

THE EFFECT OF LOCAL PRESS COVERAGE
ON THE PASSAGE OF OREGON'S 1977 ABUSE PREVENTION ACT

by

PERELANDRA COGSWELL

A THESIS

Presented to the School of Journalism
and the Honors College of the University of Oregon
in partial fulfillment of the requirements of Bachelor of Arts

May 18, 1990

Approved:


Asst. Professor Timothy Gleason

An Abstract of the Thesis of

Perelandra Cogswell for the degree of Bachelor of Arts
in the School of Journalism to be taken June 1990

Title: THE EFFECT OF LOCAL PRESS COVERAGE ON THE PASSAGE OF
OREGON'S 1977 ABUSE PREVENTION ACT

Approved: _____

Asst. Professor Timothy Gleason

Spouse abuse, specifically woman abuse, is a serious issue. Acknowledging the violence committed in spouse abuse as real and criminal is also serious. The press play some role in creating issues. What role they played in creating an issue of spouse abuse that led to legislation in Oregon in 1977 will be evaluated by this study.

The research included studying the local newspaper coverage of the Abuse Prevention Act (APA) and of domestic violence in the Portland, Salem and Eugene communities. The primary sponsors of the bill were also interviewed to determine what role or what effect they felt the press played or had on the passage of the APA.

National press coverage of the issue of domestic violence set the stage for the writing of the APA and, subsequently, the support for its passage. Little local press coverage surrounded bill itself, focusing primarily on another domestic violence bill regarding shelter funding. Bill sponsors agree, and the evidence of little local press coverage support the conclusion that press coverage, at least at the local level, had little effect on the passage of the Abuse Prevention Act.

Other factors, such as national attention to the issue of domestic violence, the APA's broad-based support in the legislature, and the presence of a more controversial domestic violence bill during the same session, may have been the impetus in the passage of the bill.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Chapter	Page
I. INTRODUCTION	1
II. DOMESTIC VIOLENCE	6
History	8
Social Acceptance of Domestic Violence	9
Nature of Domestic Violence	11
Emergence of Domestic Violence as an Issue	15
III. THE THEORY OF AGENDA-SETTING	19
Agenda-Setting Studies	21
IV. THE ABUSE PREVENTION ACT (HB 2438)	29
The APA Provisions	31
The Shelter Bill (HB 2688)	33
V. FINDINGS	34
Why the Sponsors Wrote the Act	35
Media Coverage	37
The Portland <i>Oregonian</i>	38
The Eugene <i>Register-Guard</i>	39
Salem: The <i>Capital Journal</i> and the <i>Oregon Statesman</i>	39
VI. CONCLUSION	42
Agenda-Setting Effects	42
Other Factors	48
BIBLIOGRAPHY	51

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Violence against women in the home or in an intimate relationship is an old and pervasive occurrence. Government and legislative response to domestic violence, the term used in this study for the physical violence against women, is a relatively new approach to the issue. In 1977, the Oregon legislature passed the Abuse Prevention Act (ORS 133.055), a radical step in the direction of public and public policy response to a previously unrecognized crime. This study looks at the role of the local press in placing domestic violence on the Oregon agenda and its influence on the support and passage of the bill.

This research uses the theory of the agenda-setting function of the press to look at the press' effect on Oregon policymakers in identifying, adopting, and responding to the issue of domestic violence. The study focuses on the Abuse Prevention Act (APA), passed in 1977, because it is one of the first pieces of legislation in Oregon to do the following: it aided the victims of domestic violence; it was the first change in law to recognize sufferers of domestic violence as *victims*; it provided relief for victims; and it provided police protection. This study considers what factors influenced the APA's conception and adoption.

This research pertains to violence against women in the home, known variously as spouse abuse, wife abuse, woman battering, or any such combination. The more general and generic term is domestic violence. I use the term throughout this study to mean any kind of violence occurring in a domestic setting or relationship against a woman regardless of the legal state of the relationship.

Early research into the media and their role as agenda-setters focused on their effect on the general public and not on policymakers specifically. The primary focus of this study is press coverage of the Abuse Prevention Act during the period when the bill was

introduced in the legislature and made its way through the House and the Senate. To some extent, the factors that prompted the adoption of the issue in the first place are important to the study because they may have affected the bill's reception by the local press, public and public officials. However, the press coverage during the period before the bill's adoption is most important because some agenda-setting theory suggests that coverage affects the process of policymaking (Linsky, 1986).

Donald L. Shaw and Maxwell E. McCombs pioneered agenda-setting research in a study on media coverage and its effect on voters in the 1968 presidential campaign. They hypothesized that the press has the power to establish an agenda of political issues that both candidates and voters perceive as important. The result of such influence is that the audience knows not so much what to think, but what to think *about*.

To take this theory one step further, if the press can influence voters and candidates in an election, why not policymakers in the process of setting public policy? Martin Linsky, in a study on the press and federal policymaking, found in his surveys of Washington, D.C., officials that they perceive the press as having influence on the capacity of policymakers to turn ideas into policies that are adopted and implemented (Linsky, 1986).

This is not a novel idea since it follows closely Shaw's and McCombs' original agenda-setting theory. However, agenda-setting is not a simple equation of an issue plus what the press publish that equals public attitude. Agenda-setting is far more complex in that various factors that influence the perception of an issue or the outcome of a policy can affect reporters and officials at any given time.

To identify what issues or events may have influenced Oregon's legislators in the passage of the APA, this study looked at the major newspapers for Oregon's three largest cities: the *Eugene Register-Guard* ; the *Salem Capital Journal* and *Oregon Statesman* ; and the *Portland Oregonian*. In studying the news coverage in these newspapers, this study focused on the time span between the bill's first reading and its final passage. The study concentrated on this

time frame to evaluate the relationship between the type and amount of media coverage on the bill, and its passage specifically, and the issue of domestic violence in general.

Also, to further determine what role and what effect the media played in the passage of the bill, the primary sponsors of the Abuse Prevention Act were interviewed. Admittedly, "officials cannot be expected to identify instances when they altered their own best judgment about a policy option because of influence they felt from newspapers or television," however, considering the legislators' role as bill sponsors and the long interval of time between the passage of the bill and this study, the recollections of the sponsors are likely to be more vague than biased (Linsky, p. 87).

The agenda-setting power of the press, both local and national, is important in considering social and political change on the issue of domestic violence (Costa, 1983). People are accustomed to looking to the media--whether their daily newspaper, monthly magazine, or evening news program--for information and guidance. The media provide people with ideas, facts and figures that help them form and guide their own attitudes and behaviors (Shaw, 1977).

Such media power has been around as long as the press (Lippman, 1922). As long as there has been a person with a printer and an idea, there has been an audience to influence. Just how much influence that man, woman, or organization with the printer and the idea has on an audience or what kind of influence they wield has been the subject of much discussion and disagreement. The consensus is, however, that there is some link between what appears in the press and what appears on the public's agenda.

Somewhere in-between, in terms of policy agenda, lies the policymaker. In order for the press to influence the public on an issue, there must be an issue, and policy to be affected, by that influence. In terms of this research, the issue is domestic violence and the policy affected was a piece of legislation passed in the Oregon legislature in 1977.

How much and what kind of influence the press has on policymakers is an important question because the effect will help the press, policymakers and public approach an issue and focus on

the policy process in the best manner conducive to success. Not only does the emergence of an issue in the press such as domestic violence act as an important signal to the people to sit up and take notice, but it also serves very specific educational purposes. With media coverage comes research and instruction. An article on domestic violence serves not only to promote it as an issue and create public interest and action, but the content can dispel myths and educate the public leading to further public support and action (Clark, 1987).

This study will consist of three major sections: domestic violence, agenda-setting, and the Abuse Prevention Act. To discuss the three as a whole, it is first necessary to look into each separately.

Chapter II will look at the definition of domestic violence and its evolution as an issue, and the psychology of the victim and abusive relationship. The history and psychology of domestic violence are important for understanding the kinds of policy responses needed to help victims.

