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PRIVATE ACTS, PUBLIC PROBLEMS: DOMESTIC VIOLENCE AS A POLICY CASE
STUDY

by

Emily S. Carroll

B.A., Bowling Green State University, 2006

M.A., University of Akron, 2009

A Dissertation

Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the
Doctor of Philosophy.

Department of Political Science
in the Graduate School
Southern Illinois University Carbondale
August 2014

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DISSERTATION APPROVAL

PRIVATE ACTS, PUBLIC PROBLEMS: DOMESTIC VIOLENCE AS A POLICY CASE
STUDY

By

Emily S. Carroll

A Dissertation Submitted in Partial
Fulfillment of the Requirements
for the Degree of
Doctor of Philosophy
in the field of Political Science

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June 9, 2014

AN ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION OF

EMILY S. CARROLL, for the Doctor of Philosophy degree in POLITICAL SCIENCE, presented on JUNE 9, 2014, at Southern Illinois University Carbondale.

TITLE: PRIVATE ACTS, PUBLIC PROBLEMS: DOMESTIC VIOLENCE AS A POLICY CASE STUDY

MAJOR PROFESSOR: Dr. Scott McClurg

This project discusses the relevant literature on decision-making, looks at the ways domestic violence is discussed and how the terminology has changed/progressed over time, and defines it for the purposes of this project. It then examines four states – an individualistic, resource-rich state; a moralistic, resource-average state; and two traditionalistic, resource-poor states. States were chosen based on their full compliance with the National Incident-Based Reporting System, their categorization as individualistic, moralistic, and traditionalistic as defined by Daniel J. Elazar (1972), and their categorization as resource-rich, resource-average, and resource-poor based on 2010 Census data. By using each state as a case study, this research aids in understanding the domestic violence policies in each state, the history of those policies, the factors at work in policy decisions (i.e. information, resources, and the political culture), and the role of domestic violence experts/advocates in the larger policy realm.

DEDICATION

For those advocating for victims and empowering women.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Thank you to my committee members for providing guidance through the research and writing process, support during the low points, and professional advice for a non-traditional student.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

This dissertation will discuss the relevant literature on decision-making. It will then look at the ways domestic violence is discussed, how the terminology has changed/progressed over time, and define it for the purposes of this project. I will then examine four states – an individualistic, resource-rich state; a moralistic, resource-average state; and two traditionalistic, resource-poor states. States will be chosen based on their full compliance with the National Incident-Based Reporting System (Justice Research and Statistics Association 2012) though their utilization of such data is yet to be determined, their categorization as individualistic, moralistic, or traditionalistic (based on Daniel Elazar’s political culture categorization), and their resources available (based on 2010 Census data; See Appendix 1). Through an in-depth look at these various states, I will be better able to understand the policies in each state, the history of those policies, the factors at work in policy decisions (i.e. information, resources, and the political culture), and the role of experts/advocates in the larger policy realm.

My dissertation will contribute to the larger political science field by showcasing how public policy decisions are affected by political culture, resources, and information. It will further the understanding of the factors that lead to public policy decisions including the political culture, the public resources available, and the information on a given policy issue. The project also taps the expertise of individuals working in politics and, more specifically, in domestic violence. Though experts are often targeted for interviews and information for projects, political science has largely ignored women’s

issues (with the exception of reproductive health/abortion) as a way to study politics (Sapiro 1981).

It should be noted that domestic violence is currently on the policy agenda. The timeliness of this issue only adds to the contribution my dissertation will make to the policy literature. The Violence Against Women Act was first introduced by (then) Senator Joe Biden and approved in 1994. This landmark piece of legislation was a bipartisan effort that aimed to provide comprehensive services to victims of domestic violence and hold their batterers accountable (The White House 2013). However, when VAWA came up for reauthorization in 2012, it did not garner the same support that it had historically. Due to the addition of language to the bill that would include gays and lesbians, Native Americans, and undocumented immigrants, VAWA came under scrutiny mostly from conservative Republicans (Bendery 2012). The bill was not passed in its entirety until the spring of 2013. The kind of protection for victims, consequences for offenders, and community services provided by VAWA are often taken for granted by the public. But due to the near “death” of VAWA in 2012, it should be evident that this kind of policy and the associated programs are not a given.

The Policy Problem: Domestic Violence

Domestic violence encompasses any “physical, visual, verbal, or sexual acts that are experienced by a woman or girl as a threat, invasion, or assault and that have the effect of hurting her or degrading her and/or taking away her ability to control contact (intimate or otherwise) with another individual (Koss, Goodman, Browne, Fitzgerald, Keita, and Russo 1999).” When described in this way it is hard to imagine that

policymakers would not prioritize an issue that so many individuals, particularly women, (i.e. half of their constituents) face. But do policymakers really understand how rampant the issue is?

In the United States and around the world the issue of domestic violence has become epidemic. It is now one of the “leading causes of injury and death” for women (Wilson and Websdale 2006). The National Violence Against Women Survey estimates that American women experience approximately 4.8 million rapes and physical assaults at the hands of their partners annually (Tjaden and Thoennes 2000; Wilson and Websdale 2006). To add to this statistic, every year an estimated 1,400 women “die in domestic violence” and it should be noted that these deaths do not include “unidentified domestic violence deaths due to suicide, homelessness, HIV, or substance abuse (Wilson and Websdale 2006).” Organizations like the National Violence Against Women Survey attempt to track the incidence of domestic violence, but even their best efforts and projections do not mirror reality, because much domestic violence goes unreported.

Policymakers are in a powerful position to help address this issue, whether it comes to law enforcement response, victims services, and legal consequences for batterers. However, due to the private nature of the problem, policymakers have traditionally ignored it. But because the incidents of domestic violence, the number of related injuries, and the number of fatalities associated with it, policymakers can no longer ignore the problem. This private matter is now becoming very public in the services it requires (police, medical, etc.) and the number of people it affects.

Theory/ Hypotheses

This project is interested in understanding the process that leads to policy outcomes (decisions). It is based in social movement organization theory which defines a movement's success in the following (or a combination of the following ways): gaining access to policy elites who have decision-making power, exerting influence on policy elites (including legislators, the courts, the media, and organizations in the larger government bureaucracy), achieving stated goals (policy reforms), and gaining access to funding and other forms of professional support (Bush 1992). With this theory and these goals in mind, this dissertation seeks to know whether policy decisions are dependent on the political culture of the state, the available resources within the state, and the available information on a given policy issue. More specifically, I will use the following three ideas to guide my research and to gain a better understanding of the factors that influence and effect a social movements overall success (in this case the success of the women's movement to end domestic violence).

1. Information is the currency of good public policy. Where legislators have accurate, detailed information about a policy problem, they are better able, and more likely, to act on it, than in the absence of information.
2. Resource availability dictates policymakers' ability to allocate resources to various policy problems. Where legislators have access to ample funds, they are better able, and more likely to deal with a policy problem, than in the absence of funds.
3. The political culture determines attitudes on policy problems. Where legislators are part of a more open political culture, they are better able and more likely to deal with a policy problem, than in a more constrained culture.

From these theories, I was able to develop corresponding hypotheses that will enable me to test my theories regarding the policy process.

1. States that collect and utilize data on domestic violence are more likely to have domestic violence (prevention) policies than states that do not.
2. Resource rich states are more likely to have domestic violence (prevention) policies than states that are resource poor.
3. States that have a moralistic political culture are more likely to have domestic violence (prevention) policies than states that have a more traditionalistic political culture.

Methods

The purpose of this study is to more fully understand the process behind domestic violence policy decisions. It is concerned with building the “story” of the policy process. More specifically, it is concerned with how information, resources, and the political culture affect public policy decisions and outcomes directly affect victims of domestic violence. It is based upon interviews with professional advocates working in the field of domestic violence. Subjects were chosen due to their professional affiliation with an organization working to impact progressive domestic violence policy (National Coalition Against Domestic Violence State Contact List). Individuals interviewed included members of the state affiliates for the National Coalition Against Domestic Violence, policy analysts, lobbyists, and policymakers.

Subjects were contacted over the telephone and an in-person interview was then scheduled. The researcher traveled to the subject’s office where a semi-structured interview was conducted (See Appendix 3 for Interview Protocol). On average, interviews lasted approximately 90 minutes. The interviews were recorded for the purposes of transcription and coding. During the interview, subjects were asked to describe their organization/job, the political culture of their state, the information

available regarding the issue of domestic violence, how policymaker use that information, and whether the financial resources in the state met the needs of the policy problem.

At the end of the in-person interview, subjects were asked to provide the names of any other individuals in their state who are doing work on domestic violence policy and that they feel would be an asset to this research. By using the snowball effect, the researcher was able to conduct telephone interviews with other policy professional within each case study state.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

Historically, domestic violence has been viewed as a private issue that was relegated to the home and family and therefore had to be dealt with by those involved. But since the 1970s, domestic violence emerged as a public problem – one that reached the political agenda and the attention of policymakers. This was largely due to the efforts of feminists, advocates, researchers, and public health and safety professionals (for further discussion see Language Chapter). Since then, domestic violence has gained significance as a public policy issue.

This chapter is dedicated to describing the history of domestic violence in the United States, the political factors that influence the visibility of domestic violence, and the development of domestic violence as a public policy issue.

Domestic Violence in the United States: Theoretical Beginnings and a Brief and Recent History (post WWII)

As previously stated, domestic violence has historically been viewed as a private, familial issue – something to be dealt with behind closed doors and out of sight. This way of thinking reinforces the “broadly accepted” and “tolerated norms about what women are for, where they belong, and what they may and may not do, even as it exacts a terrible and often excruciatingly private price from individual women” (Dalton and Schneider 2001, 943; Buzawa and Buzawa 2003; Schneir 1992). This thinking leads to the ideas attached to male power and dominance, therefore substantiating women’s subordination to men. If the public allows this private violence, it is essentially

condoning this kind of subjugation (Dalton and Schneider 2001). As Dalton and Schneider wrote:

[A]s long as the 'the state' in its official capacity, and society more generally, continue to tolerate private violence, women are not, in reality, the full and equal citizens the constitution and laws promise they will be; the full and equal citizens we tend to imagine, for the most part, they are. They are not, in other words, receiving their full 'due' from the state. At the same time, violence against women, in its daily and mundane exercise, concretely impedes women's participation in civic and political life, and diminishes their contribution to it. Women are not in a position, in other words, to give the full measure of what they have to offer to society (943).

In this way, domestic violence can be viewed as a denial of equal rights, denial of equal protection, and societal consent to torture and terrorize (Dalton and Schneider 2001; Schneir 1992; Thomas and Beasley 1993). Feminist social theory has addressed violence in this way, as well as in highlighting the issues of "liberty, autonomy, equality, and women's citizenship (Dalton and Schneider 2001, 944)." To go a step further, and to place domestic violence more firmly in the public sphere, because family members, neighbors, law enforcement and medical professionals often have direct knowledge of the violence, it cannot be exclusively relegated to the private sphere (Rivera 1995).

Most will agree that violence, regardless of gender, is unacceptable. However, there are several factors that play into the prevalence of violence against women including cultural, social/demographic, and geographic variables.

Socially accepted violence against women has been a "persistent" issue since "ancient times (Buzawa and Buzawa 2003, 57; Martin and Frayer 2007)." This acceptance is based in patriarchal ideals as a way to maintain social power. This

macrolevel, structural violence has become an ingrained part of Western society; a long-standing tradition with roots in ancient, Roman civil law (Buzawa and Buzawa 2003; Holland 2006; Martin and Frayer 2007). Men were deemed “guardians” of their wives and in turn their wives had the legal status of “daughter.” This led to the legal right for a man to physically beat his wife when he felt it necessary (Buzawa and Buzawa 2003; Schneir 1992). It also provided the legal right to sell a woman into slavery or put her to death if her husband thought it appropriate (Buzawa and Buzawa 2003; McConnell 1991). This essentially provided women with the legal and social status of property (Jones 2000; McConnell 1991)

English common law, which provided the basis for many U.S. laws, also embraced the “custom of male control over women (Buzawa and Buzawa 2003, 58; McConnell 1991; Siegel 1996).” Here again, women were viewed as property. A husband was allowed to physically punish his wife if his reaction was “reasonable,” in order to maintain control and responsibility (Buzawa and Buzawa 2003, 58; Siegel 1996). By the 17th century, English common law went so far as to give men control over women’s bodies, allowing a husband to murder his wife if she has committed adultery (Buzawa and Buzawa 2003, 58; Coker 1992). After all, “Jealousy is the rage of a man, and adultery is the highest invasion of property...(A) man cannot receive a higher provocation (Buzawa and Buzawa 2003, 58).” It was not until later centuries that the English (and other western societies), began to question the extent of the punishment and the need for context of a woman’s “crimes” (Buzawa and Buzawa 2003, 57). The “rule of thumb” came into play during this time, which stated that a man could beat his wife with an object as long as it wasn’t thicker than his thumb (Buzawa and Buzawa

2003; Lerman 1984). In fact, a court ruling during this time, gave consent for husbands to “punish” their wives “as long as it was confined to ‘blows, thumps, kicks or punches in the back which did not leave marks (Buzawa and Buzawa 2003, 61; Lerman 1984).” Interestingly, it was not until the mid-twentieth century, that the courts recognized women’s feelings of anger and rage as being equal to a man’s (in the instances of adultery and the murder of a husband by a wife) (Buzawa and Buzawa 2003; Mahoney 1991). It should be noted that almost every society has culturally accepted male dominance of women through physical means. More specifically, laws, literature, and even jokes have led to the cultural approval of violence against women by their husbands (Buzawa and Buzawa 2003; Holland 2006).

Early in American history, domestic violence was illegal. Under Puritan rule, the Massachusetts Body of Laws and Liberties, forbid the physical dominance and punishment of women by men (Buzawa and Buzawa 2003; Fox 2013). However, men were allowed “moderate violence” under religious law and as a tool to maintain their patriarchal role within the family (Buzawa and Buzawa 2003). In other words, the law was symbolic rather than based in reality. Also, they were limited to religious colonies in the new world. As early as 1824, the United States recognized and upheld English common law, publicly allowing men the right to beat their wives under “the rule of thumb”(and as late as 1871) (Buzawa and Buzawa 2003; Fox 2013; Lerman 1984). Here again, it was seen as a necessary way to control women and maintain men’s social and familial dominance. Until the early twentieth century, women had few legal rights (Buzawa and Buzawa 2003; Oppenlander 1981). This was largely due to the

notion that women were mentally inferior and in need of protection from the men in their lives (Buzawa and Buzawa 2003; Fox 2013).

As society became more secular, it was important for society and therefore the government, to step aside and out of the home. After the Civil War and into the late 19th century women began to achieve more autonomy in that their husband's power began to erode under the law. Women began to be accepted in the workforce, they gained some financial freedom, and divorce was at least an option (Buzawa and Buzawa 2003). It was during this time that women's advocacy groups began to emerge and draw attention to issues of violence against women – particularly those committed at home (Buzawa and Buzawa 2003; Schneir 1992; Tierney 1982). However, it was not until the late 1960s and early 1970s that domestic violence really became a public concern (Buzawa and Buzawa 2003; Tierney 1982). It was not only viewed as a political issue but a public health issue. Thanks to advocates and their associated groups, domestic violence became a punishable offense under the law and one recognized as a serious health and safety issue for women. This began at the local and state levels and later at the federal level (Buzawa and Buzawa 2003; Tierney 1982). Although it should be noted “societal pressures emphasizing legalistic intervention to long-standing social issues also became significant (Buzawa and Buzawa 2003, 90; Oppenlander 1981).” In other words, the public became more concerned with crime, safety, and the punishment of those who committed criminal acts (Buzawa and Buzawa 2003; Tierney 1982).

As social/cultural attitudes evolved so did laws surrounding domestic violence. These changes were focused in four main areas – “police response to domestic

violence, the handling of cases by prosecutors and the judiciary, the increased availability and enforcement of civil restraining orders, and the development of efforts to educate the public and victims about the problem, as well as its prevention and possible solutions (Buzawa and Buzawa 2003, 109).”

One aspect of education that is of the utmost importance lies in understanding who is affected by domestic violence. Domestic violence knows no boundaries; in other words, there is not a gender, race, class, or age that is not affected (Buzawa and Buzawa 2003; Jones 2003; Renzetti, Edelson, and Bergen 2001).

A study conducted by the U.S. Department of Justice (statistics coming from the National Crime Victimization Survey), found that instances of reported domestic violence (by victims to the survey) decreased from 1994 to 2010 (Catalano 2012).

The overall rate of intimate partner violence in the United States declined by 64%, from 9.8 victimizations per 1,000 persons age 12 or older to 3.6 per 1,000. The number of intimate partner victimizations also declined, from approximately 2.1 million victimizations in 1994 to around 907,000 in 2010—a decline of about 1.2 million victimizations over the 18-year data collection period. From 1994 to 2000, similar declines were observed for overall violent crime (down 47%) and intimate partner violence (down 48%). However, during the more recent 10-year period from 2001 to 2010, the decline in the overall intimate partner violence rate slowed and stabilized while the overall violent crime rate continued to decline (Catalano 2012, 1).

The report found that four out of five victims of domestic violence were women (Catalano 2012). This estimate remained stable (at approximately 85 percent) over time (Catalano 2012). However, as previously stated, victimization declined over time – female victimization declined from 16.1 in 1,000 females over the age of 12 in 1994 to

5.9 in 1,000 females over the age of 12 in 2012 (Catalano 2012). Male victimization declined from 3.0 in 1,000 males over the age of 12 in 1994 to 1.1 in 1,000 males over the age of 12 in 2010 (Catalano 2012). It is important to keep in mind that the statistics from this study came from incidents of violence reported to police. Therefore, it may not reflect the actual number of incidents of domestic violence. Buzawa and Buzawa examine this issue further citing different categories of victims (i.e. those who report once compared to those who report frequently and repeatedly – i.e. classification), victims who seek services from other service agencies besides the police, and the lack of continuity in the recording and reporting of services sought by victims (Buzawa and Buzawa 2003, 19).

Of the women victimized, those under the age of thirty-five were more likely to be victims of violence than those in other age categories (Catalano 2012). The prevalence of domestic violence declines with age, although this does not mean that women in older age categories are immune.

The rate of intimate partner violence against females ages 25 to 34 declined by 62%, from 31.9 victimizations per 1,000 females ages 25 to 34 to 12.1 per 1,000. In addition, the rates of intimate partner violence against females ages 18 to 24 declined by 71%, from 33.9 victimizations per 1,000 females ages 18 to 24 in 1994 to 9.7 per 1,000 in 2000 (Catalano 2012, 4).

Between 2000 and 2005, the prevalence of intimate partner violence continued to diminish -- “for females ages 12 to 17 (down 52%), 18 to 24 (down 40%), and 25 to 34 (down 40%), while rates for females ages 35 to 49 and 50 or older remained stable

(Catalano 2012, 4).” After 2005, the rates of intimate violence for females remained relatively stable for all age categories.

When it comes to race, all groups represented in the victimization survey were very close in rates of domestic violence. In 1994, African Americans experienced domestic violence at a rate of 20.3 per 1,000 females over the age of 12, Hispanics at a rate of 18.8 victimizations per 1,000 females over the age of 12, white (non-Hispanics) at a rate of 15.6 per 1,000 females over the age of 12, and females of “other” racial categories (including “American Indians, Alaska Natives, Asian, Native Hawaiians, other Pacific Islanders and females of two or more races”) at a rate of 6.3 per 1,000 females over the age of 12 (Catalano 2012, 5). By 2010, prevalence of domestic violence for both whites (non-Hispanic) (6.2 victimizations per 1,000) and blacks (non-Hispanic) (7.8 per 1,000) females declined by about 61 percent (Catalano 2012). The Hispanic community also saw a decline in the rate of domestic violence against females -- 78%, from 18.8 to 4.1 per 1,000 (Catalano 2012). However, there may be a reporting bias represented in these statistics. Kristin Anderson found that non-White ethnicities may face higher levels of stress and social isolation than White individuals and therefore may be more likely to experience domestic violence. However, Anderson notes, that it has been difficult to parse out the causal order of these variables (Anderson 1997, 656).

