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State and Local Change and the Violence Against Women Act

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Executive Summary State and Local Change and the Violence Against Women Act

Marcia R. Chaiken Barbara Boland Michael D. Maltz Susan Martin Joseph Targonski

September 12, 2001

The Violence Against Women Act (VAWA), incorporated in the Violent Crime Control and Law Enforcement Act of 1994, was intended to bolster the ability of law enforcement departments, prosecutors, and private nonprofit victim assistance organizations to increase services to women victims of violence, to better assure victim safety and to increase offender accountability. The language of VAWA suggests that these impacts were intended to be achieved through three primary mechanisms: strategic leadership by the federal government to increase coordination among federal, state, and local and tribal agencies, federal funding for policing, prosecution, and victim services, and statutory changes allowing for a more active role on the part of U.S. Attorneys in cases involving violence against women.

After VAWA was enacted, the federal government established a national hotline, a Violence Against Women Office, and a national Advisory Council on Violence Against Women. By the end of 2000, grants exceeding \$1 billion had been made to public and private organizations concerned with violence against women.

LINC in cooperation with a team of senior researchers carried out a study sponsored by the Violence Against Women Office, under the supervision of the National Institute of Justice, to examine what, if any, difference VAWA actually had on steps taken for reducing violence against women. The intent of the study was to explore influences of VAWA on state and local processes and outcomes, above and beyond fiscal consequences. Grounded in theories of social movements, the LINC research is relevant more generally to factors that foster or retard the impact of federal legislation and funding on state and local processes.

This report presents three types of findings:

Findings about some major influences VAWA had on state and local approaches for dealing with violence against women. These are likely to be of import to policy-makers involved in enacting and implementing federal legislation.

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- Findings about factors that mitigated for and against the impact of VAWA. These have implications for both policy-makers and practitioners at the state and local level who are charged with implementing federal legislation and those who are charged with evaluating their efforts.
- Findings about the complexities of implementation that we recommend should be taken into account in future studies of the impact of federal legislation.

These findings are based on comparative case studies of approaches for reducing violence against women that were adopted before and after the enactment of the Violence Against Women Act in 1994. Case studies were carried out in four states and counties including Arizona and Maricopa County, especially Phoenix; Maryland and Wicomico County, especially Salisbury; Massachusetts and Essex County (North Shore) especially Salem and Danvers; Oregon and Multnomah County, especially Portland¹. These study sites are very different from each other in terms of demographic characteristics, cultures, political orientation, forms of government, and — at the time VAWA was enacted — the status of approaches for reducing violence against women.

Our research involved comparing and contrasting the cross-site evolution of approaches for providing services to women who are victims of violence, increasing their safety, and increasing offender accountability to determine common changes that occurred before and after the enactment of VAWA in these very different places. This process also shed light on differences among sites that appear to have had major implications for the types of approaches that evolved.

The cross-site comparisons incorporated longitudinal analysis of three types of data:

- Previously collected data in the study sites, including justice agency data (domestic violence homicides and arrests for domestic violence) and victim services agency data (such as hotline calls related to domestic violence)
- Information collected by the researchers in each site about the nature and timing of state and local development of approaches for reducing violence against women. Data were collected in structured interviews with administrators, supervisors, and first-line staff in criminal justice agencies.

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¹ Twenty criteria for selecting study sites included these: geographic and political variation among sites, counties encompassing urban, suburban, and rural areas, counties that received VAWA funds in 1995 and subsequent years; multiple approaches taking place for reducing violence against women; and approaches included those focused on domestic and sexual assault. The LINC study did not include any sites that were already covered by research of other NIJ grantees at the time the project started.

other government agencies, and victim advocacy and service organizations

Researchers' personal on-site observations of approaches funded by VAWA that involved cross-agency coordination.

The cross case study methods we used to compare these data were primarily graphical and qualitative — not scientifically rigorous statistical analysis. This report concentrates on presenting findings about distinct common changes that these comparisons showed had occurred in the study sites after VAWA was enacted and clear differences among the sites relevant to the development of approaches for reducing violence against women. Therefore, rather than providing a comprehensive evaluation of the outcomes of VAWA in any one site, or a definitive statement about the impact of VAWA across sites, our report is intended to increase the reader's understanding of the extent to which VAWA specifically — and federal legislation more generally — can facilitate developments in different contexts.

Major influences VAWA had on state and local approaches for dealing with violence against women

Finding 1. A primary overall strategic impact of VAWA in all four states and counties was to catalyze cooperation and coordination among agencies with very different perspectives of victims of violence. Whether the site's focus was on victims of sexual assault, victims of domestic violence or both, progress was achieved by bringing representatives of a spectrum of organizations with different philosophies to the same table using VAWA funds as an incentive, providing a "blueprint" for collaboration in the form of the Violence Against Women Office's strategy, creating a climate for discovering shared objectives (even in the absence of shared values), and operationalizing those objectives in coordinated and collaborative activities. Examples: State and local task forces for planning and coordinating approaches; joint protocols for victim services/ offender supervision; multi-agency teams and offices for "seamless system" service delivery; shared but secure systems for victim notification.

Active working relationships among first-response law enforcement officers and community-based victim service providers typically resulted in officers' realizing the reasons why victims stay with batterers and fail to cooperate in adjudication. This shift in attitude appears to be significantly greater than with in-class training of officers and persists even after officers are no longer involved in team response.

A small number of first-line cross-agency responders working in coordination (one advocate/one police or probation officer; one advocate/one prosecutor; one nurse examiner/one advocate/one officer) can and have reduced ongoing forms of trauma commonly experienced by victims of sexual assault and domestic violence subsequent to the emergent incident. One team sustained over time has the potential of affecting

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the lives of hundreds of victims.

Victim advocates who work within police departments, prosecutor's offices, courts, and correctional agencies, in addition to facilitating receipt of evidentiary or other pertinent information from victims, also informally function as facilitators for agency staff by providing scheduling information to officers slated for testimony in court proceedings, providing foreign language translations in hallway conferences, coordinating different sources of case relevant information, etc.

Finding 2. The direct impact of VAWA funds provided to state and local agencies reportedly has been both positive and negative. Perhaps the most important positive effect: small amounts of VAWA funds provided to agencies with limited budgets had a large positive impact. Victim service organization typically work on "shoe string" budgets; relatively small amounts of funds provided to these organizations allowed them to add one or two staff who "made a huge difference" in the numbers of victims who received services. For just one of many examples, the addition of one volunteer coordinator/ trainer resulted in the availability over fifty volunteers to respond immediately to the needs of domestic violence victims in emergent situations as soon as police officers secured the scene. Small amounts of funds provided to police departments with relatively limited budgets for buying cameras, tape recorders, and other equipment for collecting on-scene evidence also reportedly had a large impact on the quality of cases.

Among larger law enforcement departments receiving VAWA grants, additional funds also allowed administrators to hire additional personnel and, in turn, allocate additional staff time to cases involving domestic violence or sexual assault. Victims reportedly benefitted from the extra time and attention police and prosecutors could devote to assisting them. Police, prosecutors, and community corrections officers reported being able to take extra steps for reducing the possibility of a repeat victimization. However, the long-term benefits for reducing violence against women will depend on whether or not the departments receiving VAWA grants continue to fund these positions after federal funds are no longer available for this purpose.

Negative impact reportedly resulted from the mandate to allocate VAWA funds for new and unproven programs in lieu of continuing funding for approaches that had demonstrated ability to meet victims' immediate needs and to provide longer-term support needed by victims to become economically and legally independent from their batterers.

Finding 3. Approaches stimulated by the US Department of Justice, including VAWA-funded cooperative developments, have helped propel and solidify a cultural change in many state and local justice agencies — in particular a new sensitivity to issues confronting women victims of violence. This change has been noted repeatedly with satisfaction by victim service providers and other women's rights proponents.

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Justice agencies' officers, too, take deep satisfaction in addressing difficult community problems and openly grapple with new and effective ways for increasing victim services and safety as well as offender accountability.

Finding 4. In all four states and four counties studied, changes which have been attributed to the impact of VAWA include an **increase in public awareness** in general about the extent and issues involved in violence against women — especially domestic violence — and, more specifically, in victims' realization that they are not alone and that there are alternatives to remaining with the batterer and staying silent.

Finding 5. Together, increased public awareness, greater collaboration between relevant agencies, and a shift in law enforcement priorities and response appear to have addressed some of the multiple reasons why victims do not report abuse. This impact is reflected in some sites by an **increase in reports to police**, in other sites by an **increase in reports to victim agencies**, and in other sites by an increase in reports to both types of first responders.

Finding 6. VAWA had indirect effects through intermediary factors. For example, VAWA, and issues raised by VAWA, provided a successful platform for women seeking office at state and county levels. Once elected, these women played a critical role in leveraging funds for victim services and policies focused on reducing violence against women.

Factors that mitigated for and against the influence of VAWA

While the general effects of VAWA discussed above occurred in all four states and counties, the specific impacts and the extent to which they had an impact on the development of approaches for reducing violence differed from site to site. These differences could be attributed to several factors.

Finding 7. The overall reaction to VAWA in all four states and counties was and continues to be mediated by **three ongoing social movements** which have different strengths and adherents in different parts of the country: the women's rights movement, the victims' rights movement, and the system effectiveness movement.

Each of these movements has different constituencies, values, goals, objectives, and views of appropriate roles and inter-relationships among and between justice agencies and other public and private agencies.

Participants in the three movements typically have different views of desirable outcomes and impacts of VAWA and therefore different opinions about appropriate steps to take to achieve desired ends. In large part, the state and local objectives for carrying out VAWA, funded initiatives, and the steps they took to achieve these objectives (and therefore appropriate measures for assessing outcome and impact)

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were dependent on the relative strength of the three movements prior to 1994.

Finding 8. The extent to which VAWA catalyzed cooperation and coordination between agencies with different perspectives in each state and county was dependent on the relative extent to which synthesis between social movements had already occurred at the time VAWA was enacted. For example, in Multnomah County, synthesis between the three social movements involved in developing approaches for victims of violence occurred many years before VAWA, resulting in coordination and cooperation between organizations with divergent views; however, VAWA accelerated this process. In Maryland, especially in counties outside Baltimore and Montgomery, and in Arizona, VAWA appeared to be a strong factor in synthesis.

Finding 9. Although similar strategic and fiscal influences of VAWA were more or less evident from place to place, the *legislative* impact of VAWA has been idiosyncratic and varied from state to state and county to county. Some variation can be explained by differences in congruence of state law with VAWA. However, variation was also due to **differing responses of US Attorney Offices to VAWA**. Among the four states, in Massachusetts the US Attorney took an extremely proactive role in carrying out the mandate of VAWA to reduce violence against women by setting up very active victims units and spear-heading several initiatives in collaboration with state and local agencies; at the time of the site visit, prosecution of cases utilizing provisions set forth in VAWA had been less vigorously pursued by the office. In Arizona, on the other hand, the US Attorney's Office had made creative use of the interstate provisions in VAWA in prosecuting offenses against women on Indian reservations which span more than one state; however, the Office was far less proactive than in Massachusetts, even though the failure of victims to carry through with prosecution is seen as one of the most important barriers to reducing violence against women.

In Oregon, the US Attorney dedicated one staff member to training state and local agencies about VAWA provisions and more generally building cooperation in local communities. However, although this staff member won the respect of community groups, particularly in minority communities, her function was not an integral part of prosecuting cases with or without regard to VAWA provisions².

Complexities and cautions for evaluating VAWA and other federal legislation

While our study was not intended to provide a rigorous quantitative assessment of the impact of VAWA, based on our cross-site case studies we can provide some insights about complexities that need to be taken into account for those who have the mandate

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² The US Attorney for Oregon herself played a critical role in arranging a meeting between OJP administrators and the Portland Police Bureau. Ultimately, this meeting resulted in the Bureau's receipt of VAWA funds for creating a coordinated county-level interagency response to domestic violence victims in cases where an arrest had not occurred.

to carry out such an evaluation.

Finding 10. Any rigorous evaluation of VAWA should take into account relevant co-occurring events to avoid overestimates or underestimates of the law's impact on approaches for reducing violence against women and consequent changes in the rates of violence. For example, shortly before or after VAWA was approved in 1994. one or more local domestic violence homicide cases were personalized and highly publicized by the media. Publicity about these homicides generated cooperatively by women reporters, leaders in victim advocacy, and other victims groups, were followed by an increase in calls by victims seeking help from advocates and police — an increase that might given the timing seem to have been directly and exclusively prompted by VAWA-funded outreach programs. And, since there is some evidence that, as reports to the police increase, domestic murders of women decrease, a lower rate of domestic homicides could easily but mistakenly be attributed to VAWA. Too. the year VAWA was enacted, 1994, also was the year the media and the nation paid close attention to the arrest and subsequent trial of O.J. Simpson for the murder of his wife. Nichole Simpson — and, as suggested by a number of people interviewed for our study, increased state and local attention and approaches for reducing domestic violence have at least in part can be attributed to a reaction to the Simpson case.

Finding 11. The impact of VAWA can be confounded with the impact of other related federal acts, especially federal acts produced as a result of lobbying on the part of the three movements which were also involved in the passage of VAWA (and the more encompassing Crime Act legislation) (women's rights, victims' rights, and system effectiveness). For example, the 1994 Crime Act encompassing VAWA also established the COPS office which administered funds provided to state and local law enforcement agencies; some of these funds were used for community officers who worked with in partnership with probation officers to provide more supervision of sex offenders and domestic violence offenders and with shelter-based victim advocates to improve victim safety and victim services.

The impact of funding through specific programs of VAWA administered by the Violence Against Women Office is even more difficult to disaggregate in terms of practical overlap (as distinguished from administrative overlap) between state and local approaches funded through different VAWO-administered programs (STOP, Rural grants, Grants to Encourage Arrest). For example, training for first-line police officers responding to domestic violence victims has been carried out using funds from several programs administered by VAWO. To the extent that this training has an impact on changes in officer practices (which is not borne out by other NIJ-sponsored research) the impact would be difficult to determine.

Finding 12. Over the long term, specific impacts of VAWA can be, and in some places already have been, attenuated by counter-movements. Strategies and approaches for reducing violence against women have been challenged by counter-

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movements with values and goals that directly oppose or are in conflict with providing increased support to women victims of violence. The influence of VAWA was and continues to be dependent on the time at which counter-movements emerged and the relative influence of the counter-movements on specific branches of government. Examples of counter-movements in Massachusetts are the "Fathers' Rights Movement," which seeks to have had an impact on the legislative branch, and a movement for preserving "judicial integrity," which seeks to disengage judicial participation in collaborative efforts. These and other emergent movements appear to have attenuated the impact of VAWA in recent years.

Implications for policy, practice, and research

Our findings suggest that as evidenced by VAWA, federal acts and actions can play a significant role in addressing crime by stimulating social change at the state and local level. However, federal strategies for guiding state and local agencies' application for and use of funds are at least as important as the funds themselves in bringing about change intended by the legislation. In the case of VAWA, one of the primary charges of the legislation and changes stimulated by strategic implementation of the legislation was to bring about greater coordination and cooperation among organizations mandated to provide services to women victims of violence, to increase their safety, and to hold their offenders more accountable.

Our findings also shed light on the importance of crafting an overarching federal strategy encompassing several legislative mandates for bringing about change needed to reduce crime. The implementation of VAWA, with its heavy emphasis on organization cooperation and coordination was complemented and strengthened by the strategy implemented by other federal agencies — most particularly the approaches stimulated by the COPS office for improving policing by increasing coordination and cooperation between government agencies and nonprofit organizations serving the same community. Together the strategies launched by the Violence Against Women Office and the COPS office appear to have brought about significant change in police views of women victims of violence and to some extent, victims' views of at least individual police officers — and their willingness to report crimes.

While federal strategies can help stimulate greater collaboration and cooperation at the state and local level, experience with VAWA also makes clear that the organizational alliances needed to bring about change are shaped by pre-existing and emerging social movements with which key agencies are associated. The history of these social movements and the relationship between state and local organizations can either limit, enhance, or attenuate the impact of federal strategy and the impact of federally-funded approaches. Our findings suggest the history of social movements differ from state to state and county to county; therefore federal legislation, strategies, and funding must be flexible enough to allow for these differences. Mandates for U.S. Attorneys also need to recognize these realities. And evaluations of the impact of federal legislation need to be designed to take these state and local variations into account.

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At the state and local level, in order to form alliances needed to bring about change, decision makers and practitioners in organizations associated with different movements need to recognize that their basic values and priorities may differ but that common objectives can be defined and achieved cooperatively. By focusing on these common objectives, significant progress can be made in a direction all agree is valuable -- albeit for different reasons.

Finally, to assess impacts, evaluators need to recognize that new federally legislated crime reduction approaches are implemented in the context of other federal initiatives. Moreover, media attention to crime frequently evokes strong reactions among state and local administrators as well as victims and the general public. Given these realities, researchers need to develop new quantitative methods for assessing the extent to which specific federal legislation *contributes* to change in the context of co-occurring events.

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In Essex County (North Shore): Judith Collins, Chief Probation Officer, Department of Probation Salem District Court; Lindsey Baxter, Educational Outreach Coordinator, North Shore Rape Crisis Center/ Project RAP/HES; Sam Diener, Conflict Education Coordinator; Eddy Hoyle, Assistant Director, The Women's Crisis Center, Inc. (Newburyport); at the Salem State College Police Department, Salem State College, Brian C. Pray, Chief of Police, Lieutenant Douglas M. Brown, Detective Sergeant Vincent O'Connell, Inspector Janice Fuller, and Officer Michael Haggstrom; Richard C. Landers, Chief of Police, and Lieutenant Jon E. Tiplady, Danvers Police Department; Robert M. St. Pierre, Chief of Police, Captain Paul Tucker, and Ptl. Michael P. LaRiviere, Salem Police Department. In the Office of District Attorney (Essex County) Kevin M. Burke, District Attorney, Michaelene O'Neill McCann, Executive Director, Victim/Witness Assistance Program, Fay Ciaramitaro, Supervisor Victim/Witness Assistant District Attorney, Maria Arroyo-Long, Victim/Witness Advocate, and Tammy McCarthy,

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In all our study sites, women who have survived violence provided insights about the services and support they were receiving. They made clear that advocates and victim service providers played an essential role in sustaining them during critical intervals in their lives and enabling them to move beyond the anguish they had suffered.

Finally, we would like to thank Noel Brennan for encouraging us to take on this project and raising our recognition of the critical need to address pragmatic questions about approaches for reducing violence against women and the impact of the Violence Against Women Act on state and local change.

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STATE AND LOCAL CHANGE AND THE VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN ACT

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September 12, 2001

CHAPTER 1. INTRODUCTION

The Violence Against Women Act (VAWA) was intended to bolster the ability of law enforcement departments, prosecutors, and private nonprofit victim assistance organizations to increase services to victims of domestic violence¹, sexual assault, and stalking, to better assure victim safety and to increase offender accountability. The language of VAWA suggests that these impacts were intended to be achieved through three primary mechanisms: strategic leadership for an increase in coordination among federal, state, and local and tribal agencies, funding for policing, prosecution, and victim services, and legislation allowing for a more active role on the part of U.S. Attorneys in cases involving violence against women.

LINC in cooperation with a team of senior researchers carried out a study sponsored by the Violence Against Women Office, under the supervision of the National Institute of Justice, to examine what, if any, difference VAWA actually had on steps taken for reducing violence against women. The intent of the study was to explore the types of influences of VAWA on state and local development of approaches processes and outcomes, above and beyond fiscal consequences. Grounded in theories of social movements, the LINC research is relevant more generally to factors that foster or retard the impact of federal legislation and funding on state and local processes.

This report presents three types of findings:

- Findings about some major influences VAWA had on state and local approaches for dealing with violence against women. Presented in Chapter 2, these include broad changes are likely to be of import to policy-makers involved in enacting and implementing federal legislation. State and local decision-makers are likely to find useful information in the four case examples presenting details about the implementation of approaches influenced by VAWA. (These are also included in Chapter 2).
- Findings about factors that mitigated for and against the impact of VAWA.

 These have implications for both policy-makers and practitioners at the state and local level who are charged with implementing federal legislation

and those who are charged with evaluating their efforts. (Chapter 3).

Findings about the complexities of implementation that we recommend should be taken into account in future studies of the impact of federal legislation. (Chapter 4).

Implications of these findings for policy and practice are presented in Chapter 5. The findings are based on comparative case studies of approaches for reducing violence against women that were adopted before and after the enactment of the Violence Against Women Act in 1994. To permit assembling detailed information about the development and implementation of these approaches, the study was not national in scope but focuses on four places:

- Arizona and Maricopa County, especially Phoenix;
- Maryland and Wicomico County, especially Salisbury;
- Massachusetts and Essex County (North Shore) especially Salem and Danvers; and,
- Oregon and Multnomah County, especially Portland.

Organizations in each of these places have implemented innovative approaches for addressing domestic violence and sexual assault. Some were funded by VAWA, others were entirely supported using state or local resources. A small number of the VAWA-funded approaches are described in this report.

Although all study sites have made recent progress in addressing violence against women, the places differ widely in terms of demographic characteristics, cultures, political orientation, forms of government, and — at the time VAWA was enacted — the status of approaches for reducing violence against women.

Given these differences, rather than expecting a uniform influence of VAWA around the country, we expected that the type and extent of the influence of VAWA would depend on the stage each study site had reached before VAWA was enacted. Similar to providing a push to a swing, we expected very different effects for a swing that was barely in motion compared to a push for a swing already moving high.

This introduction continues with background information about the Violence Against Women Act, the theories of social movements that we found helpful in understanding the relative stages of development achieved at each study site, and the research methods.

Background Information about the Violence Against Women Act

Enacted as part of the Violent Crime Control and Law Enforcement Act of 1994, the Violence Against Women Act (VAWA) contained numerous provisions to strengthen enforcement of federal domestic violence and sexual assault laws, enhance the rights of victims, build information systems that bolster the safety of women, provide funding to assist states and localities, and sponsor research and evaluation for improving future policies and programs related to violence against women.²

Organizational changes in the U.S. Department of Justice that strengthened its role as a coordinator of federal, state, and local and tribal agencies included the creation of a national Violence Against Women office.³ The U.S. Department of Health and Human Services established the National Domestic Violence Hotline and joined with the Department of Justice in sponsoring the national Advisory Council on Violence Against Women.⁴

Among the statutory changes brought about by VAWA and related laws, new federal offenses were established to cover cases where an abuser crosses state lines to violate a protection order or injure, harass, or intimidate a spouse or intimate partner, penalties were increased for Federal sex offenses, and national policies were established for registration of sex offenders. These changes provided U.S. Attorneys with responsibilities that were intended to bring them into close working relationships with public and private agencies that served women victims of domestic violence, sexual assault, and stalking. State and local Information systems created or strengthened as a result of VAWA included the FBI's national protection order file, national sex offender registry, and national instant criminal background check system (NICS) — these were intended to facilitate implementation of VAWA's provisions that require enforcement of domestic violence protection orders across state lines and prohibit abusers who are subject to protection orders from possessing or purchasing firearms.

VAWA and related laws established a multi-year program of grants to state, local, and tribal governments, victim services agencies, institutions of higher education, and legal services organizations agencies, which were coordinated with additional domestic violence grants from the Justice Department's Community Oriented Policing Services (COPS) Office. Grants totaling over \$1 billion had been awarded by the end of 2000. The first grant awards were made in 1995 under the S.T.O.P (Services, Training, Officers, and Prosecutors) Violence Against Women Formula Grant Program (STOP Program), and the STOP program continued and grew in subsequent years. In keeping with VAWA's emphasis on collaboration, the STOP grants required states to develop a joint strategy among law enforcement, prosecutors and victim service providers.⁵

VAWA and related laws also provided federal funding for:

grants to encourage arrest policies, under which communities develop mandatory or pro-arrest policies for cases of domestic violence as part of

their overall strategy,

- grants to develop and enhance state and local data files about stalkers, protection orders, and sex offenders these are the sources of information for the FBI's national systems,
- grants for domestic violence and child victimization enforcement in rural and tribal areas,
- grants to combat violent crime against women on college campuses
- assistance to law clinics, victim services organizations, bar associations, and shelters to provide legal advice to domestic violence victims, and
- judicial oversight projects, which permit courts to create specialized dockets or courts for domestic violence, to coordinate community-wide responses to domestic violence, or strengthen oversight of domestic violence offenders.

From 1995 to 2000, the STOP grant program was the largest funded under VAWA, but many counties where STOP funding was received also had activities that were federally funded under other VAWA grant programs or by COPS office grants. The Justice Department's funding agencies adopted a strategy of stimulating applicants for grant funds to work together toward common goals and to work with other public and private organizations concerned with violence against women.

Theoretical Perspective

Recently, several scholars have described VAWA and other federal legislation promoting a change in the treatment of victims and the response of the criminal justice system as products of social movements.⁶ To our research team, the following reasoning suggested that theories about social movements would offer the most productive guidelines for organizing concepts in a comparative study of the development of approaches for addressing violence against women and the role of VAWA.

First and most generally, the focus on victims of violence appeared to be closely tied to at least three different national collective attempts to bring about sweeping social change. A collective call to create a more effective and coordinated criminal justice system emerged out of the civil rights movement and the riots that rocked major cities in the 1960s. We refer to this social movement as the system effectiveness movement. The movement's core values and proposed tactics are captured in the 1967 document produced by President Lyndon Johnson's Crime Commission on Law Enforcement and the Administration of Justice, *The Challenge of Crime in a Free Society*. The movement gave rise to several developments highly relevant for victims of domestic

violence, sexual assault and stalking. One was the formation of state and local victim witness units; another, experimental studies of the effects of mandatory arrests of domestic violence offenders.

The women's rights movement (that was also closely related to the civil rights movement) specifically called for providing services for women assaulted by men, as distinct from more generic, gender-neutral approaches for preventing violence or serving victims. Feminists created rape hot lines and formed groups of volunteer rape crisis counselors. Advocates with strong ties to the women's rights movement provided many of the first shelters for battered women. Many of these advocates eventually were among the first women to achieve leadership roles and top-level positions in organizations formerly dominated by men including legislative and judicial bodies, executive governmental offices, and religious organizations. They continued their push for change within the systems they joined.

Another independent call for a social change primarily focused on the relative rights of victims and offenders. This movement, the victims' rights movement, was driven in part parents and other family of homicide victims. These survivors banded together, first for comfort and later for increasing the accountability of the murders of their loved ones. As the movement gained momentum, adherents strived for more sweeping reform. The movement eventually provided a major impetus for constitutional change and has been increasing the rights of a broad spectrum victims in a growing number of states.

The second reason for using social movement theory to guide our study was the interplay between these three national movements that appeared to result in VAWA. While VAWA, like most enacted legislation ultimately achieved a broad base of support among legislators, some of the most vocal groups who lobbied over many years for passage of the Act were feminists. They sought the Violence Against Women Act not only for fiscal support for services for women victims of domestic violence, sexual assault, and stalking, but also as federal validation of *all* women's rights to receive protection from abusive partners. They included survivors of violence against women and victim advocates. Later support also came from system effectiveness proponents -- especially, attorneys general, prosecutors, police officers, and court personnel, who had experience with violence against women cases and recognized the need for reform. From this perspective, the very essence of VAWA corresponds to the definition of a social movement as "a collectivity acting with some continuity to promote or resist a change in the society or group of which it is a part." ⁷

Third, the stages described in seminal studies of the development of social movements correspond to many developments that occurred during the evolution of approaches for addressing plight of women victims of domestic violence and sexual assault. These include:

Formation of small, widely dispersed seed groups that publically express discontent with the status quo using catch phrases; in this case terms such as "batterers", "battered wives", and "date rape."

- Widespread informal debate over if and how the status quo could or should be changed; for example, informal debates over whether "date rape" was "really rape."
- Formation of ad hoc action groups to bring about change, such as the groups formed by university women who pressured administrators to take action against male students who refused to take "no" for an answer. Similarly, small groups of early advocates for battered wives called for public recognition and response to the formerly unspoken problem.
- Coalescence of loosely organized adherents into "grass roots" collectives who define common core values, and begin to recruit volunteers for action groups in this case advocates for battered women and rape victims who formed local coalitions and recruited volunteers for hot lines and other services.
- Emerging focus on goals for broad social change, including a change in broad social values, such as women's exclusive right to make decisions about their own bodies, and change in laws and the legal order that protect the rights of women, specifically women victims of domestic violence, sexual assault and stalking, as exemplified by VAWA.
- Popularization of stories justifying the movement's values and goals, such as television and newspaper articles about particular women who had been murdered by their current or former husbands or partners; and media series, movies, and public speeches about the "re-victimization" of women victims of rape or domestic violence by the criminal justice system.
- Transformation of grass-roots collectivities into formal organizations with leaders who are less visionary and more administrative, tactics that are less confrontational and more focused on forming political coalitions, and goals less centered on broad social change than on particular changes in policies and practices in social institutions, including government agencies.

This theoretical perspective of the stages that are characteristic of social movements led us to study VAWA as just one development in the evolution of approaches for addressing violence against women in the study sites and to compare the stage of development before and after VAWA was enacted in each study site.

Research Questions and Methods

Our research was designed to explore three fundamental questions:

- What key state and local developments for reducing violence against women occurred before VAWA was enacted in 1994?
- What key state and local developments occurred after 1994?
- What, if any, role did VAWA play in these latter developments?

Overview of methods

Overall, our research involved selecting study sites, selecting organizations within those sites to participate in the research, conducting interviews and collecting documentation about key developments that occurred in the study sites for addressing violence against women, and comparing these developments across sites to determine what common changes occurred before and after the enactment of VAWA and what factors, including VAWA, seemed to promote or retard developments. In addition, we conducted limited observations of at least one innovative approach for addressing violence against women in each study site that received VAWA funding to better understand processes that had evolved and the role of VAWA in this evolution.

Our cross-site comparisons incorporated longitudinal analysis of four types of data:

- Information about the nature and timing of state and local development of approaches for reducing violence against women, obtained through structured interviews with administrators, supervisors, and first-line staff in criminal justice agencies, other government agencies, and victim advocacy and service organizations in each of the sites.
- Documents that provided additional details and independent verification of information collected in interviews
- Data previously collected in the study sites, including justice agency data (domestic violence homicides and arrests for domestic violence) and victim services agency data (such as hotline calls related to domestic violence).
- LINC researchers' on-site observations of approaches funded by VAWA that involved cross-agency coordination.

The cross-case study methods we used to compare these data were primarily graphical and qualitative — not scientifically rigorous statistical analysis — and inductive rather than deductive. Each member of the research team was charged with studying and presenting findings about the development of approaches for preventing violence against women in particular study sites. However, since our team was composed of senior researchers with expertise in different but complementary analytical skills, each member of the research team worked independently, used different sources of data, and different forms of analysis to carry out this task. The methods used ranged from

traditional case study preparation to new forms of graphical analysis adapted from studies of life histories. Once all members of the research team had completed their individual sub-studies, our final task was to compare results to determine common findings that emerged independent of the site studied or the methods used to carry out the research.

This report concentrates on presenting findings about distinct common changes that these comparisons showed had occurred in the study sites after VAWA was enacted and clear differences among the sites relevant to the development of approaches for reducing violence against women. Therefore, rather than providing a comprehensive evaluation of the outcomes of VAWA in any one site, or a definitive statement about the impact of VAWA across sites, our report is intended to increase the reader's understanding of the extent to which VAWA specifically — and federal legislation more generally — can facilitate developments in different contexts.⁸

Readers more interested in the findings of our study than the methods we used may want to skip to the next section of the report.

Selecting study sites

As previously discussed, this study was not designed to be a rigorous experimental evaluation, but rather comparative case studies that would result in hypotheses about the influences of VAWA under different circumstances. Twenty criteria were used for selecting study sites. These included geographic and political variation among sites, counties encompassing urban, suburban, and rural areas, counties that received VAWA funds in 1995 and subsequent years; multiple approaches taking place for reducing violence against women; and approaches included those focused on domestic violence and sexual assault. The LINC study did not include any sites that were already covered by research of other NIJ grantees at the time the project started. Table 1 shows the primary criteria met by each study site and Table 2 shows the cross-cutting criteria met by the sites selected.

Sources of data analyzed to select the study sites were proposals and progress reports submitted to the Office of Justice Programs Violence Against Women Office (VAWO) as part of the 1994 STOP program, Urban Institute data about STOP sub-grants, Census data, and information available on state, county, and organizational web sites. VAWO staff also provided information based on their on-site observations and telephone conversations about activities carried out by organizations. Researchers at the Institute for Law and Justice (ILJ) and the Urban Institute (UI) provided information about sites involved in their independent evaluations of VAWA-funded projects. Colleagues carrying out relevant research in potential sites provided insights about the status of developing approaches for reducing violence against women — in particular, those funded by VAWA. And finally, the members of the LINC research team cumulatively had previously conducted research in virtually all the potential study sites and drew on these experiences for final site selection.

Table 1. Individual selection criteria met by study sites				
State:	Arizona	Massachusetts	Maryland	Oregon
County	Maricopa	Essex	Wicomico	Multnomah
Criterion:				
Change in practice proposed as a primary 1995 objective	Implement cross (cjs) agencies protocol/ program standards	Implement (prosecutor) case management	Increase community- based victim services	Increase community- based victim services
Multiple approaches funded within venue or adjacent areas	yes	yes	yes	yes
One approach appears more ambitious than modal types ¹¹	yes	yes	yes	yes
Approaches explicitly include domestic violence and sexual assault	yes	yes	yes	yes
Potential for data to document impact ¹²	Very high	High	High	Very high
Tribal land	no	no	no	no
Primary objective limited to law-enforcement training or technology development	no	по	no	no
Key agencies' potential willingness to cooperate ¹³	High	Very high	High	Very high
Primary 1995 objective: outreach to a specific under-served population	no	no	no	no

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State: County	Arizona Maricopa	Massachu- setts Essex	Maryland Wicomico	Oregon Multnomah
Criteria cross-cutting sites; maximize variation in:				
Geographical location	South West	North East	South East	North West
Primary types of areas served Urban/suburban/rural; Population of largest city	Urban/ suburban; some rural Phoenix 1,172,538	Suburban; some urban and rural Lynn 79,309	Rural; some urban Salisbury 22,593	Urban/ suburban; some rural Portland 473,676
Demographics of female population in area served	1997: 18% Latina 04% Black 02% Asian	1997: 10% Latina 04% Black 02% Asian	1997: 01% Latina 29% Black % Asian	1997: 04% Latina 07% Black 06% Asian
Status victim services/ offender accountability at beginning of STOP funding	No information at time of site selection	Reportedly moderate number services/high accountability	Reportedly few services/ low accountability	Reportedly numerous services/ high accountability
Amount of (FY95) funds provided to individual subgrantees	Range: \$1,500 - \$51,885	\$15,000	\$2,500	\$5,389
Types of 1995 STOP subgrantees in county	College, City/county prosecutor, Advocacy coalition, Legal aid	District attorney	Central direct service provider	Multiple direct service providers
Extent of interagency collaboration at beginning of STOP funding	Unknown at time of site selection	Unknown at time of site selection	Unknown at time of site selection	Past studies suggested high collaboration
N subgrantees with STOP funds after 1995	7	8	5	15

Selecting organizations to be included in the study

To select *types* of agencies and organizations to be included in the study, documentation from study sites available at VAWO and on state and county internet web sites were reviewed. A comprehensive list was constructed of types of agencies mentioned in these sources as playing a key role in efforts to reduce violence against women across states and across counties. Types of organizations selected for inclusion in the study were held constant across states whether or not a specific agency in a particular state was mentioned as playing a key role; for example, the Department of Corrections in Massachusetts, specifically the Victims Unit, was mentioned as key to victim safety; in Oregon, the Department of Corrections was not mentioned in the documentation reviewed, however the agency was included in the study for purposes of cross-site comparisons.

Other types of agencies were added as they were mentioned as key to approaches for addressing violence against women during LINC's initial contacts with staff in state or local agencies in preparation for site visits. Other *county* agencies not mentioned prior to site visits were also added to the list as part of on-site data collection. Table 3 presents a list of the primary participating organizations in each study site. (The acknowledgment section lists specific people in those agencies and other agencies who participated in our study).

Collecting, aggregating, and summarizing interview data

Almost two hundred interviews (N=192) were conducted with key decision-makers (directors and supervisors) and first-line staff in cooperating agencies and organizations. All interviews were conducted by senior researcher members of the LINC team, each with long experience in conducting studies of the specific types of agencies involved in this study. To assure consistency among interviewers and comparability of collected data, interviews were conducted using the same structured protocol which had developed by the research team¹⁴ using an iterative process of reviews and revisions. (An example of the final protocol formatted for use in Arizona is provided in Appendix A).

Given the busy schedules of our interview respondents, the protocol was designed to obtain necessary information in under an hour. However, interviews in agencies that were deeply involved in approaches for addressing violence against women or providing services to a wider class of victims frequently lasted over an hour. These interviews often resulted in rich detailed information that unfortunately cannot be fully captured in a report of this scope and length.

