Spring 2021

IPV at the Margins: Conceptualizing Gaps in the Survivor Safety Net for Lower-Income Black Women

Cristina Toppin
ctoppin@rollins.edu

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Senior Honors Project Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of
Requirements of the Honors Degree Program

May 2021

Faculty Sponsor: Dr. Donald Davison

Rollins College
Winter Park, Florida

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I. Introduction

This paper evaluates U.S. social and criminal justice policies in the context of intimate partner violence (IPV) against lower-income Black women in the U.S. Theories from the literature on IPV and gender-based violence (GBV) at-large, as well as the literature on inequity, are utilized to examine how entrenched racist, sexist, and classist ideas influence policymaking. It is argued that this process has resulted in policies that reinforce the higher rates of IPV against lower-income Black women as compared to their upper-income white peers (NOW, n.d.). Two overarching research questions are addressed to support this argument. First, how have pejorative stereotypes against Black women shaped U.S. social and criminal justice policymaking in relation to IPV? Secondly, what is the relationship between biased policy frameworks and IPV victimization among lower-income Black women?

This preliminary investigation of IPV against lower-income Black women is an important contribution to both scholarly and popular discourses on violence, race, and gender. For one, it may help clarify a major point of contention in the field over how best to interpret disproportionate IPV rates within minority communities. One bucket of literature notably argues that racial disparities in rates surface from one-dimensional analyses and are rendered insignificant after socioeconomic status is controlled. The alternative bucket affirms these racial disparities, with individual scholars adopting different explanations for these disparities. These explanations cover a wide range of paradigms, from the prejudiced—e.g., specific demographics are naturally predispositioned to violence—to the heterodox—e.g., racism and sexism is ingrained in American institutions.

While socioeconomic status might be the most prevalent determinant of IPV victimization, racial/ethnic minorities and women typically earn less money than their white and

male counterparts—largely due to systemic inequities overlooked by the state. On the other hand, Black men and women are often characterized as aggressive, exemplified by the gangster and "mammy" archetypes in American media. Race-focused IPV studies outside of the Black feminist and critical race traditions that fail to recognize these prevalent stereotypes risk supporting policies that implicitly view (and burden) Black persons as so. Although, completely omitting race from the IPV discourse also fails to acknowledge how Black women face unique sociocultural obstacles as compared to white women. This study traces how race and class *simultaneously* affect lower-income Black women's experiences with IPV to provide another perspective that draws on both of these accounts.

Relatedly, tracing the tangible implications of such stereotypes highlights how stereotypes of IPV survivors hinder policy responses to violence against women across racial and socioeconomic backgrounds. For example, popular depictions of IPV survivors as quiet, weak, and helpless (Walker, 1980) directly counter those of Black women as outspoken, assertive, and aggressive—consequently excluding Black women from claiming victimhood (Allard, 1991). Furthermore, these depictions of survivors interact with traditional gender norms to help create paternalistic policies that prioritize punishing abusers over empowering women and survivors. This study helps remedy the lack of in-depth, mainstream research that identifies and measures how such stereotypes and norms support structural inequalities that, in turn, fuel IPV.

Beyond the theoretical realm, this research is significant for its capacity to improve survivors' lives when applied by policymakers and frontline IPV service providers. Violence against women is widely framed as a social problem without demographic boundaries, affecting upper- and lower-income, Black and white women alike. This rhetoric was used to build solidarity among women in the earlier feminist and anti-violence movements. Today's feminist

and anti-violence activists, however, emphasize that women with other marginalized identities require support that recognizes their hardships outside of those solely based on gender. This ethos is reflected in government reports that stress a vague need for "culturally-appropriate" IPV services. Thus, gauging lower-income Black women's experiences with IPV may help clarify what cultural appropriateness looks like on a structural level.

II. Building the "Survivor Safety Net": Explanations for Policies and People at the Margins of IPV Discourse

Throughout U.S. history, the formation of policy responses to violence against women has depended on the ability of key stakeholders to advance gender equality as a shared ideal in American society. In the 1960s and 1970s, second-wave feminists popularized the notion that the "personal is political," then re-framing gender-based violence (GBV) as a public policy issue instead of one reserved for the private sphere (Kelly, 2017; Purvin, 2007). The current #MeToo Movement builds on this mindset by emphasizing how structural gender inequities perpetuate GBV through the stories of domestic and sexual violence survivors as told by themselves. From the 1994 passage of the Violence Against Women Act (VAWA), to the ongoing proliferation of state anti-sexual assault statutes: these social movements evidently helped shift traditional ideas on gender and sexuality to encourage support for government responses to GBV (North, 2019; OVW, 2016).

These responses often serve as reactionary rather than preventative measures, with other social and criminal justice policy gaps continuing to fuel women's poverty and its own causes and consequences—key driving factors for GBV (CDC, 2020). This observation suggests that Black women in lower-income backgrounds may especially be at risk for GBV and, more specifically, intimate partner violence (IPV) throughout their lifetimes. Furthermore, lower-income Black survivors may be more likely to enter a cycle of violence and lack the social and financial resources necessary to break it. These observations are notably reflected in the IPV data. In their report on the 2011 National Intimate Partner and Sexual Violence Survey (NISVS), Breiding, Smith, Basile et al. (2014) found that higher percentages of non-Hispanic Black women experienced sexual and physical violence by an intimate partner than their non-Hispanic white counterparts (p. 11).

Akin to GBV-focused policies, support for policies in the social and criminal justice arenas reflects the normative perceptions of their most represented groups. Given lower-income Black women's overrepresentation in the social welfare[1] and criminal justice systems (DuMonthier, Childers, and Mili, 2017, p. 124), this study highlights their experiences with IPV and policies that both directly and indirectly relate to IPV. It is argued that stereotypes about Black women construct pervasive notions on Black womanhood and sexuality that, in turn, differentiate their experiences with IPV from those of white women—especially when class dynamics are accounted for. Measuring the political weight of stereotypes thus stresses the importance of studying IPV through an intersectional lens while evaluating the state's approach to IPV against lower-income Black women.

This study's focus on policies that are not only specific to GBV, but those that relate to its contributing factors as well, demands that diverse perspectives on violence, race, gender, and class converse with each other to provide the most comprehensive research answers. Thus, to examine how other works on IPV have addressed the propositions above, groups of literature within different disciplines and theoretical frameworks are reviewed below. First, gaps within extant theories on the causes of IPV are highlighted and joined by discourses on violence and group identity to make them more applicable to the experiences of lower-income Black women. Secondly, an overview of the relationship between stereotypes, politics, and policy is applied to this context. Lastly, the contention in the IPV literature between race- and socioeconomic-centric explanations for disparities in violence rates is discussed.

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[1] Here, "overrepresentation" refers to the popular perception that most cash assistance recipients are Black (see, for example, The Economist, 2018). For Fiscal Year 2019, 30.3% of adult Temporary Assistance for Needy Families (TANF) participants were white, whereas a comparable 31.3% were Black (ACF, 2020, table 19). It thus holds that, in the U.S. at-large, only a *disproportionate* number of recipients, as compared to their share of the U.S. population, are Black.

A. Intimate Partner Violence and Group Identity

Theories on the causes and consequences of IPV may be categorized into three general paradigms that shape policy responses at different stages in the intervention process, from prevention to litigation to rehabilitation. Individualist or "micro-oriented" theories form typologies of perpetrators and survivors based on commonly observed social, psychological, and biological characteristics between the two parties (Jasinski, 2001, p. 6). Sociological or "macro-oriented" theories trace how various phenomena—power hierarchies, cultural traditions and praxes, etc.—shape and are shaped by IPV (Jasinski, 2001, p. 12). Multidimensional theories combine those located within either category to better account for the wide range of circumstances in which IPV occurs (Jasinski, 2001, p. 15).

Examples of individualist perspectives include the theories of social learning and learned helplessness. Social learning theory argues that individuals glean what behaviors are acceptable through their personal experiences and observations of violence (Jasinski, 2001, p. 6). This theory may be empirically supported by studies that suggest a correlation between the presence of violence in one's family history and the likelihood that they will be violent in their own intimate relationships (see Lockhart, 1991). Walker's (1980) learned helplessness theory argues that women stay in violent relationships due to a loss of personal motivation to leave, or "learned helplessness," that they adopt in being subject to constant abuse.

Critiques of learned helplessness theory, however, charge that it fails to acknowledge the immutable factors that prevent women from safely leaving abusive relationships, such as socioeconomic constraints and cultural taboos (MN Advocates for Human Rights, 2003). The theory also lends itself to interpretations that hold women accountable for seeking support to overcome these factors, rather than the state for making such support more accessible.

Additionally, as is later discussed, the theory's application supports gender and sexuality norms that exclude Black women as a result of their racialized stereotypes. Meanwhile, critiques of social learning theory and, by extension, typologies of perpetrators assert that they lessen men's responsibility for committing violent acts.

Considering these limitations, this study instead situates its analyses within the sociological and multidimensional frameworks. These frameworks are more useful for answering the present research inquiries due to their commentary on the societal patterns that circumscribe power dynamics along race, gender, and class lines and, by extension, permeate individual relationships. Micro-oriented theories may support GBV-focused policy reforms such as increased funding for individualized services for survivors and perpetrators, i.e., effective case-by-case interventions. Despite the need for such reforms, applications of micro-oriented theories may overlook other policies that delineate women's access to resources and indirectly help prevent victimization or mitigate its effects.

Examples of sociological perspectives relevant to IPV against lower-income Black women include feminist theory and critical race theory. Feminist theory reasons that male-dominated cultures create legal institutions tolerant of both the threat and use of violence so as to support patriarchy (Jasinski, 2001, p. 12). Similarly, critical race theory asserts that legal institutions continue to systematically disadvantage Black persons and people of color despite the formal denouncement of white supremacy under civil rights legislation (Groves Price, n.d.). Critiques of these theories largely regard their respective focuses on gender and race as ignoring the intragroup differences among women and Black persons—thus stressing the utility of multidimensional perspectives.

Crenshaw's (1991) and Collins' (1998) seminal discussions on violence against Black women draw from these theories to form multidimensional perspectives that depart from conventional analyses of IPV. According to Crenshaw's theory of intersectionality, people experience identity-based privileges and burdens that are differentiated from those faced by others—both within and outside of one's own social groups. Crenshaw employs this theory to emphasize how patterns of racism and sexism "overlap" (p. 1265) to compound Black women's marginalization as compared to Black men and white women, particularly in the context of rape and domestic abuse. As Crenshaw summarizes this point:

> When race and gender factors are examined in the context of rape, intersectionality can be used to map the ways in which racism and patriarchy have shaped conceptualizations of rape, to describe the unique vulnerability of women of color to these converging systems of domination, and to track the marginalization of women of color within antiracist and antirape discourses. (pp. 1265-1266).

Mirroring Crenshaw's (1991) comments cited above, Collins (1998) explicitly denounces analyzing violence through a solely antirape or antiracist lens due to Black women's relegation to the peripheries of both discourses (p. 918). Here, Collins refers to Crenshaw's (1992) work that illustrates this contention through Justice Clarence Thomas' 1991 Supreme Court nomination. The public nature of institutional violence against Black men, as epitomized by the lynch mob, was notably used by Thomas as a metaphor to condemn former employee Anita Hill's sexual harassment allegations against him. During a televised Senate confirmation hearing, Thomas stated, "As a Black American…it [support for Hill's allegations] is a high-tech lynching for uppity Blacks…" (Rosenwald, 2018).

Thomas continued to title a chapter in his 2008 memoir, "Invitation to a Lynching," further framing Hill's supporters as racist opportunists who wished to snuff Thomas' political ascent. Here, this metaphor and its historical roots evidently silence Black women's experiences

with violence—especially that perpetrated by other Black persons—and dismay Black women from claiming victimhood. This is largely due to the solidarity among Black communities' that was necessitated by racist attacks like lynching and, more so, false allegations of rape by white women (which often rallied lynch mobs). As Collins (1998) argues, these external threats encouraged Black women to unconditionally support their male counterparts, and for Black men to expect this support in turn (p. 926). Collins highlights these intragroup observations as so:

> In a context of severe racial violence, African American women's victimization by African American men or, worse still, the violence targeted toward one another, became taboo topics. (p. 927)

Thus, according to Collins (1998), violence may be envisioned as a tool for maintaining neat separations of hierarchies across the spectrum of marginalized identities. Collins, however, also asserts that violence may bind hierarchies to each other. In this case, violence rooted in white supremacy serves as a connecting force between racial and gender hierarchies, with neither able to operate independently from the other. Considering these broad phenomena stresses the need to analyze violence in terms of its group implications, further attesting to the utility of macro- over micro-oriented theories of IPV in this context.

Crenshaw's (1991) and Collins' (1998) works may be applied to emphasize the relationship between stereotypes and policies that affect IPV against lower-income Black women, one of this paper's main inquiries. Policymakers and key stakeholders in the U.S. policy making process at-large—that is, groups with enough authority to conceptualize and respond to violence—have been predominantly white, upper-SES men (see Collins, 1998, p. 931). Thus, prevailing images of lower-income Black persons may influence their understanding of how violence operates within such communities. In this hypothetical scenario, affected policymakers

may embrace stereotypes that characterize Black women as possessing inherent qualities that lead to their victimization.

By implicitly or explicitly placing responsibility for IPV and its correlated factors (e.g., poverty) on lower-income Black women and survivors, such policymakers exclude their experiences from the forms of violence that deserve state intervention. Although, Collins (1998) ensures to recognize the importance of not framing white men as a monolithic oppressor over minority groups by highlighting how violence operates in contexts with power imbalances beyond those based on race (p. 932).