Marital status also seemed to play a role in the rate of domestic violence. Between 2000 and 2005, the rate of domestic violence victimization “remained stable for married females, while rates for females who were never married (down 31 percent), divorced or widowed (down 31 percent), or separated (down 30 percent) declined (Catalano 2012, 6).” In 2010, the prevalence of domestic violence for “married females

(2.0 victimizations per 1,000 females age 12 or older) was about four times less than the rates for never married females (8.0 victimizations per 1,000), about three times less than the rate for divorced or widowed females (6.5 victimizations per 1,000), and about 30 times less than the rate for separated females (59.6 victimizations per 1,000) (Catalano 2012, 6).”

Not surprisingly, the majority of victims of domestic violence are repeatedly attacked by the same offender (regardless of demographics) (Catalano 2012; Hickman and Simpson 2003). However, the composition of the household does affect domestic violence rates. Overall, households with one female adult with children experienced the most domestic violence (Catalano 2012). More specifically:

In 2010, the rate of intimate partner violence against females living in households comprised of married adults with children was lower than those of households with one female only. The rate of female intimate partner violence in 2010 among households comprised of one female adult with children (31.7 victimizations per 1,000 females age 12 or older) was more than 10 times higher than the rate for females in households with married adults with children (2.5 per 1,000), and more than 6 times higher than the rate for those in households with one female adult only (4.6 per 1,000) (Catalano 2012, 7).

Domestic violence is reported at all income levels but it is those in the lowest income brackets that most often report acts of violence to the police (Center for Problem-Oriented Policing 2013). Individuals with lower annual income (below \$25,000) “are at a 3-times higher risk” of domestic violence than individuals with higher annual income (over \$50,000) (Domestic Violence Resource Center 2013). According to the Domestic Violence Resource Center, those living in poverty are more likely to rely

on police intervention as a way to “keep the peace” (2013). Recent studies have corroborated this finding explaining that “structural factors” such as lower socioeconomic status leads to “greater stress” and therefore greater “social isolation” than those of higher income brackets (Anderson 1997, 656).

Geography also plays a role in the prevalence of domestic violence and in its reporting. Between 1993 and 2004, a survey found that individuals living in urban areas “experienced [the] highest level of nonfatal intimate partner violence (Domestic Violence Resource Center 2013).” This is about 20 percent higher than those living in suburban and rural areas who were equally likely to experience acts of domestic violence (Domestic Violence Resource Center 2013).

Roots of Domestic Violence Policy

As previously noted, the earliest American laws were based on English common law (Daniels 1997) -- Laws that, for the most part, did not protect women, recognize them as citizens, or as having rights. This is not to say that advocates for women’s rights and for their protection were not at work. The women’s movement, beginning in the 1840s and 1850s, was a reform movement with the goal of achieving the vote for women (also known as the suffragist movement) (Schneir 1992; Kesselman, McNair, and Schniedewind 2003). However, its real cause was the advancement of women with the first step being giving women a public voice and (therefore) public rights starting with the right to vote – this is where feminism began (at least the first wave). Other issues taken up by advocates included protecting and representing women in the workforce, in the government, and at home (Kesselman, McNair, and Schniedewind

2003). Although the first feminist wave paid some attention to the issue of domestic violence, it was not until the second wave that it became a central issue. Because domestic violence did not receive national attention until the 1960s (and only then as a matter of social control – a way to control the amount of violence that occurs), women’s activists had an uphill battle to fight legislatively and judicially to take this private issue and make it a public one (Kesselman, McNair, and Schniedewind 2003; Finkelhor, Gelles, Hotaling and Straus 1983). In fact, domestic violence did not even become illegal until the 1970s when it became classified as assault (Fagan 1996).

The rise of feminism in America led to the public interest in and the progressive policy changes associated with domestic violence. During the second wave of the feminist movement, beginning in the 1960s, domestic violence became part of the movement’s main concerns (Schneir 1994). Although each of the various feminist groups (i.e. liberal, radical, and Marxist/socialist) saw the solution to the problem differently, they all believed that the root was the subjugation of women by men (Beasley 1999). More importantly, feminism was crossing social and racial barriers as women from “the Black, Chicano, Asian and American Indian movements of the late 60s and 70s were questioning sexism” and finding “the ideas articulated by white feminists resonating” within their own lives (Kesselman, McNair, and Schniedewind 2003, pg. 512). This interaction of various women’s groups was especially important to the growth and development of the feminist movement. Their shared experiences -- namely that each of these groups was dealing with, and continues, to deal with acts of violence against women – linked these groups together and directly impacted the

growth of the women's movement. In turn, the link between these groups increased the attention given to domestic violence.

Early Domestic Violence Policy Development

In early America, civil codes were set up as a way to govern society in addition to the religious doctrine under which many of the early American communities were founded (Daniels 1997). Interestingly, these laws were often contradictory in their desire to protect women while still allowing husbands to dominate them (Daniels 1997; Nagel 2003). Massachusetts Bay and Plymouth were the first colonies to enact specific laws against domestic violence – or more specifically against wife beating. The Massachusetts *Body of Liberties* of 1641 stated: “Everie marryed woeman shall be free from bodilie correction or stripes by her husband unlesse it be in his owne defence upon her assault (Pleck 1987, 21-22).” This law allowed several women to divorce or separate from their husbands; an act that had been historically denied to them (Daniels 1997; Morris 1926).

The role of women in the early United States was vague at best. The Founding Fathers decided early on that women did not need to be expressly mentioned in the formative documents would instead gave them the status that adults give children. In essence, women were to be seen and not heard, and cared for by their husbands as they would care for their children (Rowland 2004, XXIV; Baker 1984). This left a lot of questions regarding the legal status of women. “There was neither express inclusion, nor exclusion (Rowland 2004, XXV).” However, under British common law (the tradition that provided the foundation for American law), women had little to no independence

from their fathers or husbands and no individual rights (Rowland 2004; Baker 1984). Most early American states took this stand ensuring that women could not own land, file lawsuits, or challenge laws without the assistance of father/husband thus creating a hierarchal relationship between men and women (an idea based in *natural law* arguments that expound upon the idea of the common good) (Rowland 2004; Baker 1984).

Activism in the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries was devoted to the passage of state and federal laws that would protect women from domestic violence by their spouses (Daniels 1997). Activists focused on laws that would “raise the costs for men who abuse their wives” including the use of “corporal punishment, capital punishment, legal separation and child custody for the mother, and fines (Daniels 1997, 9; Karan, Keilitz, and Denaro 1999).” During this time, activism also focused on the criminal justice system and the way the courts responded to abusers and the abused (Daniels 1997; Karan, Keilitz, and Denaro 1999). For example, in 1871, Alabama and Massachusetts made “wife beating illegal (Daniels 1997, 9).” However, activists still suffered defeat. One example of this is in the case of North Carolina (circa 1874). The court decided that unless the victim was at risk to be permanently injured, the court had no business dealing with violence within the home and/or between spouses (Daniels 1997, 9-10). It was not until the 1920s that family courts were established to deal with domestic issues including wife beating (Daniels 1997). Unfortunately, these courts were not always sympathetic to female victims of violence, citing the “sexual and biological problems of women (Daniels 1997, 10).” In other words, if women could control

themselves and their behavior they would be able to avoid and prevent the violence they face (Daniels 1997; Miccio 2005).

Other avenues of activism included social service organizations. Those interested in the protection of women from violence in the home often partnered with social service organizations dedicated to the prevention of child abuse (Daniels 1997). By preventing abusive situations for the mother, these social service organizations felt that they could help to prevent abuse and violence directed at all members of the family (Daniels 1997).

Modern Domestic Violence Policy Development

It was not until the 1970s that domestic violence really became part of the political agenda. For some, this issue seemed to come out of nowhere; but for those working within the women's liberation movement it was an issue that had long been a problem that needed to be publically addressed (Daniels 1997). As Daniels points out:

The women's liberation movement clearly affected the beginnings of a new consciousness about domestic violence. One of the oldest shelters for women in the United States began in 1971 as a consciousness-raising group. Many of the early leaders envisioned their shelters as a utopian, nonhierarchical, and liberating experience for women. They understood that women's oppression caused their victimization. In other words, the disadvantages women faced in marriage, work, and family life directly contribute to their abuse. Women's liberation was the key to living free from violence (Daniels 1997, 14).

Shelters provided an organizing space for the battered women's movement. It should be noted that community shelters flourished throughout the 1970s and 1980s,

increasing from “300 to 700 shelters” by 1982 and to 1,200 by 1989, the United States still lacked a national domestic violence policy (Daniels 1997, 15; Shepard and Pence 1999). It was during this time that advocates targeted the courts and state legislatures, as a means to deal with and punish batterers (Daniels 1997; Merry 2001). All of these activities provided a rallying point for the movement, provided services for victims, and promoted public consciousness about the issue of domestic violence (Daniels 1997; Shepard and Pence 1999).

The emergence of domestic violence as a public issue in the 1970s led to many institutional changes. For example, in the 1970s, the federal government began “training and paying half of all shelter employees through the Comprehensive Employment and Training Act (CETA)” and states started taxing marriage licenses to help fund shelters (Daniels 1997, 15; Sorenson 2003). Other efforts included those taken on by the Social Security Administration which became the largest funding source of temporary funding for abused and neglected women and children (Daniels 1997; Sorenson 2003). By 1979, only 15 states had passed laws to fund domestic violence shelters but a federal initiative had failed (Daniels 1997).

It was not until the early 1990s that a federal policy to address the issue of violence toward women was introduced. In 1990, the Violence Against Women Act (VAWA) was introduced to the Senate, however it did not pass until 1994. Then and now, VAWA is considered to be the most prominent and significant piece of legislation “ever enacted on the subject of domestic violence against women (Daniels 1997, 65).” Introduced and championed by (then) Senator Joe Biden (D-Delaware), VAWA sought

to provide funding for local government programs aimed at combating crime and reducing violence. More specifically:

The [Violence Against Women] Act was intended to change attitudes toward domestic violence, foster awareness of domestic violence, improve services and provisions for victims, and revise the manner in which the criminal justice system responds to domestic violence. This legislation created new programs within the Departments of Justice and Health and Human Services that aimed to both reduce domestic violence and improve response to and recovery from domestic violence incidents. VAWA primarily addresses certain types of violent crime through grant programs to state, tribal, and local governments; nonprofit organizations; and universities. VAWA programs target the crimes of intimate partner violence, dating violence, sexual assault, and stalking (Seghetti and Bjelopera 2012, "Summary").

From its inception, VAWA was a bipartisan effort, including during its reauthorizations in 2000 and 2005. VAWA changed slightly over time in its funding and available grants, in its goals (i.e. educational, legislative, and judicial), and in its protections (i.e. women, children, the elderly, etc.) (Daniels 1997; Seghetti and Bjelopera 2012). However, the 2012 reauthorization was not as well received. The 2012 version sought to reauthorize the 2005 version while expanding protections to same-sex couples, Native American women living on reservations, and undocumented immigrant women (Seghetti and Bjelopera 2012). These populations, along with the amount of funding the legislation required, created friction between the parties and in the traditionally bipartisan effort (Seghetti and Bjelopera 2012). It was not until February 28, 2013 that the United States House of Representatives passed the latest version of VAWA, expanding protections to these seemingly controversial groups (Parker 2013). Furthermore, it was not until March 7, 2013 that the new version of VAWA was signed

into law by President Obama, having previously been approved by the United States Senate on February 12, 2013 (National Network to End Domestic Violence 2013).

Public Policy Decision Models

Policy outcomes allocate resources or withhold them, they can acknowledge an issue or ignore it, and they can bestow power or deny it. Therefore, for the purposes of this project, public policy will be defined as “a statement by government about what it intends to do or not to do, such as a law, regulation, ruling, decision, order, or combination of these (Birkland 2010, 139).”¹ And, a policymaker will be defined as an elected official who makes decisions about what the government intends to do or not do (non-decisions).

Though this project is interested in the policy process and its outcomes, it is important to understand that this is really a project about power. Merriam-Webster defines power as “control, authority, or influence over others” which can come in the form of “legal,” “physical,” “mental,” “moral,” and “political” control (Merriam-Webster 2012). Power is exercised legally, politically, and even morally through public policy decisions. It is the exercise of authority, discipline, and control over the public (Dean 2010; Janowitz 1991). Put more simply, power is the ability to make somebody do something that they otherwise would not (Dahl 1957). In this instance, physical and mental power can also come into play during incidents of domestic violence. Therefore,

¹ This dissertation is interested in “progressive social policy” which Htun and Weldon (2012) defined as “policy that aims to improve the status and opportunities of historically disadvantaged groups (549).” In their paper and in this one, the historically disadvantaged group of interest is women.

when discussing and analyzing domestic violence policy, one must understand that public decisions are attempting to affect/deter private behavior and private behavior is making its way into public decisions.

Power is illustrated in the decisions made by policymakers. As Bachrach and Baratz describe, power has two faces – decisions and non-decisions (1962; Clegg 1989).

Power is exercised when A participates in the making of decisions that affect B. But power is also exercised when A devotes his energies to creating or reinforcing social and political values and institutional practices that limit the scope of the political process to public consideration of only those issues which are comparatively innocuous to A. To the extent that A succeeds in doing this, B is prevented, for all practical purposes, from bringing to the fore any issues that might in their resolution be seriously detrimental to A's set of preferences (Bachrach and Baratz 1962, 948).

As long as policymakers are able to exercise control and authority over the priority of issues and the decisions (or non-decisions) regarding those issues, they will be able to maintain power (Schattschneider 1960; Clegg 1989; Sowell 2007). But, not all social issues become a policy issue (Lindblom 1959). Put another way, all social issues do not have the same value or priority (Lindblom 1959). Therefore, policymakers are often in a situation where they must choose “among values and among policies at one and the same time (Lindblom 1959, 167).”

Due to the complex nature of public policy problems and therefore policy decisions, policymakers often seek “correctness” through consensus, simplification, and comparisons (Lindblom 1959, 167-170). Though policymakers may try to make

“rational” decisions (i.e. Rational Action Model), human beings are not rational, thus their decisions are not always rational (Allison 1971; Simon 1997). Simon argues that people are not “utility maximizers” but “utility satisficers,” referring to the idea that decision-makers have limited cognitive and analytical abilities to choose among alternatives (Simon 1997). Therefore, they are more likely to make satisfactory decisions rather than optimal ones based on what Simon refers to as the fact/value dichotomy - “fact” (statements about the observable world; true/false) and “value elements” (what should be done; good or bad but not right or wrong) (Simon 1997, 55). This is based on the idea of “bounded rationality” – the lack of complete information or only the amount of information that can be accessed and processed (Simon 1997, 75).

Another way policymakers make decisions, is relying upon heuristics or rule-of-thumb ideas (Lau and Redlawsk 1992; Simon 1997). Organizations and the public must cope with these limits on rationality in human behavior and decision-making (Simon 1997). For these reasons, policy decisions are usually made incrementally – in slow, small steps rather than in leaps and bounds (Lindblom 1959). This idea speaks to the Organizational Process Model that assumes decisions are made based on routine activities – those that fit a limited perspective based on past experience (Allison 1971).

Other factors that affect public policy decisions include the current policy issues being dealt with and thought about (policy stream), problems that policymakers feel that they must confront regardless of whether or not they have ways to fix them (problem stream), and the overall political environment that moves and changes regardless of policies and problems (political stream) (Kingdon and Thurber 2010). Other theories have argued that these different aspects of the policy realm cannot be separated and

therefore it takes on the appearance of a “garbage can” – everything is thrown in to comprise the policy process and ultimately affect policy decisions (Cohen, March, and Olsen 1972; Kingdon and Thurber 2010). However, it is through this convergence of ideas and conflict that policy decisions are made especially within an organization. Individuals bring past experiences, new ideas, and different perceptions of the issue and how change should be implemented in a continuous process known as the Governmental Politics Model (Allison 1971).

Regardless of the policy issue, policymakers are charged with making often difficult and complex decisions. Allison finds that often policymakers are required to make choices based on many circumstances beyond their control and decisions made prior to their involvement (Allison 1971). But when forced to make a choice, policymakers must weigh the available alternatives (at least two or more), the beliefs surrounding the outcome, and the value placed on those outcomes (Lau 2003).

Conclusion

Although domestic violence policy has come a long way in the last half century, it is no exception to the complex nature of public policy decision-making. In the following chapters readers will discover how policymakers reach these decisions based on the financial resources in the state, the political culture in the state, and the information available about domestic violence.

CHAPTER 3

LANGUAGE

It is no secret that language matters. It not only provides a way to communicate, but a way to define culture and society. Where a people are from, their background and past experiences, their state of mind, and even their present condition, can drastically change the intention or meaning of a word or phrase – both in speaking and in hearing. The use of specific words can often dictate interpretation and meaning. This is true not only in interpersonal relations, but for the purposes of this chapter, in understanding how the use of language has influenced discussions regarding violence against women and public policy that seeks to address it.

In this chapter, I will explore the ways in which violence against women has been discussed over time. This will begin with “wife beating” and progress through spousal abuse, family violence, domestic abuse, battering, domestic violence, intimate partner violence, and domestic terrorism. Each of these categories/labels has different connotations; they mean different things even when meant to discuss the same thing. For example, the terms “wife beating” and “spousal abuse” assume that acts of violence can only occur between heterosexual, married couples, while “intimate partner violence” includes gay and lesbian couples, as well as, unmarried, heterosexual couples. “Family violence” encompasses partners, children, and elder abuse, while “battering,” “domestic violence,” and “domestic terrorism” are more generic and generalizable terms. “Domestic violence” maybe the most common of these terms but depending on how the individual or group chooses to define it can affect its meaning and intent (Buzawa and Buzawa 2003, 13). In my opinion, Renzetti, Edelson, and Bergen say it best:

[D]efining abuse in different ways influences the rate of the behavior that is reported, which, in turn, can affect the extent to which policy makers see the problem as important, which, in turn, affects the amount of money they are willing to allocate to services. On a more personal level, a broad or narrow definition may influence whether or not a woman sees herself as abused or victimized, whether or not she seeks services, and given the funding issue just raised, whether the services she needs are even available (Renzetti, Edleson, Bergen 2001, 2).

This chapter seeks to understand how terminology affects the discussion and understanding of violence against women, what is and is not included in each category, and how the language shapes policy discussions and policy decisions. It will accomplish this through the use of Google Books Ngram Viewer. It will utilize a “corpus” of books specific to American English – meaning books written predominantly in English and published in the United States beginning in 1500 through 2008 (Google Books Ngram Viewer 2012). Finally, this chapter will define domestic violence for this project and make that decision based on feminist theory – “A commitment to the idea that all members of the community should be treated as equals (Kymlicka 2002, 377).” Furthermore, it is a “commitment to eliminating the subordination of women (Kymlicka 2002, 377)” and, in this case, the power that men hold over them.

