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**Power, Control, and Policy:
A Comparison of State Policy Responses to Domestic Violence**

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Abstract

What policies are most effective at addressing and lowering cases of domestic violence? In the United States, there have been, and continue to be, a variety of responses and solutions brought forward by governments, communities, and individuals on how to prevent violence within families and what the consequences are when it occurs. Following federal policy guidelines, state and local governments have adopted different approaches to address domestic violence that focus on specific programs and systems that contribute to the reduction of domestic violence. This project is an in depth analysis of different policy approaches to identify the strategies that have empirically proven successful in lowering levels of domestic violence, as reported by CDC. I analyze two groups of states to determine if policies related to criminal justice or services for survivors have proven to be more successful at addressing domestic violence among women in the United States.

Key Words: domestic violence, criminal justice, gender and violence, survivor services

Introduction

While certain forms of violence are openly visible and universally condemned, others remain underreported and silently affect many people, thereby necessitating a more vocal struggle against them (Fernandez-Fontelo et al., 2019). One example of this violence, observed in a majority of global communities, is intimate partner and family violence (Devries et al., 2013). Governments, communities, and individuals have proposed various responses and solutions to prevent violence within families and address its consequences (Devries et al., 2013). My experience in domestic violence advocacy within the civil and criminal justice systems sheds light on how legislation can both support and harm survivors of domestic violence. This prompted me to question whether there are policies in the United States that yield a more effective response to domestic violence and whether discrepancies exist across different governments within the country. A vital mechanism for addressing domestic violence within governments is through specific legislation aimed at facilitating consequences for and prevention of violent incidents between domestic partners or family members. Despite disagreements across research and policies regarding the most effective strategies to reduce levels of domestic violence, there remains a gap in research concerning the outcomes of implementing these policies.

I chose to focus this study on how legislation has specifically addressed women's experiences of intimate partner violence (often abbreviated to "IPV") for a few reasons. First is the globally gendered statistics of domestic violence. IPV, although experienced across all genders, sexualities, races, ethnicities, and classes, overwhelmingly impacts women of marginalized groups (Wilcox et al, 2021). Furthermore, women experience this subset of gendered violence more often or more severely, and regardless of the identity of the survivor, the

perpetrator of violence is significantly more likely to be a man (Wilcox et al, 2021). Second is the primarily women-driven push for violence perpetrated within the home to be recognized within the public sphere. The work of the early "Battered Women's Movement" was essential, although controversial, to the initiation of policy that explicitly addressed domestic violence, as mainstream feminists of the time called for the government to equally protect all citizens' – including women's – rights to safety in their personal lives. Finally, my personal experience working with survivors of domestic violence has been predominantly with women who have experienced intimate partner violence and have sought out criminal or civil avenues of protection. I wanted to discern what, if anything, legislation that has been motivated by the experiences of women has done to mitigate those experiences.

In this paper, I set out to explore the question: what policies are most effective at addressing and lowering cases of domestic violence for women in the US? I hypothesize that a focus on criminal justice based legislation is not as effective as centralizing survivor services outside of the criminal justice system. I use data reported by the Center for Disease Control (CDC) on intimate partner violence in 2010-2012 and 2016/2017 alongside content analysis of enacted legislation to elucidate the best strategy. The first section provides background on domestic violence legislation, criminalization in the United States, and the decisions states can make regarding laws. The next section reviews the existing literature regarding criminal justice as the main focus of legislation responding to domestic violence, and the implementation of survivor services as supplemental or additional measures. The third section outlines the data and methodology I use to explore my research question, and the penultimate section analyzes bill contents in order to draw conclusions regarding the most and least effective policies. In the final

section, I offer questions that would benefit from further research, along with limitations of the study.

Domestic Violence and the Law in the United States

Violence Against Women Act 1994

The Violence Against Women Act of 1994 (VAWA) is the first federal law in the United States that addresses domestic violence as a crime distinct from assault. This document was written in reaction to the movement among citizens of the United States, particularly women, to address the rampant issue of domestic violence. The enactment of the act was "ultimately spurred by decades of growing unease over a rising violent crime rate and a focus on women as crime victims." (Sacco & Hanson, 2019) The Battered Women's Movement, as the group and agenda would become known, called for an acknowledgement of the specific nature of assault committed by perpetrators upon their intimate partners and other family members (Aday, 2015).

The movement for criminalization was supported by research efforts in the 1980s and '90s that began focusing on types of violence that specifically affected women at higher rates than men (Sacco & Hanson, 2019). This research was accompanied by, and in some manner encouraged by, the cultural change regarding how domestic violence was conceptualized and ideas about how it should be dealt with. Society began viewing "family violence as a crime rather than a private family matter" (Sacco & Hanson, 2019). Groups in support of the movement called for policy to reflect the dynamics of power and control that were distinct in these relationships and primarily focused on advocating for policy change regarding charging domestic violence as criminal offenses (Goodmark, 2018). As the basis for their agenda, anti-violence advocates focused on the role police officers and prosecutors played in how cases of domestic violence would be dealt with by the criminal justice system (Goodmark, 2018). This establishment of the ability and necessity of charging domestic violence cases was the first step

in bringing concerns to a policy center-stage, but was only the beginning to how policy makers would navigate the issue.

The structure of the Violence Against Women Act, initially established as part of the Violent Crime Control and Law Enforcement Act of 1994, included sections on various types of violence that women face with the section on domestic violence titled "Safe Homes for Women" (Rep. Brooks, 1994). This being the first acknowledgment of domestic violence (hereafter referred to as DV) on a policy level is not to say that women are the only people affected by physical and emotional violence in the home, but this distinction reflects the rhetoric of the time as well as the identities of the people who were advocating for the establishment of this policy. The overarching goals of the act were the prevention of violent crime and responses to the needs of victims by learning more about crime and shifting public attitudes through wide scale collaboration – among the criminal justice system, social service agencies, researchers, schools, public health organizations, and private organizations. Sacco and Hansen (2019) cite the main outcomes of the 1994 iteration of the VAWA as enhancing investigations and prosecutions (criminal justice solutions) of sex offenses; authorizing a number of grants that take different approaches to addressing acts of gender-based violence, such as domestic violence; and establishing provisions for immigrants suffering from abuse (Sacco & Hansen, 2019). The primary mechanism employed in the act to specifically address the prevalence of domestic violence in the United States was federal grants that could be distributed to state, tribal, and local governments as well as nonprofit, nongovernmental entities to do certain work regarding DV cases and supporting survivors (Rep. Brooks, 1994).

The largest section allocating federal funding was "grants to encourage arrest policies" which was geared towards helping law enforcement catch and try perpetrators of domestic

violence (Rep. Brooks; Sacco & Hansen). This did insinuate that DV was an issue that should be addressed as any other crime, but also fortifies the hard on crime rhetoric that pervaded this field for decades to come (Goodmark). This section included grants that would be issued to states for a variety of purposes that spanned different ways criminal justice systems can contribute to the reduction of DV-related crimes. Some examples of the grants in this section were money set aside for encouraging collaboration between judicial personnel, law enforcement and public/private sector staff in regards to victim services and grants for investigating, prosecuting, and treating DV as a serious crime (Sacco & Hansen).

Sections defining the requirements and possibilities for grants that address the specific needs of victims suffering (or having suffered from) domestic abuse or intimate partner violence were significantly less substantial. Outside of the criminal justice sector, the act authorized funding and grants for "youth education on domestic violence and intimate partner violence as well as grants for community intervention and prevention programs," along with grants to develop strategies for local governments to enter data on cases of domestic violence in local, state and national databases. Possibly the most notable and concrete authorization of funding specifically allocated to victim services was money set aside for the continued funding for the National Domestic Violence Hotline and battered women's shelters (Sacco & Hansen). More space in the act and specific programs contributed to criminal justice indicates that in the initial 1994 policy regarding domestic violence, priorities centered around criminalizing domestic violence and providing the resources to successfully investigate and charge those crimes.

Since the initial federal policy in 1994, there have been multiple reiterations and reauthorizations of the policies in the document as well as the funding allocated in the act. Looking at the actual funding for these grants and programs tells a similar story of federal

criminal justice focused priorities. The gap in the allocation of funding has grown substantially with new iterations of the act (Goodmark). When the initial VAWA was signed in 1994, 62 percent of funds were allocated to bolster and support aspects of the criminal legal system, with 38 percent of funds authorized for social service related programs. In 2013, with the third (more polarizing than its predecessors) reauthorization of the act, only 15 percent of funding would be allocated to social services for victims of violence, a noticeably smaller monetary value compared to the funds authorized in 1994 (Sacco & Hansen; Goodmark). This suggests that on a federal level, the priority regarding funding associated with the prevention and reduction of domestic violence lies more and more with criminal justice-based initiatives rather than social services for the survivor.

Decisions for State Legislatures

The initial federal policy established in 1994, as well as many of the subsequent iterations, leave much to be desired in terms of concrete requirements for states regarding domestic violence policy. Following the act, state legislatures were able to determine the implementation of aspects of the policy as well as how they would fill certain holes that were left intentionally vague. One aspect states had control over was determining what federal money they would apply for. Along with grant decisions, the federal government left the determination of what constitutes domestic assault, and its associated consequences, to the discretion of individual state governments or even individual counties. The act did not define domestic violence and was incredibly vague about what should be considered a misdemeanor or gross misdemeanor crime of domestic violence. This left the decision for how and what to charge generally up to the states. As a result, there was large variation across legislation released and written by state governments. Some states were able to prioritize certain types (i.e. criminal justice) of policies as

a manner of addressing domestic violence, while other states took different routes. Each state had distinct policies addressing domestic violence directly, as well as policies addressing ways to support victim-survivors with financial, housing, or other needs arising from leaving their abuser. The freedom state legislatures were afforded in the construction of their original policy reaction to this type of violence contributed to different results in the reduction or stagnation of cases of domestic violence.

The United States is a useful setting for considering the efficacy of different policy types in reaction to domestic violence. The federal policy on domestic violence and intimate partner violence in the United States, at least in the initial iterations, allows states to construct a majority of their own policy in terms of how the legislature decides to address domestic violence as a problem in the state. Each state is able to decide how perpetrators of domestic violence are charged and the best course of action moving forward (i.e. jail sanctions versus rehabilitation). Each state can determine their commitment to survivor-centered programs that support survivors rather than penalize perpetrators.

My research aims to answer the overarching question: **What policies are most effective at addressing and lowering cases of domestic violence for women in the US?** Have individual state legislatures' policies adequately reduced domestic violence levels? Which policies have proven most effective: policies focused on the criminal justice system or policies that are created to provide support directly to survivors?

Existing Literature on Domestic Violence Response

The conversation among scholars and professionals in the field includes discussion of the correct, evidence-based type of policy that state legislatures should support in reaction to domestic violence. Much of the back and forth is between proponents of strong criminal justice measures and scholars or policy makers suggesting that alternative legislative strategies would be more effective in reducing cases of domestic violence. Further, the data collection on this type of violence, the known lack of data, and severe underreporting by victims of domestic violence complicates the picture. Literature that suggests different types of policies outside of a criminal justice or hard-on-crime approach suggest many survivors of violence are not seen in the numbers of reported cases and could be better served by solutions that do not involve law enforcement or prosecutorial systems.