Chapter III will discuss the basic assumption of this study: that the press play an agenda-setting role, and how that relates to public officials and promoting an issue such as domestic violence. At the same time, this study will look at the theories on agenda-setting, specifically the ones that look into what effect the media has on both public officials and policymaking. Understanding the effects is important to understanding what factors can influence the adoption of an issue and the policy response.

Chapter IV, the Abuse Prevention Act, describes the content of the bill. The bill's sponsors, the adoption of the issue, and the process of passing specific legislation to address the issue will be discussed.

Lastly, Chapter V will discuss the findings: how much and what kind of influence the media had on promoting the issue and encouraging a policy response.

CHAPTER II

DOMESTIC VIOLENCE

No one would deny that violence is a problem in our society. The word conjures up images of dark alleys, masked men (or women), guns, knives and, the most dangerous weapon, the force of the human body combined with human aggression. The issue of violence and of protecting the individuals in our society from the threat thereof is one that all of us, whether through personal or secondary experience, perceive as serious and worth the attention of our government and law enforcement agencies.

Yet, when the word "domestic" is joined to "violence," attitudes and opinions begin to differ. Domestic violence is any form of violence occurring in a family setting or situation. Nothing has changed from the previous picture except the relationship between the victim and abuser and, perhaps, the setting. Generally, the same weapons are used; usually, the weapons used are more varied and the abuse prolonged. Domestic violence is an abusive relationship in which the victim cannot stop or control the violence. That certainly fits in with the general societal notion of violence.

However, domestic violence increases in frequency and intensity, occurs in cycles, and, if not stopped, is a continued danger to the victim. Generic violence, if we may call it that--stranger-inflicted violence--is as much a threat to the health and safety of a victim as is domestic violence. But, the victims of domestic violence are worse off, if violence can be supposed to have such distinctions as "better" or "worse," because the abuse occurs and recurs in the "safety" of their homes.

Along with the change in definition when "violence" becomes "domestic violence" comes a change in attitude and enforcement. Simply because the abuse occurs in a home and the abuser is a spouse, people become reluctant to get involved. Centuries of

regarding the home as a domain of its own with the husband or father as ruler has conditioned society to close its eyes and ears to the behavior within its walls (Meier, 1987). Police and neighbors alike respond to pleas for help from victims of domestic violence with the answer of "There's nothing we can do, it's a family disturbance" (Zimring, 1987). The Abuse Prevention Act, by amending Oregon's arrest statute, was an attempt to overcome the social stigma of outside intervention into domestic disputes by creating a uniform, appropriate police response to domestic violence.

There is something the people and public officials, especially police and the law, can do to help victims of domestic violence: they can recognize it as a *crime* and not a man's *prerogative* and they can change their policies and laws to enable them to respond (Clark, 1987). Furthermore, such agents and transmitters of social change as the media can help further the cause by covering such topics as woman battering, thereby removing the social stigma of public involvement in the private family, and prod the public and officials into action (Costa, 1983). This study looks at what role the media may have played in putting domestic violence on the public agenda and prodding public officials into action.

Woman battering is the form of domestic violence addressed in this research. The terms used to describe the abuse and public attitudes toward it have varied through the years depending on the person or organization discussing the issue. Initially referred to as "wife abuse," some now prefer the term "spouse abuse" because it takes into consideration the instances where the man is the victim rather than the woman.

The problem with any of these terms, however, lies in the very specific relationship between the victim and the abuser implied by "wife" or "spouse." Woman abuse or woman battering is more acceptable because it encompasses the people also victimized: individuals involved in an intimate relationship not necessarily or specifically defined by a legal marriage. Abuse occurs between boyfriends and girlfriends, whether they live together or not or even if they do not term themselves as such. Understanding the history

and nature of domestic violence can help in identifying solutions (Epler, 1986).

History

Outright violence against a family member has increasingly become distasteful to our society. Centuries of socially sanctioned abuse in the home has given way to a more enlightened and less acceptant 20th century society. In the past two or three decades, when violence in the home became so severe that neighbors or the police could not ignore it, then mediation was used. The rest of the time, the response was to ignore it because it was a family matter to be left in the privacy of one's own home (Finesmith, 1983).

Evidence of the acceptance and expectance of male dominance in the home dates back as far as the 13th century. Dominican Nicolas Byard wrote that "a man may chastise his wife and beat her (verberare) for her correction; for she is of his household and therefore the Lord may chastise his own. . ." (Armstrong, xv). Women, like domesticated animals, were the property of their husbands and subject to the same treatment as any household or farmyard animal.

Centuries of cultural enlightenment did little to alleviate the position of women in society or the household. A 1609 Christian Canar edict recognized family violence as a legal right--"In the strictness of the law, for a husband to beat his wife was lawful." That claim continued through the 1800s "for as [the husband] is to answer for her misbehavior, the law thought it reasonable to intrust him with its power of restraining her by domestic chastisement" (Armstrong, xvi). In the 17th and 18th centuries, the French attempted to move away from wholesale condonment of family violence in their laws. One ordinance reached a compromise by restricting domestic punishment to "blows, thumps, kicks or punches on the back. . .which did not leave any marks" (Meier, 1987).

The United States, by the 1800s however, had condemned wife beating by statute in eight states and by judicial decision in five more. Such headway in the abolishment of conjugal violence is

deceptive; the standards for judging unacceptable family violence were arbitrary and inadequately enforced (Armstrong, xvii). In 1876, a North Carolina court decision on wife beating said that a husband had no right, under any circumstances, to chastise his wife. *. . .but, if "no permanent injury has been inflicted, nor malice, cruelty, or dangerous violence shown by the husband, it is better to draw the curtains, shut out the public gaze, and leave the parties to forget and forgive"* (Lystad, 53).

The latter 19th century saw woman abuse defined as illegal. In 1883, Maryland was the first state to outlaw woman abuse by legislation. Mississippi followed this precedent in 1894. By 1910, 35 of 46 states allowed divorce on grounds of physical cruelty (Okun, 1986).

However, the infamous "rule of thumb," a law carried over from Britain that allowed a man to beat his wife with an object no thicker than his thumb, was upheld in the United States as late as 1928 (Lystad, 53). Some American courts, in the 1900s, allowed wives to sue their husband for civil assault, but, until the 1960s and '70s, most states allowed "spousal immunity" to prohibit such suits (Meier, 1987).

Woman abuse was legal in some states through 1970, although it is now recognized as criminal assault in all states (Okun, 1986). Almost all states now allow a woman to obtain a restraining order against her husband or partner without proof of divorce or some other civil action (Meier, 1987).

Social Acceptance of Domestic Violence

Violence that occurs between individuals intimately involved poses not only a definition problem--what constitutes "intimate" or "involved" and what is "violent" in relation to those individuals--but a problem in forming and defining an appropriate societal attitude and response. Traditionally, violence in a family setting has been ignored. From reasons ranging from "It's a man's right to discipline his family as he sees fit" to "Who am I to judge or interfere where I have no business," society has excused or ignored domestic violence.

With such definitional problems and the historical legal acceptance of family violence, law enforcement agencies have been at a loss as to how to respond to "domestic disputes" (Meier, 1987).

In response to this need to recognize domestic violence as a serious offense, a few states have passed legislation to make it a crime. Those that haven't actually made domestic violence a crime have passed legislation to tighten up arrest policies. In Oregon, the 1977 Abuse Prevention Act revised its arrest policy statute to allow police officers to arrest a batterer on probable cause.

The Abuse Prevention Act, one the first of its kind in the nation, attempted to remove some of the social stigma of "government" intervention in the "family" sphere--i.e. giving the police the authority to arrest a batterer on probable cause regardless of his (or her) relationship to the victim. In the past, police acted as untrained mediators and counselors, usually suggesting that the problem would disappear after the man cooled off or if the woman stopped provoking it (Epler, 1986). The mediation method has met with little, if any, success, and has served as an excuse for police officers reluctant to get involved or risk their own safety (Finesmith, 1983).

By involving the justice system, through arrest not mediation, a woman has access to a neutral third party who can introduce the appropriate incentives to an abuser to take responsibility for his behavior. The police are the agency to respond to calls of domestic violence; they are the enforcers of the law and it is their responsibility and duty to protect all individuals (Clark, 1987).