Terminology Over Time

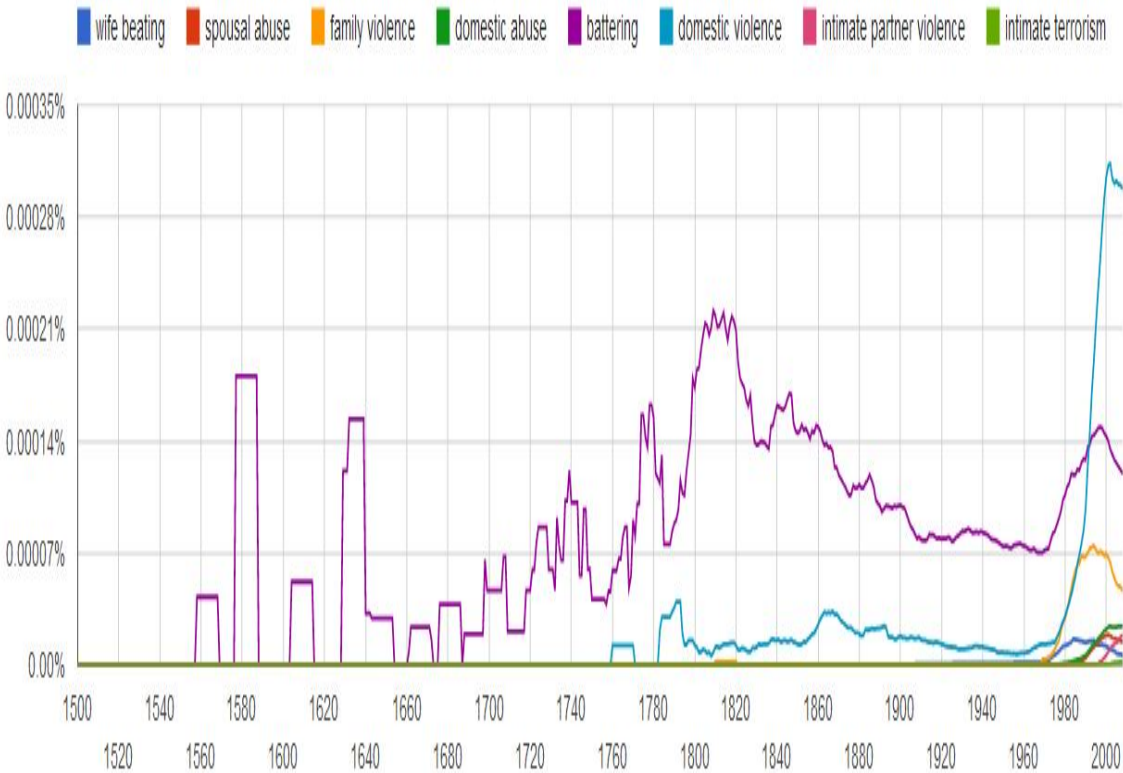


Figure 1. Terminology Over Time

Battering

When Google Ngram Viewer was searched, “battering” was the term that appears the earliest in my search. However, it should be noted that in the earliest works “battering” was used to describe violence in terms of acts of war – “battering down the walls” (Foxe 1563, 161; Sidney 1590, 423), “battering-mound” (Ayala 1912, 233), “battering the City” (Gainsford 1620, 108), “battering rammes” or “battering-ram” (Hall 1611, 227; Gilhofer & Ranschburg 1520, 13; Raleigh 1614, 310; Adams 1794, 110; Hutton 1795, 195; de Montfaucon 1722, 360), “battering catapulta” (Rollin 1768, 54), “battering ships” (Dodsley 1783, 266; Bethune 1786, xxii; Stephens 1803, 211), “battering trains” (Burke 1800, 266), “battering machines” (Stedman 1794, 440),

“battering guns” (de Tousard 1809,133) and “battering artillery” (Harte 1807, 248). This trend continued throughout the 19th and 20th centuries. It was not until the late 1970s, that battering was used to describe acts of violence against women, though comparisons can be drawn between those acts of war originally described by the term and the acts of violence toward women.

The usage of the term “battering” or “wife battering” began in the late 1970s to describe violence perpetrated by men against women and female spouses. More specifically, it was being used to draw attention to the number of incidents and the scope of the problem. Advocates argued that this was an issue of great “public concern” (Court 1977, 13) that went largely unreported and ignored (Dworkin 1978, 31; Boucher 1979, 25; Martin 1981). Authors like Dworkin discuss the need for preventive policies and resources to aid victims (Dworkin 1978). Interestingly, even at this time, discussion focused on the psychology and behavior of male batterers and the psychological and physical effects on victims, not necessarily the response or prevention to the violent acts (Dworkin 1978; Boucher 1979; Walker 1980). Some of this can be understood through a historical perspective. In the Western world, wife battering was a “justifiable” means to keep women in check through physical discipline (Schmidt 1993, 140).

From the mid-1980s to the mid-1990s, the term “wife battering” was showing up more frequently in books and journal publications. This was true, not only domestically, but also in describing the problem internationally (Pierson, Cohen, Bourne, and Masters 1993, 160; Burbank 1994; Cook 1994; Lazreg 1994,187; Fujimura-Fanselow and Kameda 1995). Many feminist theorists emerged to voice their concern and displeasure

regarding the violence women faced in their homes. These authors sought answers and a public response fit to deal with the scope of the problem – a human rights problem or, at least, a public health problem (Rosenberg and Fenley 1991). They viewed battering as the physical manifestation of oppression that women were dealing with due to their economic dependence on their partners (Weisberg 1996), lack of legal and social services available to them (Weisberg 1996; Bernstein and Bernstein 1996), all of which comes down to their traditional role in the home and social standing in the larger culture (Storkey 1983, 25; Lorber 1994, 74).

As we continue through the literature published in the nineties, the prevalence of the issue continued to be of interest and of concern for authors and advocates (Blankenhorn 1996, 245). One author asserted, “Assault by a male social partner accounts for more injury to women than auto accidents, mugging, and rape combined. Even more far reaching than injury and death are the psychosocial consequences of abuse (Lindsey 1994, 170). To take this a step further, legal response remained difficult at this time due to what was still considered a private matter, that often left little physical evidence and therefore little evidentiary support (Weisberg 1993, 109; Davis 1998, 37). Not only were women left with the physical and emotional scars, they were left with little help from the justice system which only aided in compounding this already complex issue.

Although understanding the extent of the problem and its various dimensions is important, this project is most concerned with the ways in which domestic violence has been dealt with. In 1996, the Annual Review of Women’s Health published recommendations for dealing with this issue. The report called for community response

to domestic violence, including both primary (i.e. preventing the increase in domestic violence cases through intervention before violence begins) and secondary prevention measures (i.e. providing services for those who have already experienced violence) (McElmurry and Parker 1996, 272). This kind of thinking took advocates from only thinking about the characteristics of batterers and their victims, to thinking about the factors that perpetuate violent behaviors that are usually outside a victim's control (Roberts 1996, 140; Davies, Lyon, Monti-Catania 1998). What could be agreed upon is the inclusive nature of the problem – “a common practice that cuts across geographical, cultural, economic, and political boundaries (Yishai 1997, 198). For this reason, it became obvious that “trained professionals” were needed, instead of just “grassroots advocates,” to legitimize the issue – including “social scientists, physicians, social workers, psychologists, and clergy” (Ammerman and Hersen 2000, 324; Roberts 2002, 85).

As we entered the new millennium, wife battering continued to be a topic of huge debate. Advocates and professionals continued to publish but it was during this time that the debate over “what we call it” really heated up. Questions of who should be included, whether the issue was gendered, what should be included, and the generalizability of the language came to light (Bacchi 1999, 177; Hanmer, Itzin, Quaid, and Wigglesworth 2000, 26; Eigenberg 2001, 58; Zepezauer 2006, 180). Interestingly, it was during this time period that there was resurgence in the use of the term battering or wife battering. Literature during this period pushed for legal ramifications for batterers and social understanding for its victims (Roach 1999, 330; Schneider 2000; Chitkara

2001; Hines and Malley-Morrison 2004, 191). This was not only the case at home, but also internationally (United Nations 1999, 49; Enloe 2000, 55).

Wife Beating

“Wife beating” was one of the earliest terms used to discuss physical violence between husbands and wives. More specifically, it was used to describe acts of violence perpetrated by husbands against their wives. Wife beating is the “most evident symptom of the power differential within marriage (Goldman 1981, 45).” It is based on male dominance – not physical strength or psychological issue (Allen 1988, 79; Gordon 1988, 251; Messerschmidt 1993, 147; Albers 1999, 309; Feder 1999, 19). It is more accurately defined as “the chronic battering of a person of inferior power who for that reason cannot effectively resist (Kerber and De Hart 1995, 412).”

In 1886, an article entitled “The Whipping Post” was published in a *Popular Science Monthly*. In this article, the author introduced and condemned “wife beating” -- a serious social issue. However, he also condemned the idea of the “whipping post” as a means to punish those who beat their wives saying, “The outcome of a state of society that produces numerous evils of equal degree of which the general public, not acquainted with reformatory work among criminals, are entirely ignorant. Brutal as the offense is, brutality will not be suppressed, civilization will not be advanced one shade nor society benefitted or protected by resort to retaliatory punishments. This kind of proceeding always defeats its own object (Hochheimer 1886, 834).”

Other writers during this time traced the social acceptability of wife beating as a man’s right (or more specifically a husband’s right) throughout history (Woolf 1929, 45;

Ashman 1977, 1473; Davidson 1978, 12; Walker 1980, 12; Caputi 1987, 116; Gordon 1988, 251; Shanley 1993, 167). Others sought to document the number of occurrences happening in the present (Langley and Levy 1977, 11; Eekelaar and Katz 1978, 37; Moore 1979, 36; Collier 1982, 182; Goode 1984, 209). It was viewed, by some, as not only a failure on the part of the wife-beater, but a failure on the part of society (Metalious 1956, xiii). A failure that crossed socio-economic and racial boundaries, “Wife beating is reported to be on the rise, not just in low-income, minority homes, but in middle- and upper-class ‘respectable’ homes as well (Crabb 1977, 74).” The Federal Bureau of Investigation agreed, “It is standard practice in families of every race and class and community” (Shapiro 1977, 11; Straus, Gelles, and Steinmetz 1980, 31; Stansell 1987, 252). Furthermore, “wife beating is “the most frequently occurring crime in the country” (Shapiro 1977, 11; Eichler 1980, 99; Levinson 1989, 31; Thomas 2001, 79) and the “most underreported” (Dworkin 1978, 31; Walker 1980, 19). Needless to say, wife beating was considered a “major threat [to and] by women” (Nash 1979, 77; Weisberg 1996, 282).

Discussion of wife beating did not emerge until the late 1970s; this can mostly be attributed to the efforts and success of the women’s movement feminists included (Pollitt 1983, 55; Glenn 1984, 78; Mooney 2000, 68). At that time, the definition of wife beating extended to involve women being beaten not only by their husbands but also by their boyfriends (United States Congress 1978, 75). It should be noted that though wife beating had originally been omitted from the definition of “criminal assault (Weisberg 1993, 12),” it had become illegal in the United States (United States Congress 1978, 265; Langley and Levy 1977, 11; Moore 1979, 56 and 166; Siegel 1998, 33) and

advocates/professionals were able to really address the needs of victims (University of Pennsylvania 1982, 33).

Interestingly, even with so much attention paid to the psychology of the assailant and the underlying causes of wife beating (Feder 1999, 19), there were still others who found the victims of violence to be at fault. There have been claims that wives often instigate the attacks, that the women's movement has led to increase the frustration of men and therefore incidents of wife beating (Wright 1992, 116), and, of course, back to the traditional right/duty of husbands to police their wives and show love through acts of aggression (Margolis 1985, 257; Phillips 1991, 99).

Spousal Abuse

The term "spousal abuse" is not as prevalent in its usage as "wife beating," but it is just as limited. Spousal abuse has been used to describe and discuss violence against women, but it assumes that these violent acts are only happening between (heterosexual) married couples (Turner 1996, 3; Hall 2002, 226; Hammer 2002, 156; Turner 2002, 110; Hickey 2003, 171; Smith 2004, 21). At least in this case, the term is gender neutral (MacLean 1995, 47).

Literature involving the term "spousal abuse" emerged in the 1980s. During this time, there was a focus on the relationship between spousal abuse and child abuse (Straus, Gelles, and Steinmetz 1980, 303; Holosko and Taylor 1992, 573), the increasing number of incidents of spousal abuse (The Black Family Summit 1984, 298; Peters 1994, 316), and the role of spousal abuse in deciding court cases, custody decisions, and social work recommendations (Olsen 1994, xi; Meyers 1998, 77; Wardle

and Nolan 2002, 889; U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics 2004, 199; Wilson 2005, xiii; Scheb and Scheb 2008, 148).

By the mid-1990s, spousal abuse had been connected to spousal homicide “stem[ming] from male sexual proprietariness or jealousy (Boss, Doherty, LaRossa, Schumm, and Steinmetz 1993, 693). This became especially relevant in light of the murder of Nicole Brown Simpson and trial of her husband, O.J. Simpson (Katz 1994, 12; Brooks and Gewirtz 1996, 103; Schuetz and Lilley 1999, 21). Advocates hoped that the media attention would renew interest, led to increased reporting, and support for prevention programs (Flowers 1994, 30; Peters 1994, 316).

It did lead to increased police attention (Bailey 1995, 224; Greene 2007, 937), although there have been criticisms of police “discretionary decision making” in these situations and questions about whether they have acted in the best interest of victims (Kleinig 1996, 58; Stojkovic, Kalinich, and Klofas 2007, 306). It should be noted that these criticisms were not just aimed at police response but also medical professionals and those working in the healthcare system (Wiehe 1998, 118; Pelton 1999, 80).

Overall, this new focus on violence against women culminated in the increased attention of therapists in dealing with victims, assailants, and those closest to them (i.e. children, parents, and friends). Therapists worked to decrease and eradicate violent acts through dealing with abusers aggression, encouraging victims to leave their current situations, and providing a resource for all involved to work through the emotional and psychological trauma they incurred (Jasinski and Williams 1998, 282; Harvey and Wenzel 2002, 189; Kantor 2002, 133; Jackson 2007, 244).

Out of this professional focus grew public policy to help address the issue. The Violence Against Women Act (VAWA) “established federal penalties for interstate stalking and spousal abuse” especially for repeat offenders (Smith 2004, 264). It also created valuable resources for victims including the Domestic Violence Hotline, and established grant funding for prevention projects (like shelters) (Smith 2004, 264).

Family Violence

Family violence is often used in connection to violence against women (Cook 1994, 239). However, because it can encompass those acts, as well as child abuse, elder abuse, and animal/pet abuse, it is a more of an umbrella term (Korbin 1981, 169; Okin 1989, 129; Geen and Donnerstein 1998, 216). This can often make it difficult for individuals to understand what the issue entails and can increase indifference to it (Addison and Steele 1977, 658; Legal Indifference: American Bar Association 3/1978, 321; Okun 1986, 108). Feminists dislike the term on the basis that it does not encompass the gendered nature of violence (especially against women) (Daniels 1997, 27). However, others argue that this general term is a positive – it draws attention to the damage done to the family unit instead of just the “gendered nature of woman abuse (Adams and Fortune 1998, 299). This has caused much debate between “family violence researchers” and researchers who consider themselves “pro-feminist” (Cavanagh and Cree 1996, 30). The debate has been hung up on ideology – both in cause and in prevention.

By the late 1970s, the criminal justice system (including law enforcement and the courts) was taking the issue of family violence more seriously (American Bar

Association 3/1978, 321; American Bar Association 9/1978, 1343). In fact, the American Bar Association even called for the development of national, state, and local policies to prevent and “cope” with it (American Bar Association March 1978, 322). These prevention strategies would need to include an “increase of social services, legislative reform, and advocacy for the abused child and battered adult” (Thorman 1980, 785; Besharov 1990, 35; Horwitz 1990, 22; Wenocur 1993, 97; Weisberg 1996, 278).

These early works set the tone for trying to understand the root causes of family violence. Theories ranged from the involvement of drugs and alcohol (Pleck 1987, 49; Rosenberg and Fenley 1991, 27 and 168; Grant 1998, 163), to socio-economic status (Schreier and Chen 1979; Marcus 1990, 395), to the popular notion that family violence is a vicious cycle in which those who are abused are destined to become abusers (Straus, Gelles, and Steinmetz 1980, 303; Bowlby 1988, 92; Browne 1989, 1780; Feit and McCoy 1992, 573; Langguth 1995, 37).

The term “family violence” reached its usage peak during the mid 1980s through the mid 1990s. Much of the literature remained the same, elaborating on the extent of the problem, the causes of family violence, and the ways of treating the epidemic. However, new areas of interest did emerge, including violence in gay and lesbian households (Bozett 1987, xi; Bergen 1998, 114), the impact of violent media on occurrences of family violence (Denisoff 1988, 283), the link between family violence and crime (Cicchetti and Carlson 1989, 317), the negative impact of family violence on social networks (Stellman 1998, 1983), and the idea that a “husband’s lack of resources (e.g. income, prestige, knowledge)” leads to increased aggression and family violence

(Chen 1990, 41; Lappé, Collins, Rosset, and Esparza 1998, 6). Other subjects of interest during this time were the failings of the criminal justice system in dealing with family violence and the critique of available protective services (including child protective services) (Rosenberg and Fenley 1991, 49, 54, and 67; Marien 1993, 113). Advocates wanted family violence to be considered a public health problem (Stosny 1995, 75). It was important that this issue be thought of in this way because it was the “culture” that ultimately “permitted” this kind of violence (Edlin, Golanty, and Brown 2000, 305).

Domestic Abuse

“Domestic abuse” usage became popular in the early 1980s. *It was* recognized as “the number one public health problem facing women and is associated with a multitude of specific health problems (Andrist, Nicholas, and Wolf 2006, 186).” Domestic abuse includes physical, emotional and sexual abuse as well as “malicious damage to property, and/or theft (Jackson 2007, 654).”

Early on, the literature was concerned with legal matters and the outcome of legal cases dealing with such abuse including divorce, tax exceptions, and access to victim services (Taft 1984, 13-55, 78, and 94). The attention the legal/judicial system was giving this issue, helped to place it on the policy agenda. Discussions began regarding the kinds of policies and services need to help victims and to prevent acts of violence directed at women (Jaggar 1983, 183-184).

Twenty years after domestic abuse became a commonly used term, researchers admitted that their work was still limited -- constrained by the lack of reporting by victims

(Kramarae and Spender 2000, 485). This is not only true in the United States but around the world. It is a problem that knows no bounds (Kramarae and Spender 2000, 520), but one that requires local community response in order to address (Mann 2000, 54). A publication by the World Bank estimates that 16-50 percent of women globally will experience gender-specific physical violence (World Bank 2001, 49). Other estimates assert that "in the United States, a woman falls victim to *domestic abuse* at the hands of her husband or boyfriend once every nine seconds"; Furthermore, "it has also been estimated that more than half of the women murdered in America are killed by their male partners (Felman 2002, 203).

Because of the scale of the problem, coordination and standardization of response by police, the courts, and advocates is important (Kumar 2002, 298; Roberts 2002, 446; Peterkin and Risdon 2003, 249; Weinstein, Whittington, and Leiba 2003, 149). "State domestic abuse acts provide relief to spouses and former spouses of abusers. Most statutes extend coverage to children, other family members, household members, and unmarried parents of a common child (Oliphant and Ver Steegh 2007, 368)." Every state allows for victims of violence to obtain orders of protection from domestic abuse (Boland 2007, 93). However, several states have enacted laws that require the arrest of abusers in reported domestic abuse cases, however mandatory arrest laws are controversial and many question whether or not they truly reduce the occurrence of violence (Bancroft 2003; Bennett and Hess 2007, 279; Siegel 2007, 86). District attorneys are also encouraged to pursue domestic abuse cases, however many are reluctant when allegations are only based on victim reports (Bancroft 2003; Smith and Natalier 2005, 68). Advocates continue to push for "legislative action and legal

remedies” at every level of government as a way to prevent violence and provide services. Advocates will admit that this kind of community and government response will not eradicate the problem entirely (Kumar 2002, 302).

Domestic abuse had, as a term, become more popular by the mid-2000s. During this time, advocates were taking a more international interest in the problem – enlisting the help of NGOs, estimating levels of domestic violence abroad, and providing victims with services and legal protection (McCue 2008). This included pointing out the shortfalls of public policies and laws, like those that only protected married women from domestic abuse (Tuchtfeldt 2008, 6). There was a push to understand the different experiences of abused women in a cultural context (Andrist, Nicholas, and Wolf 2006, 185; Crandall 2008, 283; Mills 2009, 84; Subedi 2010, 92).

Intimate Partner Violence

“Intimate partner violence” became popular in the late twentieth and early twenty-first century. It was a term that became interchangeable with domestic violence and family violence due to the generalizability of the term (Davis 1998, 16; Kramarea and Spender 2000, 511; Roberts 2002, x). Advocates liked the term because it stressed the long history of the problem based in “social, economic and political power and struggle for control” which has been “most often” found “between husband and wife and cohabitating partners” (Davis 1998, 17; Krug 2002, 111). More specifically, it can be defined as “a pattern of assaultive and coercive behaviors, including physical, sexual, and psychological attacks as well as economic coercion that adults and adolescents use against their intimate partners (Loue and Sajatovic 2004, 229).” To go a step

farther, it helped to draw attention to the issue and lack of services in the homosexual (GLBT) community (Hines and Malley-Morrison 2004, 239; Carroll 2007; Jackson 2007, 626).