The scholarship I address, particularly from the 90s/early 2000s, suggests criminal justice policies focused on bolstering police, court efforts, and resources as the best ways to attack the problem head on. This initial research reflected the primacy of punitive policies as state legislatures began to establish plans for addressing domestic violence. Other scholars have suggested that the criminal justice system is not the most effective method. Their findings are particularly prevalent among underserved populations, and alternative solutions to intentionally center survivors are essential. Many of these scholars are working within the bounds of state and federal legislation or funding and initiation of programs. Alternatively, there is scholarship driven by community-based research suggesting policy may not be the most effective combative mechanism for domestic violence. In the following section, I discuss a variety of literature for and against reinforcing the criminal justice system in response to domestic violence. Then I

consider mechanisms for survivor support outside of this system and their successes in addressing domestic violence.

Is Criminal Justice Legislation the Best Solution?

This is a small collection of the literature before and after the establishment of the VAWA that evaluates the legislative focus on criminal justice intervention in cases of domestic violence that are reported to the police. Although initial movements calling for the criminalization of domestic violence were supported by some research, there are clear disagreements within the literature over the effectiveness of legislation that requires aggressive punitive intervention. Furthermore, there is much discussion regarding the systemic discrimination of marginalized groups upheld by the implementation of criminal justice policies in response to intimate partner violence. Nonetheless, conclusions asserting the success and effectiveness of intervening in these situations through law enforcement and court mechanisms continue to influence policy decisions, while other literature argues these policies fail to address the issue as a whole.

Prior to the federal policy establishment in 1994, there was much discussion among scholars and constructors of state policy regarding the best way to combat domestic violence. Leading up to the Violence Against Women Act (VAWA) the literature attempted to discern if certain criminal justice practices already in place for other offenses were applicable to cases of domestic violence. One study (Sherman & Berk 1984) evaluated a sample of domestic violence perpetrators, alongside the Minneapolis Police Department, to determine the most effective action on scene to deter reoffending by the perpetrator. The authors concluded that mandatory arrest (required arrest with probable cause) was a more successful deterrent than separation at the scene or mediation efforts at officer discretion. This conclusion led Sherman and Berk (1984) to suggest favoring arrest unless there is an explicit reason arrest may do more harm than good.

Other policies, as a result of the push for criminal justice interventions, facilitate inter-agency cooperation to ensure the most effective response to domestic violence cases. As Tolman and Weisz (1995) define it, a coordinated community response (subsequently referred to as CCR) is the process by which different aspects of the criminal justice system attempt to work together to "deliver clear and consistent sanctions to woman abusers." They question if this approach reduces rates of recidivism by studying a county in Illinois. They also emphasize the importance of prosecution, penalty, and victim advocacy when constructing programs that coordinate between law enforcement agencies, prosecution offices, and victim advocacy organizations. With their research, the authors conclude that a coordinated criminal justice response (including arrest policies, post-arrest sanctions, and treatment) can be effective. Their research shows that arrest has a deterrent effect for at least 18 months. The result reinforces the assumption that arresting and prosecuting an abuser successfully is an effective strategy to lower rates of reappearances in the criminal justice system, a clear argument for mandatory arrest policies.

Outside of policies encouraging or requiring more arrests for instances of domestic violence, there are policies that have more impact within the justice systems for perpetrators. Dugan (2003) explores the influence that legislation regarding domestic violence has had on actual levels of family violence and asks how certain types of legislation, specifically regarding criminal sanctions for violations of civil protective orders, have affected levels of domestic violence experienced by the community. All of the provisions that elevated the consequences from civil to criminal proceedings are shown to have lowered levels of DV with the author's conclusion that legislation should "aggressively pursue domestic violence offenders." There is a

caveat in the research that addresses the 'dark figure'¹ – the population of victims that never report intimate partner violence to the police – that is found in survey data collected by non-police-related entities. Perpetrators should be pursued and sanctioned, as the author states, while prioritizing victim safety. Certain legislation such as mandatory arrest and no-drop prosecution policies that do not allow a case to be dropped at the request of the survivor, has been found to lead to fewer survivors reporting assault to the police (Dugan 2003).

One question that comes up regarding victim empowerment within the system is why domestic violence is a severely underreported crime. A study in 2002 came to conclusions about why a victim might be deterred from reporting as well as what factors would propel a survivor towards reporting the incident(s) to the police. They found that victims were most greatly influenced to not call law enforcement by a desire for privacy, a desire to protect the offender, and a fear of retribution. Survivors were more likely to call the police if they felt a strong need for self-protection, if they perceived domestic violence as a serious crime, or if they believed police officers would perceive domestic violence as a serious crime (Felson et al 2002). This reasoning is extremely relevant to determining how legislation should approach the criminal justice response, specifically that of police enforcement. I argue there needs to be a focus on the needs of survivors by reinforcing factors that lead someone to call the police for help and addressing other factors that might stop a victim from reporting to the police. If enforcement of criminal justice policy proves to be an effective solution to domestic violence in my research, it

¹There are resources put out from the US Department of Justice that assess the police response to domestic violence along with statistics regarding cases reported to the police. As of 2017, it is estimated by the Department of Justice based on crime reporting data that 56% of non-fatal domestic violence incidents are reported to the police. With some other statistics stating that survivors that reported victimization to the police were twice as likely to receive assistance from an agency specializing in victim services and in 2013, "36% of state and local law enforcement agencies employing 100 or more full-time sworn personnel operated a full-time victim assistance unit" (Reaves 2017).

is essential to emphasize that the creation of legislation needs to take into account how victims have chosen and may continue to choose to use that system in the future.

Following the implementation of mandatory arrest and no-drop prosecution policies as encouraged by the scholars mentioned above, other scholars have argued there has not been enough research to justify these policies. Mills (1998) suggests that for states to consider such aggressive policies, there needs to be much stronger evidence that they are the most effective, and more research done on how these policies might disempower survivors. Mandatory arrest policies require police officers to arrest the suspect of any incident where there is probable cause to believe they broke domestic violence laws. There is no consideration of what the victim wants in these situations and the policies are often coupled with no-drop prosecution policies. Under this law, prosecutors are required to bring charges if there is proof that the defendant broke domestic violence laws. Hard no-drop policies prevent the prosecutor from considering the victim's wishes on whether to drop court proceedings that often do more harm than good; for example, a family in which the perpetrator is the main economic support and has to miss work for court trials will suffer financially as a result. Soft no-drop policies allow for the victim to drop the case under very limited circumstances and are sometimes used in instances where the survivor refuses to cooperate with the prosecution. No-drop policies, though enforcing the adherence to punishment as justice, can often deeply disempower victims or lead survivors to not want to report future incidents following confrontational experiences with the criminal justice system. This leaves victims with few options if future episodes occur (Mills 1998). According to Mills, it is necessary to individualize strategies for intervention that support the needs of survivors and also truly hold perpetrators accountable, while doing further research to understand how the criminal justice system can empower survivors of DV (Mills 1998).

Similar to Mills (1998), other scholars analyze the complexities within existing studies on criminal justice policies and advise more research prior to concrete legislative changes. After suggesting in 1984 that jurisdictions implement mandatory arrest policies in situations where they will not inherently cause more harm, Sherman (1992) reconsiders this suggestion by reviewing multiple replications of the Minneapolis study (Sherman 1984 & 1992). Three of the six experiments yielded a deterrent effect similar to that of the Minneapolis case, while three of the other cities pointed to increased levels of violence overall. In a piece considering the after effects of the Minneapolis experiment regarding mandatory arrest expectations, Sherman (1992) assessed these differences and addressed why they might have occurred and what the variation would mean for policy decisions. Sherman first states that it might be too early to consider policy implications, but suggests that due to these expansive conclusions drawn across different places, the best path forward is local research on the deterrence of perpetrators who are arrested and the consequent effect on the community (Sherman 1992). He provides a harsh yet necessary criticism of the 'tough on crime' rhetoric of the '90's. He argues the policymakers, both liberal and conservative, will continue to adopt these sorts of policies even if they are proven to be *less* effective than other types of policies because it is the politically correct thing to do, considering the systemic focus on punishment as the only mechanism of justice. His scholarship in 1992 indicates a fear that the propensity for vengeance will continue to overshadow strategies for decreasing actual levels of violence within communities.

Goodmark (2018) offers further critiques of the criminalization of domestic violence along with a variety of suggestions for how domestic violence can be better focused to serve the populations that are affected: both batterers and survivors. The concept of hyperincarceration and the effect felt by primarily marginalized communities cannot be ignored in a discussion of the

criminal justice response to domestic violence. Goodmark, along with scholars in a multitude of fields, argues that the incarceration of perpetrators does very little to solve the root societal problems that produce domestic violence, and therefore should not be the priority in terms of combating the issue. She also critiques the extreme reliance on the criminal justice system and the clear prioritization of prosecution and arrest-based policies over other solutions, suggesting that this has prohibited the development of other options for communities to hold abusers accountable. She provides a critique of how lawmakers interact with criminal justice policies after they have been instituted. She claims that criminal justice legislation is used as a sort of band aid for the problem, but policy makers do very little to actually evaluate the effectiveness of the policies and further pursue the work after the policies have been created. This reiterates Sherman's concern of the entrenchment of punishment-focused policy as the central priority for domestic violence legislation.

The number of jurisdictions implementing mandatory arrest, no-drop prosecution, and other punitive policies is increasing and leading to more innovation within the criminal justice intervention strategy (Barner and Carney, 2011, Cissner, Larbiola, and Rempel, 2015). This has led to a wealth of literature critiquing the dependence of domestic violence legislation on criminal justice interventions and some suggestions regarding other solutions that are less punitive. Important criticisms include the devaluation of victim empowerment and agency as a result of bolstering criminal justice interventions and a lack of cultural sensitivity within both perpetrator and victim intervention programs (Barner and Carney, 2011). In the following section, I consider scholarship that emphasizes the importance of survivor-services within policy and the centering of the survivors when attempting to lower rates of intimate partner and domestic violence.

Survivor services as a Response to IPV

The available literature on survivor services is far less extensive than the literature for and against criminal justice intervention in cases of domestic violence. Implementation of formal, policy-based provisions and services for survivors occurred significantly later than the intense criminalization of DV on a national level. Nonetheless, many scholars have considered questions regarding the history, structure, goals and efficacy of direct service models. Domestic violence advocacy and other survivor-centered programs and initiatives provide a strong alternative, and often supplementary model, to a criminal justice based response to intimate partner violence.

