



Mandatory Arrest for Domestic Violence: *A Systematic Review*

Since 1984, it has been the law in Washington that, given probable cause, police must make an arrest when called to a domestic violence (DV) incident. In 2021, the Washington State Legislature directed the Washington State Institute for Public Policy (WSIPP) to conduct a systematic review of the literature on the effects of mandatory arrest for DV offenses.¹

In this report, we summarize the results of studies of mandatory arrest on the following outcomes:

- DV recidivism,
- General recidivism (DV offenses as well as other crimes),
- DV homicide, and
- The prevalence of domestic violence in the population.

We also describe several alternatives to mandatory arrest being used or piloted elsewhere.

The report is presented in four sections. [Section 1](#) provides background on the history of criminal justice response to DV. [Section 2](#) details our approach to analysis, [Section 3](#) provides the findings, and [Section 4](#) summarizes the findings and lists the limitations of the work.

Summary

The 2021 Washington State Legislature directed the Washington State Institute for Public Policy (WSIPP) to conduct a systematic review of the research on mandatory arrest in domestic violence (DV) cases.

We found six rigorous studies evaluating the effect of mandatory arrest on DV recidivism. On average, mandatory arrest had no effect on future DV.

Only one study measured “general recidivism,” that is future arrest for any crime. In that single study, mandatory arrest had no effect.

One large national study found no effect of states’ DV arrest policies on the prevalence of DV. A second large national study found that states’ DV arrest policies had no effect of rates of DV homicide.

We found no research on alternatives to mandatory arrest at the scene of a DV event.

An intervention referred to as “second responders” that sends a team consisting of police and advocates to visit victims within several days *after* the police call was found to increase the use of victim services but had no effect on repeat DV.

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¹ Engrossed Substitute Senate Bill 5092, Chapter 334, Laws of 2021.

I. Background

Washington State law defines domestic violence (DV) broadly as acts or threats of physical harm, sexual assault, or stalking by one household or family member against another household or family member or by one intimate partner against another intimate partner.² The terms DV and intimate partner violence (IPV) are often interchanged. Intimate partner violence is a specific type of DV where the abuser and victim relationship is typically that of a current or former spouse or dating partner. For this review, we use DV to refer to IPV.

In the U.S., more women than men report having experienced DV in their lifetimes (36% of women and 30% of men).³ An even greater percentage of women report being impacted by DV (1 in 4 women; 1 in 10 men).⁴ In Washington State, 41% of women and 32% of men report experiencing DV throughout their lifetimes.⁵

Domestic violence policy has been a national point of debate for over five decades. In the following section, we briefly summarize key aspects that have led to the policy of mandatory arrest for domestic violence as it exists today.

Types of Arrest

Every state and the District of Columbia have laws governing police action at the scene of a domestic violence incident. These laws are often referred to as mandatory, preferred, and discretionary arrest laws and each allows for warrantless arrests of DV suspects. Where these laws differ, is the degree to which an officer has discretion in making an arrest.

Mandatory arrest laws require a police officer to arrest a suspected perpetrator at the scene of a DV event, given probable cause that violence against the victim has recently occurred.

Preferred arrest laws are suggestive and encourage an officer to make an arrest given probable cause of an injury.

Discretionary arrest laws allow the most room for officer decision-making about whether they will arrest given probable cause that an injury has occurred.*

*Chin, Y.-M., & Cunningham, S. (2019). Revisiting the effect of warrantless domestic violence arrest laws on intimate partner homicides. *Journal of Public Economics*, 179.

² RCW 26.50.010.

³ Smith, S.G., Zhang, X., Basile, K.C., Merrick, M.T., Wang, J., Kresnow, M., & Chen, J. (2015). *The National Intimate Partner and Sexual Violence Survey: 2015 data brief—updated release*. Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, National Center for Injury Prevention and Control.

⁴ Ibid. "Impact" was measured based on at least one affirmative answer to a series of questions about needing medical attention, missing work, experiencing fear, developing posttraumatic stress disorder, seeking legal advice, and/or receiving victim services.