Research regarding intimate partner violence focused on the health impact on victims and society in general, as well as the corresponding medical response (Krug 2002, 107 and 174-175; Taylor 2002, 265; Waughfield 2002, 499; World Health Organization 2002, 79; Farley 2003, 58; King and Wheeler 2006, 307; Orshan 2008, 489). Those wishing to curtail the cycle of violence, and therefore the health risks associated with the violence, wrote about identifying the signs – both in the victims and in the abuser (Buzawa and Buzawa 2002, 294; Hitchcock, Schubert, and Thomas 2003, 796; Leppert and Peipert 2004, 918). Signs include “psychological abuse, threats, violent acts, and sexual aggression” as well as contact with the police and judicial system regarding the violence (O’Leary and Maiuro 2001, 179). Through awareness, preventative and safety strategies can be enacted (Littleton and Engebretson 2005, 129).

Over the course of time, researchers have attempted to estimate the number of incidents of domestic violence. It is a question often asked but rarely met with an adequate answer (Cherlin 2006, 375). One study estimated that “each year between 1992 and 1996, more than 960,000 incidents of intimate partner violence were committed against women (Renzetti, Goodstein, and Miller 2006, 67).” Another survey estimated that “approximately 1.5 million women and 834,700 men are victims of intimate partner violence annually (Goldstein and Brooks 2006, 149).” The Federal Bureau of Investigation has estimated that “nearly 5.3 million intimate partner

violence victimizations occur each year. However, UCR statistics report as few as approximately 258,000 of such criminal victimizations on average (Jackson 2007, 19).” The disparities are blamed on definitional issues as well as lack of reporting (Jackson 2007, 19). By attempting to understand the scale of the problem advocates hope to reach “a more complex, nuanced understanding of intimate partner violence that will contribute to a public policy less focused on control and ‘accountability’ of individuals than on developing social conditions that promote safety, hope, and well-being for women, children, and men (Ferraro 2006, 9).” This becomes even more important when looking at the overall financial cost of intimate partner violence. In the United States, intimate partner violence victimization is estimated to cost around \$67 billion annually (Miller and Knudsen 2007, 274). This figure comes from a government commissioned study (Miller and Knudsen 2007, 274). Congress commissioned its own study, citing intimate couple violence health care costing “\$5.8 billion annually” (United States Code, 2000, Supplement 5, Volume 4 2007, 388). This provides a great example of how intimate partner violence is not a private issue but a societal one (Lind and Brzuzy 2008, 275).

Intimate Terrorism

Intimate terrorism may be the least popular and latest term used to describe violence against women within their intimate relationship. It can best be described as the breakdown of an intimate relationship to a mere power struggle (Brothers 2000, 34; Miller 2000, 32). Furthermore, it “refers to cases in which men systematically use threats, physical violence, and isolation to control and subjugate a female partner; this

violence often escalates over time and can lead to serious injury (Worell 2001, 664).” As the other terms have stated, this violence is systemic and increases in frequency and intensity over time (Kurst-Swanger and Petcosky 2003, 111; Day and Lamb 2004, 317; Straub 2004, 287; Morash 2005, 13; Miller and Knudsen 2007, 177). The most important distinction of “intimate terrorism” is the goal of controlling one’s partner (Guerrero and Hecht 2007, 234; Denmark and Paludi 2008, 600).

Other than defining this term, the literature did not have a clear focus. Some focused on characteristics of the victims including race (Halperin 2006, 252), drug use (Ferraro 2006, 86), and sexual orientation (hetero- and homosexual couples) (Lamanna and Riedmann 2006, 434), while others focused on identifying and treating those victims (Miller and Knudsen 2007, 187), and providing much needed protective/preventive services to them (Johnson 2008, chapter 5).

Domestic Violence

“Domestic violence” is one of the most popular and frequently used terms to describe physical, mental, emotional, and sexual violence between intimate partners (Simpson and Creehan 2008, 98). The literature suggests that domestic violence became part of the public policy agenda and an issue for advocates as early as the mid-to-late nineteenth century (Kuper and Kuper 1996, 194). But historically, domestic violence was condemned even earlier. Puritan colonists (as a group) did not tolerate acts of domestic violence within their communities (Kleinig 1996, 185).

While domestic violence gained strength as a policy issue, inclusion became a problem for the movement. Racial issues and conflicts came to the forefront of the

debate early on (Weisberg 1996, 365; Howe 1998, 44). However, advocates were encouraged and many attempted to address the intersectionality of the problem (Weisberg 1996, 365). Many believed that race “muddied” the policy waters and because it was not exclusively a minority problem, but a larger gender problem, race became secondary.

Another point of contention that arose around the issue of domestic violence was whether or not to include gay and lesbian couples when pursuing the overall policy agenda. Although levels of domestic violence in homosexual relationships is similar to levels in heterosexual relationships (Baum, Newman, Weinman, West, and McManus 1997, 375; O’Toole, Schiffman, and Edwards 1997, 286), many feminist theorists believe it is important to “explicitly connect” domestic violence to heterosexual activity (Weisberg 1996, 383). This is due to what feminist theorists would consider the power dynamic/imbalance found between men and women (O’Toole, Schiffman, and Edwards 1997, 249). They would argue that this is largely due to the patriarchal society and values that perpetuate the subjugation of women (Blankenhorn 1996, 32; Spade and Valentine 2007, 486). More specifically, feminists were concerned with the frequency and extent of violence against women (Denmark and Paludi 2008, 591). In fact, domestic violence is the “number-one cause of injury to women in the United States (Mariani 2000, 34);” 95 percent of domestic violence victims are women (Mariani 2000, 34; Habermann 2006, 1012). “One in five women has been or will be abused in an intimate relationship and 4,000 will die each year” at the hands of their partners” (Mariani 2000, 34).

Regardless of the controversies that have emerged in the past (involving race, class, and sexual orientation), advocates understand that it is important to address the larger public problem of violence against women (Davis 1998, 115; Schultz, Haynie, McCulloch, and Aoki 2000, 445). Over time, policies meant to address and prevent domestic violence have been created and implemented at the local, state, and federal level. This is not to say that the political environment has not affected the level of progress for these policies at various points. For instance, federal funding for domestic violence prevention programs and victims' services was reduced during the Reagan administration (Daniels and Brooks 1997, 27). Whereas under the Clinton administration, domestic policy progressed with the Violence Against Women Act (VAWA) which provided protection for victims of violence through the funding of programs that prosecuted cases of domestic violence and required restitution for those crimes (Feder 1999, 40). This became a major theme of domestic violence policy – the criminalization of violence against women (O'Toole, Schiffman, and Edwards 1997, 244 and 247).

By drawing attention to the issue and making the public aware of the severity and frequency of domestic violence, criminalization of such acts became easier. In fact, domestic violence has been recognized as “a crime in every jurisdiction in the United States (Schornstein 1997, 23).” The actions, activities, and training of law enforcement came under scrutiny (Davis 1998, 59 and 93; Roberts 1998, 61; Feder 1999, 70; Cole and Smith 2006, 171). Law enforcement and health care professionals were made more aware of domestic violence and began to prioritize the issue while acting as “first responders” to victims and as facilitators of intervention (Schornstein 1997, 70; Kurtz

and Turpin 1999, 4; Bachman and Schutt 2008, 32). Finally, the criminal justice system was now required to help protect victims and hold abusers accountable through laws and legal ramifications (Roach 1999, 63; Feder 1999, 29; Ptacek 1999, 48).

The focus of advocates and organizations during the late twentieth century was on “domestic violence education, prevention, and public policy reform (Kurtz and Turpin 1999, 214).” As we entered the new millennium, this focus was expanded to understand the needs of victims in rural areas (Reyes, Rudman, and Hewitt 2002, 83) as well as victims around the world (Osmanczyk and Mango 2003, 2707; Denmark and Paludi 2008, 590). Interestingly, for both groups, the concern was for victims’ access to health and social services (Reyes, Rudman, and Hewitt 2002, 83), cultural differences, and therefore the lack of reporting and consequence for abusers (Hitchcock, Schubert, and Thomas 2003, 783; Ratele and Duncan 2003, 199). This led to another call for research to explore the symptoms, causes, and consequences of domestic violence (Arrigo and Shipley 2005, 330). It was important for the public and for professionals (i.e. law enforcement, criminal justice, social workers, and advocates) to prioritize domestic violence as a major public concern (Sokoloff and Pratt 2005, 293; Squires 2006, 53).

Discussion/Conclusion

Acts of violence against women were not a part of the political agenda until the late 1970s. Its emergence as an issue was largely due to the efforts of advocates to draw attention to the scope of the problem. As this chapter has illustrated, the ways in which acts of violence against women by their partners has been referred to in various ways. Each term was meant to describe physical, psychological, sexual, and other

coercive behaviors committed by an intimate partner against an intimate partner.

However, as we have discovered, how one chooses to define “violence” or “partner” can change the debate surrounding the issue.

For the purposes of this project, I will be using the term “domestic violence” to describe the physical, mental, emotional, and sexual violence committed against female partners by their male counterparts². As figure 1 indicates, this is now the most standard term used in most references.

² This is my normative commitment.

CHAPTER 4

THE CASE STUDIES

Delaware, Michigan, South Carolina, and Tennessee are on the list of the fifteen states that are fully compliant with the National Incident Based Reporting System. It should be noted that when I began this project there were only seven states that were fully compliant with the NIBRS system – meaning that 100 percent of the population is served by NIBRS and 100 percent of the crime within the state is being reported to the NIBRS system (Justice Research and Statistics Association 2013). Each of the chosen case study states were among the original seven having been certified prior to Spring 2013 (Justice Research and Statistics Association 2013).

For the purposes of this project, Delaware will provide an example of an individualistic, resource-rich state. Daniel J. Elazar created a system of categorizing states based on political culture – “the particular pattern of orientation to political action in which each political system is imbedded (Elazar 1972, 84-85).”³ The individualistic political culture is one that places particular emphasis on “democratic order as a marketplace Elazar 1972, 94).” This means that politics is like any other business and must be maintained for “strictly utilitarian purposes” – to facilitate the demands made by the people it serves (Elazar 1972, 94).” This political culture is not known for dealing with private concerns and, in fact, tends to place a “premium on limiting community intervention (Elazar 1972, 95).” This exclusivity among the political elite tends to cause

³ According to Elazar political culture is important as a “historical source of differences” including “habits, perspectives, and attitudes that exist to influence political life in various states (1972, 85).”

the public to view this kind of political culture as being “dirty” or “corrupt” – a system that works on the “favor system” or patronage. Public officials are often not willing to initiate new programs or increase government activity under this political culture unless publicly demanded; otherwise the status quo is generally favored. In terms of resources, Delaware is the sixth most resource rich state in the country and the second most resource-rich state in the sample of fifteen NIBRS compliant states (based on the average of taxes collected/state population from 2010 Census data).

Michigan will act as the example of a moralistic, resource-average state. Based on Elazar’s categorization, the moralistic political culture “emphasizes the commonwealth” as the “basis for democratic government (1972, 96).” This means that the function of politics is to create a good society. “[P]olitics is a public activity centered on some notion of the public good and properly devoted to the advancement of the public interest (Elazar 1972, 96).” Therefore, the effectiveness and goodness of government is determined by its “honesty, selflessness, and commitment to the public welfare (Elazar 1972, 97).” The moralistic culture views government as a force for good in which every citizen participates and issues are dealt with in order to increase public welfare, health, and safety. In terms of resources Michigan is the seventeenth most resource-rich state in the country and the fourth most resource rich state in the sample of fifteen NIBRS compliant states. However, of the seven original NIBRS compliant states, Michigan is second in available resources (Delaware is the first). Due to Michigan’s placement within the index, it was important to differentiate it as neither rich or poor but resource-average (with the majority of states falling somewhere between \$2,000 and \$1,500).

South Carolina and Tennessee will provide the traditionalistic, resource-poor case study states. According to Elazar, the traditionalistic political culture is “rooted in an ambivalent attitude toward the marketplace coupled with a paternalistic and elitist conception of the commonwealth (1972, 99).” Under this system a hierarchy is established based on a relatively small and self-perpetuating group based familial ties and social standing (Elazar 1972). This is not to say that government is not viewed as an instrument of good, it is just one that is limited by the existing social order. In this culture, “good government” involves “maintaining and encouraging traditional patterns and, if necessary, their adjustment to changing conditions with the least possible upset (Elazar 1972, 99 and 102).” Political elites play a custodial role rather than an initiatory one under this system (Elazar 1972). South Carolina is the forty-first in terms of state resources and the second most resource poor state in the sample of fifteen NIBRS compliant states. Tennessee is the fourth most resource-poor state in the country and is the most resource-poor state in the sample.

This sample of states, though limited based on selection bias, does allow the research to paint a more complete picture of factors that influence policy decisions based on the variables of interest. More importantly, the states allow for the testing of academically accepted labels and norms against the reality of domestic violence policy in the field.

Delaware: The Individualistic, Resource-Rich Case Study

The Evolution of Domestic Violence Policy in Delaware

The state of Delaware first began publicly recognizing the needs of domestic violence victims in 1946 when the Community Legal Aid Society (CLASI) was established and began to aid victims with legal services (Delaware Coalition Against Domestic Violence 2013). Due to the organization's success in representing traditionally "at-risk" groups (i.e. low income, disabled, etc.), victims of domestic violence are still seeking its services today.

In this same vein of helping those who are at-risk, Delaware (with the help of the duPont family) established Child Inc. as a way to assist children who were being neglected and abused in the community (DCADV 2013). Since its opening in 1963, the organization's services and programs grew to not just include children but families as a whole. Like CLASI, Child Inc. is still in existence today helping families in crisis through two battered women's shelters (catering to abused women and their children) as well as through legal advocacy for victims (DCADV 2013).

By 1972, Delaware was aiding victims of violence in recognizing the problem and in representing their needs through advocacy and support. However, it was during this period that community members and advocates saw the need for counseling services. For this reason, People's Place was created. Over time, the services it provides have increased and today People's Place offers a 24-hour domestic violence hotline, 24-hour crisis intervention services, and access to shelters, advocates, and counselors (DCADV 2013). People's Place was organized to serve the southern part of the state. Therefore, another crisis hotline was added in Wilmington named CONTACTLifeline.

This service began in 1973 and still exists today as part of a national, 24-hour crisis helpline (CRISISLifeline USA) (DCADV 2013).

By the late 1970s, domestic violence had become part of the national policy discussion. In 1978, the National Coalition Against Domestic Violence (NCADV) was established. The NCADV's mission was and still is to "organize for collective power by advancing transformative work, thinking, and leadership in communities and individuals who seek to end violence in our lives (National Coalition Against Domestic Violence 2013)." More specifically, the NCADV sought to make domestic violence part of the national policy agenda through coalition building, public education, support for community-based services, and policy development (DCADV 2013). However, Delaware would not see the creation of its state agency until the mid-1990s.

That is not to say that Delaware wasn't making progress in addressing domestic violence and those it affected. By 1979, Delaware received its first federal grant to provide victims services, launched a statewide domestic violence hotline, and began a department of Victim's Services within the Delaware Department of Justice (DCADV 2013). Throughout the 1980s, Delaware launched a new initiative called The Domestic Violence Project. This venture was started by the Delaware Family Court System to manage all domestic violence cases through a federal grant (DCADV 2013). The goal was to simplify the legal process for victims. The project officially ended in 1988 but the practice of specifically managing domestic violence cases has become integral to the Delaware Family Court system (DCADV 2013).

Ten years after receiving the first federal funding, Delaware opened the first statewide Victim Center with the help of more federal funding. The Center provided

crisis intervention and referral services to victims, as well as coordinating the efforts of medical community, the legal community, and law enforcement (DCADV 2013).

Similarly, the Delaware Victims' Rights Task Force sought a coordinated community at the local and state level. It created a network of medical professionals, law enforcement officials, and legal representatives to provide services for victims of domestic violence (DCADV 2013). The goal of the Task Force was to ensure victims rights through the availability of services, advocacy, and public education and awareness (DCADV 2013).

Other efforts during the 1990s included a statewide conference on domestic violence, the creation of the Wilmington Police Victim Services Unit, the implementation of the Project for Domestic Violence Reform, and the adoption of the "No Drop" Policy (i.e. domestic violence charges should not be dropped because the victim requests it).

In 1993, Delaware established the Domestic Violence Coordinating Council (DVCC) -- "a state agency legislatively created to improve Delaware's response to domestic violence (DCADV 2013)." The Coordinating Council "brings together domestic violence service providers and policy level officials to identify and implement improvements in system response through legislation, education, and policy development (DCADV 2013)." Much of the DVCC's goals were met through the foundation of the Delaware Coalition Against Domestic Violence in 1994 (DCADV 2013) -- which acts as the leader in setting the domestic violence policy agenda in the state. The Coalition acts as a member of the DVCC, as well as the state affiliate to the National Coalition Against Domestic Violence (DCADV 2013).

The mid-1990s was a time of great progress for the domestic violence movement. This was seen at the state level in the creation of advocacy

groups/organizations, the increase in service providers, and the expansion of public knowledge of the issue through issue awareness programs. But the most important policy change for the movement came in the form of the 1994 Violence Against Women Act. This landmark piece of legislation (introduced by then-Senator Joe Biden (DE)), provided a comprehensive law to aid victims through direct services, provide advocacy, educate the public, hold abusers accountable for their actions, and provide a vast network of professionals and advocates working to reduce the frequency of violence against women and eventually eradicate it (DCADV 2013). Although this was federal legislation, Delaware takes great pride in it due to its attachment to Joe Biden and his roots in the state.

The late nineties and early 2000s saw a continuation of progressive domestic violence policy efforts. These efforts tended to target specific subgroups including teenagers (i.e. Project PRIDE and RAID, updates to the Youth Risk Behavior Survey, Teen Dating Violence Task Force), women over the age of 50 (i.e. Project Target) and women of color (i.e. Women of Color Taskforce, Abriendo Puertas). Many of these programs were funded through federal money from the Center for Disease Control that was funneled into Delaware's DELTA Program. DELTA oversaw many of these programs and the funding for them (DCADV 2013).

There have been several recent changes to Delaware's domestic violence laws. In 2007, a new law allowed victims, heterosexual and homosexual, to apply for orders of protection for domestic violence situations (DCADV 2013). It should be noted that this law not only protected victims from current partners but also former partners (DCADV 2013). Another change was introduced in May 2009 -- House Bill 170. This bill stated,

“An individual who is discharged from work due to circumstances directly resulting from the individual’s experience of domestic violence will not be disqualified from the receipt of unemployment insurance benefits for this reason (DCADV 2013).” It was signed into law July 2009.

A third change came in the form of House Bill 336. The bill was designed to “enhance the Family Court’s ability to protect victims of domestic violence and abuse by authorizing the Family Court to enter the no contact provisions of protection from abuse orders for up to two years in every case and, where aggravating circumstances exist, authorizing the Family Court to order no contact for as long as it deems necessary to prevent further abuse, including the entry of a permanent order (DCADV 2013).” It was signed into law in July 2010.

The last and most recent change in Delaware’s domestic violence law was Senate Bill 28, also known as the Address Confidentiality Bill (DCADV 2013). Effective as of October 3, 2011, the Address Confidentiality Program “permits victims of domestic violence, stalking and sexual assault, as well as persons participating in Delaware’s Witness Protection Program, to keep their actual address confidential by applying to the Department of Justice for a substitute address to which all mail will be delivered (DCADV 2013).”

The Organization: Delaware Coalition Against Domestic Violence

The Delaware Coalition Against Domestic Violence (DCADV) was founded in 1994 as the state’s federally recognized authority on domestic violence and domestic violence policy (DCADV 2013). Since its creation, the DCADV has grown from one staff

member to nine, including a Director of Public Policy (DCADV 2013). The mission of the organization is to “empower victims and their children through access to services and legal remedies (DCADV 2013).” DCADV seeks to accomplish this goal through closely working with “the justice, health care, education, advocacy, and social service communities in facilitating the creation of effective policies and programs that will serve the interests of victims and their children in Delaware (DCADV 2013).”

Due to the organization’s prominence in the policy arena and its reputation as the leading authority on domestic violence in the states, my research is based on interviews with policy advocates associated with the Coalition. Delaware is fortunate to have a specific Director of Policy position in house -- Mariann Kenville-Moore. I met with Kenville-Moore at the end of May 2013. As with each of my core interviews, this interview was conducted in-person in the policy professional’s office. This gave me the opportunity to meet with those specifically dealing with domestic violence policy in the various states but to also get a sense of the working environment and those they are working with. On average the interviews lasted about 90 minutes and advocates were asked the same questions in a semi-structured format. I say this because the questions were the same but allowed for me to ask for clarification or expand on something the advocate was saying.