Many DV programs are developed with attention to conservation of resource theory. The theory suggests "psychological distress following traumatic or highly stressful life events is strongly influenced by resource loss, in that trauma often results in individuals losing economic, social, and interpersonal resources central to their wellbeing" (Sullivan 2018). This theory assumes returning some of the lost resources can improve the psychological state of a survivor, and Sullivan reports that women who work with advocates continue to show improvement in regaining the resources they may have lost as well as their overall well-being (Sullivan 2018). Many organizations' established missions are to provide survivors with greater access to available resources along with strategies to enhance their personal safety and improve their own self-efficacy (Sullivan, 2018; 2011). Additionally, domestic violence advocacy organizations work toward the prevention of violence within the community through the implementation of education and public advocacy (Wiley, 2020). Organizations employ methods to inform survivors on their rights while assisting them in building skills through supportive counseling

and encouragement with an emphasis on increasing support within their own communities (Sullivan, 2017).

The emphasis on community building is reminiscent of the original organizing apparatus of the battered women's movement. The historical background of support for survivors of domestic violence is essential to understand when considering the feasibility of relying on a service-based model. Kulkarni (2013) discusses the shift to direct service for survivors of intimate partner violence. The historical precedent for the services that have emerged today held deep roots in a mutual self-help philosophy built by networks of battered women. Many of these women participated in organizing against systemic hierarchies as part of their work. Kulkarni emphasizes the evolution from grassroots, informal, and social change oriented networks to professional, formal, and social service directed programs. Considering the challenges to services caused by bureaucratization and formalization of programs is essential as policymakers construct policies to incorporate and develop services in response to DV.

Another primary concern for many administrators of these programs is how to provide considerate and tactful services to their participants. First, if working in programs that provide criminal or civil justice assistance, providers must consider how to provide services to survivors that chose not to engage with these systems. Services ought to take into account the wide array of survivor needs that extend beyond concerns of victimization and safety. Further, program facilitators should consider how they can support the dignity and safety of survivors that do not wish to press charges against or separate from their partner (Kulkarni 2013). Second, providers of domestic violence programs work with survivors that are often facing challenges that surpass their experience with physical violence. Many of the women that seek services confront a multitude of economic challenges that they need help addressing alongside experiences of

intimate partner violence. Alongside the shift in the structures and intentions of IPV support to social services, a disconnect between support strategies and the needs of a diverse group of survivors grew. Kulkarni reports a nationally occurring gap between survivor requests and services, primarily concerning economic needs such as housing, cash, transportation, and employment training. In response to the gap between services and needs, Kulkarni encourages survivor-centered advocacy and culturally specific programming when structuring the service response to domestic violence.

Third, Messing et al. (2015) assess the variety of challenges faced by survivors of ethnic and racial minority backgrounds. Many survivors are not able to access resources in the same capacity, as they face structural barriers within the systems that survivors of IPV are forced to navigate. To address many of these criticisms, Messing et al (2015) encourage "an intersectional, feminist approach to IPV advocacy and intervention, individual victim-survivors' voices are prioritized over the criminal justice system response." They argue that recognition of the individual needs and backgrounds of survivors leads to better outcomes for survivors of IPV. Trauma-centered and culturally-sensitive approaches might open doors for addressing the generational cycle of IPV while continuing to prioritize the safety of survivors (Kulkarni 2013).

Bennet et al. (2004) provide some examples of DV service possibilities through a statewide evaluation of domestic violence agencies in Illinois. The authors evaluate the implementation and efficacy of four primary services provided to survivors: crisis hotlines, counseling, advocacy, and emergency shelter. Through this evaluation of Illinois-based organizations, they draw conclusions regarding the positive possibilities for survivors that participate in such programs. They find that counseling, hotline and advocacy services assist survivors by providing them information and support. Survivors perceive an improvement in

their own decision making and self-efficacy with the additional result of feeling increased safety in shelter programs. The success of DV organizations in Illinois align with the stated goals of many similar programs and could provide helpful foundations for effective implementation in additional states (Bennet et al., 2004).

Additionally, many organizations face barriers to providing successful support to their participants. Wiley (2020) assesses how the funding requirements of DV organizations might work to undermine their stated missions. The incorporation of professionalized services and the move away from community-based models disserved many diverse survivors and affected domestic violence advocacy organizations. With the formalization of processes, restrictions rose and running an organization became significantly more costly. Advocacy organizations became beholden to their sources of funding, along with their conflicting interests and requirements. Federal and state agencies place a multitude of requirements on organizations to measure the success of processes such as frequency of services, but far fewer require the assessment of the success of stated missions. Agency staff express concerns about top-down policies required by funding agencies that detract from the positive effects of services or even endanger the safety of participants in the program (Bennet et. al. 2015). Wiley found that organizations were forced to sideline victims' needs in the interest of fulfilling funding requirements due to the necessity of the funding for the success of service programs. She emphasizes the need for streamlining across state and federal sources of funding to allow for organizations to maintain steady finances without sacrificing effective services for victims (Wiley 2020). She further acknowledges the policy advocacy work of these organizations that allow them to address immediate needs of survivors while continuing to follow regulations set by funding agencies.

Essential for funding requirements and research, the evaluation of services provokes a multitude of concerns among scholars and policymakers. Sullivan (2011) establishes some of those concerns in their article discussing the evaluation necessities of such programs. She points out that evaluative mechanisms can be unrealistic or even reinforce stereotypes that DV advocacy organizations are working against. Domestic violence is the result of actions committed by the perpetrator and blame cannot be placed on the victim; therefore success of the program cannot be singularly determined by elimination of violence within the community. Programs are not focused on changing participants' behavior because their behavior is not the cause of the violence and cannot be evaluated as such. Ultimately, "two outcomes are generally desired across all survivors and all services: (1) survivors will increase their knowledge about community resources available to them, and (2) survivors will have strategies for enhancing their safety" (Sullivan 2011). With this in mind, service providers often receive feedback from the women that find support in their services, but the authors emphasize that it is important to acknowledge this is not a burden all survivors have the capacity for and should not be the primary basis of evaluation. Sullivan acknowledges the increased need for evaluative measurements as organizations receive outside funding, but reiterates the overall negative impact that poor evaluative mechanisms can have on survivors. With the development of more service-based programs, policymakers must be mindful of these concerns and creative in their solutions.

Another approach to IPV requires a combination of responses. As mentioned in the criminal justice section, many jurisdictions have implemented coordinated community responses (CCR). Shorey et al (2014) review much of the previous literature regarding components of a coordinated community response. They emphasize that CCR as a model was initially developed

in response to the actions of perpetrators and adapted to a victim-based model. The authors provide a definition far more expansive than the singular cooperation of criminal justice systems defined above. To survivor advocates, a coordinated community response includes organization across "community-wide agencies such as the police, legal system, social service providers (e.g., victim advocates), government, health care systems, and educational and vocational programs," with the ultimate goal of reducing violence experienced within the community (Shorey et al 2014). They argue the most notable service the coordination elicits is advocates, who provide support to survivors navigating civil and criminal justice systems by assisting them in filing protection orders or pressing charges against their abuser. The nature of the programs also allows for services to collaborate with local businesses to provide economic support that can ultimately lead to long-term independence for survivors. Overall, they conclude that many services resulting in this coordination effort remain lacking in empirical research to evaluate their ultimate efficacy among survivors and could be better integrated across the multiple agencies.

In response to the push for a coordinated community response by supporters of heavy criminal justice focused legislation, De Prince et. al. (2012) explain that despite a need for victim-focused outreach, there is often an emphasis on responding to the perpetrator rather than supporting the survivor. They specifically consider how CCR programs can contribute to the reduction of mental health symptoms many women experience in relation to instances of IPV and how community-based outreach or criminal justice-based referral² can decrease those

² Both community-based outreach and criminal justice-based referral indicate someone reaching out to a survivor of domestic violence as a result of a police report identifying them as a victim. Community-based outreach is done by a separate agency or organization that is able to identify the specific needs that survivors might have and initiate outreach based on those needs. An advocate in this situation offers confidentiality and can provide the survivor with specific information regarding available services and next steps offered by their organization. In the case of a criminal justice-based referral, the survivor is contacted by a system-based advocate that works directly with the prosecutor's office or police department. They are not confidential and can only provide generalized possibilities for services. Survivor's then need to call the domestic violence advocacy organization themselves if they wish to receive services and support (De Prince et al. 2010).

symptoms. The authors discovered that women who received outreach from advocates reported a greater decrease of PTSD and depressive symptoms within the following year, while women in the criminal justice referral group experienced an increase in symptoms within the same time period. They further posit that survivors receiving direct outreach from an advocate were more likely than the referral condition to articulate plans to leave within a certain time period. The authors further suggest that the women in the outreach condition were more able to address conditions within their lives that they could control –for example, leaving their abuser – rather than conditions they were unable to control, such as their abuser's behavior. Although they found encouraging results regarding the decrease of negative mental effects among women following victim advocates, De Prince et. al. (2012) unfortunately report that women in both conditions found continued physical violence to be common. Their results point to the necessity of victim-specific services within an effective coordinated community response as opposed to a singular focus on the perpetrator.

As I begin to investigate the policy changes made regarding domestic violence in the time period of 2010-2016, I will use this review of some existing literature to inform my analysis. Mandatory arrest and no-drop prosecution policies, bills regarding criminal sanctions and processes, victim reporting mechanisms, and domestic violence courts are the themes that might point to fortification of the criminal justice legislation. In contrast, any legislation regarding victim services, shelters, or general survivor wellbeing suggests a victim-centered approach to legislation changes rather than a focus on disciplining the perpetrator. Bills that advocate for coordinated community response to intimate partner and domestic violence can imply the importance of punishing the perpetrator while also supporting the survivor, but not be balanced

between these two goals. Finally, passed bills that evaluate any methods of response to IPV will be informative.

Data and Methodology

What has proven to be the most effective type of policy to lower domestic violence against women in the United States? Are punitive or victim-service-centered strategies more successful in the reduction of incidences of intimate partner violence reported by women?

I hypothesize that policies centered around the needs of victims and focused on providing services to support victims are associated with lower lifetime experiences of domestic violence between intimate partners. Using data from the time period of 2010 to 2016, I hypothesize that states making more aggressively punitive policy changes are not as effective at addressing the occurrence of domestic violence, and state policies based primarily in victim service reforms are more effective than punitive, criminal justice reform.

Dependent Variable Data: Percent of Women with Lifetime Experience of IPV

In order to answer the question of the most effective type of policy that is being instituted in the United State surrounding Intimate Partner Violence, I identified criteria for the success of addressing the issue. The dependent variable in this study is the level of intimate partner violence being experienced by women in the country, across multiple states of interest. There are a multitude of possible sources of this data, each with their own inherent issues regarding how the data is collected and reported considering the intimate nature of the experience. Based on the inconsistency of reporting from state to state by law enforcement agencies, along with the institutional systems that prevent certain groups of women from reporting their experiences to the police, I decided to search for a different source of data to measure intimate partner violence. The data needed to be collected as consistently as possible from state to state in order to compare changes in percentages of women experiencing IPV across different states in the country.

Employing data collected by a federal entity mitigated a possible lack of consistency during the interview process.

