_[4]).
- In Australia, 50% of adult women clients accessing Australia's Specialist Homelessness Services in 2021-22 had experienced family and domestic violence (AIHW, 2022_[5]).
- In France, more than one in six women experiencing violence need accommodation annually a total of over 35 000 women, more than three times greater than available accommodation (Fondation Abbé Pierre, 2023[6]).

Some government housing frameworks acknowledge IPV is a strong determinant of homelessness. For example, Australia's National Housing and Homelessness Agreement considers "women and children affected by family and domestic violence" to be a priority homelessness cohort for which subnational governments are required to report investments (Australian Institute of Health and Welfare, 2019_[7]).

Australia's "Keeping Women Safe in their Homes" (KWSITH) programme is therefore an important and complementary initiative which allocates central funding to state and territorial governments, and select NGOs, to help women *remain* in their homes rather than uproot their lives in the wake of IPV (see Box 1). The initiative focusses on holding perpetrators of violence accountable for their actions by shifting the onus of moving out to the abuser.

Similarly, the recently-trialled "Domestic Violence Housing First" model in the United States recognises that domestic violence is a leading cause of homelessness among women and has prioritised housing support for victims/survivors, combined with flexible financial assistance, with successful results (see Box 1).

While emergency shelters can provide essential temporary housing support, the importance of longer-term solutions in the form of transitional shelter and affordable housing cannot be overstated (Mantler and Wolfe, 2016_[8]). Emergency shelters, though critical to crisis response infrastructure, do not constitute viable, long-term housing solutions for women wanting to leave a violent relationship.

Box 1. Novel national initiatives promoting long-term stable housing for victims/survivors

Keeping Women Safe in their Homes (KWSITH) in Australia

Women who leave their home to flee violence suffer additional hardships. Aside from the time, energy and other resources required to change locations – sometimes with children – a move can compromise proximity to employment, to children's school or day care, and access to support networks. KWSITH therefore shifts the onus of relocating on the *perpetrator*.

KWSITH was deployed in 2015-16 as part of the *National Plan to Reduce Violence against Women and their Children, 2010-22.* The Australian Government funds state and territory governments, along with select service providers, to deploy the programme according to an operational framework. Principal

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² While this estimate refers to *all* forms of violence, and not only IPV, it is worth noting the valuable data source – a novel survey of people experiencing homelessness in Germany. The Society for Innovative Social Research and Social Planning and Kantar Public interviewed a representative sample of homeless people taken in three stages in 151 German cities and municipalities. These estimate the numbers of people living rough in the streets or in makeshift shelters and of persons in concealed homelessness, staying with acquaintances or relatives. In addition, the study offers insights into the socio-demographic composition of both groups of homeless and on important aspects of their life situation – including experiences of violence (Brüchmann et al., 2022_[3]).

supports include assessing whether a woman and her children can safely remain in her home by way of risk assessments, safety planning, case management and home security audits. The programme also finances home security upgrades, such as installing or changing locks and security screen doors, installing alarm systems and security cameras, and for women at higher risk, providing technology such as monitored personal safety devices, surveillance cameras, dashboard cameras, and electronic sweeping and de-bugging of homes and cars.

Since its start in 2015-16, KWSITH has assisted 13 838 women and their children nationally. KWSITH aligns with related national planning for perpetrator accountability and interventions. In October 2022, funding was recommitted to the programme, and implementation will be monitored via the Department of Social Services Data Exchange.

Domestic Violence Housing First (DVHF) Model in the United States

Recognising that domestic violence (DV) is a leading cause of homelessness and unstable housing, the DVHF Model being trialled in the United States aims to support women who leave an abusive home to achieve safe and stable housing. The Model works with victims/survivors experiencing unstable housing by, first and foremost, getting them into stable housing and then working to support them in other ways. This concept is based on the longstanding "Housing First" model used for other vulnerable populations with complex needs, such as mental illness.