Many of the justifications found for non-interference or inaction on the issue of domestic violence hinge on socialization. People have grown up learning to accept, ignore, or remain oblivious to the ills of our society because it never told them to do otherwise. The media--television, radio and the printed press--as a means of conveying and reinforcing social norms has, does, and can play a significant role in the perceived importance of an issue. What issues ignored or targeted by the media, and trivialized or raised in importance, are signals to society to take its cue and respond. Society, to a large extent, relies on the press to serve as its

prompter. In terms of domestic violence, typical police response to incidents of abuse certainly represented the portion of society that felt abuse in the home was not in their domain of enforcement (Buel, 1988), (Costa, 1983).

Domestic violence is a community concern. A San Quentin Prison study showed that 100 percent of all inmates had grown up in violent homes. Not only does the violence affect those who are victims, but it victimizes those who try to prevent it. Police officers, the authority most people turn to when physically threatened, have not always been the best, most logical alternative to victims of domestic violence. Either dismissing woman battering as not a police concern or fearing for their own safety, or both, the police have not played the role of peace keepers and protectors as well as the agency should in domestic violence cases. More police officers, some studies have shown, are killed responding to domestic violence calls than any other (Miller, 1979). More recent statistics from the National Institute of Justice report that only six percent of all officers killed in the line of duty between 1972 and 1984, died responding to domestic violence calls (Gelles, 1988).

Adequate and appropriate police response is crucial to helping victims of domestic violence. Protection from, and punishment for, the batterer provides safety to the victims as well as the reassurance that society will not tolerate such violence. It is important to have such response from the police. For example, the one instance where the husband punched his wife and the officer told him to cool off and come back, told the victim to forgive and forget, or refused to get involved, could lead to the instance where an ambulance couldn't get there on time because the victim was already dead (Buel, 1988).

Nature of Domestic Violence

In abusive relationships, the violence occurs in degrees. From a pinch to a slap, a shove to a gunshot wound, an insult to mind-control, violence occurs on an emotional as well as a physical level. In domestic violence, the abuse occurs on both levels. Often, where

there is physical abuse, there is also emotional abuse. Less frequent but just as violent and hurtful, are the cases of emotional abuse. Both have to be recognized and acknowledged so they can be stopped.

The handbook for Womenspace, Eugene's shelter for abused women and their children, uses a continuum analogy to demonstrate the insidiousness and potential escalation of violence--both physical and emotional--in a relationship. The police as well as the public should be aware of the wide variety of ways violence can be inflicted in the home and how easily one mild form can lead to a more serious one.

The physical abuse that occurs in domestic violence ranges from a pinch or a squeeze at the lowest end all the way to murder at the highest end. On this continuum, pinches, squeezes, pushes or shoves, jerking, pulling, shaking, or even a slap are labeled "conventional violence." This violence is termed conventional not because it should be conventional or everyone thinks it is, but because it literally is. Pinches, squeezes, pushes or shoves. . . are accepted in child-rearing in 87 to 94 percent of all families. It is so conventional that a law enforcement officer may feel it doesn't warrant consideration, let alone arrest (Womenspace, p. 28).

However, as the violent behaviors progress along the continuum, pinches and shoves lead to hitting, punching, kicking, choking, and throwing objects--household as well as human objects. The violence can, potentially, escalate to the point that medical treatment is necessary. Battering incidents often result in stitches, broken bones, or internal injuries. The likelihood of a serious injury increases at the higher end of the continuum as the use of conventional weapons such as guns and knives increases. Ultimately, the continuum--but not always the violence--ends in disabling, disfiguring and murder (Womenspace, p. 28).

To understand how police intervention can help victims, the police and policy makers need to understand the nature of the relationship and its tendency to violence. Lenore E. Walker developed a diagram called the "Cycle of Violence" to demonstrate the nature and progression of an abusive relationship. The diagram is helpful because it shows the progression of tension in

relationships and where it goes awry in the cases of domestic violence. The cycle is made up of three phases that show the process in which battering incidents arise, occur, and are forgotten or forgiven (Womenspace, p. 43).

The first phase (Tension Building) is characterized by an increasing amount of tension between the partners and the occurrence of minor battering incidents. This phase leads into the second phase (Acute Battering Incident) where an uncontrollable discharge of the tension built up in the first stage occurs. Minutes, hours, or days pass into the third phase (Loving and Contrite Stage), often called the "honeymoon" because it is characterized by such feeling and behaviors of renewal. In this stage, the batterer is remorseful and promises to change.

This cycle is not unusual if the physical violence is removed. All arguments follow the same pattern of tension building, tension discharge, and contrition; however, many arguments are not accompanied by such intense physical and psychological abuse. They do not occur as frequently or as intensely.

Walker identifies the time between phase one and two and between phase two and three as the most likely for a woman to leave her batterer. If abuse is frequent in a relationship, the woman will recognize the pattern, consciously or unconsciously, and be more receptive to leaving during the tension building phase because it is almost always followed by an acute battering incident. Similarly, the fear of abuse or the injuries sustained in a violent episode may prompt a woman to leave, especially if she knows she can call the police and the batterer will be arrested.

The "honeymoon" stage, the third in the cycle, then, is the hardest time for a woman to leave because her partner is being loving and caring, and she feels hope and promise that this incident was the last.

Emotional/psychological abuse always accompanies, and usually precedes, any physical abuse. It is almost as debilitating as the physical abuse because it can create or reinforce the victim's sense of helplessness or responsibility which may prevent her from leaving her batterer--more so than her broken arm or black eye. At

the lower end of the continuum, emotional abuse includes jokes about the victim's habits or faults, insults, ignoring feelings, withholding approval, yelling, and name-calling (Womenspace, 29).

When the emotional abuse, like the physical, is repeated and targeted, it can result in severe emotional trauma. Victims are often repeatedly humiliated both in public and in private, blamed for all faults, labeled ("crazy," "whore," "bitch"), and threatened with violence or retaliation; their abilities as a mothers, workers or wives also are attacked. All of these forms of abuse can lead a victim to feel a sense of powerlessness and question her sense of reality. She may suffer depression, a nervous breakdown, a real or perceived mental illness, and, ultimately, suicide (Womenspace, 29).

Many of the emotional abuses suffered by the victims of domestic violence are also the reasons women stay in those relationships. They don't like or want the abuse they receive, but, for some, it's all they know or understand. For all, the debilitating effects to some degree make leaving difficult or impossible. The factors that influence a woman's decision to remain in or leave an abusive relationship can be broken generally into two categories: situational and emotional (Womenspace, p. 42).

By far the most compelling factor that prevents a woman from leaving an abusive relationship is her economic dependence on her batterer--it is also one of the strongest recommendations for shelters, another public policy issue but not the focus of this research. However, it is important to understand the whole picture of domestic violence and its victims. With no money and no job, a woman who has been socially isolated from friends and often family, feels she has no where to turn and that leaving is impossible. Furthermore, the threat of abuse or retaliation, such as loss of custody of the children or injury to friends, family or property, may seem worse than remaining in the relationship and risking further battering.

Consideration for the children is an important factor for a woman when deciding to leave. Many women believe that any father is better than none and so are reluctant to deprive their children of a father. Always, however, the women fear they may lose custody of

the children if they leave their husbands or partners. Divorce and custody laws also need reform to take into consideration the plight of victims of domestic violence.

Emotional factors, coupled with or resulting from the physical and emotional abuse sustained in a woman's relationship with her abusive partner, reinforce the difficulty of leaving. Women stay in abusive relationships because, in the general sense, they love and value their partner and marriage/relationship. Despite the suffering women undergo from their partners, they often still love them and feel they are good mates at other times. Women often say that, when not in the abusive stage, their relationship or partners are otherwise ideal (Womenspace, p. 38).

That sense of loyalty to her partner or responsibility to their marriage may keep a woman in an abusive situation. Commitment to her marriage vows or outside pressure from friends or family often influence a woman to stay. Leaving her batterer may incur a woman with a sense of guilt over the failure of her marriage. Also, she may believe the man will change and is unwilling to risk the loneliness and insecurity of leaving her partner.