The National Intimate Partner and Sexual Violence Survey (NISVS) reports cases of intimate partner violence experience in each state. Since 2010, the Center for Disease Control (CDC) has orchestrated an ongoing and nationally representative survey detailing participant experiences of sexual violence, stalking, and intimate partner violence among adult men and women in the United States (ICPSR). This project led to two reports published by the CDC covering the periods of 2010-2012 and 2016/2017 that provide statistics on the prevalence of sexual violence, stalking and intimate partner violence across the country as well as in each state with estimates of the numbers of men and women impacted.

I focused on the percentage of women that have lifetime experiences of physical violence committed by an intimate partner and the adverse impacts of IPV. Within the study itself, the stratification by state allows individual patterns and burdens carried by different states to be examined as each state has certain freedoms regarding domestic violence policies (Smith et al, 2017). The data discussed and represented in the CDC reports was collected via a random digital telephone survey given to both English and Spanish speaking residents of the US. This means that households were contacted via phone and asked if they would like to participate in the survey. The final data analyzed in the 2010-2012 and 2016/2017 reports contains only information from completed surveys.³

I focused on two of the numerous tables within the report that include the weighted percentage of women who have lifetime experiences of the relevant type of violence at the time

³ The sample size between the two reports are significantly different. The 2010-2012 report was collected over a period of 3 years with reported weighted response rates in the range of 27.5 percent to 33.6 percent and cooperation rates from 80.3 percent to 83.5 percent. The 2016/2017 report was collected over the time period September 2016 to May 2017 with a reported response rate of 7.6 percent and a cooperation rate of 58.6 percent.

of the interview for the periods 2010-2012 and 2016/2017.⁴ The first table concerns the occurrence of sexual violence, stalking, and physical violence at the hands of an intimate partner.⁵ The second table of data addresses the possible consequences or impact survivors can experience as a result of intimate partner violence. This is relevant considering the established importance of and questions regarding victim-centered services in the management of IPV. With this data, I analyzed the effectiveness of policies that are specifically created to address the survivor side of IPV, which can be seen in the impact of the violence on the survivor. The questions asked of the interviewees established the possible impacts to "include fear, concern for safety, any post-traumatic stress disorder symptoms, injury, need for medical care, need for housing services, need for victim's advocate services, need for legal services, contacting a crisis hotline, missing at least one day of work or school, contracting a sexually transmitted infection, and for women only, pregnancy." Both of these categories included the possibility of variation within policy across the country that may address multiple aspects of intimate partner violence (Smith et al, 2017). Policy that only aggressively targets physical and sexual violence would fail to fully address violence experienced by women in other manners that can be similarly impactful.

Using the data from the 2010-2012 and 2016/2017 time periods, I established the rate of change between the weighted percentage of women with lifetime experiences of violence for each state. Then, I calculated the average rate of change across all of the states in the country to compare with each individual state's data. In the case of contact sexual violence, physical

⁴ See Appendix Tables 1 & 2

⁵ The CDC has specific definitions for each of the measured experiences. **Sexual violence** is defined as "includ[ing] rape, being made to penetrate someone else, sexual coercion, unwanted sexual contact, and non-contact unwanted sexual experiences". **Stalking** is defined as "victimization involv[ing] a pattern of harassing or threatening tactics used by a perpetrator that is both unwanted and causes fear or safety concerns in the victim". **Physical violence** is defined as "includ[ing] a range of behaviors from slapping, pushing or shoving to severe acts that include hit with a fist or something hard, kicked, hurt by pulling hair, slammed against something, tried to hurt by choking or suffocating, beaten, burned on purpose, used a knife or gun".

violence, and stalking, the percentage of women having experienced lifetime violence increased by 9.65 percentage points, on average, and the number of women experiencing the impacts of IPV rose by 13.2 percentage points, on average, across the country. These averages facilitated the comparison of each state to the country's ability to stabilize levels of intimate partner violence. If a state's weighted percentage increased at a faster rate than the national average, that state may have done less than the average state to decrease the prevalence of intimate partner violence. This also might indicate that the state did make intentional policy decisions in an effort to reduce this type of violence during this time period that were not effective in achieving this goal. The opposite can be said of states that have much lower rates of change across the two time periods than the national average. Are there specific policies that the most effective states initiated in this time period that this seeming success can be attributed to?

I calculated the distance from the average rate of change, in the negative or positive direction, for each state in both datasets, and determined the highest and lowest performing states in comparison to the national average. I extracted the lower and upper quartile for each dataset and compared them to find the states that were most effective in preventing a high increase in IPV-related incidence along with the states that were least effective. These states' policies are the primary data sources for investigation of the empirically 'best' and 'worst' strategies for addressing IPV and are represented in *Figure 1*.

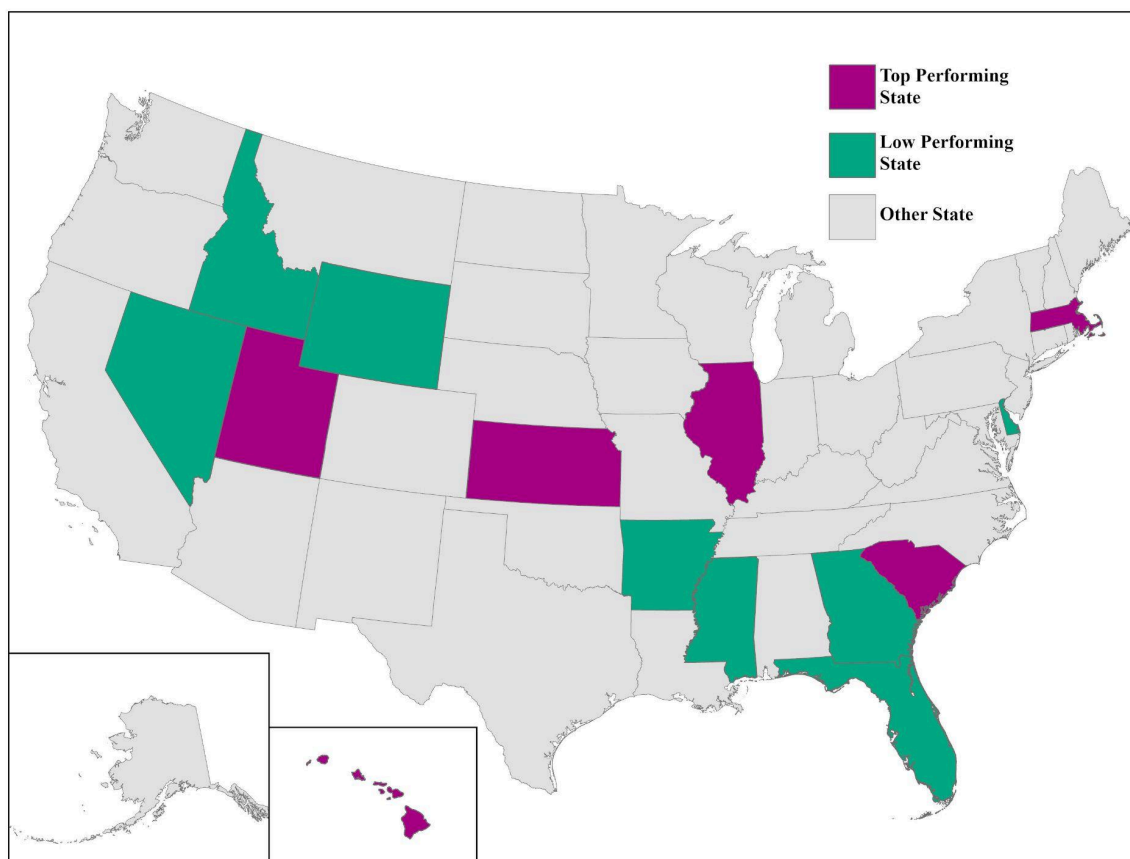


Figure 1: Map of primary states of interest

Independent Variable Data: Legislation Across States of Interest

After identifying the states that did much better than the national average and the states that did much worse, I collected the passed bills from 2010 to 2016 regarding IPV, or the appropriate equivalent, to compare within the upper and lower quartile⁶s. I focused explicitly on passed bills as opposed to proposed bills, because enacted bills could have had real effects on the experiences of women, which is not true with bills that were not signed into law. Of the fourteen original states of interest determined, I analyzed nine. The high performing states of analysis are

⁶ See Appendix Tables 3 & 4

Utah, Hawai'i, South Carolina and Illinois, and the low performing states are **Idaho, Wyoming, Nevada, Arkansas and Mississippi**. Some states do not have easily accessible or searchable databases of the archived bills and are omitted from the study in the interest of ensuring all relevant bills were tracked and accounted for.

Once I compiled all enacted legislation in this time period relevant to domestic violence for each of the nine states, I performed an analysis of the content of each bill to determine the common themes throughout states that did much better than the national average to facilitate the comparison with states that did much worse than the national average.⁷ Ultimately, the bills are categorized into five different types of bills based on the intended purpose of the bill, with a few of the bills falling into two or more groups. The five categories are criminal justice (including provisions that are perpetrator or survivor focused), survivor services, education or training, coordinated community response, or protective orders. There are more bills that focus on survivor provisions within the criminal justice system than originally anticipated, but they are grouped in with perpetrator focused provisions because the overall emphasis remains on the criminal justice system as the primary solution, as opposed to supporting survivor needs outside of this system. The coordinated community response and protective order type of policy both seem to represent a combination of the criminal justice system and other actors and therefore are separated from the other categories. Examining the content of the bills and categorizing them allows for comparison across the different groups of states to investigate why some states were more effective at decreasing the experience of intimate partner violence by women between 2010 and 2016.

⁷ See Appendix Table 5

Analysis and Results

Much of the literature presents a case against the dependence on the criminal justice system in response to domestic violence in the United States. Following the implementation of policies utilizing the criminal justice system response, many scholars questioned whether this was the most effective. There is also a theme throughout the literature about what the most beneficial programs for survivors are and how those should be effectively implemented along with the possibilities of community coordinated response that incorporate multiple providers to approach the issue from a variety of lenses.

I hypothesize that the states that outperformed the national average rate of change will have less of an emphasis on the criminal justice system and more passed bills that address direct services for victims. Subsequently, I hypothesize that the states that performed significantly worse than the national average on this matrix will continue to reinforce the criminal justice system as the main solution to domestic violence and the changes made in this time period will represent that priority. First, I will analyze the states that significantly outpaced the national average and could have something to offer in terms of successful domestic violence reduction policy.

Bills and Themes: Top Performing States

The following analysis goes into detail on the bills that were passed during the given time period in the states that performed significantly better than the national average rate of change. Many of these bills fall into the categories of criminal justice, survivor services, or some combination of the two. There are also a few bills that address education, awareness, and police accountability in situations of domestic violence.