In Her Own Words

I begin my interviews by asking the advocates to describe the organization, their role in the organization, and the role of the organization in the larger political environment. Ms. Kenville-Moore started by telling me that DCADV is a state coalition

originally funded through the Violence Against Women Act of 1994. She explained that for years that had been grassroots efforts within the state to support victims of domestic violence. This had been primarily done through direct service programs such as shelters. She stressed the importance of legislative work and the importance of advocacy in securing the legal rights for victims of domestic violence. These grassroots efforts provided the foundation for the Coalition with the primary intention of providing an “advocacy, awareness, and education agency.”

Although the DCADV receives daily phone calls requesting direct services, the Coalition does not provide victims with shelter, legal counsel, or medical care. Kenville-Moore explained that the “primary work is in the policy realm – we weigh in on issues nationally, at the state level, and locally.” The focus is really on advocating for victims, educating the public and policymakers, preventing violence through programming, and challenging “paternalistic societal norms” (i.e. traditional values that promote male domination and female subordination) in order to address oppression and promote equality.

As the Director of Policy, Kenville-Moore spends most of her time providing information to policymakers or “policy stakeholders”; although she’s quick to point out that even when providing information she is “not lobbying.” Delaware strictly prohibits this practice. She views her position as an educational one – a position that promotes collaboration among legislators, the medical community, and legal professionals. “It’s so important [for these groups] to understand what is going on, but to also make sure victims and survivors are considered and not hurt through unintended consequences that policy and legislation [can] create.”

Currently, Delaware has a “Protection from Abuse” law that includes any type of intimate partner violence – including teens and same sex couples. Although this part of the law is fairly progressive, it should be noted that the criminal statutes for domestic violence are the same for other similar crimes (i.e. assault, kidnapping, etc) even though there are distinct differences between such crimes. Advocates see this as being extremely problematic. Kenville-Moore argues, “We need to do a better job of protecting victims.”

One of the most interesting moments of my interview with Kenville-Moore occurred when discussing recent victories for the cause. She immediately pointed to the reauthorization of the Violence Against Women Act; which took (“a very difficult”) two and a half years. She also discussed the increase of public education and awareness surrounding the issue of domestic violence as a huge victory both nationally and within the states. The funding provided by VAWA and the attention paid to the issue helps to ensure services for victims and survivors. But sometimes the greatest victories happen in simply maintaining the status quo. Kenville-Moore said, “I’ve come to realize that sometimes the best response is not to change anything and that you can actually make things worse by constantly tweaking. So some of the legislative successes have just been in ensuring nothing bad happens.”

Recently, this has come in the form of stopping a policy that sought to disenfranchise victims by cutting the state’s “victim’s compensation program,” by presuming that shared child custody was in everyone’s best interest, and by reducing funding for direct service providers. In all of these situations, Kenville-Moore attributes a lack of understanding of victims and their abusers to the cutting out of advocates in the

discussion and the debate. She states, “We need to know what their needs are and we need to understand how our actions affect them... those unintended consequences, what is positive, what is negative. When we don’t include their voices in the process, we begin to function as systems that are looking out for our own interests and what’s best for us not them.” Although these issues continue to be contentious, the Coalition and its members are committed to protecting victims. Kenville-Moore cautions against policymakers and the policies they advocate not “overreacting or overreaching.”

The Resources

As previously stated, Delaware is considered a resource-rich state based on the Resource Index compiled for this project. However, based on my interview with Kenville-Moore it became obvious that even with the (financial) resources available in the state, the needs of the movement and the needs of victims are not being met. One of the places where the funding issues are most readily recognized is in the ability to provide services (including shelter) to victims with disabilities, elderly victims, and those being abused by same-sex partners. Anytime victims have special needs it becomes increasingly difficult to treat them and/or provide them with services. However, this issue does not extend to therapy -- victims are not being turned away from therapy. Yet, the resources are not meeting the needs of the population affected by domestic violence.

In 2013, DCADV functioned on an income of \$888,593 with expenses totaling \$885,267 (DCADV 2013). Although this sounds like a large amount, the annual budget is used to pay the salaries of the Coalition’s nine employees, the organization’s

overhead costs, and all the programming the organization spearheads. This budget, in light of the work the Coalition undertakes, is reflective of the larger social view of domestic violence and the political culture the movement works within. However, advocates (across the states) find one of the most frustrating parts of their job, is that victims often do not understand the services that are available to them. Much of this comes from a lack of public awareness about the issue and therefore the resources. While most understand a funder's desire to provide direct services and the need for those services, it's difficult to do without the financial support for these other pieces of the puzzle – advertising, education, and outreach.

The issues surrounding funding and resources are becoming more dire with sequestration. Although the Coalition has yet to feel any direct effects from the loss of funding, the General Assembly is currently trying to figure out how to keep all the current domestic violence shelters open. As of January 2014, the state's only ADA-complaint (Americans with Disabilities Act) shelter is in danger of closing.

The Political Culture

According to Elazar, the individualistic political culture is based on economics. Policymakers are not concerned with private needs but with the marketplace unless the public demands new programs or policies to deal with a specific issue. Interestingly, when asked about the political culture in Delaware, Kenville-Moore had very positive things to say. She first described the environment as “very respectful” and “very receptive.” She explained that the state's policymakers are regular people who are very approachable and (typically) want to work collaboratively. Furthermore, because of how

positive the environment is and how much it embraces the movement, it is different from other states. In fact, when policymakers (or “certain individuals”) tried to circumvent the advocates in the attempt to pass harmful legislation (legislation having to do with custody rights), their actions backfired. They faced harsh scrutiny from other policy elites and the public. Ultimately, the policy failed.

As a state, Delaware embraces the domestic violence/women’s movement. But the key to the movement’s success in the policy realm and with policymakers is in staying visible and vocal, “As long as we continue to put ourselves [at the table], we will have a seat. But that’s also the problem. You can’t ever back off on this work. If you aren’t seen then you won’t be heard.”

The Available Information

After discovering just how supportive the state and the policymakers in Delaware are to the domestic violence movement, I was curious about the kind of information the advocates use when lobbying for the cause. The consensus is that domestic violence research is really important for the job they are doing because policymakers like numbers. They like to know how an issue affects the people they are representing. So advocates certainly use statistical research but they also rely on anecdotal evidence that comes in the form of victims’ stories. Kenville-Moore makes her case saying, “I’ve learned through the years that it’s important to share the facts for those who are into research. They want to know about numbers and experiences. But I also believe that sharing victims’ stories is what captures people’s interest and passion.”

Although Delaware takes part in and is fully compliant with the National Incident Based Reporting System (NIBRS), the Coalition tends to turn to national level statistics. When asked why this is the case when state-level stats are available, Kenville-Moore cites the lack of strong research programs (i.e. research universities) in Delaware. The Coalition has built a strong relationship with the Women's Studies program at the University of Delaware over the last several years, but the program is limited in its ability to do state-level evaluation. Therefore, the Coalition tends to borrow statistical information from other sources.

One source that does provide state-level statistics is the Delaware Domestic Violence Coordinating Council. Kenville-Moore tells me that the Coordinating Council uses NIBRS data when compiling its Annual Report. The Coalition works closely with the Coordinating Council and for that reason does have access to those reports. Advocates caution about the use and reliability of domestic violence statistics. What one must always remember is "the numbers aren't real" – this was a phrase I heard over and over. Advocates would go on to explain there are a number of reasons for this, including the lack of reporting, the interpretation of the event by responding police officers, and the way in which the event is reported (more specifically the relationship between victim and perpetrator).

The general population and many policymakers feel that the reported statistics represent the entire population of victims and therefore the population that must be targeted for help and intervention. However, those working within the movement are often more concerned about the population that doesn't report. During my interview with Kenville-Moore she explained, "Four percent of the individuals who have died as a

result of intimate partner violence had reached out for services prior. So if the majority of people dying in Delaware [at the hands of their partners] have never reached out for services, then that's a problem." This problem became evident through the state's Domestic Violence Fatality Review Team -- a team dedicated to reviewing domestic violence fatalities to see where the system could be better and more effective in dealing with victim's, batterers, and the needs of the family involved.

Building the Story

The advocates in Delaware were very helpful in providing answers to my questions and giving me an insider's perspective on the domestic violence prevention movement within the state. But I was also lucky to obtain a telephone interview with a member of the Delaware Domestic Violence Coordinating Council – Cindy Mercer.

Mercer works as a Senior Administrator at the DDVCC; a state agency created in the mid-1990s to draft legislative responses to domestic violence and domestic violence related needs. The organization employs five, full-time staff members. Each staffer heads up a subcommittee and chairs special projects under the subcommittee umbrella. Subcommittees include legislative, legal, medical, and sexual assault. Currently, they are working on projects surrounding teen dating violence, building healthy relationships, violence prevention, and lethality assessment protocols. These projects are a way to address the needs of victims, but they also serve to enable collaboration among a large network of service providers.

Mercer confirmed much of what I learned from the advocates. She described the political environment in Delaware as supportive. She said that domestic violence is on

the political agenda and an issue that people are very passionate about. This support “puts Delaware ahead of the game” when compared to other states. The only opposition the movement sometimes faces is on specific policies including Protections from Abuse (use and alleged misuse), child custody issues, and fathers rights groups.

One of the largest projects the DDVCC undertakes every year is the organization’s Annual Report. Since 1996, the Council collects data on domestic violence service providers – including the number of crimes and the number of services sought. The crime numbers come from the Uniform Crime Report (NIBRS) which come directly from the state police. The DDVCC is able to provide published state-level data on domestic violence to policy elites and the public. They also compile data on the number of domestic violence fatalities. Although cases have to be approved by the Attorney General in order to be investigated, the DDVCC views these numbers as important to public safety, public health, and the movement’s larger goals to eradicate violence among intimate partners.

The political environment, the willingness of service providers to collaborate, and the amount of information available all aid in furthering the mission of the domestic violence movement in Delaware. But Mercer also points out that the geographical size of the state plays a major role in promoting collaboration. She points out that the state is only made up of three counties. A person can drive across the entire state in two hours. Close proximity helps to foster a sense of community, promote collaboration, and allows for more fundraising opportunities.

Working Within the Bureaucracy – The Biden Legacy

My interviews impressed upon me the sense of community and collaboration among the advocates and domestic violence agencies in the state. During my interviews, the advocates mentioned “the Biden legacy” – Joe Biden being the former United States Senator (and current Vice President of the United States) and the lead on the original Violence Against Women Act. The currently Delaware Attorney General Joseph R. “Beau” Biden (Joe Biden’s son) serves on the Board of the DDVC, continuing his father’s legacy.

For this reason, I attempted to secure an interview with Attorney General Biden. My attempt was unsuccessful but I was directed to his past public statements on the subject. The first comment I was drawn to discussed the need for direct services and coalition-building:

We must put programs into action that reduce the high rates of domestic violence, dating violence, and sexual assault among women aged 16 through 24, improve the response to sexual assault by enhancing coordination among the healthcare, law enforcement, and legal services a victim receives, and work toward preventing domestic violence homicides by making sure those who work with women at risk can recognize the warning signs (2012).

This statement was made by Attorney General Beau Biden in an editorial he wrote for *U.S. News and World Report*. Biden goes on to say:

We know a great deal more about domestic violence than we did 18 years ago when the Vice President, then-Senator Joe Biden, first introduced this landmark legislation. Reauthorizing the Violence Against Women Act will allow us to build on those lessons and continue to make progress and save lives. It will send a

clear message that this country does not tolerate violence against women and show Congress's commitment to keeping that bright light shining for the millions of women and families still in the darkness (2012).

Although the Attorney General was writing about the reauthorization of the Violence Against Women Act, it is clear from his role with the DDVCC and the esteem he is discussed by members of the movement, that these statements indicate his commitment to the cause.

Michigan: The Moralistic, Resource-Average Case Study

The Evolution of Domestic Violence Policy in Michigan

Although domestic violence was not considered a public health issue until the 1970s, Michigan had a bit of a head start in recognizing the issue. As early as 1846, an advocate for women's rights named Ernestine Rose spoke to the Michigan General Assembly on the lack of protection of women under the law (The Michigan Women's Historical Center & Hall of Fame 2013). Her point was to enfranchise women through suffrage, which was part of a long, hard battle that did not end until the 1920s in Michigan and across the country (The Michigan Women's Historical Center & Hall of Fame 2013).

The debate about acts of violence against women did not officially begin until 1971. It was then that one of the first rape crisis centers (in the country) was founded in Ann Arbor --The Women's Crisis Center (The Michigan Women's Historical Center & Hall of Fame 2013). By 1974, rape and sexual assault were labeled as violent crime

under The Michigan Criminal Sexual Conduct Act (The Michigan Women's Historical Center & Hall of Fame 2013). During this time, special attention was also being paid to the issue of domestic violence. The National Organization of Women's Wife Abuse Task Force established a network of private homes in Michigan to be used to shelter victims of domestic violence (The Michigan Women's Historical Center & Hall of Fame 2013). It was also during this time that concerned individuals (the foundation of what would eventually become the Michigan Coalition Against Domestic Violence) were able to help in lobbying for and establishing the Michigan Domestic and Sexual Violence Prevention and Treatment Board. Over the years the board has been made up of experts associated with the issue, including attorneys, judges, physicians, law enforcement officials, advocates. These board members are appointed by the Governor and approved by the Senate (Michigan Department of Human Services 2014).

The board's mission was to advise the legislature and state government (internally) on issues involving domestic and (eventually) sexual violence (Michigan Department of Human Services 2014). Issues that they helped to address early on included warrantless arrest policies that allowed police officers to intervene in a domestic violence situation without actually having witnessed it. In the past, responding officers had to actually witness the physical violence in order to make an arrest (Zeoli, Brenner, and Norris 2010). This was a huge step forward for the state, the movement, and the subsystems involved in helping victims of domestic violence.

By the end of the decade Michigan had established the Coalition Against Domestic Violence (incorporated in 1978). The main purpose of the state Coalition was to provide a statewide voice for victims through its members and the services those

members provide (Michigan Coalition to End Domestic & Sexual Violence 2014). At this time, Michigan also had a coalition dedicated to the issue of sexual assault -- the Sexual Assault Information Network of Michigan or SAIN Michigan (Hagenian 2013). During this time, the two coalitions worked closely together to form the issue specific coalition called the Michigan Coalition to End Legalized Rape. This organization was dedicated to ending spousal rape. Until 1988, there was no way to prosecute those who forcibly raped their intimate partners. It was through the efforts of these three coalitions along with the Michigan chapter of NOW (National Organization of Women), that legislation finally passed to prevent such violent acts (Criminal Defense Lawyer 2014).

During this period, MCADV had created a strong board of directors and continued to impact domestic violence through prevention policy and issue education. By the mid-nineties, SAIN Michigan was facing some funding issues and came to MCADV for help. Due to the longstanding and positive rapport the two coalitions had established, it was only natural that they merge. This was a long and arduous process finally voted on in 1996. It was then that MCADV and Michigan SAIN merged as the Michigan Coalition Against Domestic Violence & Sexual Assault (Hagenian 2013). Today it is known, after a recent name change, as the Michigan Coalition to End Domestic and Sexual Violence (MCEDSV 2014). The newly formed dual-organization spent the next several years operating on a tight budget and attempting to build an executive staff. Because both of the former organizations dissolved to form the new coalition, those working most closely on the project had the luxury of creating an entirely

new entity. But it wasn't until funding from the Violence Against Women Act became available that the organization became salient (Hagenian 2013).

Due to VAWA, both the money and the publicity it afforded the issue, many changes and advancements occurred during the mid to late 1990s. For instance, the first on-campus domestic violence shelter in the country was established at Michigan State University (The Michigan Women's Historical Center & Hall of Fame 2013). Michigan also founded the first publicly funded domestic violence shelter in the nation. The shelter was located in Ann Arbor and overseen by Susan McGee (The Michigan Women's Historical Center & Hall of Fame 2013).

By the mid-1990s, domestic violence was not only on the political radar but the public's radar as well. The Coalition and other affiliated groups took advantage of this attention and pushed to expand the already existing assault and battery laws in the state. Instead of creating separate domestic violence laws based on domestic relationships (i.e. current or former spouse, residing together, child in common, or dating relationships), advocates sought an all-inclusive domestic relationship definition (Michigan State Police 2014). For misdemeanor domestic assault, the Coalition sought to extend the 90-day jail sentence to a 93-day jail sentence. Those additional 3 days allows the state to electronically track the perpetrator and hold them until arraignment or protective conditions of bond are applicable (Michigan State Police 2014). At the same time, the interested parties were fighting for Personal Protection Orders for victims, a hard-fought battle but one they eventually succeeded in. Other issues that arose during this time included stalking, strangulation, and tracking/tethering of perpetrators (Hagenian 2013).

Most of the major legislative victories for domestic violence occurred during the 1990s. However, since that time, advocates have worked tirelessly to expand the definition of domestic violence in criminal laws, find new and viable funding sources for direct services, keep up with the ever changing technological advances (i.e. GPS tracking/tethering), and fight back potentially harmful policies (for instance mandatory joint custody). In order to more fully understand what advocates are dealing with in the state, I began my interviews by contacting the Michigan Coalition to End Domestic Violence and Sexual Assault.

In Their Own Words

The Michigan Coalition to End Domestic and Sexual Violence is a non-profit, membership organization for the domestic violence and sexual assault programs in the state of Michigan (Hagenian 2013). The Coalition exists solely to eliminate domestic violence and sexual assault. “As we are working to accomplish [our larger goal], we want to ensure that survivors in our state have access to quality services, advocacy, education and prevention programs (Hagenian 2013).” Hagenian went on to say that it is important to her personally but also to the broader movement that survivors get a response that is “understanding, compassionate, and non-judgmental (Hagenian 2013).” It is through member programs, the direct services they provide, and the policies and practices supported by the Coalition and by advocates that this kind of response will, ultimately, become common practice. The systems that come together to form the response to domestic violence – medical, legal, law enforcement, advocacy – will eventually be able to respond to individuals who have experienced this kind of

trauma in a way that is helpful. This is the core of prevention work – to facilitate an appropriate response and allow for healing through collaboration and training.

The Coalition acts as a collector and disseminator of information through the efforts to bring together those doing the work and survivors. This extends to the legislative and policy work for which it and its affiliates are responsible to do. For example, the Executive Policy Director at MCEDSV sees her role as one of “privilege” – “[The Coalition] has a privilege and a responsibility to carry the voices of survivors and those who work daily with survivors to decision-makers (Hagenian 2013).” The role of these advocates is one that educates decision-makers by advocating for victims and survivors.

Over the last few decades, Michigan’s Coalition and associated advocates have become major players in Michigan politics; not as an electoral force or even divisive force, but one that has become very effective in commanding attention to the issues of domestic violence and sexual assault. They are the “boots-on-the-ground” experts in the field committed to sharing this expertise with the general public and those making major policy decisions that will ultimately affect victims.

The Political Culture

Elazar describes the moralistic political culture as one that values political/governmental action as a way to improve the community. Policymakers are not only concerned about the economy but with social issues. But when asked to describe the political climate in the state, advocates tended to describe the current financial crisis in Michigan, which was very bad during the Great Recession due to problems in the

auto industry. This economic down cycle was particularly difficult for those representing social issues. Funding became increasingly difficult, whether discussing money available through government programs, grants, and/or donations from individuals. Unfortunately this siege mentality over finances permeated every legislative issue not just the issue of domestic violence (and/or sexual assault). Simply put, it makes the job of the advocates even more difficult. Especially when more resources are needed to accomplish previously stated goals – whether that be in creation or in implementation.

Like other states in this sample, Michigan and its advocates tend to prefer state level domestic violence policies to national policies. One advocate described it as not only a point of pride for the state but also an issue of implementation.

Right now, Michigan is dominated by the Republican Party – the House, the Senate, and the Governor's office. Yet, the state has voted Democratic in every presidential election since the early 1990s. Based on this, it is easy to view the state as one that is divided or, at least, competitive and therefore a lot of political seats (especially house seats) are marginal ones.