State	Arizona	Maryland	Massachusetts	Oregon
US Attorney District Office	Office of the US Attorney for Arizona	US Attorney for Maryland District	US Attorney for Massachusetts	US Attorney for District of Oregon
Office of the Governor	Community Policy Office; Office for Domestic Violence Prevention	(see below)	Governor's Commission on Domestic Violence	Governor's Commission on Domestic Violence
Executive Criminal Justice Office	Criminal Justice Commission Crime Victim Services; Statistical Analysis Center (SAC)	Office of Crime Control & Prevention	Executive Office of Public Safety Programs Division Criminal History Systems Board; Statistical Analysis Center (SAC)	Criminal Justice Commission Criminal Justice Services Division
State Police Department of Public Safety	Arizona Department of Public Safety	Maryland State Police	Massachusetts Criminal Justice Training Council	Oregon Department of State Police Law Enforcement Data Systems (LEDS)
Department of Corrections, Parole	AZ Department of Corrections, Community Corrections Division	MD Department of Public Safety and Correctional Services: Division of Parole and Probation Division of Correction	MA Department of Correction (EOPS); Victim Services	Oregon Department of Corrections - Community Corrections Counseling and Treatment Services Division
Office of the Attorney General	Office of the Attorney General Victim Services, Communications, Community Policy	Maryland Attorney General and Lt. Governor's Family Violence Council	Office of the Attorney General Family Crimes Bureau	Oregon Department of Justice , Attorney General Office of the Attorney General Crime Victim's Assistance Section
Supreme Court, Administrative Office of the Courts	Office of the Director; Domestic Violence Unit; Adult Services Division (probation)	Office of the State Court Administrator (Family Services Program)	Office of the Trial Court Office Exec. Director; Judicial Institute; Commissioner of Probation	Office of the Administrator Multnomah County Courts
State Advocacy Coalitions	Arizona Sexual Assault Network; Arizona Coalition Against Domestic Violence	Maryland Network Against Domestic Violence; Maryland Coalition Against Sexual Assault	Jane Doe, Inc.	Oregon Coalition Against Domestic and Sexual Violence (OCADSV)
Other Key State Agencies		Department of Human Resources	Executive Office of Health and Human Services; Mass Parole Board Victim Services	

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Local/ County:	Maricopa	Wicomico	Essex	Multnomah	
County/ District Attorney	Office of the Maricopa County Attorney	State Attorney's Office	Office of the District Attorney Victim/Witness Assistance Program Domestic Violence Unit	Office of the Multnomah District Attorney	
Sheriff	Maricopa County Sheriff's Office	Wicomico Sheriff's Department	(Custody function only; no interviews)	Multnomah County Sheriff	
Probation (field offices)	Superior Court of Arizona in Maricopa County; Adult Probation Department, Community Supervision	State of Maryland Division of Probation and Parole	Department of Probation Salem District Court	Multnomah County Department of Juvenile & Adult Community Justice Depart. Community Corrections Domestic Violence Community Response	
Nonprofit Victim Services	Sojourner Center	Life Crisis Center	North Shore Rape Crisis Center/ Project RAP/HES; Help for Abused Women and their Children (Salem); The Women's Crisis Center, Inc. (Newburyport)	Volunteers of America - Family Center, Raphael House of Portland - Transitional Services; YWCA of Greater Portland	
Municipal agencies	Phoenix Police Department; City of Phoenix Family Advocacy Center	Salisbury Police Department	Danvers Police Department; Salem Police Department	Office of the Mayor Bureau of Police, City of Portland; Family Services Division	
Other key local agencies	Maricopa Association of Governments	Wicomico Partnership for Families and Children/Local Management Board; Circuit Court of Wicomico County; Salisbury DC/MSC MD Department of Social Services; MD State Police, Barrack 'E'	Collins Middle School (Salem); Salem State College Police Department, Salem State College	Department of Community and Family Services (Multnomah County) Family Violence Intervention Steering Committed	

Information from interviews about the *development of approaches* for addressing violence against women were aggregated and summarized using three primary qualitative methods.

- Constructing time lines. Time lines were constructed presenting year-byyear developments in each study site that respondents reported as most important for reducing violence against women.
- Classifying developments. Using the conceptual framework provided by social movement theory, key developments reported by respondents were first classified by whether or not they emerged from the women's rights movement in terms of organizations involved, leadership, values, goals, objectives, and rhetoric. Using the same criteria, developments that were not in sync with the women's movement were classified according to the social movement from which they apparently did emerge. As discussed below (in the section on findings about factors that mitigated for and against the influence of VAWA), most key developments could be classified into one of three synchronous social movements or as a development that involved coordination between these three social movements (synthesis).
- Plotting the different courses of development of approaches for addressing violence. To chart and then compare the chronology of events in each study site that were related to each of these three movements, each key reported development was codified in a spreadsheet by date and social movement classification (or synthesis). We then assigned a symbol to each of the three social movements and a fourth symbol to developments reflecting synthesis among the movements. We then plotted a (smoothed) curve of how the number of events per year varied over the three or more decades in which these key developments reportedly occurred. In this way it was possible to get an overall indication of those periods when events associated with a specific social movement or synthesis between movements occurred slowly and when they occurred with rapidity and to visually compare the study sites.

Other data collected in interviews were coalesced within and across sites in tabular form. These included information about approaches implemented for increasing victim services, victim safety, and offender accountability; the impact respondents suggested these approaches had on reducing violence against women, changes that respondents attributed to VAWA, barriers to implementing change, most important changes that have occurred over time whether attributed to VAWA or not, and important changes still needed. Since our primary methods were qualitative and our intent was to describe

developments and not to evaluate specific programs or test hypotheses, we made no attempt to quantify these data, much less to conduct statistical analysis.

Verifying and supplementing interview data with written documentation

As part of our standard interview protocol, we asked respondents to provide written materials describing their organization, the history of their organization, reports on their activities, and other documents that might be useful for understanding the development and current status of approaches for addressing violence against women. Among the many documents we received were current and past annual reports, progress reports, newsletters, clippings of news articles, and reports produced by cross-agency councils and coalitions specifically formed to improve responses to victims of domestic violence and sexual assault.

These documents were used to validate dates, descriptions of developments, and findings about barriers to addressing violence against women that were reported in interviews. They were also used as secondary sources to resolve discrepancies in reports from different interviews. Finally, the written reports were used to clarify and supplement interview data about legal and other developments.

Validating interview findings through on-site observations

To verify and better detail approaches that were considered exemplary by interview respondents, for a small number of local collaborative approaches and community-based victim services funded in part by VAWA grants, we not only collected documentation but also conducted onsite intensive studies. Included were:

- The recently formed Domestic Violence Intervention Team (DVIT) and the older Domestic Violence Reduction Unit (DVRU) in Portland (Multnomah County), Oregon.
- The Family Advocacy Center in Phoenix (Maricopa County) Arizona
- The Domestic Violence Unit in the Salem (Essex County, Massachusetts)
 District Court
- Legal advocacy, shelter, and other services provided by the Life Crisis Center in Wicomico County, Maryland.

For these, we observed everyday activities taking place in courts, police departments, shelters, and special units and stand-alone centers created as places to coordinate services for victims/survivors. For the most part, observations centered on interactions between staff (or volunteers) from different agencies and interactions among staff from different agencies and victim/survivors. While no attempt was made to interview victims during this process, women who had survived incidents of domestic violence or sexual assault often offered comments about the process and their situation. Data collected during these observations literally provided a reality check of findings that were based on the aggregation and summation of interview data.

Comparing changes in approaches with trends in victims' calls for services

One of the topics covered in our interviews was the perceived impact of the approaches that had been developed to address violence against women. As a follow-up question, respondents who reported specific impacts were asked whether anyone in their organization or study site had previously analyzed or collected data that could be used to demonstrate that these impacts had occurred. While many of the agencies and organizations participating in our study were eager to implement systematic data collection and analysis, for the most part fiscal and technological constraints had prevented collecting specific impact data or analyzing data to show impact. The notable exception was in Portland (Multnomah County) Oregon, a site that has long used data analysis to guide government agency policy.

However, since one of the most frequently mentioned changes in all sites was the increased realization on the part of victims that they could seek help, we attempted to locate data on calls to hotlines or police that could be used to study whether or not calls for help from women victims of domestic violence and sexual assault increased over time and, if so, during which intervals. We were fortunate enough to receive datasets of dated hotline calls from the Arizona Coalition Against Domestic Violence and from CESAR, the University of Maryland.

We also received dated incident report data from several participating police departments or municipal oversight committees; unfortunately most of these data sets required an extent of exploration and analysis that went beyond our project resources. But police data from cities and counties in Maryland that previously had been compiled and analyzed by Dr. Joel Garner as part of a project carried out for the Maryland Statistical Analysis Center (SAC) were in a form that facilitated their use for our study.

These police data and the hotline data were plotted over time. The graphs were visually compared to the graphs of key developments in the same sites to assess congruence between the time periods during which increases or decreases in victims' calls for services occurred and the timing of changes in approaches for addressing violence against women, including the enactment of VAWA. As discussed next, data on domestic violence homicides were also plotted and compared.

Comparing changes in approaches with trends in homicides

The bottom line impact that was of major concern to the agencies sponsoring our study was whether VAWA-funded approaches directly or indirectly reduced the number of women who were murdered by their spouses or intimate partners. To explore this relationship in our studies sites, for each of our study sites, we compared trends in domestic violence homicides in which the victim was a woman with the timing of changes in approaches for addressing violence against women. These comparisons involved visual comparisons of the graphs described above with graphs made by plotting data for each study site extracted from the FBI supplementary homicide reports (SHR) for all years for which the SHR data were available at the time of our study (1976-1999).

Using data and findings from other research conducted by the project team

In addition to findings based on data and methods described above, the rest of this report also draws on results of other highly relevant research previously or simultaneously conducted by members of the LINC team. Particularly important for supplementing and corroborating the findings and implications based on the study sites described above were the results of a multi-year study of community prosecution¹⁵ independently carried out by one of the authors of this report (Boland) and a five-year study by the primary author of this report (Chaiken) of changes in community policing and approaches for addressing violence against women in eight law enforcement agencies in California, Idaho, and South Dakota.¹⁶

CHAPTER 2. FINDINGS ABOUT INFLUENCES VAWA HAD ON STATE AND LOCAL APPROACHES FOR DEALING WITH VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN

The Strategic Impact of VAWA on Organizational Coordination and Cooperation

A primary overall strategic impact of VAWA in all four states and counties was to catalyze cooperation and coordination among agencies with very different perspectives on victims of violence. Whether the site's focus was on victims of sexual assault, victims of domestic violence, or both, progress was achieved by bringing representatives of organizations with different philosophies to the same table using VAWA funds as an incentive. The Violence Against Women Office's strategy provided a "blueprint" for collaboration and created a climate for discovering shared objectives (even in the absence of shared values) and operationalizing those objectives in coordinated and collaborative activities.

Across states and counties studied, increased collaboration was the most frequently mentioned beneficial influence of VAWA. Examples of over thirty different ways in which VAWA had directly increased collaboration were described in interviews. (See Figure 1). The only negative aspect of collaboration mentioned by an interviewee was inadequate victim representation among the many cooperating organizations.

Figure 1. Interviewees' statements: influence of VAWA on collaboration

VAWA has provided a blueprint for states. Without the blueprint, states would not know how to prioritize and collaborate. The need for an advisory board brought together stakeholders and a focus for coordination.

Victims advocates were calling for collaboration and coordinated community response for many years. VAWA made this a necessity.

"Until recently, HHS was shut out of the process [involving public safety agencies]; now with the new administrator of VAWA projects involved, there is much more collaboration."

"An initial thought was that the most significant impact of the VAWA legislation would be to increase the number of cases that would be federally prosecuted. But the larger impact has been relationships built as cases are discussed between the US attorneys office and state and local agencies. Also, through the US Attorneys office, state and local agencies have increased access to other federal agencies. While the number of cases federally prosecuted are actually relatively few, the collaboration is paying off in developing strategies that are data driven, targeted, coordinated, and appropriate for different levels of groups of offenders and victims."

VAWNET provides significant help to coalitions who subscribe by providing research, networking, and a place to ask questions.

Training was provided by the federal government on immigration issues and VAWA.

The state policy people got to know each other and got to know police and prosecutors.

Indirectly, by funding conferences, VAWA was instrumental in the formation of the Governor's Council on Domestic Violence.

VAWA provided an impetus for collaboration and partnerships.

Federal agents were brought into working with the (county) system.

VAWA promoted building collaborative community response to women and made people realize that working together was necessary (otherwise we wouldn't get funds).

VAWA funds led to collaborations led by Maricopa Association of Governments (MAG) and Phoenix Police Department.

More collaboration between victim advocates and criminal justice agencies, but survivors are still left out of the process.

Cross-training (advocates and law enforcement; law enforcement and prosecutors).

Stimulated and funded development of protocols used to coordinate law enforcement and prosecutors.

Builds coalition for a "single message going out there".

Can't say too much (in praise of) the joint training with the county attorney's office and police departments that was initiated by VAWA funds; the system change has been tremendous.

The national hotline is fabulous; it cuts down on competition among shelters, takes pressure off our hotlines from people who want information (and are not in crisis) and frees up our staff to provide direct services.

VAWA resulted in resource sharing projects and regional meetings for victim advocacy organizations and service providers.

VAWA funding was responsible for setting up the (Sexual Assault Network) coalition, promoting collaboration with other coalitions, and providing 'tons of resources'.

VAWA has been a catalyst for "getting people from different disciplines to meet and talk."

VAWA has increased awareness of the effects of domestic violence by making resources available, permitting creation or expansion of programs that have heightened awareness. These, however, are mostly outside the federal government.

Coordination and communication about what others are doing has brought people to the table and gotten them talking.

We've accomplished a tighter net of communication between and within jurisdictions. Folks now are into team building and communication.

VAWA has helped in increasing the effectiveness of prosecution at both state and Federal levels by giving prosecutors a hammer. We don't always have to use it but it has led to prosecution of cases in Federal courts that may have escaped prosecution in state systems when it will result in a heavier sentence. For example, one offender initially in the state system got a "tap on the hand"; when he repeated his stalking offense he was prosecuted in the federal system and got 30 months in prison. VAWA has allowed for a decision to prosecute in the jurisdiction that has the higher sentences (which is not always federal) and has led to cooperation and coordination for more effective enforcement.

"Prior to VAWA there was the Maryland Network (against Domestic Violence) but it was a small, lonely group without the support of the state's top politicians, judges, etc. Now they're on board, able to assess the situation, and bring change."

VAWA has given us a focus, resources, and tremendous training opportunities for police chiefs, officers, and communities (to learn from each other); we borrow (good ideas) from everyone.

VAWA promoted a state-level coalition and discussion among organizations serving sexual assault victims.

Teams of specialized police and assistant district attorneys have led to more cases being prosecuted based on "excited utterance."

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State-level cross-agency task forces

Within a year after VAWA was passed, in all four study states and two of the counties, task forces had been formed for planning and coordinating approaches resulting in findings and recommendations for multi-organizational cooperation.¹⁷ In two states, formation of the task forces was directly stimulated by VAWA. In 1995, in Arizona, the Governor designated a cross-agency team to develop a state plan for coordinating efforts utilizing funds for domestic violence and sexual assault programs. Eight state agencies began to meet on a regular basis and serve on each other's review boards. In addition, the Arizona Criminal Justice Commission/Statistical Analysis Center was charged with developing a needs assessment based on materials provided by team agencies.

In Maryland, to meet the requirement that VAWA funds be administered by a designated office, the Governor signed an Executive Order creating the Cabinet Council on Criminal and Juvenile Justice, chaired by the Lieutenant Governor. He also established the Governor's Office of Crime Control and Prevention¹⁸ (GOCCP) to staff the Cabinet Council and serve as the agency responsible for administering Federal and State Criminal Justice and Law Enforcement Grant Programs, including STOP/VAWA monies.

The (Maryland) Family Violence Council was created in February 1996, to facilitate change in family violence law, policy and procedure. Supported with VAWA funds, the FVC guides GOCCP with respect to long-range planning and provides heightened visibility to the issue of violence against women. Co-chaired by the Lieutenant Governor and the Attorney General, the Council is composed of representatives from the executive, legislative, and judicial branches; family violence victim advocates and service providers; law enforcement, prosecutorial, corrections, parole and probation agencies; and legal and health care experts. Their mandate is to assess needs and set an agenda for addressing violence against women. During 1996 the FVC held four regional public hearings and prepared a publication, *Stop the Violence, A Call to Action*, that identified 20 initiatives to enhance the responsiveness of all parts of the justice system and community to family violence.

Task forces carrying out similar coordinating functions in Massachusetts and Oregon predate VAWA. In 1992, two years before VAWA was enacted, the (Commonwealth of Massachusetts) Governor's Commission on Domestic Violence was formed after the governor declared domestic violence to be a public health emergency. The Commission recognized and emphasized the need for cooperation between criminal justice agencies and nonprofit victim service organizations. In 1994 the first annual Massachusetts Prosecutor/Advocate Conference on Domestic Violence was convened, leading to monthly state-wide prosecutor/victim advocates meetings. Although these

efforts predated VAWA, after the Act was passed, collaboration in the form of state-level task forces was intensified and given higher priority. For example, beginning in 1995, agencies participating in the Governor's Commission on Domestic Violence were represented at the Secretariat level, and Commission meetings were attended by top-level administrators and the Chief Executive Officers of major corporations and nonprofit organizations. The Commission heightened their focus on producing a strategic plan for providing services for victims and implementing the plans with directives from the top of the organizations.

In Oregon, a multi-disciplinary team of delegates attended the 1993 National Conference of Courts and Communities Confronting Violence in Community [sic] and, based on their experience, resolved to form the Oregon Domestic Violence Council. This resolution was realized when, in 1994, the State Justice Institute funded the Oregon Domestic Violence Council as a two-year demonstration project bringing together representatives from judiciary, community-based victim services, law enforcement, health/mental health care, civil/defense attorneys, batterer intervention projects, and others. Task forces were formed to study and recommend improvements in seven areas of response to victims. At the end of the demonstration project, in 1996, the Governor's Council on Domestic Violence was created by Executive Order; this permanent council is staffed by the same agency that administers Oregon's VAWA funds, the Criminal Justice Services Division, Oregon State Police.

County-level cross-agency task forces

VAWA also was instrumental in stimulating county task forces and cross-agency coalitions. Even in **Massachusetts**, where most functions of county government are in the hands of the Commonwealth and its adamantly independent towns and cities, there is a recognized need for regional coordination for services, safety, and accountability in cases involving women victims of domestic violence. Several years before VAWA, in 1990, the **Essex County** District Attorney — one of the few remaining county-level offices is the district attorney — began interagency roundtable meetings after a triple homicide by an offender released over the objections of his office. After VAWA was enacted, this type of interagency coordination was extended and expanded to counties and regions around the Commonwealth. In 1997 the Community-based Domestic Violence Roundtable Project was piloted and then, in 1998, was implemented in cooperation with the Chief Justice in each court. Roundtables involving court staff, services providers, attorneys, and others meet regularly to plan and carry out a coordinated response to victims.

Also predating VAWA, in 1987, **Multnomah County (Oregon)**, long noted as an exemplary site for cross-agency cooperation, ¹⁹ initiated the Family Violence Intervention Project for Multnomah County and Portland — an interagency demonstration project funded by the federal Bureau of Justice Assistance to improve court services and

spearheaded by the National Council of Juvenile and Family Court Judges. In 1988 members of the Family Violence Intervention Project agreed to continue to meet after the formal end of the project. They formed the Multnomah County Family Violence Intervention Steering Committee and in 1989 the Committee formally took on the mission of coordinating public and private agencies responding to incidents of domestic violence and victims. At that time, police and shelter-based victim service providers were invited to join the committee.

In 1994, the Steering Committee was invigorated by the both the creation of the Multnomah County Domestic Violence Coordinator position to provide professional paid staff for the Committee and the imminent availability of VAWA funds for participating agencies. The Steering Committee has been credited with pushing participating agencies in their individual efforts, facilitating cooperation, and helping everyone by obtaining funding for a continuing series of joint efforts, including the VAWA-supported collaborative Domestic Violence Intervention Unit described below. One of the first issues raised by the Committee after the appointment of the Coordinator was the need for more culturally-sensitive approaches for victims of domestic violence; work on this issue began in 1995 using VAWA funds.

In our other study sites, formation of local task forces to address domestic violence took place at comparatively later dates than in Multnomah County. In **Wicomico County**, **Maryland**, VAWA played a major role in the formation of local task forces via the State Family Violence Council (discussed above). Wicomico is one of 24 local entities that comprise the state — 23 counties and Baltimore City — each of which has extensive local control through elected county councils and county executives (or mayor, in the case of Baltimore). In many counties, police departments and school districts are unified at the county level, so that municipalities tend to have limited power and influence over them. This tradition of strong county government has meant that approaches and initiatives to addressing violence against women in Maryland are largely decentralized and vary widely among the counties.

While several of the urban counties formed task forces for assessing needs and coordinating services for victims of domestic violence and sexual assault at relatively early dates, prior to VAWA Wicomico County, located in a rural conservative area of the state, had not. The county had private and nonprofit support for victims of sexual assault since 1976 and nonprofit services for victims of domestic violence since the mid-1980's. In the late 1980's the State's Attorney for Wicomico had emphasized the need for victim services and prosecutors who were specialists in domestic violence and sexual assault. And while the county is small enough for many people involved in serving women victims of domestic violence and sexual assault to know each other personally and discuss common concerns, no forum was in place for ongoing needs assessment and a coordinated county response to women as a special class of victims.

In 1997 the VAWA-funded state Family Violence Council, including representatives from all branches of state government, local governments, family violence victim advocates and service providers, leaders of associations of law enforcement and states attorneys, and legal and health care experts were organized into seven action

teams including Local Family Violence Coordinating Councils. Just as the "carrot" of federal dollars helped accomplish strategic planning and coordination through a coordinated state-wide review of practices and strategy, the same "carrot" promoted the creation of local coordinating councils throughout the state, including in Wicomico County, brought many players to the table together for the first time, and kept them working together.

Although Maricopa County, Arizona, could hardly be further from Wicomico County in terms of geography, size, population, and demography, the influence of VAWA in stimulating coordination at the county level was very similar there. As in Wicomico, administrators in a number of public and private agencies serving Maricopa County, including the County Attorney, were striving to meet the needs of women victims of violence, especially rape victims; however a coordinated County response to domestic violence was not in place until 1999. In that year, one hundred and fifty community members convened to assemble a regional plan on domestic violence. A series of ongoing meetings and task force reports resulted in the Maricopa Association of Governments Regional Plan on Domestic Violence which identified 41 recommendations to bring about a more coordinated community response to better assist victims and hold offenders accountable.

While a few direct service providers interviewed for this study were critical of the use of VAWA resources for "talk" rather than action, most acknowledged that the task forces ultimately resulted in collaborative action that directly benefitted victims.

Protocol development

Commonly among all study sites, the participation of top-level criminal justice administrators and directors of victim services organizations in VAWA-funded task forces, councils, and conferences led to the development of joint protocols for multi-agency victim services and offender supervision²⁰ and an increase in collaborative training of justice agency staff. The protocols were written directives for steps to be taken when field officers, prosecutors, emergency medical practitioners, and advocates respond to particular cases involving women victims of domestic violence and sexual assault.

VAWA stimulated the development of protocols for both domestic violence victims (such as the Oregon Domestic Violence Council's document, *A Collaborative Approach to Domestic Violence: Oregon Protocol Handbook*) and victims of sexual assault (such as the protocol produced by the Maryland Coalition Against Sexual Assault and included in their manual, *Police Response to Crimes of Sexual Violence: A Training Curriculum*). In 1997, the Maricopa County Attorney's Office, together with over 100 law enforcement, prosecutorial, judicial, victim service and mental health professionals, spearheaded the development of a comprehensive criminal justice protocol for domestic violence that promoted evidence-based prosecution.

Many of these protocols were designed to better assure that the victims would receive

necessary social and psychological support during exams and interviews and to consequentially increase victims' ability to provide evidence necessary to hold their assailants accountable. In addition, the process of collaboratively developing the protocols typically resulted in an increased understanding among practitioners of each others' roles and mandates and reasons for taking specific steps in their response to victims.

Collaborative training

Collaborative training for justice agency staff and victim advocates (using curricula and materials prepared and presented collaboratively by justice agency staff and advocacy staff²¹) was frequently mentioned by respondents in LINC interviews as one of the most positive outgrowths of VAWA (See Figure 1).

Cross-agency training variously involved police training advocates, advocates and prosecutors jointly training police, advocates training probation officers, and advocates working with courts administrators to create electronic or hard copy "bench books" and other educational materials for judges. Cross-agency training also took place in the years before VAWA; for one notable example, in 1984 the Essex County (Massachusetts) District Attorney hired a victim advocate to conduct domestic violence training for attorneys. However, cross-agency staff conducting training for responding to women victims of domestic violence and sexual assault became increasing common after VAWA, as did staff from one agency training participants drawn from a spectrum of other agencies. For examples,

- In 1995 the US Attorney's Office in Arizona sent out materials to over 300 criminal justice agencies explaining VAWA provisions, interpretations, and resources and conducted over twenty multi-agency training sessions on VAWA provisions
- In 1996 in Essex County, Massachusetts, cross-organizational training among police and community-based advocates became standard operating practice and reportedly shifted from qualified acceptance to appreciation and ongoing seeking of advice between participants from the two disciplines. During the same year, the Salem State College Police (in Essex County, Massachusetts) received VAWA funding for training peer advocates to raise awareness among students of domestic violence and date rape.
- In 1997, the Life Crisis Center located in Wicomico County, Maryland, began to co-teach courses about response to domestic violence incidents to recruits in all (16) local Eastern Shore law enforcement departments

being trained in the Eastern Shore Criminal Justice Academy.

- Also in 1997, the Danvers (Massachusetts) Police Department initiated additional training of officers to respond to domestic violence incidents provided by a team from police department, HAWC (Help for Abused Women and Their Children, a not-for-profit victim services organization), and the DA's office.
- In 1997, the Phoenix Police Department called on the Arizona Coalition Against Domestic Violence (ACADV) to train their dispatchers and their officers. In the same year, ACADV and the Probation Department begin cross-training of officers and advocates on a regular basis.
- In another 1997 development, the Maricopa (Arizona) County Attorney's Office initiated on-going domestic violence protocol training for law enforcement agencies, prosecutors, probation officers, and victim service professionals throughout the county.
- In 1998, an Assistant US Attorney in the District of Oregon developed and delivered training about VAWA provisions to state and local government officials, victim advocates, and tribal representatives
- In 1999, the Wicomico County Victim Services Coordinator and Domestic Violence (Assistant State's) Attorney provided in-service training to officers in county law enforcement agencies for initial investigations of domestic violence cases.

These partnerships in part can be attributed to the primary emphasis paid to this form of collaboration in guidelines for applying for the first VAWA funds awarded through STOP grants²². However, several other factors may also have promoted law enforcement agencies' relative receptiveness to collaborative training with advocates. Most notably, in Massachusetts, legislation passed in 1986 (MGL c. 6.116A) explicitly mandated that service providers from shelters for survivors of domestic violence and other direct service providers be utilized in training provided by the newly created Criminal Justice Training Council. Other less explicit factors include:

Requirements for accreditation: Several chiefs of police mentioned that their implementation of cross-agency training with victim services agencies was cited as a positive step by accreditation review teams.

- Community policing: As a result of renewed emphasis on community policing, a relatively large number of law enforcement departments had already started to work with community members to define problems that were of maximum common concern, and join with other organizations and agencies in collaborations. Domestic violence was among the community-defined problems that a number of departments involved in a LINC study were addressing as part of community policing.²³ For these departments the inclusion of victim advocates in training appeared to be a logical step.
- Ongoing (pre- and post-VAWA) responses to changes in domestic violence laws. As across the nation, at least minimal training for responding to domestic violence was already in place as part of routine law enforcement training curricula. Across states and counties, training was generally enhanced in response to "mandatory arrest laws" which were passed in all four states well before VAWA. (See Table 4). Additional changes in training were made as laws pertaining to protective orders were passed²⁴. From the perspective of law enforcement curriculum developers interviewed as part of this study, a section provided by victim advocates was an easily added component to a curriculum which had been frequently revised and updated.

While cross-agency training was commonly instituted in all states and counties involved in our study, as has been found in other studies of domestic violence initiatives, ²⁵ training reportedly did not guarantee changes in the way police respond or react to incidents involving battered women. Rather, VAWA-stimulated training appeared to enhance pre-existing movement toward cross-agency cooperation.

Table 4. PreVAWA legislation reportedly most relevant to changes in approaches/practitioner training for addressing violence against women (Legislation commonly enacted in year previous to implementation)

	Arizona	Maryland	Massachusetts	Oregon
Year				
1976 to 1979		Codification and Reform of Maryland Sexual Offense Law creating gender-neutral offenses and degrees of criminal offense. Battered Spouse Report published by the Maryland State Police on the nature of domestic violence incidents reported to law enforcement agencies as mandated by the Maryland House of Delegates Joint Resolution 32.	Abuse Prevention Law (Chapter 209A) enacted as part of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts General Law. Law criminalized wife battering, enabled victims to obtain civil protection orders free of charge.	Oregon Family Abuse Prevention Act, enacted, including statutes for mandatory arrest and civil restraining orders. Oregon legislature creates Crime Victims Compensation Fund. Family Abuse Prevention Act amended to allow formerly cohabiting partners to obtain temporary restraining order; obligates law enforcement agencies to carry out mandatory arrest.
1980- 1981		Civil Order of Protection Law defines abuse and establishes a 15-day protective order including "vacate home order," mandated counseling, and allows for temporary custody of minor children; expanded in 1981. Battered Spouse Program established by legislature, provides funds for shelters for battered victims in major population areas throughout the state.		Marriage License Tax passed, providing funds for family violence reduction (including child abuse) through programs including a statewide hotline, shelters and safe houses. Family Abuse Prevention Act amended including marital rape victims, pro se restraining orders, and mandating uniform state response to family violence.
1982		Legislative extension of number of days for serving protection orders and days order is in effect Marriage License Fee levied by several counties to fund domestic violence programs		

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	(Legislation commonly enacted in year previous to implementation)			
Year	Arizona	Maryland	Massachusetts	Oregon
1984 - 1985	Laws providing victims more accessible procedures to obtain orders of protection. Sex Offender Registration ARS 13-3821.	Provision to protect abused children is added to the domestic violence protective order.	Implementation of Victim Bill of Rights.	
1986	Legislature establishes Crime Victim Compensation Program for victims of violent crime including sexual assault.	Domestic violence warrantless arrest law adopted.	Criminal Justice Training Council mandated by statute (MGL c. 6.116A) to incorporate into basic training for law enforcement officers, component for handling domestic violence complaints/ guidelines for response to domestic violence. Mandates service providers from shelters for battered women/other direct service providers to be utilized in training.	Victims Rights legislation provides "legitimate voice for victims."
1987- 1988		Law expands definition of "household member" to include unmarried persons who live together and have at least one minor child in common.		Oregon statutes allow victim's eligibility for compensation even if cohabiting with offender. Multnomah County attorneys involved in debate over issue of mandatory court appearance by victim to prevent dismissal of domestic violence cases. Argument for mandatory appearance prevails and becomes (reportedly rarely used) statute.
Late '80s	Phoenix and State legislation enabling protective orders for domestic violence victims.			

Table 4. PreVAWA legislation reportedly most relevant to changes in approaches/practitioner training for addressing violence against women (Legislation commonly enacted in year previous to implementation)

	Arizona	Maryland	Massachusetts	Oregon
Year				
1989		Spousal Victims law allows a spouse to be charged with sexual offenses if there is a written separation agreement or the couple has lived separately for 6 months.		State legislation requires police to accompany victims who request a restraining order while returning to a residence for retrieving personal belongings; legislation based on earlier Multnomah County restraining orders.
1990	Legislation changes wording concerning mandatory arrest from 'may' to 'shall' arrest.	Victim notification law Warrantless arrest expanded to include cohabiting individuals in a domestic relationship.	Chapter 209A (The Abuse Prevention Act) amendments included requirements for mandatory arrest; required law enforcement agencies to establish and implement operational guidelines; increased the scope of circumstance under which arrests are made, Including violation of restraining order without warrant being issued.	
1991- 1992	Legislature passes statutes defining victims' constitutional rights. Legislation stipulates mandatory arrest in domestic violence cases. Life time probation for subset of sex offenders mandated.	Law allows admission of expert testimony on the Battered Spouse Syndrome. Significant expansion of Civil Order of Protection to include cohabitants and former spouses. Also expands definition of abuse, the "no contact" order and the ex parte order to 7 days and the protection order up to 200 days.		Oregon Christian Alliance and Crime Victims United advocate for state legislation removing "good time" reduction from time served in prison; legislation passes. Oregon law requires police officers to avoid dual arrests by identifying and arresting primary aggressor.
1993	ARS 13-4438 requires DNA testing for offenders convicted of specific sex crimes.	Stalking bill defines stalking as a misdemeanor crime		

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Cross-agency partnerships to serve victims and deal with offenders

Based on our interviews and observations across sites participating in this study and LINC's community policing study, the most progressive changes brought about by VAWA arose from stimulation and support of active working relationships among staff in criminal justice agencies and advocates for survivors of domestic violence and sexual assault affiliated with nonprofit service agencies.

Prior to VAWA, many criminal justice agencies in our study sites had recognized the need for victim service coordinators. Staff were hired to help assist victims of violence provide the cooperation the agency needed to arrest, prosecute, and supervise the assaulters. Typically these victim service coordinators were hired by prosecutors or, in a few cases, police departments. Often, these efforts were initiated with previous sources of federal funds that were intended to increase agency effectiveness or to serve victims. For example, in 1974, the Multnomah DA Victim Assistance Program for sexual assault victims was formed with funding from the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration (LEAA); the funding was later picked up by the county. Several years later, in 1978, the Maricopa County Attorney's Office implemented a Victim Witness Program to provide services to victims of violent crime. In 1987, the first civilian victims' advocate in a police department was appointed in Framingham, Massachusetts, and funded by the Victims of Crime Act (VOCA). And VOCA funds were also used to hire a former law enforcement officer as the first Victim Witness Coordinator for Wicomico County (Maryland) State's Attorney's Office in 1993.

While these early efforts laid the ground work for approaches encouraged by VAWA, few prosecuting attorneys and even fewer police officers worked in tandem on a day-to-day basis with victim advocates based in nonprofit organizations -- in particular, victim advocates who served survivors of incidents sexual assault or domestic violence crimes not reported to the police. In fact, before VAWA, many police administrators had an uncomfortable or even adversarial relationship with shelter and other nonprofit-based advocates for domestic violence victims whom they deemed to be "in-your-face women."

One of the basic disagreements between nonprofit-based advocates, police officers, prosecutors, and other criminal justice practitioners was rooted in the primary goals and values of their occupations; the advocates placed greater value than police on supporting victims' decisions to take steps to become emotionally, psychologically, and economically independent of their abusers — even if those decisions ran counter to cooperation sought by police, prosecutors, and other criminal justice practitioners. The police and prosecutors, on the other hand, viewed successful prosecution of the offenders as a primary objective, and were frustrated by the seemingly irrational lack of cooperation of victims and their advocates.

In the four counties involved in this study and the eight counties and cities involved in our community policing study, VAWA brought about a major change in these perceptions and relationships, as described in the following three case studies of exemplary approaches stimulated by VAWA.

Case 1. The Domestic Violence Unit in Essex County, Massachusetts

The Domestic Violence Unit in Essex County, Massachusetts, located in a small office in a secluded one-storey commercial building near the Salem District Court, involves four primary agencies: the Office of Essex County District Attorney, the Danvers Police Department, the Salem Police Department, and HAWC (Help for Abused Women and Their Children), a not-for-profit victim services organization). All four organizations were deeply involved in providing services to women victims of violence well before the Unit was organized. As described in this section, the Unit allows them to bring to bear multiple talents, perspectives, and services for supporting victims and holding offenders accountable.

HAWC

As in most of our study sites, including those involved in our community policing study, the first organizations in Essex County that were formed to provide services to women victims of domestic violence were grass-roots organizations created in the 1970s by women who were advocates. In 1978, HAWC, was incorporated in Salem as a charitable organization to "eliminate domestic violence" and to provide services including a hotline, shelter, court intervention, and counseling. In the same year a rape crisis hotline started on North Shore (Essex County). And in the following year, HAWC received federal funds (\$105,000) and received required matching funds from local cities and towns (\$35,000). These funds allowed HAWC to take over the hot line and provide emergency services; during their first year in operation, HAWC received over 1,500 calls on the hotline and provided emergency shelter to 74 women and 126 children.

However, when HAWC federal funding ended in 1982, it was unable to keep the shelter open and, until funds were raised for a new shelter, women victims were referred to a network of private "safe homes" for temporary shelter. HAWC services were supplemented that year by the formation of the Women's Crisis Center (WCC), formed in Newburyport to provide a hotline for battered women in northernmost communities in Essex County; WCC was incorporated in 1983 and funded with a grant from the Episcopal Diocese. As with many nonprofit organizations serving women victims of domestic violence, lacking a consistent stream of funding to support their free services, HAWC is dependent on the success of their community fund-raising events (such as their annual Walk for HAWC and their Open Water Swim), charitable donations, and their ability to piece together a patchwork of other funding sources, currently including VAWA monies.

By the year 2000, in addition to the 24-hour a day crisis hotline and a shelter, HAWC was providing support groups and individual counseling, clinical services for children (ages 3 -10) who have witnessed domestic violence, their school-based program Teen REACH (Reaching and Empowering Adolescents in our Community to Have Healthy Relationships) designed to prevent dating violence, outreach offices located in two hospitals and four towns and cities (in addition to the central office in Salem), and numerous collaborations with agencies in over twenty communities on the North Shore (Essex County) for educating the public about domestic violence and providing training

for agency staff. Recently, an auxiliary organization, Men for HAWC, was formed for assisting HAWC in outreach and public education and fund-raising events. In addition, HAWC has placed advocates in five District Courts. The advocate in Salem District Court works as part of the Domestic Violence Unit, side by side with staff from the DA's Office.

