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Author(s): J. David Hirschel ; D.J. Dawson

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Violence Against Women: Synthesis of Research for Law Enforcement Officials

By J. David Hirschel and D.J. Dawson

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J. David Hirschel, Ph.D., and D.J. Dawson, M.A., are with the Department of Criminal Justice at the University of Massachusetts Lowell.

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The objective of this report is to provide the empirical foundation for effective policy guidelines for police departments seeking to lessen both the occurrence and impact of violence against women. This project defines “violence against women” broadly, encompassing “physical, emotional, sexual, or psychological violence committed by intimate partners or acquaintances” (Worden, Carlson, and van Ryn 1998:2). Legal constraints generally prohibit the police from taking action when purely “psychological” violence has occurred. Consequently, this report will, for the most part, not focus on psychological violence. In line with the other reports, use of the term “violence against women” will include sexual assault, stalking, and domestic violence.

The report first examines current police policy and practice in combating violence against women. This requires investigation of the goals of law enforcement and the specific roles of patrol officers and detectives. It then critically examines empirical literature relating to the police response to domestic violence, sexual assault, and stalking. This requires establishing what the research shows to be the “best practice” for police response to incidents between intimate partners and acquaintances. Finally, it presents and discusses policy implications of the research literature. Significant issues that have not been either addressed or resolved by research will be included in this discussion.

Overall Goals of Law Enforcement

As Walker (1999:4) notes, the police role in the United States is “extremely complex” and police duties are highly diverse. Although the words “to protect and to serve” have been commonly associated with the police, it has been unclear exactly how to translate these words into policy guidelines. Typically, the police role has involved taking action to prevent violence and, when violence has occurred, determining what has happened, attending to the needs of the victim, and taking appropriate action with regard to the offender. As police departments have adopted detailed mission and value statements, they have focused on these types of activities.

Three interrelated objectives for law enforcement may be derived from the above:

- ◆ To prevent violence against women in known populations of victims and in groups at risk.
- ◆ To attend to the immediate health and safety needs of victims.
- ◆ To invest in strategies for holding violent offenders accountable for their behavior and for changing that behavior.

The law defines the boundaries within which police departments and their officers operate. The law can also provide detailed guidelines on what actions should be taken in particular circumstances. Massachusetts law, for example, gives officers detailed instructions on how to respond to domestic abuse victims (Mass. Gen. L. ch. 209A, sec. 6). However, within the boundaries set by the law, police departments retain a certain amount of discretion over policy, and police officers have to determine whether the facts they face fall within the policy guidelines. These issues should be kept in mind as the research is examined that affects the police response to

violence against women and guidelines for police policy and practice are developed from that research.

Current Police Practice

When a call for police assistance is placed, the responding officer(s) must determine what has occurred and the validity of the citizen complaint. The response must fit with the facts and what the law allows. The officer(s) may need to administer emergency medical care and/or summon an ambulance. The officer(s) may need to calm the situation and restrain the offender. The officer(s) may give appropriate advice regarding legal issues and victim support services. If the offender is not arrested at the scene, the victim may be given assistance in obtaining an arrest warrant or a protection order.¹ The victim may also be transported to another location, such as a relative's home or a shelter.

If an arrest has been made, the police have to make sure that relevant evidence is obtained or secured for later collection. This can include interviewing the victim and other witnesses and gathering physical evidence from both the victim and the crime scene. If evidence collection at the scene does not occur immediately, the scene has to be secured so that evidence technicians can obtain uncontaminated evidence. Finally, all appropriate paperwork has to be completed.

Followup may be undertaken by investigators, some of whom may be part of a specialized group, such as a domestic violence or rape investigation unit. Followup activities can include interviewing or reinterviewing witnesses, obtaining additional physical evidence, arresting the suspect, and coordinating with the prosecuting attorney's office to develop the strongest possible case for prosecution. If the followup investigation is conducted by a specialized unit, activities may include contacting social service providers and taking proactive measures. For example, a social worker may be asked to visit a household that has generated numerous domestic violence calls to the police to develop a safety plan with the victim.

Synthesis of Empirical Research Indicating Best Practice

In this section, the research literature that deals specifically with three subareas of violence against women—domestic violence, sexual assault, and stalking—is examined.

Domestic Violence

Since the 1970s, there has been a radical change in the manner in which domestic violence is viewed. Once considered a private family matter requiring minimal police action, it is now viewed as a criminal matter, with the law often mandating the arrest of offenders. Although police agencies provide officers with specific training in handling domestic violence cases and many police departments have established specialized domestic violence units, officer attitudes are not always supportive of a pro-arrest orientation and victims do not always want police to make an arrest.

Police attitudes and training. Police attitudes toward domestic violence may affect their general approach to domestic violence situations and response to specific situations. Although research indicates that the arrest decision is influenced more by an officer's assessment of the legal variables involved in the situation than by his or her attitudes (Robinson and Chandek 2000; Sinden and Stephens 1999), it is not surprising that some officers are still reluctant to respond aggressively to domestic violence cases. Research in a number of jurisdictions indicates that police departments were not quick to change their procedures to conform with new pro-arrest policies (see, e.g., Miller 1979:16; Bell 1985:532; Buzawa 1988:174–175; Ferraro 1989:63).

Negative attitudes of command staff affect field personnel. Such attitudes are likely to persist, especially when they correspond with an officer's initial negative orientation toward domestic violence cases. Whatever the policy, police officers make their own decisions on the street and are traditionally antagonistic to policies that limit discretion.²

Research indicates that certain factors are associated with a positive orientation to pro-arrest policies. Not surprisingly, officers' general attitudes about both women and domestic violence are likely to affect their views on pro-arrest policies (Berk and Loseke 1981:320–321; Walter 1981; Homant and Kennedy 1985; Ferraro 1989:66–67; Stith 1990; Ferraro and Pope 1993; Feder 1997). Female police officers tend to be more supportive than male police officers of arrest policies (see, e.g., Ferraro 1989; Homant and Kennedy 1985). Officer perceptions of the utility of police involvement in domestic violence cases is also associated with a positive orientation (Feder 1997).

Domestic violence training is another factor that has an impact on police attitudes. Studies have found training to be positively associated with both officer perception and citizen evaluation of an officer's handling of disturbance calls (Pearce and Snortum 1983), improved officer attitudes toward domestic situations (Buchanon and Perry 1985), and officer willingness to arrest domestic violence offenders (Buzawa 1982:421–422). Lack of or insufficient training, however, has been perceived to be associated with lack of support for pro-arrest policies and inadequate enforcement of protection orders (Kinports and Fischer 1993). Training, it has been suggested, should focus on attitudes toward domestic violence as well as the law and procedures (Kinports and Fischer 1993:237–239) and might include such training techniques as role-playing (Malefyt, Littel, and Walker 1998:appendix A).