B. Stereotype Politics

Before examining the historical development of influential stereotypes about Black women, a second theoretical discussion on the relationship between stereotypes, politics, and policy is in order. Schneider and Ingram's (1993) theory on the social construction of target populations is especially useful for understanding, in their words, "why some groups are advantaged more than others independently of traditional notions of political power and how policy designs reinforce or alter such advantages" (p. 334). To model this theory, the authors develop a typology of social groups—dependents, advantaged, contenders, and deviants—and project the extent of policy burdens and benefits they each receive based on their respective political power and positive or negative image within society at-large (pp. 336-337).

Schneider and Ingram propose that dependents receive mostly symbolic support from politicians and policymakers due to their weak political power. The authors specify that policymakers often utilize symbolic policy tools to address the various problems facing dependents, despite the complex nature of such problems demanding more direct and robust solutions. They exemplify these observations through IPV, arguing that policymakers prefer to

implement paternalistic responses that push the grievances of IPV survivors, as indicated by themselves, to the peripheries of the policymaking process. These responses may embrace the notion that dependents lack the necessary agency for engaging in policymaking, and/or that the state must control inherently "deviant" qualities within dependents that reinforce their marginalized social status—essentially faulting dependents for their problems.

Schneider and Ingram highlight that such paternalism is demonstrated by the disproportionate use of police force over social services to protect IPV survivors from revictimization. Applying a race, class, and gender analysis to this example helps strengthen the argument that this traditional policy approach to IPV reflects the political weight of stereotypes about lower-income Black women. On this point, Schneider and Ingram also theorize that public officials "map" how to best allocate policy benefits and burdens based on their personally held stereotypes and those held by their main supporters and target demographics (p. 336). According to this reasoning, the historically racialized and gendered dimensions of criminal justice and social welfare policy, as reviewed below, encourage certain policymakers to "burden" lower-income Black women as they disproportionately operate within these arenas and, in turn, are subject to public scrutiny.

For example, Gilens (1995) notably complements Schneider and Ingram's (1993) theoretical examination of the relationship between stereotypes and policy through his study on racial attitudes and opposition to means-tested assistance programs (colloquially referred to as "welfare"). Utilizing data from white respondents to the 1986 American National Election Study (NES) survey, Gilens finds that racial attitudes serve as the best predictors for opposition to welfare among whites (p. 994). He asserts that other commonly cited variables for welfare opposition—e.g., self-interest, individualism, and egalitarianism—are less significant, a

conclusion that suggests race-neutral analyses of social policy problems cannot reveal their strongest causal factors. As Gilens summarizes: "I show that at least one aspect of traditional prejudice—the stereotype of blacks as lazy—is still widespread and continues to have a profound impact on whites' political thinking" (p. 994).

C. Race, Gender, Class, and Representation

A substantial body of literature in the Black feminist, decolonial, and critical race traditions identifies institutional slavery as a driving force in the emergence of today's popular stereotypes about Black men and women (Allard, 1991; Douglas, 2016; Holmes, 2016). These works argue that such stereotypes helped regulate Black bodies by attempting to mitigate institutional slavery's inherent contradictions as compared to larger social norms and ideologies. For example, according to this theory, as female labor ran directly counter to Anglo-American, paternalistic ideals of femininity and masculinity, stereotypic ideas of Black women as exceptionally strong circulated so as to justify *Black* female labor (Allard, 1991). Additionally, the "Jezebel" stereotype of Black women as sexually deviant beings circulated so as to differentiate Black female sexuality from that of white women, thus sustaining the antebellum period's gendered ideals of decency, purity, and chastity by justifying the sexual exploitation of Black women on the auction block and by white male slave owners (Douglas, 2016).

Holmes' (2016) thesis on the historical fetishization of Black women in Western colonial societies effectively conveys the extent to which these stereotypes are ingrained in America's very foundations. Holmes points to Thomas Jefferson's seminal political writings and the influence of eugenics on subsequent medical practices to suggest a chronological pipeline between past and present ideas on Black female sexuality. Before presenting these examples however, Holmes notes the fetishized imagery used to describe African women—and the

unexplored African continent—in European travel logs during the colonial period, thus suggesting that powerful stereotypic images of Black women developed even before the period of institutional slavery. This suggestion coincides with Olusoga's (2016) review of early Black British history, in which he details numerous fantastical, mythic illustrations of Africans offered by Classical writers and cartographers that were popularized in medieval-era Britain, eventually spreading to the North American colonies through transatlantic exchange.

Douglas (2016) similarly relates the capitalization of Black women's reproductive capacities under institutional slavery—in effect, their ability to birth more enslaved persons—to forms of modern state regulation on Black female sexuality. Douglas exemplifies such state regulation through the influential roles of the Welfare Queen and Matriarch stereotypes in 20th century social policy debates. A 1974 *Chicago Tribune* expose on Linda Taylor, a mixed-race woman convicted of welfare fraud, is credited with first instilling the Welfare Queen stereotype in the collective American imaginary (Sreenivasan et al., 2019). Then U.S. presidential candidate Ronald Reagan further publicized the image during a 1976 campaign speech in which he referenced the article, arguing that Taylor made $150,000 per year in tax free income to generate support for cash assistance cutbacks (Sreenivasan et al., 2019). The 1970's dominant social and political climate worked in Reagan's favor, as constituent support for cash assistance policy spending waned in response to the period's economic slowdown (Sreenivasan et al., 2019).

The Welfare Queen's legitimization by such major political and social gatekeepers proceeded to portray lower-income Black women as sexually perverse mothers who have children to earn more cash benefits and "cheat" the system—thus building upon the Jezebel stereotype propagated by institutional slavery's key stakeholders (Douglas, 2016). The Matriarch image simultaneously worked to reinforce the notion that Black women's exceptional strength

and aggressive nature position them as the heads of their respective families (Douglas, 2016). As with the Welfare Queen stereotype, the Matriarch employed racist and sexist ideas to blame individual Black women—rather than structurally racist and sexist policies, as is further discussed in Chapter 4—for the political problems facing both Black Americans and Americans at-large.

It should be noted that stereotypes about white womanhood and sexuality also support Black women's marginalization, as Allard (1991) highlights in her Black feminist analysis of Walker's (1980) battered woman syndrome and its impact on law enforcement responses to IPV. According to Allard, the battered woman syndrome emerged as a legal defense throughout the 1980s and 1990s for female IPV survivors who kill their abusive partners out of self-defense. Allard, however, juxtaposes two real legal cases between a Black and white IPV survivor who killed their abusive partners to argue that this legal defense rests on stereotypic ideas of white women as delicate, passive, and chaste. The lower-income Black survivor, Geraldine Mitchell, was convicted of manslaughter whereas her middle-income counterpart, Hedda Nussbaum, was acquitted of all charges (Allard, 1991). Through Mitchell's and Nussbaum's cases, Allard stresses that the battered women's syndrome defense—despite its origins as a mechanism to protect IPV survivors—is out of reach for Black women because their dominant representations in white society fail to meet the standards of womanhood upon which the defense is built.

According to Allard's findings, the aforementioned popular notions of Black women as sexually deviant, scheming, and aggressive thus prime judges and juries to perceive their guilt more often than their innocence. Allard notably concludes her analysis by reviewing how the various caricatures of Black women presented by popular media employ these notions, thus engaging in the kind of critical stereotype discourse utilized by Douglas (2016), Holmes (2016),

and Olusoga (2016). Allard particularly focuses on those caricatures of Black women as overtly sexual beings, from the Black exploitation films of the 1970s, to both majority white and Black 1980's television series, to individual Black female celebrities such as Grace Jones. Allard's critiques, however, directly challenge emergent feminist discourses on Black female representation: here, the hypersexualized stereotypic images that Allard pathologizes are now largely regarded as tools for female empowerment.

While Allard explicitly delimits her critiques to the relationship between such images and the battered women's syndrome defense's failure to protect Black women, she suggests that such images carry negative societal implications for Black women in-general—and, furthermore, that they fail to accurately illustrate Black female sexuality. Approaching Allard's assertions with the stereotype discourse analysis offered by Williamson (2016) helps provide more insight as to how such debates over what constitutes "proper" Black female representation may be approached. Nevertheless, despite the lack of nuance and potential applicability of Allard's critiques to a current Black feminist context, her corollary argument that stereotypes shape policy and carry real policy consequences holds. As Allard states: "Because battered woman syndrome is based on the traditional view of the 'normal,' passive woman, the theory does little to help Black women who are excluded from this stereotype" (p. 204).

D. Alternative Paradigms on the Relationship Between Race, Gender, Class, and IPV

Another body of literature departs from Allard's (1991), Douglas' (2016), Holmes' (2016), focus on race, gender, and socio-cultural dynamics to offer primarily socioeconomic explanations for IPV against Black women. In their article on the intersecting influences of race, class, and gender on domestic violence, Sokoloff and Dupont (2005) cite studies that argue when socioeconomic factors are controlled, racial disparities in the occurrence of domestic violence

are insignificant. One of these cited studies by Rennison and Planty (2003) compares non-lethal IPV rates between Black and non-Black persons as reported in the National Crime Victimization Survey (NCVS) data from 1993-1999. According to Rennison and Planty, their comparison differs from those that suggest racial disparities in IPV rates by disaggregating rates by race as well as gender and annual household income. Here, they notably highlight that, "In the aggregate…6.7 Blacks, 4.6 whites and 2.7 persons of other races (per 1,000 persons) were IPV victims between 1993 and 1999" (p. 436). The authors, however, find that IPV rates vary by gender and annual household income, while rates among Blacks and whites remain statistically similar when disaggregated by these two dimensions.

For both Blacks and whites, those earning less than $7,500 annually demonstrated the highest IPV rates (Rennison and Planty, 2003). The authors conclude their study by emphasizing how findings on IPV rates across racial and ethnic groups that fail to further disaggregate the data—especially by socioeconomic class—may support the notion that race and ethnicity alone incite violence (Smelser, Wilson, and Mitchell, 2001; as cited by Rennison and Planty, 2003). This concern reinforces Sokoloff and Dupont's (2005) observation that such conflations of crime with race/ethnicity support stereotypic illustrations of minority communities as inherently violent. To avoid using "race as an oversimplified proxy" (Rennison and Planty, 2003, p. 440), researchers should ensure to account for how different variables related to race structurally and socially influence the occurrence of violent crime. As the example of the Welfare Queen shows, and as will be later discussed in-detail, the power of stereotype discourse in U.S. politics demands that IPV research refrain from adopting a race-neutral lens to highlight how one's race, gender, sexuality, and class intersect to create unique contexts of marginalization (Crenshaw, 1991).

Key methodological differences across surveys and between survey iterations may underlie persistent research gaps and challenges in the domestic violence literature that lead to such conflicting findings. For one, while Rennison and Planty (2003) utilize NCVS data for their analyses, other national surveys feature widely different estimates on the prevalence of IPV and other crimes against women (Crowell and Burgess, 1996, p. 32). For example, the 1992-1993 NCVS found that 7.6 per 1,000 women were assaulted by an intimate partner within the year—an annual rate 15 times *less* than that found by the 1985 National Family Violence Survey (116 per 1,000 women), another major national data source for violence against women (Straus and Gelles, 1990; as cited in Crowell and Burgess, 1996). Interestingly, the NCVS' explicit focus on crime may help cause this significant variance as some of the surveyed women may not agree with their intimate partner's abuse being defined as a crime (Straus and Gelles, 1990; Crowell and Burgess, 1996).[2] Asking similar questions on incidences of violence outside of a criminal context, as the latter survey (NFVS) does, may thus encourage such women to report having experienced IPV.

The NCVS also exemplifies how differences between survey iterations inhibit researchers' ability to precisely identify longitudinal trends in IPV rates. In 1992, significant changes were made to the NCVS' design in response to critiques that the survey failed to effectively measure particular crimes, including sexual assault and domestic violence (Rennison and Planty, 2003). The survey's redesign introduced questions and information specifically pertaining to IPV, with succeeding survey iterations finding a rate of violence among 43.7 per 1,000 women (Bachman, 1994; as cited in Crowell and Burgess, 1996). These post-1992

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[2] This hypothesis is especially plausible as, in Crowell and Burgess' (1996) essay on domestic violence research challenges, the authors note that "research consistently shows, however, that women often do not define experience that meet the legal definition of a rape" (p. 38).

findings represent a notable departure from the approximate rate of 23 per 1,000 women that was held fairly constant from 1973 to 1991, when the NCVS did not specifically discuss IPV (Bachman and Saltzman, 1995; Crowell and Burgess, 1996). Contrastingly, from its 1975 to 1985 iterations, the NFVS found a statistically insignificant 6.6% *decrease* in IPV rates among women (Crowell and Burgess, 1996). This shift may be partially attributed to the 1975 survey's use of in person interviews versus the 1985 survey's use of telephone interviews (Crowell and Burgess, 1996).[3]

Another gap in the literature that may exacerbate the contention between socio-cultural and class-based theories on IPV is the relative paucity of representative surveys and deep quantitative investigations of IPV across race and class, as implied by Crowell and Burgess (1996) in their review of the domestic violence literature. Lockhart's (1991) comparative study on IPV across race and social class attempts to fill this gap that notably prevents researchers from engaging in rigorous cross-study analyses as well—thus hindering their ability to meet the falsifiability requirement of good research. Lockhart surveyed a sample of 307 African American and European American women, asking questions that sought to answer the study's three main research inquiries. Her first two inquiries ask if significant race and race-class disparities exist in the extent and nature of IPV, as well as in the sources of conflict that culminate in violence. Her last proposition examines the respective and interactive impacts of other independent variables— race, social class, familial history of violence, and marital satisfaction—on the circumstances of IPV.