The Office of the Essex County District Attorney

The Office of the Essex County District Attorney is the prosecutorial agency for 34 cities and towns on the North Shore and the Massachusetts State Police based in that area. In 2000, the Office staff included 63 lawyers, 30 victim advocates, and 10 support staff for the victim witness activities. As in many of our other local study sites, the Office of the District Attorney was the first criminal justice agency to develop services specifically for women victims of domestic violence and sexual assault. With the primary intent of increasing successful prosecutions by facilitating victim cooperation, victim services proliferated in prosecutors offices in Massachusetts, and around the nation, during the 1970s and 1980's. Under the administration of District Attorney Kevin Burke, the DA's Office in Essex County was one of the first focused on providing services and support to victims, particularly women victims of domestic violence and sexual assault. Ten years before VAWA was enacted, in 1984, the office hired a victim advocate who was given a mandate of providing domestic violence training for the attorneys on staff.

In the following years, DA Burke placed high priority on increasing the number of successful prosecutions involving women victims of domestic violence and sexual assault. To accomplish this objective, the Office hired attorneys, office administrators, and para-professionals, typically women, with high interest in improving prosecution of violent offenders, in part by strengthening Office policy, in part by assisting victims who had been battered or sexually assaulted to negotiate the intricate processes involved in bringing case to court. These staff developed Office directives for domestic violence cases which were published in 1991 and updated in 1992, 1993, and 1995. Practices and procedures were initiated for providing services for all victims of violence available in Essex County Superior Court and District Courts. Specialized court-based Domestic Violence Units were established sequentially, beginning in courts with the highest volume of domestic violence cases.

The first DV Unit in Lawrence was staffed with two assistant district attorneys, three victim advocates, and a secretary. The second, in Lynn, was staffed with two assistant district attorneys and two victim advocates. By 1993, the Office attorneys noted a shift in outcomes of domestic violence cases from 70% dismissals and 30% dispositions to 70% dispositions and 30% dismissals.

Although the Office was meeting its prosecutorial objectives, it was clear to the District Attorney that a collaborative approach involving other agencies was vitally needed. In the late 1980's and early 1990's, a series of domestic violence homicides left the County and the Commonwealth stunned. One woman was murdered after she was admonished for seeking and denied a restraining order by a judge; although the murder occurred in another county, staff working in the Essex County Courts realized that women were equally in their jurisdiction. Closer to home, a triple homicide was

committed by an offender who had been released over the objections of the DA's Office. Another homicide that horrified even the most seasoned attorneys was the murder of a teen-aged girl by her boy friend.

These brutal acts galvanized the Commonwealth, including North Shore communities. The Essex County District Attorney took the lead in instituting a two-pronged approach: — coordination and prevention. In many places in the State, court-based interagency roundtables began to meet on a regular basis to improve cooperation among criminal justice agencies responding to domestic violence. The Office was a lead agency in establishing the court roundtables in Essex County. In addition, as new laws were passed to stem the violence (see Table 4), the Office intensified its efforts for training police departments to implement the laws.

Perhaps, the most pioneering steps taken by the Office were the programs established in response to the murder of the teen-aged girl. In 1991, the Office initiated partnerships for violence prevention including schools and began to hold conferences on teen dating violence; by 1992, the schools provided guidelines on dating violence to their staff and students. Similar to the court-based roundtables, the Office was instrumental in establishing regular meeting involving school staff for the purpose of identifying potentially abusive relationships.

The Office also partnered with colleges and community-based advocacy organizations to design programs to prevent dating violence. For example, in 1994 Office staff and advocates on staff in the Women's Crisis Center in Newburyport collaborated in developing and implementing *The Yellow Dress*, a play based on the life and death of victim of teen dating violence. First presented in local high schools, the program is now used throughout the U.S. to raise awareness of teen dating violence and resources for teen women in abusive relationships²⁶. Office attorneys also formed a close working relationship with the Salem State College Police Department when, in 1993, the department appointed a female detective as the primary officer to implement programs to prevent violence against women attending the College. The College Police were among several local police departments with whom the Office cooperated before VAWA.

The Danvers and Salem Police Departments

Before VAWA, many police around the country viewed domestic violence incidents as a private matters that were basically "he says, she says" disagreements involving two equally blame-worthy parties. When called to respond to emergent domestic violence incidents, many officers viewed response as at best a waste of time, at worse a dangerous situation for officers who came between an enraged batterer and an equally irate spouse. If an arrest was made, officers realized that the complaining party was not likely to follow through with charges or court appearances. The officers' sense of futility was especially strong in situations where they repeatedly responded to domestic violence in the same home and advised the victim to leave — yet the victim remained with the abuser. Department policies and practices for dealing with domestic disputes focused more on immediate safety of all parties, including officers, than on taking steps for longer-term solutions.

In the late 1980s and early 1990s one impetus for change in officers' response to domestic violence came from the National Commission on Accreditation for Law Enforcement Agencies (CALEA), which had been founded in 1979 with a mission of promoting standards for and professional responses in law enforcement activities. The Commission issued directives for assuring victims' safety and protecting rights. Danvers was one of the first police departments in Massachusetts to respond to the CALEA directives.

The Danvers Police Department, including (in 2000) 47 sworn personnel, serves a town founded in 1757 with a current population of slightly over 24,000 people living in an area of twenty-four square miles in southern Essex County. Although relatively small in size, the Danvers Police Department is often on the cutting edge of progressive developments in law enforcement, including crime analysis, community policing, citizen police academies, and a web site (www.danverspolice.com) that provides a wealth of materials and resources for citizens in general and domestic violence victims in particular.

In 1986, the Danvers Police Department initiated and carried out a departmental review in preparation for becoming the first Massachusetts department to be accredited by CALEA. As part of this process, the Department developed written policies and procedures for responding to domestic violence and began on an ongoing basis to review and revise these policies and procedures as part of each re-accreditation process.

By 1989, officers responding to domestic violence were cooperating with HAWC and recognized the vital role advocates played in helping women obtain restraining orders. In turn, HAWC advocates found that several officers and administrators in the department were strong allies who recognized the complexities of dealing with batterers and domestic violence victims. In addition, officers were recognized for their awareness of cultural differences between victims, which the Department credits to the training officers received for serving diverse populations in 1995 from the Santa Monica (California) Police Department and the Anti-Defamation League.

The Salem Police Department, the second law-enforcement partner in the VAWA funded Domestic Violence Unit, is in many ways more similar to other US police departments than to Danvers. The Department, with a staff of 89 (including administrators, officers, and reserves), polices the City of Salem's population of close to 40,000. Located adjacent to Danvers, and famous for its witch trials in the late 17th century, Salem takes pride in the attraction its colonial heritage holds for tourists. A bike patrol of three officers has been deployed to police the historic district and, in cooperation with the Harbormaster, the Department launched the Salem Waterfront Crime Watch.

The Department hired the first woman officer in 1977 and currently employs seven women officers. According to several advocates, as in several other departments involved in the LINC studies, the Department's focus on domestic violence was stimulated by one of the women officers who raised the priority as she advanced through the ranks. Changes in priorities included a shift in 1995 from training 2 officer

"specialists" for responding to incidents of sexual assault to training all officers for sexual assault response.

In 1997, the Department issued a 13-page policy and procedure directive for responses to domestic violence incidents, including officers' responsibilities for securing safety of victims. Also in the late 1990s, the Department trained dispatchers to be first responders in calls reporting domestic violence incidents. As many other law enforcement departments in the post-VAWA years, Salem police became increasingly involved in developing collaborations for focusing on women victims of domestic violence.

Collaborative approaches involving the police, advocates, and DA's Office

Several collaborative approaches in Essex County were stimulated by VAWA that predated the multi-agency Domestic Violence Unit in the Salem Court. These efforts typically involved partnerships between two agencies. For examples:

- In 1996, the Salisbury Police Department located in the north part of Essex County received USDOJ funds for increasing services in beach areas frequented by poor and homeless people during off-season periods. This effort led to Salisbury Police collaboration with the Women's Crisis Center to provide services to battered women in the transient population.
- During and after 1996, a growing number of North Shore police departments instituted cross-organizational training among police officers and community-based advocates.
- In 1997 an Essex County Probation officer received federally-funded domestic violence response training from police and was assigned supervision of domestic violence offenders under conditional release.
- Also in 1997, a VAWA-funded detective on the staff of the Salem State College Police Department, in partnership with College counselors, provided popular presentations on violence prevention in college dorms and auditoriums for students and the larger community.

As the benefits of cross-agency collaborations were realized and administrative details were worked out, organizations on the North Shore moved toward programs and projects involving a wider spectrum of service providers. For example;

- In 1998 a violence intervention specialist was hired as a full-time staff member in a Salem junior high school. In cooperation with the Salem State College police, HAWC, and Women's Crisis Center, he implemented a comprehensive approach for fostering healthy relationships among younger students and raising awareness of unwholesome dating relationships among older students.
- Also in 1998, Project AWARE (Abused Women's Active Response Emergency) security system was launched in Essex County by ADT Security Systems in collaboration with the Essex County DA's Office, HAWC, and the Danvers, Beverly, and Salem Police Departments.

The Domestic Violence Unit initiated in Salem District Court in 1999 is rooted in the advances made over the past decades by individual agencies on the North Shore and the combined efforts that were increasingly implemented in the post-VAWA years.

The Domestic Violence Unit's Coordinated Approaches

The Domestic Violence Unit in Essex County, Massachusetts involves a dedicated prosecuting attorney, a bilingual victim-witness advocate who is part of the DA's staff, a HAWC advocate, police officers assigned from Danvers and Salem, and a secretary. The attorney, advocates, and secretary work shoulder-to-shoulder in their small one-room office and frequently in the nearby court; however a conference room adjacent to the office area allows for confidential interviews. The police officer members of the team have desks in the same room but are not networked into their departments' computers; therefore, to carry out their administrative duties they travel back and forth between their home departments and the Domestic Violence Unit.

Focusing on cases where an arrest has been made and accepted for prosecution, constant coordination between the team members and on an as-needed basis with the domestic violence survivor appears to achieve multiple objectives:

- The victim is provided information and support from both the victim-witness advocate and shelter-based advocate that she needs on a day-by-day (and, at times, minute-by-minute) basis to get on with her life. For example, the victim-witness advocate helps the victim with obtaining notification of the offender's release from jail and updates on the progress of the criminal case. The shelter-based advocate can help the victim with legal matters outside the criminal courts (such as custody issues) and support for finding housing, child-care, psychological counseling, and meeting other life needs. The police are available to provide extra security checks if the offender has been released and is in the immediate area. And the prosecutor can spend time not ordinarily available to meet with the victim and answer questions.
- The prosecutor has a higher level of cooperation from the police officers in pinning down details and evidence needed for conviction and almost always more cooperation from the victim/witness. In addition, the victim-witness coordinator can typically provide a rundown on the case and victim that saves time.
- The police have expressed satisfaction with seeing more arrests actually result in prosecution and conviction rather than being dismissed. They also have more efficient use of their time, since the victim/witness advocates keep them apprised of court schedules, continuances, and other matters that could otherwise keep them cooling their heels in court corridors.
- In addition to facilitating receipt of evidentiary or other pertinent information from victims and providing scheduling information to officers slated for testimony in court proceedings, the victim-witness advocate

informally but constantly facilitates court proceeding by providing foreign language translations in hallway conferences, coordinating different sources of case-relevant information, etc.

The Domestic Violence Unit team members concur that the coordination greatly facilitates their ability to carry out their jobs. Based on observations in the Salem District, especially in comparison in places where interagency coordination is minimal, victims also benefit. Rather than facing significant barriers commonly encountered by victims (See Figure 2), domestic violence survivors who are served by the Domestic Violence Unit receive ongoing sympathetic and informative feedback from the police and the DA's staff and from the HAWC advocate ready access to the emotional, social, psychological, and economic support they need to leave abusive partners. The Unit provides a central place to call (and be called) for information about the status of their case and their abuser and for obtaining support they need for getting on with their lives.

While the Essex County Domestic Unit provides one example of VAWA-stimulated interagency collaborations serving domestic violence victims in towns and small cities, the Portland Domestic Violence Intervention Team (DVIT) is an example of a similar effort serving victims in a medium-size city.

Figure 2. Common reasons why women victims of violence did not report crimes

Abuse/assault by someone known whom victim did not want to get into trouble Shame; embarrassment

Worried about effect on family if police came

No time to spend on hassle of reporting and trying to get to court

Fear of being blamed; loss of friends
Fear of abuse repeating or escalating violence
Do not think police would or could do anything with no hard evidence

Fear of losing job
Think deserve abuse; did something to bring it on Afraid of losing abuser in life; co-dependency Fear of/past experience with not being believed Negative effect on income; economic consequences

Not believing it will happen again
Worried about children being taken away

Disbelief shock

Trauma of reliving situation
Worry about trauma to family; want to protect others in family

Lack of faith in criminal justice system ; lack of effective consequences; abuser will be released

Not realizing abuse is a crime

Society expects this to happen to women

Common experience in work place

Belief it is an isolated incident

Norm in family

Belief in forgiveness Time: abuser gone; after waiting, not sure should report

Considered normal in area; others downplay

Fear of reprisal or retribution (from offender or others)
Thought not important enough to report; do not want to waste police time

Lack of knowledge of how, to whom to report

Police on scene already No phones to use

Not wanting to deal with it

Fear of being removed from home

Trust in abuser as authority

Past severe retaliation

Too much stress

Lack of support from police; being blamed by police

Fear of being alone Fear of death

Fear of being kicked out of school

Love of abuser

Believe can change abuser; abuser will change

No one to take responsibility; no alternatives

Fear of police Fear of incriminating self; being arrested

Source: Chaiken, M.R. (1999; findings of focus groups conducted as part of NIJ grant 95IJCX0047 in cooperation with Girls Incorporated, Rapid City South Dakota Police Department, Pocatello Idaho Police Department, Hoopa California Department of Public Safety, Yurok Tribal Council, and the Karuk Tribe of Northern California

Case 2. Portland, Oregon's new collaborations for dealing with domestic violence

As in Essex County, Massachusetts, within criminal justice agencies in the Portland area a change in attitude toward and attention to the issue of domestic violence was evident in the 1980s. In 1984, staff in the Multnomah county DA Victim Assistance Program, originally focused on serving sexual assault victims, began discussions of how to assist domestic violence victims. The following year, the Multnomah DA, Michael Schrunk, formed a Family Justice Division with small number of Deputy DAs. Staff were added to the Division incrementally over next fifteen years.

Coincidentally, during the mid-1980's, realizing the futility of trying to address domestic violence problems individually, several officers in the Portland Police Bureau (PPB) promoted formation of a collaborative domestic violence task force. And during the same period, in 1987, the Family Violence Intervention Project for Multnomah County and Portland was initiated as a Bureau of Justice Assistance (BJA), U.S. Department of Justice, funded interagency demonstration project for improving court services, spearheaded by the National Council of Juvenile and Family Court Judges.

Major changes in collaborative operational responses, however, have occurred primarily in the last decade. One major change involved the handling of domestic violence cases within the Portland Police Bureau, the Multnomah County District Attorney's (DA) Office, and the Multnomah County Community Justice Agency (probation). The general trend within each of these agencies has been to create and expand specialized units for handling domestic violence cases. VAWA funds received directly by the Portland Police Bureau were specifically allocated to increase cross-agency collaboration.

Within the PPB significant efforts to develop specialized responses to domestic violence began in 1993 with the creation of the Domestic Violence Reduction Unit (DVRU). The goal of the DVRU was to improve the Bureau's handling of domestic violence incidents resulting in arrest: 1) by targeting priority cases (repeat domestic violence cases in which weapons were used, and cases where children were present) for better follow-up investigations to increase formal court sanctions for defendants; and 2) by enhancing follow-up services to victims. The DVRU is still operating and maintains its focus on police response to domestic violence arrests.

In 1999 the PPB created a second specialized unit, the Domestic Violence Intervention Team (DVIT), with VAWA funding²⁷. The focus of the DVIT is to improve the Bureau's response to the large number of domestic violence 911 calls that do not result in arrest. Officials within PPB think that some portion of the 911 non-arrest calls involve potentially serious behaviors that need to be identified for additional attention.

The general goals of the DVIT are essentially the same as the DVRU — provide better follow-up services to victims and improve the criminal justice system's capacity to identify and formally sanction defendants in priority cases.

Both the DRVU and DVIT work closely with counterparts in the District Attorney's office and Multnomah County probation. Similar to changes within PPB, each of these agencies has established specialized units for dealing with domestic violence. Significant increases in resources devoted to these units have occurred in the last

decade. A parallel trend toward greater coordination among the three agencies is the work of these specialized units. In addition, representatives of the PPB, the District Attorney's Office, and Multnomah County probation all cite the creation of the Multnomah County Family Violence Intervention Steering Committee in 1989 (described above) and the efforts of its Coordinator as an important factor in facilitating cooperation. The most recent development in this decade-long trend is the DVIT supported by VAWA funds

The new DVIT began operation in February 2000. It is situated within the PPB's Family Services Division (as is the DVRU) under the command of a captain. A significant feature of the DVIT is that it includes domestic violence victim advocates as part of the law enforcement response team. The DVIT is a culmination of key changes in the approach to domestic violence within the DA's Office and Multnomah County probation, (described next) and the changes within the PPB including the creation and operation of the DVIT.

The Multnomah County District Attorney

Specialized attention to domestic violence in the District Attorney's Office began in conjunction with the creation of the Family Justice Division in 1985. Under the direction of the Chief Deputy DA (Helen Smith), the Division initially handled child support and juvenile and domestic violence cases. One deputy was assigned to prosecute domestic violence cases with the assistance of one victim advocate. The responsibility for child abuse cases was added in 1990. The Family Justice Division, one of three trial divisions in the District Attorney's Office, now includes almost one third of the office's 93 attorneys. Domestic Violence (DV) is a separate unit within the Family Justice Division.

The current DV Unit has six attorneys, a legal intern, and six victim advocates. The expansion of attorney staff from one to the present six has occurred since 1990 under the current head of the unit. The most significant changes in operation in addition to the expansion of resources include: the implementation in 1990 of a deferred sentencing program for first-time offenders; and, also beginning about 1990, the initiation of efforts to build cases that will stand up at trial without the cooperation of domestic violence victims. Both of these efforts require coordination with other agencies. Effective implementation of the deferred sentencing program required the assignment of probation officers to assure accountability of deferred domestic violence defendants (discussed under Probation, below). To try domestic violence cases without victim testimony required coordination with the police.

The major problem in prosecuting domestic violence cases has always revolved around the issue of victims' willingness to testify at trial. A needs assessment prepared for the Family Violence Intervention Steering Committee in 1991 documented the outcome of domestic violence cases. In 1990 the police made an arrest or filed an incident report on 2,953 domestic violence cases. A small fraction of these (3%) involved felony crimes. As in jurisdictions throughout the country, the vast majority of domestic violence cases in Multnomah County are misdemeanors and of these, in 1990, only 15% were issued by the DA for prosecution. The DA's policy in 1990 was to issue

"misdemeanors only when the victim wished to proceed28."

Table 5 Domestic Violence Cases Reviewed and Issued by DA 1990

		,	
	Reviewed	Issued	% Issued
Felonies	102	86	84%
Misdemeanors	2,851	441	15%
VROs*	588	325	55%
TOTAL	3,541	852	24%

*Violations of restraining orders

Source: From Harassment to Homicide, a needs assessment from the Family Violence Intervention Steering Committee (Hubbard, October 1991).

Building cases that stand up in court is the responsibility of deputy district attorneys, but their ability to do this is highly dependant on investigations performed by the police. This is true for all types of crimes. In cases without cooperating victims the problem is exacerbated, requiring the police to develop alternative evidence such as pictures, statements from the defendant, utterances, etc., to substitute for the more typical witness testimony. In the PPB, domestic violence felony arrests are assigned to the Detective Division for follow-up. For the far more common domestic misdemeanor arrests, lack of investigative support is a significant barrier to successful prosecution. The creation of the DVRU in 1993 provided dedicated police staff (6 officers) to do follow-up investigation on misdemeanor arrests.

The importance of police investigations to successful prosecution is validated by a Portland State University evaluation of the DVRU intervention strategy. In a controlled experiment conducted with a sample of 1996 domestic violence arrests, evaluators found a higher rate of prosecution, conviction, and sentences for arrests handled by the DVRU as compared to similar cases assigned to a control group. Experimental cases assigned to the DVRU all received investigative follow-up. The control group cases proceeded through the traditional case processing system. The most striking result was that the rate of felony prosecution for DVRU investigated arrests was over three times greater than for arrests in the control sample. The Chief Deputy DA anticipates that the DVIT (like the DVRU) will produce better investigations and help attorneys build better cases. She also is looking for a better flow of information, especially with the

Table 6

DVRU Evaluation Results

	Control	DVRU
Prosecuted	37%	44%
Prosecuted as Felony	4%	14%
Convicted	17%	24%
Sentenced*	19%	27%

[•] Includes deferred prosecutions.

Source: Jolin et al, Beyond Arrest: The Portland, OR Domestic Violence Experiment, May 1998, final report to NIJ Grant No. 95-IJ-CX-0054.

addition of domestic violence victim advocates to the response team. In addition to the traditional evidentiary problems, she thinks a major problem in domestic violence cases is getting a bigger picture of what is going on between individual defendants and victims so all system actors can figure out how to better target their efforts.

Multnomah County Community Justice Agency (Probation)

Multnomah County probation's specialized focus on domestic violence grew out of the assignment of probation officers to the domestic violence defendants in the DA's deferred sentencing program. At the time of the Family Violence Steering Committee's 1991 needs assessment, there was no specialized supervision for domestic violence offenders, a single officer domestic violence program having been terminated for budgetary reasons on January 1, 1991²⁹. A specialized program began again in 1992 as a result of assigning probation officers to the DA's deferred sentencing program. The unit (The Domestic Violence Community Response Team) now has ten officers and in addition to deferred cases supervises all domestic violence cases in Multnomah County. Officers are now assigned by geography (they used to have citywide caseloads), and one officer is assigned to work directly with the police DVRU and DVIT units. DVRU police officers are now also assigned by geography, and police and probation officers are starting to form geographically-based teams.

The domestic violence probation program administrator (Lana McKay), reports a high degree of integration and communication with counterparts in other agencies. She works with the head of the Family Justice Division in the DA's Office and with the captain who commands the PPB's Family Services Division on policy issues. They all attend meetings of the Family Violence Intervention Steering Committee. On a day-to-day working basis (in the deferred sentencing program, for example) defendants are starting to see the same judge, the same deputy DA, and the same probation officer. And they are getting a consistent message: The system has low tolerance for domestic violence.

Her view of goals for the new DVIT effort are similar to Smith's: 1) bring together all the background information on defendants and families; 2) identify high-risk families; 3) have staff meetings; and 4) take a holistic approach to treatment and intervention.

Portland Police Bureau

The Portland Police Bureau formed a Women's Protective Division in the late 1960s, and Oregon has had a mandatory arrest law for domestic violence offenses since 1978. Current accounts of police efforts to deal with domestic violence, however, typically begin with the commitment of Chief Tom Potter (1990-1993) and Chief Charles Moose (1993-1999) to the issue in the early 1990s — simultaneous with the Bureau's shift to community policing. The first formal effort was the creation of the DVRU in 1993 within the Family Services Division. At the time the Family Services Division was largely an ad hoc collection of police family services (such as truancy, juvenile offenses, and youth runaways) that did not fit elsewhere within the Bureau. Responsibility for child abuse investigations was in the PPB Detective Division. According to a Portland State University evaluation,³⁰ the DVRU was formed in response to community needs that surfaced as part of the Bureau's community policing approach. The Unit was intended to increase accountability of batterers by regularly prosecuting misdemeanor domestic violence offenses and to empower victims to successfully negotiate, seek, obtain, and use the resources of the criminal justice system.

The Portland State evaluation concluded that the DVRU treatment strategy as originally designed met both of its goals. As reported above, the follow-up investigations increased formal sanctions for batters. The evaluation also found that victims reported reduced levels of victimization and called the police more often for help after the interventions. This was interpreted as an indicator of victim empowerment³¹.

A major problem with the initial DVRU plan (as opposed to the DVRU case-by-case treatment strategy) was that the resource-intensive nature of the arrest follow-up limited the unit's ability to respond to any more than a small fraction of all domestic violence cases. When command staff turned over, the DVRU follow-up was modified to less intensive intervention but broader case coverage. At one point the follow-up strategy consisted of follow-up phone calls to victims of all reported incidents of domestic violence, severely limiting the unit's capacity for intensive investigations. Since the mid-1990s the DVRU and PPB's approach to domestic violence have both gone through a number of organizational permutations, with resource issues a recurring theme.

In 1997 Oregon voters passed Measure 47, a statewide ballot initiative aimed at reducing property taxes, that forced virtually all Oregon local governments to cut spending. In the PPB, one result was the elimination of the Family Services Division and the dispersal of its functions to other divisions. The DVRU was assigned to the lieutenant who was head of the child abuse investigations unit, in PPB's Detective Division. In the short term this meant a reduction in supervisory resources for the DVRU. In the long term the organizational shift had significant benefits under his direction.

He understood the importance of organizational autonomy to the survival of specialized

family violence units. In his efforts to build up the child abuse unit he had had to confront a variety of organizational pressures to divert investigative resources to other Bureau priorities. He also quickly saw the significant overlaps in child abuse and domestic violence cases and how the individual units were missing information by not working together. By 1998 the lieutenant was advocating a new division should be created outside the Detective Division, combining the child abuse and domestic violence functions. Lynnae Berg, who at that time was the Assistant Chief for Investigations and oversaw the Detective and Drugs and Vice Divisions, agreed with the lieutenant and supported his plan. In February of 1998 the lieutenant outlined the rationale for the new division. A year later he started to put together a new Family Services Division that would include his child abuse investigations unit and the DVRU. At about the same time, new VAWA funding became available and the new DVIT became part of the plan.

Not long after the lieutenant took over the DVRU, as noted above, in a meeting arranged by Oregon's U.S. Attorney, a deputy assistant attorney general from DOJ's Office of Justice Programs visited the PPB and asked "what they needed" to better address domestic violence. The PPB response was to work on the repeat call problem. PPB officials knew a lot of repeat 911 calls did not result in an arrest and thought they could do a better job on domestic violence if they could "outreach" to this group. With the VAWA funding the new DVIT unit was designed to focus on domestic violence 911 calls that do not result in arrest to complement the DVRU focus on arrests.

The new Family Service Division, now under the captain's command, began operation in 1999. Like the lieutenant (who became head of Internal Affairs), the captain views integrating police child abuse efforts with domestic violence as a long-term goal of the Family Services Division. And like the Chief Deputy DA and the domestic violence probation program administrator, he sees a major goal of the DVIT as developing the knowledge to prioritize domestic violence cases. They think they have a clear idea of this for child abuse but not for domestic violence.

The DVIT's day-to-day response team includes: one deputy district attorney, two detective sergeants (with supervisory rank), a supervising sergeant, and three domestic violence victim advocates. By a new General Order of the Chief, all patrol officers are required to write a report on all domestic violence calls that do not result in arrest. These reports are screened by the DVIT advocates for indicators of domestic abuse and prioritized for follow-up. A house visit with the PPB sergeant detective is made within a couple of days to offer services, elicit additional information if the victim is willing to talk, and at a minimum leave information and personal cards for people to call for help. The hope is that these efforts will result in more cases and get more victims the services they need. The Deputy DA is there to help with legal strategy and get in on building cases very early in the investigation. The start-up is being tested in two precincts, North and East. Operation had just begun interviews were conducted in the first week of March, 2000. At that time they were reviewing two to five reports a day. No cases had yet been generated for the Deputy DA.

Another part of the DVIT plan is to create a training feedback loop to patrol officers who

answer domestic violence calls. To improve the general PPB response to domestic violence, PPB officials want patrol officers to do more on initial calls and to be trained on what to look for at the on-site investigations. The feedback is not just to be in the form of general training but individualized "supervision" of the response of patrol officers to domestic violence calls by the DVIT detective sergeants. The DVIT detective sergeant (supervisory rank) facilitates this supervisory role.

Under the reorganized Family Service Division, the DVRU is also undergoing another refinement in strategy. The sergeant who is the current head of the DVRU is in the process of reinstating intensive investigations for selected cases, but simultaneously maintaining a telephone follow-up contact with victims in all domestic violence arrest cases. He is pushing for an increase in domestic violence victim advocates to do the follow-up calls. He has organized officer assignments by precinct so they get to know the "chronics" (persistent repeat offenders) and would like to have one advocate as well for each of Portland's five precincts. He is also pushing for an additional detective so the Family Services Division can also handle felony domestic violence cases.³²

If the data gathered for this case study are accurate, the specialization of the response to domestic violence in Portland has expanded over the last decade from essentially one attorney and one victim advocate in the DA's office to: six attorneys, one legal intern and six advocates in the DAs office; ten specialized probation officers; and twelve specialized officers working with domestic violence victim advocates in the police department — all of whom follow up on domestic violence arrests and those in the DVIT now also follow up on domestic violence 911 calls. Follow-up includes both formal sanctions for defendants and services for victims. According to the sergeant who heads the Unit, this is a significant change from before the creation of the DVRU in 1993, when officers did make mandatory arrests at the scene, but follow-up consisted of the on-site investigation and handing the victim some information on what to do next.

A major change in response to women victims of domestic violence and sexual assault was also stimulated by VAWA in large city settings as exemplified by the Family Advocacy Center in Phoenix, Arizona.

Case 3. Interagency cooperation in Phoenix cases of sexual assault and domestic violence

Under the direction of a City of Phoenix ombudsman, The Family Advocacy Center which opened in August 1999 has the active participation of the Phoenix Police Department, the City Prosecutor's Office, the Human Services Department, the Fire Department's Crises Response Team, the Municipal Court (who issues orders of protection for victims at the Center using closed circuit TV), the County Attorney's Office, three victim service organizations, and a team of Sexual Assault Nurse Examiners (SANE).

In addition to serving a larger population, The Family Advocacy Center in Phoenix differs from the collaborations in Salem, Massachusetts, and Portland, Oregon, in several important ways.

- The Center is administered by the city rather than a criminal justice, agency,
- A wider spectrum of agencies are involved in the collaboration,
- The Center serves women who are victims of sexual assault as well as domestic violence victims.
- Although victim support and services are a major focus of the Center, a relatively large proportion of the onsite staff, in particular the police officers, are primarily focused on bringing sex offenders and batterers to justice.

The focus on sex offenders and offender accountability is congruent with the mandate of VAWA and fits with long-term major goals of emphases of criminal justice agencies and service providers in Phoenix and Maricopa County.

Sojourner Center and other service providers

The Sojouner Center is the key on-site domestic violence victim service organization associated with the Family Advocacy Center. Sojourner and other services providers associated with the Family Violence Center were initially established with mandates other than providing services to victims of domestic violence or sexual assault. The first shelter for domestic violence victims in Phoenix, Rainbow Retreat, was based on a 12-step model and was closely associated with Al Anon. Sojourner was established in 1965 and incorporated in 1977 as a shelter for women coming from prison. Many of the organizations that provide shelter or advocacy for women victims of family violence in Phoenix are faith-based or have formed an alliance with religious organizations.

Sojouner's original mandate changed over the years. By 1982, the mission was devoted to serving battered women and their children. Nevertheless, Sojourner continued its alliance with the criminal justice community. In 2000 its board of directors included a member of the City Prosecutors Office (as well as representatives from many leading Phoenix private corporations). Sojourner provides a full-time advocate to the Family Advocacy Center. The organization also has a full-time advocate working within the Maricopa Probation Department to provide services to victims of domestic violence

offenders on conditional release.

Sojourner is supported by United Way, grants from federal agencies and state agencies including HUD, VOCA and VAWA funds, and CDBG block grants. The organization provides a link to a wide array of services including emergency shelter, transitional housing, educational and job training opportunities, and child care for victims in the Family Advocacy Center. Although Sojourner began with and continues to have a collaborative relationship with local criminal justice agencies, the Executive Director credits a 1996 VAWA grant for training police and prosecutors as a vehicle for establishing closer working relationships with those agencies. This enhanced working relationship prepared the way for the closer collaboration in the Family Advocacy Center.

The other two organizations with onsite representatives for linking victims with life-sustaining services are CASA (Center Against Sexual Abuse) and the Phoenix Department of Human Services. Like many sexual assault victim advocacy organizations, CASA was founded as the Assault Crisis Center in the early 1970's by a group of women students, in this case students attending Arizona State University. By 1975, the organization renamed the Center Against Sexual Assault and provided a hotline for victims throughout Maricopa County and a hospital assistance program. Over the following two decades the organization increased in staff (currently 34 employees and about 200 volunteers) and enlarged its scope of services to include counseling services for children and families as well as prevention and education programs run out of four offices in the County.

The Maricopa County Attorney

The Maricopa County Attorney's Office, serving 23 law enforcement agencies with a current staff of over 950 employees including 55 adult victim-witness advocates, demonstrated high commitment to victims services well before VAWA. In 1978, the Office implemented a Victim Witness Program to provide services to victims of violent crime. And in 1984, the Office and private citizens formed the first privately-funded Victim Compensation Program in Arizona. The County Attorney, Richard Romley, was first elected in 1989 when he ran on a victims' rights platform, and he has made victim services a cornerstone of his Office.

The Office gained a national reputation for forming multi-agency collaborations for holding offenders accountable independent of their social status³³. One primary focus the office has had is on sex offenders. In 1984, a Child Sexual Abuse Team was formed and a 'no cure possible, life time supervision needed' approach was promoted by a Maricopa Assistant County Attorney (who eventually became Chief Justice in Maricopa County). Four years later, the County Attorney initiated the Sex Crimes Bureau specializing in the prosecution of sexual assault, and child physical and sexual abuse cases. In 1992, the Bureau developed a protocol for responding to child abuse that later became the prototype for developing a domestic violence protocol. And when in 1999 the Governor convened her Sexual Assault Task Force, the Bureau Chief (Cindi Nannetti) was an active member.

Domestic violence offenses became a focus soon after VAWA was passed. Realizing that San Diego County was at the cutting edge of addressing domestic violence, the County Attorney sent a team from his office to California to learn about their practices and procedures; other staff were sent to VAWA-funded conferences on domestic violence organized by the National District Attorneys Office. Information gained by Office attorneys were integrated into training sessions Office staff provided for all twenty-three law enforcement agencies.

In 1996, the County Attorney formed a Family Violence Bureau specializing in the prosecution of felony domestic violence, stalking, elder abuse and child physical abuse cases and a year later the Office piloted a program with the Maricopa Probation Department for providing special case management for supervising felony domestic violence offenders. In 1998, the program was expanded to include misdemeanor offenders. The unit is headed by a former advocate from the County Attorney's Office.

The County Attorney was firmly behind the creation of the Family Violence Center. Office staff who participated in biweekly meetings of the team who planned the Center included two representatives from the Office's Family Violence Bureau, a representative from the Office's Sex Crime Unit, and a representative from the Office's Victim Witness program. Given the wider catchment of the Office compared to the Center (Maricopa County and Phoenix) attorneys have not been assigned to work on site at the Center. However, the Family Violence Bureau attorneys are readily available over the phone to the large number of Phoenix police officers who staff the Center.

The Phoenix Police Department

The Phoenix Police Department is composed of approximately 2600 sworn officers and detectives and more than 700 civilian staff and serves a population of 1.2 million residents living in a city of over 460 square miles. The Department has been credited by many people interviewed for this study as one of the first Arizona agencies to place a high priority on domestic violence cases. This priority was reportedly raised when Chief of Police Ruben Ortega attended a National Institute of Justice sponsored conference in Washington DC in 1984 and heard Larry Sherman present research findings which showed that mandatory arrest of domestic violence offenders in Minneapolis led to fewer repeat offenses. Although subsequent research findings in other cities showed different results,³⁴ and researchers still disagree about the findings,³⁵ Chief Ortega was convinced of the merits of a mandatory arrest policy (and Sherman became a long-time policy consultant for criminal justice agencies in Arizona).

Returning home, the Chief issued directives for mandatory arrest; according to Phoenix PD officers, within two years, 1986, the formal directives were actually shaping field practice. 1986 was also the year that the Department prepared for and received accreditation from CALEA; and as in the much smaller Danvers Police Department, this process and subsequent accreditation reviews required developing and updating policies for responding to domestic violence.

Like many progressive police departments that seek accreditation, Phoenix PD has a spectrum of programs for reaching out and building bridges with community groups and

a reputation among other government agencies for taking the lead in new initiatives. The Department had advocates for sexual assault victims stationed at PD headquarters several years before VAWA was enacted. And well before VAWA, in the 1970's the Department had partnered with mental health organizations in three precincts.

When Phoenix and Maricopa County became galvanized to better serve victims in the late 1990's the Department played a leading role in forming collaborative efforts to do so. When the Maricopa Association of Governments began its review of services available tor addressing domestic violence, the MAG staff found the Phoenix PD to be a vital force in the task force (described above) and in the production of the regional plan for addressing domestic violence.

The idea of a Phoenix Family Advocacy Center which emerged from the VAWA-stimulated task forces was congruent with Departmental reorganization envisioned by a new Chief of Police, Harold Hurtt, and his senior administrators. Recognizing the more efficient work that specialization could bring to his large investigations unit, in 1998 the Chief created a Family Investigations Bureau headed by a Commander who reported directly to the Assistant Chief in charge of Investigations. Another unit was formed to investigate crimes against children; this unit was located in an office separate from the rest of the department.