Victim preferences. The pro-arrest movement tends to remove discretion from the victim as well as the police. Part of the traditional reluctance of police to make an arrest in domestic violence situations stemmed from the perception that female victims were uncooperative and thus arresting and prosecuting abusers was a waste of time (Parnas 1967:931; U.S. Commission on Civil Rights 1982). A concern with pro-arrest and mandatory arrest policies is that they pay little or no attention to victim preferences. Victims do not always want the offender arrested. Some simply want officers to calm the situation and stop the abuse (see, e.g., Dunford, Huizinga, and Elliott 1990:191; Buzawa and Austin 1993). Others may be using the legal system to achieve a variety of objectives. As Ford (1991) points out in his analysis of why victims file and drop charges, complex personal factors affect the decision to seek legal intervention in domestic abuse

situations. Victims may fear destructive side effects of police action, such as the loss of the family breadwinner or the escalation of violence. A particularly vulnerable category of victims are immigrant women who are noncitizens. They may fear deportation as a result of police contact.

Whether it is desirable to remove all victim input from decisionmaking is a subject of dispute. For some, this approach is desirable because they believe that women trapped in coercive relationships are unable to make decisions for themselves. In addition, taking the decision away from the victim may promote victim safety by lessening the likelihood of an offender threatening further harm to have charges dropped (see, e.g., Friedman and Schulman 1990:98). For others, a pro-arrest or mandatory arrest policy is yet another indication that the victim is powerless to affect the situation (see, e.g., Ford 1991). Moreover, arrest provides only a temporary resolution to the underlying problem, and the victim may soon be faced with a released offender who is even more angry. There is some evidence that victims can accurately assess the likelihood of revictimization (Buzawa et al. 1999:147–148), and this, along with victim preference, is perhaps a factor that could be incorporated in official decisionmaking.

Victim substance use. There is a clear connection between substance abuse, particularly alcohol, and violence (Pernanen 1991). Although research shows considerable variation in the percentage of domestic violence cases in which either the victim, offender, or both are under the influence of such substances (see, e.g., Kantor and Straus 1990), there are indications that the police are more likely to be called to the scene when substance abuse is involved (Johnson 1990; Kantor and Straus 1990; Hutchison 1999). Some research indicates that “quarrelsome or demanding” behavior on the part of the victim may diminish the likelihood of offender arrest (Buzawa and Austin 1993) and that situations involving drugs or alcohol are more likely to result in both partners being arrested, or “dual arrests” (Martin 1997). Indeed, police actions may be more heavily influenced by the victim’s, not the offender’s, state of being (Finn and Stalans 1995).

Repeat calls: Predicting escalation of violence. Both police experience and research clearly show that calls for police assistance in domestic violence cases are unevenly distributed: A small percentage of households generate a large percentage of domestic violence calls. In a certain percentage of households with frequent calls for police assistance, the level of violence will escalate, sometimes resulting in death (Breedlove et al. 1977; Sherman et al. 1991a).

The problem for police is determining which households, or which batterers, are likely to produce serious escalation in violence. Unfortunately, predicting escalation and lethality of violence is extremely complex. Sherman et al. (1991a) found in research conducted in Milwaukee that cases that resulted in homicide had on average one-sixth as many police contacts for battery as those that did not result in homicide; they concluded that predicting domestic homicide from prior police contact with couples will result in wrongly predicting a death in more than 99 of 100 cases. Researchers are closely examining the issue of preventing revictimization (see, e.g., Farrell 1995; Hanmer, Griffiths, and Jerwood 1999; Straus 1993), and risk assessment tools have been developed.³ However, no rigorous scientific assessment of these tools has yet been completed.

Danger to police. Although little research is available to help police determine which domestic violence cases are likely to show a serious pattern of escalation in violence, there is a body of research examining the danger domestic violence cases pose to police officers.

There is a persistent perception that domestic disturbances represent unusually dangerous situations for police (Buzawa and Buzawa 1990:29). This perception has been “transmitted largely through police folklore” (Konstantin 1984:32) and is supported by the fact that officers generally face more agitated persons in domestic violence cases than in other cases (Oppenlander 1982). The perception of danger has also been supported by the interpretation of FBI disturbance-call data. These data grouped family quarrels with other types of disturbances, such as bar fights and “man with gun” calls, and were easily misinterpreted by some who took all disturbance calls to be domestic disturbance calls (see, e.g., Bard 1973:foreword; Stephens 1977:164). In addition, it has been suggested that this perception of danger was purposefully projected by crisis intervention trainers to attract the attention of antagonistic recruits (Fyfe and Flavin 1991:8).

More rigorous research, however, has clearly shown that the danger posed by domestic violence cases has been overstated. Only a small percentage of police officers killed in the line of duty are killed while responding to domestic abuse calls (see, e.g., Konstantin 1984; Margarita 1980b). An indepth analysis by Garner and Clemmer (1986) concluded that domestic disturbances are among the least frequent contributors to police homicide. The bulk of research likewise indicates that the danger of assault and injury has also been exaggerated (see, e.g., Geller and Karales 1981; Margarita 1980a; Hirschel, Dean, and Lumb 1994), except in certain geographic locations where domestic violence calls may be particularly dangerous (Uchida, Brooks, and Kopers 1987; but see contra Kaminski and Sorensen 1995). These lower victimization rates, however, may be affected by added precautions taken by officers in response to a heightened perception of the danger posed by domestic violence cases.

On-scene arrests. The major legislative change in the 1980s and 1990s in the area of domestic violence has been the broadening of police power to conduct on-the-scene warrantless arrests of suspected abusers. Whether such arrests deter subsequent abuse has been the subject of intense research.

The primary studies of the deterrent effect of arrest all used experimental designs that ensured that those cases that met specified criteria for inclusion had an equal chance of being assigned to one of a number of police responses. All the experiments used arrest as one of the possible responses. The other responses varied across sites, but arrest was always compared with these other responses. In addition, all of the sites focused on misdemeanor cases in which the police were empowered, but not required, to make an arrest. In addition, a 6-month followup using both police records and victim interviews was conducted on all cases that met the criteria for and were randomly assigned to one of the police responses. Unfortunately, the sites also varied in a number of important ways, such as with regard to the types of cases included,⁴ the definition of failure, and the methods of data analysis (see Garner and Maxwell 2000).