At the root of the emotional difficulties of leaving an abusive relationship lies the major life change involved in the decision. Leaving her partner may include acting against the wishes of family or friends, moving to a different city or state, changing or starting a job for the first time, making new friends, and living alone or raising her children without a father.

Emergence of Domestic Violence as an Issue

The frequency and/or prevalence of domestic violence in the U.S. is difficult to establish for a variety of reasons. In the past, record-keeping systems didn't uniformly, if at all, account for victims of marital violence. Often times, incidents of domestic violence were recorded with no regard to the relationship between the victim and the abuser, simply listing them as assaults or homicides. Many victims of domestic violence didn't, and still don't report abuse to the police, file charges, or seek medical attention.

What statistics can be compiled are certainly only partially indicative of the prevalence of the crime. Without adequate means of recording incidents of domestic violence, accurate estimates of the prevalence of the crime are impossible, and assessing appropriate responses is difficult (Miller, 1979).

What statistics have been compiled paint a disturbing picture of violent homes and victimless crimes. In 1976, the FBI Uniform Crime statistics reported that one case of wife assault occurred every twelve seconds, making it the most frequently committed violent crime in the United States. Individual studies estimate that anywhere from 1 to 28,000,000 women suffer abuse at the hands of their partners. Others estimate that half of all married women in this country will experience husband inflicted assault. A 1971 Kansas City study stated that 48 percent of all homicides were spousal and in 50 percent of them, the police had been summoned five or more times within the two years before the murder. (Miller, 1979).

In Oregon, the same difficulties arise in estimating the incidence of domestic violence because of inadequate data gathering and reporting before 1977. Agencies that have contact with victims didn't compile statistics and, what data that was recorded, was usually done so under general reports of assault or murder (Miller, 1979).

Annette Jolin, a Portland police officer testifying before a legislative committee as a private citizen for the Abuse Prevention Act in 1977, estimated that the Portland Police Bureau receives 6,000 domestic violence calls a year. And, if the estimate that 50 to 75 percent of most crimes go unreported can be applied to domestic violence, that means that 12,000 to 15,000 incidents a year occurred in the Portland area (Miller, 1979).

A survey of local law enforcement agencies provided these results:

City/County	Reported Calls--1977
Benton County Sheriff	297
Roseburg Police Dept.	178
Forest Grove Police Dept.	98

St. Helens Police Dept.

46

Oakland Police Dept.

5

(Miller, 1979).

Although legal and medical agencies only began recording and recognizing incidents of domestic violence recently, it has been discussed among women far longer. In the late 1960s and early 1970s, a strong women's movement formed and grew. The movement advocated equality in the home and workplace and a breakdown of the sex barrier that had held them back for centuries. Among other issues affecting and discriminating against women that arose was rape. The women's movement took a strong stand against rape and the male dominated society they felt fostered and sanctified the crime (Martin, 1976).

As discussion and action on the issue of rape grew and spread, a "new" trend arose: rape by a spouse. Never before discussed as a crime or even an infringement on the rights of a woman or wife, spousal rape became another aspect of the sexual victimization of women targeted by the women's movement. The revelation of crimes committed in the home, however, did not stop there. Many of the same women who talked of marital rape also admitted experiencing marital brutality or abuse; hence, the emergence of wife abuse or woman battering as an issue (Martin, 1976), (Okun, 1986).

Although the issue may have been recognized only recently, the problem of woman battering is certainly not new. For centuries women have been considered inferior to men both legally and socially. The social and philosophical subordination of women paved the way, or at least justified, a physical subordination that frequently allowed for serious physical abuse.

Because society could find no justification to outweigh the claim that the family crucible was sacrosanct, as was the man's right to rule it as he saw fit, society also ignored any violence in the home or among family members. Having no support or encouragement, women neither felt justified nor safe in admitting to being victims. Women believed as much as did men that physical abuse was as much his right as it was her due (Pleck, 1987).

The growth of the women's movement, however, gave new strength to women. They realized they were not inferior and did not deserve to be subjected to abuse that would be considered criminal if they were not the wives of the perpetrators.

At the same time, in England, Erin Pizzey recognized that more and more women were talking about the abuse they suffered at the hands of their husbands or intimate partners. Pizzey opened an "advice center" where woman and their children could come to discuss their problems and find support. An overwhelming number of the women at the center, however, came in search of support and refuge from physical abuse from their spouses. (Martin, 1976).

In 1971, Pizzey's "advice center" turned into the Chiswick Women's Aid, the first shelter for battered women in Great Britain. In 1974, she wrote about battered women in Scream Quietly or the Neighbors Will Hear, the first book of its kind (Martin, 1976).

Just a year later, in 1975, the National Organization for Women (N.O.W), at its national conference, voted unanimously to proclaim marital violence a major issue and to establish a National Task Force on Battered Women/Household Violence. With such national attention focused on the issue of woman battering, local groups and legislatures began to take action (Martin, 1976).

CHAPTER III

THE THEORY OF AGENDA-SETTING

The theory of agenda-setting is important to this research because it offers a framework by which to evaluate the effect of the media in influencing the public and public policy on such important issues as domestic violence. In the case of domestic violence, where attitude and awareness of the issue is largely dependent on socialization and exposure, the media, by its virtually complete penetration into the homes of America, could and should raise the consciousness of its audiences (Costa, 1983),(Van Horn, 1989).

Whether an issue is covered in the media, how consistently it's covered, in what length, and where it's placed in relation to other news conveys a sense of importance or insignificance to the audience. The concept and practice of agenda-setting, like the issue of domestic violence, is far older than its acceptance as a theory. Walter Lippman, in his 1922 book Public Opinion, referred to the "agenda-setting" function of the press in his opening chapter "The World Outside and the Pictures in Our Heads." Those pictures, Lippman asserted, were created by the media.

Shaw and McCombs, in their pioneer research of agenda-setting, said that the influence of the media on the perceptions of the public is the inevitable by-product of the flow of news. Because editors must daily choose what gets into a newspaper, magazine or broadcast, what length it gets, and where it's placed, their perception and choice of what is newsworthy inevitably has an impact on what the public perceives as newsworthy.

The agenda-setting hypothesis, in general, as applied to this study, suggests that news articles on domestic violence in Oregon's newspapers alerted the public officials to the issue of woman battering. Press coverage of domestic violence, following agenda-setting theory, would have told the public that domestic violence

was an issue and, if the public recognized the issue as important, public officials would have responded. The influence of the media on the public officials' voting for the Abuse Prevention Act, however, is not as clear cut as the theory of agenda-setting suggests and the definition of agenda-setting, in this study, needs further refinement.

Accepting agenda-setting theory, then, our world largely becomes shaped by what we see, hear or read in the media. Notwithstanding other factors such as interpersonal communication or firmly held opinions or attitudes, our sense of political reality is what the media tells us; we only know what is covered in the press. We accept that information to be the news and accept it to be all that is real and important. Our choices and actions, then, are based on this reality, or "pseudoenvironment" as Lippman called it. Lippman's "pseudoenvironment," however, can exist on different levels. The presence of a national press (national dailies, magazines and journals, network news) and a local press (town newspapers, regional newspapers and magazines, local television news) creates different environments and different agendas for the audiences (Nelson, 1984). The emergence of domestic violence as an issue, perhaps, should, in some part if not all, be attributed to the national media's coverage of N.O.W. and the growth of shelters and studies on marital violence. And national media must be at least indirectly responsible for creating interest and action on the local level.

The effects of agenda-setting are not limited to what topics and issues people discuss in the office, at home or among their friends. It affects what they perceive to be important in the political arena, hence, what is important in terms of the social agenda. Should reforms be demanded? Should legislation be enacted? In terms of the issue of domestic violence and the Abuse Prevention Act of 1977, much of what has been advocated and accomplished in Oregon must be a result of media support and coverage. But how and how much are important questions to answer to understand the process and apply it in the future. A look at a few more agenda-setting studies will provide this study with some more tools to evaluate the influence and effectiveness of the media in the passage of the Abuse Prevention Act.