⁵ National Coalition Against Domestic Violence, (2020). Domestic Violence in Washington.

Brief History of U.S. DV Policy

Through the first half of the 20th century, the criminal justice system tended to treat DV as a private family matter. With the rise of the women's movement in the 1960s and 70s, calls for law enforcement to hold perpetrators of DV accountable became louder and greater in number. Further, several lawsuits stemming from DV incidents created a heightened concern about how police should handle DV calls.⁶

Meanwhile, Sherman and Berk conducted the first major study to investigate mandatory arrest for DV, the "Minneapolis experiment," in 1984. In the study, DV cases were randomly assigned to mandatory arrest or no arrest. In the no arrest group, couples were either separated by police for a period of time or advised. In that study, mandatory arrest reduced the likelihood of DV recidivism by over 50% over 6 months, from 22% in the non-arrest group to 10% in the mandatory arrest group. The findings from the Minneapolis experiment were cited in a 1984 U.S. Attorney General report recommending arrest as the standard law enforcement response in DV cases.⁷

Following the 1984 Attorney Generals' report, states began implementing laws allowing warrantless⁸ arrests for cases of misdemeanor⁹ DV. States were further encouraged to strengthen pro-arrest policies for DV by a 1994 change to the federal Violence Against Women Act (VAWA). The change allowed grants to states implementing mandatory or pro-arrest policies.¹⁰

In 1984, Washington State revised the law to require mandatory arrest, when officers were called to a DV incident. Prior to 1984, an arrest was at the discretion of police unless the officer was present when the offense was committed. However, to make an arrest the officer had first to obtain a warrant in the court.

As of 2019, there were 23 states with discretionary arrest laws for domestic violence, 23 states with mandatory arrest laws, and 5 states with preferred arrest laws.¹¹

⁶ Most notably, the City of Torrington, Connecticut was found liable for \$2.3 million for failing to protect a victim from her abusive husband in 1984. [Thurman v. City of Torrington, 595 F. Supp. 1521 \(D. Conn. 1984\)](#).

⁷ Maxwell, C., Garner, J., Fagan, J., & National Institute of Justice (U.S.). (2001). *The effects of arrest on intimate partner violence: New evidence from the Spouse Assault Replication Program*. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Dept. of Justice, Office of Justice Programs, National Institute of Justice.

⁸ Warrantless means the officer may make an arrest without first obtaining a warrant in the court.

⁹ Misdemeanors are considered lesser crimes. In Washington, the sentence is a maximum of 90 days in jail, a maximum fine of \$1,000, or both. [RCW 9A.20.020](#).

¹⁰ Sack, E.J. (2004).

¹¹ Chin, Y.-M., & Cunningham, S. (2019). Revisiting the effect of warrantless domestic violence arrest laws on intimate partner homicides. *Journal of Public Economics, 179*, 1-10.

Spousal Assault Replication Program (SARP)

The Minneapolis experiment was instrumental in shaping the current U.S. DV policy. However, researchers at the time, including Sherman and Berk, called for replication of the experiment to ensure confidence that its findings would remain consistent for other cities across the U.S.

In response, the National Institute of Justice funded five replication studies of the original Minneapolis experiment—these studies became known as the Spousal Assault Replication Program (SARP).¹² Replication experiments took place in Omaha, Nebraska; Milwaukee, Wisconsin; Colorado Springs, Colorado; Dade County, Florida; and Charlotte, North Carolina. Similar to the Minneapolis study, at each of the replication sites, DV cases were randomly assigned to mandatory arrest or no arrest (with counseling and/or separation). The SARP studies make up the majority of the studies included in our analysis. We provide further analysis of the results from the SARP studies in [Section III](#) of this report.

¹² Johnson, R.R., & Goodlin-Fahncke, W. (2015). Exploring the effect of arrest across domestic batterer typology. *Juvenile and Family Court Journal*, 66(1), 15-30.