In the Minneapolis experiment (Sherman and Berk 1984a, 1984b), 314 predefined misdemeanor domestic assault cases were randomly assigned to one of three police responses: advising the couple, separating the couple, or arresting the offender. After examining official police records and conducting victim interviews every 2 weeks for 6 months, the researchers concluded that arrest was significantly more effective at deterring subsequent abuse than either advising or separating the couple.

Both the researchers themselves (see, e.g., Sherman and Berk 1984b:263–266, 269) and others (see, e.g., Binder and Meeker 1988; Elliot 1989:453–454; Lempert 1989:152–154) noted problems with the study, but despite this, it received unprecedented national attention and is credited with helping to promote the nationwide movement toward arrest as the preferred response in abuse cases (“Roughening Up,” 1987; Sherman and Cohn 1989).

To test the validity of the results of this single site study, the National Institute of Justice funded six additional experiments, in Omaha, Atlanta, Colorado Springs, Dade County (Florida), Milwaukee, and Charlotte, North Carolina.

The replication studies produced some conflicting results, but in general they found that arrest did not exert a significant deterrent effect on spouse abusers as a whole.⁵ In Omaha, the researchers observed no significant differences between the failure rates of the three treatments employed in cases in which the offender was present when the officers arrived on the scene (Dunford, Huizinga, and Elliot 1990). In Charlotte, the failure rate of the arrest treatment did not differ significantly from the other two treatments (Hirschel et al. 1991; Hirschel and Hutchison 1992; Hirschel, Hutchison, and Dean 1992; Hirschel and Hutchison 1996). In Milwaukee, in general, no significant differences were found among the treatments (Sherman et al. 1991b; Sherman et al. 1992a).

In Dade County, however, analyses based on victim interviews and on one of the two official measures of recidivism (rearrest) revealed significant deterrent effects (Pate, Hamilton, and Annan 1992). In Colorado Springs, analyses of official police records revealed no significant deterrent effect, but analyses of victim interviews did (Berk et al. 1991).

An initial review of these arrest studies leads to the conclusion that the overall effect of arrest on subsequent abuse is uncertain. However, it is possible that the variation in findings is the result of differences in the way the studies were conducted in the different sites. Using consistent criteria for including cases and defining failure,⁶ Maxwell, Garner, and Fagan (1999, 2000, 2001) found in their analysis of the Charlotte, Colorado Springs, Dade County, Milwaukee, and Omaha data that cases assigned to the arrest response resulted in slightly lower levels of subsequent aggression.

An issue that has received some attention is the allegation that arrest works with a particular subgroup of offenders: those with a “stake in conformity.” From their analyses of the Milwaukee hotline data, Sherman et al. (1992b) found that arrest deterred those with a high stake in social conformity (namely, the employed and married) and increased recidivism among those with a

low stake in conformity (the unemployed and unmarried). In Dade County, Pate and Hamilton (1992) found a similar effect for employment but not for marital status, while in their analyses of the Omaha, Milwaukee, and Colorado Springs data, Berk and colleagues (1992a, 1992b) confirmed the effect of employment. Garner, Fagan, and Maxwell (1995), however, caution against placing too much emphasis on the stakes-in-conformity thesis because it is based on analysis of only 4 of the 7 studies and 4 of the 28 available data sources, and it is only one of a number of rival explanations that can be advanced for the variation in findings among the experiments. In a re-analysis of the Milwaukee hotline data, Paternoster and colleagues (1997) found that the perception of fair treatment by the police decreased the probability of reoffending for unmarried and unemployed offenders as well as for married and employed offenders. Finally, although the findings on stakes in conformity are interesting from a theoretical standpoint, the policy implications for the police are troublesome because it would appear both impractical and unethical to base the decision to arrest on the employment or marital status of the offender.

An unintended consequence of mandatory arrest laws has been an increase in the number of cases in which the police have arrested both the victim and the offender (Martin 1997; Saunders 1995). Although there may be valid reasons for some of these arrests, there is a concern that many victim arrests are prompted by officer resentment of the limitations placed on their discretion and a lack of empathy with female victims of abuse. To deal with this problem, a number of States have passed “primary aggressor” laws requiring that only the party mainly responsible for the incident be arrested (see, e.g., Kinports and Fischer 1993:236). To promote compliance with primary-aggressor provisions, officers should be given appropriate training and be taught to distinguish offensive from defensive injuries (Kramer and Black 1998; Malefyt, Littel, and Walker 1998:72–73).

Arrest with warrant. Historically, there has been concern about criminal justice officials’ receptivity to requests from abused women for warrants for the arrest of their abusive partners. Before the advent of pro-arrest policies, police officers advised victims to obtain warrants, but they were irritated and frustrated by cases in which warrants were obtained but then charges were dropped (Walter 1981). Officers were reluctant to assist victims in obtaining warrants and magistrates were hesitant to issue them. Even when warrants were issued, however, they were often not handled in the same manner as police-initiated warrants (Ford 1983). As late as 1989, Belknap (1990:259) found that half of the officers she surveyed were unaware that victims could press charges without police referral. In these days of pro-arrest policies and increasing on-scene arrests, warrants may seem relatively unimportant. However, there is a significant role for warrants because a large percentage of abusers have left the scene by the time the police arrive (close to 50 percent, according to, e.g., Dunford 1990; Feder 1996; Hirschel and Hutchison 1992:94).

The use of warrants in domestic violence cases has not been widely studied, although research indicates that offenders who have left the scene are significantly less likely to be arrested than those who remain (Eigenberg, Scarborough, and Kappeler 1996; Feder 1996; Robinson and Chandek 2000). The potential utility of warrants in domestic violence cases is emphasized by the fact that the only experimental study conducted on warrants found that when the offender left the

scene, cases in which warrants were issued were both less likely and slower to result in additional abuse than cases in which no warrant was issued (Dunford 1990).

Whether police should play a more active role in obtaining warrants in domestic violence cases is an issue to consider, especially because there is some evidence that victims in cases where offenders have left the scene may be in more need of protection than victims whose offenders remain at the scene. Dunford (1990) found these victims to be more fearful, and analyses conducted by Buzawa et al. (1999:142) revealed that offenders who left the scene were twice as likely as those who remained on the scene to reoffend within a year. However, having the police adopt a more active role in the warrant process may present its own problems. Many jurisdictions have a backlog of unserved warrants, and it is unclear how these additional duties would fit into the system of priorities.

Protection orders. Protection orders are being issued in increasing numbers (Buzawa and Buzawa 1996:198). In some jurisdictions, police officers can contact a judge from the scene and have an emergency protection order issued. A more “permanent” protection order, which typically lasts 6 months or a year, requires the filing of official forms and a court hearing.⁷ The complexity of completing the required forms constitutes a barrier to some women, especially non-English-speaking women, to obtaining protection orders (Harrell, Smith, and Newmark 1993; Kinports and Fischer 1993). In addition, there are problems serving the orders on offenders in person, which is required by law in most States (Harrell, Smith, and Newmark 1993).