Once the Family Advocacy Center was organized, the remaining officers in the Family Investigations Unit and victim services staff were relocated to the Center and work together in the Family Services Bureau section of the Center. At that time the Department created within the Family Services Bureau two new VAWA-funded investigative units: the threat management unit and the "cold case" investigation unit. The threat management unit investigators work with victim advocates, other detectives, and patrol officers to identify repeat domestic violence offenders. Once they are identified, the investigators work with County Attorney's Office to bolster prosecution.

The "cold case" investigation unit concentrates on cases of sexual assault in which the offender was never arrested. Using DNA evidence and computer analysis for comparing characteristics of unsolved cases, the unit has identified and arrested repeat rapists who were still at large. The unit uses the most experienced advocates to call the victims about the solved cases and support them when painful recollections resurface. The reward for both the investigators and the advocates is captured by the statement of one of the victims, "I slept peacefully last night for the first time since I was raped."

Collaborative activities of the Family Advocacy Center

The Family Advocacy Center opened in August 1999 under the direction of a City of Phoenix ombudsman. Located in an attractive private building, has the active participation of the Phoenix Police Department, the City Prosecutor's Office, the Human Services Department, the Fire Department's Crises Response Team, the Municipal Court (which issues orders of protection for victims at the Center using closed circuit TV), the County Attorney's Office, three victim service organizations, and a team of Sexual Assault Nurse Examiners (SANE).

VAWA helped stimulate many of the collaborative efforts to reduce violence against women in Phoenix and Maricopa County. However, the event that galvanized the creation of the Family Advocacy Center was the 1998 media-covered murder of Laura Munoz. She was a domestic violence victim who sought but could not find shelter days before she was killed as her six children watched. At first, media coverage of her death was minimal. But then an influential administrator in a victim services organization called an enterprising woman reporter's attention to the circumstances surrounding her murder. The result was a series of first page articles about Munoz and other domestic violence victims.

When the Munoz murder hit the headlines, the Mayor established an ad hoc committee to come up with recommendations for preventing domestic violence homicides in the future and better serving women who were victims of violence. The committee was headed by Councilmember Peggy Bilsten who had served on the City Council since 1994 when it was "politically incorrect to talk about domestic violence." One of the several sound recommendations that the committee proposed was to start a Family Advocacy Center. A model developed several years previously in the nearby City of Mesa Family Advocacy Center was adapted to meet the needs of Phoenix.

Unlike the Mesa Center which is police run, the Phoenix Center is directed by an ombudsman city manager. The team who developed the center included "everyone who knew about advocacy and the criminal justice system."

As described above, with the exception of child abuse investigations, the Phoenix Police Department houses their entire Family Investigations Bureau, including over 60 police officers (including supervisors), at the Center where investigations for sex crimes, domestic violence, and special investigations are conducted. Given the sensitivity of Bureau information, police officers are housed together with police victim advocates in a secure section of the Center. The Center Director, community-based advocates, and other staff are located in a separate secure section.

For the most part, police officers and advocates have developed working relationships based on mutual appreciation for each other's skills and expertise. Many police officers reportedly have a new appreciation for the trauma experienced by victims. They scrupulously follow protocols developed by AZPOST for a more coordinated approach to family violence and sexual assault. They have initiated new methods for increasing accountability of their offenders — such as new investigative techniques for clearing "cold" cases of rape and sexual assault and for identifying and focusing resources on repeat batterers.

The Center Director and liaisons to shelter-based and other community services are located in another part of the Center that also has controlled and secure access; this area provides space for a children's playroom, offices reserved for the use of County Attorney's staff and other community agency staff, as well as cubicles for interns and volunteers. Since the "break" room is located near the Director's office, she has a chance to meet informally with officers and advocates throughout the day and monitor the ongoing process of coordination between the two sides of the Center. Since community advocates often are the first to hear from a growing number of "walk-in"

women who have never before reported being victims, and police officers are often in contact with victims who have received no counseling or other community-based services, part of her mission is to assure that women are fully informed about services and options available from the full Center staff.

Highlights of the Center's physical plant includes a state of the art forensic examination room given high priority by the Maricopa County Attorney's Office as a need for "evidence based" prosecution, and equipped by the Department of Public Safety. Also available are a well-appointed adjacent bathroom with a shower (for victims' use after the exam is completed), a stock room with a complete change of clothes for victims whose personal clothing may be taken for evidence, and interview rooms that resemble small tastefully-decorated living rooms.

The coordination of police officers, SANE nurses, and advocates who use these rooms is equally as impressive. Before the Center was operating, as in most places in the country, a rape survivor was asked a host of questions at the scene, brought to a hospital emergency room, typically waited hours for an exam in the company of a police officer in a highly public area, then transported down to a police station for another interview. In Phoenix she is now immediately brought to the Center where she is met by a SANE nurse, a police investigator, and an advocate. Even as she walks the short distance between the exam room and the interview room she is encircled and encouraged by her team.

Based on our observations in the Phoenix Family Advocacy Center and the other units described in this report, we found that a small number of first-line cross-agency responders working in coordination can and have reduced ongoing forms of trauma commonly experienced by numerous victims of sexual assault and domestic violence subsequent to the emergent incident. These teams can consist of one advocate/one police or probation officer, one advocate/one prosecutor, one nurse examiner/one advocate/one officer. Over time, one team has a potential for affecting the lives of hundreds of victims.

While LINC researchers observed only a small number of victims served by multidisciplinary teams, these victims, as is typical of victims served by teams in other studies,³⁶ typically expressed sincere appreciation for the time, attention, and support they received from team members.

The Direct Influence of VAWA Funds on Organizational Practices

Based on the frequencies of responses of people interviewed for this study, the most important influence of VAWA has been the positive impact on increasing cooperation and coordination. The second major influence has been a direct impact *VAWA funds* provided to state and local agencies. This impact reportedly has been primarily positive (see Figure 3), but also has raised certain challenges (see Figure 4).

Positive practical developments generated by VAWA funds

High on the list of positive developments reported by staff across agencies in all study sites were changes in practice enabled by small amounts of VAWA funds provided to community-based victim service organizations. Law enforcement officers, prosecutors, and advocates alike agreed that more fiscal support was badly needed for shelters, transitional housing, and other services that victims and their children need before they can feasibly transcend abusive conditions and begin to lead violence-free lives. In all our study sites there were a very limited number of organizations available to help victims survive abuse, and most provided a wide spectrum of services with relatively modest budgets. Therefore relatively small amounts of VAWA funds provided to these organizations "made a huge difference." The Life Crisis Center in Wicomico County, Maryland, provides one case example.

Case 4. Life Crisis Center, Wicomico County

The Life Crisis Center (LCC) in Wicomico County, Maryland, Is an example of a community-based agency that provides a wide spectrum of services enabling victims in rural Maryland to survive abuse. Located in the central small Eastern Shore city of Salisbury, LCC is essentially the only non-government nonsectarian agency available to women who have been victims of violence in the surrounding rural counties (Wicomico, Worchester, and Somerset). The women served by LCC are extremely diverse and include white upper-middle class highly-educated women who moved to the tri-county area from urban areas, long-term working-class African American residents, and recent arrivals from Southeast Asia who are employed for manual labor by chicken farms, a major local industry.

As with many organizations around the country serving women survivors of violence, the precursor of LCC was a campus rape crisis hotline. It was initiated in Wicomico County in 1976 by concerned women attending a local college. In 1978, the hotline was extended to serve the larger community and handle other crises including those related to drug and alcohol abuse. This expanded scope was supported by several local church pastors who led congregations with a social action focus. United Way provided a \$10,000 grant.

Figure 3. Direct positive influences of VAWA funds reported in study sites

New resources for shelters that are "so stretched that [the addition] of one AmeriCorps volunteer makes a huge difference."

Funds for conferences have been very helpful in learning about new initiatives that are out there, and funding has also allowed for trying out new initiatives.

The funds validated organizations who were previously working for free.

The funds helped enhance training — even though the amounts were relatively small compared to overall costs for training.

The funds have allowed the development of excellent training materials that could not have been produced using state funds.

The funds have provided additional resources for victims at times they were most needed.

The availability of funds made people (in the criminal justice system and other government agencies) sit up, notice (the problem) and listen (to the advocates).

VAWA funds helped stabilize the funding stream for shelters for victims of domestic violence.

VAWA provided consistency of funding for victim services.

VAWA funds helped build on agency collaboration started with VOCA funds.

Small amounts of money were able to result in major changes: Money for tape recorders, resulted in better police reports and stronger cases for prosecution (This statement was from a shelter-based services director).

STOP grants provided a "huge funding source"; without these funds the governor's office of domestic violence wouldn't exist.

VAWA funds (\$30,000 over 3 years) allowed us (campus police) to get organized with student peer educators and counseling services and start CESA (Campus Educators on Sexual Assault). The funds also let us establish a 20-hour-a-week domestic violence investigator who worked with the local women

The biggest change VAWA brought about was having [VAWA funded] domestic violence officers in police departments. Before, it was a crap shoot for women; sometimes the officers did more harm than good and the women complained all the time. But it really depends on the officer assigned. When the domestic violence officer in the ---- Police Department was a woman lieutenant, victims had no complaints about police; but she left and now there are complaints again. Dual arrests are going up again. It doesn't have to be a woman officer — the domestic violence officer in Danvers, John Tiplady has a fire in his belly over the issue — but usually, if the dv officer is a woman, there are fewer victim complaints.

VAWA funds help leverage state and nonprofit funds and supplement other federal sources.

VAWA funds helped educate a very conservative community that more (local) funds needed to be allocated for victims. But the effect is relatively small compared to media coverage of domestic violence murders.

VAWA created a more cooperative environment for applying for funds.

VAWA funds provided an opportunity for outreach and initiation of services in parts of the state where previously no services for dv victims existed.

Funding for domestic violence services has permitted a huge increase in services. County service providers have been able to add staff and provide more support groups, build shelters, do outreach and print more pamphlets. Funding also has led to training law enforcement officers and prosecutors and given them enhanced tools to collect evidence where previously the police didn't know what to do, what evidence to collect.

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Figure 3 (continued). Direct positive influences of VAWA funds reported in study sites

A key change in Maryland over the past decade is greater access to services. VAWA funds have brought money for domestic violence even when there was no money for other things that also are needed.

VAWA funds allowed the state to put family service coordinators in every circuit court.

While the probation department didn't directly receive funds, the funds that went for state-wide training made it possible for us to receive training and the Lieutenant Governor started coordinating councils for all counties.

The resources that VAWA provided allowed us to designate two prosecutors and a bilingual advocate (to domestic violence cases) and target Spanish speaking populations.

Challenges

The funding allowed us to serve more victims — but it's very scary to think that funds would be yanked just as we are making headway.

VAWA resources were key to our (prosecutor's office) working more effectively with police departments. The project with police participation has raised the commitment of the police and prosecutors. But the fiscal and budget process of working with city agencies is a nightmare.

In the early 1980's both state and local developments shaped the mission of the hotline staff. In 1983, the Maryland legislature increased the Marriage License Fee (originally levied in 1982 to support shelter for battered spouses in urban areas) in order to provide support for programs for domestic violence victims in all counties. During the 1980's, Wicomico County experienced an influx of new residents who were from areas with strong women's rights movement, several of whom were interviewed for this study. (By 1990, 37% percent of the Wicomico population was from out of state, with 13% formerly from states in the Northeast and West. 10% of the population in 1990 had moved there from another county in Maryland in the past five years.³⁷) These new arrivals began to challenge that status quo in which public and nonprofit agencies largely ignored domestic violence. Together with the group who staffed the hotline, these women formed the Life Crisis Center.

Federal funds provided in 1986 through Victims of Crime Act (VOCA) enabled the Life Crisis Center to provide counseling for victims of domestic violence. During the same year, LCC hired their first professional victim services/domestic violence coordinator. The Center set a goal to build a shelter for battered women (which was not achieved until 1997) and began to provide legal advocacy for victims seeking protection orders and sexual assault victims who wished to attend trial of offenders. Soon after, the Center added a batterers' treatment component to the services it offered.

By the early 1990's criminal justice agencies began increasingly to turn to LCC for assistance in cases involving domestic violence. Several judges began to provide treatment at LCC as a condition for probation. In 1990, the Wicomico County State

Attorney David Ruark hired Wicomico County's first woman Assistant State's Attorney and encouraged her to specialize in cases of sexual assault and domestic violence. She formed an informal liaison with the LCC to learn more about victims of domestic violence and sexual assault. In 1995, the Salisbury Police Department appointed a Public Service/Victim Assistance Officer (VAO) to work in tandem with Life Crisis Center staff.³⁸

By the late 1990's, the Center had a paid staff of approximately forty and over twenty-five trained volunteers. They provided a wide spectrum of services to women victims of domestic violence and sexual assault, their families, and criminal justice agencies that deal with offenders. In addition to the original hotline, now operating 24 hours a day, 7 days a week, services provided by the Center include a separate Youth Crisis Hotline, legal advocacy for survivors, therapeutic counseling for survivors, therapeutic counseling for children, batterers' abuse intervention programs, training for police and other criminal justice agency staff, and educational programs. Volunteers arrive at the local hospital to support rape victims through the additional trauma of forensic exams and accompany victims to court to provide nonlegal counsel and assistance as they face their batterers and in some cases unsympathetic or overtly hostile judges. In 1997, the Life Crisis Center achieved the long-term goal of opening a shelter for battered women and their children. The shelter, built with funds, materials, and labor provided by community organizations and members, is an attractive child-friendly way station decorated by local artists and designers. The shelter, like most LCC services, is primarily supported by state and local funds. However VAWA funds too have played an important role both directly and by filling gaps in services.

One such gap was a lack of outreach across cultural barriers to immigrant women. Prior to VAWA, the budget for the Center could not be stretched to devote staff time to building bridges to these women. VAWA funds directly enabled the Center to do so. In 1995, using VAWA funds, the Life Crisis Center hired an advocate for outreach to special populations. As a result of the activities of the VAWA-funded advocate, immigrant survivors reportedly began to access counselors and advocates. They included young sexually-assaulted women working in coastal resorts, rural battered women in families working on the water or working the land, and Mexican and Korean women survivors of violence working in seasonal agricultural and chicken industries.

Indirectly, LCC also benefitted from VAWA funds provided to other agencies. Funds provided to state level councils and coalitions resulted in materials that were used by LCC in training, other educational programs and public awareness campaigns. For example, as part of co-teaching in the Wicomico County law enforcement academy, the Life Crisis Center drew on and distributed *Maryland Domestic Violence Laws: A Law Enforcement Officer's Guide*, prepared in 1997 by the Maryland Network Against Domestic Violence. VAWA funds provided to local criminal justice agencies, including the Salisbury Police Department and the Wicomico County State's Attorney Office, resulted in the appointment of staff dedicated to handing domestic violence cases. These staff, in turn, greatly increased access of the LCC advocates and counselors to information about cases involving clients.

VAWA funds provided in 1999 to the Wicomico County Circuit Court were especially

important for supplementing legal advocacy services provided by LCC. These funds were used to hire a Family Support Service Coordinator who, as a former emergency room nurse, is intimately familiar with domestic violence trauma. The advocate reviews all civil cases (such as divorce or custody cases) for evidence of domestic violence, shields victims from decisions that involve contact with the offender by acting as liaison between the victim, other judicial staff, attorneys, and other family members and service agencies to which to the victim and/or the offender have been referred.

Cross-site influences of VAWA funds for additional victim services staff

In all study sites VAWA funds allowed the addition of one or two staff who made possible an increase in the numbers of victims receiving the spectrum of services commonly provided to a woman who has sought help after being raped or battered, including:

- Immediate assistance in obtaining medical treatment and forensic exams, finding clothes to wear to replace those taken as evidence, applying for judicial orders needed for police to arrest the assaulter if he returns, applying for immediate notification from jails, probation departments or other justice agencies when they release the arrested assaulter from their custody, finding and getting to a safe place to stay and, in many cases, for her children to stay, receiving enough emotional and psychological support for overcoming shock, providing emotional and psychological support for children who have witnessed the assault on their mother.
- Short-term assistance in developing a safety plan of steps to take in case the offender attempts to attack again; assembling the resources (such as a cellular phone programmed to speed dial 911) to implement a safety plan, locating a temporary place to live where the offender will be less likely to assault her again; finding child care to allow her to follow through on prosecuting the assaulter and if necessary, to seek employment; getting to court and negotiating the court processes without the assaulter or his attorney threatening her for seeking a protective order or for cooperating with the district attorney; arranging for support and counseling to overcome the psychological trauma of the assault, and similar support and counseling for her children.
- Facilitated access to longer-term assistance needed to become legally, economically, emotionally, and psychologically independent of the assaulter, such as affordable housing, employment training, counseling, psychological therapy, legal representation in case her assaulter attempts to take away her children, and supervised visitation at centers where she knows it is safe to drop off her children if the court orders that the assaulter has a right to visit with her children.

These services, in our study sites typically are provided by fewer than thirty full time employees and far more trained volunteers than professional staff. In addition, VAWA funding for even part-time staff reportedly has resulted in their ability to service hundreds of victims each year. For an example, in one of LINC's community-policing project sites, Bannock County, Idaho, VAWA funds were used by a victim services organization (the YWCA) to hire one new part-time staff member. She in turn recruited and trained over fifty volunteers and coordinated their activities. These volunteers provided services to victims of domestic violence immediately after an incident has been reported to the police. (After responding police officers made sure it is safe for the volunteers to visit the scene of the incident).

By creating a limited number of new advocate positions, which differ across sites depending on perceived needs, VAWA funding reportedly has allowed victim service organizations to reach survivors who ordinarily would not have sought or received help in these ways.

- VAWA funds have been used to increase the number of hours victim services staff are available to respond to victims in emergent situations. For example, VAWA funds received in 1996 by the Women's Crisis Center in Newburyport, Massachusetts, were used to initiate a 24-hour-a-day Rapid Response Team for victims of domestic violence, enabling community-based advocates to meet with victims at home or a hospital soon after police have responded to an incident.
- VAWA funds have been used for new staff to bridge gaps between agencies including police, other justice agencies, and community-based service organizations by locating these VAWA-funded staff with staff who regularly see or hear from victims. VAWA-funded community-based victim advocates are housed in police departments, courts, prosecutors offices, probation offices, and departments of correction. In Massachusetts, for example, VAWA funds allowed the Commonwealth to place community-based advocates in courts around the state.

As criminal justice staff in these many locations came to realize the range of community-based services that can be provided to victims, they reportedly were more than happy to personally escort victims to see these advocates or transfer calls to advocates instead of saying, "sorry, we can't help you with that — here's a number to call."

■ VAWA funds have been used to bridge gaps in staffing that exist among professionals dealing with the same victim in the same agency. One disconnect domestic violence victims frequently experience is between criminal courts and civil courts. While a judge hearing their criminal complaint may realize the risk an offender presents to the survivor of his past assaults, a second judge in civil court — lacking this information — may order actions that increase risk to the survivor, such as arrangements for joint child custody. In Wicomico County, a former ER nurse who has treated many battered women has been hired by the courts to review records across courts

- and inform judges of all cases and decisions involving the same domestic violence victim and offender.
- VAWA funding has been used for bilingual victim service providers. By overcoming language barriers, bilingual staff increase access to services among non-English-speaking victims. Moreover, since they typically are aware of special cultural barriers to seeking and receiving victim services, they are in a better position to helping victims overcome or circumvent these obstacles. Also, as observed in Essex County, Massachusetts, in addition to helping domestic violence victims in courts or other agencies with few bilingual staff, bilingual service providers are frequently called on to help non-English-speaking people deal with intricate bureaucratic forms, requirements, and schedules which is how the addition of one bilingual advocate can result in an increase of hundreds of people served each year.
- VAWA funding has been used for staff who train police officers responding to incidents of domestic and sexual assault. In all study sites, advocates have provided training about services victims commonly need from service providers and how to provide information about or safely provide opportunities for victims to receive these services. However, as discussed next, according to administrators of victim services, officers who are actively working in partnership with victim service providers are much more likely to increase the numbers of victims who actually access services than officers who have simply been trained to provide information about services.

Cross-site influences of VAWA funds for training and hiring criminal justice staff

Law enforcement departments used VAWA funds to provide additional training for officers responding to domestic violence incidents and to hire additional personnel. There is growing evidence based on interviews and observations conducted for this and other studies³⁹ that training alone has had little influence on changing police perceptions of and responses to victims. Factors that were far more likely to affect officers' reactions in incidents involving women victims of domestic violence and sexual assault were concerns about legal liability, sustained working partnerships with community-based advocates, and close monitoring by a dedicated supervisor coupled with clear implications for future promotions. As cogently expressed by a (woman) lieutenant who was on call to assist and reviewed the performance of officers responding to domestic violence calls:

"You can train them and you can memo them and you can give them materials to read about identifying the primary aggressor, (avoiding) dual arrests, recording excited utterances, and other elementary procedures they should know. But basically when it comes right down to it, you have to say, 'ok, this is how you are going to do it,' and then lead them through it step by step until they get it. I say, 'if you're not sure call me.' They learn that it's much better to call me and get it right than get a note in their (evaluation) file."

VAWA funds that were expended for hiring criminal justice staff dedicated to cases involving violence against women reportedly have led to important changes in the way such cases are resolved. As described above, VAWA funds provided to criminal justice agencies also enabled police, prosecutors, and in some sites courts to assign staff as specialists for domestic violence or sexual assault cases. These assignments enabled criminal justice professionals to devote more time to assuring that offenders would be held accountable for their own actions. The special assignments also placed them in closer contact with advocates and allowed more time for positive and productive interaction with victims. As discussed in the next section, these interactions commonly resulted in changed perceptions about victims and in some cases led to a cultural change throughout departments.

Victims reportedly benefitted from the extra time and attention police and prosecutors could devote to assisting them. Police, prosecutors, and community corrections officers reported being able to take extra steps for reducing the possibility of a repeat victimization. However, the long-term benefits for reducing violence against women will depend on whether or not the departments receiving VAWA grants continue to fund these positions after federal funds are no longer available for this purpose.

Small amounts of VAWA funds provided to police departments with relatively limited budgets have been used for purchasing or producing relatively inexpensive materials. That reportedly had a major impact on practice. For example:

- Cameras, tape recorders, and other equipment for collecting on-scene evidence reportedly improved the quality of cases.
- Small "palm card" checklists that officers can keep in their pockets prompt them through critical steps to take when responding to domestic violence, such as identifying the primary aggressor (in lieu of arresting the victim as well as the offender), attending to children present in the household, and informing the victim about services available.
- Presentation materials increased officer and public awareness of VAWA provisions and mandates and provided information about other proactive responses to domestic violence.

Negative impacts commonly reported in all study sites

The following problems were identified by the study sites and were attributed to federal conditions thought to be attached to receiving VAWA funds.

VAWO does not specifically mandate that funds be expended on new approaches for victims of domestic violence, sexual assault, or stalking. However organizations in the study sites commonly perceived that VAWA funds were primarily allocated for a spectrum of new or unproven programs in lieu of approaches that had demonstrated ability to meet both victims' immediate and longer-term needs. Virtually all agencies that received VAWA

- funding and many not eligible to receive VAWA funds said that one of the most pressing needs in their community was greater availability of shelters and other emergency services for victims yet by and large only a relatively small amount of VAWA funds were allocated for this purpose.
- The withdrawal of funding from programs which had one or two years of funding, involved activities that the community highly valued, but which had not yet had time to develop other sources of funds. Some examples of programs that were disbanded included a rape prevention approach implemented collaboratively by campus police and residential advisors and first-responder teams of police and volunteer advocates. The latter approach was abandoned when there were no longer VAWA funds for a single professional volunteer coordinator/trainer.

Perceptions of negative impacts of funding that differed across states and counties

Some reportedly negative impacts appeared to be due more to state decisions about allocation of funding than actual conditions attached to VAWA funds. These included:

■ The proportion of funds allocated to reducing domestic violence as compared to sexual assault.

In Arizona and Maricopa County, where the victims' rights movement historically has been much stronger than the women's rights movement, sexual assault offenders and victims, especially children, have long been a central concern of justice agencies. VAWA funds have been used to strengthen this emphasis, resulting in a small number of reports of negative effects from an imbalance in funding for victims other than battered women.

In contrast, in Massachusetts, even before VAWA was enacted, the executive branch set a clear agenda for reducing domestic violence, and concentrated on systematically improving services for battered women. VAWA funds were seen as a resource for addressing important gaps — particularly gaps in availability of legal advocacy in courts across the state — and were primarily used to address these and other needs of domestic violence victims. At the local level, approaches to address sexual assault were perceived to 'take a back seat' to these efforts.

At the same time however, among women who sought services from rape crises centers in Massachusetts, between 1988 and 1997 the proportion of women who were sexually assaulted by intimate partners doubled (from 10% to 20%⁴⁰). This was interpreted by the Massachusetts Department of Public Health as possibly due to "...a heightened awareness of intimate partner assault, or improved coordination of services between sexual assault and domestic violence service programs."⁴¹

Figure 4. Concerns reported by study sites regarding VAWA funds [Note: addressing some of these concerns would require a change in legislation]

...the earmarking [of VAWA funds] for police and district attorneys without demonstration of cooperation [with victims' advocates and service providers] does not help.

Funding is used for talking/thinking that seems to be unproductive

Funding has prompted more organizations competing and fiercer competition for funds.

Funding and legislation has bypassed agencies who supervise offenders and [victim service providers within such agencies who] serve their victims

Funding is not made available for offender treatment or increasing accountability for paying restitution (collection not funded)

STOP funds have been inconsistently allocated [in study site]; we need more consistency so we don't continually have to shut down some programs and then restart them after funds are received.

VAWA funds have pushed service organizations to constantly take on new programs instead of strengthening and sustaining services that are in place but needed for more victims.

We need to switch from crisis funds to prevention funds.

The funding brought about more training of advocates and police; but while some of the training was good — other training was not good or just so so.

The availability of funds produced self-proclaimed experts who offered training; they don't acknowledge their (lack of) experience and just offer anecdotal information.

The checks aren't large enough and the reporting requirements are picky — but the state reps are good to deal with. VAWGO is a friendly funder.

VAWA had only a minimal impact on cases in Oregon because the legislation doesn't mesh with Oregon law; VAWA was looked to more as a source of funding for shelters.

To the extent that the funds were used for new untried and untested approaches rather than bolstering approaches known to reduce recidivism, VAWA was counterproductive.

The funds are used to train all criminal justice agency staff — that's good; but there is no provision for bringing in the community folks who need to be mobilized to help us.

VAWA had less of an impact on proactive police departments that were doing COPS before the COPS office and being proactive about domestic violence before the law became mandatory. Other departments have seen what we were doing and joined in before VAWA.

VAWA's emphasis on mandatory arrest may not be best for the victim. The victim may get a false sense of security and that is worse than not arresting the batterer.

The funds couldn't be used by schools for approaches to reduce teen dating violence. We rolled the approaches into drug use prevention so we could use Safe and Drug Free Schools Funds. It's of crucial importance that schools receive funds for preventing teen dating violence and not roll this into Safe and Drug Free Schools funds.

Restrictions on the age of women being served kept us from sheltering women under the age of 18. [The authors would like to note that this was a common misunderstanding that VAWO has been working to dispel].

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The awarding of funds to trainers who were "self-proclaimed experts" but actually inexperienced or for training that was "just so-so".

In states taking advantage of national "train the trainers" conferences where funding was provided for attendance by POST staff, judges, or representatives from their state association of district attorneys there appeared to be less concern about the use of funds earmarked for training than in states where training funds were awarded to ex-police officers who had few credentials other than personal experience in policing. The type of training that appeared to be most appreciated, as is often the case with police officers, is "on the job training" during officers' visits to departments where model approaches for reducing violence against women had already been developed.

Perceptions of negative effects of VAWA funds reported by some advocates

According to some of the most experienced advocates for battered women, both federal and state requirements for receiving and administering VAWA funds (and other government funds) were bringing about fundamental changes in service organizations that were not beneficial for victims. As succinctly explained by one long-term advocate:

"VAWA funds — and other government funds — have changed us (battered women services organization) into an institution ourselves. Because of the requirements for funding, we've turned into just another social service agency ourselves. To legitimize ourselves, we keep compromising — like compromising about the focus on the victim instead of the offender."

Not infrequently, long-term advocates expressed concern that VAWA funds were being used for short-term, immediate responses rather than long-term approaches for helping women become economically independent from abusive men. They saw the use of funds for strategic planning within the criminal justice system as "talk" rather than action required by women who had survived battering. Yet even the harshest critics of the allocation of VAWA funds typically agreed that, as discussed next, the involvement of police in VAWA-funded collaborations had helped solidify a major shift in responses of law enforcement officers to women victims of domestic violence and sexual assault — especially among officers actively working on a day-to-day basis with community-based victim service providers.

Cultural Changes in Criminal Justice Agencies Influenced by VAWA

Approaches stimulated by the US Department of Justice, including VAWA-funded approaches involving cross-organizational cooperation, have helped propel and solidify a cultural change in many state and local justice agencies in our study sites — in particular a new sensitivity to issues confronting survivors of violence. This change has been noted repeatedly with satisfaction by victim service providers and other women's rights proponents. Typical comments victim advocates made in interviews carried out as part of

this study include these:

"Major systems shifts [have occurred] due to education that domestic violence isn't a victim's problem — that battered women can't just leave; for example, law enforcement recognized that domestic violence was a crime — they could make an arrest."

"The criminal justice system is more aware and more responsive. A typical response used to be, "Well, why doesn't she just leave?". Now they understand why she can't leave. "

"Police now get it, prosecutors now get it."

"Someone actually believes them [victims] and understands she is not crazy. Funds went for sensitizing police, courts, and prosecutors."

Bureaucratic change agents and example changes in corrections systems

Victim advocates tend to attribute these changes in part to their own participation in training criminal justice staff. For one example, cross-organizational training among police and community-based advocates on the North Shore of Essex County, Massachusetts, in 1996 reportedly shifted from qualified acceptance among law enforcement officers to appreciation and ongoing seeking of advice. They also recognize the role played by "specialists" within criminal justice and other government agencies who have become their partners in promoting changes in thinking and practice within departments.

In virtually every study site, community-based victim services administrators and staff commonly pointed to one or two people in state or local agencies whom they credited with responsibility for initiating major change in the way their colleagues and other bureaucrats thought about and responded to violence against women. Typically these change agents had the following characteristics.

- The vast majority were women; however a few were men characterized as "men with fire in their bellies".
- The agencies for whom they worked varied and included police departments (state and local), corrections departments, prosecutors' offices, and county departments of community and family services, as well as state executive offices.
- The positions they held were typically mid-level or supervisory appointments such as, in police departments, lieutenants and sergeants; however, several were promoted to higher level appointments as they demonstrated ability to bring about positive change. Change agents also included several top-level elected officials who ran on platforms emphasizing the need to address violence against women.
- They were equally respected by their colleagues and community-based advocates; the latter typically remarked that they were among the first in their

- organizations to grasp the complex nature of domestic violence and victims' responses.
- They had the confidence of their chief executive officers to bring about change that would advance the goals of and benefit the department as well as change practice and thinking about violence against women.
- They used new laws and regulations, VAWA as well as state and local legislation, as leverage to overcome entrenched reactions to women who survived domestic violence and sexual assault and to overcome 'business-asusual' responses to offenders.

These change agents were located in a spectrum of criminal justice and other government agencies. The specific methods they used for leveraging change largely depended on their position and the structure and function of their departments and the laws that enabled a change in practice. For example, as described in the following sections, in each site new laws have enabled women administrators in correctional agencies to bring about changes in the provision of victim services and offender supervision.

Massachusetts Massachusetts is one of our two study states where probation, prisons, and parole are administered by separate branches of the government (Arizona is the second). Although, as described in other sections of this report, other state and local departments in Massachusetts were relatively early to change their practices and attitudes toward violence against women, change in the departments dealing with convicted offenders has been an uphill struggle. Comprehensive reforms in probation began in the mid-1990s when the Probation Department began shifting over from 20% proactive field visits and 80% reactive to 80% proactive field visits during times when victims are most vulnerable.

Also in the mid-1990s, Essex County Probation began comprehensive background checks on offenders whose victims requested restraining orders; the policy reportedly was adopted in reaction to the murder of women in another county by an offender whose extensive criminal record had not been checked. In 1997, one Essex County Probation officer received federally-funded domestic violence response training from police and was assigned supervision of domestic violence cases. However, although overall philosophy and practice have transformed, and a preliminary focus on domestic violence has taken place in Essex County, the cultural changes in responses to violence against women that have appeared in other study sites do not have appear to have taken place in the Department.

Within other Massachusetts correctional departments VAWA and state laws have helped women on staff leverage limited but important changes. The Director of the Victim Service Unit of the Massachusetts Parole Board gradually increased the formal attention paid to the needs of victims within the office. She incrementally advanced the organizational status of the unit along with her own position, gradually bringing about the realization of laws mandating victims' rights to testify at parole hearings for their assaulters. Under her direction and working shoulder to shoulder with women who were Directors of Victim

Services in the Massachusetts Criminal History Systems Board, (Executive Office of Public Safety or EOPS) and the Massachusetts Department of Correction, a shared confidential information system was implemented. The system helped assure that survivors could be informed about the status of their assaulters and that decision-makers were fully briefed on the crimes these felons had committed. (This system was implemented in addition to the state-wide domestic violence reporting system implemented by the Criminal History Systems Board in 1997).

The working relationship between the Victim Service Unit Directors has apparently helped stabilize the Victim Services Unit in the Department of Correction. A first and short-lived victim services unit was formed in 1987. In 1994, the Department established a second Victim Service Unit which reportedly was essentially not operational, due to opposition from correctional staff. The Unit re-established in 1998 with funds from the State legislature has established operations for reaching out to victims of violence and providing them with information about their rights and steps they need to take to protect their rights. The Unit Director not only receives ongoing feedback and information from her counterparts at the Parole Board and Criminal History Systems Board, but VAWA has provided a network of other victim advocates from whom she can draw ideas and support.

Oregon Several years before VAWA funds became available, major changes were taking place in community corrections in response to violence against women. These enabled the exemplary role played by the domestic violence probation program administrator and the women she supervised in the Multnomah County Domestic Violence Community Response Team (described above). Women who are top-level administrators in Department of Juvenile & Adult Community Justice in Multnomah County, in particular the Director and Deputy Director, also were frequently mentioned by people interviewed throughout the County and State as key to these changes.

In 1991, the Family Violence Intervention Steering Committee published their pivotal findings, From Harrassment to Homicide: A Report on the Response to Domestic Violence in Multnomah County. In 1993, the State restructured the parole and probation process to enable swifter consequences for violations. These bypassed court involvement if the offender agreed to the process — 96% of offenders with violations agreed to the process. In response (also in 1993), to better supervise the growing number of domestic violence offenders assigned to their agency, the Multnomah County Community Corrections (Probation and Parole) formed the Domestic Violence Unit using Byrne funds. Under direction of the Deputy Director, who was a prime mover on the Family Violence Committee and later became Chair for the Governor's Task Force on domestic violence, the Unit helped assure that offenders who opted to bypass the courts did not bypass the conditions of their release. During the same year, probation and parole officers from Multnomah and others around the state formed a sex offender supervisors network — an ad hoc group for training and coordination.

In 1995 the State shifted to counties having responsibility for offenders on conditional release (parole, probation, pretrial release). During the same year State statute mandated the formation of Local Public Safety Coordinating Councils to coordinate resources for offenders and criminal justice resources. These developments allowed administrators in

Multnomah County to respond quickly as changes in State law and the infusion of VAWA funds led to new developments in other Portland and Multnomah bureaus and departments.

For example, in 1997, juvenile and adult community corrections were combined into one agency with the recognition that both agencies were working with the same families. The focus in the newly combined Department shifted to redesigning case loads to focus more intensively on the most serious offenders; nevertheless, supervision of "less serious" domestic violence offenders in the Deferred Prosecution Program was maintained at a relatively high level. Moreover, officers were added to the Domestic Violence Unit to increase supervision in high and medium risk domestic violence offenders as well as those in the Deferred Sentencing Program.

Arizona In Arizona, the Assistant Director of Arizona Department of Corrections (ADC), Community Corrections Division, led a team of women administrators committed to providing needed services to survivors. The team, including the Female Programs Administrator, the Bureau Administrator for Criminal Justice Support, the Administrator of the Bureau of Business and Finance, the Administrator of the Office of Substance Abuse, the Administrator of the Offender Services Bureau, the Bureau Administrator for Community Supervision, and the Executive Staff Assistant in Community Corrections Division, coordinate efforts to assure that offenders are held accountable, victims rights are protected, and the many women inmates who have survived sexual abuse and domestic violence previous to being convicted are provided with services they need to put their lives back together.

One of their specific functions since the late 1980's has been the collection of supervision fees from offenders; fees which are used to support Victim Witness programs in County Attorneys' Offices. Initially fees were collected from offenders under the direct jurisdiction of the Community Supervision Bureau. Later the system was expanded to include collecting funds from inmates while incarcerated. And most recently ADC joined in a collaborative effort with counties (focusing on Maricopa County), to assist the court in completing restitution orders for offenders no longer under supervision. Currently the Division is advocating for a system for the court to insure that restitution funds are received by victims.

ADC is also the lead agency assuring that convicted batterers released back into the community stay in compliance with their conditions for release. Since the mid-1990's, ADC has implemented the mandatory completion of warrant and return to custody for supervised offenders arrested for domestic violence. In 1997, ADC established a 24-hour notification to victims upon release of inmates. The 1-800 number established by the Department allows victims to check on whereabouts of offenders supervised by the Department. And in 2000, the Department established a web site with information about status of active inmates and supervised offenders, and historical information on inmates released who are not under supervision.