II. Study Approach

The following section outlines our methods for conducting the systematic literature review and meta-analysis on mandatory arrest for DV recidivism.

As directed in the study assignment, we focused on studies that measured criminal justice and domestic violence outcomes for perpetrators (see the bolded text to the right).

WSIPP's Standard Approach to Meta-Analysis

The Washington State Legislature often directs WSIPP to study the effectiveness of programs and policies that could be implemented in Washington State. These studies are designed to provide policymakers with objective information about which programs or policy options work to achieve desired outcomes (e.g., reduced crime or improved health).

WSIPP implements a standardized approach to identifying effective programs, that is, programs that achieve their desired aim. We systematically review all rigorous research evidence and estimate the program's effect on a desired outcome or set of outcomes. We do a thorough search for research studies, including both peer-reviewed studies and "gray" literature (such as theses and technical reports).

WSIPP Legislative Assignment

*The Washington state institute for public policy shall publish a systematic review of the research literature on mandatory arrest in domestic violence cases. If possible, the study shall report the effects of mandatory arrest on **domestic violence recidivism, general recidivism, domestic violence reporting, rates of domestic violence treatment, intimate partner homicide**, or other reported outcomes. If possible, the study shall also report the research on alternatives to mandatory arrest.*

ESSB 5092.PL

In the case of this assignment, we searched for studies investigating the effect of mandatory arrest for DV on DV recidivism and other outcomes.

We located 68 published articles addressing effects of mandatory arrest. After screening, we identified 8 rigorous studies evaluating the effects of mandatory arrest for DV. Six were random assignment experiments investigating the effects of mandatory arrest on recidivism. Two were quasi-experimental studies evaluating the effect of states' mandatory arrest laws on outcomes. [Exhibit 1](#) shows the steps of our literature review process.

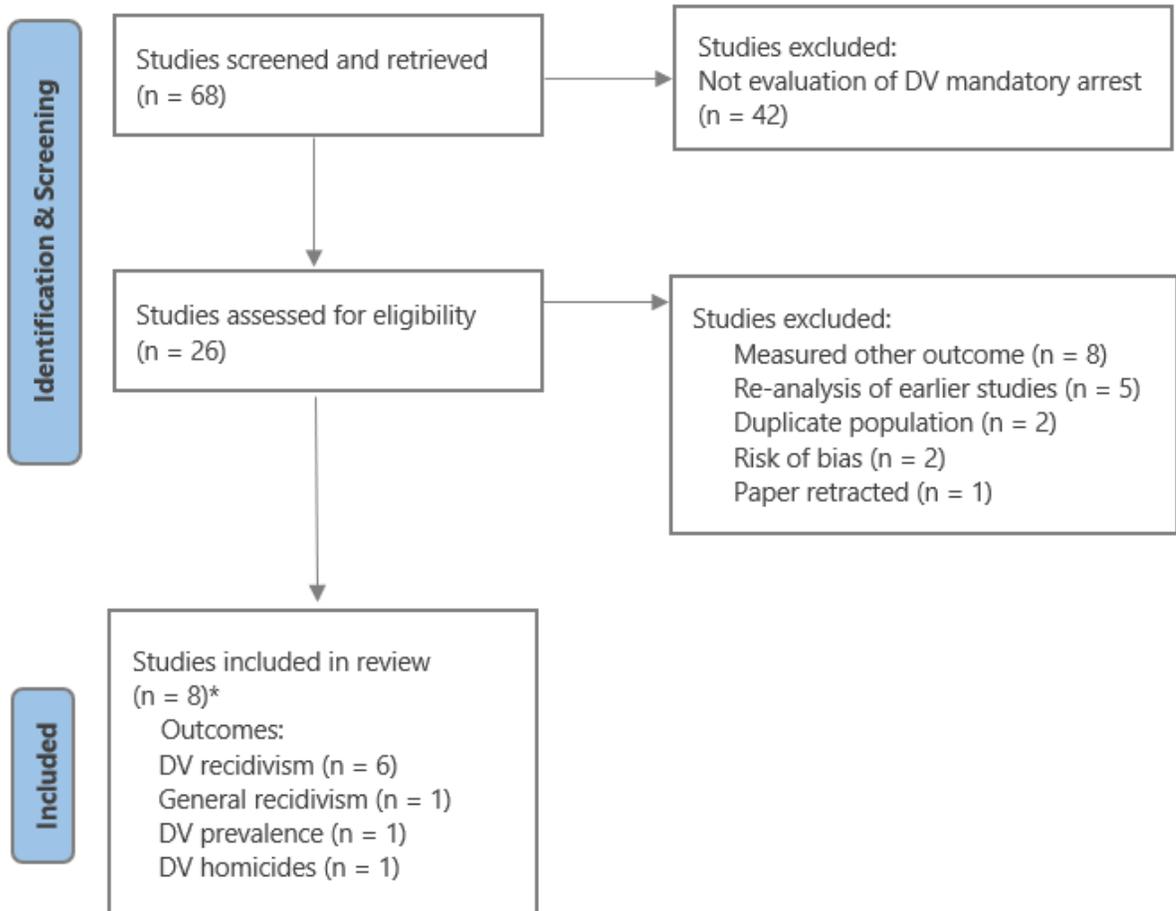
For each rigorous study we calculate an "effect size," a measure of the magnitude and direction (positive or negative) of the effect. We then use a statistical technique, meta-analysis, to combine results from multiple studies so that we can estimate the average effect of a program.¹³