With the advent of pro-arrest policies, which generally mandate the arrest of a suspect believed to be in violation of an order, protection orders are being enforced with greater regularity (Mignon and Holmes 1995). The failure to fully enforce violations of protection orders is due to some extent to the lack of coordination between the civil courts, which generally issue these orders, and the records systems used by police officers to access information on suspects. Many other factors contribute to underenforcement. In their nationwide survey of domestic violence organizations, Kinports and Fischer (1993) found that emergency protection orders are in general not being served quickly enough to meet victims’ needs (p. 222), and that the police response to violations is perceived as “so slow or ineffective that many petitioners do not even call to report violations” (p. 224). Some officers will make an arrest only if the violation was committed in their presence. Others will not make an arrest simply for violation of an order; there must be an additional offense, such as a battery. A complicating factor is that the victim is often seen to be at fault; for example, for having invited the offender over. However, as Kinports and Fischer (1993:225–226) argue, a protection order is an order of the court that focuses on the offender’s, not the victim’s, behavior.

The research literature, which consists of descriptive studies of the issuance of protection orders and assesses their effect without using control or comparison groups, generally indicates that protection orders are not effective in deterring repeated abuse (see, e.g., Berk et al. 1983; Horton, Simonidis, and Simonidis 1987; Grau, Fagan, and Wexler 1985; Harrell, Smith, and Newmark 1993; Isaac 1994; Keilitz, Hannaford, and Efke 1996; Klein 1996; Keilitz et al. 1998), although they appear to provide victims with a sense of well-being (Keilitz, Hannaford, and

Efkeman 1996; Keilitz et al. 1998).⁸ There are indications that women who are the victims of more severe violence may be less active in their pursuit of protection orders (Fernandez, Iwamoto, and Muscat 1997) and that protection orders are likely to be less effective with men who either have inflicted severe abuse (Grau, Fagan, and Wexler 1985; Chaudhuri and Daly 1992: but see contra Harrell and Smith 1996) or have an active criminal abuse record (Keilitz, Hannaford, and Efkean 1996; Klein 1996).

Protection orders can be supplemented by electronic monitoring devices that provide some surveillance of offenders and by panic alarms that provide victims immediate contact with local police departments (Roberts 1996). In some jurisdictions, high-risk victims are supplied with cell phones that give them immediate access to emergency services (Kramer and Black 1998). These innovations may enhance the effectiveness of protection orders, but they have yet to be evaluated.

Coordinated responses to domestic violence. It is perhaps unrealistic to expect that either protection orders or arrest alone will be highly effective in deterring abuse. Both measures focus on exerting a positive impact on the behavior of the offender by the simple act of either issuing a protection order or making an arrest. These measures do little to deal with the underlying reasons for the offender's behavior or to promote the safety and well-being of the victim. An offender may not be concerned about the threat of arrest for violation of a protection order and may, in fact, have been arrested many times before (see, e.g., Hirschel et al. 1992:271). The fact that arrest does not often lead to prosecution and rarely results in incarceration (see, e.g., Hirschel et al. 1992:272) suggests that arrest does not carry much of a threat. From the victim's perspective, the importance of arrest may lie not so much in the temporary respite it provides her from abuse as in giving her "access to a new 'package of resources'" (Stark 1993:665).

These concerns have led a number of jurisdictions to adopt a coordinated response to domestic violence. With the differing goals and operating philosophies of the agencies in processing domestic violence cases, coordination of procedures and practices is not easy to achieve. Many jurisdictions have Domestic Violence Coordinating Councils that focus on establishing complementary procedures that allow agencies to achieve their diverse goals. For example, because of concerns about confidentiality, some shelters have denied police officers contact with the very victims they brought there. A coordinating council can provide a forum for reconciling the shelter's need to maintain confidentiality with the police's need to obtain further information for prosecution.

True coordination, however, requires that the agencies work together on individual cases. In a coordinated response, criminal justice agencies (e.g., police, prosecution, and probation) work with allied social service agencies (e.g., battered women's shelters, victim assistance programs, batterer treatment programs) to provide offender accountability and promote victim safety and well-being.⁹ This approach might include a multiagency response team. In Colorado Springs, for example, the response team may include a deputy district attorney, a department of human services caseworker, and a victim advocate as well as a specially trained police officer (Kramer and Black 1998:24). In its most developed form, coordination involves participating agencies

sharing “common goals, mutual commitments, resources, decision-making, and evaluation responsibilities” (National Research Council 1998:262).

Evaluating the effect of such coordination is highly complex, and scientifically rigorous evaluations have not yet been completed. However, current research indicates that the coordinated approach appears to exert a positive impact on both case processing and recidivism. However, recidivism has generally been measured only by official data and has not included victim reports of abuse.

With regard to case processing within individual jurisdictions, Gamache, Edleson, and Schock (1988), for example, report that both arrest and successful prosecution rates increased after the introduction of community intervention projects in three Minnesota communities. Similar results are recorded by Steinman (1988:2) in Lincoln, Nebraska; Ferguson (1987:9) and Goolkasian (1986:37–38) in Seattle; Pence (1983:257–258) in Duluth; and Burris and Jaffe (1983:312) in London, Ontario. Comparisons of cases processed prior to the implementation of a coordinated response with those processed under a coordinated system (Steinman 1991) and examination of cases in a single jurisdiction resulting in different levels of system intervention (Syers and Edleson 1992; Tolman and Weisz 1995) provide some evidence that cases processed further through the criminal justice system are likely to result in lower recidivism rates. In addition, research conducted by Murphy, Musser, and Maton (1998) in Baltimore found that, despite having more severe abuse records, offenders exposed to more elements (prosecution, probation, and counseling) of a coordinated intervention system had lower recidivism rates than those exposed to fewer elements. The coordinated approach thus holds some promise, but more research is needed to determine which elements work with which offenders.¹⁰

Specialized domestic violence units. A number of police departments have specialized domestic violence units. Typically, these units do not respond directly to the scene but conduct followup work in selected cases. This work at times is undertaken in conjunction with social service providers. The objectives are to promote offender accountability by building strong cases for prosecution and to enhance victim safety and well-being by linking victims with needed services. In the Dade County spouse abuse experiment, a two-stage process was used to assign cases by chance: First, cases were assigned to either the “arrest” or “not arrest” response; they then were assigned to either receive or not receive the assistance of the Safe Streets Unit, which primarily worked with troubled families. This specialized unit was staffed by trained detectives who assessed the ongoing situation between the disputants and made referrals to service agencies. A 6-month followup, using both official police offense and arrest data and victim interviews, revealed that assistance from the Safe Streets Unit did not produce any reduction in subsequent abuse compared with the group that was not assigned to this unit (Pate, Hamilton, and Annan 1992).