In conducting hierarchical analyses of variance (ANOVA) to determine the respective effects of the aforementioned independent variables on levels of IPV, Lockhart (1991) found no

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[3] Notably, according to Crowell and Burgess, "sexual assault prevalence rates obtained in studies that gathered data through in person interviews are generally higher than those obtained in telephone interviews" (p. 35).

significant relation between race and "husband-to-wife violence" (p. 95). Meanwhile, social class marital satisfaction, and familial history of violence (more specifically, the presence of husband-to-wife violence between a partner's parents) were significantly correlated with IPV. Although Lockhart highlights that a greater proportion of middle-class African American women reported experiencing IPV committed by their partners than their middle-class white counterparts. She continues to suggest that these findings may support Staples' (1976) conclusion that, when observed, higher levels of IPV among married African American couples could be attributed to the oppression they face as individuals in white American society. As she builds on Staples' conclusion:

> Along this line…middle-class African Americans who acquired their [socioeconomic] status recently retain the norms, values, and role expectations of their lower-income developmental experiences as well as acquiring those associated with their new status. Consequently, aggressive and violent methods of problem solving between marital partners *may be part and parcel of their subcultural norms* and developmental experiences. (Emphasis added, p. 99).

This interpretation of the data, however, potentially perpetuates the notion that lower-income couples, rather than Black couples, are inherently violent. While such a line of reasoning implies that lower-socioeconomic status (SES) persons resolve conflict with violence due to shared psychological and environmental variables within their socialization processes, it fails to expand on what these variables may be and how they are not indicative of inherent traits of lower-income persons themselves. Here, Lockhart recognizes this need for further research to develop stronger theoretical models that describe how one's propensity to violence and socioeconomic conditions may relate to their racial membership and consequent socio-cultural behaviors and praxes.

E. Overview of Federal IPV Legislation

Federal legislation on intimate partner violence (IPV) includes the Victims of Crime Act (VOCA), Violence Against Women Act (VAWA), and the Family Violence Prevention and Services Act (FVPSA). VOCA was established in 1984 to fund programs for victims of crime through the Crime Victims Fund (CVF). VOCA-funded services for IPV survivors may include domestic violence shelters and rape crisis centers. Notably, fines paid by those convicted of federal crimes constitute the CVF (NNEDV, n.d.). This suggests how criminal justice responses to IPV are not only ineffective but harmful to criminal justice reform efforts. In this sense, calls to address mass incarceration and unequitable fines directly threaten a major IPV program funding source.

Also established in 1984, the FVPSA allocates funding to domestic violence services such as emergency housing and counseling. The Department of Health and Human Services (DHHS) administers FVPSA grants that reach local domestic violence agencies providing such services. In 2019, Democratic and Republican senators introduced a bill to increase the FVPSA's maximum funding level and bolster services to underserved communities (e.g., sovereign Indigenous governments). This Senate reauthorization bill and its House companion bill have yet to become law, maintaining the FVPSA's 2015 expiration (NNEDV, 2020a).

VAWA was established in 1994 to create coordinated responses to domestic violence, sexual assault, dating violence, and stalking. The Department of Justice (DOJ) and DHHS administer VAWA grant programs. These programs often train professionals at different stages in the violence-intervention process to work specifically with survivors and perpetrators. Congress must reauthorize VAWA every five years, expanding its scope through each successive iteration. For example, VAWA 2013 increased protections for survivors living in federally

assisted housing (NNEDV, n.d.). The House and Senate's 2019 reauthorization bills have yet to become law, leading to VAWA's 2018 expiration (NNEDV, 2020b).

As alluded to above, all three laws were developed when retributive responses to crime were especially popular. In 1984, sociologists Lawrence Sherman and Richard Berk argued that arrest discouraged intimate partner violence in their "Minnesota Domestic Violence Experiment" study. State and local governments then implemented harsher criminal justice policies unique to IPV, such as mandatory warrantless arrest laws. VAWA's passage 10 years later reserved hundreds of millions of dollars annually for law enforcement entities. Later iterations built on VAWA 1994 to further support providers of preventative and rehabilitative services. Nevertheless, about 85% of VAWA funds still support law enforcement efforts (Goodmark, 2019).

III. Research Parameters

This paper applies an equity lens to state-level policies that operate both within and outside of an IPV-exclusive setting. It analyzes these policies within four state case studies to develop a continuum of different IPV policy environments. This case study approach enables a more granular review of how different policy problem definitions, goals and motivations, tools, and enforcement mechanisms may shape IPV against lower-income Black women. Additionally, the four states were selected according to factors deemed important for explaining different policy responses to IPV. These factors include a state's racial composition and density, dominant partisan and ideological identities, income distribution, and female political representation. To effectively examine how such race, gender, and class dynamics shape the continuum, this paper limits its focus to two specific criminal justice and social policies: warrantless arrest and cash assistance. These policies serve as appropriate mediums for studying these dynamics and their relationship to IPV policymaking in-general, as is discussed throughout the previous chapter. Excluded policies and states may help inform the continuum in subsequent studies.

A. The Continuum

Before identifying the states and characteristics of-interest, the continuum's framework must be set. Two IPV policy environments lie at the ends of the continuum, as conceptualized in this paper: "contextual" versus "targeted" environments (see Fig. 3A). Contextual environments are characterized by policies that acknowledge the set of circumstances that make violence likelier to occur (e.g., poverty). At their highest levels, the most contextual policies fall outside an explicit anti-violence setting but still address key IPV risk factors. These risk factors fall within two general themes, reminiscent of the proposed continuum itself: women's economic security and physical safety. Regardless of a state's designated environment, social policies

primarily address the former factor and criminal justice policies the latter. Contextual social policies include programs that disproportionately serve women of color, such as unemployment insurance, Temporary Assistance for Needy Families (TANF), and subsidized housing. General firearm restrictions[4] and discretionary arrest laws exemplify contextual criminal justice policies.

Figure 3A
The Contextual-Targeted Policy Heuristic

Contextual Policy Environments	Targeted Policy Environments
Key Characteristics Address factors that make violence more likely to occur through policies both within and outside an explicit anti-violence setting Preventative, proactive Strive to empower survivors and higher risk women	**Key Characteristics** Focused on violence itself, rather than its structural factors, through policies that target survivors and offenders Responsive, deterrent Prioritize survivors' physical safety while punishing offenders
Social Policies Robust income support programs for all participants	**Social Policies** Implementation of special income support provisions for IPV survivors
Criminal Justice Policies Broadly restrictive gun purchase and ownership laws Adoption of discretionary arrest policies with primary aggressor and/or anti-dual arrest provisions	**Criminal Justice Policies** Implementation of gun restrictions for IPV perpetrators Adoption of mandatory arrest or pro-arrest policies lacking primary aggressor and/or anti-dual arrest provisions

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[4] While state gun laws are outside the scope of this analysis, it is acknowledged that they warrant future research on their relationship to the continuum. A Center for American Progress report found that 55% of women killed by intimate partners between 2001-2012 were killed with guns (Gerney and Parsons, 2014).

Targeted environments emphasize policies that mostly focus on violence itself rather than its underlying risk factors. This focus may be survivor- or offender-oriented. One example of a targeted, survivor-oriented policy is a survivor's right to a court-appointed advocate for criminal trial support. This paper investigates survivor-oriented provisions *within* policies that have the capacity to be more contextual, depending on the state in-question. One example of such a provision is the Family Violence Option (FVO)[5] within TANF. Similarly, offender-oriented policies may be standalone measures or provisions located within larger policies and programs. Such standalone measures include the forms of IPV that a state typically prosecutes (e.g., physical assault, financial domination, emotional/psychological abuse, etc.) and their minimum sentences. Such provisions include a state's firearm laws for individuals with restrictions orders or marked histories of IPV as compared to all residents in-general. This paper, however, only investigates offender-oriented provisions within state warrantless arrest laws. It specifically considers whether officers must make an arrest at a domestic violence incident, regardless of their discretion.

All case study states are predicted to feature policies with targeted elements. This is mostly due to historic national trends, from the law enforcement system's continued growth and Americans' bias towards retributive crime responses. As the previous chapter also argues, influential stereotypes against Black women have encouraged policymakers to undermine their victimization and overlook their needs outside of a retributive, responsive anti-violence framework. Nevertheless, contextual states can and should be distinguished as those with less of a targeted emphasis. Conversely, targeted states may appear to feature contextual policies when compared to other states excluded from this analysis. Thus, the most representative arrest and

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[5] The FVO was added to the 1996 TANF legislation to exempt survivors and women with histories of violence from certain program eligibility requirements. For more information on the FVO, see pages 59-60.

cash assistance policies within each case study state will be used to locate them along the continuum *relative to one another*. Each contextual policy, provision, or element within a state positions it closer to the continuum's contextual end, suggesting that a state's movement hinges on the *degree* to which it is targeted.

These concerns highlight why a continuum serves as a useful IPV-policy heuristic. For one, it conveys the capacity of states to move towards a more contextual policy approach when different state variables and policies are accounted for. Secondly, by locating states along a flexible continuum—rather than fitting them within rigid categories—this paper concedes that the present analyses cannot place states within either policy environment at exact locations. Nonetheless, approximating a state's location still provides key insights into its implicit treatment of IPV: namely, whether it recognizes violence as an interpersonal or structural problem.

To expand this point using TANF, it may be concluded that states with more inclusive eligibility requirements and greater cash benefit levels indirectly prevent IPV against lower-income Black women by promoting their economic security. Other states may not have a robust TANF program as defined here. Instead, they may implement the FVO or an equivalent measure for survivor-participants. It is plausible that these hypothetical states envision IPV survivors and lower-income Black women as mutually exclusive groups, despite the disproportionate rates of violence among the latter. It is contended that persistent stereotypes, from the Welfare Queen to the Jezebel, have facilitated this separation.

This paper takes the stance that contextual policy environments are more effective at addressing intimate partner violence. The previous chapter's discussion on interpersonal violence and inequity highlights how ideas around victimhood largely rest on white feminine ideals. By

directly countering popular, racist ideas about Black womanhood and sexuality, these ideas consequently push Black women to the margins of discussions and policy deliberations around IPV. Thus, it holds that targeted policy environments may contain elements that not only fail to recognize Black women as survivors deserving of justice. They may also exacerbate Black women's experiences of violence and its contributing factors—most notably poverty. Future research may continue to explore the connections between contextual and targeted policy environments to IPV outcomes among lower-income Black women.

B. State Characteristics

What now follows is a discussion on the state case studies and characteristics that determined their selection, preceding a descriptive analysis of how they compare across characteristics. The proposed heuristic rests on four case studies: Florida, Kentucky, Minnesota, and New York. These states were selected for their differences and similarities across characteristics that relate to IPV against lower-income Black women, explained in more detail below. Additionally, theories connecting such characteristics to policymaking offer institutional, political, and socio-cultural insights on how contextual and targeted environments may arise. The selection criteria are as follows:

- Share and geographic dispersion of the Black population
- Share of state women legislators, disaggregated by party identification
- State Gini coefficient and share of persons living in poverty, disaggregated by gender, household type, and race
- Partisan and ideological composition

These characteristics are relevant to this research because they indicate a state's attitudes, efforts, and outcomes in promoting structural equity—central to addressing IPV against lower-income Black women. The Chapter III Appendix includes tables comparing Florida's,

Kentucky's, Minnesota's, and New York's racial, socioeconomic, and elected official data to help visualize why this particular set of states was formed.

For one, the size of a state's Black population has been correlated to voter behaviors and tangible social and criminal justice policy outcomes (see, for example, Alesina, Glaeser, and Sacerdote, 2001; O'Brian, 2017). States with higher Black populations tend to have more restricted TANF programs, serving 10 or less families in poverty with cash benefits at less than 20% of the federal poverty level. All but two of these states (Idaho, Indiana) are located in the south, where disparities rooted in slavery and Jim Crow hinder Black women's financial prospects, as this research argues (CBPP, 2021a).

Theories on racial status threat help explain this correlation in a more general context. Regarding policy, Wetts and Willer (2018) address status threat as white opposition to government action that is perceived to only benefit racial minorities. This perception then triggers racial resentment by manufacturing a sense of lost social, political, and economic capital necessary to maintain an advantage in the racial hierarchy. Prior studies suggest that these perceptions hold regardless of whether persons openly embrace or acknowledge racialized policy preferences.

According to the authors, implicit and explicit biases resulting from the socialization process work in tandem with these perceived threats to the current social order. Wetts and Willer also argue that status threat is triggered by events that *symbolize* minority group empowerment itself, notably citing their "rising population share and electoral strength…[such as] the election of the first nonwhite president" (p. 794). Thus, status threat theory raises a state's Black population size and density as key variables that may facilitate specific IPV outcomes among minority women.

Racial status threat may also permeate a state's party and ideological composition. This is observed in the groups that political gatekeepers—the constituents, non-state actors, and public officials in-power—include or seek to benefit throughout the policymaking process. Thus, accounting for the complexities of modern polarization continues to position race, gender, and class as key analytical considerations. The organization of identity-based divisions along party lines has made questions about race, gender, and class equity inseparable from party politics. The prevalence of such unmarriageable, "overlapping cleavages" is defined by this neat sorting of divisions that, in turn, decreases the likelihood of compromise between opposition groups (Yang, 2003, p. 4).