¹³ WSIPP's meta-analytic methods are described in detail in our Technical Documentation. Washington State Institute for

Public Policy, (December 2019). [Benefit-cost technical documentation](#). Olympia, WA: Author.

Exhibit 1

Study Collection and Screening



Note:

*One study included both DV recidivism and general recidivism.

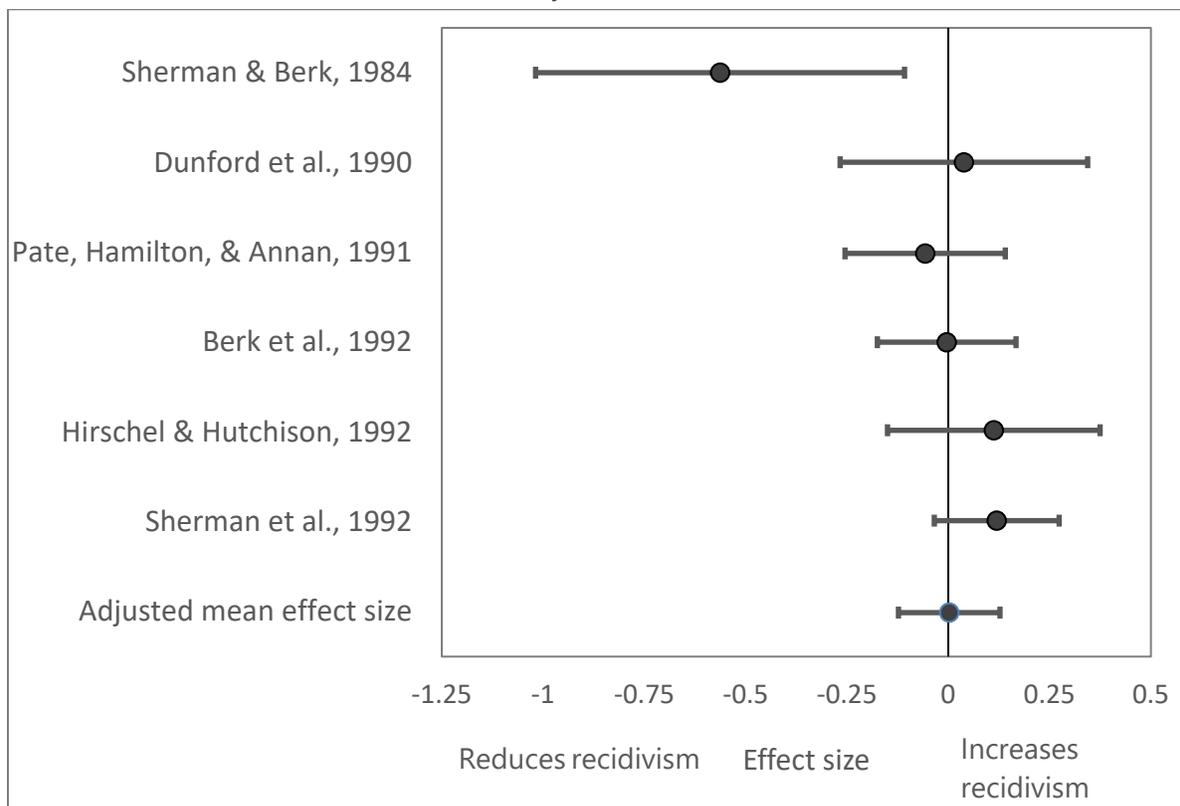
III. Findings

We found six studies that measured the effect of mandatory arrest for DV on subsequent domestic violence recidivism. All but one of them, Sherman & Berk, are SARP studies. The included and excluded studies are described in [Appendices I and II](#).

A graphical representation of the results is shown in [Exhibit 2](#). In this “forest plot,” the effect size for each study is displayed along the horizontal axis. An effect size of zero signifies no effect. The points show the calculated value, and the bars indicate the 95% confidence intervals—the statistical range that would be expected to contain the “true” value. If a study showed a statistically significant reduction in recidivism, its bar would not include zero.

Exhibit 2

Effect of Mandatory Arrest on DV Recidivism



In this collection of six studies, only the earliest, Sherman and Berk (1984),¹⁴ was statistically significant. None of the later studies showed significant reductions or increases in DV recidivism. Averaged across all these studies, the effect size is not significantly different from zero. That is, on average, mandatory arrest did not reduce or increase DV recidivism relative to other approaches used at the time.

Other Outcomes Associated with Mandatory Arrest

One SARP study, Hirschel and Hutchinson (1992),¹⁵ also measured the effect of mandatory arrest on general recidivism. In that study, mandatory arrest had no effect on recidivism for any crime.