Enhancing prosecution. Part of the police function in any criminal case is to collect evidence that will assist in successful prosecution. Concerns about victim reluctance to prosecute are well documented, and many jurisdictions have implemented no-drop policies. For cases to proceed without the cooperation of the victim, it is essential that the police gather all available evidence

because the victim cannot be relied on to give testimony in court. As Gwinn and O'Dell (1993:1512) note, this means that all witnesses must be interviewed, all victim statements must be recorded, all prior incidents must be documented, and relevant photographs must be taken.

Medical evidence is underused in domestic violence cases. Hospitals can play a major role in both detecting and documenting domestic violence. Although many abused women seek medical attention, it has been estimated that physicians identify only 5 percent of battered women (Chescheir 1996). It is probably undesirable to impose mandatory reporting requirements on physicians because such requirements may discourage abused women from seeking medical attention (National Research Council 1998:173) and diminish patient-physician trust (Gremillion 1997). However, hospitals and physicians can routinely screen for domestic violence, provide victims with referrals to social service agencies when they request them, and document thoroughly all trauma so that evidence is available for prosecution.¹¹

Sexual Assault

As the result of rape legislation reform and changes in societal perceptions of sexual assault victimization, police attitudes and responses to sexual assault also have undergone considerable change since the 1970s (Bachman 1998; Campbell 1995; Epstein and Langenbahn 1994).

Rape law reform. By the early 1980s, most State laws as well as the Federal code had been revised to shift the focus of criminal laws on sexual assault away from the victim and more toward the behavior of the offender. Most States eliminated previous requirements of resistance by victims, prompt reporting, and corroboration. They also replaced the single crime code of rape with a series of graded offenses comparable to those for most other types of violent crimes. These new offenses (e.g., sexual assault and abusive sexual conduct) are typically gender- and relationship-neutral and are differentiated by aggravating circumstances. In addition, States gradually changed their laws so that husbands could be convicted of raping their wives.

Another important legal change was the enactment of rape shield laws that restrict the introduction of evidence in court about the victim's prior sexual conduct. In theory, this change should encourage victims to report and follow through with the prosecution of sexual assault cases because details of past sexual encounters can no longer be brought up in court unless they are clearly relevant to the current criminal case (e.g., involve the same offender). In practice, research has shown that most rapes are not reported to the police (Bachman 1998; Koss 1993). However, both reporting and prosecution of sexual assaults involving nonstrangers (intimates, friends, or acquaintances of the victim) are increasing at a faster rate than the reporting and prosecution of stranger assaults (Bachman 1995; Bachman and Paternoster 1993).¹²

Rape law reform was also intended to "symbolically and ideologically" change societal perception of the seriousness of sexual assault, reduce stigmatization of victims, and neutralize rape myth stereotypes (Bachman 1998). These rape myths generally attribute responsibility for the sexual assault to the victim, who is perceived to have provoked the attack by wearing "provocative" clothing, accepting or offering an invitation for a drink, or being willing to kiss the

perpetrator. In addition, victim delay in reporting the incident to the police, a common occurrence in sexual assault cases, also undermined victim credibility (Lizotte 1985).

As might be expected, rape law reforms appear to have more of an effect on cases considered “legally borderline”; those, for example, involving nonstrangers and few aggravating circumstances, such as use of a weapon or physical injury to the victim. In a study of sexual assault cases that occurred both before and after legislative reform, Spohn and Horney (1996) found that a greater percentage of “legally borderline” cases were being reported by victims and accepted by both police and prosecutors.

Both academic research and the media have played a part in changing societal attitudes. Available data indicate that sexual assaults are much more likely to be perpetrated by non-strangers than by strangers (Dunn, Vail-Smith, and Knight 1999; Mynatt and Allgeier 1990). There is some evidence that marital rape victims, although repeatedly victimized, are the least likely to seek help (Mahoney 1999). Date rape, especially on college campuses, has received extensive attention from both the media and researchers (Bachman 1998; Koss, Gidycz, and Wisniewski 1987).

Studies have also increased awareness of specific characteristics typically associated with sexual assault incidents, factors often in conflict with previously held rape myths. These factors include commission of the sexual assault in a private location, lack of a weapon, lack of physical injuries, victim alcohol or drug use, prolonged time of initial resistance, and delayed reporting (Dunn, Vail-Smith, and Knight 1999; Kopper 1996; Lizotte 1985).

Police attitudes and training. A number of studies have examined police attitudes toward rape victims. Research has shown that female officers, particularly black women (Kalof and Wade 1995), and both male and female officers with more formal education (Burt 1980) are less likely to blame victims in rape cases. Other factors have been found to be extremely influential, primarily in affecting men’s attitudes. Less empathy for victims is shown by officers who believe in traditional sex stereotypes, who see sexual relationships as adversarial (as essentially exploitative and manipulative with women and men having different goals), and who think that interpersonal violence is a consequence of the adversarial nature of relationships (Burt 1980).

There is also evidence that work experience can contribute significantly to police attitudes about sexual assault of women. Officers who believe that they receive helpful training about sexual assault and those whose awareness of the potential for sexual harassment in the workplace increased have been found less likely than they had been to blame the victim (Campbell 1995). Professional experience with sexual assault victims also results in heightened awareness of the seriousness of the crime and increased officer empathy with victims (Campbell 1995).

Establishing good rapport with traumatized victims of sexual assaults is essential for officers whose primary task is to collect physical evidence and other information that is of value in establishing proof of forcible compulsion. In addition, police handling of sexual assault cases is

greatly affected by known prosecutorial practice and by advice received from prosecutors on specific cases.

The difficulties of staffing specialized sex crime units as well as professional burnout encountered by officers who staff these units have been problematic for many police departments. Recent staffing strategies include assigning motivated volunteer officers, employing inhouse victim witness advocates, and rotating officers in and out of these units (Epstein and Langenbahn 1994). Increasingly, police officers in specialized sex crime units are just one part of an integrated community response to sexual assaults.

Coordinated community response. Rape crisis centers have traditionally provided a variety of much-needed specialized services for sexual assault victims. These services include counseling, medical and legal referrals, advocacy, and a supportive presence during medical and legal proceedings. Giving victims information, supporting their decisions, and advocating on their behalf remain the primary concern of rape crisis center workers.