Agenda-Setting Studies

A look at a few agenda-setting studies since Shaw's and McCombs' landmark research will provide this study with the additional factors needed to evaluate the influence of the local press on the passage of the Abuse Prevention Act.

Barbara J. Nelson in Making An Issue of Child Abuse, looked at how child abuse became an issue to public officials. Part of her research was in the role the media played in transforming child abuse into an issue. She said that "[w]e would expect the media's role to be very important because the media exist at the boundary between the private and the public. Their task is to discover, unveil, and create what is 'public'." This is especially relevant to the issue of domestic violence because abuse within the family sphere has always been considered a private affair. Nelson's research addresses a social issue--child abuse--and so her results can be extended, somewhat, to the social issue aspect of domestic violence.

By Nelson's definition, agenda-setting is "the process whereby public officials learn about new problems, decide to give them their personal attention, and mobilize their organizations to respond to them." How the issue comes to the attention of a public official is where the media play a crucial role.

Nelson recognized that the media can both create and respond to an issue. The media can either prod governmental action through its investigation and coverage of an issue, or it can merely respond to it by passively reporting it. Nelson said this cycle is inevitable in the case of child abuse because the issue made it to many different agendas--state legislatures, Congress, federal bureaucracy--over a period of twenty years.

Nelson outlined four stages in the process of agenda-setting for the issue of child abuse:

1. Issue recognition
2. Issue adoption
3. Setting priorities among issues
4. Issue maintenance

These are basic identification steps that are useful for any issue.

Once an issue like child abuse has been recognized by the public (through media coverage), several factors influence whether it will be adopted. Before public officials adopt an issue, or consider an issue worth adopting, they must believe that the government has a legitimate responsibility to act on the issue. Secondly, officials must recognize or be able to form an appropriate response to the issue if it is adopted. Is child abuse a problem the government has a right or responsibility to address and, if so, can they do so feasibly?

Once the issue has been adopted and given a priority among the other issues facing public officials, the officials must maintain the issue to keep it on the agenda. Two types of maintenance exist: initial and recurring. Initial maintenance simply means the issue reached a decision point--a study was conducted, a report written, or a law passed. Recurring maintenance, however, means the issue is periodically reexamined.

Nelson applied Anthony Downs' "Issue-Attention Cycle" of the media to child abuse to show how the issue achieved and was sustained on the public and public officials' agendas. Downs' original theory didn't specify the amount of time the media spent paying attention to an issue, but his research suggested that it was a fairly short span between popularity and eclipse of an issue.

Nelson accepts Downs' issue-attention cycle model, but extends the time span of media attention because she believes that the growth of professional interest in child abuse has sustained the mass media's interest. The professional journal's interest and research into child abuse pumps new information to the mass media.

A switch from crime to human interest stories also accounts for newspapers' sustained interest in the issue, Nelson believes. Historically, newspapers and magazines reported the bizarre crimes of child abuse, like brutalizations, whereas now the trend is to report research findings.

In Downs' issue-attention cycle, he predicted that media and public interest in an issue fades when it seems unsolvable or boring. The cycle goes from the pre-problem stage, where an issue is

pervasive and severe, to the "alarmed discovery and euphoric enthusiasm" stage. In this stage, the public is horrified at the issue and, as Downs' suggested, perhaps naively believe that it can be solved without any significant or fundamental reordering of society.

With this outrage and enthusiasm, government gets involved, leading to the third stage in which resolutions are sought for the problem. There, the enthusiasm wanes as the public realizes that progress in the issue will cost not only money but social stability. If this is the case, if redistribution or social reordering is needed to solve the problem, then the fourth stage is achieved in which the media and their audience lose interest.

The fifth stage is the "post-problem stage" in which whatever governmental response was initiated becomes institutionalized. "Once innovative and exciting programs become part of the business-as-usual processes of government" (Nelson, 53).

In amending Downs' formula, Nelson attributes sustained interest in an issue to four factors: topic differentiation, issue aggregation, the link between the professional and mass media, and the growing appeal of the human interest story.

The coverage of child abuse as an issue grew, Nelson said, because it was more narrowly defined into specific topics such as the link between abuse and illegitimacy, or abuse within military families. Also, coverage was sustained because the issue was aggregated and linked with larger concerns such as intrafamilial violence which includes spouse, parent and grandparent abuse.

The third factor, the link between the professional and the mass media, greatly influenced the first two factors. Nelson said that the mass media's practice of monitoring scientific and professional journals contributed to the increase in interest in child abuse. The professional journal contributed the "soft news" (i.e. human interest stories) of the fourth factor. The mass media, thus, added the human interest "soft news" to their "hard news," the traditional focus of child abuse stories as crime news.

A few points of Nelson's study can be applied to the study of how domestic violence achieved the agenda of Oregon policy-makers for the 1977 legislative session. The first three steps of Nelson's

process of agenda-setting--issue recognition, issue adoption, setting priorities among issues--are the focus of this research in terms of domestic violence. Obviously, Oregon policy-makers recognized the issue, adopted it, and prioritized it by writing a bill and passing it. The media's role in this process, however, is not so clear. Nelson's study focuses on the emergence of an issue over a period of twenty years and the effect that the media has on bringing that issue to the public's attention. This study looks not so much at the emergence of the issue of domestic violence over a long period of time as at the single event of the passage of the Abuse Prevention Act. The study has to assume that the media has already played their role of making an issue of domestic violence, paving the way for the public officials' adoption and response.

Martin Linsky conducted a study on the impact of the media on federal policymakers. The third stage of his policymaking process can be applied to this study of the passage of the Abuse Prevention Act.

Policymakers, Linsky said, pay attention to the press because of its usefulness to them. Public officials use the press to explain themselves to colleagues and constituents, Linsky said, and to learn what other officials and groups are thinking about them and their programs. Undoubtedly, the press has some kind of influence on public policymakers. If nothing else, officials pay attention to the press because they want to keep abreast of people and events.

Policymakers agree that the press affects the process of policymaking but not precisely how. Linsky's study identified two general impacts of the press on the process of policymaking. Press coverage tends to speed up the decision-making process and coverage, especially negative coverage, tends to force decision-making up to a higher level of officials in a bureaucracy. The first impact can be applied to the case of the Abuse Prevention Act more so than the second. The bill sailed through the Oregon legislature in one session.

Linsky also identified some factors that influence how large an impact press coverage can have on the officials policymaking process. Surveys of public officials in Washington, D.C., revealed

several common conditions for creating a major impact. The department making the policy, what stage of the process the coverage occurred, whether the stories focused on personalities, issues, or processes, and whether the stories carried a positive or negative cast influence the amount of impact the press has on policymakers.

The policymaking process mentioned above is similar to the one Barbara Nelson uses in her study on child abuse. Linsky breaks the process down into problem identification, solution formulation, policy adoption, implementation, and evaluation. The last two are not relevant to this study. The third stage, however, policy adoption, is the one in which we consider the media's effect on the Abuse Prevention Act.

Carl E. Van Horn said public policies are not decided by the public but by the public officials that are "attentive to," but not "ruled by" the concerns of the public. The media play an important role in that they are the vehicle in which the concerns of the public are channeled to the officials. How issues come to the attention of the public officials is one of the factors necessary for this study to evaluate the effect of press coverage of the APA

The media, said Van Horn, play a dual role in the channeling of information. First, they can shape and influence what the public sees as important in public policy. In turn, the media then tell the public officials what the public thinks. The media act as a two-way street: they convey information down to the public, on the way shaping it as important or not, and send the response back up to the public officials, telling them how it was received.

This two-way communication can begin at either end. Either the public is responding to official activity or inactivity, or the officials are responding to public pressure. Van Horn called this "living room politics." The media, as the agenda-setting hypothesis purports, does not tell the public what to think, but what to think about. They can do this, said Van Horn, by how they describe a problem. They can simultaneously influence the public's perception of an issue and narrow a public administrator's options, for

instance, by labeling a policy debate a "partisan squabble" or a matter of "urgent public concern" (Van Horn, 236).

Journalists and news organizations become active in the policy process when they do investigative reporting, commission public opinion polls, or program special news shows.