One national study¹⁶ found that state-level prevalence of DV was no different in states with mandatory arrest laws than in states with preferred arrest or discretionary arrest laws.

We included one national study¹⁷ that evaluated the effect of states' mandatory arrest laws on rates of domestic violence homicide. That study found that mandatory arrest had no effect on rates of DV homicide.

Our legislative assignment also directed WSIPP to report on the effects of mandatory arrest on DV reporting and rates of DV treatment. To date, there have been no studies of mandatory arrest on either of these outcomes.

Alternatives to Mandatory Arrest

We found no research on alternatives to mandatory arrest *when the police arrive at the scene*. However, several municipalities are piloting alternatives.

For example, Washington D.C. has a plan for its police reform that will be phased in over time. The plan calls for advocates or social workers to accompany the police on DV calls. Officers and advocates will consult with victims. The long-term goal is to eliminate mandatory arrest for misdemeanor DV and allow for pre-arrest diversion to treatment for those with behavioral health conditions.¹⁸

The city of Winnipeg has developed a program that allows for "alternative measures" for those who have accepted responsibility for the DV. If the victim agrees, after making an arrest, the police may divert eligible cases from prosecution in court to restorative justice programs. This approach has reduced backlogs in Winnipeg's courts. This program, however, has not yet been evaluated for its impact on recidivism.

¹⁴ Sherman, L.W., & Berk, R.A. (1984). The specific deterrent effects of arrest for domestic assault. *American Sociological Review*, 49(2), 261-272.

¹⁵ Hirschel, J.D., & Hutchison, I.W. (1992). Female spouse abuse and the police response: The Charlotte, North Carolina experiment. *Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology*, 83(1), 73-119.