Rape crisis counselors' communications with victims are considered privileged communications in many States, and as a result these counselors may be able to provide victims with guarantees of confidentiality that cannot be given by victim-witness advocates employed by police departments and prosecuting attorneys' offices. Although the counselors inform the victims about medical and legal rights, they may not consider it their responsibility to report a rape to law enforcement or to persuade the victim to report it. In some jurisdictions, allowing "information only" reports from victims or third-party reports from counselors provides law enforcement with information that may be useful in other cases while honoring the victim's wish not to pursue prosecution (Epstein and Langenbahn 1994; Garcia and Henderson 1999). Occasionally, multiple victims of the same offender have joined together in the prosecution of the offender (Garcia and Henderson 1999).

Sexual Assault Response Teams (SARTs) present a more recent coordinated community approach designed to deliver at one location (generally a hospital) the variety of services needed by rape victims (Campbell and Ahrens 1998; Epstein and Langenbahn 1994; Hatmaker 1997; Ledray 1999). This approach brings together the staff from all the community agencies that typically provide services to rape victims, fostering cooperation among professionals who have traditionally had adversarial relationships. Police officers and staff from multiple community agencies (legal organizations, medical facilities, mental health centers, domestic violence shelters, rape crisis centers, and others) rely on interagency training and information sharing to ensure that each victim receives prompt delivery of all the services required.

SARTs have also developed relationships with organizations, such as local churches and drug and alcohol treatment programs, that are likely to receive sexual assault reports from victims but have traditionally been unable to provide specialized services for these women. Many of these victims may be reluctant to make official reports, and they may be members of traditionally underserved groups, such as new immigrants, gays or lesbians, or the mentally or physically disabled. Agency involvement with a SART may enhance both victim reporting of sexual

assaults and victims receiving needed services. In addition, the SART approach can help promote community education by using innovative formats to stimulate discussion and awareness about sexual assault and policy reform.

Police departments who participate in interagency programs are likely to obtain two important benefits. First, police knowledge about individual assaults and the extent of sexual assaults in the community is likely to be improved by interagency communication. Second, other service providers who come into contact with sexual assault victims are likely to develop a better understanding of the police role in the investigation and preparation of cases for prosecution (Campbell and Ahrens 1998; Epstein and Langenbahn 1994).

Medical examination and forensic investigation. The purpose of the medical examination after a sexual assault is to examine and treat the victim for physical injuries, take preventive measures against communicable diseases, and collect evidence for forensic evaluation and possible legal proceedings. Laboratory technicians should test for the presence of DNA as well as pregnancy, syphilis, hepatitis B, and HIV. If there is no risk to the victim's health, all forensic evidence should be obtained before medical needs are addressed because medical treatment may destroy valuable evidence (Ledray 1999:63–91; Petter and Whitehill 1998).

The use of force and an extensive range or series of acts that may be perpetrated during sexual assault leave numerous types of forensically relevant trace evidence on the body of the victim. The police collect case evidence from the scene; the physician is responsible for collecting trace evidence of the assault. Forensic evidence provided by examination of semen, hair, fibers, saliva, and other evidence of contact can help identify offenders, establish the circumstances of aggression, and lead to connections with other cases (Taroni and Coquoz 1995). It is essential that all evidence obtained at the hospital is transported to the forensic laboratory for examination with chain of custody maintained (Malefy, Littel, and Walker 1998:81). If the chain of custody is not maintained, the evidence will not be admissible in court. All information provided by the victim about the behavior of the offender during the assault is potentially useful for the police, the therapist, and the physician.

Stalking

The phenomenon of stalking existed for years before several highly publicized celebrity stalking cases prompted lawmakers in California in 1990, and most other States soon after, to enact specific antistalking legislation. Today, law enforcement is no longer required to wait to make an arrest until a reportable offense, such as assault, has been committed.

Cases of stalking of celebrities, politicians, and other high-profile victims occur often and routinely receive the attention of the media. However, studies consistently find that the majority of stalking victims are or were intimately involved with, or at least acquainted with, their stalkers (Hall 1998; Tjaden and Thoennes 1998; Freemouw, Westrup, and Pennypacker 1997). Although research on stalking is in its infancy, the police have long been involved in responding to behavior that constitutes stalking (Westrup 1998).

Risk assessment. A thorough risk assessment requires an immediate background investigation of all public records in all locations in which the suspect has either lived or worked (White and Cawood 1998:304). Information relevant to assessing risk includes past violent behavior, use or training in the use of weapons, military service, criminal activity, civil judgments, substance use and abuse, and past or current stressor events. Information about past or current mental health treatment is also beneficial, and in some cases contact with mental health professionals who have treated the offender may be warranted. Some police departments have officers work directly with mental health professionals.¹³ Particular attention should be given to the specific behavior of the offender, which may include telephoning, writing letters, attempting face-to-face contact with the victim, and making sexual comments. Especially critical for risk assessment are the presence of threats and the show of weapons. Although all victims of stalking are at risk, the level and escalation of current behavior, along with the known capacity, willingness, or readiness of an individual to be violent, can provide valuable information for case management (Wright and Burgess 1996; White and Cawood 1998).

Victims of stalking rely on the police for information and, ultimately, protection; however, the long duration of most stalking cases—typically a year or more (Meloy 1998; Mullen et al. 1999; Tjaden and Thoennes 1998)—prevents police departments from providing prolonged or extensive protection. Thus, the primary role of law enforcement in these cases is to provide victims with information and resources so they can assess their risk of danger and take appropriate precautions. Police can also obtain a warrant and arrest the offender, but whether arrest deters stalking has not been studied.

Danger of stalking. Although the homicide rate of stalking victims is less than 2 percent (Meloy 1998), research reveals the serious consequences faced by women who are stalked by intimates. It is estimated that the vast majority of women murdered by current or former husbands or boyfriends were stalked prior to their murders (Morin 1993; Tjaden and Thoennes 1998; Meloy 1998). Statistics from a study conducted in Kansas City and Detroit reveal that 90 percent of women contacted the police for assistance at least once before being killed and more than 50 percent of them had called a minimum of five times (Morin 1993:125). Ex-husbands who engage in stalking, either during or after the breakup of the relationship, are more likely to have been abusive or controlling during the relationship than ex-husbands who do not stalk (Tjaden and Thoennes 1998).

Women who are stalked by intimates, acquaintances, or strangers are counseled by police to keep detailed accounts of all encounters or threats they receive (White and Cawood 1998). In addition, police can advise particular victims about the benefits and risks of obtaining a protection order or carrying a weapon for their own protection. Researchers have noted a tendency for victims to obtain a firearm in response to being stalked (Tjaden and Thoennes 1998).