In the case of public opinion polls, Van Horn said that they cannot always be accurate reflections of public opinion or useful tools for public officials. People hold "soft" opinions or "nonopinions" on issues or debates that they have little experience with or interest in. These opinions are often echoes of public officials because, when an opinion is "soft," it can change rapidly in response to events or new information. Real opinions, Van Horn said, deal with strong preferences, fears, and traditional values and are little affected by the media or public officials. Deep-rooted beliefs or fears, for instance, cannot be easily swayed by events or information. Such deep-seated beliefs, APA sponsors suggest, may have influenced legislators' support of the bill and also the shelter bill that appeared in the legislature during the same period.

Van Horn's description of the agenda-setting influence of the press being a process of two-way communication is better in some respects because it allows more flexibility in the information gathering and dissemination process. National news must affect local news and vice versa. The two-way process could relate to the Abuse Prevention Act in that, to some extent, the people and officials in Oregon were responding to an issue emerging on the national level. The bill sponsors interviewed for this study contend that they had no specific prompting; that fact is irrelevant. They were aware of the issue because information was available and that information happened to reach them through national news coverage of events and issues. In turn, once the APA was passed, the fact of its being one of the first in the nation must have had an impact on legislators somewhere else.

Kim A. Smith's hypothesis in the study of community issues and public concern can be applied to this research. Kim hypothesizes that more press coverage of an issue will lead to greater community concern for an issue and more negative evaluation of the related

government services. Local newspaper coverage of domestic violence and police response may have influenced the public and public officials in their evaluation of the local government's responsibility and response to the issue.

In his study, Kim conducted eight public random surveys from 1974 to 1981 in Louisville, Kentucky, to establish what issues were important to the community. His surveys yielded nineteen issues. Next, he did a content-analysis of the *Louisville Times* to assess what kind of coverage these nineteen issues received.

His hypotheses, based on his findings, were:

1. Higher levels of newspaper coverage of community issues will be associated with greater public concern and more negative evaluations of related local government services.
2. Two-way effects will be evident over time among newspaper coverage of community issues, public concerns, and evaluations of related local government services.

His hypotheses were supported by the analysis of his data. However, the relationship between evaluation and concern was not as strong as he originally hypothesized, possibly because the respondents were affected by interpersonal communication and direct experience.

A study that compared the impact of newspaper coverage to network news on its audiences supports the choice of using only the newspaper press in this research. Because little research has been done on the press effects on government officials, this study's hypothesis must assume that the impact of press coverage on the public officials will be similar to that of the general public.

The results of the study by McClure and Patterson in 1976, showed that newspapers seem to have a greater influence on the salience of an issue than do network news programs. In this study, a survey was taken of voters during the 1972 presidential campaign. Heavy or light network viewers and newspaper readers were identified and a content analysis was done of the news in both mediums. The content analysis of the networks showed two major issues: Vietnam and political corruption. The content analysis of

the newspapers revealed three issues: Vietnam, political corruption and government spending.

Following the agenda-setting hypothesis, the issues would increase in salience for heavy users more than light users. This was indeed supported in the newspaper readers, but the survey data showed no significant difference between heavy and light network viewers.

The data also showed that network news has the least effect on the audience compared with other forms of political communication (i.e. newspapers and televised political advertisements). This is because the format of network news dictates that any coverage of an issue be limited and not so in-depth. Newspapers, however, are more successful because they possess the same traditional means of indicating emphasis or significance, like length of story, presence or absence of pictures, size of headline, and position in paper (back or front page, above or below cutline).

Television is not without its own unique means of indicating significance. Coverage of issues that are visually exciting are more effective on television than newspapers, such as Nixon's trip to China. Also, interruption of regular programming for news briefs, like the killing of Israeli athletes at the Munich Olympics, has a great impact on the audience.

CHAPTER IV

THE ABUSE PREVENTION ACT (HOUSE BILL 2438)

Prior to 1977, no specific legislation addressed the issue of domestic assault. Police intervention generally only occurred in a felonious assault (i.e. serious physical injury from the intentional or reckless use of a deadly or dangerous weapon). A domestic violence call that would have constituted a third degree assault (physical injury caused intentionally or by criminal negligence with a deadly weapon) if the violence had occurred between strangers only constituted a misdemeanor in domestic violence cases (Jolin, 1979).

As woman battering was recognized as a real and pervasive form of violence, so was the disturbing fact that current laws and law enforcement practices did not adequately respond to the abuse. Oregon responded to the needs of women and victims of domestic violence by recognizing that its current arrest statutes did not provide protection for victims of domestic violence in the instances in which the police were called to arrest the offender.

National attention to the Equal Rights Amendment in 1973 and local action to amend Oregon's rape statutes to further protect rape victims from the admission of unnecessary evidence in 1975 set the stage for the APA. Representative Gretchen Kafoury, the primary sponsor of the bill, felt that the introduction of the Abuse Prevention Act was part of the on-going trend of feminism and feminist law reform. Similarly, many of the women legislators involved with N.O.W. supported the bill.

Annette Jolin, in an assessment of the Act, said that "[t]he Abuse Prevention Act constitutes a major change in policy in that it demands criminal justice intervention for behaviors that previously had been regarded as a civil matter requiring little or no police intervention" (Jolin, 1979). Kafoury recalls that the Abuse Prevention Act was a radical proposal for 1977 (Kafoury, interview).

Police feared intervening in incidents of domestic violence because of the high risk they ran of injury to themselves.

In general, the police did not support the bill because domestic violence calls were dangerous for them and usually resulted in the women dropping the charges against the batterers. Salem Police Chief Roy Hollady opposed the Abuse Prevention Act because he felt it would give the police too much discretion to act in "family disturbances" (Guggenheim, 1977).

Testimony in support of the bill and the need for better police response, however, indicated that protecting the victims should outweigh the fears of the police officers. At least five women testified to their experience as victims of woman battering who were unable to obtain protection or relief from the police. Each woman told of calling the police to remove a batterer and being told, variously, that the police didn't have the authority, did not feel responsible for removing the batterer, or that the woman should leave the residence herself even if it was owned or rented in her name (Hearing testimony, exhibit L).

Martha Botchek-Allison, a spokesperson for the Jackson County Legal Services, testified that violence was involved in 40 percent of the agency's divorce cases, 10 percent of which were so severe as to warrant outside intervention--police or medical. At the time she testified, the legal services' best option for their clients was a restraining order. Issued by a civil court, she said, the abuser could be, but seldom was, arrested for violating the order (Hearing testimony, exhibit M).

The restraining order was "a joke," said Stephen J. R. Shepard in separate testimony before the committee. An attorney for Lane County Legal Aid Services in 1977, Shepard said the reaction to the police to domestic violence was that it was a civil matter. "If I beat up a woman it certainly would not be a civil matter--it would be a criminal matter," Shepard pointed out. "What difference should it make if the woman I beat up is my wife or not. The act is the same, yet the attitude of the police is not." He supported the Abuse Prevention Act because it would reduce the chance of the attitude

affecting the officer in reacting and responding to a violent act between partners.

Furthermore, the nature of the committee to which the bill was referred may have had some bearing on its support, said Representatives Mary Burrows and Nancie Fadeley. The Judicial Committee, consisting of members of the legal community, ensured the bill careful consideration and less bias than the Ways and Means (the committee to which the shelter funding bill was referred), for instance, Burrows and Fadeley said (Burrows, Fadeley interviews).

The introduction of a shelter funding bill to the Oregon legislature in the same month as the Abuse Prevention Act underscores the focus of legislators on the issue of domestic violence in and around 1977. The presence of the bill must be considered for this research because any issue that addressed domestic violence at the time of the APA potentially affected the public's and the public officials' attitudes toward the issue in general and, hence, the bill specifically.

The APA Provisions

House Bill 2438, popularly known as the Abuse Prevention Act, has seven major provisions, the most important being the new power of the police officer to take an abuser into custody on **probable cause** if the victim does not object (a 1979 amendment later struck out the victim objection clause). This provision represents the most material change because, previously, that statute stipulated that an officer could not make an arrest in an instance of assault unless he had witnessed the abuse.