¹⁶ Xie, M., Lauritsen, J.L., & Heimer, K. (2012). Intimate partner violence in US metropolitan areas: The contextual influences of police and social services. *Criminology*, 50(4), 961-992.

¹⁷ Chin & Cunningham (2019). We found two similar studies using the same data source. We chose to include Chin and Cunningham because it represented the longest time period.

¹⁸ District of Columbia, Police Reform Commission. (2021). *Decentering Police to Improve Public Safety*. Washington, D.C.

Other Police Approaches

While not alternatives to mandatory arrest, many communities are providing additional support for victims *after* the time of police response. One such program, with funding support from the U.S. Department of Justice, is called “second responders.” After the initial police visit, typically within two days, the second responders—teams of police officers with social service workers, victim advocates, or counselors—conduct follow-up visits with the victim. Second responders seek to educate victims about the cyclical nature of family abuse, engage in safety planning, and/or provide service referrals. These interventions are based on the premise that victims are more likely to be receptive to crime prevention opportunities shortly after victimization.

Second responders programs have been well researched. A recent meta-analysis of 15 studies,¹⁹ conducted using criteria similar to WSIPP’s, found that while victims who received visits from second responders were more likely to receive victim services, the programs had no significant effect on subsequent abuse.

¹⁹ Petersen, K., Davis, R.C., Weisburd, D., & Taylor, B. (2022). Effects of second responder programs on repeat incidents of

family abuse: An updated systematic review and meta-analysis. *Campbell Systematic Reviews*, 18(1).

IV. Conclusions and Limitations

While the earliest study of mandatory arrest for DV showed a large reduction in DV recidivism, five subsequent studies showed no effect. The authors of the original study had urged replication, citing some flaws in the initial research implementation.

On average, the studies in our meta-analysis did not show any significant change in DV recidivism, general recidivism, the prevalence of DV, or rates of intimate partner homicide.

We found no research on the effects of mandatory arrest on rates of domestic violence treatment or reporting.

To date, there has been no research on alternatives to mandatory arrest at the point of police intervention although some communities are piloting other approaches to policing.

It is important to note that this study is a systematic review of the literature and is not an evaluation of whether mandatory arrest for domestic violence in Washington State affects recidivism. Our approach is to review the national and international research literature to provide insight into the likely effectiveness of mandatory arrest in Washington. Our review indicates there is likely no effect of mandatory arrest relative to other police responses to domestic violence cases. That is, mandatory arrest neither increases nor decreases DV recidivism. To date, mandatory arrest policy for domestic violence has not been rigorously evaluated in Washington State.

These null findings are perhaps not surprising. Our past work studying DV has shown that DV is a challenging crime to address. In a prior study, WSIPP found that, compared to non-DV offenders, those convicted of DV were significantly more likely to commit a new crime within three years.²⁰ We have also reviewed research on interventions specifically for DV offenders, aimed at reducing the likelihood of re-offending.²¹ We identified several approaches that seem promising but none with sufficient evidence to say with certainty that they can significantly reduce recidivism in this population. On the other hand, WSIPP has identified a number of programs that are effective at reducing recidivism in the general offender population.²²

²⁰ Drake, E., Harmon, L., & Miller, M. (2013). *Recidivism trends of domestic violence offenders in Washington State* (Doc. No. 13-08-1201). Olympia: Washington State Institute for Public Policy.

²¹ Miller, M., Drake, E., & Nafziger, M. (2013). *What works to reduce recidivism by domestic violence offenders?* (Doc. No.

13-01-1201). Olympia: Washington State Institute for Public Policy.

²² Wanner, P. (2018). *Inventory of evidence-based, research-based, and promising programs for adult corrections* (Doc. No. 18-02-1901). Olympia: Washington State Institute for Public Policy.

Appendices

Mandatory Arrest for Domestic Violence: A Systematic Review

Appendices

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I. Descriptions of Included Studies

The following tables provide descriptions of studies included in our analyses and are listed by outcomes reported.