A quasi-experimental, longitudinal evaluation study of DVHF followed women over two years after they sought services from one of five participating DV agencies in the state of Washington. The evaluation considered the effectiveness of two pillars of the model: mobile housing-related advocacy and flexible funding. Results suggest that after 24 months, the DVHF model is more effective than services as usual in helping survivors achieve housing stability, safety, and improved mental health. Positive results were visible immediately after the initial six months, and then persisted over the two full years.

Source: (Australian Department of Social Services, 2022_[9]; Breckenridge, 2021_[10]; Chen and Sullivan, 2022_[11]; OECD., 2015_[12]; OECD, 2020_[13]).

Emergency shelters are common, but there are rarely enough spaces

To address housing needs around IPV, national governments in the OECD have historically focused on funding and providing women with emergency shelter, with fewer efforts made to provide transitional shelter (from emergency to long-term housing) or access to long-term affordable housing. This is in some ways a natural response to acute crises, and may be linked to the phrasing of the Istanbul Convention, which stresses the need for emergency shelters. Yet despite this focus on emergency housing, a recent review by the monitoring body of the Istanbul Convention, GREVIO, finds emergency accommodation sorely lacking among signatories, including in the OECD. It identifies public housing and financial assistance as the two least accessible services for women escaping violence across Istanbul Convention signatories (Council of Europe, 2022[14]). Austria is the only European OECD country to have achieved the Istanbul Convention target of one family place in shelter per 10 000 population (Council of Europe, 2022[14]).

This comes in the context of a broader focus in OECD countries on the provision of emergency housing support (shelters) to people experiencing homelessness, rather than dedicating more resources and policy attention towards preventing housing instability in the first place and in providing long-term housing solutions, such as through Housing First approaches (OECD, 2020[15]).

Shelters for victims/survivors are not commonly managed by the national government. The national governments of Costa Rica, Greece and Türkiye do report operating some – or most – of the women's

shelters in their countries, all of which offer multidisciplinary support services. Until recently this was also the case in Mexico, though shelter services are now co-ordinated by the National Commission to Prevent and Eradicate Violence against Women (CONAVIM), a decentralised administrative body of the Ministry of the Interior that works alongside local-level organisations. In the Republic of Türkiye, the national government in 2022 mandated all 81 Provincial Governorships and municipalities with a population of over 100 000 to open women's shelters, with guidance from specialists from the General Directorate on the Status of Women.

Emergency shelters are typically provided sub-nationally

Shelter services are otherwise generally provided at the national and subnational levels through policy and funding commitments, and are delivered by a network of organisations at the local level who then often compete for government resources (OECD, 2023[1]). For example, in Korea, women's shelters are funded by both national and subnational governments and operated by non-governmental organisations. In Japan, too, the national government funds non-governmental service providers. In Canada, some of these efforts consider intersectional needs: the Indigenous Shelter and Transitional Housing Initiative earmarks funds to create at least 50 transitional homes and 38 shelters for Indigenous women, children and 2SLGBTQQIA+³ people escaping gender-based violence. The funds are allocated to service providers who submit service delivery proposals through an open call, and who are selected according to pre-determined evaluation criteria.⁴ Canada's "Reaching Home" Homelessness Strategy⁵ also fosters housing support for populations such as victims/survivors of GBV.

Central funding rules may also be adapted to ensure funds are effectively allocated at the subnational level. In the United States, at least 70% of the funding issued by the Department of Health and Human Services through the Administration for Children and Families awarded to sub-grantees working in the field of domestic violence must be used for the primary purpose of providing immediate shelter and supportive services in respective states (OECD, 2023[1]).

On the ground, dedicated funding for emergency (and transitional) shelter often comes with jurisdictional limitations which can restrict a woman's ability to re-locate to a shelter in a municipality other than the one of her registered address. Despite re-location being a common short-term safety strategy to get women away from an abuser, one service provider explains that "Barriers arise when [...] women escape to a women's shelter in [more distant] municipality for reasons of safety. These women will often be rejected there, since the compensation of costs among municipalities is complicated" (OECD, 2023[1]).