The second provision requires an officer to arrest a batterer for violation or probable cause of violation of a temporary restraining order (TRO). Typically, victims obtain a TRO to prevent their batterers from returning to their residences for fear they will be abused.

The bill also more specifically defines abuse between family and household members. "Abuse" is defined as "attempting to cause or intentionally, knowingly or recklessly causing bodily injury" and

"placing another in fear of imminent serious bodily injury." "Family or household members" are defined as spouses, former spouses *or* persons cohabiting with each other (Oregon Legislative Assembly, 1977), (*italics added*).

In the fourth provision, the act stipulates that a person may seek relief from abuse in a circuit court and shall not have that right affected by his or her leaving the residence to avoid abuse. The fifth provision grants a circuit court power to bring about cessation of abuse, while the sixth provision directs law enforcement agencies to specify a method to alert other agencies of TROs.

Lastly, the act requires that a restraining court set bail for TROs and have sole power to change that set amount.

The bill also provides protection to peace officers from criminal or civil liability for an arrest, provided the officer acted in good faith and without malice.

The sponsors of the Abuse Prevention Act, as appear on the bill, were representatives Gretchen Kafoury, Mary Burrows, Dave Frohnmayer, Rick Gustafson, Mary Rieke, Pat Whiting, Nancie Fadeley, Jim Chrest, Vera Katz, and Ben Lombard. Senate sponsors were Victor Atiyeh, Keith Burbidge, Vern Cook, Ken Jernstedt, William McCoy, Frank Roberts, Mary Roberts, Clifford Trow, Jan Wyers, Dick Groener, Ted Hallock, Stephen Kafoury, Anthony Meeker, John Powell, Betty Roberts, and George Wingard.

The bill moved through the legislature remarkably fast. Its first reading occurred on February 4, 1977; from there it was referred to the Speaker's desk. On February 7, it was referred to the Judiciary Committee. On May 19, the Judiciary Committee recommended passage of the bill with amendments, and a second reading took place in the House on May 25. On its third reading, May 26, the bill passed the house in a vote of 55 to 3, with two representatives excused that day.

The Shelter Bill (HB 2688)

Representatives Rijken, Jim Chrest, and Kerans sponsored the shelter funding bill at the request of the Women's Rights Coalition.

Introduced in the House on February 17, HB 2688 requested state funds be made available for the development and establishment of shelter homes for women and children experiencing family violence and services for the treatment and protection of family violence, and permitted the director of Human Services to grant up to \$100,000 from the General Fund for the purposes of the act.

The shelter bill defined "family violence" as "the physical injury, sexual abuse or forced imprisonment of a person by another who is related by blood, marriage or intimate cohabitation at the present or at some time in the past, to the extent that the person's health or welfare is harmed or threatened thereby" (Oregon Legislative Assembly, 1977).

The services eligible for the grant would include shelter homes, counseling groups and resource centers for the victims of family violence. The bill would also provide funds for the development and establishment of programs for professionals and paraprofessionals that come into contact with domestic violence victims, such as social workers, law enforcement officers and medical personnel.

The bill was referred to the Social Services Committee on February 21. Two months later, on April 8, the committee recommended passage of the bill with amendments and referred it to the Joint Ways and Means Committee. The bill was in committee upon the adjournment of the legislature on July 5.

CHAPTER V

FINDINGS

Research for this study included interviewing several of the primary sponsors of the bill to assess their perception of media interest and public official response to the issue at that time. Although their recollections were general, they are important to the study because the sponsors were directly involved in lobbying in support of this bill. Because the sponsors worked with the legislators and had personal contact with them and the media, they know what factors seemed most important at the time in garnering support for the Abuse Prevention Act.

Despite the bill's broad-based support in the legislature--both conservative Republicans and liberal Democrats signed the bill--and the enormous "popularity" of the issue, little mention of the bill itself appeared in any of the four papers. Domestic violence got a fair share of press coverage in general--human interest stories, articles on the nature and causes of family violence--and the need for shelters or safe houses got even more. More coverage appeared in the papers for the shelter bill that was in the legislature at the same time as the Abuse Prevention Act. The shelter bill (HB 2688) would have provided state funds for the establishment and maintenance of shelter homes. The bill was held up in the Ways and Means Committee upon adjournment of that session and was not passed until 1983.

The findings are significant for several reasons. The fact that the Abuse Prevention Act passed without much specific media coverage may be attributed to the focus the media put on domestic violence as a problem and the shelter issue specifically. Several of the APA sponsors attributed the support and passage of the bill to, among other things, the presence of the shelter bill. One sponsor recalled that some of the men seemed very threatened by the shelter

bill and that, in comparison, the APA seemed the definite lesser of two evils (Fadeley interview).

Also, the nature of the committees the bill were in affected their support and ultimate passage. The Judiciary Committee, generally more apt to give thoughtful consideration to issues and be non-partisan, reviewed the APA. The shelter bill, however, because it required funding appropriation, was sent to the Ways and Means Committee. Where there is more controversy, there is likely to be more press coverage. A funding issue, in terms of domestic violence, got more press mileage than did a legislative one.

Why the Sponsors Wrote the Act

For this study, the primary bill sponsor, Representative Gretchen Kafoury, and Representatives Mary Burrows and Nancie Fadeley, and volunteer N.O.W. lobbyist Sherry Oser were interviewed.

Those interviewed and primarily responsible for the writing and lobbying of the bill, unfortunately, don't remember anything extraordinary about its passage. After thirteen years, the sponsors had only general impressions of the bill. The study was most concerned with how the bill was conceived: who or what instigated its writing. Also, the study was interested in how the bill was received by the media and the legislature. The sponsors were asked whether or not there was a lot of surprise, shock, or opposition to the APA.

The bill sponsors seemed to believe that the legislature accepted the need for the legislation while at the same time expressing surprise and even disbelief at the magnitude of the problem. In fact, Representative Mary Burrows said that the legislature was somewhat taken by surprise by the Abuse Prevention Act. When the bill was explained, she said, everyone wondered why something hadn't been done sooner. Gretchen Kafoury agreed, saying she believed that, in 1977, the public and, hence, the public officials were still in a phase of denial about the seriousness of domestic violence and the need for legislative reform, and held to that belief because no public outcry preceded the introduction of the bill.

With testimonial support and research, however, the fact of domestic violence as a problem could not be ignored. Burrows recalled that all the men and women working on the bill had constituents who supported the legislation. All of them, she said, had examples of wives battered by their husband in their community and knew that domestic violence was not someone else's problem. Representative Nancie Fadeley agreed, saying that people in Oregon were outraged by what they heard and read about domestic violence and were eager to respond to the issue.

Sherry Oser, in 1977, was a volunteer lobbyist for the National Organization for Women (NOW). Currently a researcher for the City Club in Portland, Oregon, she believes that the issue of domestic violence took hold because it sparked the emotions and imagination of the people and caught the legislature off-guard. The issue, she said, was there in other states, but Oregon just happened to get the legislation passed. The feeling was, she said, that everyone knew about wife abuse, but didn't want to deal with it. The Abuse Prevention Act was the impetus needed to do something.

The acceptance of domestic violence as an issue, however, was not a result of any one influence. As far Burrows was concerned and, in her opinion, the bill's adoption was not a direct response to any one occurrence on the national level. She could recall no particular incident or event that prompted the writing of the bill.

Oser agrees with Burrows that there was no specific national prompting for the Abuse Prevention Act. In fact, she said, Oregon was one of the first states to adopt such legislation addressing the victims of domestic violence.

Media coverage at the time of the reading and adoption of the bill was minimal, Oser said. Most of the coverage came, she felt, after its passage. Kafoury acknowledged some media attention to the issue, especially when individuals came forward to tell of their experiences of abuse in the home. Stories about local victims of domestic violence, especially one of the wife of a respected community doctor, Kafoury said, helped break the stereotype of battered women being few and far between, low-income, or ethnic only.