Exhibit A1

Outcome: DV Recidivism

| Citation [date published] | Sample size N (treatment) N (control) | Outcomes examined (data source) | Follow-up | Study location | Effect size | 95% CI |
|---------------------------------|---------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------|-------------------------|----------------|----------------|
| Sherman & Berk [1984] | 92 (arrest) 222 (separate or advise) | Police response to the same suspect for an offense committed against any victim (official) | 6 months | Minneapolis, MN | -0.563 | [-1.01, -0.11] |
| Dunford et al. [1990] | 115 (arrest) 115 (separate or mediate) | Complaint for any crime committed by a suspect against the same victim (official) | 6 months | Omaha, NE | 0.039 | [-0.27, 0.34] |
| Pate et al. [1991] | 466 (arrest) 450 (no arrest) | Police response to same suspect for offense committed against same victim (official) | 6 months | Dade County, FL | -0.057 | [-0.26, 0.14] |
| Berk et al. [1992] | 421 (arrest) 1,158 (no arrest) | Combination of reported offense by same suspect and incident in which suspect caused subsequent injury to the same victim (official, victim interviews) | 6 months | Colorado Springs, CO | -0.004 | [-0.18, 0.17] |
| Hirschel & Hutchison [1992a] | 214 (arrest) 436 (separate or cite) | Arrest of the same suspect for an offense committed against the same victim (official) | 6 months | Charlotte, NC | 0.112 | [-0.15, 0.37] |
| Sherman et al. [1992a] | 802 (arrest) 398 (no arrest) | (Composite of) arrest and domestic violence hotline reports of offense by the same suspect against any victim (official, hotline reports) | 6 months | Milwaukee, WI | 0.120 | [-0.03, 0.27] |

Exhibit A2

Outcome: General Recidivism

| Citation [date published] | Sample size N (treatment) N (control) | Outcomes examined (data source) | Follow-up | Study location | Effect size | 95% CI |
|---------------------------------|---------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------|-----------|----------------|-------------|---------------|
| Hirschel & Hutchison [1992a] | 214 (arrest) 436 (separate or cite) | Arrest for any offense by suspect (official) | 6 months | Charlotte, NC | 0.061 | [-0.15, 0.27] |

Exhibit A3

Outcome: Prevalence of Domestic Violence

| Citation [date published] | Sample size N (treatment) N (control) | Outcomes examined (data source) | Dates studied | Study location | Effect size | 95% CI |
|------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------|----------------|-------------|----------------|
| Xie et al. [2012] | 16 (mandatory arrest MSA) 24 (nonmandatory arrest state) | Incidence of intimate partner violence (National Crime Victimization Survey) | 1989-2004 | U.S. | 0.000 | [-0.001-0.000] |

Exhibit A4

Outcome: Intimate Partner Homicide

| Citation [date published] | Sample size N (treatment) N (control) | Outcomes examined (data source) | Dates studied | Study location | Effect size | 95% CI |
|------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------|----------------|-------------|--------------|
| Chin & Cunningham [2019] | 23 (mandatory arrest state) 28 (preferred or discretionary arrest state) | Rate of intimate partner homicide per 100,000 inhabitants (Uniform Crime Reports Supplementary Homicide Reports) | 1977-2014 | U.S. | 0.022 | [-0.7, 0.11] |

II. Description of Excluded Studies

During the screening process, we identified several papers that investigated some aspects of arrest for domestic violence but that were not eligible for the meta-analyses. The reasons for excluding these studies were mainly due to key differences in either the independent variable of interest (i.e., mandatory arrest for protection order), the outcomes that were measured (i.e., the likelihood of being arrested), or because they lacked sufficient methodological rigor (i.e., no control group). [Exhibit A5](#) describes the studies that were not included in the meta-analyses and the reason for their exclusion.