Hawai'i

The first state of interest is Hawai'i. The collection of sixteen bills passed by the Hawaiian legislature between 2010 and 2016 is particularly robust and diverse in topic. In the majority of the bills, the first section identifies research-backed reasoning as to why this is an important change. I particularly noticed this with the bills related to services for survivors that employ newer research regarding the nature of domestic abuse and the needs of victims, as opposed to reactive, punitive legislation regarding perpetrators. Primarily, legislation in Hawai'i passed during this time period focused on survivor needs and services with few bills focused strictly on criminal justice. Of the seventeen bills I examined, three were perpetrator-centered. Two of those bills addressed penal code specificities and made small clerical changes, while the third initiated reintegration programs at the correctional facilities in the state (HB 1993, (2014); HB 1003, (2011); HB 1818, (2010)). The latter encourages the incorporation of cognitive behavioral therapy, as well as cultural and other interventions with the goal of transitioning people with a variety of convictions – including domestic violence – back into the community. The legislation encourages strategies specifically geared toward young people of Hawaiian ancestry and cites the need for breaking the cycle of crime and punishment. This type of bill, although integrated into an aspect of the criminal justice system, is wildly different from a bill that is recodifying and strengthening the penal code. The bill is focused on rehabilitation rather than punishment, in an attempt to prevent the devastation hyperincarceration causes communities.

The Hawai'i legislature passed multiple bills regarding protective orders with specific provisions on periods of no contact with the survivor. Following a 2011 bill, temporary restraining orders can remain in effect for up to 180 days, 90 more days than previously allowed

(HB 969, (2011)). There are multiple modifications regarding how long a police officer can order the alleged perpetrator to keep their distance, with the final change requiring two business days between arrest and expiration of the order, as this allows for the case to appear before a judge prior to the temporary protective order expiration (SB 223, (2011); SB 226, (2015)).

Additionally, police officers are required to seize firearms and ammunition in cases where there is reasonable belief that an act of DV has occurred (SB 226, (2015)). I consider these legislative changes to be pertinent to both the safety of the survivor and the perpetrator and therefore fall somewhere in between criminal justice and survivor-centered laws. Moreover, a 2016 bill limits the use of mutual protective orders without a subsequent petition filed by the original respondent (SB 2310, (2016))⁸. The bill seeks to limit blame placed on the survivor, rather than addressing the abuser directly, and emphasizes the importance of considering the effect on the survivor when enacting legislation.

Nearly half of the bills enacted directly addressed an issue confronted by survivors of domestic violence. There was a notable House resolution passed in 2011 that urged the United States Congress to examine federal laws and regulations that prevent states from allowing unemployment insurance to be readily accessible to survivors of domestic or sexual violence (HR 72, (2011)). The resolution acknowledges the barriers to employment that these kinds of violence can cause and demonstrates the commitment that the legislature has for improving survivor access to necessary resources. Another bill enacted in 2011 lays out certain requirements for employers with respect to survivors of DV (SB 229, (2011)). There can be no discrimination against known survivors of domestic violence when making employment

⁸ A mutual protection order essentially prohibits both parties from contact with the other. They can come about when the respondent (or abuser) on the first petition files a subsequent petition claiming the petitioner also abused them. Mutual protective orders can lead to criminal charges for both parties if the requirements of the order are broken (LegalMatch, 2023).

decisions and there are rules about how and when an employer can verify the DV status of an employee. The bill also describes a requirement of reasonable accommodation employers must make if asked for the safety of an employee such as changing their contact information or installing locks and security measures.

Like employers, Hawai'i has certain requirements for landlords and cell service providers that consider the importance of survivor safety (HB 858, (2015); HB 538, (2015)). Landlords can legally terminate a rent contract with the perpetrator based on evidence of DV, but must allow survivors to terminate contracts under specific circumstances without any repercussions. The landlord must return the survivor's share of the security deposit, cannot charge a fee for early termination of the rental contract, and must keep all information regarding the survivor confidential unless given consent to share. They must also change the locks if requested by the survivor for their safety. Likewise, wireless telecommunication providers have certain requirements in cases of DV under Hawaiian law. They must release survivors of DV from contracts without penalty or charge and provide a new phone number within 24 hours if requested. The bill acknowledges that survivors might face specific safety issues if forced to stay on phone plans due to exorbitant cancellation or transfer costs. All of the aforementioned survivor-centered bills address consequences of abuse many survivors face that are often ignored in the criminal justice system.

Alongside survivor safety, there are a few bills that emphasize awareness and education as methods of prevention. A bill that designates October as Domestic Violence Awareness month was enacted to "promote public awareness of domestic violence as a significant societal, public health, and criminal justice problem" (HB 2133, (2012)). Another requires the University of Hawaii to provide mandatory training to students, employees, and faculty on sexual harassment,

sexual assault, domestic violence, dating violence, and stalking policies along with a confidential advocate on campus as a resource⁹ (HB, 2772 (2016)).

The final few bills enacted in the state over these seven years are directly connected with training and accountability for police departments and law enforcement agencies. A Senate resolution instructed the Honolulu Police Department to establish a Family Violence Unit that is staffed by officers specifically trained to handle family violence (SR 9, (2015)). There is also a clause that states there should be women officers in this unit that are trained to handle situations involving gender violence. Along with education and training for officers that encounter situations of domestic violence, the final bill requires every police department to post policies regarding domestic violence and standards of conduct (SB 368, (2015)). The bills that promote training and education programs are neither directly survivor services nor tied into more punitive measures of the criminal justice system. They represent the final category of bills in this analysis.

As one of the best performing states, Hawaii was expected to have primarily passed bills concerning augmentation of survivor services. Unexpectedly, survivor services are not more prevalent than any other type of bills. The most substantial category was bills related to protective orders, which consist of bills in both the civil and criminal justice realms. As hypothesized, bills that were strictly amendments or additions to the criminal justice system represented the smallest category.

⁹This bill was enacted in 2016 and did not go into effect until the 2017-2018 school year. This means it is unlikely that this particular bill had a direct effect on the data in this study, but is within the studied timeframe and indicative of the attitudes of the Hawaiian legislature regarding awareness and education around domestic violence.

Illinois and South Carolina

The Illinois and South Carolina legislatures were the second and third state legislatures examined in this group. They are grouped together because neither had many enacted bills over the seven years. There was only one legislative change made that directly affected survivors or perpetrators of domestic violence in Illinois in the years of interest. The bill allows for survivors to defer the payment of utilities for 60 days with proof of DV status (SB 1645, (2015)). There were a few other passed bills that included mentions of domestic violence, but none of them are particularly pertinent to the question at hand. There were no bills that amended criminal justice in regards DV in this state, but that is not extremely notable due to there being only one bill that addressed domestic violence at all.

Consistent with Illinois, the South Carolina State Legislature passed notably fewer bills than Hawai'i. Prior to the 2015/2016 session, there were a few bills that created provisions preventing anyone convicted of aggravated domestic violence from possessing firearms and allowing petitioners to include their pets in requests for civil protective orders (HB 3677, (2009-2010)); HB 3361, (2013-2014)). In 2015/2016, there were multiple bills that were signed into law. The first introduced domestic violence fatality review committees and provided protocols, composition, and confidentiality clauses (HB 4666, (2015-2016)). This bill focuses primarily on the safety issues and failures that can lead to fatality in a case of DV and how those issues need to be addressed by providing recommendations. This bill falls under the community coordinated response category, but it is unclear the exact makeup and responsibilities of the established committees.

The most substantial bill enacted in the time period addressed perpetrators, survivors, protective orders, and education primarily through the mechanisms of the code of laws (SB 0003,

(2015-2016)). On the criminal justice side, the law created degrees of enhanceability for DV offenses with penalties and definitions that had not previously existed. An enhanceable defense is any criminal offense where the severity of the penalties are determined by specific factors (Altshuler, 2022). Additionally, the bill amends the definition of "serious and violent" offenses to include domestic violence in the first degree, while also creating more stringent restrictions on possession of firearms post conviction¹⁰. Furthermore, the bill requires the court to set a batterer intervention program as a pre-trial release condition, if appropriate, along with a provision for expungement of a perpetrator's first third-degree offense after five years. Regarding the survivor, the policy necessitates the consideration of the possible damage to the community or the individual when the court determines release on bail. There is also funding made available to provide the survivor with childcare in order to attend the case hearings. Moreover, the bill includes provisions for the possibility for permanent restraining orders if appropriate. Finally, there are elements of the bill that establish and codify multiple advisory committees on DV along with the addition of a health education curriculum for the 2016-2017 school year.¹¹ South Carolina and Illinois, with few bills, represent commitment to both strengthening the criminal justice system response to DV and bolstering survivor provisions within that system.

Utah

The final state in this group is Utah. Prior to 2010, the Utah legislature had passed legislation addressing domestic violence, specifically as a crime acknowledged by law. The laws regarding intimate partner abuse are primarily written into the *Cohabitant Abuse Procedures Act*.

¹⁰ First-degree offenses are the highest, most violent charges of domestic violence, while third-degree violations are unenhanced, low level offenses.

¹¹ Once again, this time frame is not pertinent for the education program contributing to the patterns in the data, but demonstrative of the initiatives and priorities of the South Carolina State legislature in domestic violence prevention education.

Throughout the time period of 2010-2016, there were a multitude of changes made to this act. In contrast to the case of Hawai'i, Utah clearly prioritized implementation and fortification of the criminal justice approach to domestic violence.

Three of the eight bills signed and passed in this time period focused on provisions for both alleged perpetrators and survivors. The first bill entitled "Protections for Victims of Domestic Violence" modifies the *Cohabitant Abuse Procedures Act* in regards to protective orders for the survivors (HB 303, (2010)). The bill limits contact the defendant is allowed to have with survivors in different stages of the criminal justice process and describes the penalties and consequences for the alleged perpetrator if the agreement is not followed. Furthermore, the bill includes four new protective orders for different stages of the process: "jail release court order," "jail release agreement," "pretrial protective order," and "sentencing protective order." All protective orders are explained in further detail in the bills, but the main takeaways include the required notification of any and all protective orders to the statewide DV network (some may be filed at the request of the prosecutor, survivor, or the court itself) pre-sentencing orders require the defendant's appearance in court for dismissal; and any violation of the protective orders is a Class A misdemeanor¹². Similarly, the bill "Domestic Violence Amendments" addresses the time period after an alleged perpetrator has been arrested, before they are released on bail, when they are not permitted to contact the survivor (HB 374, (2010)). Both the survivor and the defendant are notified by the arresting officer, and if violated, the defendant can be charged with a Class B misdemeanor on top of the original charge. Both of these focus on how the justice system is able to provide protection for the survivor while simultaneously threatening repercussions for the alleged perpetrator if the protective orders are violated. Finally, the "Cohabitant Abuse

¹² The statewide DV network is a coalition of Domestic Violence Advocacy Organizations that provide support to survivors

Procedures Act Revisions" bill further addresses conditions of release. The bill creates an intermediary magistrate that must determine if the perpetrator will be held without bail, set the conditions for release, and set a bail amount that will guarantee their appearance in court after release. In this bill, it is notable that the survivor can waive release conditions of no contact, but the magistrate receives the waiver and can make any decision regardless of the survivor's request.