The private sector can take on useful roles as providers of emergency housing, too. For instance, building on their initiative during the COVID-19 pandemic to provider emergency shelter at cost price, the hospitality company Accor has put in place a new platform. The platform "Emergency Shelter" aims to provide temporary accommodation in hotels belonging to the chain to women and children leaving abusive partners. Between March and October 2022, 148 women and children benefitted from the programme (Falstaff, 2022_[16]; Accor, 2022_[17]).

³ 2SLGTBQIA+ is an acronym for Two-Spirit, Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, Queer and/or Questioning, Intersex, Asexual. The plus sign reflects the countless affirmative ways in which people choose to self-identify (Middlebury Institute of International Studies, 2023_[27]).

⁴ An overview of the evaluation criteria in order to receive grants is available at (CMHC, 2022_[26]).

⁵ For more details see https://www.infrastructure.gc.ca/homelessness-sans-abri/index-eng.html.

Transitional housing is infrequently offered

Women experiencing IPV often need time and support when moving from emergency shelters to long-term housing, which may imply high upfront costs and organisational resources. Shelters therefore often provide both emergency beds and transitional apartments, though the latter is markedly less common. The recent OECD Consultation with 27 non-governmental service providers (OECD, 2023_[1]) revealed that respondents were more than twice as likely to offer emergency shelter as transitional housing (56% to 22%).

Hungary offers a novel example of transitional housing for victims/survivors. Transitional housing services in Hungary are designed to provide longer-term housing for victims/survivors leaving abusive relationships. Women can move to these houses following crisis situations. By law, transitional houses can be operated in conjunction with crisis centres as well as secret shelters. In practice, transitional housing services are self-contained flats close to sheltered accommodations, for which there is no rent and the utilities are only gradually taken over by the victim/survivor. The services of the transitional home are available for five years, and in addition to housing, the survivor receives free psychological and legal counselling, as well as the guidance of a social worker who helps with reintegration into society. Hungary reports that "the period spent in a transitional house is about rebuilding a life; the survivor starts working, becoming more independent in their day-to-day life, which oftentimes includes taking care of their children. Survivors typically leave the care system after 2 years. Following time spent in such a transitional house, survivors can become so empowered, that there are virtually no examples of someone going back to their abuser" (OECD QISD-GBV, 2022).

Victims/survivors' access to safe, affordable, long-term housing is a challenge

Awareness of – and access to – stable and affordable housing is a key determinant of help-seeking and restitution of personal safety for women experiencing IPV. Unfortunately, women fleeing violence do so in the broader context of a widespread affordable housing shortage in OECD countries, which leads many lower-income households to be overburdened by housing costs and/or live in poor-quality dwellings that are ill-suited to their needs (OECD, 2022[18]).

To support women in accessing long-term, affordable housing solutions, national governments most commonly offer them rent subsidies or priority access to social housing. These benefits and programmes are often linked – either administratively or in terms of priority access – to emergency shelters as a way to help women leave shelters.

Rent subsidies for women experiencing violence

A few countries offer rent subsidies to women escaping violence. The Chilean Ministry of Housing and Urbanism, in co-ordination with the Ministry of Women and Gender Equality and the National Service for Women and Gender Equality (SERNAMEG), provides women experiencing gender-based violence with a subsidy to access rented or owned housing. In the United Kingdom, recent policy changes give people who have experienced domestic violence the right to claim a higher level of housing support. The additional provision is available for people who already live independently, and who have written attestation of violence by either a health care professional, police officer, registered social worker, their employer, or a GBV-specific service provider. Notably, there is no time limit to claim this additional benefit; a person who experienced abuse at age 20 can still appeal for the benefit at age 30, so long as they can provide evidence (OECD, 2023[1]).

Greece offers an example of rent subsidies integrated with other services. The "Housing and Work Project" aims to rehouse individuals and families experiencing homelessness through an integrated approach and considers women living in domestic violence shelters to be one of its three priority groups. The programme

provides some women with a two-year rent subsidy; a subsidy to cover costs of household goods and other functional needs; psychosocial support services; referral to other social benefits and services; and training services and support accessing work (OECD, 2023_[1]; European Commission, 2022_[19]).