Effectiveness of protective measures. Research on the effectiveness of protection orders in stalking cases is not encouraging; 69 percent of women and 81 percent of men who were victims of stalkers reported that the stalker violated the order (Tjaden and Thoennes 1998). In California, employers may obtain a “corporate” protection order to protect employees from harassment

from specific individuals. Security measures at home and at work can be evaluated by law enforcement, and personal safety plans can be developed for individual cases according to the assessed risk. Police typically refer victims to victim advocates who are experienced in dealing with stalking to help the victims evaluate their options. In serious cases, a victim may change employer or work location, secure a confidential address, or temporarily or permanently relocate.

Specialized stalking units. In response to heightened awareness of stalking cases, a few police departments that expect to encounter large numbers of celebrity stalking cases have created special units to manage cases that involve “long-term, abnormal threat and harassment” (Zona, Palarea, and Lane 1998). These special units, such as the Los Angeles Police Department’s Threat Management Unit, investigate any case in which the behavior of the offender creates a “threatening climate” for the victim. Information collected from Los Angeles Threat Management Unit cases has been used to build a database for statistical analysis and research.

Victim assessment of police. The National Violence Against Women Survey (Tjaden and Thoennes 1998) is the only study that has asked victims of stalking to evaluate the police response to stalking. Overall, stalking victims gave police a satisfactory approval rating in 50 percent of the cases; however, victims who reported that their stalkers were arrested, which occurred in about 25 percent of the cases, were significantly more likely to be satisfied with the way the police handled their case (76 percent, compared with 42 percent). A significant finding for policymakers is that victims were more likely to attribute the cessation of stalking to informal police actions (such as warning the offender) than to formal actions (such as arrest or protection order) (Tjaden and Thoennes 1998). This finding, however, may be attributed largely to the fact that formal actions were applied to the most serious and highest risk cases.

Policy Implications of Research Findings

Those who seek clear guidance from the empirical research on violence against women are bound to be disappointed. Shortcomings in the methodological approach and implementation of studies; disagreement about the findings and the meaning of those findings, so clearly evidenced in the Minneapolis and replication studies; and the problems inherent in adopting a policy in one jurisdiction that appears to work in another with a different legal, political, and social framework all suggest caution in adopting a new approach to combating the problem of violence against women. These concerns do not, however, justify blindly adhering to current practice until another approach is shown to be clearly superior. The criminal justice community is learning slowly about the dynamics of violence against women and needs to adjust the law enforcement response to what is known about both the nature of violence against women and the response to that violence. The policy guidelines presented here represent a best-practice approach based on the available research literature discussed previously and the assumption that the overall objectives are to prevent as much as possible violence against women; when violence has occurred, to attend to the health and safety needs of victims; and to invest in strategies for holding violent offenders accountable for their behavior and for changing that behavior.

Whether the focus is on domestic violence, sexual assault, or stalking, the research literature suggests the following general guidelines.

First, department policy should be clearly presented and clearly supported by the chief and all command staff. Mixed messages about policy can lead to uneven implementation of that policy and fuel negative attitudes that line officers may have toward the victims of interpersonal violence.

Second, thorough training should be conducted, and it should focus on attitudes as well as the law and procedures. Whatever policies are implemented, it must be recognized that it is impossible to eliminate all officer discretion and that officers will retain at least a limited amount of discretion in interpreting whether the situation they are encountering fits within the policy guidelines. If they do not have an orientation that supports departmental policy, they may try to circumvent it.

Third, certain categories of victims may be reluctant to seek police intervention in interpersonal violence and may find the police unsupportive. Immigrant women who are noncitizens constitute a particularly vulnerable category of victims. They may fear deportation as a result of police contact. Consequently, it may be helpful, particularly in jurisdictions with large immigrant populations, for the respective roles of the police and the Immigration and Naturalization Service to be clarified. In addition, research indicates that “quarrelsome or demanding” behavior on the part of a domestic abuse victim may diminish the likelihood of offender arrest and that situations involving drugs or alcohol are more likely to result in dual arrests of offender and victim. The police need to take care that they do not respond with less-than-adequate protection of an abused woman simply because she has been drinking or using drugs or does not, as is the case with some sexual assault victims, conform to the stereotype of the “innocent” victim.

Fourth, the police need to ensure that all relevant evidence is collected from the crime scene and from the victim herself. Procedures should be in place for obtaining pertinent medical evidence in domestic violence and sexual assault cases.

The major debate during the last three decades of the 20th century with regard to law enforcement’s handling of domestic violence has been whether there should be a mandatory or pro-arrest response. As this report has indicated, the results of research on the efficacy of arrest in deterring subsequent abuse are not clear. Although the deterrent effect of arrest may be limited, other arguments may be raised in support of a pro-arrest policy. First, the rationale of “just deserts” suggests that offenses committed against victims of interpersonal violence should not be trivialized and that they deserve a response similar to those offenses committed against victims of stranger violence: If an incident involving strangers would result in arrest of the offender, so should a similar incident involving an intimate. Second, arrest may communicate both to the offender and to other members of the household, in particular children, that such violence in interpersonal relationships will not be tolerated. This is an important message that may help to break the cycle of violence from one generation to the next. Third, police intervention (although perhaps short of arrest) can give the victim access to support services, and arrest and criminal

justice processing can provide the offender with mandated treatment with the threat of sanctions for noncompliance. To cut down on inappropriate dual arrests, it is important that primary-aggressor laws be passed and that officers be given appropriate training and instruction to distinguish offensive from defensive injuries.

The current situation differs greatly from the past, when victims of domestic violence were treated differently from victims of other crimes in that legal action was unlikely to be taken against the wrongdoer. Now, in terms of policy at the State and local levels, arguably the pendulum has swung too much in the other direction, with either a presumption of or an insistence on arrest of the offender, without regard to the wishes of the victim. Although it is recognized that the state is the official party in any criminal action, perhaps, as with other offenses, there should be some allowance for victim input into decisionmaking. Because there is some evidence that victims can accurately assess the likelihood of revictimization in domestic violence cases, this assessment, along with victim preference, perhaps should be incorporated in official decisionmaking. Such an approach would complement the current police department orientation on community policing, with its problem-solving approach. Instead of simply responding to the latest incident involving a couple, the police would assess the ongoing situation (perhaps with followup by members of a specialized domestic violence unit) and, with assistance and input from other agencies and organizations, provide the most appropriate response.