The January 2021 American Perspectives Survey (APS), administered by the American Enterprise Institute, flags this relationship (Cox, 2021). It finds that 98% of Democrats recognize Joe Biden's election as legitimate, whereas 66% of Republicans do not—indicating meager prospects for compromise. Furthermore, Washington Post (2020a) exit poll data found that 87% of Black constituents voted for Biden, whereas 58% of whites voted for the incumbent. Place of residence and class identity also served as stark cleavages that intersected with racial identity to widen these partisan outcomes, further highlighting the relevance of Black population density as a state selection criterion. For example, post-election statements made by Republican officials implied that voter fraud was concentrated in urban localities—often majority-minority and working class (Lerner, 2020).[6]

More or less polarization, however, is observed in some states versus that seen on a national scale—especially among state electorates. Case study states were chosen with this

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[6] Notably, these coded statements reflected the Trump legal team's post-election lawsuits. Targeted counties boast the highest Black or Latinx populations in their respective states, with those in Philadelphia carrying more than 74% of the state's Black population (Lerner, 2020).

proposition in mind, as Florida typically yields tighter electoral margins than the remaining three

states.[7] A focus on state government, however, may yield different observations. Such variation

may suggest that lower-income Black women *systematically* experience different IPV outcomes

among each other based on their place of residence—not only as compared to white, higher-

income peers.

Additionally, cross-national studies on social welfare systems offer institutional and

polity-centered theories that may be applied to the U.S. alone. Such theories argue that countries

with proportional representation systems—as compared to majoritarian "first past the post"

(FPTP) electoral systems—encourage redistributive policies (Alesina et al., 2001, p. 216).

Despite the looming presence of FPTP, this reasoning may be adapted and translated to a U.S.

state context. States with greater partisan and ideological diversity may encourage compromise

and coalition building.

Following this argument, more pluralistic policies may emerge that cater to more people

instead of hegemonic constituencies (i.e., white voters). While Alesina et al.'s (2001) cross-

national study confirms this relationship, the authors find that a confluence of other systemic and

social factors are especially salient in the U.S. context—with racial attitudes being the most

influential. This finding supports the previous observations on racial status threat, overlapping

cleavages, and their significance to equity concerns that impact IPV.

A state government's gender composition is an equally important variable for this

research, as it seeks to apply a gender lens to critical race and class perspectives. Caizza's (2004)

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[7] Although, the state's majority vote for former President Donald Trump suggests a shift towards the right
(Washington Post, 2020b). Furthermore, the state has not had a Democratic governor for four election cycles.
Florida's 2018 General Election results, however, exemplify the tight margins described here: 50.1% versus 49.9%
of Floridians voted for Republican Senator Rick Scott, whereas 49.6% versus 49.2% voted for now Governor Ron
DeSantis (CNN, 2018). This discrepancy between Florida's presidential and gubernatorial elections highlights the
importance of accounting for its county and state-level dynamics.

study on women's political representation controls for multiple variables in suggesting that states with more Democratic women legislators have more "women-friendly" policies (p. 35). Thus, this paper compares each state's share of women state legislators in relation to their placement along the contextual-targeted continuum.

States' Gini coefficients are also accounted for, alongside the share of residents living in poverty across characteristics, for two main reasons. The Gini, being a widely used measure of income inequality, proxies a state's overall commitment to equity promotion, as alluded to above. Furthermore, equity promotion indicates a more contextual approach to social issues which can then be applied to intimate partner violence. Considering disaggregated state data on poverty bolsters these observations, potentially revealing a state's more targeted leanings— should lower-income Black women fare significantly worse than the state population in-general.

<div align="center">1. Descriptive Analyses</div>

The first analysis in this section reviews the case study states' racial compositions. Figure 3B tabulates the U.S. Census Bureau's 2019 American Community Survey (ACS) estimates for each state's white and Black populations and their shares of the total population. Figure 3C shows the 2019 ACS estimates for the racial composition of each state's adult population by sex. Figure 3D shows the 2000 Decennial Census' white and Black population estimates, used here to highlight any demographic trends between the 1990s and 2010s, with the latter represented by the 2019 ACS data. Note that all percentages have been rounded to whole numbers and serve as population estimates given their margins of error.

Figure 3B
Racial Composition, 2019

State	Total Population	White Alone	Black or African American Alone	Black or African American Alone or in Combination with One or More Races*
Florida	21,477,737	16,010,079	3,441,062	3,772,874
		75%	16%	18%
Kentucky	4,467,673	3,873,691	363,167	424,716
		87%	8%	10%
Minnesota	5,639,632	4,627,588	370,291	454,116
		82%	7%	8%
New York	19,453,561	12,292,680	3,084,304	3,424,002
		63%	16%	18%

Source: 2019 ACS 1-Year Estimates

Figure 3C
Racial Composition of Adult Population by Sex, 2019

State	Total Population		White Alone		Black or African American Alone		Black or African American Alone or in Combination with One or More Races*	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Florida	48.3%	51.7%	48.7%	51.3%	47.2%	52.8%	48.2%	51.8%
Kentucky	49.2%	50.8%	49.2%	50.8%	49.8%	50.2%	49.7%	50.3%
Minnesota	49.7%	50.3%	49.7%	50.3%	50.7%	49.3%	51.0%	49.0%
New York	48.6%	51.4%	49.0%	51.0%	46.4%	53.6%	46.7%	53.3%

Source: 2019 ACS 1-Year Estimates

Figure 3D
Racial Composition, 2000

State	Total Population	White Alone	Black or African American Alone	Black or African American Alone or in Combination with One or More Races*
Florida	15,982,378	12,465,029	2,335,505	2,471,730
		78%	15%	15%
Kentucky	4,041,769	3,640,889	295,994	311,878
		90%	7%	8%
Minnesota	4,919,479	4,400,282	171,731	202,972
		89%	3%	4%
New York	18,976,457	12,893,689	3,014,385	3,234,165
		68%	16%	17%

Source: 2000 Decennial Census

* Includes respondents who identify as Black or African American alone; does not represent a separate category of additional Black or African American respondents in a state. Thus, the higher totals observed in this category are due to its aggregation of one- and multi-race Black or African American respondents. Nonetheless, multi-race individuals notably comprise a minority of the Black or African American population and population at-large across the states.

Florida and New York have the largest shares of Black residents, representing approximately 16% of their total populations (see Fig. 3B). Meanwhile, Kentucky and Minnesota carry almost the same shares of white and Black residents, forming the largest white-Black percentage point differences (79 and 75 points, respectively). Remarkably, when the two states' Black *multi-race* populations are accounted for, Kentucky's total Black population increases by two percentage points versus Minnesota's one-point increase. Although, as multi-racial persons represent a small share of the Black population and U.S. population in total (see U.S. Census Bureau, *2019 ACS 1-Year Estimates*), such conclusions may be statistically unreliable. Future research may explore whether Kentucky's Black and white communities interact more than those in other states with very small minority populations, and whether their interaction translates into

significant policy effects. New York has the lowest white-Black percentage point difference (47), leaving Florida (59) somewhere in the middle.

Adult women comprise larger shares of the population in Florida, Kentucky, and New York regardless of their racial identity (see Fig. 3C). In Minnesota, there is slightly more Black men than Black women. Compared to 2000 Decennial Census data, Minnesota's Black population experienced the greatest increase in its share of the total population, rising from 3% to 7% by 2019 (see Figs. 3B, 3D). Minnesota also experienced the greatest decrease in the total population's share of white persons (7 percentage points) compared to the other three states' decreases of 3-5 points. According to the Minnesota State Demographic Center (MN SDC), "the state has added five times as many People of Color as non-Hispanic White residents," with non-Hispanic Blacks or African Americans growing at the fastest rate across racial groups. This growth has been unevenly distributed, with minority populations concentrated in the state's metro areas (MN SDC, n.d.).

This next analysis reviews the case study states' socioeconomic indicators. Figure 3F shows their Gini Coefficients to indicate their respective levels of income inequality as compared to the U.S. at-large. Figure 3G shows the 2019 ACS five-year estimates for their shares of the total population in poverty by race and sex; Figure 3H depicts this data disaggregated by household type. Here, the case study state outlier varies depending on the data under review. Florida has nearly the same Gini as the U.S. while New York has a significantly higher Gini, evidencing that both states have higher levels of income inequality than their two counterparts. Minnesota has the lowest Gini compared to the other three states and the U.S (0.4434 versus 0.4811, respectively).

Figure 3F
Gini Coefficient, 2019

State	Gini Coefficient
Florida	0.4808
Kentucky	0.4764
Minnesota	0.4434
New York	0.5149
U.S.	0.4811

Source: 2019 ACS 1-Year Estimates

Figure 3G
Share of People in Poverty by Race and Sex, 2015-2019

State	<50% FPL	<100% FPL	<125% FPL
Florida			
Total	6.1%	14.0%	19.0%
Black*	9.9%	22.0%	29.2%
White non-Hispanic*	4.8%	10.0%	13.6%
Male	5.6%	12.9%	17.6%
Female	6.6%	15.1%	20.3%
Kentucky			
Total	7.5%	17.3%	22.3%
Black*	13.1%	27.8%	34.3%
White non-Hispanic*	6.8%	15.8%	20.4%
Male	6.8%	15.6%	20.3%
Female	8.3%	19.0%	24.1%
Minnesota			
Total	4.2%	9.7%	13.2%
Black*	12.0%	28.6%	36.9%
White non-Hispanic*	3.0%	6.9%	9.6%
Male	3.9%	8.8%	12.0%
Female	4.6%	10.6%	14.3%
New York			
Total	6.4%	14.1%	18.1%
Black*	10.5%	21.1%	26.1%
White non-Hispanic*	4.3%	9.3%	12.2%
Male	5.8%	12.7%	16.6%
Female	7.0%	15.3%	19.6%
U.S.			
Total	6.0%	13.4%	17.8%
Black*	10.7%	23.0%	29.3%
White non-Hispanic*	4.4%	9.6%	12.9%
Male	5.4%	12.2%	16.3%
Female	6.5%	14.6%	19.2%

Source: 2019 ACS 5-Year Estimates

Figure 3H
Share of Families in Poverty by Household Type, 2015-2019

State	<50% FPL	<100% FPL	<125% FPL
Florida			
Total	6.1%	14.0%	19.0%
Married-couple	2.2%	6.8%	10.2%
Female householder, no spouse	11.9%	25.9%	33.7%
Kentucky			
Total	7.5%	17.3%	22.3%
Married-couple	2.7%	8.3%	11.5%
Female householder, no spouse	18.1%	36.5%	44.3%
Minnesota			
Total	4.2%	9.7%	13.2%
Married-couple	1.2%	3.5%	5.5%
Female householder, no spouse	11.1%	24.6%	31.9%
New York			
Total	6.4%	14.1%	18.1%
Married-couple	2.3%	6.9%	9.8%
Female householder, no spouse	13.0%	26.4%	32.8%
U.S.			
Total	6.0%	13.4%	17.8%
Married-couple	1.9%	6.0%	8.9%
Female householder, no spouse	13.8%	28.6%	36.0%

Source: 2019 ACS 5-Year Estimates

Although, Minnesota stands out when accounting for its share of people in poverty by race. Minnesota's total population has smaller shares of people at 50%, 100%, and 125% of the Federal Poverty Level (FPL) than the other three states and the U.S. (see Fig. 3G). The share of Black people below 100% and 125% FPL, however, is greater than that in the other three states and U.S. at-large. Furthermore, there is a 21.7 and 27.3 percentage point difference between Black and white non-Hispanic people below 100% and 125% FPL, respectively. Kentucky has the second highest shares of Black people in poverty—also eclipsing the U.S. average—and the highest share of Black people in deep poverty, those who are at or below 50% FPL. Minnesota's Black population in poverty still remains exceptional, as Kentucky's racial disparities between persons at 50%, 100%, and 125% FPL are lower than Minnesota's. White Minnesotans only comprise 3% of the state's total population in deep poverty, 1.4 points lower than the country's share and 3.8 points lower than Kentucky's above national average share (6.8%).

These findings particularly emphasize the unique importance of a state's disaggregated socioeconomic outcomes to the research inquiries at hand. Compared to Kentucky and Florida, one may expect Minnesota's equally exceptional political climate to facilitate the development of progressive policies that especially support minority groups—in effect, the state's movement towards contextual policy approaches. In 2020, 36% of legislators within the Minnesota House of Representatives were women, representing the highest share of female representatives out of the case study states (see Fig. 3I). Florida and New York both had the highest shares of female senators (30%)—yet half of Florida's female senators identified as Republican, whereas the vast majority of senators in Minnesota (63%) and New York (74%) identified as Democrats (see Fig. 3J). Nonetheless, in 1992—during the height of the anti-violence policy movement and two

years before the Violence Against Women Act (VAWA) became law—more women comprised

both Minnesota legislatures than New York's by nearly 10 percentage points (see Figs. 3K, 3L).

Figure 3I
State Representatives by Sex, 2020

State	Total	Male	Female	Percent Female	% Point Difference Since '92
Florida	120	85	35	29%	13%
Kentucky	100	71	29	29%	22%
Minnesota	134	86	48	36%	15%
New York	150	102	48	32%	18%

Source: CAWP, 2021.

Figure 3J
State Senators by Sex, 2020

State	Total	Male	Female	Percent Female	% Point Difference Since '92
Florida	40	28	12	30%	5%
Kentucky	38	33	5	13%	11%
Minnesota	67	51	16	24%	3%
New York	63	44	19	30%	20%

Source: CAWP, 2021.

Figure 3K
State Representatives by Sex, 1992

State	Total	Male	Female	Percent Female
Florida	120	100	20	17%
Kentucky	100	93	7	7%
Minnesota	134	106	28	21%
New York	150	129	21	14%

Source: CAWP, 2021.

Figure 3L
State Senators by Sex, 1992

State	Total	Male	Female	Percent Female
Florida	40	30	10	25%
Kentucky	38	37	1	3%
Minnesota	67	53	14	21%
New York	61	55	6	10%

Source: CAWP, 2021.