Priority access to social housing for women experiencing violence

Several countries have special provisions within existing social housing schemes which prioritise access to victims/survivors who are exiting emergency shelters. These include Belgium, Ireland, Japan, the Netherlands, Portugal, and Spain (see Table 1).

Table 1. Examples of policies facilitating victims/survivors' access to social housing

Country	Description of services delivered
Belgium	Municipalities are legally obliged to grant priority consideration for social housing to women who have experienced violence and who are exiting shelter services.
Ireland	In 2017, the Department of Housing, Local Government and Heritage issued guidance to housing authorities highlighting the role they can play in assisting women impacted by domestic violence. The guidance makes a number of recommendations, including that local housing authorities provide short-term emergency housing to women exiting emergency shelters, but who are unable to return home due to safety concerns, without having to assess their eligibility for social housing support or include them on the authority's waiting list for housing supports. Importantly, this hinges on availability of housing. Where a woman is party to a joint tenancy agreement with the perpetrator of violence, she may return to the family home if the justice system has ensured the expulsion of the perpetrator. The housing authority can also install reinforced doors and bolts, lighting and a communications point to be funded via housing authorities' standard improvement works programmes.
Japan	Public housing occupants are usually selected through a public lottery system. However, low-income people with especially serious housing problems, including related to spousal violence, can be housed on a preferential basis, at the discretion of housing providers and depending on circumstances in the locality.
Netherlands	The housing law legally obliges municipalities to offer housing, with priority, to women who have experienced GBV and are exiting shelter services.
Portugal	Since 2012, the "Municipalities in Solidarity with Domestic Violence Victims" lays the legal framework wherein municipalities grant priority access to social housing for women leaving shelter services. To date, 42% of municipalities in Portugal have adhered to the programme.
Spain	Organic Law 1/2004 and 10/2022 regulates the priority access of victims/survivors of GBV to housing. Housing assistance programmes such as the "Programa de ayudas a las víctimas de violencia de género, personas objeto de deshaucio de su vivienda habitual, personas sin hogar y otras personas especialmente vulnerables" seek to provide an immediate housing solution for GBV victims and vulnerable people. Recipients can access financial aid of up to EUR 600 per month, which can support up to 100% of the rent.

Note: This table presents a non-exhaustive list of policies in OECD countries intended to link victims/survivors with social housing, typically as they exit emergency shelters. Additional comments were incorporated following OECD members' review.

Source: OECD QISD-GBV 2022 (Presented in (OECD, 2023[1]) Annex A); (Council of Europe, 2022[14]); Government of Ireland (Department of Housing, Planning, Community and Local Government, 2017[20]); Government of Spain (Ministry for transport, 2022[21]).

Importantly, while *de jure* priority access to social housing may be promised to women escaping situations of violence, such provisions face challenges in implementation. GREVIO has found in reviews of Belgium, Finland, France, Italy, the Netherlands, Portugal, and Türkiye that public/social housing and financial assistance are usually the two types of services that victims find more difficult to access even where the law foresees helpful measures (Council of Europe, 2022[14]). The Netherlands, for example, has a law mandating priority access for victims/survivors in social housing, but in practice many women are not placed as there are not enough spaces in the affordable housing stock (ibid). In general, and not only for victims/survivors, there is a shortage of social housing supply in OECD countries relative to demand (OECD, 2020[22]).

Integrating housing supports with other critical services

While housing is a critical component of any public response to IPV, housing should not be provided in isolation. Women experiencing IPV have complex needs both during and after experiences of violence. Threats to their health include injuries, unintended pregnancies, sexually transmitted infections, pregnancy complications, mental health problems, homicide, and suicide. In addition to housing, these women also often need legal advice, income support⁶, and help for their children. This requires a diverse range of services from government and other providers. Different policy and service delivery spheres such as health, housing, justice, employment, and education need to work together seamlessly.

The report Supporting Lives Free from Intimate Partner Violence: Towards Better Integration of Services for Victims/Survivors (OECD, 2023[1]) presents a stocktaking of OECD governments' efforts to integrate service delivery (ISD) to address these complex needs in cases of IPV. To improve policy responses to IPV, ISD takes a variety of forms. Across countries, this includes the physical co-location of services; the use of case managers; informal or formal referral networks; information-sharing and training co-ordination across agencies; and/or deep co-operation across agencies, working together on individual cases towards pre-determined and consistent goals.