Another couple of the bill changes made by the Utah legislature in this time period were more criminal justice focused. One resolution encourages state and local law enforcement and prosecutors to investigate and prosecute as felonies all cases that include strangulation (HJR 6 2010). The later "Domestic Violence Amendments Bill" addresses procedures for entering a guilty plea that require prosecutors to examine criminal history for prior domestic violence or related convictions (SB 59, (2015)). Although there is a bill requiring the Department of Public Safety to present a report on DV statistics to the Law Enforcement & Criminal Justice Interim Committee, there are no bills that explicitly address survivor safety or services within the years of 2010 and 2016 (HB 361, (2013)). There is an element of survivor safety in the release agreement bills, but none that address victim services outside of the criminal justice system. Further, there is a change in the language throughout the bills that incorporates non-male-identifying perpetrators.

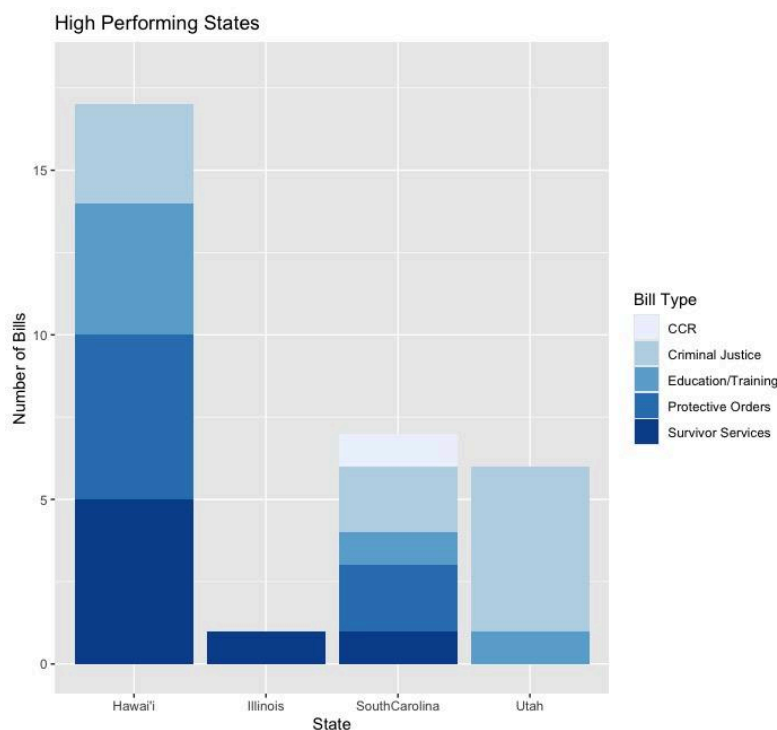


Figure 2: Bills in high performing states

The categorization of each of the bills discussed above can be seen in *Figure 2*. In nearly all of the cases, bills related to the criminal justice system regarding both survivors and perpetrators represent at least 25 percent of the enacted laws. In the case of Utah, they represent almost 90 percent of the content passed into law. The ratios of bills related to survivor services were highly varied across the states in this group. Utah had no bills in this category, while around 40 percent of Hawaii's bills addressed survivor issues outside of the criminal justice system. This was also a small proportion of South Carolina's bills, as survivor concerns were primarily approached through the criminal justice system and civil protective orders. To draw conclusions, it is important to consider how the lower-performing states compare to the patterns I have identified amongst higher-performing states.

Bills and Themes: Low Performing States

Wyoming, Arkansas, Nevada, and Mississippi are the states with the highest increase of lifetime experiences of intimate partner violence and its impacts between 2010 and 2017. The first state I examined in this group was Idaho, but it is not part of the final analysis because not a single bill addressing domestic violence was passed in this seven year period. This is indicative of a state that did nothing to stagnate the continued growth of women experiencing intimate partner violence.

Wyoming

The state of Wyoming passed three bills over the time period of study. Two of those bills focused heavily on aspects of the criminal justice system. The first bill, enacted in 2011, simply amends the processes of serving a protection order by allowing them to be served outside of the state (HB 0080, (2011)). There are no provisions within the bill declaring how or by whom the protection order would be served outside of state boundaries, but that might be located in another statute. The most substantial new legislation for this state is a bill in the 2014 session that creates separate charges for assault and battery against a household member (HB 0006, (2014)). Previously, there were statutes regarding criminal assault and battery, but there were no charges that could be brought forward that were specific to cases of domestic violence. This is noteworthy because all of the other states considered in this study had at minimum established domestic crimes as separate charges prior to the year 2010. The law includes enhanceability rules for multiple incidents and limits on jail time, probation, and fines following a conviction. Throughout the bill, the use of masculine pronouns for describing the offender proves significant,

prompting consideration for how the legislators that wrote and passed the bill view gender relations of abuse.

The last bill focuses on survivor safety provisions within the criminal justice system. The provisions allow for survivors to file with the court to order their confidentiality throughout the court proceedings (SB 0117, (2014)). The court will submit the order if there has been a protective order filed that remains in effect, or if there is reasonable belief that the survivor may be harmed if their information does not remain confidential. Although there is evidence in this final bill of the prioritization of survivor safety, this is done through the mechanism of the criminal justice system. There were no bills enacted in Wyoming that directly contributed to the growth of survivor services, as discussed in the literature review section of the paper; rather, all bills addressed aspects of the criminal justice system.

Arkansas

Many of the bills in Arkansas were generally geared toward the criminal justice system, specifically in terms of lowering prison populations and shortening sentences (SB 472, (2015)). These bills are not specific to crimes of domestic violence, but all include domestic offenses alongside other violent crimes. Additionally, there are a couple of bills that impose additional fines on perpetrators convicted of domestic-related offenses, such as the bill that requires an additional fine to be deposited in the Domestic Peace Fund, and another that facilitates an additional fine when the abuse was committed in the presence of a child (HB 2108, (2013); SB 867, (2015)).

Like many of the other states, there are bills that focus on survivor needs within the criminal justice system itself. For example, a 2015 bill allows cases to proceed without the

required testimony from the survivor, as this can be retraumatizing for some people who have suffered domestic abuse (HB 1706, (2015)). The law provides a list of resources that can take the place of witness testimony within the prosecution of DV cases. The state of Arkansas is one of the few states studied to have passed laws that address the law enforcement aspect of the criminal justice system in this time period. There are two bills concerning questions and information the police officer on the scene is required to ask of and obtain from the survivor. “Laura's Law” describes the requirement of lethality screening for the survivor to determine the next course of action, and the officer is encouraged to refer this person to immediate shelter services or another DV organization for support (HB 1707, (2015))¹³. The officer is also required to provide information to both the survivor and the survivor's family, if applicable, about the next steps in the case and what the offender's status will be if they are arrested (HB 1599, (2015)).

Finally, there are three more bills that address a variety of survivor and education factors. A bill enacted in 2011 allows for doctors to report suspicion of domestic violence if the patient consents, or the doctor determines that they will come to further harm if it is not reported (SB 751, (2011)). Another bill presents findings regarding the unique danger of domestic violence that pregnant women face and the higher rate of violence they often experience (SB 170, (2013)). Although the stated intent of the bill is to recognize a woman's right to carry her baby to term and protect the child, the amended statute emphasizes a pregnant woman's right to defend herself without criminal repercussions. This bill is included alongside other policies that address survivor needs within the criminal justice system because in totality the bill seems to only legally protect pregnant women, rather than providing them any unique access to services. Similar to a

¹³ The lethality questions are as follows: “Does the perpetrator have a weapon? Has the perpetrator threatened to kill you or your children? Do you believe they will try to kill you? Have they ever choked you? Is the perpetrator a jealous or controlling person? What is your current living situation and/or have you lived with them in the past? What is your employment status? To your knowledge, has the offender ever attempted suicide? Does the perpetrator believe your child is not theirs biologically? Does the perpetrator ever follow, spy on, or leave you threatening messages? Is there anything else you need to share?”

few other states, there is a bill to include dating violence awareness in the seventh through twelfth grade health curriculum of public schools (HB 1685, (2015)). The bill suggests this curriculum will include warning signs, strategies to stop or prevent, information on how to report, and common misconceptions and stereotypes of dating violence.¹⁴ Overall, Arkansas addressed quite a few survivor concerns within the criminal justice system itself, but provided very little to survivors outside of that system.

Nevada

Similar to the two states mentioned thus far, the Nevada State Legislature enacted multiple bills in this time period encompassing provisions that addressed aspects of the criminal justice system. A bill passed in 2015 established the admissibility of hearsay evidence in a variety of cases – including felony cases of domestic violence – where substantial harm was caused to the victim (AB 193, (2015)). Generally, evidence based on a statement made outside of court and not under oath cannot be used in prosecuting a case, but this bill makes statements made by the survivor at a preliminary examination legally admissible (Stimmel Law, n.d.). Another bill passed the same year prohibits anyone convicted of a domestic violence misdemeanor or any respondent on an extended order for protection from possessing firearms or ammunition. Previously, the law prevented anyone convicted of a felony domestic violence offense from firearm possession and this bill increases restrictions. In regards to protective orders, Nevada allows for pets of the petitioner to be covered by signed orders for protection and created provisions to more easily transfer orders for protection across state boundaries to more effectively serve the respondent (AB 115, (2013); AB 69, (2015)).

¹⁴ This will not be instituted until the 2015-2016 school year, but represents the prioritization of prevention education as legislatures address this issue.

There were also a few changes made that addressed survivors and their needs directly, like many of the other states. The first is the ability of the court to award primary custody to a parent when there is evidence of DV against anyone the child is residing with. Parents are further protected from a charge of kidnapping if they are forced to relocate the child due to reasonable fear of abuse or violence within the criminal justice system (AB 263, (2015)). Similar to Hawai'i, Nevada enacted a bill that establishes certain requirements for landlords in cases of domestic violence (AB 284, (2013)). The provisions of the bill state that a survivor can terminate their lease early with evidence of DV in the previous 90 days. The landlord must then return the security deposit if owed and the offender can be civilly liable to the landlord. They also are required to keep any information they have on the survivor confidential, and the tenant cannot suffer future repercussions on housing applications.

Furthermore, a 2015 bill authorizes the Director of the Department of Health and Human Services to establish prevention education programs along with education regarding services available to survivors (SB 362, (2015)). The bill is short and provides little information on the education services being authorized, other than that the department can apply for grants. In this bill, there does not seem to be any robust follow-through signifying that education on services and prevention was instituted following the enactment of the bill. Finally, a bill in 2011 enables the attorney general to create a committee to review a fatal domestic violence case (SB 66, 2011)). This is an example of community coordinated response meant to encourage a multidisciplinary team to problem-solve and offer solutions. The stated goal of this committee is to provide policy recommendations for prevention, mechanisms of prevention and intervention education, and encourage collaboration among different agencies that address the problem from

unique lenses. There was greater variation in the themes of the bills in Nevada than other states in this section, but the new laws primarily focused on criminal justice and civil protective orders.