Minnesota constituents also reflect their state's progressive tradition, with 52.4% voting

for Biden in the 2020 Presidential Election (Office of the MN Secretary of State, n.d.; TPT,

2008). More so, a CNN (2020) exit poll of 3,109 total respondents shows that 51% of white

Minnesotans voted for Biden, deviating from the national majority of white voters who voted for

Trump (Washington Post, 2020a). In general, New York's partisan and ideological make-up is

still comparable, suggesting that the state primarily differs from Minnesota in its racial

composition and overall extent of income inequality. New York Times (2021) analyses of exit

poll data show that about 60% of New Yorkers elected Biden, with the white electorate's Biden-Trump divide paralleling that in Minnesota. Regional political divisions seen at the national level also hold within both states: Democrats and self-identified liberals remain concentrated in urban hubs, whereas Republicans and conservatives dominate the rural vote (New York Times, 2021; CNN, 2020).[8]

As with Minnesota, Kentucky's socioeconomic and political characteristics deserve their own discussion (see Figs. 3G, 3H). More women and single-female householders in Kentucky experience poverty than the national average, as well as the other state estimates. Between these three states and the national average, shares of single-female householders at or below 100% and 125% FPL differ by a few percentage points. About 8 points set Kentucky apart from the share of householders within these poverty thresholds nationwide (28.6% and 36.0% of women). Even more revealing are Kentucky's figures compared to Minnesota's: 44.3% of householders are at or below 125% FPL versus 31.9% in Minnesota, a nearly 12-point difference. It has already been asserted that minority women disproportionately experience poverty and IPV, with both circumstances reinforcing each other. In addition to these findings, single, non-cohabitating mothers are more likely to be Black, with single motherhood correlating to increased financial hardship (Livingston, 2018; Gordon and McLanahan, 1990).[9]

While Florida's poverty figures more closely approximate New York's, its shares of Black persons, women, and single-female householders at or below 125% FPL follow Kentucky's. This is likely indicative of New York's higher shares of people in deep poverty and, in turn, its higher Gini compared to Florida's. Additionally, the Florida and Kentucky electorates

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[8] See Nanney, Myers, and Xu et al. (2019) for more information on this discord between Minnesota politics and minority group outcomes, dubbed the "Minnesota Paradox" (Myers, 2020).

[9] See Chapter V on state TANF programs for an in-depth review of the studied relationship between Black familial structure, poverty, and policy outcomes—particularly for lower-income Black women.

have traditionally leaned conservative. In 2020, 51.2% of Floridians and 62.1% of Kentuckians

voted for Trump in 2020 (FL Division of Elections, 2020; KY State Board of Elections, 2020).

The 2018 General Election marked the Florida Democratic Party's second consecutive loss for

U.S. Senate seats (FL Division of Elections, 2020), reflecting the state's rightward shift within

rural areas and—more notably—select southern/urban counties (Fahey, 2021). Central Florida's

counties with above-average Black residents all elected Biden, whereas Latinx footholds such as

Miami-Dade County voted for Trump (see Fig. 3E; see also Fahey, 2021; WESH 2 News, 2020).

Figure 3E
Counties with Shares of the Black Population <u>At</u> or Above the State Average in 2019

Yellow: =< 500,000 residents, *Red:* =< 1,000,000 residents in 2019

State	Percentage
Florida (n=36)	
Gadsden*	55.7%
Madison*	39.3%
Jefferson*	35.6%
Hamilton	34.0%
Leon	31.5%
Duval	29.8%
Broward	28.8%
Jackson*	27.5%
Union*	23.1%
Escambia	22.3%
Orange	21.2%
Taylor*	20.1%
St. Lucie	19.5%
Bradford	19.1%
Alachua	19.1%
Palm Beach	19.0%
Columbia	18.3%
Liberty*	17.4%
Hillsborough	17.3%
Gulf*	17.2%
Miami-Dade	16.8%
Putnam	16.4%
Kentucky (n= 10)	
Jefferson	22.4%
Christian	22.3%
Fayette	14.8%
Union*	13.4%
Hardin	12.2%
McCrackin	8.1%
Franklin*	10.7%
Simpson*	9.4%
Hickman*	9.3%
Warren	8.8%
Minnesota (n=5)	
Hennepin	13.8%
Ramsey	12.9%
Sterns	7.8%
Dakota	7.5%
Anoka	7.4%

New York (n= 3)	
Bronx County	38.3%
Kings County	32.0%
Queens County	18.4%

Source: 2019 ACS 1-Year Demographic and Housing Estimates

* Figure not included in the 2019 ACS and is taken from other, older sources. See BEBR (2018), KCEWS(2018), and KPH (2017). Note that these population estimates still utilize U.S. Census Bureau data.

Thus, Kentucky and Florida seem to primarily differ in their racial and socioeconomic trends. These trends, however, permeate Kentucky and Florida politics at the county-level—briefly discussed above. In Jefferson County—where 22% of residents are Black versus 8% of the statewide population (see Figs. 3E, 3B)—Biden received 59% of the vote (CNN, 2020). From this perspective, Kentucky may be compared to Minnesota despite the pair's state-level political differences. Minnesota's Twin Cities region contains Hennepin and Ramsey counties, both with larger shares of Black residents than the state average (see Fig. 3E). There, 71% of voters elected Biden (CNN, 2020). As was also previously discussed, Kentucky and Minnesota have smaller Black populations that are concentrated in urban areas. New York and Florida feature more minority dispersion, although most of Florida's majority-Black counties are notably located near its northern border (see Fig. 3E; see also BEBR, 2018). These observations strongly attest to the predicted influence of race on a state's IPV policy environment, determined according to this paper's proposed continuum.

C. Hypotheses

The following hypotheses cover this paper's two main areas of inquiry. First, they predict the impact of a state's characteristics on its IPV policy environment, as defined by the contextual-targeted continuum. Secondly, they suggest how a state's policy environment relates to its IPV outcomes for lower-income Black women. Building off of the previous section, it is predicted that conservative states with larger shares of Black residents living in urban counties will adopt the most targeted warrantless arrest and cash assistance policies. Meanwhile, a state's partisan and ideological composition is combined with its share of women state legislators to represent its "political circumstance." This is because the state characteristics data suggest a

close relationship between these two variables (see Figs. 3I, 3J). Thus, it is likely that any individual impact of one variable runs in the same direction as any impact caused by the other.

For these reasons, a state's political circumstance is expected to shift its initial placement within the continuum, as primarily determined by its racial composition. In this case, New York—with a larger Black population concentrated in city centers—is predicted to be significantly less targeted than Kentucky, but more so than Minnesota (due to the state's smaller Black population). While Florida's racial composition reflects New York's more so than Kentucky's, its conservative leanings are predicted to make it more targeted than New York. The underlying logic behind these hypotheses is discussed in the previous sections, and particularly the literature review (see Chapter II).

IV. Case Study Analyses

Warrantless arrest and TANF are two policies that are particularly reflective of a state's location along the contextual-targeted continuum. The following two sections begin with a more detailed review of each policy and their significance to the continuum, alluded to in the previous chapters. Their respective sub-sections then identify what kinds of statutes operate within each state case study, as well as notable differences and similarities between their key provisions. Lastly, these considerations are weighed against the state characteristics outlined in the previous Research Parameters chapter.

These sections aim to reveal *potential* relationships between a state's laws, key characteristics—as outlined in the previous chapter—location along the continuum, and IPV outcomes. This relationship is characterized by two tiers: whether a state has adopted more contextual or targeted laws and, in turn, whether the state itself shares characteristics and/or IPV outcomes with other similarly located states. These sections do not formally assert *causal* relationships as they require more rigorous analyses that exceed the scope of this paper. Instead, the case studies offered here support further research on the interaction between socio-political phenomena, criminal justice policy, and IPV within marginalized communities.

A. Warrantless Arrest

The warrantless arrest types under review are mandatory arrest, preferred or pro-arrest, and discretionary arrest. These arrest types are often featured within a state's criminal procedure laws to guide officers responding to domestic violence (DV) incidents. Discretionary and mandatory arrest are distinguished by their use of the words "may" and "shall"; the former encourages responding officers to use their discretion in making an arrest, whereas the latter mandates that officers do so. Pro-arrest policies are distinguished by language claiming that

arrest is the "preferred" response for DV incidents, regardless if they feature the words "may" or "shall". Pro-arrest policies may be conceptualized as a hybrid of the latter two arrest types, as responding officers are encouraged to make an arrest but may ultimately forego doing so (Bridgett, 2020).

A state's adoption of pro-arrest policies serves as the lowermost threshold for moving it towards the targeted side of the continuum. Mandatory arrest serves as the most targeted policy. The adoption of discretionary arrest policies performs the inverse, moving a state towards the contextual side of the continuum (see Fig. 3A). Mandatory and discretionary arrest policies are located at opposite ends of the continuum because their motivations and outcomes, in theory, respectively build targeted and contextual IPV policy environments. Mandatory arrest aims to protect a victim's[10] immediate safety by solely addressing the violence reported to law enforcement and deterring offenders through the threat of criminal conviction. Discretionary arrest expands these objectives by acknowledging how responding officers may use the details surrounding an incident to best determine whether arrest is conducive to victim protection. Thus, discretionary arrest implicitly considers the context in which violence occurs *as well as* the reported incident. Nonetheless, the next sub-section reviews several provisions featured across arrest types that shape the extent to which they may be considered contextual or targeted.

The late 1980s spread of mandatory and pro-arrest policies sought to prevent law enforcement from continuing to view domestic violence as a private matter and relationship norm. As mentioned in the literature review, Sherman and Berk's (1984) "Minneapolis Domestic Violence Experiment" argued that mandatory arrest policies were more effective at deterring re-victimization. Several concerns, however, undermine the experiment's findings and the ability of

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[10] "Victim" is periodically used to reflect the language used in state legislation and criminal justice policy spheres. "Survivor" remains the preferred reference for those who have experienced or are experiencing IPV.

mandatory arrest to protect minority survivors. For one, studies on mandatory arrest have been unable to replicate Sherman and Berk's (1984) findings (see Fagan, 1996; Pate and Hamilton, 1992). Here, the validity of Sherman and Berk's (1984) findings is especially dubious. For example, the researchers reconnected with survivors six months after victimization, a time frame that overlooks how violence occurs in cycles of various lengths. The researchers also failed to measure whether offenders actually feared perpetrating further violence because they had been arrested. Sherman and Harris' (2015) updated study also rests on inconclusive analyses (Bridgett, 2020, p. 456).[11]

Secondly, white activists were the most represented within the 1970's feminist and anti-violence movements that spurred interest in bolstering criminal justice responses to IPV. Black and other minority women, however, were marginalized from this process. This enabled the spread of paternalistic policies that fail to recognize the historically fraught relationship between law enforcement and minority communities, as well as how arrest may perpetuate IPV (see Crenshaw, 1991; Goodmark, 2019; Pickert, 2013; Richie, 2000). Such policies, exemplified by mandatory and pro-arrest statutes, may discourage lower-income Black women from reporting violence in the first place. This may also stem from their fear of aggressor retaliation and the costs of navigating the criminal justice system. Survivors with children and those with hourly wage jobs may find it financially detrimental to attend pretrial motions and other legal proceedings in lieu of watching their children (i.e., avoiding paid childcare) or working.

It should also be emphasized that no form of warrantless arrest guarantees law enforcement's accommodation of a victim's preferences or compliance (Bridgett, 2020). A

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[11] Although, other studies support their argument that specific types of offenders who are warned—rather than arrested—by responding officers are less likely to commit violence afterwards (see, for example, Johnson and Goodlin-Fahncke, 2015).

state's adoption of discretionary arrest, "primary aggressor," and/or anti-dual arrest provisions[12] nonetheless suggests a greater awareness for the limited (or "*targeted*") scope of arrest and its unintended effects on IPV. For example, the extensively studied correlations between economic hardship and IPV question (CDC, 2020) the viability of arrest for lower SES Black women. These women may rely on their abusers for added financial security—leaving them more vulnerable to hardship should their abusers be arrested for an indefinite period of time (Pickert, 2013).

Additionally, the absence of arrest laws that acknowledge victim agency allows for DV prosecution when victims are non-compliant, largely interpreted as a manifestation of their "learned helplessness" or psychological conditioning to violence (Walker, 1980). This policy objective effectively ignores victims' capacity for rational decision-making. It applies the same approach for women who may fit Walker's model to those who primarily oppose arrest for security concerns (financial, physical, etc.)—i.e., those who can weigh the costs and benefits to using IPV interventions *outside* of the criminal justice arena.

Despite these concerns, VAWA has incentivized states to adopt mandatory or pro-arrest policies (Bridgett, 2020). Indicative of its socio-political context[13], VAWA was originally included in the Violent Crime Control and Law Enforcement Act of 1994. According to Kim Gandy, former President and CEO of the National Network to End Domestic Violence (NNEDV), these origins help to explain VAWA's emphasis on criminal justice responses to IPV (Pickert, 2013). Although VAWA discouraged officers from making dual arrests, it did not recommend specific mandatory arrest procedures. This broad support for mandatory arrest continued throughout all of its subsequent iterations (2000, 2005, 2013). Furthermore, VAWA

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[12] Primary aggressor and anti-dual arrest policy provisions are later defined.
[13] Refer to the literature review for more information on the 1990's criminalization of social problems such as IPV.

allocated federal grant money for jurisdictions that passed various mandatory arrest statutes

without offering guidance for using the money. Thus, VAWA 1994 set a policy feedback loop in

place that renders case study analyses of state warrantless arrest statutes even more revealing as

states are predisposed to favor arrest, albeit to different extents. Ongoing efforts to reauthorize

the expired act in 2021 may reshape its approach to warrantless arrest.