Exhibit A5

Studies Excluded from the Meta-Analyses

| Citation [date published] | Outcomes examined (source) | Study location | Reason excluded |
|----------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Cho & Wilke [2010] | Victim assaulted by any partner a second time following IPV incident (National Crime Survey) | U.S. | Unit of observation is victim level and the outcome included incidents with multiple partners |
| Cook & Taylor [2019] | Monthly assault incident rate by state at varying levels of unemployment | U.S. | Outcome is not linked to recidivism and is interacted with unemployment rates |
| Dugan [2003] | Reported spousal violence (National Crime Victimization Survey) | U.S. | Independent variable is mandatory arrest for protection orders violations |
| Durfee & Goodmark [2020] | Whether the suspect was arrested for intimate partner violence (National Incident-Based Reporting System) | U.S. | Outcome is measuring the likelihood of arrest for DV |
| Felson et al. [2005] | Repeat incident of domestic assault by the same suspect against the same victim (National Crime Victimization Survey) | U.S. | Independent variable is an indicator of arrest, not mandatory arrest; includes felony cases. |
| Hirschel et al. [1992b] | New arrest for IPV offense by a suspect against the same victim (police reports, victim interviews) | Charlotte, NC | Uses the same population data as the original Charlotte, NC SARP paper |
| Iyengar [2009] | Rate of intimate partner homicide per 100,000 inhabitants (FBI supplementary homicide reports) | U.S. | Findings were retracted after a data coding error was found |
| Jaffe et al. [1986] | Physical violence by any suspect against the same victim (victim interviews) | London, Ontario | Sample consists only of suspects who had charges against them (no control) |
| Johnson & Goodlin-Fahncke [2015] | New arrest for IPV offense by a suspect against any victim (police reports, victim interviews) | U.S. | Uses the same population data as the original Colorado Springs, Milwaukee, and Dade County SARP papers |

Exhibit A5 (cont.)

| Citation [date published] | Outcomes examined (source) | Study location | Reason excluded |
|----------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Maxwell et al. [2002] | Subsequent offense by a suspect against the same victim (police reports; victim interviews) | U.S. | Uses the same population data as Spousal Assault Replication Program (SARP), based on the Minneapolis experiment |
| Mears et al. [2001] | Repeat physical violence by the same suspect against the same victim reported to police (police reports) | Texas | Control condition is individual with a protection order |
| Novisky & Peralta [2015] | Likert-type scale measuring victim attitudes toward the efficacy of mandatory arrest (victim interviews) | Midwest, U.S. | Independent variable is a measure of victim support for mandatory arrest, not mandatory arrest |
| Pate & Hamilton [1992] | Subsequent assault by the suspect against the same victim (Domestic Violence Continuation Reports) | Dade County, FL | Uses the same population data as the original Dade County SARP paper |
| Sherman & Harris [2013] | Death rate of Milwaukee experiment suspects (Wisconsin Office of Vital Statistics, Social Security Death Index) | Milwaukee, WI | Outcomes are death rates of the suspects in the Milwaukee experiment |
| Sherman & Harris [2015] | Death rate of Milwaukee experiment victims (Wisconsin Office of Vital Statistics, Social Security Death Index) | Milwaukee, WI | Outcomes are victim death from any cause, not DV revictimization |
| Sherman et al. [1992b] | Subsequent domestic violence hotline reports of offense by the same suspect against any victim (hotline reports) | Milwaukee, WI | Uses the same population data as the original Milwaukee SARP paper |
| Steinman [1990] | Repeat physical assault by the same suspect against any victim (official, victim reports) | Lincoln, NE | Prevalence rate of recidivism not given by Tx and Cn group |
| Tolman & Weisz [1995] | Police response to the same suspect. (official data) | DuPage County, IL | Independent variable is an indicator of arrest, not mandatory arrest; includes felony cases. |
| Zeoli et al. [2011] | Count of total intimate partner homicide victims (Supplementary Homicide Reports) | U.S. | Used the same data as Chin & Cunningham. |

III. Citations

Included Studies

- Berk, R.A., Campbell, A., Klap, R., & Western, B. (1992.). A Bayesian analysis of the Colorado Springs spouse abuse experiment. *Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology*, 83(1), 170-200.
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Excluded Studies

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