Mississippi

The final state in this group is Mississippi. Consistent with all of the states previously examined, a large portion of the bills enacted in Mississippi focus exclusively on amending aspects of the criminal justice system that affect both perpetrators and survivors. There are five bills that implement a variety of more aggressive punitive measures for offenders convicted of certain domestic violence offenses. A bill passed in 2010 requires one year served following an aggravated domestic abuse conviction before an offender can be eligible for parole (SB 2923, (2010)). The bill also revises the definition of aggravated domestic abuse to include strangulation, a trend seen across many of the states in the study. The next bill, enacted in 2012, addresses clerical processes regarding orders for protection (HB 780, (2012)). The bill requires that if a survivor's petition is rejected due to being sent to the inappropriate court venue, the court must transfer the petition to the correct venue. This is due to large numbers of orders getting lost or rejected, due to improper filing rather than incorrect content of such orders. Interestingly, the bill uses masculine pronouns to describe the petitioner, something that has not come up in other states. This is a reversal of the general language that assumes the survivor is a woman and the perpetrator is a man. Finally, this bill ensures that the court must search for existing protective orders when setting bail, to determine the threat an offender presents to the community or an individual.

Bills enacted in 2013 and 2014 work to clarify existing laws, along with provisions to establish enhanceability and a statute of limitations on domestic abuse related convictions (HB

709 (2013); SB 2629, (2014)). The difference between simple and aggravated assault is clearly laid out, along with the maximum fine of \$500 and/or maximum of six months in county jail for a simple domestic assault conviction. Enhanceability is no longer considered seven years after the initial conviction, and aggravated domestic assault was included in violent charges regardless of any passage of time. Following the clarification of enhanceability of DV convictions in 2013, another bill passed in 2014 further implemented laws addressing cases of multiple domestic offenses (SB 2476, (2014)). The bill lays out the enhanceability of both simple and aggravated assault with two prior convictions of any domestic offense in the past seven years. In instances of third time offenses, the court must order a criminal protective order, unless the survivor objects, and fourth time convictions require a fifteen to twenty year sentence. The bill also allows temporary protective orders to be extended up to one year rather than a maximum time frame of thirty days, when the petitioner and respondent have children involved.

Additionally, there are multiple bills that address certain survivor-related aspects of criminal justice processes (HB 196, (2011); HB 159, (2012)). The first revises the attorney general confidentiality program to clarify that participants in the program are responsible for informing any public body of participation in the program, rather than DV shelters or organizations. It also includes the survivor's name as part of the confidential information under the program. The second bill, in regards to both survivor participation and perpetrator requirements, lays out the possibilities of GPS monitoring systems as a condition of bond release. Under this bill, the court may prevent a defendant from going to locations the survivor frequents, such as their home or work place, and may authorize GPS monitoring to ensure the defendant's adherence to the condition. When GPS monitoring is a condition of release, the court is required to inform the survivor of their right to choose to participate, because the survivor's

location will also be tracked by the system. This bill details the sanctions that may be implemented if the defendant violates these terms, the procedures and support services available if that happens, and the number of the law enforcement agency the survivor should contact if in need of immediate assistance.

One bill, enacted early on in the time period, addresses survivor-specific needs outside of the court system (SB 2344, (2010)). This is a newly introduced bill to prevent discrimination on the basis of abuse by providers of health insurance, life insurance, and disability income insurance. The bill encompasses other forms of abuse, but domestic violence (including psychological trauma and emotional distress) survivors are incorporated into the group of people protected from discriminatory practices. Insurance benefits cannot be changed due to the status of abuse, nor can a provider terminate the survivor's group coverage if the abuser's coverage is terminated. This bill enactment is not directly related to services provided to survivors of DV, but addresses something important that could greatly negatively impact survivor's lives if not accounted for.

The final two bills in this analysis implemented offices and task forces to specifically address domestic violence and provide recommendations on necessary changes. In 2013, the Domestic Violence Task Force was established (SB 2631, (2013)). The task force was made up of a variety of professionals that work within multiple systems to address domestic violence. The goals of the committee were to streamline funding to DV shelters; consider impact, definition, funding, and certification of batterer intervention programs; create standards for confidentiality of clients; update training requirements for grant monitors, law enforcement, court personnel; provide uniform reporting and automation options; implement the formation of a DV commission with the charge of executing recommendation made by the task force; and develop a

report with legislative recommendations to the governor. One of the primary results of the task force was the creation of the Office Against Interpersonal Violence (OAIV) in 2014 (HB 1030, 2014)). In its inception, the primary responsibility of this office was to distribute funding to domestic violence service organizations and control federal grant funding. Both are examples of a coordinated community response to domestic violence and are made up of diverse perspectives from both within and outside of the criminal justice system. Like other states in this group, the primary policy type enacted in Mississippi pertained to the criminal justice system with little attention paid to survivor services.

Similar to the other group of states, the bills categorized within each state can be seen in *Figure 3*. These states tell a different story of where the priorities consistently lie. In all of the low performing states examined, at least 40 percent of the bills made some sort of change to the criminal justice system. Nevada is on the low end, while Wyoming and Mississippi both show

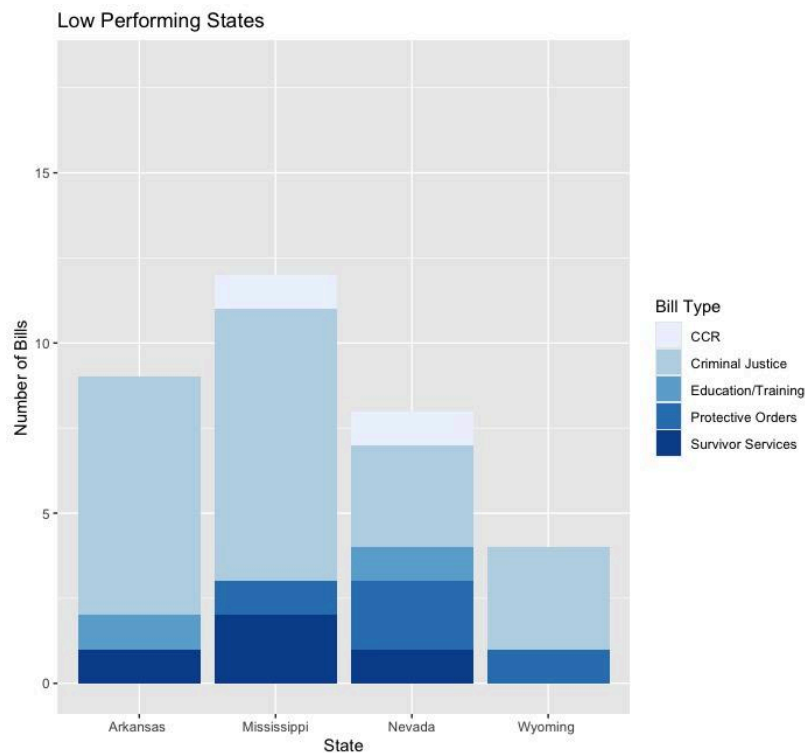


Figure 3: Bills in low performing states

that 75 percent of bills contained provisions in this category. In the case of survivor services, Wyoming has no bills addressing survivor services and fewer than 10 percent of bills in Mississippi, Arkansas, and Nevada address survivor services outside of the criminal justice system. There is an overwhelming commitment to amendments and provisions to the criminal justice system among the states that performed the worst in this study.

Conclusion

Overall, the results in regards to the importance of criminal justice and survivor service-based policies were partially what I expected. The states in the top performing quartile were more varied than initially anticipated and did not have a majority of bills with survivor service provisions. The only state where this category outnumbered the criminal justice system amendments was Hawai'i. Furthermore, there is a remarkable outlier in Utah, where no survivor service bills were enacted and nearly all were focused on criminal justice. This suggests that a lack of emphasis on criminal justice did not necessarily cause these states to outperform all of the others. Further investigation into the implementation of the bills themselves might lead to answers regarding the most effective response to intimate partner violence in the United States.

On the other hand, there are clearer trends in the states that severely underperformed compared to the national average. Criminal justice legislation is the primary approach across three of the states and survivor services are underrepresented. This suggests that the least effective way to address domestic violence would be to ramp up criminal justice provisions while undervaluing the importance of survivor services outside of that system. There are a few secondary themes that might have contributed to the lack of success for these states within the categories as well. There are two instances of coordinated community response programs in this group. The bills create multidisciplinary and interagency teams to build solutions and responses

to DV. As the literature criticizes, the committees are primarily made up of criminal justice system participants, are not clear on the role that other actors play, and do not include evaluative mechanisms. The successes of these programs might be greater with increased integration of advocates outside of the criminal justice system (Shorey et al., 2014; De Prince et al., 2012). Ultimately, the states on top likely kept the rate of increase low due to a non-policy related factor. There are clearer trends on the bottom that point to the necessity of state legislatures considering the benefits of stepping outside of the criminal justice system to create new solutions for the struggle of intimate partner violence faced by so many women.

Conclusions

During this study, I pondered the most effective type of policy for responding to domestic violence in a group of states. I determined the states where the greatest increase in experiences of intimate partner violence was reported by women and wanted to discover the impact of policy changes. Ultimately, I did not draw strong conclusions on the best policy answer in response to domestic violence. Hawaii and South Carolina enacted a wide range of policies that addressed criminal justice, education, training, survivor services, and protective orders. States that performed similarly did not take the same approach. Further research is necessary to determine if there are other factors that lead to minimal increases in intimate partner violence. On the other hand, I found patterns that suggest primarily focusing on criminal justice, without attention to other services specifically geared toward survivors, can have negative effects. Among the states where intimate partner violence increased at a much higher rate, all enacted a majority of bills that amended or added provisions to the criminal justice system response to domestic violence. As state legislatures will continue reinforcing criminal justice and punitive measures for perpetrators of domestic violence, they must consider the impact on survivors, understanding the possible negative effect of such policies.

When considering any patterns that have emerged, it is crucial to acknowledge the limitations of the study. Intimate partner violence is something that is difficult to report for many people. For this reason, I chose data outside of police reporting because there are inherent barriers that prevent many people from reporting. The power dynamic associated with violence in the home further prevents people from sharing their experience with anyone, particularly via an impersonal interview. Domestic violence is underreported and this survey is no exception.

This means that any conclusions are suggestive of possible patterns, but it is impossible to ensure that all demographics who experience domestic violence are accounted for.

While my research emphasizes policy trends regarding domestic violence across various states in the country, there are several further questions that could be explored. This research focused on the bills that went through the entire legislative process and successfully became laws in the states of interest. Future research might consider a particular state, like Idaho, where proposed bills were not successfully incorporated into law. What are the circumstances that prevent state legislation from passing laws related to the response to domestic violence? Are there political or societal factors that prevent the subject from being viable to legislatures? Does the mechanism that brings forward the bill, such as committees on the safety of women or criminal justice-focused committees, matter in the advancement or success of the bill?

Further, an interesting expansion of this study would be to assess the passed bills and their effect on the experiences of domestic violence in more states. Would the pattern of heavy criminal justice legislation among the states that have not prevented a steep rise in cases hold? Would there be clearer patterns in the top states? Further research is necessary to determine strategies that truly mitigate experiences of domestic violence among women.