       Smith's (2001) survey of survivors at a midwestern women's shelter highlights the need

for more qualitative research on mandatory arrest and Black IPV. In her sample of 93 women

with incomes between $10,000 and $50,000, 53% of Black respondents supported the adoption

of mandatory arrest policies versus 79% of white respondents (p. 102). Interestingly, Smith's

aggregate results show overwhelming support for mandatory arrest (75%). Still, nearly 90% of

respondents favored two other legal interventions, victim advocate programs and domestic

violence courts (p. 99). Adding to Hirschel, McCormack, and Buzawa's (2017) large-N study on

warrantless arrest, Smith (2001) also finds that abusers were *less* likely to have been arrested

among Black respondents (p. 103). Furthermore, Hirschel et al. find that incidents with a Black

victim and Black offender were less likely to result in any arrest (p. 1375). Such findings

seemingly contradict the concern that mandatory arrest policies increase the likelihood that Black

female victims will be arrested with their aggressors.

       Smith (2001), however, notes another revealing paradox: the stark difference between the

percent of IPV incidents reported (60%) and arrests made (28%) among respondents. Here, she

justifies respondents' high support for paternalistic criminal justice IPV policies. More surveys

of IPV survivors may illuminate whether effective contextual policy environments, as

conceptualized here, yield less favor for such "panacea" (Smith, 2001, p. 104), targeted policy

responses. In contextual environments, survivors may feel a greater sense of support from

various government sectors and be empowered to seek help outside of the criminal justice system—which may otherwise have been their last resort. Nonetheless, Smith stresses that the lower percentage of respondents who expect to benefit from such laws implies that survivors are dissatisfied with them in practice, leaving greater room for this probability.

To draw from a major contention in this paper, intersecting racial and gender biases may inhibit officers from granting Black women the same victimhood status as white women (explaining this disparity between reports and arrests made). Officers may consequently view Black domestic violence incidents as undeserving of an arrest (see Hirschel et al., 2017, pp. 1383-1384). After all, Smith (2001) finds that arrests were twice as likely to be made during incidents where respondents reported a physical injury—reflecting how conceptions of domestic violence rest on popular assumptions.

With deep-seated stereotypes of Black women and men as aggressive and hyperbolic, officers may minimize incidents as hostile arguments, even though such arguments could be verbal abuse. This may be especially true when Black victims lack physical injuries. Regardless, studies show that medical professionals often undermine Black people's reports of injury and pain, viewing them as less sensitive than white patients (Roeder, 2019; Sabin, 2020). This raises the probability that a Black victim's reports of injury may still fail to illicit arrest.

To recall the state selection criterion: It is predicted that New York—with a strong Democrat/liberal electorate, as well as larger Black population—will have less targeted warrantless arrest policies than Kentucky, but more so than Minnesota (due to the state's smaller Black population and progressive ethos. Florida's conservative leanings are predicted to make its arrest policies more targeted than New York but less than Kentucky, given the latter state's more reliable Republican and conservative majorities.

1. Comparison of State Warrantless Arrest Policies

Figure 4A is a matrix that reviews Florida's, Kentucky's, Minnesota's, and New York's warrantless arrest policies. All but one state, New York, have discretionary arrest. Nonetheless, several parameters of arrest policies dictate whether they best fit a contextual or targeted approach. These parameters include a state's legal definition for domestic violence; whether its arrest statute includes dating violence, explicitly discourages mutual arrest, and, lastly, directs responding officers to identify and arrest the "primary aggressor" before making an arrest. As the matrix implies, the answers to such considerations are highly nuanced. For example, Florida's definition for domestic violence excludes certain dating partners while its DV arrest statute accommodates for dating violence in specific circumstances. The next discussion extrapolates these considerations. It is followed by an examination of how the four states' arrest policies relate to one another.

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Figure 4A
State Policies on Warrantless Arrest As of 2021

State	Florida	Kentucky	Minnesota	New York
Mandatory arrest, pro-arrest, or discretionary arrest directed to responding officer	**Discretionary**, *see Fla. Stat. § 901.15(7)*	**Discretionary**, *see Ky. Rev. Stat. Ann. § 431.005(2)(a)*	**Discretionary**, *see Minn. Stat. 629.341(1)*	**Mandatory**, *see N.Y. CPL § 140.10 (1), 4)(a), and (b)*
Explicitly discourage mutual arrest	**Yes**, *see Fla. Stat. § 901.15(7)*	**No**	**Yes**, *see Minn. Stat. § 629.342*	**No**
Direct responding officer to identify primary aggressor	**Yes**, *see Fla. Stat. § 741.29(4)(b)*	**No**	**Yes**, *see Minn. Stat. § 629.342*	**Yes**, *see N.Y. CPL Law § 140.10 4)(c)*
Restrict domestic violence victimhood status to family members, i.e., those related by blood or marriage, and/or cohabitants	**Yes, but** warrantless arrest policy accommodates for cases of dating violence. *See Fla. Stat. §§ 741.28 and 784.046(d).*	**Yes, but** warrantless arrest policy accommodates for cases of dating violence. *See Ky. Rev. Stat. Ann. §§ 403.720, 431.005(2)(a), and 456.010*	**No**, *see Minn. Stat. § 518B.01*	**No**, *see N.Y. CPL § 140.10(1)*

Sources: FL Legislature, 2021; KY General Assembly, 2021; MN Legislature, 2020; NY Senate, n.d.

For one, state legislation may define domestic violence as a crime that involves spouses, former spouses, intimate cohabitants, and/or parents—excluding intimate partners who are neither married, living together, nor share a child (often referred to as "dating partners"). Some states may have broader DV definitions that include dating partners. Other states may fit these partners within legal definitions for dating violence and treat them in comparable ways to domestic violence cases. These states arguably foster more contextual IPV policy environments.

Expansive definitions and/or applications of domestic violence attest to a state's acknowledgement that violence occurs beyond spouses who live in a shared residence. In turn, a state's deviation from traditional conceptions of domestic violence may suggest its departure from a targeted policy framework, which evidently serves as the more conventional route to addressing IPV.

Secondly, arrest laws may contain language that explicitly discourages responding officers from arresting both the victim and offender. These mutual or "dual" arrests are often made when the responding officer struggles to differentiate the victim and offender. Such scenarios may include cases where both parties lack visible physical injuries or have comparable injuries, no weapon is visibly present, the offender lacks a marked history of violence, and, notably, when the victim and offender are of the same-sex—indicative of the white, gendered, and heteronormative ideas that drive IPV policy. Primary aggressor laws, however, *implicitly* discourage dual arrest. These laws help prevent officers from arresting victims who inflict minor self-defense injuries or from using dual arrest as an efficient way to separate volatile couples. They notably differ in strength: provisions that claim an officer "may" or "may attempt" to identify a primary aggressor are weaker than those using the word "shall" (Hirschel et al., 2017; Bridgett, 2020).

As alluded to above, New York is the only state with mandatory arrest. N.Y. Criminal Procedure Law § 140.10(4)(a) (CPL) asserts that "a police officer *shall* arrest a person, and shall not attempt to reconcile the parties or mediate, where such officer has reasonable cause to believe that a felony…has been committed by such person against a member of the same family or household" (emphasis added). Meanwhile, CPL § 140.10(4)(b) sanctions mandatory arrest for cases where an order of protection was violated by the party that the order has been filed against

(see also CPL § 140.10(4)(c)). The statute points to other sections within New York's social services and criminal procedure law that define "members of the same family or household," i.e., those who may be legally treated as domestic violence perpetrators (CPL § 530.11(1)(e) ; SSL § 459-A(2)(f)). These definitions include current and former dating partners, defined by a set of criteria including the length of the relationship and regularity at which both parties interact with each other. Here, the explicit terminology "intimate partner" is used.

In New York, mandatory arrest does not apply to cases where an order of protection does not exist between the parties in-question, a misdemeanor crime has been committed, and/or the responding officer has reasonable cause to believe that multiple parties have committed a misdemeanor (CPL § 140.10(4)(c); NYSOPDV, 2018). These cases trigger the primary aggressor law outlined in CPL § 140.10(4)(c): "In such circumstances, the officer *shall* attempt to identify and arrest the primary physical aggressor…[the officer] shall not base the decision to arrest or not to arrest on the willingness of a person to testify or otherwise participate in a judicial proceeding" (emphasis added). Factors that officers consider when identifying the primary aggression include the type and severity of injuries sustained by either party; whether threats are weighed or have been weighed against the other party or another family/household member; whether either party has a marked history of committing domestic violence; and signs of self-defense (NYSOPDV, 2018).

While the remaining three states carry discretionary arrest laws, they differ in their treatment of dual arrest. New York and Kentucky do not explicitly discourage mutual arrest within their criminal procedure laws, unlike Florida and Minnesota. Kentucky, however, does not direct responding officers to identify a primary aggressor (see Hirschel et al., 2017).[14]

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[14] Although, it is important to recognize that individual police departments, depending on their host state, may form their own arrest policies that have primary aggressor provisions and/or explicitly discourage dual arrest. For

Contrastingly, Florida requires officers to attempt to identify a primary aggressor and explicitly discourages the arrest of "person(s) acting in self-defense of oneself or another family or household member" (Fla. Stat. § 741.29(4)(b)). In addition to explicitly discouraging dual arrest, Minnesota requires that law enforcement agencies consult DV advocates, community organizations, and other agencies with expertise in treating DV. Officers who refrain from making an arrest—despite having probable cause that violence has occurred—must also provide victims with "immediate assistance," such as ensuring they receive necessary medical treatment (Minn. Stat. § 629.342(2)(a)).

Florida, Kentucky, and Minnesota also differ in their treatment of dating violence. Florida and Kentucky both define domestic violence as a crime inflicted between family or household members: spouses, former spouses, parents, biological relatives, persons related by marriage, and past or present cohabitants. While Kentucky's definition includes "members of an unmarried couple," such couples must have a child together or be current or former cohabitants (Ky. Rev. Stat. Ann. § 403.720). Paradoxically, its DV arrest policy still applies to persons in a "dating relationship" (§ 431.005(2)(a)). This highlights the two states' disparate treatment of dating violence as compared to New York and Minnesota, which include dating violence in their definitions for domestic violence. Florida still differs from Kentucky in that it requires qualifying family/household members to also be former or current cohabitants, except parents (Fla. Stat. § 741.28(3)). Nonetheless, Florida's DV arrest policy also applies to dating violence incidents.[15]

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example, the Lexington Police Department's 2014 domestic violence policy states that officers should attempt to identify a primary aggressor when they have cause to believe that mutual violence has occurred (p. 9).

[15] According to Ky. Rev. Stat. Ann. § 456.010, a dating relationship is "between individuals who have or have had a relationship of a romantic or intimate nature." Meanwhile, Fla. Stat. § 784.046(d) defines dating violence as "violence between individuals who have or have had a continuing and significant relationship of a romantic or intimate nature." Notably, these laws are located in separate chapters from those containing much of each states' domestic violence legislation (see Ky. Rev. Stat. Ann. Title XLII: Miscellaneous Practice Provisions, Chapter 456: Civil Orders of Protection; Fla. Stat. Title XLVI: Crimes, Chapter 784: Assault, Battery, Culpable Negligence).

2. State Continuum Placements: Warrantless Arrest

Evidently, New York has the most targeted warrantless arrest policy framework while Minnesota has the most contextual (see Fig. 4C). Both states interestingly share similar political circumstances but differ in their racial and socioeconomic trends, namely their numbers and concentration of Black residents as well as state income inequality. Meanwhile, Kentucky has a more targeted framework than Florida but less than New York. Despite the state's adoption of discretionary arrest, its warrantless arrest law lacks both anti-dual arrest and primary aggression provisions. Here, Florida and Kentucky also primarily differ in their racial and socioeconomic make-up. Although Florida has more women state legislators than Kentucky, its conservatism also observed in Kentucky to a greater extent (see Fig. 3I, 3J).

Figure 4C
State Continuum Placements:
Warrantless Arrest
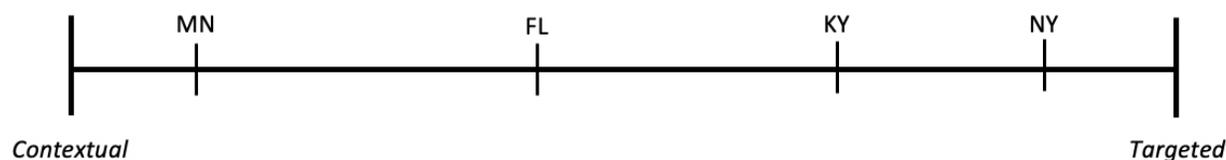
B. TANF

As with the rise of warrantless IPV arrest policies, the 1980s and 1990s were characterized by racialized social policy debates that led to TANF's creation and Black women's systemic exclusion from the program—despite their disproportionate levels of hardship. Popular arguments within these debates reflected those circulated nearly twenty years prior, epitomized

by Daniel P. Moynihan's 1965 report, "The Negro Family: The Case for National Action". As Assistant Secretary of Labor for President Lyndon B. Johnson, Moynihan used this platform to argue that single Black "matriarchs" facilitate the socioeconomic demise of impoverished Black families. His implicit and explicit stereotype discourse notably fueled the idea that abnormal gender roles practiced between Black men and women, rather than structural inequities, reinforced Black poverty rates (Geary, 2015).