In providing the most appropriate response, prior research yet again does not supply clear answers. However, the voluminous body of research on domestic violence is helpful in pointing out inadequacies in the current response and suggests modifications that may improve the situation. Unfortunately, there is still a long way to go in assessing accurately the risks posed by individual offenders and implementing treatment programs that are effective with specific offenders. As discussed previously, it is perhaps unrealistic to expect that either protection orders or arrest alone will be highly effective in preventing further abuse. Both measures focus on exerting a positive impact on the behavior of the offender by the simple act of either issuing a protection order or making an arrest. Action can be taken that may make these measures more effective. For example, obtaining emergency protection orders at the scene could be made easier and filing procedures for permanent protection orders could be simplified. Protection orders could be supplemented by electronic monitoring devices that provide some surveillance of offenders and by panic alarms or cell phones that give victims immediate access to emergency services. Because evidence shows that abuse may be deterred by issuance of a warrant and that victims in cases in which offenders have left the scene may be more in need of protection than victims whose offenders remain at the scene, there is reason to promote greater use of arrest warrants. However, having the police adopt a more active role in the warrant process may present its own problems. Many jurisdictions have a backlog of unserved warrants, and it is unclear how these additional duties would fit into the system of priorities.

The main problem, however, with both protection orders and arrest is that they do little to deal with the underlying reasons for the offender's behavior or to promote the long-term safety and well-being of the victim. To achieve these objectives, the coordinated response holds the greatest promise. Working with representatives from other criminal justice and social service agencies,

the police can start an offender on the road to rehabilitation and help provide victims with access to helping agencies so they become more empowered either to avoid, or at least to deal more effectively with, situations that arise.

How the police respond to disclosures of sexual assault from victims can have profound implications for victims' recovery. Law enforcement policies should consider that involvement in the criminal justice system itself is a potentially revictimizing experience for victims of sexual assault. The police need to respond to these victims with sensitivity to lessen their feelings of guilt, shame, and powerlessness.

The particular circumstances of each sexual assault, victim characteristics, and the level of community coordination affect case processing. Because police departments are often the first place victims turn for help, they are uniquely situated to provide information about other legal, medical, and mental health services that can have tangible effects on victims' experiences. Although there is some evidence that prosecutorial decisions, along with the reluctance of juries to convict, may play a critical role in the outcome of many legally borderline rape cases, police departments need to ensure that all available evidence is collected and complete investigations are documented in every reported case, regardless of the nature of the assault. Allowing information-only reports from victims or third-party reports from counselors can provide law enforcement with information that may be useful in other cases while honoring the victim's wish to not pursue prosecution.

It is also important that police departments work in concert with other agencies to ensure that victims are provided all the services they may need. Sexual Assault Response Teams represent a promising approach. Cross-training police officers with other service providers can result in better understanding among agencies of how to best process cases in the criminal justice system as well as provide effective services for victims. Research indicates that, even when reported cases do not result in criminal prosecution, satisfaction with medical and mental health services results in an experience that victims label as positive. Ultimately, providing a coordinated community response to rape that is psychologically beneficial to victims may result in increased reporting, more police awareness of sexual offenders in the community, and greater protection for all women.

Currently, the limited amount of research on stalking makes the task of developing sound policies to address this problem much more difficult. In addition, a number of factors complicate the ability of police departments to enforce stalking laws. These include the length of the average stalking case (typically a year or more); the difficulties of assessing the danger of escalation (although women who are murdered by intimates have typically been stalked, the reported homicide rate of stalking victims is less than 2 percent); and the frequent violations of protection orders. At present, an essential role for law enforcement in these cases is to provide victims with information and resources so they are able to assess their risk of danger and take appropriate precautions. As with other crimes against women, more research is needed to determine the factors associated with the risk of escalation.

Because of the public attention and academic research focused on the police response to domestic violence, there is an excellent opportunity to expand the research on sexual assault and stalking that commonly co-occur with cases of domestic violence. Police departments should routinely screen domestic violence cases that come to their attention for both sexual assault and stalking behavior to gather important information and provide victims with referrals for services. This type of screening would allow more precise academic research, which in turn could help distinguish important offender characteristics, police responses, and other factors that can lead to a better understanding and official response to violence against women.

Notes

1. The terms “protection order,” “protective order,” and “restraining order” often are used interchangeably, although the States define and apply them differently. This report uses “protection order” and “order of protection.”
2. See, for example, Steinman’s (1988) survey of Minneapolis officers conducted after the Sherman and Berk (1984a, 1984b) experiment and Ferraro’s (1989) study of the implementation of a new presumptive arrest policy in Phoenix, Arizona.
3. See, for example, Vera Institute of Justice (1999) for a description and assessment of MOSAIC and a comparison of that instrument with the Danger Assessment developed by Jacquelyn Campbell and the Spousal Assault Risk Assessment developed by Randall Kropp, Stephen Hart, Christopher Webster, and Derek Eaves.
4. For example, case types included only female victims and male suspects (as in Charlotte [Hirschel et al. 1991] and Miami [Pate et al. 1992]) and relationships other than those involving married, previously married, cohabiting, and previously cohabiting heterosexual couples (as in Colorado Springs [Berk et al. 1991], Milwaukee [Sherman et al. 1991b], and Omaha [Dunford et al. 1990]).
5. For a summary of the specific failure rates of arrest compared with the other responses in each of the sites, including Minneapolis, see Garner, Fagan, and Maxwell (1995:12).
6. For example, the eligible cases examined are limited to those that involved male on female offenses in spouselike relationships.
7. In the case of stalking (see section on stalking in this report), some States are exploring the possibility of making lifetime protection orders available. One State, New Jersey, has made it possible for victims to obtain a virtually permanent order to avoid the necessity of reapplying over and over.
8. More recent research, published after completion of this review, reveals more favorable findings about protection orders.

9. See, for example, Pence (1983:255) for a list of agencies involved in the Duluth program; Syers and Edleson (1992:494) for agencies involved with the Minneapolis intervention program; Clark and colleagues (1996) for agencies involved in the Baltimore, Kansas City, San Diego, San Francisco, and Carlton and Northern St. Louis, Minnesota, programs; and Jolin and Moose (1997:295, n.1) for agencies working with the Portland, Oregon, program.

10. For a more detailed examination of the coordinated approach, see Worden 2000. The effectiveness of batterers' treatment programs is addressed in Saunders and Hamill 2003. The role of service providers is covered in Carlson 2000.

11. For a more detailed examination of prosecution issues, see Ford and Breall 2000. For a more detailed examination of the role of physicians and health care professionals, see Campbell and Boyd 2000 and Moracco, Runyan, and Dulli 2003.

12. For a more detailed examination of rape statistics, see Bachman 2000.

13. See, for example, Malefyt, Littel, and Walker (1998:89) for a description of the Los Angeles Police Department System-Wide Mental Assessment Response Team.

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