One of the biggest challenges facing advocates (of any kind), and others working in politics, is the short term limits in Michigan. Elected officials have six years in the House and eight years in the Senate. Therefore, advocates have to continuously build relationships with and educate legislators on their issue (Moncrief, Niemi, and Powell 2004). It is not only hurts education efforts, but term limits often lead to inexperienced legislative leadership. For example, the Speaker of the House might only have two years of experience; at the most, he/she could have four. The institutional and legislative memory of most legislators is often very limited. This means that staffers

hold a lot of power making it increasingly difficult for legislators to become really immersed in an issue (Moncrief, Niemi, and Powell 2004).

However, even with the undeniable financial issues and the preoccupation of policymakers with their next election (due to short term limits), domestic violence is still considered a major issue. Over the past two decades, advocates have witnessed a positive shift in the way domestic violence (and sexual assault) are treated as political issues. It has shifted from being a private, familial matter to a major, public health issue. This is not to say that there still aren't problems with understanding of the issue. Again, due to short term limits, it is often difficult for policymakers to become immersed in the issue and truly understand the complexities of it.

The Resources

Although Michigan is considered a resource-average state in this sample, the financial crisis the state has faced over the last several years has taken its toll. This was evident in my interviews, especially when discussing recent setbacks for the movement. Advocates described the reduction in services funded by the government – citing Medicaid reductions and TANF (Temporary Assistance for Needy Families) cutbacks. Some also pointed to the demand for residential, non-residential, and intervention services, which have all increased, and the current budget cuts (including cuts to related programs like food banks) have not helped but hindered them. One advocate commented, “There have been places we have gotten small increases nationally but when there are cuts to ancillary services and other things that survivors need to be able to be safe and whole and autonomous, we have been cut too.”

Furthermore, when services are cut it is difficult to work at the survivor's direction. Instead of being able to refer them by name to an advocate or other expert, they become a number in a very large and complicated bureaucratic system. In other words, budget cuts have ripple effects.

As in other states, most domestic violence funding comes through the Violence Against Women Act and FVPSA (Family Violence Prevention and Services Act) money. Although this is federal-level funding, much of it is dispersed via block grants through state-level agencies. This makes funding more complicated and, although it may look like state dollars, most, if not all of the money received is federal money. This is not to say that those who provide direct services are not receiving money directly from the state. Other sources of income (money to help with legislative and policy efforts) come from dues, donations, and specific fundraising efforts. Regardless of the way the money is cobbled together every year, it is a complex matter. In 2011, the most recent annual report found online, MCEDSV's total revenue was \$2,149,771 with \$2,122,766 in expenses (Michigan Coalition Against Domestic and Sexual Violence 2011).

The Available Information

When talking to policymakers about domestic violence and sexual assault, advocates find it is important to present both statistical data and anecdotal information. However, during meetings that are often brief, advocates must make a decision about what will serve their needs the best – how much time is available, what is the policymaker asking for, and what is the goal.

When providing statistical information, advocates try to tailor the information to the lawmaker's district, including how many calls programs have received, how many people have been sheltered, and how many children have been helped. In general, domestic violence experts feel it is very important that policymakers understand that people in their districts are being helped by the dollars being voted on.

In other situations, advocates feel that survivor stories are the most compelling evidence they can provide. However, it is important to understand that one survivor's story does not provide a template for every survivor. This fact makes statistics appealing. Although Michigan has state-level crime statistics available through the NIBRS system, most advocates prefer to use direct service request numbers. As I found in other states and with other advocates, those working in Michigan are skeptical of the crime statistics. This is due to several factors, the most predominant of which is the prevalence of underreporting by victims and the lack of accuracy in reporting by law enforcement departments and databases.

Building the Story

Over a three-month period following my initial interviews, I attempted to make contact with individuals who were recommended as good sources of information but also individuals who I thought would be a good fit for this project. Many of my attempts were in vain. But by mid-November I secured an interview with a lobbyist who works for a well-established "issues-based multi-client lobbying and governmental consulting firm (Capitol Services 2013)." Although this individual works mainly as a lobbyist, the firm caters to non-profit groups through "policy analysis, strategic planning, and legislative

training (Capitol Services 2013).” Due to the kind of work this person does and the current political climate, he/she asked that the interview be done anonymously.

When I asked this person to tell me about the political culture in Michigan the initial response I received was, “It’s tough.” This lobbyist went on to explain that the House, the Senate, and the Governor’s Office are all held by the same political party – the Republicans. He/she prefers there be a “stop gap” where at least one of the branches is held by the other party. This is preferable to the current system because it tends to slow things down, allows for more discussion and more debate, and more time for issue education. Essentially, the current situation is creating a lot of tension within the state and therefore a very intense political climate. This individual mentioned that he/she and his/her colleagues are seeing not only the tension between the parties, but a lot of in-party fighting. In this kind of climate, allegiance is questioned because some individuals want to overreach and push the policy boundaries where others aren’t necessarily comfortable. This is especially true within the Republican Party which has moderates and those associated with the Tea Party. These tensions are exacerbated by concerns over reelection and the strict term limits enforced in Michigan. Due to this kind of political climate, I began to understand why I was not getting the same response for interview requests as I did in other states.

I then asked this lobbyist about how this extreme political climate is affecting domestic violence policy. Due to the support that domestic violence prevention and policy enjoys, the intense political environment has not had the same affect on it as it has on more contentious issues. Recently, there have not been a lot of changes made to domestic violence policy. However, this individual did warn that changes are coming

in the form of issues like human trafficking legislation. Advocates are weighing in on these kinds of issues due to their links with domestic violence.

Although there have not been a lot of policy changes when it comes to domestic violence, this is not to say that advocates are not facing obstacles. According to this lobbyist, one of the biggest challenges advocates run into are well-intentioned legislators who introduce legislation that isn't necessarily well informed, thus having to contend with unintended consequences. He/She explains that these are tricky issues and hard conversations to have and goes on to say, "How do you write policy to protect victims, not allow perpetrators to use it against victims, and doesn't allow perpetrators to get away with their actions? It's about crafting laws but also creating flexibility."

The other major challenge that this expert mentioned is the aggressive activity of the father's rights groups in Michigan. During the last two legislative sessions (last six years), these groups have been very vocal in their messaging but they have been relatively inactive this legislative session. Although unsure of the exact reason for this lack of activity, he/she believes that is has to do with current leadership. It is apparent that the majority of individuals sitting on the Committee understand that implementing legal presumptions for shared custody will negatively impact the children in these situations and those who are victims of violence.

Legislators understand how policy and the resources the policy can provide affect victims and survivors. However, according to my interviews, the resources that are currently available are not meeting the needs of victims in Michigan. This shortage of resources is affecting victims and their families. However, the cuts made at the federal level are trickling down and hurting state funding.

The shortage of resources is not affecting the commitment of advocates who represent victims. These professionals rely upon survivor's stories to influence policymakers and further the cause. The experts explained that other than victims' stories, state-by-state comparisons are perhaps her best tool in influencing policymakers. Policymakers like to know how programs and laws have worked in other states. They like to have a good understanding of current law, how it is being applied, and what the outcomes have been. This is where statistical information can also be helpful; Specifically data coming from direct service providers. Generally, the advocates interviewed feel that this kind of data paints a more complete picture of victims, the services they need access to, and how successful those programs are.

South Carolina: The Traditionalistic, Resource-Poor Case Study

The Evolution of Domestic Violence Policy in South Carolina

South Carolina has been "actively involved" in combating domestic violence for the last two decades (South Carolina Department of Social Services 2013). Since 1996, the legislature has approved and funded prevention and treatment programs to assist victims of spousal abuse; "gradually expanding" the budget for the programs provided (SCDSS 2013).

Up until the late 1980s, the South Carolina Department of Social Services was responsible for the state's "eight emergency shelters, one crisis intervention program, and two intervention services programs." These services were located in larger cities within the state and run on a combined state and federal budget of \$800,000 (SCDSS 2013). Due to the lack of adequate funding, rural residents and victims of domestic

violence were often left with little to no intervention or prevention services. But even in areas where services were available, SCDSS was very much aware of the growing need for services – almost 50 percent of those seeking emergency shelter were denied access due to lack of resources (SCDSS 2013).

In 1988, the SCDSS launched the Services Expansion Project as a way to “maximize the service capabilities of provider agencies and to ensure the availability of accessible emergency shelters and related assistance to victims (SCDSS 2013).” This project instituted a system of regional emergency shelters each required to provide a 24-hour crisis line, client needs assessment, information and referral services, temporary shelter, counseling, legal advocacy, housing and employment assistance, and programs to promote knowledge and prevention of domestic violence within the assigned community (SCDSS 2013).

Since 1996 and the implementation of the Violence Against Women Act, South Carolina has been able to expand its services and promotion of the issue. Furthermore, the Department of Social Services has expanded its services to not just meet the needs of victims but to provide treatment of batterers through the Batterers Intervention Treatment Program (SCDDS 2012). This funding provided by the DSS, extended to the South Carolina Coalition Against Domestic and Sexual Assault to fund education and prevention services (SCDSS 2012).

Today, South Carolina recognizes domestic violence as a crime. The South Carolina Coalition Against Domestic Violence and Sexual Assault works to make sure the formal, criminal laws are implemented, progress in association with technology, and increase prevention and education efforts. In order to accomplish this, the state-wide

Coalition has brought together “22 domestic violence and sexual assault advocacy programs (South Carolina Coalition Against Domestic Violence and Sexual Assault 2011).” Beginning in 1981, SCCADVASA has sought to “make the community aware of issues, problems, policy and legislation regarding Domestic Violence and Sexual Assault (SCCADVASA 2011).” Furthermore, the Coalition views “Domestic Violence and Sexual Assault [as] a public health problem and a community problem as well as an interpersonal one (SCCADVASA 2011).” Due to its impact on relationships, families, and the larger community, it is the mission of SCCADVASA to “support member programs, provide education, and advocate for social reform” as means to eradicate domestic and sexual violence in the state (SCCADVASA 2011). For these reasons, the Coalition and its Director of Prevention and Education was my first interview in the state -- Rebecca Williams-Agee. This interview took place in Columbia, South Carolina at the Coalition’s office in mid-July 2013.

In Her Own Words

Rebecca Williams-Agee’s official title at the South Carolina Coalition Against Domestic Violence and Sexual Assault is Director of Prevention and Education. However, Ms. Williams-Agee handles the majority of the Coalition’s policy issues – including educating the public and policymakers about issues near and dear to the Coalition’s mission.

I first asked Williams-Agee to describe the Coalition and her role within it. She explained that there is a Coalition in every state that represents the local direct service centers for victims of domestic and sexual violence. This does not mean that the

Coalition provides direct services in terms of advocacy or counseling or shelter, but it represents the organizations that do. At the time of this interview, there were 22 programs in South Carolina.

The Coalition, as described by Williams-Agee, is a small organization responsible for representing the policy needs and goals of the 22 South Carolina domestic violence and sexual assault programs. Responsibilities include advocating for victims, providing technical assistance, training policymakers, and educating those in other related systems like law enforcement, healthcare professionals, and those in the court system (i.e. judges and prosecutors) with the goal of providing an understanding of the current issues and controversies over domestic violence and sexual assault. Historically, these two issues have been in competition with one another for resources and attention. For this reason, there has always been tension between the two issues. But because these issues are so intertwined and related, the Coalition is able to bridge relationships among interested professionals and tailor the message and mission to policymakers. SCCADVASA acts as a “clearinghouse,” bringing together advocates and professionals that work for the cause on a day-to-day basis.

As the Director of Prevention and Education, Williams-Agee spends her day doing outreach. She is in charge of the internal and external communication for the Coalition. She describes her position as one that “brings awareness and increases prevention efforts (Williams-Agee 2013).” So often, she runs into people who don’t agree with domestic violence or sexual assault but just aren’t sure what to do about it. This is where she and the Coalition come in through public awareness campaigns and public relations activities. These prevention efforts are very similar to “prevention first”

efforts made by other social welfare/ social justice initiatives – teen pregnancy, bullying, drunk driving, suicide. Therefore, Williams-Agee tries to incorporate the Coalition’s message and work with other prevention initiatives where domestic violence and sexual assault can be linked.

The Political Culture

According to Elazar, in a traditionalistic political culture one would expect to find a paternalistic culture concerned with maintaining the existing order. In this culture, policymakers are interested in the continuation of traditional patterns or the status quo.

When asked to describe the role of the Coalition in the larger political culture, Williams-Agee said, “We are the main, driving force behind legislation and policy that focuses on the protection of survivors and victims [of domestic violence] (Williams-Agee 2013).” She elaborated on this by mentioning the drafting of such legislation, the expert advice and testimony given on a particular issue, and the support given to legislators and policymakers. South Carolina has strict laws against lobbying, so the Coalition and its advocates provide policymakers with “policy education” on domestic violence and sexual assault issues. For the Coalition, it’s about having a presence -- both in support of policy but also in response to policy that could have detrimental effects on victims and survivors.

The issue of support for domestic violence prevention comes up more often than not in South Carolina where, as Williams-Agee says, “We’re up against a lot (Williams-Agee 2013).” Generally, social issue advocates describe South Carolina’s historically negative views of women. Many advocates would argue that women still have a very

low status in the state. This is illustrated in the annual report that is released detailing women's wages, women's healthcare, and access to women's services; South Carolina consistently has a below average or near failing grade.

In general, South Carolina tends to have a very paternalistic mindset. Many people have this idea that women need to be rescued, that if "we" (as a community) just "knock the bad guy out" then the issue has been addressed. This isn't the case. Advocates are not just concerned with addressing the issue of the batterer, but with empowering victims and survivors.

This kind of empowerment and prevention becomes further complicated in a state that prefers to not talk about sex and, in turn, not talk about sexual violence. As an advocate stated, "We aren't teaching women how to protect themselves. So when there is a problem, we tend to blame the victim." This isn't specific to South Carolina, but it does seem to be more extreme than in other states. Therefore, the movement and those affiliated with it, are not always welcome.

This is not to say that there hasn't been any progress in South Carolina. Advocates are passionate about their work and are slowly seeing changes. For instance, some legislators are beginning to view domestic violence as the public health issue it is. Not all of them, but some. The movement is beginning to see a lot of backlash against budget cuts affecting it and public statements made by public officials who are unsupportive of the mission and goals of the movement. Last summer, for example, the Governor vetoed the entire sexual violence budget. Most of the money goes to fund direct service programs including sexual assault treatment centers. There was huge public outcry against this action and the veto was overturned and the budget

passed unanimously by the House and almost unanimously by the Senate (Williams-Agee 2013). Only two Senators chose to uphold the veto and, to be fair, they upheld the veto based on their platforms of disliking big government and government intervention (Williams-Agee 2013).

In 2003, South Carolina expanded its domestic violence policy so it was covered under the penal code and therefore acts of violence could be prosecuted in the first, second, and third degree assault and battery. First and second degree criminal domestic violence are considered misdemeanors while third degree is a felony. All of these are similarly defined, however third degree differs in that it is considered assault of a “high and aggravated nature.” This means that a weapon is involved or that the perpetrator has intended to do serious physical harm to the victim. According to my interviews, most domestic violence charges fall under first and second degree. But if an individual is repeatedly charged with first and second degree misdemeanors he/she can be bumped up to a third degree felony (Williams-Agee 2013).

Domestic violence advocates and allies are constantly trying to expand the existing criminal domestic violence laws in South Carolina. The law currently covers those cohabitating, married, divorced, and/or have a child together. However, it does not extend to homosexual couples or those in dating relationships (Williams-Agee 2013). This makes it especially difficult for gay, lesbian, transgender, and (even) young couples who have not had the chance to live together to seek help and assistance when needed.

Although it’s safe to say that domestic violence advocates have a tough road in South Carolina, hope is not lost. Williams-Agee was adamant in saying, “Every day is a

victory. The fact that we are even here (Williams-Agee 2013).” She cites the reauthorization of VAWA as a huge victory, not only in South Carolina, but for the movement at-large. She told me that Jim Clyburn was the only Congressman from the state to vote for the reauthorization. This is representative of the political environment and mentality of policymakers in the state. Williams-Agee feels that Jim Clyburn is a true ally of the movement (Williams-Agee 2013). Even when the movement finds support, it is often predicated on the “patriarchal, damsel-in-distress” mentality where only heterosexual, white women fall victim to such violent acts.

Another place where advocates have seen progress is in parental custody laws. South Carolina has always had a 50/50 presumption when it comes to parental custody. This means that shared custody is the default for any custody battle. Until recently, this was true even when there was a history of domestic violence. However, advocates were able to get protective sanctions put in place for victims of domestic violence who are in the midst of a custody battle. This victory was one that was hard fought. Father’s rights groups descended on the state in opposing this policy change. These groups argued that women would abuse this domestic violence provision and it did not acknowledge the father, giving unfair advantage to women (Williams-Agee 2013). This phenomenon is not reserved to South Carolina but is being seen across the country and will be discussed in greater detail later (see Opposition chapter).

From the stories told during my interviews, it became obvious that victories are always bittersweet. There is a lot of backlash and seemingly little support for what advocates are attempting to do. One example provided was the attempted addition of “strangulation and smothering” into the criminal domestic violence laws. Many in the

public and in decision-making positions assume that due to the lethality associated with strangulation and smothering that it would already be part of the penal code (at the very least falling into the high and aggravated nature category)... but it's not. There is a bill currently in committee that would expand the current law to include these two actions but so far there has been no movement on it (Williams-Agee 2013).

The Available Information

Another example that Williams-Agee provided as a way to illuminate the bittersweet nature of the domestic violence policy battle comes in the form of reporting standards. South Carolina is no different from any other state in terms of lack of reporting of domestic violence by victims. Advocates are concerned about how domestic violence misdemeanors are cited and reported by responding law enforcement. I was told that it has become commonplace to have criminal domestic violence written up as traffic tickets – more specifically as parking tickets. This creates a whole host of problems for victims needing services, for crime reports being accurate, and for advocates needing to make policymakers and the public, understand the rampant nature of such violence. However, in misdemeanor cases, responding police officers have discretion in how they write up an incident. This issue went through the court system and has still not been rectified. An informant also said that even high-ranking public officials supported this reporting and citation practice out of fear that if perpetrators weren't cited for traffic offenses they may not be cited at all. The Coalition and its allies are currently working on legislation that would address this practice (Williams-Agee 2013).

As discussed above, the current lack of reporting by victims and the current responding practices by police have been problematic for advocates and policy professionals. However, even with the current numbers, Williams-Agee cites statistics released by the Violence Policy Center to further her point, “As of two years ago, South Carolina is number two in the nation for the number of women killed by men. The numbers have been worse over the last two years, so who knows? Perhaps we will take the number one spot from Nevada. We always seem to be going back and forth with them. It’s terrible (Williams-Agee 2013).” The Coalition and associated members have been attempting to put a fatality review team in place but have run into a lot of opposition to the idea and bureaucratic roadblocks. Those roadblocks have a lot to do with the territorial mentality among the various systems that would be associated with a fatality review team (i.e. medical, legal, law enforcement, etc). But advocates in the state are committed to pushing for collaboration among these groups through the formation of a fatality review team.

When discussing the issue with policymakers the information available to advocates is very important – both statistical and anecdotal. Due to the issues surrounding criminal domestic violence data collection, I was very curious what Williams-Agee was using when confronting and discussing domestic violence policy and policy impact with decision-makers. Williams-Agee says that both are very important when talking about policy but that anecdotal has more of an impact – “it really puts a face on the issue (Williams-Agee 2013).” She also feels that state-level statistical data is important and most of the time more effective than national level statistics, but due to the issues surrounding collection and reporting advocates don’t find crime statistics to

be all that compelling (Williams-Agee 2013). Therefore, statistics reported by the state's direct service providers are favored due to their link to victims.

The Resources

Although advocates work tirelessly to influence policy and policy decisions, they are working on a shoestring. In 2013, the Coalition spent \$700,216 and brought in \$706,720 in revenue (SCCADVASA 2014). The South Carolina Coalition receives no state funding; it all comes from the federal level (mostly through the Violence Against Women Act). However, the programs they represent, both domestic violence and sexual assault, do receive state money. Interestingly, sexual assault programs receive a line item on the budget while domestic violence programs receive money from the marriage license fee (Williams-Agee 2013). The current resource allocation in South Carolina (as in all my case study states) is not meeting the needs of domestic violence victims. There are currently several underserved populations in South Carolina, and therefore many victims are unable to access resources or being turned away when they do. These groups include those in dating relationships, those with disabilities, and those in homosexual relationships. Funding for direct service providers has not increased since 1989, and continues to be a huge issue (Williams-Agee 2013). Overall, most advocates would argue that domestic violence is not considered a priority in South Carolina.