While not the lead agency in initiating services for women who are victims of violence, the ADC team maintain an active role. More specifically, in 1995 the Women's Treatment Network (WTN) was formed from a Center for Substance Abuse Treatment (CSAT) grant

obtained by a coalition of Maricopa County criminal justice agencies. (The Maricopa County Adult Probation Department was noted as the "lead" agency, and ADC joined the coalition partners in 1999). The WTN provides programming for female offenders released from jail or prison under supervision (many of whom are victims of domestic violence and sexual assault), addressing complex concerns including substance abuse assessment and treatment, job placement, assistance with residence, mental health programming, medical care, child care, and transportation.

One of the current challenges reported by the ADC is the change needed in response to the status of women under their supervision who were convicted for acts committed as a result of being battered. In 1996 the Arizona Victim's Acts of Violence legislation was passed enabling those convicted prior to June 30, 1992, of murder, manslaughter, or negligent homicide, who were suffering from Battered Persons Syndrome, to petition the Board of Executive Clemency to be heard and released if appropriate. Subsequently, the BOEC received twenty-nine requests for applications from inmates. Twenty-five applications were received from inmates, and of those, all met the criteria as stipulated in the legislation. However the Board conducted hearings for only five and recommended two to the Governor for a reduction of sentence. Of the two recommended, one was granted a reduction of sentence by the Governor.

In addition to improving services for formerly abused women on conditional release, changes in supervision of offenders on probation for assaulting women have also taken place under the direction of the Division Director; Adult Services Division (Arizona Supreme Court, Administrative Office of the Courts). She, and women administrators at the county level, have promoted several key changes in the implementation of sex offender laws. In 1994, the probation department organized specialized case loads for supervising sex offenders, mandated treatment and intensive supervision, and designated officers specially trained to handle cases. Two years later, the Maricopa County probation department sex offender unit crafted a memorandum of understanding with CASA for providing services for victims of sex offenders under supervision of the department. While several practitioners and correctional administrators in other study sites were of the opinion that treatment for released sex offenders is futile and recidivism is highly likely because "there is no cure," the Arizona Division Director of Adult Services Division vigorously argues that independent evaluations of the Arizona model that are currently being conducted will conclusively demonstrate the effectiveness of her approach.

Maryland Change was brought about in Maryland through the agency of women who worked both at the very top of criminal justice administration and in field operations. In 1994, Kathleen Kennedy Townsend was elected Lieutenant Governor on a ticket with Governor Parris Glendening. The newly elected Lieutenant Governor had previously been a primary strategist and coordinator for moving the 1994 Crime Bill/VAWA through Congress in the position as Deputy Assistant Attorney General in the US Department of Justice. In Wicomico County, women on staff in many government agencies including probation saw the Townsend election as a victory for victims' rights advocates and an opportunity for change.

After taking office, in 1995 Glendening and Townsend created the Governor's Office of

Crime Control and Prevention by merging the Governor's Office of Justice Administration and the Governor's Drug and Alcohol Abuse Commission. With oversight by the Lt. Governor, the new Office assumed administration of the Federal and State Criminal Justice and Law Enforcement Grant Programs including STOP/VAWA. Creation of the Family Violence Council (FVC), co-chaired by the Lieutenant Governor and Attorney General J. Joseph Curran, sent a clear message to raise the priority of domestic violence. The FVC membership included representatives from the executive, legislative and judicial branches; family violence victim advocates and service providers; law enforcement, prosecutorial, corrections, parole and probation agencies; and legal and health care experts. The Council's mission was to assess needs and set an agenda for violence against women. One of the many initiatives developed by FVC was a series of state-wide roundtables on batterers' treatment programs.

Correctional agency administrators expected that funds for new programs would be raised in part through fees for supervision levied on offenders. In 1997, the Division of Parole and Probation convened a Family Violence Work Group to plan for anticipated supervision fees to fund family violence units in all regions. When the bill failed in the legislature, the units were not created, but a three-year plan for victims was adopted. However, the Wicomico County Department of Probation and Parole Field Supervisor who attended the State Division Family Violence Work Group was convinced that a change should not be placed on hold because of the legislative funding decision. Subsequently, she designated one senior (woman) agent as "domestic violence agent" to handle all cases of supervised offenders sentenced for crimes involving domestic violence. Entirely in agreement with the importance of the supervision and services needed in domestic violence cases, in the absence of available funds, the domestic violence agent paid for her own computer to track cases and send letters and information to victims. Informally, she became the domestic violence resource person for other agents in the division and raised their level of expectation of the attention that needed to be paid in such cases.

Many changes in correctional and (other criminal justice agencies) in our study sites were accomplished without VAWA funding but in an environment influenced by VAWA. This environment encouraged greater attention to offenders who assaulted women and more services for the women who survived their attacks. VAWA also encouraged more cooperation between agencies dealing with domestic violence and sexual assault -- whether or not the agencies were receiving VAWA funds. While our study found that changes in a spectrum of criminal justice agencies had more or less occurred in all our study sites, based on the research for this report and the community-policing study carried out by the primary author, the most far-reaching changes appeared to occur at the front of the criminal justice system in law enforcement departments.

Figure 5: Example reported changes that have occurred involving lawenforcement

Policy

Deputies are now expected to have a greater level of accountability to the victim.

As times and attitudes have changed, our police department has shifted from a policy of automatically separating them (victim and offender) and leaving to the (collaborative) approach we are using today. Accreditation has played a major part in this change.

Practice

Special assignments: Outreach officers (I tell women in the community) "If the wrong officer shows up, tell me and I'll make him into the right officer." Supervisors: "You can train them, and you can give them the policy, and you can try to convince them, but sometimes you just have to say, 'do it' [determining primary aggressor and arresting the offender but not the victim] and watch to make sure they do it.

Arrests became mandatory, taking the burden off the victims' shoulders — they no longer have to press charges — and the crime became a little more enforceable.

Mandatory arrest laws have changed the dynamics of what happens when the police are called. Training has also made a difference. A lot more abusers are arrested.

Police are more likely to charge an offender on initial contact for domestic violence.

Increased community awareness that domestic violence was a serious problem; law enforcement officers were already aware and community awareness set the stage for more law enforcement focus on resolving the problems

Since 1995 there has been a major increase in training of police officers to respond to domestic violence.

There are now more resources that deputies can pass on to victims in a list of referrals.

The police departments are not all responding — but at least the victims know that they can come to Salem and receive a more compassionate response from the police, courts, and victim services.

The victims are much better off now with the change in how the police respond.

There hasn't been much change among women (who are victims of sexual assault), but adolescents are more likely to come forward and so are men.

Having police departments with dedicated officers who can help prove cases without victims [active participation] is the most important change.

Attitude

Officers are more compassionate and understand more about why services are needed for victims.

Police...well some police... now think domestic violence is a crime.

Police are now more accountable and willing to learn when we (police) are not being responsive — we check our egos at the door and listen.

Police are more apt to believe women who are victims.

For victims, a major change is just being believed.

Deputies are more educated about victims and victims are more educated about deputies.

Victims now have a sense that they have a right to be protected.

Figure 5: Example reported changes that have occurred involving lawenforcement (Continued)

Victims feel that it is safer to call police.

"There have been incremental realizations among victims that there are allies in law enforcement communities; they can get a [serious] response and [incidents of abuse] won't be treated as 'domestic beefs'".

Years ago, we [police] were like dinosaurs; a lady was slapped and we wrote it off as "so what."

Police no longer view domestic violence as a private family matter but a community social matter. When discovered, cases are prosecuted. Advocates tell us that the police response has changed so that victims now feel that they *can* call.

Changes in policing violence against women

According to the people interviewed for this study, the most fundamental changes that occurred over time were shifts in policies and practices of law enforcement departments and most of all in attitudes among police officers who respond to incidents involving violence against women. (See Figure 5).

These changes reported in interviews for this study are synonymous with changes observed during five years of field observations conducted in conjunction with LINC's community-policing study. While not completely uniform across departments or among officers within departments, common and major shifts that occurred from 1995 to 2000 in the eight primary county and municipal law-enforcement departments participating in our community-policing coalition were these:

- Sheriffs and chiefs of police recognized that major changes were needed in responses to domestic violence incidents and more generally to women who were victims of violence, and they issued policy statements and other directives to bring about change. More specifically, at the beginning of our project, the CEOs attributed high rates of reported violence against women in their communities to the greater willingness of women in their communities to report such crimes. Based in part on LINC research which they requested, they realized that most women in their communities who had survived violence were not reporting crimes. They were determined to implement practices to encourage women to do so.
- At least one administrator in the departments participated in collaborations to improve community responses to violence against women. Many of these were VAWA-funded. Often administrators assigned to task forces or other collaborations became change agents in their departments, working with their CEO and officers to transform policy, practice, and attitudes to better mesh

- with approaches of other agencies.
- Top-level police administrators began to encourage officers at all ranks to form alliances with other government agencies and community organizations to conduct outreach to women survivors. In Rapid City, South Dakota, these efforts resulted in a super-Sunday church-based outreach with many clergy simultaneously imploring women survivors to seek help.
- Attitudes among officers at all ranks toward community-based advocates shifted dramatically from considering them adversaries to important allies in problem-solving.
- Mid-level police administrators in charge of training expanded the time officers spent preparing to respond to domestic violence incidents and incorporated new materials in this training. In collaboration with other community organizations, the Redding (California) Police Department produced their own training video for preparing officers to respond immediately to the needs of children who had witnessed domestic violence.
- Officers began to work closely with community-based advocates to encourage survivors to use support services immediately after an incident was reported to the police and to encourage survivors who sought medical-aid or services from advocates but had not reported crimes to police to consider doing so. In Pocatello, Idaho, VAWA-funded advocates were called to each domestic violence incident as soon as the responding officer secured the scene.
- Departments assigned specialist investigators to work closely with prosecutors to assure that arrests led to prosecution and prosecution resulted in penalties for offenders. Some were VAWA-funded, some not. In Pennington County, South Dakota, one deputy/investigator not only worked closely with a partner prosecutor but together they blitzed the community with telephone numbers where they could be reached at any hour by officers responding to incidents of violence against women and survivors.
- Officers began applying skills they had developed for problem-solving (an aspect of community policing) to domestic violence. Some began to return to households involved in repeat domestic violence calls to assure that children were okay and survivors were making progress toward finding safe housing. Others began to work with probation officers to provide more checks on offenders who were living in the community on conditional release. Others began working with HUD officers to evict batterers who terrorized their victims into unwillingly sharing their publically-supported apartments. Still others began working with women elders in predominantly Indian areas to encourage domestic violence victims to draw on tribal support and services. And school-based officers began to incorporate discussions about dating violence in classroom curricula as well as informal talks with students.

Throughout departments there was an increase in exchange of day-to-day on-the-job brainstorming about what could be done about particular neighborhoods or households where repeated domestic violence incidents were taking place. Among other community-policing achievements, there were a growing number of stories about successes achieved by individual staff or small teams in the department in terms of resolving problems involving women victims of domestic violence and holding their offenders accountable. Stories about specific survivors who pulled their lives together sufficiently to leave homes where police had repeatedly responded to domestic incidents and successful convictions of particular persistent abusers helped counteract colleagues' perceptions that their responses to domestic violence cases were futile. Accounts most likely to evoke a positive reaction from colleagues were those involving successful actions taken in cases where there were children in the home that had constantly been exposed to violence and were now living in violence-free settings. In general, among police officers, the plight of children living in violent homes and the realization that appropriate action by officers in domestic incidents could change young lives for the better, touched and changed the thinking of even some of the most cynical officers.

Changes in Public Awareness

In all four states and four counties studied, professionals across agencies reported notable changes in public awareness about issues involved in violence against women. (See Figure 6). This increase in public awareness and change in public opinion about the need for community action to address the problem has been attributed to the impact of VAWA. VAWA has also been credited with increasing victims' realization that they are not alone and that there are alternatives to remaining with the batterer and staying silent. (See Figure 7).

Some of the earliest methods and materials used to increase public awareness were produced by local shelters and state coalitions against domestic violence and state coalitions against sexual assault. (In Massachusetts and in Oregon, a single coalition has been formed to address both battering and sexual assault.) As a result of "marketing strategies" taught at VAWA-funded conferences, methods and materials for increasing public awareness became collaborative. Publically-announced partnerships to end violence against women moved the issue out of the arena of specialized advocacy and into the mainstream.

For just a few of scores of examples:

- In **Arizona**, businesses and nonprofit organizations lined miles of a major Phoenix thoroughfare with artfully decorated displays of chairs to show support of a multi-agency, highly-publicized workplace commitment to ending violence against women.
- In **Maryland**, the Family Violence Council memorialized women victims of violence in a Silent Witness Exhibit. (In Portland, Oregon, with the sponsorship of the US Attorney for Oregon, the exhibit was also displayed in

the lobby of the federal building).

- In Massachusetts, a partnership of Bell Atlantic Mobile, the Governor's Commission on Domestic Violence, Employers Against Domestic Violence, and Jane Doe, Inc. (the Massachusetts coalition against domestic violence and sexual assault) distributed professionally-designed heart-wrenching posters. One bears a photo of a dejected child with the caption, "They must hate me ... even if you're not the one being hit, domestic violence can scar for life." One shows a bomb with a lit fuse and the caption "Honey I'm Home... A bad day at work. A meal that's overcooked. It's amazing how little it takes for domestic violence to explode.") Both give telephone numbers for national and state hotlines numbers and state certified batterers' intervention programs.
- In Oregon, in 1994 the Academy Award winning film, Defending Our Lives, was screened at the Portland Concert Hall, bringing out and audience of 1000 including many community leaders. Proceeds were distributed to area shelters. The following year, a coalition of Oregon health providers, Multnomah County Department of Family Services, and Portland Police Bureau conducted a public awareness campaign "There's No Excuse Oregon".

Two years later, the *Willamette Law Review*⁴³ devoted an entire issue to informing attorneys about the problem. The Domestic Violence Symposium Issue included papers by members of Governor's Council on Domestic Violence. In the same year (1997), the media provided extensive coverage of the City Club of Portland Report *Domestic Violence - Everybody's Business* presenting findings, conclusions, and recommendations for agencies and organizations in Multnomah County. In 1998, a community-based service provider, Raphael House, hosted a luncheon with former First Lady Roslyn Carter who talked about outcomes of domestic violence and a fund raiser/dinner with Coretta Scott King who talked about advocacy for domestic violence victims.

Throughout the study sites, based on observations of events, reports of professionals, and documented in newspaper pictures, there was little doubt that thousands of residents and business people had rallied in support of domestic violence survivors, in memory of those who had died, and in recognition of organizations that provided services for survivors.

Figure 6. Changes in public awareness reported across study sites

No one thinks any longer that domestic violence is a private concern between a man and a woman...

Thirty or forty years ago it was acceptable to beat your wife; no longer.

The problem is not hidden — it's more open — with the exception of some ethnic groups — groups of [recent] immigrants who are not there yet.

There is greater public awareness that domestic violence crosses boundaries; this gives women who are victims permission to talk about it — to find resources.

There is a lot more information out about domestic violence — that domestic violence is not normal behavior.

We used to hold victims responsible.

The whole [criminal justice] system now better realizes that sexual assault and rape are not sex acts.

Due to the victims right movement and the get-tough-on-crime policies, victims now know that offenders will be locked up — they have a sense of closure — a sense of satisfaction when incarceration takes place — it's a powerful tool.

Tolerance for domestic violence is now gone; employers are coming up with plans to reduce domestic violence involving employees.

There's a [growing] recognition that the whole community is victimized by these crimes.

Women (in Arizona) are now taking the front seat and raising issues just like they did in MADD.

Victims have been empowered to speak out.

Like DUI, there has been a rise of domestic violence as an important issue in the public eye; everyone is more sensitive, but there is still a lot of work needed with the judges — to get them to do the right thing.

More people are aware of the issues; more people are aware of the huge numbers (of victims) and services available to victims.

HAWC is getting more and more community support; businesses have signed on and say that "Domestic Violence is Our Business." There's a lot more community awareness and awareness among our students.

Figure 7. Reported changes in public awareness directly attributed to VAWA

Awareness — increasing awareness of domestic violence was an impact of VAWA.

VAWA increased community awareness of domestic violence.

VAWA raised awareness of the issue, but [some] people in Oregon were not very impressed by the federal legislation.

VAWA increased our ability to get more information out to a wider variety of individuals, increasing understanding among legislators, hospitals, doctors, and others.

The training by the VAWA office was very helpful for coalition staff, especially the social marketing training. [Note: VAWO does not directly provide training, but funds technical assistance providers to provide such training to grantees.]

The enactment of VAWA increased publicity about and awareness of domestic violence.

To the extent that VAWA supports the (domestic violence) coalition, VAWA has an impact throughout the county (reported by MAG).

VAWA provided a strong signal to victims: she does not have to be battered.

VAWA came late in developments already under way. But VAWA helped increase public awareness of the problem.

The ground swell of interest in and the activities of grass roots organizations for victims in the 1990s has improved services to victims, particularly those victimized by domestic violence.

People now take domestic violence seriously. For example, the [Maryland] FVC recently received a call from a very conservative Eastern Shore senator asking for help for a constituent who was a victim of domestic violence. Clearly even he is taking it seriously now.

Women no longer feel isolated. They know there are resources to protect their health and safety available when they seek assistance. In addition, there's less self-blame.

Overall, domestic violence is now looked on differently — "the light bulb has come on."

VAWA led to the October Awareness of Violence month; forty of our [middle school] students participated in the walk for HAWC. It opens opportunities to talk about healthy relationships — not only dating relationships — but relationships with friends and others in school.

VAWA sent out a powerful message — a larger view than state or local — and led to the public recognition that women and children need special protection under some circumstance.

Changes in Survivors' Responses

Together, increased public awareness, greater collaboration between relevant agencies, and a shift in law enforcement priorities and response appear to have addressed some of the multiple reasons why victims do not report abuse. While in all study sites availability of emergency shelter space reportedly was still lacking for the relatively large number of women who needed immediate protection from abusive partners, the number of services being provided to women who were willing to seek help had increased. (See Figure 8).

Figure 8. Reported changes in provision of services to survivors

Now victims have more opportunities to help themselves with multiple parties to help.

Victims realize that they have options. They've gotten the message that it's okay to leave when you are ready — but be prepared to (access services needed to stay safe after you) leave before you may think you are ready.

With increased awareness women now know that there are places to get help. There are many more services for victims and there children.

People know that there are services available and that intervention can come from many sources.

The establishment of the Family Advocacy Centers cut down on trauma victims of sexual assault endured, such as long waits in public places for exams and interviews with police, and resulted in a much more multi-disciplinary and expeditious process.

Crisis Response Teams have resulted in much better response to victims in rural areas.

We can provide more resources and better resources and a spectrum of resources needed by victims.

There are connected services in shelters and for victims not in shelters, such as counseling

Funding from VOCA and VAWA has led to more community outreach, more direct services, and has supported good ideas without a lot of state strings attached.

Services are available and there's a concerted effort to get information out that domestic violence is both a public health issue and a crime.

In addition to reports of increase in service provision, data on calls for services also indicate that more women are seeking help. In Arizona, for example, we found that following the changes in public attention to domestic violence there was a state-wide increase in reports to victim agencies (see Figure 9) — Hotline calls in Arizona).

---- Insert Figure (Graph) 9 about here-----

Following the changes in collaboration and policing in Maryland, there was a statewide increase in both the number of survivors seeking help from community-based service providers (See Figure 10a — Hotline calls in Maryland) and also an increase in reports to police (See Figure 10b — Maryland domestic violence incidents reported to police).

--- Insert Figures (Graphs) 10a and 10b

There is some evidence that, as reports to the police increase, domestic murders of women decrease; for example, as shown in Figure 10B, a significant increase in arrests occurred in Maryland beginning in 1995 and (as shown in Figure 10C) domestic violence homicides began decreasing around the same time. However, the converse also appears to take place — high visibility of domestic violence homicides results in an increase in reports to the police and victim service organizations.

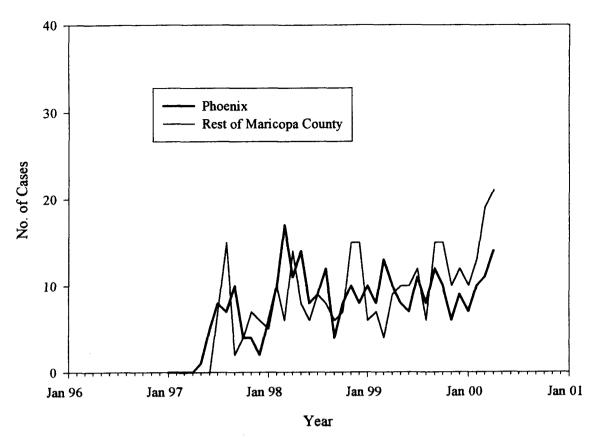
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Indirect Influences of VAWA

In addition to the direct influences of VAWA already described in this report, our study found that VAWA also indirectly affected victim services and safety and offender accountability through intermediary factors. Some of the primary ways in which VAWA indirectly affected state and local change were through political action, law, and diffusion of best practices.

Political action

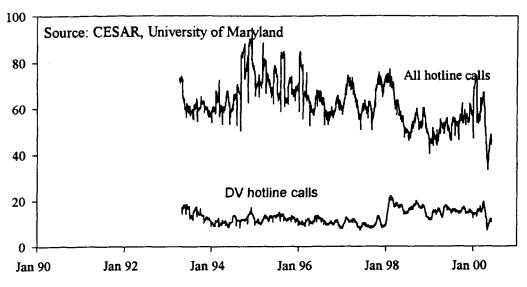
Issues related to VAWA provided a successful platform for politicians seeking office at state and county levels. Once elected, they played a critical role in leveraging funds for victim services and policies focused on reducing violence against women. For one example, in her former role as US Attorney for Arizona, the Arizona Attorney General had played an active role in implementing VAWA. Under her direction, in 1995, the US Attorney's Office sent out materials to over 300 criminal justice agencies explaining VAWA provisions,



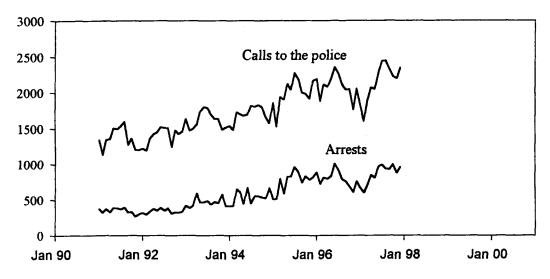
Source: ACADV Legal Advocacy Hotline data

Graph 9: Maricopa County, Arizona, Hotline Calls Related to Domestic Violence Incidents

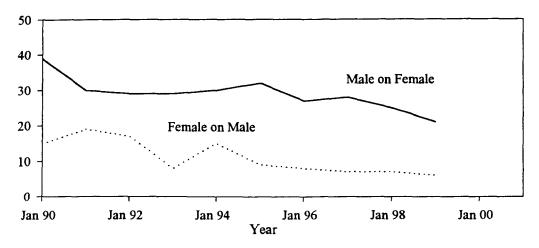
Although virtually all of the hotline calls received by ACADV involved family violence, the volume of cases reflected in this graph are limited to women who were victims of domestic violence in Maricopa County, who indicated a need for direct personal services.



Graph 10A: Maryland Hotline Calls, Domestic Violence-Related Data



Graph 10B: Maryland Statewide Domestic Violence Data



Graph 10C: Intimate Partner Homicides in Maryland

interpretations, and resources; conducted over 20 training sessions on VAWA provisions. And in 1996, the US Attorney's Office began to prosecute domestic violence cases involving certain nonIndian offenders on Indian reservations who fell under VAWA provisions related to stalking.

Elected as Arizona Attorney General in 1998, in part on her record of actively prosecuting batterers, she used her campaign and her new office as a "bully-pulpit" for rallying support for addressing violence against women. Soon after she was elected, she initiated a policy that corporate settlement dollars in civil cases would be used for addressing women's issues; for example, a \$100,000 settlement in a case against Toys 'R Us was divided up among 60 shelters and emergency housing programs on the basis of number of survivors they served. And, also in 1999, she began to broker needs of shelters with interests of political groups; for example, funds cut to shelters in one county led to lack of milk for children; the AG called on the milk lobby representative, who then arranged for children in the shelters to receive milk. The same year, she convened a team to plan responses to needs of sexual assault victims and sought and received special permission for using monies collected from criminal fines to implement these plans, which included a conference spearheaded by the Arizona Sexual Assault Network (AZCAN); the development of an interagency protocol spearheaded by CASA; and the development of a data base by the Department of Public Safety. In addition, SANE teams were expanded across Maricopa County.

Legal compliance and creativity

To be in compliance with VAWA provisions for receiving funding, important changes in state law were enacted, leading to changes in law enforcement and offender accountability. For example, to be in compliance with federal law, to make the state eligible for VAWA funds, and to improve state responses, the Maryland legislature passed the Domestic Violence Act of 1995 which mandated the arrest of violators of protection orders; eliminated filing fees for protection orders; discouraged dual arrest of perpetrator and victim; and increased the potential penalty for violating a protection order. In 1994, Maryland passed a new gun law that was congruent with VAWA, and the US Attorney conducted statewide training for law enforcement officers on both VAWA and the new Maryland gun law.

VAWA provisions were also used creatively by a number of law enforcement departments to arrest batterers who previously had not been charged for these crimes. As mentioned above, the US Attorney in Arizona used VAWA's interstate stalking provisions to arrest white batterers on Indian reservations that spanned two states. In Massachusetts, the Salem Police Department employed the "Full faith and credit" provisions of VAWA, as envisioned, to collaborate with departments outside Massachusetts to enforce out-of-state protective orders; moreover, the Department used the provisions as tool to help protect women from other Massachusetts communities with less proactive police departments.

Dissemination of best practices

One of the indirect effects of VAWA frequently mentioned across agencies and across study sites was the sharing of best practices that was stimulated through the networks set up by the staff of the US Justice Department's Violence Against Women Office. Advocates and criminal justice practitioners alike valued the opportunities to meet with their counterparts and discuss promising approaches for reducing violence against women that were disseminated at VAWA-funded conferences, at national train-the-trainers sessions, and by OJP staff visiting cities and discussing approaches they had seen elsewhere. As a result, without directly drawing on VAWA funds, representatives from police departments, prosecutors offices, and advocates traveled to see these approaches in action, returned home and implemented modified versions of the same models in their own area. For example, the Domestic Violence Intervention Team in Portland Oregon is reportedly a combined and modified approach adapted from the team in Colorado Springs and the Family Advocacy Center in Mesa and Phoenix Arizona.

CHAPTER 3. FACTORS THAT MITIGATED FOR AND AGAINST THE INFLUENCE OF VAWA

While the influences of VAWA discussed in this report more or less occurred in all four study states and counties, the extent to which they had an impact on the development of approaches for reducing violence differed from site to site. These differences could be attributed to several factors.

The Relative Development of Three Relevant Social Movements

The overall reaction to VAWA in all four states and counties was and continues to be mediated by three ongoing social movements which have different strengths and adherents in different parts of the country: the women's rights movement, the victims' rights movement, and the system effectiveness movement.

Each of these movements has different constituencies, values, goals, objectives, and views of appropriate roles and inter-relationships among and between justice agencies and other public and private agencies. The proponents of each movement involved in this study typically used vocabularies that are symbolic of their differences; for example, proponents of the women's rights movement talked about "battered women," the victims' rights movement more often used the gender-neutral term "family violence," and those focused on system effectiveness tended to use depersonalized terms such as "domestic violence."

Participants in the three movements typically have different views of desirable outcomes and impacts of VAWA and, therefore, different opinions about appropriate measures for assessing outcome and impact. For example, while all three movements see "safety" as an important objective, adherents of the women's rights movement often view immediate physical safety as only a first step, albeit an important step, for women who have survived battering or sexual assault to gain psychological, emotional, economic, and social control over their own lives⁴⁴. Any action taken by a justice agency that diminishes rather than fosters battered or sexually assaulted women's "restoration and agency" is viewed as a step in the wrong direction. In addition to empowering survivors to make decisions about their own lives, this approach recognizes that survivors are in the best position to make decisions about their own safety.

By comparison, victims' rights adherents often focused on safety as an outcome dependent on control of the abusive offender and commonly see justice agency processes that give victims a say in decisions about offender restrictions as integral to safety. Adherents of system effectiveness rarely focused on individual victims but rather saw safety in terms of justice agency actions that result in statistically significant reductions in sexual assaults, domestic violence homicides, and nonfatal incidents, and reduction in recidivism of violent offenders.

In large part, the state and local objectives for carrying out VAWA, funded initiatives, and the steps they took to achieve these objectives (and therefore appropriate measures for assessing outcome and impact) were dependent on the relative strength of the three movements and interaction between the movements prior to 1994 in each site. Most

importantly, the extent to which VAWA catalyzed cooperation and coordination between agencies with different perspectives in each state and county was dependent on the relative extent to which synthesis between social movements had already occurred at the time VAWA was enacted.

In **Arizona**, particularly in **Maricopa County** (see Appendix B: - Figure 1 Arizona timeline and Graph 1), the system effectiveness movement began in the early 1970's and since the mid-1980's has been strong and sustained, resulting in cutting-edge changes for increasing effective processing and supervision of sex offenders. As in other places in the country, the victims' rights Movement emerged in the mid-1980s and in Arizona has been very active, resulting in state constitutional amendments and changes in policy and practices in virtually all criminal justice agencies. The women's rights movement has had far less visibility and acceptance in the state and county than the other two movements; however women who are quiet adherents of the movement have moved into positions where they can make a difference for other women. But they had difficulty moving any agendas for victims of domestic violence until VAWA brought representatives from the three movements together. Apparently as a result, synthesis began to take place quickly after enactment of VAWA.

In **Maryland**, especially in the more urban counties far distant from Wicomico, the women's rights movement and the system effectiveness movement both began early (in the 1960's) and were highly visible during specific periods throughout the following decades (see Appendix B. Figure 2 and Graph 2). The victims' rights movement emerged in the late 1970s and was sporadically visible in the following twenty years. Synthesis occasionally occurred beginning in 1985 (the year the federal Victims of Crime Act was passed).

In **Wicomico County**, until the 1990's the victims' rights movement had a stronger constituency than the system effectiveness movement — when administrators and officers from justice agencies in the more proactive urban departments began taking administrative positions in the county. And although individual women broke significant barriers and became police officers and probation officers and there was a small but strong nucleus of women who supported battered wives, the women's rights movement reportedly barely existed there until the late 1980's. During the 1980's the county experienced a relatively large growth in population; Included among the new residents were women from areas with strong women's rights movements⁴⁵. These new arrivals began to challenge the status quo in which public and nonprofit agencies were largely ignoring domestic violence and coordination and collaboration were lacking.

Conditions were ripe in Wicomico when Kathleen Kennedy Townsend, one of the chief architects for enactment of VAWA, was elected Lieutenant Governor and began to actively attempt to move the state, including rural counties such as Wicomico, toward synthesis. Wicomico County women on staff in government agencies and nonprofit victim organizations viewed Townsend's election as a victory for victims' rights advocates. As documented in Appendix I - Figure 2, after 1995, synthesis and collaboration in Wicomico County began to accelerate, and innovative cooperative approaches for increasing victim services and offender accountability began to emerge.

In **Massachusetts** and **Essex County**, since the mid-1970's, the women's rights movement and the system effectiveness movement were both relatively strong, particularly in comparison to the victims' rights movement (see Appendix B, Figure 3 and Graph 3). In the mid- to late-1980's synthesis among the movements was accelerated by the election or

appointment of women within government agencies who were strong proponents of women's rights and, within Essex County, the election of a District Attorney who strongly favored implementing cutting-edge data-driven policies and procedures to increase system effectiveness. Synthesis and a corresponding increase in approaches for reducing violence against women also occurred in the early 1990's due in part to the decision by a group of community-based victim advocates to seek state government positions where they could influence decisions about allocation of resources and collaborations for domestic violence victims. By the time VAWA was passed, this process was not only successfully in place but enhanced even more by a governor who was strongly committed to reducing violence against women.

In **Multnomah County, Oregon**, synthesis, coordination, and cooperation historically have operated successfully across many movements and for addressing a spectrum of health-related concerns. For years before VAWA, a very strong women's rights movement and system effectiveness movement operating in the county had led the state, including victims' rights proponents, in passing legislation and developing criminal justice policies for serving women who were victims of domestic violence — including victims who themselves were under correctional supervision. However, as shown in Appendix B Graph 4, VAWA appears to have incrementally accelerated this process.

Differing Responses of US Attorney Offices to VAWA.

Although the strategic and fiscal influences of VAWA were somewhat similar from place to place in the study sites, the impact of VAWA provisions that allowed an expanded role of the US Attorney in certain cases of violence against women were much more varied from state to state and county to county. Some variation can be explained by differences in congruence of state law with VAWA. However, variation was also due to differing responses of US Attorney Offices to VAWA.

In Massachusetts the US Attorney took an extremely proactive role in carrying out the mandate of VAWA to reduce violence against women by setting up very active victims units and spearheading several initiatives in collaboration with state and local agencies. At the time of our site visit, prosecution of cases utilizing provisions set forth in VAWA had been pursued by the office in a very limited number of cases. However, the step the Office had taken in 1997 in hiring a new AUSA with substantial state court domestic violence experience and assigning her to coordinate between state and federal prosecutions was reportedly fostering greater collaboration and respect between federal, state, and local prosecuting attorneys concentrating on such cases.

In **Arizona**, as in Massachusetts, before she was elected as Attorney General, the US Attorney hired a new AUSA from the Maricopa County Attorney's Office who became the liaison for domestic violence cases with potential for prosecution under VAWA. In addition, the US Attorney made creative use of the interstate provisions in VAWA in prosecuting offenses against women on Indian reservations and vigorously pursued training local law enforcement. However, under the direction of her successor, the Office was less active in pursuing VAWA prosecutions and far less proactive than Massachusetts in providing services to women victims of domestic violence, even though the failure of victims to carry

through with prosecution is seen by Assistant US Attorneys in Arizona as one of the most important barriers to reducing violence against women.

In **Oregon**, the US Attorney herself played a critical role in arranging a meeting between OJP administrators and the Portland Police Bureau, which ultimately resulted in the Bureau's receipt of VAWA funds for creating a coordinated county-level interagency response to domestic violence victims (already described above). She also dedicated one staff member to training state and local agencies about VAWA provisions and more generally building cooperation in local communities. However, although this staff member won the respect of community groups, particularly in minority communities, her function was not an integral part of prosecuting cases with or without regard to VAWA. Unlike the AUSAs hired from county prosecutors offices in Massachusetts and Arizona, she did not develop the same ongoing liaison role in coordinating federal and state consideration of domestic violence cases.

In Maryland, the US Attorney, one of the attorneys in the office before appointment to the US Attorney position, has served as a (volunteer) domestic violence counselor in Howard County. Since 1992 the US Attorney's office in Maryland has included a full-time victim-witness coordinator and another victim witness specialist with strong ties to the women's domestic violence shelter movement. That specialist previously was a violence witness coordinator in the State's Attorney's office in Anne Arundel county, and has been on the Board of the Maryland Network Against Domestic Violence since 1992.

In implementing VAWA, the US Attorney has assumed a coordinating role with state and local law enforcement not only in enforcing and prosecuting the laws where there is concurrent jurisdiction (primarily cases where a firearm is possessed while subject to a qualifying protection order or following conviction of a qualifying misdemeanor domestic violence crime). She personally has taken a leadership role in providing training for Maryland States Attorneys, the judiciary, and law enforcement.

Her office also has been a catalyst for change through a survey conducted to determine whether and when protective orders issued in Maryland circuit and district are entered into the state law enforcement information system. The study was stimulated by the failure of one local police/sheriff's department to enter a protective order resulting in an estranged husband purchasing the gun he used to kill his wife and two children. The results of the survey, completed in conjunction with the Sheriff's Association, were published in the Washington Post and Baltimore Sun, leading to the call for increased financial and other support for local data entry.

CHAPTER 4. COMPLEXITIES AND CAUTIONS FOR EVALUATING VAWA AND OTHER FEDERAL LEGISLATION

Our study was not intended to provide a rigorous quantitative assessment of the impact of VAWA. However, based on our cross-site case studies we can provide some insights about complexities that need to be taken into account for those who have the mandate to carry out such an evaluation. We especially recommend attending to the following factors.

Co-occurring Events

Any rigorous evaluation of VAWA should take into account relevant co-occurring events to avoid overestimates or underestimates of the law's impact on approaches for reducing violence against women and consequent changes in the rates of violence. For example, shortly before or after VAWA was approved in 1994, one or more local domestic violence homicide cases were personalized and highly publicized by the media. Publicity about these homicides generated cooperatively by women reporters, leaders in victim advocacy, and other victims groups, were followed by an increase in calls by victims seeking help from advocates and police — an increase that might, given the timing, seem to have been directly and exclusively prompted by VAWA-funded outreach programs. And, since there is some evidence that, as reports to the police increase, domestic murders of women decrease, a lower rate of domestic homicides could easily but mistakenly be attributed to VAWA.

Too, the year VAWA was enacted, 1994, also was the year the media and the nation paid close attention to the arrest and subsequent trial of O.J. Simpson for the murder of his wife, Nichole Simpson — and, as suggested by a number of people interviewed for our study, increased state and local attention to approaches for reducing domestic violence can at least in part be attributed to a reaction to the Simpson case.