This focus on individual-level behavior was embraced within liberal and conservative circles, both led by influential researchers and those at the highest levels of political office. Individualist perspectives on government assistance circumscribed TANF, as evidenced by its 1996 legislation: The *Personal Responsibility* and Work Opportunity Act, or PRWORA (emphasis added). PRWORA 1996 replaced the previous family welfare program, Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC), per former President Bill Clinton's campaign promise to "end welfare as we know it" (New York Times, 1996). Several major differences between AFDC and TANF supported the new program's stated goals to reduce welfare dependency by promoting work and the maintenance of two-parent families—a direct ode to Moynihan's (1965) report.

For one, TANF departed from the AFDC entitlement structure to be delivered as a discretionary block grant. This provided states with an unprecedented amount of authority over the development of their programs. Secondly, states had to sanction, or remove, families from their TANF caseloads if they did not meet federally mandated work and duration requirements (Coleman and Rebach, 2001). The Family Violence Option (FVO) was added to the 1996 TANF legislation to help IPV survivors circumnavigate these requirements that may challenge their unique circumstances, such as securing child support from an abusive partner (NLCHP, 2009).

States may choose to adopt the FVO as it stands or in segments, with its implementation details being completely under state jurisdiction.

These differences, however, have arguably encouraged the continued retrenchment of means-tested income supports, as well as the simultaneous expansion of criminal justice responses to social welfare problems. Decreases in cash assistance caseloads and increases in women's employment observed during PRWORA's near immediate aftermath failed to account for its adverse impact on marginalized subgroups. By 2016, two million *less* families received cash assistance in an average month than the number of jobless single mothers (Pavetti, 2018). Furthermore, an extensive body of literature shows that minority women and those with barriers to work (e.g., work-related disabilities, felony convictions, etc.) are more likely to be disconnected from TANF or sanctioned (see, for example, Hetling, 2011; Fording, Soss, and Schram, 2007; Lower-Basch, 2000).

This paper's state TANF characteristics of-interest are depicted in Fig. 4B, a matrix visualizing how each case study states' program compares to the others. Unlike the previous section on warrantless arrest, this section examines programs both within and outside of an IPV context. It evaluates whether a state has adopted the FVO or an equivalent provision to waive certain eligibility requirements for IPV survivors. On the other hand, it weighs this consideration against a state's general program characteristics. Characteristics include a program's maximum cash benefit levels for a three-person, single-parent family; accessibility, proxied by its TANF-to-Poverty Ratio, or "TPR" (Meyer and Floyd, 2020)[16]; and use of Electronic Benefit Transfer (EBT) cards.

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[16] According to the Center on Budget and Policy Priorities, the TANF-to-Poverty Ratio examines "changes over time in access to TANF by families experiencing poverty…when this ratio falls, it means TANF is less responsive to need than in previous years."

Figure 4B
State TANF Policies and Program Characteristics

State	Florida	Kentucky	Minnesota	New York
Maximum monthly benefit for single-parent family of three with no income, nominal dollars, July 2020	$303	$262	$632	$789
Percent FPL of benefit level, 2020	16.7%	14.5%	34.9%	43.6%
Percent FPL of benefit level – U.S. ranking, 2020	37	47	12	3
Share of Black adult participants, FY 2019	51.6%	25.5%	45.9%	37.8%
Share of white adult participants, FY 2019	25.7%	69.5%	33.9%	15.9%
TPR 1995-'96	55	55	93	79
TPR 2018-'19	13	21	47	42
Deliver cash through EBT cards?	Yes	No	Yes	Yes
Has FVO or equivalent?	**Yes**, as of 2014	**Yes**, as of 2013	**Yes**, as of 2015	**Yes**, as of 2015
Screening for FVO eligibility performed by	Regional Workforce Board service provider	Case worker	DV-trained county staff and DV advocate	DV liaison

Sources: ACF (2020); CBPP (2020); Holcomb et. al (2016); NCSL (2019); Safawi and Floyd (2020)

States that deliver lower cash amounts through EBT cards and carry lower TPRs are located towards the targeted side of the continuum. This is because all fifty states, U.S. territories, and the District of Columbia have adopted the FVO or created equivalent provisions as of 2009 (NLCHP, 2009). Thus, such states appear to accommodate the needs of IPV survivors' without acknowledging how cash assistance may empower all mothers with the lowest incomes—notably, those at an increased risk of experiencing IPV. Additionally, the FVO is severely underutilized in relation to the prevalence of IPV among TANF applicants and participants (Hetling and Born, 2005). A contextual TANF program indirectly addresses these factors by featuring higher benefits and less application barriers; the most contextual states do not use EBT cards at all. For these reasons, lower TPRs move states closer towards the targeted end of the continuum.

The reasons for matching states' EBT policies to their location along the continuum become even more clear when recognizing how IPV survivors uniquely need flexible cash. A 2017 national survey of advocates and service providers in the anti-violence and anti-poverty fields found that IPV survivors are at risk of having their EBT cards or PINs stolen by abusive partners (Goodman, 2018). The survey also found that EBT cards hinder the transfer of public assistance applications and benefits for survivors who move to different counties. One respondent's direct testimony in the context of food assistance illuminates the obstacles survivors face in leaving abusive partners and maintaining public benefits:

> "With relocation to different counties [for safety reasons], applications and transfers are not always done in a fast manner…EBT cards take so long to get and I have seen several cases where an EBT card has taken weeks to arrive, [or] where a victim has had to cancel and get a card re-issued because they never received a card." (Goodman, 2018, p. 24)

It is thus hypothesized that that New York—with a majority-Democrat/liberal electorate, as well as larger Black population—will have a less targeted TANF program framework than

Kentucky as conceptualized here. Akin to the previous hypotheses on warrantless arrest,
Minnesota's program is predicted to be the most contextual out of the four case study states,
given its smaller Black population and progressive ethos. Nonetheless, Minnesota's exceptional
shares of Black residents in poverty (see Fig. 3G) may reveal its program to be less accessible
but more generous. Florida's conservative leanings are predicted to make its program more
targeted than New York's but less than Kentucky's, given the latter state's steady Republican
and conservative majorities.

1. Comparison of State TANF Programs

Florida, Kentucky, Minnesota, and New York have all adopted the FVO. Minnesota and
New York, however, are the only two states to screen for FVO waiver eligibility using
experienced domestic violence service professionals; Florida and Kentucky use workers who
may or may not carry such experience. All states except Kentucky pay program participants
through EBT cards, reflecting the majority of states that also do so (NCSL, 2019). The
generosity and accessibility of Kentucky's program also sets it apart from the other case study
states. Kentucky has the lowest maximum monthly grant for a single-parent family of three,
$262. This amount is 14.5% of the Federal Poverty Level (FPL)—in July 2020, only four other
states, Louisiana (48th), Alabama (49th), Arkansas (50th), and Mississippi (51st) ranked higher
than Kentucky for the country's lowest maximum benefit levels. These figures become even
more alarming when compared to Kentucky's above average share of Black residents and single
women householders in poverty (Figs. 3G, 3H).

Relatedly, whereas a larger share of Black than white Kentuckians are in poverty—albeit
to a significantly lesser degree than that observed in Minnesota—its adult TANF caseload is
69.5% white (Figs. 3G, 4B). Contrastingly, a larger share of Black adults participates in TANF

within the remaining three case study states. Although, the percentage point difference between Minnesota's Black and white caseloads (12) is notably smaller than Florida's (25.9) and New York's (21.9), suggesting that low-income Black Minnesotans may struggle to access TANF to a similar extent that Black Kentuckians do. This proposition is obscured by Minnesota's above-average TPRs for both 1995-1996 and 2018-2019. Compared to the national TPRs of 68 and 23, respectively, 93 Minnesotan families out of every 100 in poverty received assistance during the transition period from AFDC to TANF, while 47 out of every 100 now participates in TANF.

New York also carries above-average TPRs across both time frames, as well as the highest maximum monthly grant for a single-parent family of three ($789). Akin to New York and Minnesota, Florida's TANF program becomes more comparable to Kentucky's when examining its share of Black adult participants and TPRs. Serving as Kentucky's almost direct inverse, 51.6% of Florida's caseload is Black and 25.7% is white (see Fig. 4B). Despite having the second highest level of income inequality out of the case study states—with New York ranking first (see Fig. 3F)—Florida has the lowest TPR for 2018-2019, 13.

This finding is further contextualized by Florida's benefit levels at 16.7% FPL—about only two percentage points higher than Kentucky's. Remarkably, Florida has an exceptionally low TPR and maximum grant despite its stronger economy and greater capacity for increasing benefits. In 2020, Florida's real GDP was nearly nine times larger than Kentucky's; in 2019, its TANF block grant was nearly five times larger (BEA, 2021; CBPP, 2021b). Additionally, Florida only spent 16% of its federal and state TANF on basic assistance (i.e., monthly grants), whereas Kentucky used 69% of its funds for basic assistance (CBPP, 2021b).

2. State Continuum Placements: TANF

Based on the previous discussion, it holds that Kentucky *may* have the most targeted

TANF policy framework and New York the most contextual (see Fig. 4D). Unlike the previous

case study analysis—which identified New York and Minnesota as the most targeted and

contextual warrantless arrest states, respectively—this analysis locates two states with different

racial, socioeconomic, *and political* circumstances at the continuum's extremes. Meanwhile,

Florida appears to have a more targeted TANF framework than New York and Minnesota but

slightly less than Kentucky. Despite Florida's exclusive program and low monthly benefits,

Black recipients constitute a larger share of the state caseload than they do in Kentucky—even

though more Black Floridians and Kentuckians experience poverty than white residents.

Additionally, Florida's maximum monthly benefit levels are higher than Kentucky's, set at

16.7% versus 14.5% of the federal poverty line.

Figure 4D
State Continuum Placements:
TANF
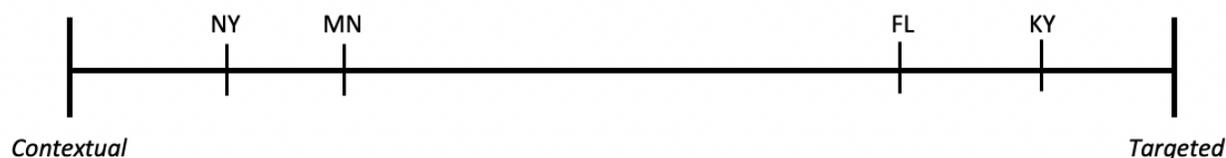
This nuance between all four state TANF programs helps emphasize how race and

socioeconomics shape a state's approach to IPV against lower-income Black women. Here,

Florida's TANF program appears nearly as targeted as Kentucky's when contrasting its majority-

Black adult caseload to its lower TPR. This raises the possibility that even more eligible Black

Floridians are excluded from or struggle to access the state's program than eligible Black families in Kentucky. However, Kentucky's overwhelmingly white caseload highlights the persisting need to disaggregate both state TPRs by race to clarify which program reaches the most Black families—and, more importantly, why. Kentucky's significantly higher levels of poverty among single female householders (see Fig. 3H)—who are overrepresented in TANF caseloads across the country—warrants further alarm about its low Black caseload, TPR, and maximum monthly benefits.

Nonetheless, the degree to which states differ *within* their contextual-targeted dyads are smaller than those observed in the context of warrantless arrest. Akin to Kentucky, Minnesota's contextual nature is tempered when accounting for its underwhelming Black caseload as compared to its wide racial disparities across all poverty thresholds (see Fig. 3G). This may be a consequence of the recent growth in Minnesota's population of color, as evidenced by its largest percentage point difference amongst the case study states between its share of the Black population from the 2000 Decennial Census to 2019. Considering this growth alongside Minnesota's steeper TPR decline from 1995-1996 than New York's; higher concentration of Black residents in poverty; and smaller share of TANF funds spent on basic assistance (14.4% versus New York's 27.9%) prompts further skepticism on the degree to which its program is contextual (CBPP, 2021b).

These considerations continue to be informed by the continuum's parameters. When viewing a contextual TANF program as one that primarily prevents IPV by reaching *more* Black women, a state's TPR and Black caseloads serve as the strongest guiding factor. A state's benefit levels serve as the strongest determinant when viewing a contextual program as one that primarily empowers *existing* participants—usually women of color with the lowest incomes—to

leave volatile relationships. Given that this paper holds both perspectives in the same regard,

more TANF program characteristics should be taken into account in order to solidify states'

placements along the continuum.

V. Conclusion

This research offers a preliminary investigation of U.S. social and criminal justice policies related to intimate partner violence (IPV) against lower-income Black women. It is motivated by the observations of critical race, gender, and class theorists that entrenched prejudices give rise to structurally unequitable policies and outcomes. Two overarching research questions were addressed to support this argument. First, how have pejorative stereotypes against Black women shaped U.S. social and criminal justice policymaking in relation to IPV? Secondly, what is the relationship between biased policy frameworks and IPV victimization among lower-income Black women? A heuristic, the contextual-targeted policy continuum, was then developed to relate certain state characteristics to state policy environments for IPV. The continuum gauges if a state primarily views IPV as an interpersonal problem warranting more responsive, deterrent measures (i.e., a targeted policy approach). On the other hand, a state may view IPV as a structural problem that can be prevented and mitigated by addressing its major risk factors (i.e., a contextual approach)—this paper's preferred approach.

Overall, this paper's case study analysis supports the hypothesis that states with larger shares of Black residents living in urban counties will adopt the most targeted warrantless arrest and cash assistance policies. The analysis rejected the part of the hypothesis arguing that such states with conservative leanings will be the most targeted across policy arenas, as New York was found to have the most targeted arrest laws. However, this part of the hypothesis held when comparing states' cash assistance, or TANF, programs. Florida and Kentucky were placed within the targeted end of the continuum, whereas Minnesota and New York were skewed towards the latter—despite their higher concentrations of Black residents in urban locales. Interestingly, in

regard to warrantless arrest, Minnesota and Florida—Minnesota being more contextual, Florida being the least targeted—had lower Black populations in the 2000 Decennial Census.