Building the Story

Advocates are boots-on-the-ground experts in domestic violence and sexual assault. They are not only working with victims and survivors and attempting to meet their needs; they are working with policymakers and attempting to meet their needs in an advisory capacity. However, in striving to fully understand South Carolina as a policy case study, I sought other experts to build the policy story.

One individual who was recommended as a good source of information is the Executive Director of Sistercare – Nancy Barton. Sistercare is a direct service provider for victims of domestic violence and their children. Services offered include victim advocacy, shelter, 24-hour crisis hotline, court advocacy, community awareness and education services, counseling, and transitional housing (Sistercare 2013). As the Executive Director, Barton oversees the organization and the services it offers, but she also is vocal in domestic violence policy issues and considered an expert in the field.

When I made contact with Barton, South Carolina and its advocates were still reeling from the news that South Carolina was ranked number one in women murdered by men in the United States. This announcement was made by the Violence Policy Center based in Washington D.C. (Violence Policy Center 2013). According to the report, “61 females were murdered by males in South Carolina in 2011 (Violence Policy Center 2013).” This means that the “homicide rate among females by males in South Carolina was 2.54 per 100,000 in 2011 (Violence Policy Center 2013).” This report had just been released when I originally contacted Barton. Due to the amount of press and attention it generated, our interview was actually conducted a week after originally scheduled. But even after a week, this news was still at the forefront of Barton’s mind.

At the time of my interview, there had been is a lot of political attention and political posturing about the ranking but (to date) no policy response. Lawmakers and elected officials were making public statements regarding the report, several editorials had been written, and the Attorney General announced a new legislative initiative that would increase the bond rate for suspects of criminal domestic violence⁴ (Barton 2013).

Our discussion of the current political climate in South Carolina mirrored my other interviews. Barton described it as being conservative which is evident in the nature of the state and the structure of the government – a weak governor and a strong legislature. Although this may seem like a negative for social issues, advocates view it as a positive because it allows for more access to policymakers. Most argue that issues arise when you look at the demographic make-up of the legislature not the structure. It is heavily male and heavily conservative legislators who do not necessarily view domestic violence as an issue. Therefore, it is difficult to really consider it victim-friendly. Interestingly, Barton was hesitant to say that the political culture was necessarily tied to South Carolina's issues with domestic violence. Instead, she feels that it's tied more directly to the demographics in the state – poor and rural (Barton 2013). Barton argues that the lack of economic mobility (i.e. education and employment opportunities) of women in South Carolina play a huge role in perpetuating the cycle of violence (Barton 2013). This is consistent with the lack of new ideas and new thinking

⁴ There is a fear of the unintended consequences of this kind of legislation. The current bond rate for suspects of criminal domestic violence is \$500. By increasing it, there is a potential for it to have a negative effect due to the number of women charged with domestic violence who were acting in self-defense.

in the state. South Carolina is very much tied to traditional ideas and values that adhere to stereotypical sex roles, a proclivity for guns, and a historically high rate of violence.

Advocates feel that this mind-set is perhaps the biggest challenge faced in attempting to affect policy. From Barton's perspective, direct services are receiving adequate funding for emergency situations. However, victims' and survivors' needs are not being met in the long term. The allocated resources are not enough to deal with long-term care and daily living needs (i.e. food, clothing, and shelter) (Barton 2013). But again, this as an economic mobility issue. An issue that is directly tied to the educational and employment opportunities available to women in South Carolina.

Another interviewee -- Kimberly Feeney from the South Carolina Department of Social Services -- agreed with Barton about the culture in South Carolina. Feeney said, -"It's so difficult here. One of my colleagues said it best when she said 'we like our traditions in South Carolina and we don't like to get involved in traditional matters like what happens within the home or family (Feeney 2013).'" She cited the Violence Policy Center study and South Carolina's ranking on it as an example of the culture and climate. She saw the issue, the culture, and the political climate as being more intertwined than Barton did (Feeney 2013). Feeney also differed in her assessment of the allocated resources for domestic violence victims and the services they need. She argued that the resources are not meeting the needs. She cited the lack of shelter beds and the lack of service centers in the state. Again, this has to do with the rural nature of the state.

The Evolution of Domestic Violence Policy in Tennessee

The Tennessee District Attorneys General Conference recognizes that until “recently wife beating was an accepted part of marriage in many cultures (2005).” This acceptance stems from British Common Law in which husbands were allowed to punish their wives for various offenses (see Literature Review for more information). This type of punishment was not recognized as a problem until 1895, when under the Married Women’s Property Act, women were given the right to use physical abuse as a reason for divorce. Until that time, married women (for the most part) had no legal remedy for an abusive husband/home (Tennessee District Attorneys General Conference 2005). Like most states, Tennessee did not see a surge in concern for domestic violence until the 1960s and 1970s. It was then that the battered women’s movement (part of the women’s rights movement) made the issue part of the political agenda and drew attention to it as a public health problem.

Out of this movement grew the Tennessee Coalition Task Force Against Domestic Violence. This initial Coalition was formed in 1983 as a response to the issue of domestic violence and its prevalence in the state (Tennessee Coalition to End Domestic and Sexual Violence 2011). The Coalition was founded on the core values of “inclusiveness, safety, integrity, empowerment, and continuous improvement (Tennessee Coalition to End Domestic and Sexual Violence 2011).” These guiding principles led the Tennessee Domestic Violence Task Force to merge with the Tennessee Coalition Against Sexual Assault in the summer of 2000 as a way to better serve victims and survivors (Tennessee Coalition to End Domestic and Sexual Violence

2011). The newly formed organization was known as the Tennessee Coalition Against Domestic and Sexual Violence.

Another organization concerned with violence against women is the Tennessee Economic Council on Women. In 2012, the Council began reporting on the economic impact of violence against women on the state and therefore taxpayers in *The Economic Impact of Violence Against Women in Tennessee* (2013). The Council looked at various acts of violence including sexual assault, domestic violence, and human trafficking (Tennessee Economic Council on Women 2013). All in all, the Council found that in 2012 the state of Tennessee “spent or lost at least \$886,171,950 as a result” of violence directed at women (Tennessee Economic Council on Women 2013, pg. 3). “The majority of this expense was manifested in tax dollars and health care payments, but charity, lost wages, workplace expenses and inefficiency played significant roles as well (Tennessee Economic Council on Women 2013, pg. 3).” This information not only demonstrates the danger of domestic violence, sexual assault, and human trafficking to the community and its social fabric, but to its economic viability. This kind of information is imperative to issue awareness, public education, and prevention policy and programs.

Today, Tennessee’s domestic violence law states that domestic assault can occur between current or former spouses, roommates, relatives, or those in a dating relationship (Kimbrough 2009; Kimbrough 2013). Individuals can be charged for assault (misdemeanor or aggravated), sexual offenses, stalking, and harassment (Kimbrough 2009; Kimbrough 2013). At this point, most of these are considered misdemeanors unless there is a history of violence or the violence is considered aggravated in nature

and at that point becomes a felony resulting in harsher penalties (Kimbrough 2009; Kimbrough 2013).

The Organization: Tennessee Coalition to End Domestic and Sexual Violence

Initially the Coalition offered five programs to help combat acts of violence against women. Today, it offers more than “sixty-five programs” and services to assist “over 60,000 victims” every year (Tennessee Coalition to End Domestic and Sexual Violence 2011). These services included technical assistance, training, public policy advocacy, a resource library, educational initiatives, networking initiatives, a toll-free information line, a speakers bureau, and an immigrant legal aid clinic (Tennessee Coalition to End Domestic and Sexual Violence 2011). The Coalition helps to aid victims directly (i.e. the immigrant legal clinic, sexual assault clinic, etc), but also through collaboration with other statewide organizations including domestic violence and sexual assault programs (i.e. shelters, crisis centers, etc), criminal justice programs, community groups and organizations, and professionals working in the medical, legal, and law enforcement systems (Tennessee Coalition to End Domestic and Sexual Violence 2011).

Since the merger, the Coalition has advocated for “80 new laws” focused on the safety and protection of victims (Tennessee Coalition to End Domestic and Sexual Violence 2011). Efforts have included the establishment of a Women’s Resource Center for domestic violence and sexual assault, the coordination and implementation of a statewide Rape Aggression Defense Program, the initiation of a statewide public awareness campaign, and the creation of an Immigrant Legal Clinic to provide legal

advice and representation (Tennessee Coalition to End Domestic and Sexual Violence 2011). As part of the Coalition's community and systems outreach, it oversees and manages the Domestic Violence State Coordinating Council, which is directly linked to the courts and law enforcement officials. It is the mission of the State Coordinating Council to develop policies and train those in the legal system to properly meet the needs of victims while dealing with batterers through various intervention programs (Tennessee Coalition to End Domestic and Sexual Violence 2011).

Obviously, the Coalition has been prolific in its efforts to provide services and spread the message of prevention. In 2010, the Coalition changed its name to the Tennessee Coalition to End Domestic and Sexual Violence as a way to better represent the organization's mission:

To end domestic and sexual violence in the lives of Tennesseans and to change societal attitudes and institutions that promote and condone violence, through public policy advocacy, education and activities that increase the capacity of programs and communities to address such violence programs (Tennessee Coalition to End Domestic and Sexual Violence 2011).

Due to the Coalition's role as the leading authority on domestic violence in the state, it was imperative that an interview be obtained from one of its representatives. In November of 2013, I traveled to Nashville to meet with Ms. Robin Kimbrough, who is the Legal Counsel for the Coalition and also in charge of the Immigrant Legal Clinic that the Coalition established.

In Her Own Words

I began the interview by asking Kimbrough to tell me about the organization and her role within it. The Tennessee Coalition was originally a grassroots organization exclusively dedicated to preventing domestic violence and aiding its victims. At the same time, there was another organization solely interested in the eradication of sexual assault. In 2000, the two organizations came together and became a leading authority on both issues in what is known today as the Tennessee Coalition to End Domestic Violence and Sexual Assault. The Coalition acts as a resource for local domestic violence and sexual assault programs. It seeks available funding opportunities, provides technical assistance, and training opportunities. The move to a dual coalition is viewed as a positive, “Having both together is a reflection of who we are and what we want to do as far as ending violence and eliminating oppression (Kimbrough 2013).”

The Coalition is also heavily involved in policy discussions, lobbying, and the drafting of legislation that affects domestic violence and sexual assault victims. Recently, it has been most involved in policy centered on orders of protection. Kimbrough explains that the Coalition has written the legislation, done work to pass the legislation (or improve upon the existing) in order to make the policy more victim-friendly and void of unintended consequences (Kimbrough 2013). Tennessee uses other states as policy models and seeks the expertise of professionals working in law enforcement, legal services, the medical field, and other related systems to aid in these policy discussions. It is in bringing these field experts together that victims will be treated more holistically, offenders will be dealt with more justly, and the system will become more efficient.

The Tennessee Coalition to End Domestic Violence and Sexual Assault, since its creation, has worked to expand the programs and services it is able to offer. This feature, the providing of direct services, sets Tennessee apart from other state coalitions which typically do not provide any direct assistance to victims. Today, the Coalition offers legal services to immigrant women. All services are pro bono and aimed at helping immigrant women who have been victimized by domestic violence, sexual assault, or stalking (Kimbrough 2013). It also offers a sexual assault clinic and legal services for those victims (Kimbrough 2013). The focus on legal services is a component that I have not seen in other states, at least not to this extent.

Tennessee is also heavily involved in prevention work. This includes opening up discussions on dating violence -- a trend that is building momentum across the country and can be seen in programming. "TCEDVSA is committed to fighting gender stereotypes, traditional sex roles, and addressing the norms of violence within relationships and our response to it. This has to start at a young age (Kimbrough 2013)." Another area where prevention work is prevalent is in addressing the needs of victims living in rural areas. The Coalition and affiliated advocates have undertaken rural programs through grants specifically designed to provide funding for those programs.

The Resources

One of the main goals of TCEDVSV is to provide victims with needed services. This is done through the allocation of resources to programs that provide direct services. Currently, Tennessee has 65 local programs that address the needs of

domestic violence and sexual assault victims (Kimbrough 2013). These programs include shelter services, individual and group counseling services, legal services, and referral services. “It is important that we take a holistic approach to eradicating the cycle of violence (Kimbrough 2013).”

Aiding this holistic approach is the support the issues are seeing from the current Governor Bill Haslam. This support has not only been vocal (part of his campaign platform) but also visible in the governor’s budget plans. As previously noted, the Governor provided for shelter services but he also allocated money to be spent on family justice centers. Right now, there is one in Nashville and three others in the planning stages in Knoxville, Chattanooga, and Cookeville. Kimbrough said, “There are programs everywhere trying to deal with this issue of domestic violence from the prevention side. This means training and raising awareness both in the public and with policymakers (Kimbrough 2013).” Generally speaking, advocates argue that it is through the various systems (i.e. the advocates, law enforcement, medical personnel, etc) that training is accomplished. Right now, the push is to educate and train lay people. Advocates feel that it is important that the public not only recognizes domestic violence but understand the dynamics of it and understand what the law says.

During my interviews I found that the experts feel that the resources are meeting the needs of victims. However, they also feel that the movement, as a whole, needs more money. Kimbrough provided an example with the immigrant legal clinic :

We are meeting the needs of victims but at one point we had 200 people on a wait list. I had to keep telling my staff that this wasn’t their fault. We just cannot accept all these cases. It’s the fact that we don’t have the resources to help

everyone with a viable claim. So yes, we are meeting the needs of victims but we need more money in order to meet the needs of *all* victims (2013).

Basically, the Coalition and its affiliates are serving the population of victims but there is still a backlog of potential clients and some inevitably get left behind due to budget constraints.

One part of the population that was discussed during the interviews was those individuals living in rural parts of Tennessee. As in most states, there are large rural areas in Tennessee that makes access to victims' services difficult. In order to combat this, the Coalition and its advocates have implemented a rural-areas grant to help victims of sexual assault. The state has been divided into regions, and each region has board members that sit on the Coalition's Board of Directors. These individuals provide information about and access to the regions they are a part of. This is invaluable to understanding the needs in the area, how policy could help or hurt victims, what implementation would involve, and how much and what kind of technical assistance each region needs. These relationships not only give the Coalition an inside look at each area but also access to professionals living and working for justice.

In 2012, the Coalition's total revenue was \$2,204,855 with expenses totaling \$2,226,730 (TCEDSV 2012). Fortunately, the Coalition was able to rely on its net assets (\$539,259) as a way to balance the budget (TCEDSV 2012).

The Political Culture

Tennessee is another example of a traditionalistic political culture. Elazar would describe the culture as being paternalistic and elitist. Involvement in politics is considered a privilege reserved for only those who have a “legitimate claim to office (Elazar 1972, 100-101).”

Within this culture, TCEDVSV acts as the voice of domestic violence and sexual assault victims in Tennessee. Through lobbying and legislative efforts, the Coalition champions issues affecting victims (and hopefully empowering them). Recent projects have included assisting victims with costs associated with orders of protection, long-term housing for victims, and the cost of forensic rape examinations (Kimbrough 2013). Kimbrough explains that the Coalition doesn’t just represent victims, but the programs in the state that seek to aid these people. For instance, last year TCEDVSV worked to ensure that money was allocated for shelters in the governor’s budget (Kimbrough 2013). The Coalition is no stranger to this kind of project, making them the leading authority on domestic violence and sexual assault in the state.

This expertise has gained the Coalition a seat at the table both as advocates and as policy professionals. However, the state legislature has turned over from Democratic to Republican. This turnover and conservative ideological shift has created some challenges in terms of philosophy (Kimbrough 2013). Kimbrough said that although this shift has discouraged some policy changes that they would have otherwise suggested or fought for, “[The Coalition and its affiliates] have been very fortunate in what they have been able to pass and how they have influenced it (Kimbrough 2013).” She attributed this success to the Coalition’s reputation, the guidance given by Executive

Director Kathy Walsh, and the support of Governor Haslam and Nashville Mayor Karl Dean (Kimbrough 2013). But more than anything, advocates feel that the nature of domestic violence and the sheer number of people it affects speaks for itself and trumps party affiliation. This goes for elected officials and individuals in the community. Public awareness is growing and therefore it's becoming a larger part of the political agenda. Due to new information that is becoming available at the community level through threat assessments and state-level murder rates,⁵ elected officials are starting to view domestic violence as a public health and safety issue rather than (strictly) a women's issue. This is changing the perspective, challenging the traditional mentality surrounding domestic violence, and educating lawmakers.

The Available Information

Tennessee has made strides in the kind and amount of information on domestic violence it has available. The community crime assessments, the direct service statistics, and NIBRS data really help to round out the statistical information the state and its advocates have access to. Based on my interviews, it is this state-level data that policymakers find most compelling because it allows for them to talk directly about how the issue is affecting the communities they represent. The numbers, although not perfect and perhaps not even "real," are compelling. What often proves even more compelling is the anecdotal data. Advocates argue that even though the statistical data show the extent of the problem, it is the anecdotal information that really pulls at the

⁵ Tennessee has been in the top 10 states of women murdered by their intimate partners in the last decade (Kimbrough 2013). The state has moved from number 3 to number 7.

heartstrings. When advocates or victims testify and provide actual stories -- the atrocities that victims live through and the aftermath of dealing with such horrors -- it puts a face on the issue, it makes it personal, and it creates urgency in addressing the issue. Therefore, it is important that advocates have access to and understanding of both statistical and anecdotal data when lobbying policymakers and the public. Both types of information are important to painting an accurate picture of the extent of the problem and those that it affects.

Building the Story

Tennessee proved to be the most difficult state to obtain interviews. It was difficult to find individuals working on the ground for domestic violence prevention and policy change. By the end of January 2014, I was able to obtain an interview with a representative from the Administrative Office of the Courts. This individual asked to remain anonymous due to the neutrality of the courts she is employed by (Administrative Office of the Courts 2014). However, she does sit on the state's domestic violence coordinating council, which attempts to work within the law to provide more resources to victims, treatment programs for batterers, and education to the public and to policymakers (Administrative Office of the Courts 2014). But even though the coordinating council is a body meant to work within government, it takes its cues from the Tennessee Coalition to End Domestic and Sexual Violence due to the Coalition's standing as the leading authority on domestic violence and related policy (Administrative Office of the Courts 2014).

The AOC representative did not feel that she could accurately discuss or describe the political culture or the information used when discussing the issue with policymakers. However, she did say that domestic violence is viewed as a serious issue in Tennessee. She encouraged me to look into statements made by Governor Haslam as a way to gauge the political climate (Administrative Office of the Courts 2014). She was very vocal, though, when it came to discussing resources for victims or the lack thereof. She explained that she could not speak to all resources, but what she was experiencing was a lack of legal representation for victims. More specifically, there is a lack of attorneys willing to represent victims of violence pro bono (Administrative Office of the Courts 2014). “These victims need pro bono legal aid and advice when attempting to navigate the system (Administrative Office of the Courts 2014).” At this time, the Administrative Office of the Courts has tried to help alleviate this issue and provide the necessary legal resources to victims by providing grant money to legal aid societies in the state, specifically to help victims of domestic violence (Administrative Office of the Courts 2014).

In my interviews, advocates discussed the support Governor Haslam has expressed for victims of domestic violence, organizations that provide services, and public policy that is aimed at preventing incidents of violence. According to Governor Haslam’s Public Safety Plan, one of the objectives in increasing public safety is reducing violence in the home (Subcabinet Working Group 2012). The Governor seeks to do this through “enacting mandatory incarceration time for repeat domestic violence

offenders⁶,” “providing more support for domestic violence victim shelters and family safety shelters,” and “increasing awareness of child sexual abuse” through the support of various statewide initiatives (Subcabinet Working Group 2012, pg. 21; Holliday 2012). Because of the Governor’s efforts, he received Anita Gregg Memorial Award⁷ to acknowledge his efforts to make domestic violence a legislative priority (WBIR 2012). The Governor commented on his award, saying:

The state and the legislature should get the attention. Tennessee passed for the first time this year a law on domestic violence. Prior to this you could be a repeat offender and never serve any jail time and that's just wrong. Tennessee unfortunately, as great as we are in a lot of things, one of the areas that we're weak is in the number of women who suffer at the hands of men (WBIR 2012).