State and local actions that are contemporaneous can also affect outcomes that may be mistakenly attributed to the effect of federal legislation. For example, in 1994, a successful lawsuit against a police department in Connecticut by a woman survivor disabled by a batterer reportedly led to several Essex County (Massachusetts) police departments' heightened concern about potential liability and decisions to work more closely with community-based advocates.

Other Related Federal Acts

The impact of VAWA can also be confounded with the impact of other related federal acts, especially federal acts produced as a result of lobbying on the part of the three movements which were also involved in the passage of VAWA (and the more encompassing Crime Act legislation) (women's rights, victims' rights, and system effectiveness). For example, the 1994 Crime Act encompassing VAWA also established the COPS office, which administered funds provided to state and local law enforcement agencies; some of these funds were used for community officers who worked in partnership with probation officers to

provide more supervision of sex offenders and domestic violence offenders and with shelter-based victim advocates to improve victim safety and victim services.

The impact of funding through specific programs of VAWA administered by the Violence Against Women Office is even more difficult to disaggregate in terms of practical overlap (as distinguished from administrative overlap) between state and local approaches funded through different VAWO-administered programs (STOP Violence Against Women Formula Grants, STOP Violence Against Indian Women Discretionary Grants, Grants to Encourage Arrest Policies and Enforcement of Protection Orders, Rural Domestic Violence and Child Victimization Enforcement Grants, Legal Assistance for Victims Grants, and Grants to Reduce Violent Crimes Against Women on Campus). For example, training for first-line police officers responding to domestic violence victims has been carried out using funds from several programs administered by VAWO. To the extent that this training has an impact on changes in officer practices (which is not borne out by other NIJ-sponsored research) the impact would be difficult to determine.

Other Related Federal Initiatives

VAWA was only one stimulus that led to greater collaboration between US Attorneys and state and local law enforcement. Attorney General Janet Reno saw the Offices of US Attorneys as resources on which state and local agencies could call for more effectively increasing the accountability of a spectrum of violent offenders including batterers. She encouraged strategic approaches that would further this end. Two of the four US Attorneys in the LINC study sites (Oregon and Massachusetts) were involved in the US Attorney General's Strategic Approaches to Community Safety Initiative (SACSI) effort. As part of this effort, the US Attorneys were engaging in a process of working with communities to identify specific problems that increased local violence and to develop and implement strategies for addressing these problems. In Massachusetts, domestic violence was identified as a high priority problem in one of the SACSI communities; in Portland, Oregon (another SACSI site), youth violence emerged as a more pressing problem. Therefore, it is understandable that the Massachusetts Office was more proactive in addressing domestic violence, and the Oregon Office was focused on building minority communities' capacities to deal with other forms of violence.

Counter Movements

Research on social movements has long demonstrated that any sustained social movement that begins to accrue power and resources to bring about change is highly likely to engender organized counter movements that resist this social change. The movements that have been involved in the changes stimulated by VAWA are not exceptions. Over the long term, specific impacts of VAWA can be, and in some places already have been, attenuated by counter movements. Strategies and approaches for reducing violence against women have been challenged by counter movements with values and goals that directly oppose or are in conflict with providing increased support to women victims of domestic violence.

The influence of VAWA was and continues to be dependent on the time at which counter movements emerged and the relative influence of the counter movements on specific branches of government. Examples of counter movements in Massachusetts are the "Fathers' Rights Movement," which seeks to have an impact on the legislative branch, and a movement for preserving "judicial integrity," which seeks to disengage judicial participation in collaborative efforts. These and other emergent movements appear to have attenuated the impact of VAWA in recent years.

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CHAPTER 5. IMPLICATIONS FOR POLICY, PRACTICE, AND RESEARCH

Our findings suggest that as evidenced by the response to VAWA, federal acts and actions can play a significant role in addressing crime by stimulating social change at the state and local level. However, federal strategies for guiding state and local agencies' application for and use of funds are at least as important as the funds themselves in bringing about change intended by the legislation. In the case of VAWA, one of the primary charges of the legislation and changes stimulated by strategic implementation of the legislation was to bring about greater coordination and cooperation among organizations mandated to provide services to women victims of domestic violence and sexual assault, to increase their safety, and to hold their offenders more accountable.

Our findings also shed light on the importance of crafting an overarching federal strategy encompassing several legislative mandates for bringing about change needed to reduce crime. The implementation of VAWA, with its heavy emphasis on organizational cooperation and coordination was complemented and strengthened by the strategy implemented by other federal agencies — most particularly the approaches stimulated by the Violence Against Women and COPS offices for improving policing by increasing coordination and cooperation between government agencies and nonprofit organizations serving the same community. Together, the strategies launched by the Violence Against Women Office and the COPS office appear to have brought about significant change in police views of and, to some extent, victims' views of at least individual police officers — and their willingness to report crimes.

While federal strategies can help stimulate greater collaboration and cooperation at the state and local level, experience with VAWA also makes clear that the organizational alliances needed to bring about change are shaped by pre-existing and emerging social movements with which key agencies are associated. The history of these social movements and the relationship between state and local organizations can either limit, enhance, or attenuate the impact of federal strategy and the impact of federally-funded approaches. Our findings suggest the history of social movements differ from state to state and county to county; therefore federal legislation, strategies, and funding must be flexible enough to allow for these differences. Mandates for US Attorneys also need to recognize these realities. And evaluations of the impact of federal legislation need to be designed to take these state and local variations into account.

At the state and local level, in order to form alliances needed to bring about change, decision makers and practitioners in organizations associated with different movements need to recognize that their basic values and priorities may differ but that common objectives can be defined and achieved cooperatively. By focusing on these common objectives, significant progress can be made in a direction all agree is valuable -- albeit for different reasons.

Finally, to assess impacts, evaluators need to recognize that new federally legislated crime reduction approaches are implemented in the context of other federal initiatives. Moreover, media attention to crime frequently evokes strong reactions among state and local administrators as well as victims and the general public. Given these realities, researchers need to develop new quantitative methods for assessing the extent to which specific federal legislation *contributes* to change in the context of co-occurring events.

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ENDNOTES

- 1. As recently clarified by VAWO in a personal communication to the authors, "While STOP funded programs must focus on violence against women, such programs must provide services to a similarly situated male victim in need." However, as originally requested by VAWO and NIJ, the LINC study was limited to the influence of VAWA on state and local approaches involving women victims of domestic violence and sexual assault.
- 2. In 2000, legislation was enacted reauthorizing VAWA and adding new provisions (The Violence Against Women Act of 2000, Division B of The Victims of Trafficking and Violence Protection Act of 2000). However, this report covers a time period prior to 2000.
- 3. See the web site at http://www.ojp.usdoj.gov/vawo/
- 4. See the web site at http://www.ojp.usdoj.gov/vawo/advisory.htm
- 5. For a description of the legislative mandate for distribution of VAWA funds and the mechanism of distribution to states between 1994 and 1996 see: Burt, Martha, with Lisa Newmark, Mary Norris, Daryl Dyer, Adele Harrell. 1996. The Violence Against Women Act of 1994: Evaluation of the STOP Block Grants to Combat Violence Against Women. Washington DC: The Urban Institute
- 6. See for examples: Fagan, Jeffrey. 1996. *The Criminalization of Domestic Violence: Promises and Limits.* Washington DC: National Institute of Justice

Jenness, Valerie and Kendal Broad. 1997. Hate Crimes. New York: Aldine De Gruyter

Sebba, Leslie. 1997. Will the "Victim Revolution" Trigger a Reorientation of the Criminal Justice System? *Israel Law Review* Volume 31:1-3

- 7. Turner, Ralph H. and Lewis M. Killian. 1972. *Collective Behavior.* page 246. Englewood Cliff NJ: Prentice Hall Inc.
- 8. The authors are available to discuss details of the data and analysis used in this study. If you are interested in these details, contact Dr. Marcia Chaiken, Director of Research at LINC; she will direct you to the research team member who carried out the specific data collection or analysis of interest.
- 9. At the time, it was called the Violence Against Women Grants Office (VAWGO).
- 10. LINC obtained the Urban Institute data file as of May 18, 1999.
- 11. This item is a judgment based on opinions of staff in the Violence Against Women Office, the LINC research team, and other NIJ grantees evaluating VAWA-funded projects.

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- 12. Based on previous data collection experience of LINC project team and data already provided to VAWO.
- 13. Based on past and ongoing research experience of LINC project team members.
- 14. More specifically, Chaiken took the lead in overall development concentrating on law-enforcement and community-based victim organization contexts, Boland reviewed and provided revisions for relevance in the context of prosecutors' officers, MacKenzie reviewed and provided revisions for revisions for relevance in the context of corrections agencies, Martin concentrated on changes needed for state agencies. Maltz reviewed the penultimate draft to assure protocols focused on data to be collected for constructing comparative time lines, and Chaiken conducted the final review, to assure site-specific documentation and available data would be collected to meet remaining objectives.
- 15. Boland, Barbara. 1998. "Community Prosecution: Portland's Experience" in Karp, David (Editor) *Community Justice: an Emerging Field*. Lanham, MD: Rowan and Littlefield.

Boland, Barbara. 1996. "What is Community Prosecution," in *National Institute of Justice Journal*. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Justice (August, 1996).

16. Chaiken, Marcia. 2001 (forthcoming). *COPS: Innovations in Policing in American Heartlands*. Washington DC: National Institute of Justice.

17. See for examples:

Governor's Sexual Assault Task Force. 1999. *Report to the Governor*. Phoenix, AZ: Governor's Office for Domestic Violence Prevention.

Maricopa Association of Governments. 1999. *MAG Regional Domestic Violence Plan.* Phoenix, AZ: Author.

Bright, Debra. Undated. State of Maryland STOP Violence Against Women Program Statewide Plan; Federal Fiscal Years 1998-1999. Baltimore, MD: Governor's Office of Crime Control & Prevention.

The Maryland Attorney General's & Lt. Governor's Family Violence Council. 1996. *Stop the Violence - A Call to Action: Recommendations and Action Plan*. Baltimore, MD: Family Violence Council.

The Executive Office of Health and Human Services. 1998. An Integrated Response to Victims of Domestic Violence in Massachusetts: A Report to the Legislature. Boston, MA: Author.

Governor's Commission on Domestic Violence. 1999. FY 2000 Domestic Violence Initiative: A Safety and Prevention Plan. Boston, MA: Office of the Governor.

Portland City Council Work Session. 1999. City of Portland Domestic Violence 89/State and Local Change and VAWA/LINC/September 2001

Reduction Plan. Portland, OR: Office of the Mayor.

Fuller, Joanne (Undated, received 11/99) Recommendations of the Oregon Governor's Council on Domestic Violence. Portland OR: Multnomah County Department of Criminal Justice.

- 18. GOCCP was created by merging The Governor's Office of Justice Administration and the Governor's Drug and Alcohol Abuse Commission
- 19. See for example:

Chaiken, Marcia R., Jan Chaiken, and Clifford Karchmer. 1991. *Multijurisdictional Drug Law Enforcement Strategies: Reducing Supply and Demand.* Washington DC: National Institute of Justice

Chaiken, Marcia R., and Chaiken, Jan M. 1993. "Increasing the use of Drug Use Forecasting (DUF) findings for state and local policy and practice: New computer programs and documents developed," Washington, DC: National Institute of Justice.

20. See for examples:

Maricopa County Attorney's Office. 2000. *Domestic Violence Protocol.* Phoenix, AZ: Author

Maryland Coalition Against Sexual Assault. 1997 Police Response to Crimes of Sexual Violence: A Training Curriculum

Oregon Domestic Violence Council. 1996. A Collaborative Approach to Domestic Violence: Oregon Protocol Handbook. (Report submitted to SJI) Alexandria VA: State Justice Institute.

Oregon State Police, Oregon Health Division Emergency Medical Services & Systems, Oregon Coalition Against Domestic and Sexual Assault, Oregon Domestic Violence Council. 1997. Community Policing to Combat Domestic Violence: Resource Manual. Includes directives for responding to emergent incidents and resources in each county.

- 21. See, for example: Maryland Coalition Against Sexual Assault and The Maryland State's Attorneys' Association. 1997. *Police Response to Crimes of Sexual Violence: A Training Curriculum.* Arnold, MD: Maryland Coalition Against Sexual Assault
- 22. In addition to police training, victims' services and prosecution were also primary emphases. For a description of the legislative mandate for distribution of VAWA funds and the mechanism of distribution to states between 1994 and 1996 see: Burt, Martha, with Lisa Newmark, Mary Norris, Daryl Dyer, Adele Harrell. 1996. The Violence Against Women Act of 1994: Evaluation of the STOP Block Grants to Combat Violence Against Women. Washington DC: The Urban Institute.
- 23. Chaiken. (forthcoming) 2001. See endnote 15.

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- 24. See for example, International Association of Chiefs of Police. (Undated. Received at LINC 1999) *Protecting Victims of Domestic Violence. A Law Enforcement Officer's Guide to Enforcing Orders of Protection Nation Wide.* Alexandria, VA: IACP Copies provided by Oregon State Police as example of material used widely in the State.
- 25. Green, Susanne E., Andrew Giacomazzi, and Martha Smithey. 2000. *Evaluating Domestic Violence Training for Police Officers*. Presented at the 2000 Annual Meeting of the American Society of Criminology. November 17, 2000, San Francisco.
- 26. In 1996, *The Red Tide*, a program to raise awareness of teen dating violence among teen boys and resources for teens in abusive relationships, was developed and implemented by the Women's Crisis Center with the sponsorship of police, schools, and private agencies.
- 27. As noted elsewhere in this report, the funding was made available after Kristine Olson, United States Attorney District of Oregon, arranged a meeting between Deputy Assistant Attorney General Noel Brennan and Charles Moose, Chief of the Portland Police Bureau, to discuss potential enhancements to the Bureau's approaches for reducing violence against women and addressing gaps in ongoing approaches identified by the Multnomah Steering Committee. Shortly after this meeting took place, Chief Moose left Portland when he was appointed Chief of Police in another department; Lynnae Berg was appointed Acting Chief of Police of the Portland Police Bureau and headed the Bureau while the new unit was developed and began operations.
- 28. Hubbard, Laurie. October 1991. From Harassment to Homicide: A Report on the Response to Domestic Violence in Multnomah County. Family Violence Intervention Steering Committee, Portland, OR.
- 28. Hubbard. 1991. Page 36.
- 30. The Portland Police Bureau Community Policing Transition Plan called for the implementation of bureau activities that would target at-risk youth for special attention. In the fall of 1992 the bureau assigned a captain to explore with the community what form such an effort should take. What followed were extensive discussions with a wide variety of community representatives who identified the "need to break the cycle of violence" as an immediate problem the Portland police should address. In close collaboration with the Family Violence Intervention Steering Committee, the police developed a plan to reduce domestic violence in Portland. The plan had two goals: to increase the formal consequences for batterers and to empower victims:

The first goal proposed was to increase regularly prosecuting all misdemeanor domestic violence offenses. This was to be done regardless of the victim's desire to prosecute. Before, the district attorney prosecuted only those cases in which a victim signed a complaint and was willing to testify against her batterer. Because many victims did not feel safe enough to do so, charges against most batterers were dropped, which sent the clear message to both batterers and

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victims that no consequences beyond the arrest would follow when a domestic assault occurred. This new proposed approach would shift the responsibility for the prosecution from the victim to the district attorney's office.

The second goal was to be implemented by helping victims successfully negotiate, seek, obtain, and use the resources of the criminal justice system. The Portland City Council approved the plan. The Domestic Violence Reduction Unit (DVRU) was created and began work in July 1993. [pp 17-18].

The unit consisted of one captain, one sergeant, six officers and one Latina outreach worker. . . . The daily operations of the unit entail[ed] reviewing the domestic violence misdemeanor cases that it received from officers throughout the police bureau. In 1995, for example, the unit received 6424 misdemeanor domesticviolence reports. Mindful of their limited resources, the unit gave priority to repeat domestic violence cases in which weapons were used, and cases where children were present. . . . In 1995, officers worked 452 of the cases they received and categorized as priority cases. [p 22]

Investigative strategies involved various forms of collecting evidence. Victim empowerment strategies entailed the development of safety plans, instructions on how to access criminal justice and community victim services, as well as assistance with transportation to facilitate victims' access to them. [p 23]

Jolin, Annette and William Feyerherm, Robert Fountain, Sharon Friedman. May 1998. "Beyond Arrest: The Portland, OR Domestic Violence Experiment," final report to NIJ Grant No. 95-IJ- CX-0054.

- 30. Jolin and Feyerherm. 1998. Ibid.
- 32. As previously noted DVRU focuses on misdemeanor arrests. The investigation of felony domestic violence arrests had always been and continued to be handled by the PPB's detective division. The DVRU is attempting to expand their effort to include all domestic violence arrests. They now think they can do a better job with domestic violence felonies than the regular detective division where domestic violence cases compete for attention with homicides, rapes, and other felonies.
- 33. Chaiken, Marcia R., Jan Chaiken, and Clifford Karchmer. 1991. *Multijurisdictional Drug Law Enforcement Strategies: Reducing Supply and Demand*. Washington DC: National Institute of Justice
- 34. Garner, Joel, Jeffrey Fagan and C.Maxwell. 1995. "Published findings from the Spouse Abuse Replication Project: A critical review." *Journal of Quatitative Criminology*. Volume 11:3-28.
- 35. Garner, Joel, Jeffrey Fagan and C.Maxwell. 1995. "Published findings from the Spouse Abuse Replication Project: A critical review." *Journal of Quatitative Criminology*. Volume 11:3-28.
- 36. Greenspan, Rosann, Sheila Crossen-Powell, Erin Lane, David L. Weisburd, Sergeant William Booth, Edwin E. Hamilton. Second Responders Program: Evaluation of a Coordinated Police/Social Approach to Domestic Violence. Presented at the 2000

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Annual Meeting of the American Society of Criminology. November 17, 2000, San Francisco.

- 37. Based on 1990 Census 1990 US Census Data Database: C90STF3A Summary Level: State--County figures provided on http://venus.census.gov/cdrom/lookup
- 38. The Salisbury Police Department, with funds from the State of Maryland Governor's Office of Crime Control and Prevention, appointed a Public Service/Victim Assistance Officer (VAO) to head up a Victim/Witness Assistance Unit primarily focusing on victims of domestic violence, child abuse, sexual assault, and abuse of the elderly. The VAO follows up on cases involving victims of violence, advises victims of the case status, offers home security checks, and makes a referral to Life Crisis Center. After an arrest the VAO notifies the victim and advises them about court procedures.
- 39. Green, Susanne E., Andrew Giacomazzi, and Martha Smithey. 2000. *Evaluating Domestic Violence Training for Police Officers*. Presented at the 2000 Annual Meeting of the American Society of Criminology. November 17, 2000, San Francisco.

Preliminary (2001) findings of the evaluation of STOP grants being conducted by the Institute for Law Justice. Alexandria, Virgina.

- 40. Massachusetts Department of Public Health. 1999. Sexual Assault in Massachusetts 1988 1997. See especially Figure 10. Boston, MA: Author
- 41. Massachusetts Department of Public Health. 1999. Sexual Assault in Massachusetts 1988 1997. Page 19. Boston, MA: Author
- 42. Hubbard, 1991.
- 43. Willamette Law Review. Domestic Violence Sympsium Issue Volume 33. No. 4.
- 44. See, for one example of this view, *Safely Toward Self-Sufficiency*Battered Women's Path Through Welfare Reform. A Report by the AFDC Working
 Group of the Massachusetts Governor's Commission on Domestic Violence.
- 45. By 1990 37% percent of the Wicomico population was from out of state with 13% formerly from states in the Northeast and West with strong women's rights movements, and 10% of the population had moved there from another county in Maryland in the past five years. Based on 1990 US Census Data Database: C90STF3A Summary Level: State-County figures provided on http://venus.census.gov/cdrom/lookup.

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Appendix A

Example interview protocol formatted for use in Arizona

Appendix A - Page 1: Example interview protocol

Reducing Violence Against Women: What Counts
OJP/LINC/98-WT-VX-K013
Interviews: State Organizations
Study Venue: Arizona

Project member: Chaiken Date: September/October, 2000 Time:
Interview with:
Name:
Title:
Agency:
Other Participants:
☐ Document/data mentioned in interview to obtain before leaving or to be sent

Provide explanation of purpose of visit: Part of NIJ/VAWGO-sponsored project 1)to describe exemplary approaches for reducing violence against women **both domestic violence and sexual assault**; 2)to detail how these approaches provide services for victims or increase victim safety and offender accountability; 3)to describe the history of the development of these approaches including factors that help promote and barriers to implementation including any federal role especially the role of the Violence Against Women Act; and, 4) if possible, to document the impact of these approaches.

IF ASKED: Our study states and counties were selected to represent a broad spectrum of approaches being implemented around the country in diverse settings. They are Maryland/Wicomico County; Massachusetts/Essex County; Oregon/Multnomah County; and Arizona/Maricopa County.

IF ASKED: LINC was formed 12 years ago as a woman-headed research organization dedicated to providing policy relevant research in the areas of criminal and juvenile justice, health services, and adolescent development. Based in Alexandria VA research has been sponsored by federal agencies, private foundations, and national youth organizations.

1/What Counts; OJP/LINC/98-WT-VX-K013/Arizona Organizations

Appendix A - Page 2: Example interview protocol

		* -	•	•		
of adr violen victim	ministra <i>ce aga</i> s or off	ition, mission/ inst women, a	introduction to your mandate, funding lever and formal relationship ional/federal, state, and ty.	el and sources, <i>prir</i> es with other organ	ncipal role in reducing izations dealing with	
A. Org	Administration (ask for org chart)					
	Size (n profe	ssional staff; n	volunteers):		
	Missic	on/Mandate:				
	Fundii	ng:	% FUNDS FROM VAWA Other federal	VOCA	Other OJP	
	Other	characteristic	s mentioned:			
offend	ders or	providing s	ducing violence agains ervices for all types o violence or sexual as	of victims: what p		
C. Relat	ionship	Formal relatio	nship to other relevan	t organizations		
		State:				
		Maricopa County	:			

2/What Counts; OJP/LINC/98-WT-VX-K013/Arizona Organizations

Phoenix:

Appendix A - Page 3: Example interview protocol

II. A. Could you please describe types of current or recent activities your organization has carried out, or worked collaboratively with other organizations to carry out, to reduce violence against women or to assist victims or treat or supervise dv or sex offenders (ask for any written documentation but also describe below). Ask about task forces or other cross-agency collaborations involving state and local agencies in analogous positions such as attorney general/district attorneys. Ask about factors that were useful for/promoted activities; specifically any VAWA legislation or resources (funds, materials, conferences, spokes-people, etc.) drawn on for these approaches?

PROBES IF NEEDED:

-Policing: responding to incidents with advocates, referrals, dv primary aggressor determination
on-spot confer with DA, investigation, transport to shelter, etc., enforcing protective orders,
protocol development, training materials/training

-Providing services to victims: translators, \$	SARTS, needs assessments, short term shelters
transition housing, legal aid/obtaining prote	ctive orders

-Prosecuting: case targeting, activities to increase involvement of victim in decisions? Protecting id victim? No drop policies? Transfer of cases from state to federal jurisdiction?

-Supervising defendants pretrial (inform victim of release, blocking calls to victim home, search for out-of-state warrants, etc.)

-Supervising convicted offenders (treatment while incarcerated for **dv offenders and sex offenders**, post-release aftercare, release decisions, notification, progams for building functioning families — whether or not specifically to prevent violence)

3/What Counts; OJP/LINC/98-WT-VX-K013/Arizona Organizations

Appendix A - Page 4: Example interview protocol

Appendix A - 1 age 4. Example interview protocol
-Systems for tracking offenders (specific codes for dv/sa; cross-agency data input, case manag)
- Raising community awareness of violence against women?
- Expanding coordination across agencies?
- Proposing, drafting, or advocating for new legislation and/or new policies and practices?
B. Any other organizations/people from Arizona or Phoenix/Maricopa County involved in these efforts? (If yes, describe)
4/What Counts; OJP/LINC/98-WT-VX-K013/Arizona Organizations

Appendix A - Page 5: Example interview protocol

representation and a superior process.
III. A. Could you please describe the impact you think these efforts have had on reducing violence against women or more specifically increasing victim services, safety, or offender accountability.
D. Han wave arranjection or any other arranjection bean objects decomposed this immed 2.05
B. Has your organization or any other organization been able to document this impact? [If yes , details: who, what, how, may we get a copy of this documentation?]
If no , are there any sources of data or information that you know of that could be used to document this impact?
PROBES: - Who monitors/collects data about the implementation of relevant activities or outcomes?
-Have new record keeping systems been put in place over the last 5 years to track changes in violence against women and the ways it is handled in this state? What agency manages them and what do they track or measure?
-Is there any data about public opinion related to relevant laws, policies and practices and if so, where and in what form?
-Other data that might be useful to us in doing this case study? Key people that we ought to talk with?
5/What Counts; OJP/LINC/98-WT-VX-K013/Arizona Organizations

Appendix A - Page 6: Example interview protocol

IV. Did your organization, or a coalition in which your organization participated, try to carry out activities for preventing violence against women or dealing with dv or sex offenders that **didn't get off the ground?** If yes, describe and ask about **factors that prevented** effort including turf issues, resource constraints, legal ruling, etc.

6/What Counts; OJP/LINC/98-WT-VX-K013/Arizona Organizations

Appendix A - Page 7: Example interview protocol

V. A. Thinking back over the past five years or even before, whether or not your organization was involved, could you please describe major changes in Arizona or Maricopa County relevant to reducing violence against women or dealing with dv or sex offenders. *I'd like to know when they occurred*, who were the **key organizations** or people involved in **promoting or resisting** this change, and once again **factors that promoted or were barriers to this change**. These could be changes in laws, policies, practices, organizational arrangements, creation of task forces, or other changes you think most important.

B. Any (other) organizations/people from Arizona or Maricopa County involved? (If yes, describe)

7/What Counts; OJP/LINC/98-WT-VX-K013/Arizona Organizations

Appendix A - Page 8: Example interview protocol

C. In what (other) ways has VAWA helped bring about change? Are there now more advantages (fiscal, or political, or legal or investigative) to handling violence against women as federal cases? Or has VAWA helped bring about change by providing other resources (funds, materials, conferences, spokes-people, etc.) drawn on for bringing about this change?

8/What Counts; OJP/LINC/98-WT-VX-K013/Arizona Organizations

Appendix A - Page 9: Example interview protocol

VI.	Bottom	line o	uestions:
V 1.			1000

1. From your perspective, what is the single most important change that has occurred in the past decades in the situation of women and girls in Phoenix/Maricopa County/Arizona who have been victims of domestic violence or sexual abuse or in cases involving their offenders, and what if any role, did federal legislation or the federal government play?

2. What is the single most important change that still needs to occur for women and girls in Phoenix/Maricopa/Arizona who are victims of domestic violence or sexual abuse or in cases involving their offenders and what if any role, should **your agency and federal legislation or the federal government play?**

Thank and get card or verify spelling/title.

9/What Counts; OJP/LINC/98-WT-VX-K013/Arizona Organizations

Appendix B

State and local developments in preventing violence against women

Figures present time lines of major developments in approaches for reducing violence against women reported by respondents and classified by social movements

SE = (criminal justice) system effectiveness movement

VR = victims' rights movement

WR = women's rights movement

syn = synthesis between movements

Graphs summarize the information presented in the figures

Figure 1. and Graph 1. Developments in Arizona and Maricopa County

Figure 2. and Graph 2. Developments in Maryland and Wicomico County

Figure 3. and Graph 3. Developments in Massachusetts and Essex County

Figure 4. and Graph 4. Developments in Oregon and Multnomah County

1962 Rainbow Retreat started a shelter for domestic violence victims; 12-step model closely associated with Al Anon.

1964 Second shelter started

1965 Sojourner started shelter for women coming from prison (SE¹)

1978 Maricopa County Attorney's Office implements Victim Witness Program to provide services to victims of violent crime (SE)

1980 Formation of the Arizona Coalition Against Domestic Violence (ACADV) run by volunteers (WR)

1980 Organized marches on police station demanding police given more power to arrest batterers. (WR)

Early 1980's Arizona Department of Corrections Community Supervision Bureau develops and implements system for collection of court-ordered restitution payments from offenders under supervision. (SE)

1984 Maricopa County Attorney's Office and private citizens form first privately funded Victim Compensation Program in Arizona. (VR)

1984 Phoenix Chief of Police Rubin Ortega attends NIJ conference on mandatory arrest; implements policy in Phoenix PD (but in officers did not begin to put policy into practice until about 1986) (SE)

1984 Formation of Child Sexual Abuse Team and promotion of 'no cure possible, life time supervision needed' approach by Maricopa Assistant County Attorney (who eventually became Chief Justice in Maricopa County). (SE/VR)

Mid-1980's Legislation mandates (but does not provide funds for) collection of court-ordered restitution payments from offenders supervised by Arizona Department of Corrections (ADC). (VR)

1985 Legislation enabling victims' more accessible procedures to obtain orders of protection (VR)

Appendix B/ Figure 1./State and Local Change and VAWA

¹ SE = System effectiveness; syn = synthesis; VR = victims' rights; WR = women's rights

1985 Sex Offender Registration ARS 13-3821 is enacted (VR)

1986 State establishes Crime Victim Compensation Program for victims of violent crime including sexual assault (VR)

1986 ADC Community Supervision Bureau mandated to collect supervision fees from offenders; fees used to support Victim Witness programs in County Attorneys' Offices. (SE)

1987 VINE system (notification) available for victims of inmates supervised by Arizona Department of Corrections (ADC) who wish be informed when inmate leaves prison. (SE, VR).

1988 Governor's Office of Women's Services proposes plan to combat domestic violence; issues report in following year calling for uniform enforcement of laws and greater coordination of services. Domestic violence equated with family violence and noted as problem striking family members of all ages. (VR, SE)

1988 City of Phoenix formalizes mandatory arrest in domestic violence cases (SE)

1988 Maricopa County Attorney's Office initiates Sex Crimes Bureau specializing in the prosecution of sexual assault, and child physical and sexual abuse cases. (VR, SE)

1989 ACADV hires first paid staff with funding from the USHHS. (WR)

1989 Maricopa County probation department forms sex offender unit for special surveillance of sex offenders by officers specifically trained for that purpose (SE)

late 1980's City of Phoenix enacts legislation enabling protective orders for domestic violence victims; state of Arizona enacts similar legislation. (WR)

1990 Legislation changes wording concerning mandatory arrest from 'may' to 'shall' arrest (WR)

1990 Maricopa Judge begin push to "repair families by dealing with sex offenders". (VR)

1990 Ballot initiative passed amending State Constitution and providing for a Victims' Bill of Rights. (VR)

1991 Arizona Legislature passes statutes defining victims' constitutional rights (VR)

1991 State of Arizona passes legislation stipulating mandatory arrest in domestic violence cases (SE)

1992 Life time probation for subset of sex offenders mandated (VR, SE)

1992 Director of the Governor's Office for Domestic Violence Prevention convenes multi-disciplinary task force to study problem of domestic violence. (syn)

1993 Governor formalizes multi-disciplinary task force as Governor's Commission on Violence Against Women (syn).

Early 1990s, ADC Community Supervision Bureau system is expanded to include collecting funds from inmates while incarcerated.

1993 (and 1998) ADC joins collaborative effort with counties (focusing on Maricopa County), to assist court in completing restitution orders for offenders no longer under supervision. However, system for court to insure restitution funds are received by victims is lacking. (VR, SE)

1992 Murder of child on date of "Take Back the Night" evokes renewed advocacy for victims rights from Parents of Murdered Children. (VR)

1993 ARS 13-4438 is passed, requiring DNA testing for offenders convicted of specific sex crimes. (Additional convictions were added to the ARS Registration statute in 1995, 1998, and 2001). (SE, VR)

1994 Truth in Sentencing legislation mandates that inmates serve 85% of their sentence in prison, with a mandatory 15% Community Supervision term. The BOEC (Parole Board) considers releasing only those inmates who were sentenced prior to TIS. Victims have input when considering releases on parole. The BOEC completes revocation hearings on those convicted under TIS. Victims also are allowed to testify in all revocation hearings. (VR, SE).

1994 OJ Simpson case elicits flood of phone calls to ACADV (WR)

[1994 VAWA]

1994 ACADV forms speakers bureau involving survivors. (WR)

1994 Probation organizes specialized case loads for supervising sex offenders;

mandates treatment and intensive supervision; officers specially trained to handle cases. (SE).

1994 - 1995 ADC implements mandatory completion of warrant and return to custody for supervised offenders arrested for domestic violence. (syn)

1995 First Family Advocacy Center in Maricopa County started by Chief of Police (women) in the city of Mesa. (syn)

1995 Women's Treatment Network (WTN) Is formed from a Center for Substance Abuse Treatment (CSAT) grant obtained by a coalition of Maricopa County criminal justice agencies. (The Maricopa County Adult Probation Department was noted as the "lead" agency, and ADC joined the coalition partners in 1999). The WTN provides programming for female offenders released from jail or prison under supervision (many victims of violence), addressing complex concerns including substance abuse assessment and treatment, job placement, assistance with residence, mental health programming, medical care, child care, and transportation (syn)

1995 Governor designates cross-agency team to develop state plan for coordinating efforts utilizing funds for domestic violence and sexual assault programs. Eight state agencies begin to meet on a regular basis and serve on each others review boards. Arizona Criminal Justice Commission/SAC develop needs assessment based on materials provided by team agencies (syn)

1995 Attorney (woman) from Maricopa County Attorney's Office joins US Attorney's Office and assumes role as contact in domestic violence with potential for prosecution under VAWA. (syn)

1995 US Attorney's Office sends out materials to over 300 criminal justice agencies explaining VAWA provisions, interpretations, and resources; conducts over 20 trainings on VAWA provisions (SE)

1996 New Governor (woman) assumes office; creates Office for Domestic violence Prevention. (WR)

1996 Certification required for batterers' treatment programs (SE)

1996 US Attorney's Office prosecutes domestic violence cases involving nonIndian offenders on Indian reservations under VAWA provisions re interstate stalking (reservations span state lines). (SE)

1996 Arizona implements Community Notification of sex offenders released from prison or jail, or placed on probation. All agencies with jurisdiction notify the State Department of Public Safety, and local law enforcement completes notification in compliance with state guidelines. (VR)

1996 Maricopa County probation department sex offender unit crafts memorandum of understanding with CASA for providing services for victims of sex offenders under supervision of department. (syn)

1996 Maricopa County Attorney's Office forms in Family Violence Bureau specializing in the prosecution of felony domestic violence, stalking, elder abuse and child physical abuse cases. (SE)

1996 (1997 and 2000) Victim's Acts of Violence legislation is passed enabling those convicted prior to June 30, 1992 of murder, manslaughter, or negligent homicide, who were suffering from Battered Persons Syndrome to petition the Board of Executive Clemency to be heard and released if appropriate. (VR). Subsequently, the BOEC receives 29 requests for applications from inmates. 25 applications are received from inmates, and of those, all met the criteria as stipulated in the legislation. The Board conducts hearings. Of the 5 hearings conducted, 2 are recommended to the Governor for a reduction of sentence. Of the 2 recommended, 1 is granted a reduction of sentence by the Governor.

1996 - 1997 Shelters in Arizona provide emergency refuge for 7,570 battered women and their children; but an estimated 15,601 women and children turned away from shelters. 5,367 nonresident battered women receive other services; Batters intervention programs serve 953 offenders. (WR)

1997 ACADV establishes Legal Advocacy Hotline for procedural advice and referral to community-based victim service organizations (funded by VOCA + state DoJ) (WR)

1997 ADC establishes 24-hour notification to victims upon release of inmates, by utilizing a 1-800 number allowing victims to check on whereabouts of offenders supervised by the Department (VR, SE).

1997 Interfaith Religious Community holds first conference on religious response to domestic violence (syn)

1997 POST calls on ACADV for training materials for all law enforcement agencies (syn)

1997 Phoenix Police Department calls on ACADV to train dispatchers as officers (syn)

1997 ACADV and Probation Department begin cross-training of officers and advocates on a regular basis (occasional training done since 1980's) (syn)

1997 Governor establishes office for domestic violence; promotes attention but provides little funding (syn)

1997 As mandated by statute, ADC Community Corrections Division begins screening and referring sex offenders to County Attorneys for civil commitment after concluding sentences for crimes. (SE, VR)

1997 Newly appointed Chief Justice in Arizona Courts begins to hold town forums and community surveys with goal of restoring confidence in courts; as part of process met with domestic violence advocates and held victim "dialogs." (syn)

1997 Maricopa County probation department forms domestic violence offenders unit in response to growing number of dv offenders in case loads (SE)

1997 Maricopa County Attorney's Office contracts with a private organization to coordinate misdemeanor domestic violence offender treatment. (SE--->syn)

1997 Maricopa County Attorney's Office, together with over 100 law enforcement, prosecutorial, judicial, victim service and mental health professionals, spearheads the development of a comprehensive criminal justice protocol for domestic violence that promotes evidence-based prosecution; County Attorney's Office inititiates initiates ongoing domestic violence protocol training for law enforcement agencies, prosecutors, probation officers, and victim service professionals throughout the county. (Syn)

1998 Series of news reports by woman reporter on Laura Muñoz murder (victim turned away from shelters) shocks city, county and state. (WR)

1998 Maricopa County probation department notes precipitous increase in domestic violence offenders placed under their supervision as a result of the Muñoz murder. "1175 cases under jurisdiction who otherwise would have gone unsupervised". (SE)

1998 City of Phoenix establishes CONTACS (Community Network for Accessing Shelter) 800 24/7 county-wide call center for info about emergency/transitional shelter for dv victims and homeless (WR)

1998 Kidnaping, Unlawful Imprisonment, Taking a Child for the Purpose of Prostitution.

and Child Prostitution are added as convictions requiring registration pursuant to the Jacob Wetterling Crimes Against Children Act. (VR).