These findings suggest that contextual policy environments may be easier to foster in states with lower shares of Black residents, lower concentrations of Black residents, *and* progressive traditions. As multiple scholars on race, politics, and policymaking have contended (see Chapter II), criminal justice and social welfare policymaking hinges on the popular perceptions of those who are merely seen as benefitting from or exploiting either system. Whereas this paper considers other factors in its analyses, such as a states' socioeconomic and political outlooks, it is likely that states' racial compositions serve as the driving force for their placement along the continuum. This especially holds when accounting for the increasingly inseparable nature of race and other identity-based divisions from one another. Larger Black populations concentrated in urban locales serve as highly salient groups for politicians, policymakers, and constituents to observe in the context of crime and poverty, as evidenced by the 1990's wave of law enforcement and welfare reform initiatives.

Thus, further research is needed to expand on these observations and make them more applicable for anti-violence advocates. For one, intimate partner violence is inherently nuanced and, in turn, extremely difficult to study. Reports and surveys on IPV greatly vary in their aggregated prevalence rates and those divided by race and class identity, presenting significant methodological concerns when correlating policy approaches to IPV outcomes. Relatedly, IPV policy recommendations must be equally nuanced. While it is important to have policies that protect women's physical safety, it is equally important to have policies that prevent violence from occurring in the first place. As this paper shows, those within the former camp present many opportunities for perpetuating the disproportionate rates of violence among lower-income

Black women. Additional studies should aim to provide data-driven evidence that policies within the latter, or "contextual," camp can serve as better avenues for Black women and IPV survivors—effectively building a survivor "safety net" that protects and empowers all.

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Appendix
Chapter III: Research Parameters

Figure 3A
The Contextual-Targeted Policy Heuristic

Contextual Policy Environments	Targeted Policy Environments
Key Characteristics	**Key Characteristics**
Address factors that make violence more likely to occur through policies both within and outside an explicit anti-violence setting	Focused on violence itself, rather than its structural factors, through policies that target survivors and offenders
Preventative, proactive	Responsive, deterrent
Strive to empower survivors and higher risk women	Prioritize survivors' physical safety while punishing offenders
Social Policies	**Social Policies**
Robust income support programs for all participants	Implementation of special income support provisions for IPV survivors
Criminal Justice Policies	**Criminal Justice Policies**
Broadly restrictive gun purchase and ownership laws	Implementation of gun restrictions for IPV perpetrators
Adoption of discretionary arrest policies with primary aggressor and/or anti-dual arrest provisions	Adoption of mandatory arrest or pro-arrest policies lacking primary aggressor and/or anti-dual arrest provisions

Figure 3B
Racial Composition, 2019

State	Total Population	White Alone	Black or African American Alone	Black or African American Alone or in Combination with One or More Races*
Florida	21,477,737	16,010,079	3,441,062	3,772,874
		75%	16%	18%
Kentucky	4,467,673	3,873,691	363,167	424,716
		87%	8%	10%
Minnesota	5,639,632	4,627,588	370,291	454,116
		82%	7%	8%
New York	19,453,561	12,292,680	3,084,304	3,424,002
		63%	16%	18%

Source: 2019 ACS 1-Year Estimates

Figure 3C
Racial Composition of Adult Population by Sex, 2019

State	Total Population		White Alone		Black or African American Alone		Black or African American Alone or in Combination with One or More Races*	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Florida	48.3%	51.7%	48.7%	51.3%	47.2%	52.8%	48.2%	51.8%
Kentucky	49.2%	50.8%	49.2%	50.8%	49.8%	50.2%	49.7%	50.3%
Minnesota	49.7%	50.3%	49.7%	50.3%	50.7%	49.3%	51.0%	49.0%
New York	48.6%	51.4%	49.0%	51.0%	46.4%	53.6%	46.7%	53.3%

Source: 2019 ACS 1-Year Estimates

Figure 3D
Racial Composition, 2000

State	Total Population	White Alone	Black or African American Alone	Black or African American Alone or in Combination with One or More Races*
Florida	15,982,378	12,465,029	2,335,505	2,471,730
		78%	15%	15%
Kentucky	4,041,769	3,640,889	295,994	311,878
		90%	7%	8%
Minnesota	4,919,479	4,400,282	171,731	202,972
		89%	3%	4%
New York	18,976,457	12,893,689	3,014,385	3,234,165
		68%	16%	17%

Source: 2000 Decennial Census

* Includes respondents who identify as Black or African American alone; does not represent a separate category of additional Black or African American respondents in a state. Thus, the higher totals observed in this category are due to its aggregation of one- and multi-race Black or African American respondents. Nonetheless, multi-race individuals notably comprise a minority of the Black or African American population and population at-large across the states

Figure 3E
Counties with Shares of the Black Population At or Above the State Average in 2019

Yellow: =< 500,000 residents, *Red:* =< 1,000,000 residents in 2019

State	Percentage
Florida (n=36)	
Gadsden*	55.7%
Madison*	39.3%
Jefferson*	35.6%
Hamilton	34.0%
Leon	31.5%
Duval	29.8%
Broward	28.8%
Jackson*	27.5%
Union*	23.1%
Escambia	22.3%
Orange	21.2%
Taylor*	20.1%
St. Lucie	19.5%
Bradford	19.1%
Alachua	19.1%
Palm Beach	19.0%
Columbia	18.3%
Liberty*	17.4%
Hillsborough	17.3%
Gulf*	17.2%
Miami-Dade	16.8%
Putnam	16.4%
Kentucky (n= 10)	
Jefferson	22.4%
Christian	22.3%
Fayette	14.8%
Union*	13.4%
Hardin	12.2%
McCrackin	8.1%
Franklin*	10.7%
Simpson*	9.4%
Hickman*	9.3%
Warren	8.8%
Minnesota (n=5)	
Hennepin	13.8%
Ramsey	12.9%
Sterns	7.8%
Dakota	7.5%
Anoka	7.4%

New York (n= 3)	
Bronx County	38.3%
Kings County	32.0%
Queens County	18.4%

Source: 2019 ACS 1-Year Demographic and Housing Estimates

* Figure not included in the 2019 ACS and is taken from other, older sources. See BEBR (2018), KCEWS(2018), and KPH (2017). Note that these population estimates still utilize U.S. Census Bureau data.

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Figure 3F
Gini Coefficient, 2019

State	Gini Coefficient
Florida	0.4808
Kentucky	0.4764
Minnesota	0.4434
New York	0.5149
U.S.	0.4811

Source: 2019 ACS 1-Year Estimates

Figure 3G
Share of People in Poverty by Race and Sex, 2015-2019

State	<50% FPL	<100% FPL	<125% FPL
Florida			
Total	6.1%	14.0%	19.0%
Black*	9.9%	22.0%	29.2%
White non-Hispanic*	4.8%	10.0%	13.6%
Male	5.6%	12.9%	17.6%
Female	6.6%	15.1%	20.3%
Kentucky			
Total	7.5%	17.3%	22.3%
Black*	13.1%	27.8%	34.3%
White non-Hispanic*	6.8%	15.8%	20.4%
Male	6.8%	15.6%	20.3%
Female	8.3%	19.0%	24.1%
Minnesota			
Total	4.2%	9.7%	13.2%
Black*	12.0%	28.6%	36.9%
White non-Hispanic*	3.0%	6.9%	9.6%
Male	3.9%	8.8%	12.0%
Female	4.6%	10.6%	14.3%
New York			
Total	6.4%	14.1%	18.1%
Black*	10.5%	21.1%	26.1%
White non-Hispanic*	4.3%	9.3%	12.2%
Male	5.8%	12.7%	16.6%
Female	7.0%	15.3%	19.6%
U.S.			
Total	6.0%	13.4%	17.8%
Black*	10.7%	23.0%	29.3%
White non-Hispanic*	4.4%	9.6%	12.9%
Male	5.4%	12.2%	16.3%
Female	6.5%	14.6%	19.2%

Source: 2019 ACS 5-Year Estimates

Figure 3H
Share of Families in Poverty by Household Type, 2015-2019

State	<50% FPL	<100% FPL	<125% FPL
Florida			
Total	6.1%	14.0%	19.0%
Married-couple	2.2%	6.8%	10.2%
Female householder, no spouse	11.9%	25.9%	33.7%
Kentucky			
Total	7.5%	17.3%	22.3%
Married-couple	2.7%	8.3%	11.5%
Female householder, no spouse	18.1%	36.5%	44.3%
Minnesota			
Total	4.2%	9.7%	13.2%
Married-couple	1.2%	3.5%	5.5%
Female householder, no spouse	11.1%	24.6%	31.9%
New York			
Total	6.4%	14.1%	18.1%
Married-couple	2.3%	6.9%	9.8%
Female householder, no spouse	13.0%	26.4%	32.8%
U.S.			
Total	6.0%	13.4%	17.8%
Married-couple	1.9%	6.0%	8.9%
Female householder, no spouse	13.8%	28.6%	36.0%

Source: 2019 ACS 5-Year Estimates

Figure 3I
State Representatives by Sex, 2020

State	Total	Male	Female	Percent Female	% Point Difference Since '92
Florida	120	85	35	29%	13%
Kentucky	100	71	29	29%	22%
Minnesota	134	86	48	36%	15%
New York	150	102	48	32%	18%

Source: CAWP, 2021

Figure 3J
State Senators by Sex, 2020

State	Total	Male	Female	Percent Female	% Point Difference Since '92
Florida	40	28	12	30%	5%
Kentucky	38	33	5	13%	11%
Minnesota	67	51	16	24%	3%
New York	63	44	19	30%	20%

Source: CAWP, 2021

Figure 3K
State Representatives by Sex, 1992

State	Total	Male	Female	Percent Female
Florida	120	100	20	17%
Kentucky	100	93	7	7%
Minnesota	134	106	28	21%
New York	150	129	21	14%

Source: CAWP, 2021

Figure 3L
State Senators by Sex, 1992

State	Total	Male	Female	Percent Female
Florida	40	30	10	25%
Kentucky	38	37	1	3%
Minnesota	67	53	14	21%
New York	61	55	6	10%

Source: CAWP, 2021

Chapter IV: Case Study Analyses

Figure 4A
State Policies on Warrantless Arrest As of 2021

State	Florida	Kentucky	Minnesota	New York
Mandatory arrest, pro-arrest, or discretionary arrest directed to responding officer	**Discretionary**, *see Fla. Stat. § 901.15(7)*	**Discretionary**, s*ee Ky. Rev. Stat. Ann. § 431.005(2)(a)*	**Discretionary**, *see Minn. Stat. 629.341(1)*	**Mandatory**, *see N.Y. CPL § 140.10 (1), 4)(a), and (b)*
Explicitly discourage mutual arrest	**Yes**, *see Fla. Stat. § 901.15(7)*	**No**	**Yes**, *see Minn. Stat. § 629.342*	**No**
Direct responding officer to identify primary aggressor	**Yes**, s*ee Fla. Stat. § 741.29(4)(b)*	**No**	**Yes**, *see Minn. Stat. § 629.342*	**Yes**, *see N.Y. CPL Law § 140.10 4)(c)*
Restrict domestic violence victimhood status to family members, i.e., those related by blood or marriage, and/or cohabitants	**Yes, but** warrantless arrest policy accommodates for cases of dating violence. *See Fla. Stat. §§ 741.28 and 784.046(d).*	**Yes, but** warrantless arrest policy accommodates for cases of dating violence. *See Ky. Rev. Stat. Ann. §§ 403.720, 431.005(2)(a), and 456.010*	**No**, *see Minn. Stat. § 518B.01*	**No,** *see N.Y. CPL § 140.10(1)*

Sources: FL Legislature, 2021; KY General Assembly, 2021; MN Legislature, 2020; NY Senate, n.d.

Figure 4B
State TANF Policies and Program Characteristics

State	Florida	Kentucky	Minnesota	New York
Maximum monthly benefit for single-parent family of three with no income, nominal dollars, July 2020	$303	$262	$632	$789
Percent FPL of benefit level, 2020	16.7%	14.5%	34.9%	43.6%
Percent FPL of benefit level – U.S. ranking, 2020	37	47	12	3
Share of Black adult participants, FY 2019	51.6%	25.5%	45.9%	37.8%
Share of white adult participants, FY 2019	25.7%	69.5%	33.9%	15.9%
TPR 1995-'96	55	55	93	79
TPR 2018-'19	13	21	47	42
Deliver cash through EBT cards?	Yes	No	Yes	Yes
Has FVO or equivalent?	**Yes**, as of 2014	**Yes**, as of 2013	**Yes**, as of 2015	**Yes**, as of 2015
Screening for FVO eligibility performed by	Regional Workforce Board service provider	Case worker	DV-trained county staff and DV advocate	DV liaison

Sources: ACF (2020); CBPP (2020); Holcomb et. al (2016); NCSL (2019); Safawi and Floyd (2020)
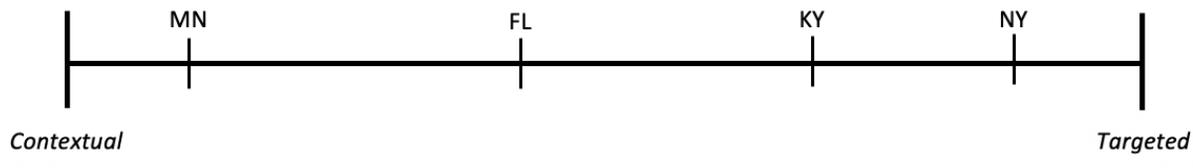
Figure 4C
State Continuum Placements:
Warrantless Arrest

Figure 4D
State Continuum Placements:
TANF