Emergency housing can be both an entry point and a mid-way point for women escaping violence. While women may go directly to a (general or women's) shelter when they leave a violent situation, victims/survivors across OECD countries are frequently connected with emergency housing *after* entering the public system in hospital emergency rooms or through contact with the police. Emergency rooms and police stations are frequently hubs for ISD, with connections in the broader community to housing support, child-related supports, and access to justice.

At the same time, housing services for victims/survivors are often hubs of ISD themselves. There is generally not enough space in shelters for victims/survivors, and not enough shelters provide specialised services for women experiencing violence. Yet good practices exist throughout the OECD in which women's shelters link clients with health services, income support, and support for children (OECD, 2023[1]).

Governments provide income support, for example, to victims/survivors in the form of crisis payments, additional housing subsidies, health care reimbursement and adapted tests for various benefit payments (see Table 4.2 in (OECD, 2023[1])), many of which can be accessed through case workers working in shelters.

Shelters also sometimes offer support to child witnesses of IPV. Indeed, state-operated women's shelters in Costa Rica, Greece, Israel and Türkiye report serving as many, if not more, children than they do women escaping domestic violence, offering supportive services to both (OECD, 2023[1]). Child services commonly appear in the form of counselling for children affected by violence, but there are also practical, education-related supports like out-of-school care, such as helping children with homework or transporting them to and from school (see Table 4.3. in (OECD, 2023[1])). Importantly, when services for children are delivered through state-funded women's shelters, many essential child-related supports are interrupted when women exit emergency or transitional shelters (Council of Europe, 2022[14]).

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⁶ Domestic violence is not only more prevalent among people living in poverty, it is often more frequent and more severe. At the same time, women earn less and are less likely to be in the labour market than their male partners, on average across the OECD (OECD, 2022_[23]). This often leaves women experiencing violence at an economic disadvantage when and if they want to leave a violent relationship. Against this backdrop, racial and ethnic minority women – who tend to earn less than white women – face particularly high risks (Gillum, 2019_[24]).

Recommendations for policy makers

Safe and affordable housing is a critical part of women's long-term recovery from intimate partner violence. To better support victims/survivors, policymakers should

- Increase their focus on medium- and long-term housing solutions. While emergency shelters offer crucial short-term support, they are generally not intended to support a long-term recovery.
- Ensure the continuity of complementary services, such as health care and child-related supports, when women and children leave emergency shelters.
- Offer adequate and regular funding to public and non-governmental housing providers, as funding instability is a major barrier to reliable and integrated service delivery.
- Consider new ways by which victims/survivors can remain safely in their homes by placing the burden of relocation on the perpetrator.
- Improve policy coherence across Ministries and levels of government so that policies reinforce (and do not inadvertently undermine) each other.
- Better prioritise housing within broader strategies to integrate service delivery for victims/survivors, including better data sharing, more programme evaluations, the better integration of perpetrators in policy responses, and maintaining a victim/survivor-centred focus. These broader recommendations are detailed in the report *Supporting Lives Free from Intimate Partner Violence: Towards Better Integration of Services for Victims/Survivors* (OECD, 2023[1]).

OECD Resources

- "Better data and policies to fight homelessness in the OECD" (Policy brief, 2020): https://www.oecd.org/social/soc/homelessness-policy-brief-2020.pdf.
- Supporting Lives free from Intimate Partner Violence: Towards Better Integration of Services for Victims/Survivors (Report, 2023), https://doi.org/10.1787/d61633e7-en.
- OECD Affordable Housing Database: https://www.oecd.org/housing/data/affordable-housing-database/
- OECD Violence Against Women resources: https://www.oecd.org/gender/vaw.htm

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Contacts

Valerie Frey, OECD Social Policy Division (⊠ <u>valerie.frey@oecd.org</u>)

Marissa Plouin, OECD Social Policy Division (⊠ <u>marissa.plouin@oecd.org</u>)

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