1998 Maricopa County Attorney's Office implements misdemeanor domestic violence unit utilizing VAWA funds. (SE)

1998 City of Phoenix forms Family Advocacy Center establishing central office for police domestic violence and sexual assault units, police victim advocates, shelter based victim advocates, SANE teams. (syn)

1998 State legislation passed providing for state income tax check off box to provide funding to shelters (WR)

1998 Phoenix municipal courts begins to place domestic violence offenders on conditional release with supervision provided by Maricopa Department of Probation. (SE)

1998 Governor provides [VAWA rural grants] funds for establishing County Coordinated Community Response Teams for coordinating services for women victims of violence. (syn)

1998 US Attorney elected as Arizona Attorney General; uses office as "bully-pulpit" for rallying support for addressing violence against women after campaigning on issue; activity in US Attorney's Office for prosecuting domestic violence cases reportedly diminishes. (syn)

1998 Maricopa County Probation department forms memorandum of understanding with Sojourner Center to provide VOCA funded advocacy services for victims of domestic violence offenders supervised by department. (syn)

1999 Arizona Attorney General initiates use of "bad guy" corporate settlement dollars for addressing women's issues; for example, \$100,000 settlement in case against Toys 'R Us were divided up between 60 shelters and emergency housing programs on basis of number of beds. (syn)

1999 Arizona Attorney General begins to broker needs of shelters with interests of political groups; for example, funds cut to shelters in one county led to lack of milk for children; AG called on milk lobby rep who arranged for shelter tom receive milk. (syn).

1999 Arizona Sexual Assault Network begins operations independent from founding organization, CASA (WR).

1999 State legislation passed providing \$800,000 for emergency shelters including 200 additional beds in Maricopa County. (WR)

1999 Major expose in Arizona Republic by woman reporter on treatment of sexual assault victims by criminal justice agencies (WR)

1999 Governor convenes multi-disciplinary Sexual Assault Task Force to identify current level of services and define resources needed for a coordinated response to meet needs of victims; under direction of the Director of the Governor's Office for Domestic Violence Prevention, the Task Forces publishes report to the Governor. (syn)

1999 Arizona Department of Public Safety and Maricopa County Attorney's Office place very high priority on developing state of the art procedures for collecting forensic evidence in cases involving sexual assault; works with prosecutors and SANE teams to create exam room with latest equipment in Phoenix Family Advocacy Center (syn)

1999 Arizona AG convenes START team to plan responses to needs of victims raised in Arizona Republic expose; special permission granted for using monies collected from criminal fines to implement plans; (AZSAN conference; CASA protocol; DPS data base). SANE teams expanded across county (syn)

1999 Governor appoints Select Task Force on Domestic Violence (syn)

1999 POST/Arizona Department of Public Safety (DPS) initiates new curriculum for training law enforcement officers to respond to domestic violence (syn)

late 1990's Director of DPS begins 'adopt a shelter' program encouraging law enforcement officers to work with shelters to meet needs. (syn)

1999 Court Watch Program established in Mesa; later expanded to included all courts in Maricopa County; Results inform decisions of Chief Justice (WR->syn)

1999 Legislation passed mandating the Department of Public Safety to create n an internet system for tracking sex offenders evaluated as intermediate of high risk. (VR, SE)

1999 In Maricopa County,150 community members convene to assemble a regional plan on domestic violence in an effort to develop a comprehensive coordinated community

response resulting in the 1999 MAG Regional Plan on Domestic Violence which identifies 41 recommendations to bring about a more coordinated community response

to better assist victims and hold offenders accountable. (Syn)

2000 Arizona Department of Corrections establishes web site with information about status of active inmates and supervised offenders, and historical information on inmates released who are not under supervision. (VR, SE)

2000 State legislation appropriating \$2M in TANF funds for shelter operating costs; \$1M legal advocacy services. (WR)

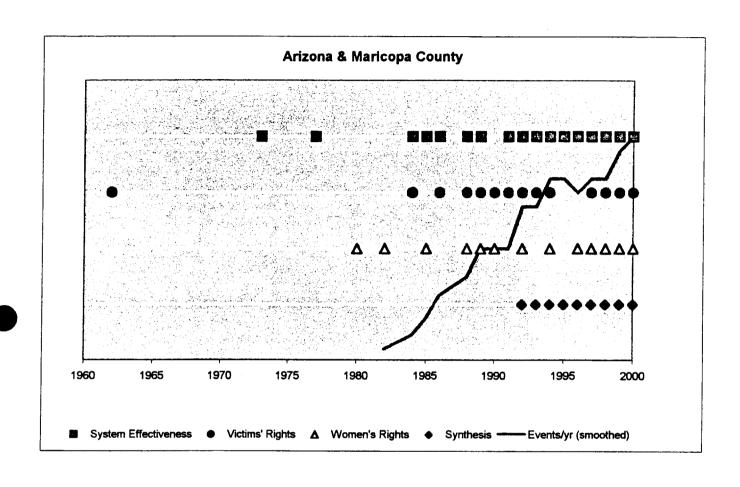
2000 Legislation establishes State Plan Task Force to exam plans for addressing domestic violence and sexual assault (syn)

2000 Arizona Attorney General launches intensive domestic violence public awareness campaign (syn)

2000 Governor's Commission on Violence Against Women (staffed by the Governor's Office for Domestic Violence Prevention) applies for and receives grant from the Family Violence Prevention Fund for working with corporations and other employers to prevent violence in the workplace. (syn)

2000 Maricopa County Probation Department convenes advisory group with representatives from criminal justice agencies and advocacy groups to identify gaps in services for victims of offenders under supervision of Department. (syn).

2000 The MAG Domestic Violence Council convenes 60 member Council made up of individuals from law enforcement, prosecution, business leaders, faith leaders, advocates, social service providers The Council prioritizes and implements several initiatives including healthcare protocols, workplace policies on domestic violence, crisis response teams, and local/city-based task forces. (Syn)



Graph 1: Timeline of Reported Events in Arizona/Maricopa County Related to Reducing Violence against Women

1974 New Directions for Women founded as a private nonprofit organization in Baltimore (WR)

mid-1970's Beginning of communication between Maryland organizations providing services for victims and coordinated advocacy for pro-victim legislation. (WR)

1976 Codification and Reform of Maryland Sexual Offense Law creating genderneutral offenses and degrees of criminal offense. (VR)

1976 Rape Crises Hotline (precursor to the Life Crisis Center) initiated by concerned women attending local college in Wicomico County. (WR)

1977 A coalition of women's organizations, religious groups, service providers, and elected officials found the House of Ruth to provide a safe haven for victims of domestic violence and their children. (WR)

1978 Sexual Assault/Domestic Violence Inc.(currently called Second Step) founded in Baltimore County for providing counseling services to women victims of violence. (WR)

1978 In Wicomico County, Rape Crises Hotline enlarges scope to serve larger community, members with other issues including drugs and alcohol; effort supported by some church pastors with social action focus and \$10,000 grant from United Way..

1979 First Battered Spouse Report published by the Maryland State police on the nature of domestic violence incidents reported to law enforcement agencies as mandated by the Maryland House of Delegates Joint Resolution 32. (WR)

1979 Founding of House of Ruth, providing services and advocacy for battered women, in Baltimore. (WR)

Late-1970's Maryland Alliance Against Domestic Violence brings together victim service providers and advocates as a coalition. (WR)

1980 Formation of Maryland Network Against Domestic Violence (MNADV or the Network), a statewide coalition of domestic violence programs as a private not-for-profit organization. (WR)

1980 First Maryland Civil Order of Protection Law that defined abuse and established a 15-day protective order including "vacate home order", mandated counseling, and allows for temporary custody of minor children. (WR)

1980 Battered Spouse Program established by legislature, provides funds for shelters for battered victims in major population areas throughout the state. (WR)

1981 Authorization for funding battered spouse shelters statewide. (WR)

1981 Civil Order for Protection legislation expanded (WR)

1982 Kidnap, rape, and murder of Stephanie Roper. Her parents, Roberta and Vince Roper form a victim advocacy and assistance foundation. (VR)

1982 Formation of Maryland Coalition Against Sexual Assault (MCASA) by 13 existing local rape crisis centers across the state. (WR)

1982 Legislative extension of number of days for serving protection orders and days order is in effect (SE)

1982 Marriage License Fee levied by several counties to fund domestic violence programs (WR)

1983 Women's Alliance of Maryland coordinates organizations with focus on obtaining funds for services. (WR)

1983 Marriage license surcharge fee to be used to fund domestic violence programs expanded from individual counties to statewide program and fee increased to \$15.

Early to late 1980's Wicomico County growth in population included new residents who were women from areas with strong women's rights movement. These new arrivals began to challenge status quo of public and nonprofit agencies largely ignoring domestic violence. [By 1990 37% percent of the Wicomico population was from out of state with 13% formerly from states in the Northeast and West. 10% of the population in 1990 had moved there from another county in Maryland in the past five years.¹] (WR)

1984 Women's Services Program formed under administration of the state Department of Human Resources (merging the Battered Spouse and Homeless Women's Shelter Programs) stabilizing the stream of funding for sheltering and serving women victim's of violence. (WR)

1984 Provision to protect abused children is added to the domestic violence protective order. (WR)

1984 Wicomico County Sheriff Nelms first elected and (according to victim advocates) begins to focus on issue of domestic violence. ((SE))

1985 Stephanie Roper case becomes symbol for coalescing state-wide movement for victims' rights. (VR)

1986 Domestic violence warrantless arrest law adopted. (WR)

1986 Life Crisis Center adds counseling component for victims of domestic violence with funds provided by VOCA (VR)

1986 Life Crisis Center hires first victim services/domestic violence coordinator. Sets goal to build shelter for battered women (not achieved until 1997). Begins to provide legal advocacy for victims seeking protection orders and sexual assault victims who wish to attend trial of offenders. (WR)

1987 (approximately) Life Crisis Center adds batterers treatment component to services. (Judges begin to provide treatment at LCC as a condition for probation). (syn)

1988 Creation by Maryland General Assembly of State Board of Victim Services to ensure proper treatment of all crime victims through the criminal justice process. ((SE))

1988 Law expands definition of "household member" to include unmarried persons who live together and have at least one minor child in common. (WR)

1988 Wicomico County State's Attorney (Davis Ruark) publically recognizes the need for prosecutors dedicated to domestic violence cases. (SE)

1989 Spousal Victims law allows a spouse to be charged with sexual offenses if there is a written separation agreement or the couple has lived separately for 6 months. (WR)

1990 Salisbury Police Department, in response to CALEA directives, develops written departmental directives and a brochure of victim services to be provided to victims by officers responding to crime incidents along with the name of the officer and the complaint number assigned to the incident. (SE)

1990 Wicomico County State's Attorney's Office hires first woman Assistant Attorney who is informally encouraged to specialize in cases involving sexual assault and domestic violence. She informally forms a liaison with the Life Crises Center to learn more about women victims of violence. (syn)

1990 Victim notification law went into effect. (VR)

1990 Creation of victim services unit in Department of Corrections. (VR)

1990 Maryland Office for Children, Youth, and Families assumes functions of former Office for Children and Youth. (SE)

1990 Statewide workshop convened by the Maryland Network, *Helping Kids- The Forgotten Victims*, designed to train human service professionals to work with children from violent families. (SE)

1990 Maryland Network establishes office and hires staff for first time. (WR)

1990 Maryland Network receives grant from Maryland Legal Services Corporation to coordinate and monitor implementation of the state's expanded Civil Order of Protection. (syn)

1990 Law expands warrantless arrest to include cohabiting individuals in a domestic relationship. (syn)

1990 Wicomico County agencies begin to receive steady source of state funds for providing services for victims. (syn)

1991 Network holds statewide conference, "Domestic Violence: Continuum of Legal Services" brought together a cross-section of professionals working with domestic violence issues. (syn)

1991 Creation by Maryland General Assembly of Maryland Victims of Crime Fund to support victim assistance programs .(VR)

1991 Law allows admission of expert testimony on the Battered Spouse Syndrome. (syn)

1992 Significant expansion of Civil Order of Protection to include cohabitants and former spouses. Also expands definition of abuse, the "no contact" order and the expante order to 7 days and the protection order up to 200 days.

1992 Wicomico County begins convening multidisciplinary teams for cases involving juveniles resulting in more information flow between social services, probation and parole, and schools. (syn)

1993 Passage of stalking bill defining stalking as a misdemeanor crime. (WR)

1993 Wicomico County State's Attorney (Davis Ruark) hires former law enforcement officer as Victim Witness Coordinator for office; position initially funded with VOCA funds. (SE)

1994 Maryland amends state constitution providing for victims' rights including right to attend trials, to provide statements of crime impact to the court, to file civil lawsuits and receive compensation. (VR)

1994 Domestic Violence Act of 1994 mandates law enforcement officer to give written notice of services available to victims of DV; expands definition of domestic violence to include unmarried victims who cohabit or formerly cohabited with the batterer enabling victims thereby to receive state-funded services; permits warrentless arrests for violation of an Order or for battering reported to the police within 12 hours. (syn)

1994 US Attorney does statewide training for law enforcement officers on VAWA and new Maryland gun law that went into effect. (syn)

1994 Statewide conference convened by the Maryland Network for advocates, providers and community organization leaders, *Ending Violence Against Women and Children - Connections for Change*. (WR)

1994 Department of Corrections hires victim coordinator for each institution. (syn)

1994 Implementation of Pro-prosecution Model in three Maryland counties (program currently in operation in 18 of 24 jurisdictions). *Stop the Violence* recommended each State Attorney's office adopt such a policy...leaving it to individual jurisdictions. MNADV subsequently developed model training and did training. (syn)

1994 Kathleen Kennedy Townsend elected Lieutenant Governor on ticket with Governor Parris Glendening. The newly elected Lieutenant Governor previously was a primary strategist and coordinator for moving the 1994 Crime Bill/VAWA through Congress in the position as Deputy Assistant General in the US Department of Justice. (syn)

1994 Wicomico County women on staff in government agencies see Townsend election as victory for victim rights advocates (WR)

1994 Wicomico County Sheriff's Department instructs deputies to complete an incident

report in response to domestic violence incidents in which injury is not involved (previously completed primarily in cases involving injury). Sheriff begins daily review of calls for service to determine whether incident reports were completed. (syn)

1995 Creation of Governor's Office of Crime Control and Prevention. Under the oversight of the Lt. Governor, the Office assumed administration of the Federal and State Criminal Justice and Law Enforcement Grant Programs including STOP/VAWA by merging the Governor's Office of Justice Administration and the Governor's Drug and Alcohol Abuse Commission). (syn)

1995 Domestic Violence Act of 1995 which mandates the arrest of violators of protection orders; eliminates filing fees for protection orders; discourages dual arrest of perpetrator and victim; increases possible penalty for violating a protection order; provides for compliance with federal law to make state eligible for VAWA funds. (syn)

1995 US Attorney presents information on VAWA provisions at the Maryland judicial training conference. (Syn)

1995 Department of Corrections adopts policy to notify victims of the provisional release of offenders and give victims input into the decisions. (VR)

1995 Department of Correction adopts "Duluth" model for treating male batterers; institutes treatment programs for women inmates who have been involved in domestic violence. (syn)

1995 Child sex offender legislation.(VR)

1995 Four domestic violence victim advocates hired by Division of Parole and Probation to serve in large counties and/or multi-county area. (syn)

1995 A total of 24,021 spousal assaults reported to law enforcement agencies, an increase of 18% in such reports over 1994 figures.

1995 Training of all 911 dispatchers and operators regarding appropriate and effective responses to calls for assistance from domestic violence victims. (syn)

1995 Creation of Family Violence Council (FVC) co-chaired by Lieutenant Governor Kathleen Kennedy Townsend and Attorney General J. Joseph Curran with representatives from the executive, legislative and judicial branches; family violence advocates and service providers; law enforcement, prosecutorial, corrections, parole

and probation agencies; and legal and health care experts to assess needs and set an agenda for violence against women. (syn)

1995 Salisbury Police Department, with funds from the State of Maryland Governor's Office of Crime Control and Prevention appoints a Public Service/Victim Assistance Officer (VAO) to head up a Victim/Witness Assistance Unit primarily focusing on victims of domestic violence, child abuse, sexual assault, and abuse of the elderly². The VAO follows up on cases involving victims of violence, advises victims of the case status, offers home security checks, and makes a referral to Life Crisis Center. After an arrest the VAO notifies the victim and advises them about court procedures. (syn)

1995 Wicomico County Sheriff's Department instructs deputies to provide victims with information on services before leaving scene in response to domestic violence incidents. (syn)

1995 Life Crisis Center hires VAWA funded advocate for outreach to special populations including young women from outside the U.S. hired by coastal resorts, isolated women in adjoining counties in families working on the water or working the land, women who are migrant workers in the agricultural or chicken industry primarily form Mexico and Korea. (WR)

1996 Family Violence Council (FVC) memorialize women victims in a Silent Witness Exhibit. (WR)

1996 Four regional public hearings held by FVC.

1996 Publication of *Stop the Violence, A Call to Action,* the "blueprint for action" for the Family Violence Council identifying 20 initiatives to enhance the responsiveness of all parts of the justice system and community to family violence in November. (syn)

1996 Assignment of some domestic violence offenders to batterer treatment through House of Ruth.

1996 Statewide workshop convened by the Maryland Network for providers, advocates and community leaders, *Meeting the Challenge: Strengthening the Community Response.* (WR)

1996 Governor's Gun Violence Act of 1996 limiting possession of guns by domestic violence offenders. (WR)

1996 Revision of the crime of assault dividing it into two degrees and designating attempted rape and attempted sex offenses as felonies. (WR)

1996 Martha Rasin designated as Chief Judge of the Maryland District Court and raises priority on family violence as an issue to be addressed (WR)

1996 Wicomico County appoints women to head county departments (DSS, Local Management Board) for the first time (WR)

1997 Lt. Governor assumes oversight of Office for Children, Youth, and Families.

1997 Creation by the FVC of seven Action Teams (Criminal Justice; Courts; Legislation; Local Family Violence Coordinating Councils; Victim Service Resources; Children's Team; and Domestic Violence Abuser Intervention and Sexual Offender Treatment) (syn)

1997 Lt. Governor Kathleen Kennedy Townsend and Attorney General Curran "take strategic plan on the road" to the State Attorney's Association, Sheriff's Association, Circuit Judges, Police Chiefs Association, Court Commissioners, and Assistant School Superintendents. (syn)

1997 Family Violence Council sponsors state wide round table on batterers' treatment programs

1997 Wicomico County initiates Comprehensive Strategy assessment spearheaded by newly created Wicomico Partnership for Families and Children (Local Management Board) including Life Crisis Staff and former staff. (syn)

1997 Salisbury designated as one city for "hot spot initiative" promoting information sharing between county crime justice agencies (police, state's attorney, courts, probation and parole). Domestic violence/sexual assault cases in target areas handled by members of cross agency teams assigned to area. (SE)

1997 Family Violence Council Develops legislative agenda

1997 Expansion of order of protection from a maximum of 200 days to one year and permits it to be served either in court or by first class mail.

1997 Adoption of law allowing police to remain with/escort victim back to the residence to collect her possessions. (WR)

1997 The Maryland State Police Regional Family Violence Unit (RFVU) established to serve as a coordinated response to domestic violence in rural areas of the state; Wicomico County covered as part of entire Eastern Shore by one Trooper based in Easton (about a one hour drive from Wicomico County. (syn)

1997 Life Crisis Center begins to co-teach courses about response to domestic violence incidents to recruits in all (16) local Eastern Shore law enforcement departments being trained in the Eastern Shore Criminal Justice Academy. (syn)

1997 Wicomico County-based State Police received 2 days of mandatory training for domestic violence response (syn)

1997 US Attorney's office and Family Violence Council cosponsor state-wide conference, *Fighting Domestic Violence: New Federal Domestic Violence Law: Federal, State and Local Partnerships.* (syn)

1997 Local Family Violence Coordinating Councils hold statewide roundtable to promote information sharing and networking attended by 200 participants representing all 24 jurisdiction. (syn)

1997 Life Crisis Center opens shelter for battered women and their children built with funds, materials, and labor provided by community organizations and members. (WR)

1997 MCASA develops and disseminates *Police Response to Crimes of Sexual Violence: A Training Curriculum,* a manual for law enforcement officers on how to respond to crimes of rape and sexual assault throughout the state, based on material adapted from Connecticut's training manual. (syn)

1997 MCASA, in conjunction with the Maryland State's Attorneys' Association prepares A Prosecutor's Trial Guide for Crimes of Sexual Violence in Maryland and A Prosecutor's Resource Guide for Crimes of Sexual Violence in Maryland. (syn)

1997 Division of Parole and Probation convenes a Family Violence Work Group to plan for anticipated supervision fees to fund family violence units in all regions. When the bill fails in the legislature, the units are not created but three-year plan for victims is adopted. (SE)

1997 Wicomico County Department of Probation and Parole Field Supervisor attends State Division Family Violence Work Group; subsequently, she designates one senior (woman) agent as "domestic violence agent" to handle all cases of supervised offenders sentenced for crimes involving domestic violence. In absence of available funds, the domestic violence agent pays for her own computer to track cases and send

letters and information to victims.

1997 Division of Parole and Probation has management retreat to clarify mission and develop a new mission statement including "offering and delivering victim services." (SE)

1997 Martha F. Rasin appointed Chief Judge of the District Court of Maryland. Initiation of focus on improving systematic court processing of domestic violence case information. (SE)

1997 Domestic violence judicial forms (petitions for protection, Ex Parte Orders, Protective Order, addendum, Dictionary) are clarified and updated to incorporate FVC recommendations and satisfy requirements of new legislation. (syn)

1997 Wicomico State's Attorney formalizes position of "VAWA" (VAWA funded) assistant attorney dedicated to handling domestic violence cases in District Court. Office begins sending letters to victims informing them of their right to refuse to talk with offender's attorney, providing information about the court process, and asking them to make an appointment with the Domestic Violence Attorney. (SE)

1997 Maryland State Police report shows a 3.4% in domestic violence incidents but a 26.6% **decrease** in domestic violence homicides from 1996 to 1997; UCR stats also indicate a 44% increase in both domestic rapes and robberies, and a 144% increase in malicious destruction of property during domestic incidents. During same period (1996-1997, unlike the 3.4% state wide increase in domestic violence reports, Wicomico County statistics show a 25.2% decrease³.

late 1990s Parole board hearings are opened to the public and victims are permitted to testify. (VR)

late 1990s As part of co-teaching in law enforcement academy (Wicomico County) Life Crisis Center distributes Maryland Domestic Violence Laws: A Law Enforcement Officer's Guide prepared in 1997 by the Maryland Network Agaist Domestic Violence (syn)

late 1990s In a number of cases of domestic violence placed on a STET docket (cases which are temporarily held over but not immediately dismissed) Wicomico State's Attorney Office agrees not to prosecute providing offender attends a Batterers Treatment Program and a repeat offense does not occur. (SE)

1998 Family Violence Council Develops legislative agenda (syn)

1998 Passage of law permitting immediate divorce (i.e., eliminating the one year waiting period) in cases of domestic violence. (WR)

1998 Executive Order 01.01.1998.25, Domestic Violence in the Workplace issued by Governor Glendening directing state agencies to educate employees about domestic violence and the workplace. (syn)

1998 Maryland Network develops domestic violence workplace policy, education and training currriculum for DHR employees and pilots the training in an DHR site. (Syn)

1998 Maryland Coalition prepares and distributes Police Response to Crimes of Sexual Violence: Collecting the Evidence, a training video on investigation of crimes of sexual assault and distributes it to each certified law enforcement agency in the state. (syn)

1998 Maryland Coalition coordinates statewide conference, The many Faces of Sexual Violence addressing diversity issues.

1998 Each Division in the Maryland Department of Public Safety and Corrections holds a strategic planning session. (SE)

1998 Statewide Planning Action Team of FVC revises statewide implementation plan for Stop the Violence recommendations and examines priorities identified in previous funding cycles.

1998 Administrative Office of the Courts Family Services Program established to cultivate family divisions within each judicial district for providing services to juveniles and families (including domestic violence victim assistance with filing for emergency child custody). (syn)

1998 Wicomico County State Police receive follow-up training for domestic violence response. (SE)

1998 Regional (Wicomico) 911 dispatch center begins to record all calls so tapes can be used as evidence in domestic violence cases where victim refuses to testify. (SE)

1998 Wicomico State's Attorney Office adds second "VAWA" (VAWA funded) assistant attorney. First VAWA attorney moves to Circuit (felony) Court for handling domestic violence cases; new VAWA attorney takes over reviewing and handling domestic

violence cases in District Court. (SE)

1998 Maryland Division of Probation and Parole opens Office of Victim Services. Hires director to coordinate activities of advocates and to represent agency at meeting of the Family Violence Council and the Maryland Coalition of Domestic Violence Advocates. (Syn)

1998 Maryland Department of Public Safety and Correctional Services applies for (and receives) state VOCA funds for the Crime Victim Advocacy Project -- placing victim advocates in offices of Probation and Parole serving four areas including Worcester/Wicomico Counties. (syn)

1999 Wicomico County Department of Probation and Parole receives VOCA funds from state for victim advocate; former (women) officer in Salisbury Police Department is hired to provide services to victims of offenders on probation or parole sentenced for violent crimes including sexual assault and domestic violence or property crimes involving elderly and other vulnerable adult victims.

1999 Wicomico County Department of Probation and Parole "Domestic Violence Agent" coordinates cases with VOCA funded agent — handing over cases a small percent of domestic violence cases requiring intensive monitoring and victim services because extreme risk of violence to victims. (syn)

1999 Legislation allows District Courts of Maryland to issue peace orders (stay away orders) for victims in situations not covered by domestic violence laws, such as harassment or threats by an acquaintance. (WR)

1999 Pretrial Release Law adopted prohibiting a District Court commissioner from authorizing the pretrial release of a defendant charged with violating an ex parte order or civil protection order (Judges still may authorize pretrial release on bail or other conditions). (WR)

1999 Department of Correction formalizes process of notifying relevant Probation and Parole staff about release of inmates with history of domestic violence, sexual assault, and other "problem areas." (SE)

1999 Judiciary forms Ad Hoc Committee on Domestic Violence to provide recommendations for improving court responses. (SE)

1999 Administrative Office of the Court publishes judges "bench book" listing certified batterers' treatment programs reviewed by the Family Violence Council's Action Team

on Domestic Violence Abuser Intervention and Sex Offender Treatment. (syn)

1999 Administrative Office of the Courts Family Services Program hires Family Support Services Coordinators for each jurisdication (19) and provides training for establishing supervised visitation centers. (VR)

1999 Wicomico County Circuit Court hires VAWA funded Family Support Service Coordinator (SE) who as a former emergency room nurse is intimately familiar with domestic violence trauma. After reviewing all civil cases (such as divorce or custody cases) for evidence of domestic violence, she shields victims from decisions that involve contact with offender (WR) by acting as liaison between victim, other judicial staff, attorneys, and other family members and service agencies to which to victim and or offender have been referred. (Syn)

1999 Protective Order Advocacy and Representation Project initiated (with VAWA funds) for the Women's Law Center and House of Ruth to provide legal services to domestic violence victims in a limited number of counties. (syn)

1999 Passage of the Family Law Domestic Violence Relief Act that grants courts the authority to order the respondent to stay away from child care providers where custody is granted to the petitioner in a domestic violence hearing. (VR)

1999 Planning and Participation of Maryland representatives in Mid-Atlantic Region Full Faith and Credit Conference to work out more effective full faith and credit policies. (SE)

1999 Implementation of AT&T language line to provide 24 hour/7 day per week telephone translation for all local domestic violence service providers. (Syn)

1999 First Domestic Violence and the Workplace Day.

1999 Completion of goals of 911 Subcommittee of the FVC's Criminal Justice Action Team of training emergency communication operators. (SE)

1999 MD State's Attorneys, in conjunction with FVC's Criminal Justice Action Team, draft Model States' Attorney's Prosecution Policy and Model Domestic Violence Prosecution Policy. (SE)

1999 Wicomico County-based State Police designate (woman) trooper as domestic violence advocate; funding for overtime and some equipment such as film provided by VAWA funds. Trooper forms close working relationship with Domestic Violence (Assistant State's) Attorney in Wicomico Circuit Court. (Syn)

1999 Wicomico County Victim Services Coordinator and Domestic Violence (Assistant State's) Attorney provide in service training to officers in county law enforcement agencies for initial investigations of domestic violence cases. (Syn)

1999 Wicomico Partnership for Families and Children note lack of systematic collection of domestic violence data in assessing risks to county youth⁴; find local community priorities do not include domestic violence. Given local priorities and focus of major funding available from state and federal government, recommendations pinpoint programs for children and youth and family preservation.

1999 Children in Howard County killed by father due to mistake in ex parte recording resulting in Wicomico County Sheriff's decision to hire ex parte/protective order clerk to work with victims and update MILES system on an ongoing basis. (SE)

1999 City of Salisbury hires chief of police retired from the State Police in Baltimore; according to advocates, Salisbury Police Department officers rapidly become more response to victim concerns. (SE)

1999 Life Crisis Center distributes cell phones programed for 911 calls (some also programed with 800 number for national hotline) to victims of violence. (Syn)

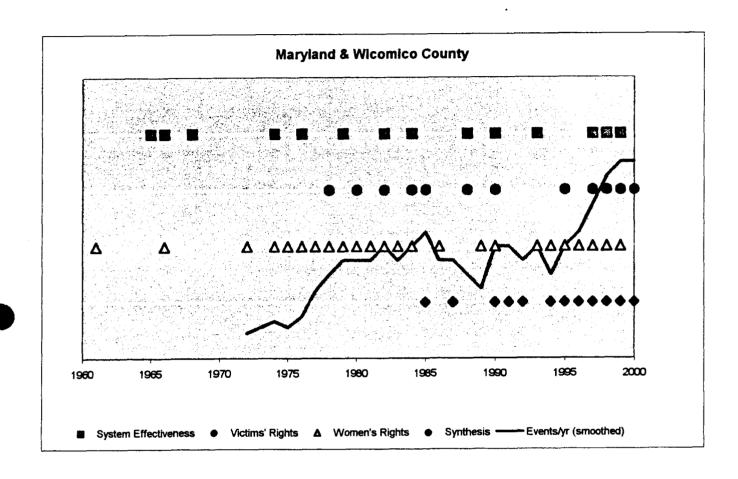
2000 Maryland Network Against Domestic Violence (MNADV) publishes 6th in series of bulletins for law enforcement agencies; topic: temporary Ex Parte and Protective Orders. (Syn)

2000 Salisbury Police Department uses MNADV bulletin on Ex Parte and Protective Orders for in-service training. (Syn)

2000 Life Crisis Center, Wicomico State's Attorney's Office, Wicomico DSS, and Sheriff's Department for team for responding to child abuse (Child Advocacy Center). Salisbury Police applies for grant funds for officer to participate in collaboration. (VR)

2000 Wicomico County Circuit Court Family Support Service Coordinator in collaboration with law enforcement agencies (DARE officers) and Wicomico Department of Social Services establishes supervised visitation center for noncustodial parents. (VR)

- 1. Based on 1990 Census 1990 US Census Data Database: C90STF3A Summary Level: State--County figures provided on http://venus.census.gov/cdrom/lookup
- 2. Captain Sandra Willey. April 26, 2000. Letter to Marcia Chaiken. LINC. Salisbury, MD: City of Salisbury Police Department.
- 3. Williams, Ida. 1999. State of Maryland Domestic Violence Annual Report: A Statistical Report Encompassing 1996 and 1997 Statewide Data. Maryland State Police Uniform Crime Reporting Program
- 4. Wicomico Partnership for Families and Children *Preserving Youth and Preventing Delinquency: A Comprehensive Strategy for Wicomico County.* Author: June 1999



Graph 2: Timeline of Reported Events in Maryland/Wicomico County Related to Reducing Violence against Women

1978 First shelter for battered women provided in a private home (WR)

1978 Abuse Prevention Law (Chapter 209A) enacted as part of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts General Law. Law criminalized wife battering, enabled victims to obtain civil protection orders free of charge. Law drafted by executive director of rape crisis center and attorneys in Cambridge. (WR)

1978 First criminal justice agencies conference on implementing restraining orders (syn)

1978 HAWC (Help for Abused Women and Children) located in Salem (Essex County) is incorporated as charitable organization to "eliminate domestic violence" and to provide services including a hotline, shelter, court intervention, and counseling. (WR)

1978 Rape crisis hotline started on North Shore (Essex County) (WR)

1979 HAWC receives federal funds (\$105,000) and required matching funds from local cities and towns (\$35,000). Takes receives over 1,500 calls on hotline and provides emergency shelter to 74 women and 126 children.. (WR)

1979 First batterers' treatment program started in response to lack of incarceration of offenders (SE)

Early-1980s Burgeoning of victim advocates and nonprofit organizations providing victim services. (WR)

Early-1980's Judicial response system (judges on call 24 hours a day) utilized to deal with emergent incidents in which victim requires medical treatment and or temporary restraining order (syn)

1982 HAWC federal funding ends and shelter is lost. Women referred to network of private "safe homes" for temporary shelter. (WR)

1982 Women's Crisis Center formed in Newburyport to provide hotline for battered women in northernmost communities in Essex County; incorporated in 1983 and funded with grant from Episcopal Diocese. (WR)

1984 Implementation of Victim Bill of Rights (VR)

1984 Essex County DA hires victim advocate; begins domestic violence training for attorneys. (Syn)

Mid-1980s Guidelines for judicial practice and standards for uniform judicial response initiated by Trial Court; later revisions based on cases adjudicated. (SE)

Mid-1980s DAs begin to hire victim advocates (Essex County DA one of earliest) (SE)

1985 HAWC raises sufficient funds to open new shelter for battered women and their children (WR)

1986: Criminal Justice Training Council mandated by statute (MGL c. 6.116A) to incorporate into basic training for law enforcement officers, a component for training law enforcement officers to handle domestic violence complaints and guidelines for response to domestic violence. Service providers from shelters for battered women and other direct service providers mandated to be utilized in training by the same statute. (Syn)

1986 Danvers Police Department (Essex County) initiates and carries out departmental review in preparation for accreditation. As part of process, builds policy and procedures for responding to domestic violence; policy and procedures subsequently reviewed as part of each re-accreditation process. (SE)

1987 First civilian victims' advocate in police department appointed (VOCA funded; Framingham PD) (syn)

1987 First Department of Corrections (short-lived) victim services unit formed

1987 DSS initiates planning meetings with victim service providers to meet federal mandates for receiving grant funds. (VR)

1987 Parole Board Victim Services Unit at executive level (syn)

1989 DSS appoints first domestic violence advocate (WR)

1989 HAWC informally recognized among police, probation and other agencies in Essex County as playing a vital role in helping women obtain restraining orders. (WR)

1989 HAWC establishes school-based TEEN REACH program to provide information

(WR)

Late-1980's Media coverage and public outcry against judge who chastised women victim of domestic violence for bringing case to court (WR)

Late 1980's Essex County/North Shore police officers react to "horrendous domestic violence murders" by "raising collective consciousness" of need for more effective response; liken reaction as similar to earlier reaction to drunk driving deaths (WR)

Late 1980's North Shore courts staff shaken by murder of victim who was "flippantly" denied a restraining order by a judge in another county. (WR)

1990 Essex County DA's Office begins interagency roundtable meeting after triple homicide by offender released over the objections of the DA's office. (Syn)

1990 Formation of Domestic Violence Specialist Unit with Department of Social Services to bridge access of child welfare services and those being provided for battered women. (WR)

1990 Legislation passed amending Chapter 209A (The Abuse Prevention Act). Amendments include requirements for mandatory arrest; required law enforcement agencies to establish and implement operational guidelines, and increases in the scope of circumstance under which arrests made Including violation of restraining order without warrant being issued. (WR)

1990 Domestic violence civil restraining order registry created and automated. When police call in to check registry, probation department automatically received notice of precipitating incident. (SE)

1991 Junior high school student murdered by her boyfriend. Essex County DA's Office initiates partnerships for violence prevention including schools; begins conferences on teen dating violence. (Syn)

1991 Essex County DA's Office issues first policy statement on domestic violence (updated 1992, 1993, and 1995). (syn)

1991 Essex County DA's Office begins training police officers about new domestic violence legislation (SE)

1991 Police "train the trainers" sessions provided by Massachusetts Criminal Justice Training Council in response to complexities of new legislation. Victim advocates involved in training. Curriculum addressed responses to domestic violence as real issue rather than good public relations. (syn)

1991 Victims advocates in network of nonprofit agencies deliberated and decided as group to seek government agency advocacy positions to institutionalize changes in victim services. (WR)

1992 State budgets \$7M for addressing domestic violence (WR)

1992 Essex County DA's Office forms special unit for domestic violence cases in Lawrence; staffed with 2 assistant district attorneys, 3 victim advocates, and a secretary. (Syn)

1992 HAWC initiates annual Open Water Swim to raise funds for services and increase public awareness of domestic violence (WR)

1992 Northshore/Essex County police recruits begin to receive more training on domestic violence response in police academy; over following academy emphasis on domestic violence response continues to increase (syn)

1992 Schools provide guidelines on dating violence (WR)

1992 Governor's Commission on Domestic Violence formed after governor declares domestic violence a public health emergency. [Noted as major point by almost all respondents]. (Syn)