Another interesting extension of this research might be a replication with bills passed in more recent years. With similar data on the experiences of IPV among women after 2017, the patterns might change. It would be useful to determine if criminal justice legislation, and other bills passed regarding domestic violence, are more survivor and trauma-centered as research regarding the necessity of support for survivors has emerged in recent years.

The final consideration is a question of the role policy has to play in responding to domestic violence. With the criminalization of domestic violence and formalization of support

networks, there is an effect on support and advocacy at a smaller scale within communities.

While I believe there are both harmful and useful aspects of policy for survivors and perpetrators of domestic violence, the answer may lie with community-driven solutions rather than a top-down implementation of policy. Discovering how to implement policy solutions alongside leadership in grassroots, community organizations is something that researchers and policymakers should be exploring further.

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Appendix

1. Intimate Partner Violence

State	Percentage of Women with Lifetime Experiences of IPV in 2010	Percentage of Women with Lifetime Experiences of IPV in 2016	Rate of Change Between Years	Distance from National Average Rate of Change
Alabama	37.5	52.7	15.2	5.5
Alaska	43.3	53.8	10.5	0.8
Arizona	42.6	53.7	11.1	1.4
Arkansas	40.8	58.5	17.7	8.0
California	34.9	48.3	13.4	3.7
Colorado	36.8	49.7	12.9	3.2
Connecticut	37.7	35.9	-1.8	-11.5
Delaware	37.6	57.5	19.9	10.2
Florida	37.9	53.9	16.0	6.3
Georgia	37.4	53.2	15.8	6.1
Hawaii	34.7	34.8	0.1	-9.6
Idaho	33	58.2	25.2	15.5
Illinois	41.5	43.3	1.8	-7.9
Indiana	42.5	51	8.5	-1.2
Iowa	35.3	40.4	5.1	-4.6
Kansas	33.9	37	3.1	-6.6
Kentucky	45.3	48.4	3.1	-6.6
Louisiana	35.9	50.7	14.8	5.1
Maine	39.3	43.3	4.0	-5.7
Maryland	34.4	40.9	6.5	-3.2
Massachusetts	33.9	35.9	2.0	-7.7
Michigan	36.1	45.5	9.4	-0.3
Minnesota	33.9	39.6	5.7	-4.0

Mississippi	39.7	56.1	16.4	6.7
Missouri	41.8	45	3.2	-6.5
Montana	37.2	46.8	9.6	-0.1
Nebraska	33.7	49.2	15.5	5.8
Nevada	43.8	61.8	18.0	8.3
New Hampshire	34.7	44.4	9.7	0.0
New Jersey	35.8	46.6	10.8	1.1
New Mexico	37.6	43.5	5.9	-3.8
New York	31.7	44.2	12.5	2.8
North Carolina	35.2	54.9	19.7	10.0
North Dakota	29.7	42.9	13.2	3.5
Ohio	38	50.5	12.5	2.8
Oklahoma	40.1	51.5	11.4	1.7
Oregon	39.8	42.3	2.5	-7.2
Pennsylvania	37.1	48.7	11.6	1.9
Rhode Island	32.6	46.7	14.1	4.4
South Carolina	42.3	43.2	0.9	-8.8
South Dakota	27.8	37	9.2	-0.5
Tennessee	39.6	47.3	7.7	-2.0
Texas	40.1	45.1	5.0	-4.7
Utah	33.6	31.7	-1.9	-11.6
Vermont	39.2	45.4	6.2	-3.5
Virginia	33.6	44.9	11.3	1.6
Washington	41.4	47.7	6.3	-3.4
West Virginia	39.4	48.5	9.1	-0.6
Wisconsin	36.3	40.4	4.1	-5.6
Wyoming	33.9	52	18.1	8.4

2. Intimate Partner Violence with Impact

State	Percentage of Women with Lifetime Experiences of IPV with Impact in 2010	Percentage of Women with Lifetime Experiences of IPV with Impact in 2010	Rate of Change Between Years	Distance from National Average Rate of Change
Alabama	32.3	47.7	15.4	2.2
Alaska	34.1	49.8	15.7	2.5
Arizona	34	48	14.0	0.8
Arkansas	25.1	55.9	30.8	17.6
California	23.3	42.9	19.6	6.4
Colorado	27.6	46	18.4	5.2
Connecticut	22.2	30.8	8.6	-4.6
Delaware	28.6	50.6	22.0	8.8
Florida	26.3	45.4	19.1	5.9
Georgia	25.5	51.6	26.1	12.9
Hawaii	27.3	27.2	-0.1	-13.3
Idaho	25.5	53.3	27.8	14.6
Illinois	31.5	37.2	5.7	-7.5
Indiana	29.9	46.9	17.0	3.8
Iowa	26.5	33.9	7.4	-5.8
Kansas	26.1	29.5	3.4	-9.8
Kentucky	33.6	44.5	10.9	-2.3
Louisiana	27	42.9	15.9	2.7
Maine	31.7	38.9	7.2	-6.0
Maryland	22	33.8	11.8	-1.4
Massachusetts	25.1	28.7	3.6	-9.6
Michigan	29.4	36.8	7.4	-5.8
Minnesota	24	32.3	8.3	-4.9

Mississippi	28.8	48.3	19.5	6.3
Missouri	29.7	38.5	8.8	-4.4
Montana	27	43.5	16.5	3.3
Nebraska	26	36.8	10.8	-2.4
Nevada	35.3	56.1	20.8	7.6
New Hampshire	23.8	33.3	9.5	-3.7
New Jersey	24.6	40.2	15.6	2.4
New Mexico	29.1	38.1	9.0	-4.2
New York	21.6	39.2	17.6	4.4
North Carolina	28.5	46.9	18.4	5.2
North Dakota	22.4	37.7	15.3	2.1
Ohio	31.7	43.4	11.7	-1.5
Oklahoma	30.1	42	11.9	-1.3
Oregon	29.3	38.3	9.0	-4.2
Pennsylvania	27.3	39.5	12.2	-1.0
Rhode Island	19.7	40.4	20.7	7.5
South Carolina	32	39.2	7.2	-6.0
South Dakota	22.5	30.6	8.1	-5.1
Tennessee	29.5	41.1	11.6	-1.6
Texas	31.5	38	6.5	-6.7
Utah	25.2	27.1	1.9	-11.3
Vermont	28.8	43.4	14.6	1.4
Virginia	23.8	38.9	15.1	1.9
Washington	31.3	42.2	10.9	-2.3
West Virginia	33.3	45.1	11.8	-1.4
Wisconsin	28.1	35.3	7.2	-6.0
Wyoming	24.2	46.1	21.9	8.7

3. Worst Performing States

State	IPV: Rate of Change	IPV: Distance from National Average Rate of Change	IPV with Impact: Rate of Change	IPV with Impact: Distance from National Average Rate of Change
Arkansas	17.7	8.0	30.8	17.6
Delaware	19.9	10.2	22.0	8.8
Florida	16.0	6.3	19.1	5.9
Georgia	15.8	6.1	26.1	12.9
Idaho	25.2	15.5	27.8	14.6
Mississippi	16.4	6.7	19.5	6.3
Nevada	18.0	8.3	20.8	7.6
Wyoming	18.1	8.4	21.9	8.7

4. Best Performing States

State	IPV: Rate of Change	IPV: Distance from National Average Rate of Change	IPV with Impact: Rate of Change	IPV with Impact: Distance from National Average Rate of Change
Hawaii	0.1	-9.6	-0.1	-13.3
Illinois	1.8	-7.9	5.7	-7.5
Kansas	3.1	-6.6	3.4	-9.8
Massachusetts	2.0	-7.7	3.6	-9.6
South Carolina	0.9	-8.8	7.2	-6.0
Utah	-1.9	-11.6	1.9	-11.3

5. Categorization of Bills

State	Bill Number	Year	Bill Type
South Carolina	H3677	2009-2010	Criminal Justice
South Carolina	H3361	2013-2014	Protective Orders
South Carolina	SB0003	2015-2016	Criminal Justice
South Carolina	SB0003	2015-2016	Survivor Services
South Carolina	H4666	2015-2016	Coordinated Community Response
South Carolina	SB0003	2015-2016	Education and Training
South Carolina	SB0003	2015-2016	Protective Orders
Utah	HB303	2010	Criminal Justice
Utah	HB374	2011	Criminal Justice
Utah	SB206	2016	Criminal Justice
Utah	HJR6	2010	Criminal Justice
Utah	SB59	2015	Criminal Justice
Utah	HB361	2013	Education and Training
Illinois	SB1645	2015	Survivor Services
Hawai'i	HB1818	2010	Criminal Justice
Hawai'i	HB1003	2011	Criminal Justice
Hawai'i	HB1993	2011	Criminal Justice
Hawai'i	HB968	2014	Protective Orders
Hawai'i	SB226	2015	Protective Orders
Hawai'i	SB223	2011	Protective Orders
Hawai'i	HB587	2013	Protective Orders
Hawai'i	HR72	2011	Survivor Services
Hawai'i	SB229	2011	Survivor Services
Hawai'i	HB2133	2012	Education and Training
Hawai'i	HB538	2015	Survivor Services

Hawai'i	HB858	2015	Survivor Services
Hawai'i	SB2310	2016	Protective Orders
Hawai'i	HB2772	2016	Survivor Services
Hawai'i	HB2772	2016	Education and Training
Hawai'i	SB9	2015	Education and Training
Hawai'i	SB388	2015	Education and Training

Wyoming	SF0117	2013	Criminal Justice
Wyoming	HB0080	2011	Criminal Justice
Wyoming	HB0080	2011	Protective Orders
Wyoming	HB0006	2014	Criminal Justice
Nevada	AB193	2015	Criminal Justice
Nevada	SB175	2015	Criminal Justice
Nevada	AB115	2013	Protective Orders
Nevada	AB69	2015	Protective Orders
Nevada	AB263	2015	Criminal Justice
Nevada	AB284	2013	Survivor Services
Nevada	SB362	2015	Education and Training
Nevada	SB66	2011	Coordinated Community Response
Arkansas	HB2108	2013	Criminal Justice
Arkansas	SB867	2015	Criminal Justice
Arkansas		2015	Criminal Justice
Arkansas	HB1706	2015	Criminal Justice
Arkansas	HB1707	2015	Criminal Justice
Arkansas	HB1599	2015	Criminal Justice
Arkansas	SB751	2011	Survivor Services
Arkansas	SB170	2013	Criminal Justice

Arkansas	HB1685	2015	Education and Training
Mississippi	SB2923	2010	Criminal Justice
Mississippi	HB780	2012	Criminal Justice
Mississippi	HB709	2013	Criminal Justice
Mississippi	SB2629	2014	Criminal Justice
Mississippi	SB2476	2014	Criminal Justice
Mississippi	SB2476	2014	Protective Orders
Mississippi	HB196	2011	Criminal Justice
Mississippi	HB196	2011	Criminal Justice
Mississippi	SB2344	2010	Survivor Services
Mississippi	HB159	2012	Criminal Justice
Mississippi	HB1030	2014	Survivor Services
Mississippi	SB2631	2013	Coordinated Community Response