The commitment by the Governor to the issue of domestic violence is admirable and uncommon. Haslam’s support helps to drive the legislative agenda and gives organizations like the Tennessee Coalition to End Domestic and Sexual Violence credibility and power. This, in turn, puts the issue in a place of prominence in the public and in the political landscape.

⁶ Governor Haslam signed legislation to increase mandatory jail time for repeat offenders of violent crime (including domestic violence) in a public safety package in June 2012 (The Official Site of the Tennessee Government 2012).

⁷ “The award is given out in honor of Anita Gregg and her 12-year-old son, Dwayne Kesterson, who were shot to death in a domestic violence dispute in 1996 (WBIR 2012).”

Conclusion/Discussion

Each of the four case study states faces its own set of challenges. For the advocates (across the board), money was often a factor in their ability to do their job to the best of their abilities. For others, a contentious political environment placed hurdles in front of them. Yet no one interviewed felt that they lacked information about domestic violence. I found this interesting, especially since very few of them put faith in criminal justice numbers and most did not feel comfortable using them to educate and inform policymakers.

Over the course of nine months, I collected interviews and distilled down hundreds of pages of transcripts and notes into this chapter. Based on my observations (what was said and what went unsaid), domestic violence decisions are most affected by the political culture in the state. This includes whether or not the domestic violence advocates feel they have a voice, how accessible policymakers are, whether or not there is a strong champion for the issue (either in the legislature or in the executive branch), and how informed the public is on the issue. Although there were exceptions to the labels Elazar created, this seemed to be not only the driving force behind the progressiveness of the state's policy and its implementation but also in the comfort and confidence the advocates had in speaking with me.

CHAPTER 5

THE OPPOSITION

An interesting thing happened during each of my in-person case study interviews, the opposition to domestic violence policy took the same form – fathers’ rights groups. Each advocate was asked about recent losses or difficulties for the movement, each mentioned the difficulty they were having with “so-called” fathers’ rights groups. Most of the advocates stated that there are relevant and much needed father’s rights groups or initiatives that seek to inform men of their duties as fathers, their rights under the law, and the available services. However, these are not the groups that the domestic violence groups are having problems with. The father’s rights groups in question are interested in denying domestic violence as a significant issue, insisting that mutual/joint custody of children is in everyone’s best interest, and fighting to end the courts’ “preference” in awarding custody to mothers.

In Delaware, the advocates described a “very strong fatherhood initiative” focusing on fathers understanding their roles and responsibilities as parents. The thought is that more involvement leads to more positive outcomes and, therefore, the groups push for two-parent involvement. One advocate described the fatherhood initiatives saying, “[It was] meant to be a way to engage fathers because there have been some good studies that indicate that fathers who visit with their kids, participate, pay support for their kids, and are involved in other ways have positive outcomes for families and children. That was the work behind fatherhood initiatives (Kenville-Moore 2013).” Advocates across the states seem to be fully supportive of this effort to

encourage parental responsibility. But recently, these initiatives have become an opportunity for batterers groups to lobby for a more traditional family structure. The fear is the intention (of some groups) to return to a system of law in which men have control within the family and women are subservient. Delaware has yet to see a specific piece of legislation but there has been a lot of talk about such policy change – specifically in a presumption of mutual custody (Kenville-Moore 2013). But it is happening in other states. “We need to make sure that kids are safe. We need to make sure kids aren’t exposed to violence (Kenville-Moore 2013).”

Last year, South Carolina saw an influx of father’s rights groups with the specific goal of addressing custody laws. “The groups argue that it’s not fair that women automatically get custody of children (Williams-Agee 2013).” According to advocates, the problem arises when looking at the make-up of these groups and the men involved. When these groups came to the state, advocates sought information about them. Women, who were abused by the men leading the groups and being vocal for the cause, came forward to tell their stories of abuse at the hands of these men (Williams-Agee 2013). These stories provided background and motivation for the 50/50 presumption that would automatically grant them custody. Due to the efforts made by domestic violence advocates, they were able to fight back the momentum that the father’s rights groups had gained and defeat the 50/50 presumption. Furthermore, domestic violence advocates were able to pass new policy that provided more protections for victims and their children. This was a best-case scenario. Domestic

violence advocates were able to further their cause, and due to extreme actions⁸ taken by father's rights activists, father's rights groups lost credibility.

Tennessee has also seen a rise in the visibility and action taken by father's rights groups. Kimbrough discussed proposed language changes to the custody law that would create a presumption of shared custody. This change would have hurt victims especially when they needed to prove domestic violence and issues created by it such as an imbalance of power in the relationship and abuse (i.e. emotional, psychological, and/or financial). The shared custody presumption has not been an issue thus far but advocates, have to be vigilant and make sure they are addressing issues in the current law as well as the unintended consequences of policy change.

The advocates from Michigan are also dealing with father's rights groups but Kathy Hagenian wanted to make sure that it is understood that these groups are not "true" father's rights groups (Hagenian 2013). "There are responsible fatherhood groups. And I think it's very important that we differentiate between the responsible fatherhood groups and the groups that claim to be father's rights groups who are pushing this legislation knowing full well that this is a way to control mothers who have been victimized (Hagenian 2013)." Of all the advocates interviewed, there was one quote that seemed to sum up father's rights groups and the effects on victims of domestic violence:

Without the survivors having the ability to protect their children through the civil-legal system they are never going to be able to take full advantage of the reforms

⁸ According to Rebecca Williams-Agee, the father's rights groups showed up for demonstrations outside of legislators' homes (2013).

that we have made supposedly on their behalf in the criminal system. It's tying the hands of the legal system to intervene when survivors are so afraid for the safety of their children and they can't get custody. They can't protect their children from the batterer. They aren't getting justice by the civil system in the family courts by in large.

Father's Rights Groups

During the course of this project, I was provided with names of father's rights groups that have been active in the various case study states. In an effort to tell both sides of the story, including finding out if the domestic violence advocate's claims were accurate, I began with a simple search of these groups' websites.

The South Carolina Center for Fathers and Families is a branch organization of the National Center for Fathering. From the information available online, the National Center for Fathering is a non-profit group that seeks to provide education, training, and services for men in order to prepare them for and help them through parenting children (National Center for Fathering 2014). During my investigation of the National Center for Fathering, I did not find anything suspect on its website. In fact, from the available information, I would classify this group as a legitimate father's rights groups with a real commitment to helping men become good parents to their children and good partners to their significant others. Interestingly, even though the South Carolina Center for Fathers and Families received accreditation through the National Center for Fathering, it seems to have a much more religious commitment. In fact, for this group, it is not just about providing education and services to meet basic physical and psychological needs of fathers and their children, the group also provides for the "spiritual needs" of these

individuals (South Carolina Center for Fathers and Families 2012). Regardless of this religious affiliation, the Center seems to take its cues from the national organization regarding the importance of fathers in the lives of their children and the importance of these men being good partners as paramount (South Carolina Center for Fathers and Families 2012).

In contrast, there has been a group active in opposing domestic violence policy and fighting for the 50/50 custody presumptions – The Fatherhood Coalition. When I visited this group’s website, I was met with the headline “No Excuses for Female Evil (Fatherhood Coalition 2014).” This group’s sole mission is to discredit women as a group. They attempt to do this through the denial that women are often the victims of violence at the hands of their partners and, instead, argues that men are actually the victims due to abusive public policy (i.e. orders of protection, child support payment, women’s-only shelters, etc) (Fatherhood Coalition 2014). More broadly, the group denounces feminism and blames the movement for the victimization of men (Fatherhood Coalition 2014).

There have also been reports of lone individuals stirring the state father’s rights movements (specifically when it involves domestic violence and custody issues) that are associated with SAVE – Stop Abusive and Violent Environments. Based on the name of this organization, one would believe that this group would be an ally to the domestic violence prevention movement. However, this group’s sole purpose is to reject, re-write, or eradicate domestic violence prevention policy. As a whole, SAVE believes that most domestic violence allegations are false, men are just as likely to be victimized by women as women are by men, VAWA is exclusionary and, therefore, unconstitutional,

and the majority of those working in the legal profession are biased (Stop Abusive and Violent Environments 2014).

The Fatherhood Coalition and SAVE represent the “so-called” father’s rights groups that domestic violence advocates are dealing with across the country. Domestic violence advocates do not have a problem with groups attempting to help men be better fathers to their children and better partners to their significant others. Providing education, services, and programming to help those who need it is directly in line with the domestic violence movement and its goals. However, when groups are visibly and vocally minimizing domestic violence and the victimization of women by male partners, domestic violence groups obviously are going to have a problem with this. As one advocate said, “It’s about keeping everyone safe – men, women, and children.”

Chapter 6

Conclusion

This project used four case study states as a way to understand the process by which domestic violence public policy decisions are made. Each state had access to the same kind of information but varied considerably in the level of available resources and in the political culture. When I began this research there were three main ideas that acted as my guide and that I believed would help me gain a better understanding of the factors that influence and effect a social movements overall success (in this case the success of the women's movement to end domestic violence).

1. Information is the currency of good public policy. Where legislators have accurate, detailed information about a policy problem, they are better able, and more likely, to act on it, than in the absence of information.
2. Resource availability dictates policymakers' ability to allocate resources to various policy problems. Where legislators have access to ample funds, they are better able, and more likely to deal with a policy problem, than in the absence of funds.
3. The political culture determines attitudes on policy problems. Where legislators are part of a more open political culture, they are better able and more likely to deal with a policy problem, than in a more constrained culture.

From these theories, I developed corresponding hypotheses that provided a way for me to test my theories regarding the policy process.

1. States that collect and utilize data on domestic violence are more likely to have domestic violence (prevention) policies than states that do not.
2. Resource rich states are more likely to have domestic violence (prevention) policies than states that are resource poor.

3. States that have a moralistic political culture are more likely to have domestic violence (prevention) policies than states that have a more traditionalistic political culture.

The Findings

Each state I visited provided a unique opportunity to learn about the factors that affect domestic violence public policy decisions. Delaware, Michigan, South Carolina, and Tennessee all have access to state-level crime data through the National Incidence Based Reporting System. But, surprisingly, none of the advocates I spoke with felt comfortable using this kind of statistical data. They cited issues like accuracy in reporting, responding officers' assessment of the situation, and the lack of reporting of domestic violence, in general, as cause for concern when using crime statistics. Instead, advocates turn to data compiled by direct service providers. They feel that this will give them a more accurate way to gauge the problem because victims will often seek services (i.e. shelter, hotline, etc.) without calling the police. This kind of data also gives advocates a better idea of whether victims are being served and their needs are being met.

From my own experience with NIBRS, I found the system difficult to navigate and the files so large I often was not able to open datasets. These factors need to be taken into consideration when developing databases and considerations must be made for the purposes and the individuals that will be utilizing them.

Each advocate said he/she relied on both state and national level statistics. However, I was told that when talking to policymakers it is important for an advocate to say this is what is going on in your district or this is affecting your constituents. They

feel that state-level statistics are a powerful tool in educating policymakers and the public on the issue. If they simply provided national-level statistics, advocates do not feel that policymakers would have to confront the issue and, instead, could say that it isn't a problem "here."

As far as resources, advocates were often quick to say that the resources were meeting the needs of victims. However, as our discussions progressed it became obvious, that in their opinions, more funding was needed. Things like public education, long-term care of victims (including shelter), and legal representation were cited as lacking in resources. Others were bolder in their assessment of the situation saying that there aren't enough resources to go around and it makes it even harder to do an already tough job.

The most interesting variable was political culture. South Carolina exemplified the traditionalistic model. As a whole, this state took a very paternalistic approach to dealing with domestic violence and its victims. The advocates were young and hopeful but also very matter-of-fact about how the issue was viewed and treated in their state.

Tennessee, also southern and traditionalistic, did not take on the same extreme paternalistic approach to domestic violence as South Carolina. Though resources are similar in the state, Tennessee seemed to have more support for domestic violence prevention and aid to victims than did South Carolina. This state provided an example of being able to overcome political culture when other factors are at work. In the case of Tennessee, these factors seemed to be high-ranking policymakers using the issue as part of their political platform or as part of their political agenda.

In Michigan, the advocates were more experienced and really saw their role as an educational one. Because of their tenure working for the issue and working alongside policymakers, advocates were very comfortable describing domestic violence as having a seat at the political table. For those working to end domestic violence in Michigan, it is very much a moral issue. However, I think that although Michigan is described as having a moralistic political culture, economic factors are weighing more heavily on the minds of policymakers and the public than social issues. Perhaps, in this situation, the state could be described as more individualistic rather than moralistic.

Delaware was the state that was the most pro-domestic violence prevention. As a state, Delaware has embraced domestic violence as “its issue.” This is in large part due to the efforts of Vice President Joe Biden and the legacy he created with the Violence Against Women Act. For this reason, Delaware did not perform like its individualistic political culture description would lead one to believe. At least for this issue, Delaware took on a more moralistic position on the issue.

Discussion and Recommendations

This project is based in social movement organization theory which defines a movement’s success in the following (or a combination of the following ways): gaining access to policy elites who have decision-making power, exerting influence on policy elites (including legislators, the courts, the media, and organizations in the larger government bureaucracy), achieving stated goals (policy reforms), and gaining access to funding and other forms of professional support (Bush 1992). In these ways,

domestic violence prevention and the advocates who represent the issue are being successful.

However, I cannot say that any of the case study states are necessarily better in terms of having prevention policies. Most are similar in that domestic violence is covered under assault and battery laws. It does not seem to be the information or the resources that make a difference in the way the issue is viewed and handled. Instead, it is the political culture, or perhaps even more importantly the politics, within the state that seems to have a direct affect on domestic violence public policy decisions.

When I began this project I believed that states that had access to more monetary resources, felt it had a moral obligation to create a better society, and was able to provide state-level domestic violence statistics to policymakers, would have more progressive public policies and be better able to protect and aid victims of domestic violence. Although these were my expectations, the end result was not nearly as straight-forward as I had predicted. Based on my interviews, my original hypotheses do not hold up but this is not to say that nothing has been gained by this research.

The most interesting and unfortunate finding was the lack of trust. Trust was an issue in different ways. First, when attempting to set up interviews and, sometimes, even during the interviews themselves, I found that advocates did not necessarily trust me as an outsider. Often times, those working for social justice need to make sure that they don't reveal too much or confide in the wrong person. This is especially true if that person has ulterior motives that differ from the movement's goals and values.

There was also a palpable lack of trust between professionals working in the various systems that aid domestic violence victims. Advocates did not necessarily trust

policymakers to create policy void of unintended consequences for victims. In turn, policymakers did not necessarily trust advocates to give them accurate data about domestic violence, its victims, and individuals who perpetrate the violence. Advocates, responding police officers, and the court system were similarly distrustful of one another. Each system has its own needs, goals, and ways of accomplishing things. Unfortunately, because there is not a coordinated and consistent response to domestic violence and its victims, mistrust runs rampant.

The issue of trust will continue to taint interactions between the responding systems until a coordinated response is created and agreed upon. This coordinated response will not only provide a template for dealing with emergency situations but for dealing with long-term care, public education, the creation and implementation of public policy, and the collection of data.

Future research should be concerned with this lack of trust and how to remedy it. It should provide understanding of the ways in which political culture as understood in the literature differs from political culture or the political environment in the field. Elazar provided a baseline of political culture labels to test. At times these labels worked and in other situations they did not. What caused this? Was it the policy issue? Is Elazar outdated? Or is it simply a function of politics in theory differs from politics in the field?

Furthermore, there is a question of decision-making versus implementation. Future research should consider the implementation of existing domestic violence policy and how the variables of interest (i.e. information, resources, and political culture) directly affect the next step in the policy process.

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APPENDICES

Appendix 1: Resources Index

Table 1

Resources Based on 2010 Census Data

| State | 2010 Total Tax | 2010 Population | TAX/POP Average |
|----------------|------------------|-----------------|-----------------|
| Delaware | \$2,769,731,000 | 897,934 | \$3,084.56 |
| Michigan | \$22,205,870,000 | 9,883,640 | \$2,246.73 |
| Tennessee | \$10,513,788,000 | 6,346,105 | \$1,656.73 |
| South Carolina | \$7,312,534,000 | 4,625,364 | \$1,580.96 |

Table 2

Resources Based on State Coalition Annual Reports

| State Coalition | Total Revenue | Total Expenses |
|-----------------|---------------|----------------|
| Delaware | \$888,593 | \$885,287 |
| Michigan | \$2,149,771 | \$2,122,766 |
| Tennessee | \$2,204,855 | \$2,226,730 |
| South Carolina | \$706,720 | \$700,216 |

Appendix 2

Table 3

State Political Cultures: The National Configuration by Daniel J. Elazar¹

| Moralistic | Individualistic | Traditionalistic |
|-------------------|------------------------|-------------------------|
| Vermont | Connecticut | Texas |
| Minnesota | Nebraska | Oklahoma |
| Utah | Wyoming | West Virginia |
| Maine | Massachusetts | Kentucky |
| Michigan | Rhode Island | Florida |
| Wisconsin | New York | New Mexico |
| North Dakota | Ohio | Alabama |
| Colorado | Illinois | Georgia |
| Oregon | Pennsylvania | Arkansas |
| New Hampshire | New Jersey | Louisiana |
| Iowa | Indiana | Virginia |
| Kansas | Nevada | South Carolina |
| California | Alaska | Mississippi |
| Washington | Delaware | Tennessee |
| Montana | Maryland | Arizona |
| South Dakota | Missouri | North Carolina |
| Idaho | Hawaii | |

¹ Elazar, Daniel J. *American Federalism: A View from the States*.
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Appendix 3

Interview Protocol Interviewee: Domestic Violence Policy Professional

This interview is to be conducted by Emily Carroll. The interview will be completed in-person.

This will be a conversational, unstructured interview – the questions that follow will be those I am most interested in gaining responses to. However, I will pursue if necessary follow-ups matters that s/he raises if they are pertinent to any of the questions below. To the extent possible, I have considered what his/her responses will be and have added likely follow-ups to this protocol. The actual order of the questions may vary depending upon the flow of the conversation.

I estimate that this conversation will take approximately 60 to 90 minutes. At the end, I will request that s/he allow me to pursue follow-ups at an unspecified later date.

Thank you very much for taking the time to talk with me.

At this point we will then go over the consent form including participation in the research, audiotaping, and direct quoting.

My questions are mostly about your professional work in domestic violence and your perception of the larger policy realm and political community. If at any point I ask a question that you don't believe you should answer because it may negatively affect you or you simply don't feel comfortable answering it, please just note that and we will move on.

Also, as you know, this interview is being taped. I want to reiterate what we just went over in the consent form: if at any point you want me to turn off this recorder in order to provide an answer you want me to keep confidential, I will do so.

1. To get started, why don't you tell me a little about what your organization does?
2. How would you describe your role in the organization?
3. What is your role and/or the role of your organization in the larger political context?
4. What is your states current domestic violence law? Has your cause had any victories lately? Any losses? Is there any legislation pending or on the horizon that involves domestic violence (both positive and negative)?

5. What resources are currently available in your state for prevention programs, victim's services, etc? Are the resources currently meeting the needs of the cause? Do you find the resource allocation to be "fair?"
 - a. If no: What more could the state do? What would you like to see done?
 - b. If yes: What were the circumstances that led to the "fair" distribution of resources?
6. How would you describe the political culture of the state?
7. Do you feel that you and your issue have a "seat at the table?" Does domestic violence factor into the political agenda? How is the issue treated?
8. How would you describe your organization's/cause's relationship with policymakers? How do you think they view the issue?
9. What kind of information are you currently presenting to policymakers about domestic violence? Anecdotal? Statistical? (If statistical: State-level or National-level?) How do they react to this kind of information? Which do you feel is more helpful/compelling?
10. Are you aware that your state is involved in collecting NIBRS data (National Incident Based Reporting System)?
 - a. If yes: Do you utilize this resource?
 - b. If no: Why are you not currently using it? If you were able to access the data would you use it?
 - c. Do you feel that state-level data would help your cause? How so?
11. Finally, can you think of one or two people who would be appropriate and willing to speak with me as part of this study?

I may need to follow-up with you for clarifications, is that all right?

Thank you for your time.

VITA

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