1992 (approximately) Initiation of community-based court round tables to address increases in domestic violence homicides (syn)

1992 to 1994 Domestic Violence Units "spawned" in other District Attorneys' Offices, DSS and other agencies. Agency staff see this as response to alarming rates of domestic violence homicide. ("Every 7 or 9 days a woman was being murdered; we were all horrified") (syn)

1993 Essex County DA's Office forms special unit for domestic violence cases in Lynn; staffed with 2 assistant district attorneys and 2 victim advocates. (Syn)

1993 Essex County DA's Office attorneys note shift in outcomes of domestic violence cases from 70% dismissals and 30% dispositions to 70% dispositions and 30% dismissals. (Syn)

1993 Salem State College Police Department appoints female detective as primary officer to implement programs to prevent violence against women; begins rape/aggression defense classes for women students. Detective forms close working relationship with victim advocates and women attorneys in DA's Office

1994 State legislation (Section 58A) promoted by women's groups enables batterers to be designated as "dangerous" (if repeat crime committed after initial arrest) and jailed up to 90 days without bail. (WR)

1994 Massachusetts Legal Assistance Corporation launches the Battered Women's Legal Assistance Project (WR)

1994 Department of Corrections establishes second Victim Service Unit (do to opposition, essentially not operational) (anti-syn)

1994 Visitation centers established (WR)

1994 The first annual Massachusetts Prosecutor/Advocate Conference on domestic Violence convened in September leading to monthly state-wide prosecutor/victim advocates meetings. Group later complies and publishes *Domestic Violence Resources Manual* (syn)

1994 Governor's Commission on Domestic Violence, Uniform Enforcement Subcommittee publishes *Uniform Enforcement Standards for Prosecutors and Police* (syn)

1994 Trial Court and victim advocates train court staff to deal more sensitively with victims (syn)

1994 Successful law suit against police department in Connecticut by women disabled by batterer; Several Essex County (MA) police departments, concerned about potential liability, begin to work more closely with community-based advocates (syn)

1994 HAWC receives grants to hire advocates for outreach to women in Lynn and on Cape Ann (WR)

1994 Newburyport (Essex County) crisis center advocates and DA's (female) staff collaborate in developing and implementing "The Yellow Dress" a play based on the life and death of a teen victim of dating violence. First presented in local highschools, the program is now used throughout the U.S. to raise awareness of teen dating violence and resources for teen women in abusive relationships. (Syn)

1995 Agencies participating in Governor's Commission on Domestic Violence are represented at the Secretariat level and intensify focus on strategic plan for providing services for victims (syn)

1995 Intensified cross agency focus on children who witness domestic violence culminating in 1996 report *The Children of Domestic Violence*, a study initiated in 1996, and revisions in law enforcement guidelines in 1998. (VR)

1995 Intensified focus on victims receiving AFDC funds; Governor's Commission on Domestic Violence hires University of Massachusetts Researchers to study overlap resulting in 1997 report: (Allard, Mary Ann, Randy Albelda, Mary Ellen Colten and Carol Cosenza. 1997. In Harm's Way? Domestic Violence, AFDC, Receipt, and Welfare Reform in Massachusetts.) (WR)

1995 Victim Bill of Rights amended to provide enhanced services (syn)

1995 VAWA-funded program, SAFEPLAN, begins placing advocates for domestic violence victims in courts building cooperation and collaboration between 37 courts, police, and local battered women's shelters. (Syn)

1995 Danvers Police officers receive training for serving diverse populations from Santa Monica Police Department and Anti-defamation League (training credited with preparing officers for better serving women victim of violence). (syn)

1995 Salem Police Department shifts from training 2 officer "specialists" for responding to incidents of sexual assault to training all officers for sexual assault response. (SE)

Mid-1990s Probation Department begins shifting over from 20% proactive field visits/80% reactive to 80% proactive field visits during times when victims are most vulnerable/20% reactive. (SE)

Mid-1990s Essex County Probation begins comprehensive background checks on offenders whose victims request restraining orders; policy in part in reaction to murder of women in another county by offender whose extensive criminal record had not been

checked. (SE)

1996 Bail proceeding require dangerousness hearings and Chapter 258 stipulates crimes that qualify for high bail or refusal of bail without official prior records including history of unreported abuse. (WR)

1996 Legislation mandating surrender of firearms in cases involving violation of restraining orders (SE)

1996 Governor's Commission on Domestic Violence publishes *The Children of Domestic Violence* with specific recommendations for building networks to address identified problems and calling for a more rigorous study. (VR)

1996 Office of the Massachusetts Attorney General and Boston City Hospital apply for and receive VAWA funds for an effort involving regional cross-agency training focused on children who witness domestic violence, issues identification, identification of unmet needs including services and community education. The project results in the 1998 report. (syn)

1996 Salem State College Police receive VAWA funding for training peer advocates to raise awareness of domestic violence/date rape and measures to take. (syn)

1996 Salisbury (Essex County MA) Poice Department receives USDOJ funds for increasing services in beach areas frequented by poor and homeless during off-season periods. Effort leads to collaboration with Women's Crisis Center to provide services to battered women in transient population. (Syn)

1996 The Red Tide, a program to raise awareness of teen dating violence among teen boys and resources for teens in abusive relationships, is developed and implemented by the Women's Crisis Center with the sponsorship of police, schools, and private agencies. (Syn)

1996 Rapid Response Team for victims of domestic violence initiated with VAWA funds to enable community-based advocates affiliated with the Women's Crisis Center to meet with victims at home or a hospital soon after (24 hours day) police have responded to an incident. (syn)

1996 Cross-organizational training among police and community-based advocates reportedly shifts from qualified acceptance to appreciation and ongoing seeking of

advice. (syn)

1997 Danvers Police Departments initiates additional training of officers to respond to domestic violence incidents; training provided by team from police department, HAWC, and DA's office. (syn)

1997 Salem Police Department issues 13 page Policy and Procedure directives for responses to domestic violence incidents including officers responsibilities for securing safety of victims. (SE)

1997 US Attorneys Office hires new AUSA with substantial state court domestic violence experience and assigns her to coordinate between state and federal prosecutions. (SE)

1997 Federal agencies in Massachusetts (Federal Probation and US Attorneys Office) conduct training for state counterparts with objective of increasing investigations and prosecutions. (SE)

1997 Batterers' Treatment Programs are required to be certified (SE)

1997 Governor's Commission on Domestic Violence (AFDC work group) publishes Safely Toward Self-sufficiency: Battered Women's Path Through Welfare Reform based on research funded in 1995 (survey of over 700 women receiving AFDC funds). (WR)

1997 Implementation of Department of Transitional Assistance (welfare) family violence action waivers for victims of domestic violence. (WR)

1997 Domestic Violence Law Enforcement Guidelines are revised by agencies participating in Governor's Commission on Domestic Violence (syn)

1997 Victim Bill of Rights amended; services once again enhanced (syn)

1997 Community-based Domestic Violence Roundtable Project piloted and implemented in 1998 in cooperation with Chief Justice in each court. Roundtables involved court staff, services providers, attorneys, and others to respond to victims (syn)

1997 Essex County Probation officer receives federally-funded domestic violence response training from police and is assigned supervision of domestic violence cases. (Syn)

1997 Salem State College Police issues written directives for stardard operating procedures when responding to incidents of rape/sexual assault. (Syn)

1997 VAWA funded detective on staff of Salem State College Police Departments provides popular presentations on violence prevention along with counselors in college dorms and auditoriums for students and the larger community (syn)

Late 1990's Salem Police Department employs "Full faith and credit" provisions of VAWA to collaborate with outside of state departments to track down and arrest fugitive batterers. Provisions also used as tool to help protect women from other Massachusetts communities with less proactive police departments. (Syn)

Late 1990's Salem Police Department trains dispatchers to be first responders in calls reporting domestic violence incidents (syn)

1998 Jane Doe Inc. (Massachusetts Coalition Against Sexual Assault and Domestic Violence) formed as merger of Massachusetts Coalition of Battered Women Service Groups and the Massachusetts Coalition Against Sexual Assault (WR)

1998 State budget for victim services increased to over \$18.4M (WR)

1998/1999 Amendment of 209A (Restraining orders) to include dating violence (WR)

1998 Probate cases based on preponderance of evidence

1998 The Massachusetts Attorney General's Office and Boston Medical Center publish the report of their 1996 VAWA funded Child Witness to Domestic Violence Project, Working Together for Children who Witness Domestic Violence, identifying unmet needs for each region in the Commonwealth. (syn but change in focus on children)

1998 The Executive Office of Health and Human Services present their report to the Legislature, *An Integrated Response to Victims of Domestic Violence in Massachusetts*, detailing a systematic approach, services already available, and gaps in services. The report incorporates findings of Governor's Commission on Domestic Violence working groups. (syn)

1998 Department of Corrections re-establishes Victim Service Unit with funds from legislature that establishes operations (syn)

1998 Criminal History Systems Board implements state-wide domestic violence reporting system (syn)

1998 Supreme Judicial court Committee on Judicial Ethics issues Opinion No. 96-16 expressing concern about participation of judges in domestic violence courthouse roundtables.(anti-syn)

1998 Judge reportedly abuse to women victims removed from bench in northern part of Essex County; replaced by women judge. (WR)

1998 Court roundtables on domestic violence restart in Essex County; one disbands in 1999 in part due to growing judicial resistance to participate. Roundtable in court where judge was replace continues to meet regularly and includes wide spectrum of public and private service providers (syn;anti-syn)

1998 Salem junior high school hires violence intervention specialist; implements comprehensive approaches for fostering healthy relationships among younger students and raising aware of unwholesome dating relationships among older students in cooperation with Salem State College police, HAWC, and Women's Crisis Center (syn)

1998 Men for HAWC formed by local men to support efforts of HAWC in providing services for battered women and to help raise men's awareness of battering. (WR)

1998 Project AWARE (Abused Women's Active Response Emergency) security system launched in Essex County by ADT Security Systems in collaboration with the Essex County DA's Office, HAWC, and the Danvers, Beverly, and Salem Police Departments (syn)

1998 Project COPE, a forty-week batterers intervention program certified by the Department of Public Health, is started in Salem. Essex County court-ordered participants must attend weekly sessions. Probation officers and police officers monitoring cases are on site during check in process. Victim is contacted at least four times by program provider to inform her about offender's progress or lack of progress. (SE)

1999 Salem State College Police violence prevention through officer presentations and peer advocate training disbands after VAWA funds end; college counselors carry forward a variant of peer advoacy. (Anti-syn)

Mid-late 1990's Essex County DA's Office attorneys note shift in outcomes of domestic violence cases growing numbers of dismissals in proportion to dispositions. (Anti-syn)

1999 Caseload of Essex County Probation Officer assigned supervision of domestic violence offenders increases and becomes unmanageable. Specialized assignment of cases disbanded. (Anti-syn)

1999 Essex County Court staff, including probation officers, receive in-agency training on domestic violence from Judicial Institute.

1999 Salem District Court (Essex County) forms domestic violence unit including ADA, victim witness advocate from DA's office, advocate HAWC, and police officers from Salem and Danvers. (Syn)

1999 Women's Crisis Center opens COVE, a northern Essex County (Amesbury) counseling and service center for children who have witnessed or been a victim of violence and their families (VR)

1999 HAWC Annual Walk involves over 3,500 active participants and raises over \$215,000 from public, private, religious organizations, and individual sponsors. (WR) 1999 Governor's Commission on Domestic Violence recommends FY2000 Domestic Violence (Budget) Initiatives, A Safety and Prevention Plan, based on the EOHHS report to the legislature (WR)

1999 The Research and Evaluation Committee of the Governor's Commission on Domestic Violence compiles statewide data sources on domestic violence detailing data collected by criminal justice system agencies, emergency departments, service providers, population-based surveys, and other data bases (syn)

1999 Massachusetts Trial Court publishes findings from (VAWA funded) Court Assessment Project presenting design recommendations for victim/witness waiting areas; recommendations on hold pending enabling legislation (WR)

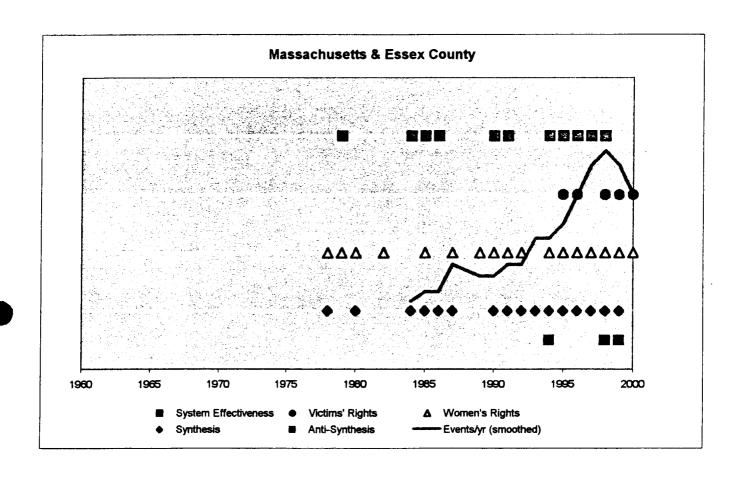
1999 Welfare reform waivers provided for victims of domestic violence (WR)

2000 Essex County Assistant District Attorney publishes proposal for conducting domestic violence court roundtables without compromising judicial ethics¹ (WR)

2000 HAWC begins after school program component for reducing teen violence and

bullying teasing among younger children (VR)

1. McCann, Michalene O'Neill. "SJC Committee on Judicial Ethics Rules on Judges Participating in Domestic Violence Roundtables. Pages 4,5, 13 in NEED REFERENCE



Graph 3: Timeline of Reported Events in Massachusetts/Essex County Related to Reducing Violence against Women

1908 Portland Police Bureau forms Women's Division and appoints, as director, Lola Baldwin first women civil service police officer in United States. (http://id.mind.net/~vp1ash/oregon/orehist.html) (WR)

1926 Portland Police Bureau noticed that the city had a abandoned women and child and called on Volunteers of America to find a place where they could stay. The first shelter for women, now called the Family Center, was established. (WR)

Late 1960s The Portland Police Bureau formed the Women's Protective Division the precursor to the Family Service Unit (WR)

1969 State legislation authorized Executive Department to establish an maintain "police information network" which became the LEDS FBI NCIC agency for Oregon. (SE)

1971 Prescott House shelter for women escaping domestic and other forms of violence founded by a combination of women's movements as unstaffed facility (WR)

1972 Survivors of domestic violence align with liberal pro-feminist legislators. (WR)

1974 Creation of Portland Women's Crisis Line for rape victims in Multnomah County and nearby regions (WR)

1974 Formation of Multnomah DA Victim Assistance Program for sexual assault victims initially funded by LEAA (through the efforts of DA Harl Haas and Helen Smith); later picked up by county (SE)

Mid 1970's Federal CETA funds available and allowed to be used for employing women to provide services in shelters (WR)

Mid 1970's Women's groups in Multnomah County including Junior League advocate for more and better services for women (WR)

1975 Bradley-Angle House founded in Multnomah County to shelter domestic violence victims and staffed to provide intervention services for victims (WR)

1975 Informal coalition of grassroots victims advocacy organizations initiated to urge arrest legislation (WR)

1976 YWCA Women's Resource Center established in Multnomah Countyproviding 2 beds for domestic violence victims (WR)

1977 Raphael House of Portland founded to shelter and serve victims of domestic violence (WR)

Mid-1970's Women's rights groups such as the Women's Caucus and the Women's Rights Coalition pushed for legislation including mandatory arrest (WR)

1977 Oregon Family Abuse Prevention Act, including statutes for mandatory arrest statute and civil restraining orders enacted. (WR)

1977 Oregon legislature creates Crime Victims Compensation Fund (VR)

Late-1970's Women's groups and faith communities called for more shelters and services for victims (WR)

1978 The Crime Victims' Assistance Section (CVAS) established as part of the Criminal Justice Division of the Oregon Department of Justice. (SE)

1978-1979 VISTA volunteers carry out state-wide needs assessment finds victim programs "struggling for funding, law enforcement support (OCADSV, 1999)," public realization that domestic violence is a social not a personal problem. (WR)

1978 Oregon Coalition Against Domestic Violence Incorporated with mission of public education about domestic violence and training agencies responding to victims in emergent incidents (WR)

1979 Creation of the state Commission on Women (WR)

1979 Formation of Oregon Rape Crisis Network (WR)

1979 Family Abuse Prevention Act passed amended formerly cohabiting partners to obtain temporary restraining order and obligations for law enforcement agencies to carry out mandatory arrest (WR)

1980 Oregon Coalition Against Domestic Violence merges with Rape Crisis Network and changes name (and mission) to Oregon Coalition Against Domestic and Sexual Violence (OCADSV) (WR)

1981 OCADSV forms Board of Directors composed of representatives from victim services agencies drawn from different regions of the state (WR)

1981 Victims Rights movement developments around core groups, MADD and Parents of Murdered Children (VR)

Early - Mid 1980s Women elected as state legislators begin to pass legislation for funding programs for victims (WR)

1981 Marriage License Tax passed providing funds for family violence reduction (including child abuse)through programs including a statewide hotline, shelters and safe houses (WR)

1981 Family Abuse Prevention Act amended including marital rape victims, pro se restraining orders (without attorney assistance) and mandating uniform state reponse to family violence (WR)

1983 Portland City Council forms Council for Prostitution alternatives

1984 OCADSV develops lending library for programs around state (WR)

1984 Multnomah County takes over city functions centralizing human resources and social services (however, domestic violence services continue to be funded by Portland for another decade). (WR)

1984 Multnomah DA Victim Assistance Program staff begin discussions of how to assist domestic violence victims (SE)

1985 Multnomah DA (Shrunk) forms first Family Justice Division with small number of DDAs. Growth incremental over next fifteen years. (SE)

Mid 1980s Based on futility of individually trying to address domestic violence problems, several officers in Portland Police Bureau promote formation of a collaborative domestic violence task force (syn)

1985 Federal Victims of Crime Act provides funds to state (VR)

Mid- to late 1980s and later Women who founded shelters began moving into positions of authority to bring about change (WR)

Mid-1980's Shelters such as a YWCA begin providing programs for children of victims (VR)

1986 Victims Rights legislation provides "legitimate voice for victims" (VR)

1987 Oregon statutes allow victim's eligibility for compensation even if cohabiting with offender (WR)

1987 Initiation of the Family Violence Intervention Project for Multnomah County and Portland — a BJA funded interagency demonstration project for improving court services spearheaded by the National Council of Juvenile and Family Court Judges; Sarah Randles Hardin appointed Project Coordinator. (Syn)

1987 OCADSV hires staff attorney funded by Oregon Law Foundation to provide legal assistance to member programs and to do legal research (WR)

1987 Multnomah County attorneys involved in debate over issue of mandatory court appearance by victim to prevent dismissal of domestic violence cases. Argument for mandatory appearance prevails and becomes (reportedly rarely used) statute. (SE)

1987 YWCA opens shelter for homeless women in Multnomah County in response to their attempts to use shelter space for domestic violence victims (WR)

1987 Demonstration "sleep in" on steps of State Capitol by women advocating for more support for shelters for domestic violence victims and homeless. In response, Oregon Shelter Network provided funding as line item in Department of Community Service (WR)

1987 Raphael House establishes transitional housing for domestic violence victims (WR)

Late-1980s Increase in juvenile crime in Portland justifies reallocation of police resources from domestic violence focus to juvenile crime (anti-syn)

1988 Members of the Family Violence Intervention Project for Multnomah County and Portland interagency demonstration project agree to continue to meet after the formal end of the project and form the Multnomah County Family Violence Intervention Steering Committee (syn)

1989 Sex offender assessment and registration implemented (VR)

1989 Judge Stephen Herrell (Multnomah County) receives a grant from the National Council of Juvenile and Family Court Judges to increase collaboration for reducing domestic violence; the domestic violence advisory committee to the court is established. (Herrell also convinces ABA to include topic of domestic violence on agenda for national meetings). (syn)

1989 Increase of numbers of women elected to state, county and local government (WR)

1989 Multnomah County Family Violence Intervention Steering Committee takes on mission of coordinating public and private agencies responding to incidents of domestic violence and victims. Police and shelter-based victim service providers invited to join committee (syn)

1989 County appointed domestic violence coordinator who (according to Portland city staff), "single handedly brought city [Portland] into the real world." (WR)

1989 State legislation requires police to accompany victims who request a restraining order while returning to a residence for retrieving personal belongings; legislation based on earlier Multnomah County restraining orders. (WR)

Early 1990s Volunteers in DAs Victim Assistance Program trained to provide services for domestic violence victims (as well as sexual assault victims) (syn)

1990 OCADSV establishes and publicizes toll free number for use of programs (WR)

1990 Multnomah County DA initiates (controversial) deferred sentencing project for diversion/supervision of domestic violence offenders that meet low-risk criteria (SE)

1991 Multnomah County DA forms Domestic Violence Unit (SE)

1991 Oregon Christian Alliance and Crime Victims United advocate for state legislation removing "good time" reduction from time served in prison; legislation passes (VR)

1991 OCADSV is listed on Oregon tax forms as a check off for pass through funds for member programs (WR)

1991 City of Portland/Multnomah County allocate \$150,000 for contractors to provide victim services including case management and emergency shelter (WR)

1991 Oregon law requires police officers to avoid dual arrests by identifying and arresting primary aggressor (WR)

1991 Publication of From Harrassment to Homicide: A Report on the Response to Domestic Violence in Multnomah County (Hubbard, 1991) — A Needs Assessment from the Family Violence Intervention Steering Committee funded by the City of Portland's Bureau of Community Development. 1990 statistics are presented on calls for service and response. Recommendations are made for improving response (WR)

1991 Police Chief Potter promotes Bureau commitment to issue of domestic violence (syn)

1992 Multnomah County Probation and Parole Officers begin pilot domestic violence unit project with Byrne Grant with objective of supervising domestic violence offenders assigned to the Deferred Sentencing Program. (Syn)

1992 Allocation for contractors to provide victim services increased by \$100,000 via Office of Portland City Commissioner Gretchen Kaufory (WR)

1993 State restructures parole and probation process to enable swifter consequences for violations bypassing court involvement if offender agrees to process -- 96% of offenders with violations agree to process. (SE)

1993 Probation and parole officers form sex offender supervisors network — ad hoc group for training/coordination (SE)

1993 City of Portland Bureau of Housing and Community Development with Family Violence Intervention Steering Committee apply for and receive Byrne Grant of \$160,000 for victim services (WR)

1993 Portland Police Bureau creates Domestic Violence Reduction Unit but Bureau wide commitment to issue reportedly lacking (syn; anti-syn)

1993 Multnomah County Community Corrections (Probation and Parole) forms
Domestic Violence Unit using Byrne funds under direction of Joanne Fuller (later Chair,
Governor's Task Force on domestic violence) (syn)

1993 Creation of Family Court Departments to hear matters involving juvenile and domestic relations (SE)

1993 Multnomah County Chair Beverly Stein and Portland Mayor Vera Katz jointly established the Portland-Multnomah County Progress Board in September 1993; Bench marks for monitoring progress adopted the following year including domestic violence calls per 1,000 households (WR)

1993 Bradley Angyle House initiates transitional housing for domestic violence victims in Multnomah County (WR)

1993 Oregon Medical Association takes stance on domestic violence (WR)

1993 US Department of Education/OCADSV sponsor Legal Assess Project to train court-based legal advocates to assist dv victims with restraining and stalking order processes, to pair law students with attorneys to provide pro bono legal representation and assistance, and to study judicial practices and make recommendations for improving practices in three counties (Courtwatch) including Multnomah County. (WR)

1993 Team of Oregon delegates including OCADV staff attend National Conference of Courts and Communities Confronting Violence in Community [sic]; delegates commit to forming Oregon Domestic Violence Council (syn)

1994 Defending Our Lives wins Academy Award. Screening at Portland Concert Hall brings out audience of 1000 including many community leaders. Proceeds distributed to area shelters (WR)

1994 City of Portland/Multnomah County allocate \$300,000 for contractors to provide victim services including new transitional housing for victims. Department of Children's and Family Services receive addition \$180,000 three year federal grant through State Housing and Community Services.(WR)

1994 Multnomah County Domestic Violence Coordinator position created to provide professional paid staff for Family Violence Intervention Steering Committee (syn)

1994 Multnomah County Family Violence Intervention Steering Committee recognizes need for culturally sensitive approaches for domestic violence victims (syn)

1994 State Justice Institute funds Oregon Domestic Violence Council as a two year demonstration project bringing together representatives from judiciary, community-based victim services, law enforcement, health/mental health care, civil/defense attorneys, batterer intervention projects, and a broad section of others with five specific objectives for state-wide coordination and systematic improvement of response to victims. Task forces formed to study and recommend improvements in seven areas of response (syn)

1994 OCADSV receives AmeriCorp funds to place legal advocates and attorneys around the state (WR)

1994 Multnomah County begins discussion of need for 'victim reception center' eventually leading up to formation of Family Service Unit (WR)

1994-1995 VAWA funding allowed implementation of services long recognized and needed but lacking in Oregon (WR)

1994 Murder of Nicole Simpson and subsequent trial of O.J. Simpson raised public interest and was followed with great interest by battered women in Oregon.

1994 LEDS begins to collect law enforcement agency level data on numbers domestic violence incident reports, arrests, reports of domestic violence restraining orders, and arrests for domestic violence restraining orders (SE)

1994 Grassroots victim advocates note professionalization of victim services; fear that "voice of victim will be less heard". (WR)

Mid 1990s Legislation addressing domestic violence custody issues and firearms considered (WR)

1995 Local Public Safety Coordinating Council established by statute to coordinate resources for offenders/cjs services; participation of Domestic Violence Coordinator raises awareness of community corrections of women/girls who are victims and under their supervision. (syn)

1995 Coalition of Oregon health providers, Multnomah County Department of Family Services, and Portland Police Bureau conduct public awareness campaign — "There's No Excuse Oregon". (syn)

1995 Ad hoc group of women legislators from both political parties consider measures needed to improve health of women in Oregon. Support formation of task forces approaches including task force/council on domestic violence (WR)

1995 VAWA funds received by Multnomah County and allocated for increasing culturally sensitive approaches for domestic violence victims (WR)

1995 State law facilitating arrests for crimes without victims need to testify; increased incarceration time mandated for convicted sex offenders. (WR)

1995 State shifts to counties responsibility for offenders on conditional release (parole, probation, pretrial release) (SE)

1995 State statute mandates formation of Local Public Safety Coordinating Councils to coordinate resources for offenders/cjs services (SE)

1995 Legislation enables set aside monies from bonds for improving technology of criminal justice system including system-wide tracking of domestic violence cases and retaining records after disposition (SE)

1995 Portland police equipped with cameras to collect evidence in domestic violence cases (to allow prosecutions without victim testimony) (syn)

1995 Advocates recognize greater collaboration and cooperation on part of police (syn)

1995 City Club of Portland appoints committee chaired by Pauline Anderson, former County Commissioner, to study domestic violence in Multnomah County and formulate recommendations. (Syn)

1995 Multnomah County Probation and Parole creates Domestic Violence Unit including officers supervising offenders in Deferred Sentencing Program and additional officers for victim services and liaison functions with other community agencies (syn)

1995-1996 Continued "There's No Excuse" media campaign funded by Family Violence Prevention Fund (San Francisco-based) raises awareness of problem in Oregon (WR)

1996 State Constitutional Victims Rights Amendment (later struck down on technicality).

1996. Faces and Voices of Violence published by Multnomah County Health Department documents homicide and suicide rates over past decades as public health problem. (WR)

1996 Courtwatch study published by OCADSV crediting Multnomah County with taking lead in comprehensive procedures for tracking domestic violence cases, using statistics to guide policy development, and establishing clear and concise visitation and restraining orders. Report criticizes judicial practice in 3 counties on grounds of judicial insensitivity and insufficient knowledge or misapplication of the law, citing 5 specific types of common failures. (WR)

1996 Oregon Domestic Violence Council publishes Oregon protocol handbook incorporating task force findings. recommendations, and protocols for improving and standardizing response to domestic violence through batterer intervention program standards, courts/judicial response, data collection and research, education in schools, law enforcement training and response, mediation standards, mental health response, needs assessment/community safety planning, support and training for local dv councils, and addressing work place issues. (Syn)

1996 Governor's Council on Domestic Violence created by Executive Order; permanent Council promoted by Director of the Criminal Justice Services Division, Oregon State Police in lieu of continuing with task forces. Criminal Justice Services Division provide staff for Council and other law enforcement agencies brought on board. (syn)

1996 Community-based victim services organizations note more support from police and greater willingness to work in partnership. (Syn)

1997 City of Portland/Multnomah County allocate \$450,000 for domestic violence victim services including funds to replace Byrne and other grants (WR)

1997 State legislation designates as felony, incidents in which a child witnesses domestic violence; law in effect in July 1998 upgrading Assault IV cases to Felony III status. (VR)

1997 Legislation rewords statute to fill loophole in mandatory arrest of batterers. Police had been interpreting phrase "at the scene" as not requiring arrest of offenders who left the scene. (WR)

1997 Multnomah County combines juvenile and adult community corrections into one agency recognizing that both agencies were working with the same families; focus shifts to redesigning case loads to focus more intensively on most serious offenders; supervision of less serious domestic violence offenders in Deferred Prosecution Program maintained at relatively high level. (SE)

1997 Multnomah County Adult Community Justice (probation and parole) adds officers to Domestic Violence Unit and begins to supervise high and medium risk domestic violence offenders as well as those in the Deferred Sentencing Program (SE)

1997 Oregon Department of Corrections establishes Victim Services Advisory Council. (WR)

1997 Multnomah Courts Administrator's staff begins screening applications for restraining orders to determine pending cases and past history of victimization by offender (WR)

1997 US Attorney's Office for the District of Oregon establishes VAWA work group to "develop and enforce VAWA provisions," designates key contacts with office. (Syn)

1997 Domestic violence established as priority focus for Tribal Community Fund (WR) expenditures

1997 A percentage of the Criminal Fine and Assessment Account revenues (fines) designated by state for use of domestic violence victims programs (WR)

1997 Adult and Family Services Division (AFS formerly ADC) receives additional \$4.5M for providing temporary financial assistance to families with children to assist them in meeting basic needs. Funds used for assisting domestic violence victims toward economic self-sufficiency (WR)

1997 Publication of the *Willamette Law Review*¹ Domestic Violence Symposium Issue including papers by members of Governor's Council on Domestic Violence (syn)

1997 Publication and media coverage of the City Club of Portland Report Domestic Violence - Everybody's Business presenting findings of committee, conclusions and recommendations for agencies and organizations in Multnomah County. Report indicates the impact on the work place and the need for more shelters and beds for victims. Report used as guide for developing Police Bureau Family Services Unit.

1997 Initiation of employers' training in domestic violence issues (WR)

1998 Raphael House hosts luncheon with former First Lady Roslyn Carter who talked about outcomes of domestic violence (WR)

1998 Raphael House hosts fund raiser/dinner with Coretta Scott King who talked about advocacy for domestic violence (WR)

1998 Three Multnomah County Commissioners (all women) place high priority on domestic violence response, "go to mat for allocating funding and other resources" and combine efforts to prompt public visibility and support (WR)

1998 As recommended earlier by the Oregon Domestic Violence Council, Oregon Health Division and Multnomah County Health Department publish Oregon Domestic Violence Needs Assessment incorporating house hold survey data for the Oregon Governor's Council on Domestic Violence (funded by Oregon State Police). (syn)

1998 Local Public Safety Coordinating Council designates domestic violence as priority for research focus, policy development, and recommendations for practice. Establishes Domestic Violence Work Group. (Syn)

1998 Multnomah County Department of Juvenile and Adult Community Justice establishes programs for girls under jurisdiction of juvenile court who are victims of violence (VR)

1998 Multnomah County assumes full responsibility for funding domestic violence victim services. (WR)

1998 Multnomah DCFS awards contracts for services for domestic violence victims funded by HUD/McKinney Grant of \$400,000 to be expended over three years (WR)

1998 Gresham Police Department formed their Domestic Violence Unit incorporating a DDA for out reach in the unit and an advocate providing access to services for victims from Eastern European, South East Asian, and Spanish-speaking communities (syn)

1998 The East County Domestic Violence Roundtable involved cjs and nonprofit service providers in coordinating approaches for immigrant and Spanish-speaking victims. (Syn)

1998 Portland Police Bureau reviews impact of domestic violence among employees and concludes that violence at home is a problem brought into the workplace. (Syn)

1998 US Attorney's Office (USAO) for the District of Oregon develops and delivers training about VAWA provisions to state and local government officials, victims advocates and tribes. (Syn)

1998 USAO sponsors "Silent Witness" exhibit in Federal Building in Portland (syn)

1998 Multnomah County starts the" Love Shouldn't Hurt campaign" to replace "There's No Excuse." (WR)

1998 First VAWA conviction in Oregon (syn)

1998 VAWA funds used for outreach to victims in community with Eastern European roots (WR)

1998 (late) - 1999 (early) Study of domestic violence, including telephone interviews with over 750 women in Multnomah County, jointly carried out by Multnomah County health Department, Portland Multnomah Progress Board, Portland Police Bureau, Multnomah county Domestic Violence Coordinator's Office. Results generate a series of recommendations (syn)

1998 Yolanda House (YWCA shelter for 19 women and children) established at new confidential location. (WR)

1999 Women's Economic Summit report (Facing the Challenge: A Report on the Economic Status of Women in Multnomah County) demonstrates link between domestic violence and employment and presents dimensions of poverty among women and strategies for addressing poverty. (WR)

1999 Bradley-Angle House organizes and media publicizes Portland run for domestic violence awareness and victim support (WR)

1999 The Silent Witness exhibit raises public awareness of battered women (WR)

1999 Raphael House publishes and widely disseminates Take Care: a guide for violence-free living a free magazine available throughout Oregon and southwest Washington with human interest stories about family violence and services that are available. Project is underwritten by local foundations and businesses and national chain stores. First printing 20,000 copies; second printing 130,000 copies.

1999 City of Portland considers and partially implements) bureau-wide effort to development comprehensive approach using existing resources to reduce domestic violence among city employees and other residents. Each Bureau (30) asked to submit plan; City-wide Love Shouldn't Hurt campaign and Employers Pledge instituted. (WR)

1999 County Commissioners and County Chair positions all filled by women (WR)

1999 Legislation that allows court administrators to provide assistance to victims seeking pro se restraining orders (syn)

1999 Legislation passed providing for "no rebuttal, no custody" for batterers; Multnomah advocates immediately use code for assisting victims to prevent contact with batterers. (WR)

1999 Governor's Council on Domestic Violence prompts US Attorney, Oregon Attorney General to notify all Oregon law enforcement departments about responsibilities for enforcing protection orders issued by other states, tribes, or foreign governments whether or not registered in Oregon court; to enter the order on request in the Law Enforcement Data System (LEDS); and about their increased immunity protections for mandatory arrest (Syn)

1999 USAO publishes Making a Federal Case of Domestic Violence: the Secret Everyone Knows but No One Talks About. (WR)

1999 Sexual Assault Victim's fund created by Oregon legislation from state's Criminal Fines and Assessment Account (WR)

1999 Oregon's evidence code changed for sexual assault; rape victims no longer required to prove that she "earnestly resisted" attacker (WR)

1999 Multnomah County DA's Office (in collaboration with other local agencies) invited to spearhead a new federally-funded national demonstration project with the objective of providing permanent, safe housing and services for victims. (Syn)

1999 Legislation mandates upgrade from misdeamenor to felony charges in cases of domestic violence in all incidents where a child is a witness and if offender has a prior conviction for battering victim. (VR)

1999 Additional legislation enacted involving hearsay exceptions, full faith and credit, telephonic harassment, preponderance of evidence and other matters strengthening cases in support of victims. (WR)

1999 Police required to report domestic violence incidents even if an arrest is not made (syn)

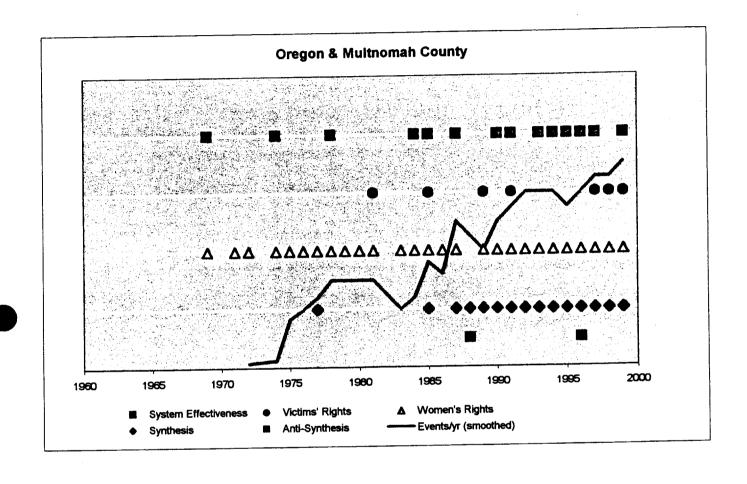
1999 Police Bureau institutes procedures for forwarding all reports of domestic violence to the Family Service Unit; sergeants review cases and assign officers to follow up cases. (Syn)

1999 New VAWA funds enables DA's Office to assign full time deputy to work with officers in Police Bureau Family Service Unit (syn)

1999 Probation and parole officers form domestic violence offender supervisors network — ad hoc group for training/coordination (SE)

[For developments after 1999, see case study in main report].

1. Domestic Violence Symposium Issue Volume 33. No. 4



Graph 4: Timeline of Reported Events in Oregon/Multnomah County Related to Reducing Violence against Women

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