Generally, the media was sympathetic to the bill and the issue of domestic violence which, said Kafoury, was a radical proposal for 1977. She felt that the sponsors received great support from the media despite their being "agents of change." Feminists and feminist proposals were minimized in other states at the time, she said. Burrows also said that the act was popular and not at all controversial. Because it had such popularity and support, she said it is no wonder it didn't get very much mileage in the press.

However, considering whether the bill could have passed on its own merits, despite official skepticism and minimal to average media coverage, Kafoury believes it would have because of the tremendous momentum on women issues. The Abuse Prevention Act may have passed more easily because it amended an arrest statute, compared to the shelter bill which required monetary funding, she said.

Oser felt that the existence of the shelter bill and press coverage of it helped because it showed the total problem of domestic violence. With so many bills out about women's issues and domestic violence specifically, they helped each other because they showed that it wasn't enough to arrest a batterer, but women also need shelter from them.

Media Coverage

The passage of the Abuse Prevention Act was quick and painless. Both the APA and the shelter bill represented major changes in the law and the creation and funding of social service agencies. The APA significantly altered required police response to domestic violence calls by allowing officers to arrest on probable cause and the shelter bill would have appropriated money for shelter and services for victims of domestic violence. Such a radical bill as the APA, as Kafoury said, moved fairly unencumbered through the 1977 legislative session.

The press might be expected to have played some role in paving such a smooth path for these bills at the time of their passage. Because this study looks at the effects of the media on the passage

of legislation and not at its effect on implementation or public support, it did not look at media coverage after the passage of the bill.

A study of the major Oregon metropolitan newspapers at the time, however, revealed that little mention of the bills made it into newspapers outside of Salem. The Abuse Prevention Act was a landmark bill. It was the first of its kind in Oregon and one of the first in the nation. For the first time, police officers were being given the legal power to arrest a batterer. Similarly, the shelter bill would have made grants of \$100,000 available to non-profit organizations for the acquisition and maintenance of shelters and services for victims of domestic violence.

The Portland *Oregonian*

According to a search of the *Oregonian* indexes as well as a content search of the newspaper during the major voting dates on the Abuse Prevention Act, no articles appeared in that newspaper. On the days that the bill was approved in the House (May 27, 1977) and the Senate (June 24, 1977), the bill was listed under "Bills approved. . ."

The only general coverage of domestic violence, aside from specific mention of the bill, was an article in the *Oregonian's Northwest Magazine* on February 13, 1977. The article, "A Report on Family Violence" by Joseph B. Trainer, M.D., took a socio-medical look at the causes of family violence such as hermatocide, filicide and patricide. The article mentioned spouse abuse, along with child abuse and elderly abuse, but made no reference to domestic violence in Oregon or existing or pending legislation.

On June 13, however, a week before the House and Senate passed the bill, the *Oregonian* ran a series on wife beating by Karol White, a St. Louis writer. The stories addressed various aspects of woman battering--its recent emergence as an issue, wives who kill abusive spouses, and the little or no legal remedies for victims--and appeared in the "C" section of the paper. The articles originated from the Associated Press wire and contained no mention of local

legislation or services, such as the Abuse Prevention Act. Because the articles appeared so late in the legislative journey of the bill, the study cannot suppose that, by then, they had a significant effect on the legislative audience.

The Eugene *Register-Guard*

The Eugene *Register-Guard* carried no full-length story on domestic violence or the Abuse Prevention Act during the passage of the bill. One article carried by the *Register-Guard*, "Legislators Hear Plea to Shelter Beaten Wives," came from the Salem UPI wire. The March 23, article covered a hearing by the House Committee on Social Services to approve legislation providing state funds for shelter homes.

Several months later, on May 20, 1977, shortly before the Senate reading of the Abuse Prevention Act, the *Register-Guard*'s "Women Today" column carried the article "Salem Considering Number of Bills Affecting Women." The article was prepared by two members of the Eugene Women's Commission, Fran Barkan and Glenda Fravel Utsey. Both the APA and the shelter bill were briefly described in the third paragraph.

Salem: The *Capital Journal* and the *Oregon Statesman*

There were two newspapers in Salem, the *Capital Journal* and the *Oregon Statesman*, at the time of the Abuse Prevention Act. The papers combined, forming the *Statesman-Journal*, in the early 1980s.

In the six articles that appeared in the *Oregon Statesman* between the first reading of the bill and its final passage through the Senate, only one mentioned the Abuse Prevention Act while the others covered the shelter bill. The APA article was a sidebar story to a Philadelphia AP wire article about state legislation addressing domestic violence. The article mentions Oregon and three other states--Massachusetts, New York, and Connecticut--that had legislation pending.

The sidebar story, "Police Don't Rush to Arrest Complainant's Husband" led with a story about a woman who called the police about an assault, but, when they arrived, wouldn't arrest the man because he was her husband and it was a "family disturbance." The article goes on to quote Salem Police Chief Roy Hollady saying that the police don't rush to respond because most charges are dropped the next day. Hollady goes on to say he opposes HB 2438 (the Abuse Prevention Act) because it would give police too much discretion (Guggenheim, 1977).

The four remaining articles cover the hearing on the shelter bill on March 23, the amendments to the language of the bill on April 8, and a criticism of Senator Ripper for holding up the bill in the Joint Ways and Means Committee.

The article on Senator Ripper appeared on page 16A on June 2. The shelter issue arose in relation to a feminist conference being held that weekend at Willamette University. An estimated 1,500 women were expected at the conference at which the legislative issue of shelter funding was slated for the agenda. A spokeswoman for the Oregon Women's Conference said that Sen. Ripper, D-N. Bend, opposed the bill and was not acting on it. The article quoted Sen. Ripper's response to the accusation, saying he wasn't holding the bill up in the Joint Ways and Means Committee, but that the bill's turn for consideration hadn't come yet. He agreed, however, that he opposed the bill because it would provide money to existing shelters and ignore other areas of the state. He said that sheltering all the women and children of domestic violence could be very expensive to the state.

In the *Capital Journal*, the issue of domestic violence and the need for shelters appeared in September and November of 1976 (29 September 1976, 17 November 1976). Similar articles appeared in the Sunday edition of the two papers, the *Statesman-Journal*, at the same time. In January, a month before the the shelter bill was introduced in the House, an article appeared on the front page that discussed domestic violence on the coast and the need for "safe houses" and better services to help women. The follow-up article on January 27, "A Personal View" by Beth Weatherby on the editorial

page, discussed wife abuse in this country. At the end of the story, Weatherby referred to the coast story and the shelter bill.

Two more articles in February announced the opening of a shelter in Salem and a shelter in Newport.

On June 5, two more articles appeared in the living section of the *Capital Journal*. The first was a human interest story by Sally Bly entitled "If Her Husband Finds Her, He May Kill Her." It was accompanied by a sidebar story in which Bly talked to Judi Gebhardt, volunteer advocates coordinator of the Salem shelter that opened in February. The article discussed the issues, myths, and problems of domestic violence. A domestic violence bill was generally mentioned in the second column, but HB 2438 was not mentioned specifically until the sixth column (out of seven). HB 2688, the shelter bill, was also mentioned at the end.

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSION

The amount and nature of press coverage of domestic violence and the Abuse Prevention Act suggest that the media had little impact on the passage of the bill. Other factors, such as the presence of the shelter bill in the legislature, the nature of the committee that considered the bill, and the broad-based sponsor support of the bill seem to have had the greater impact on the bill's passage.

Agenda-Setting Effects

Before discussing the agenda-setting effects found in this study, it is important to look at the usefulness of the theory as applied to the issue of domestic violence. The basic goals of using a communications theory is to explain, predict and control whatever variable being studied (Berger, 1987). In the case of this study, "[u]nderstanding those conditions is the essence of prediction" (Berger, 101).

However, theories, in general, are useful if they can be tested or, if not, they can offer valuable insight (Berger, 1987). Agenda-setting, as a theory, can be tested, but it is limited in its use in some applications. When applied to domestic violence, the hypothesis of agenda-setting is not only difficult to prove, but limited in its evaluation of the role of the press. Charles Berger and Steven Chaffee, in "What Communication Scientists Do," stated that "We know how to look operationally for agenda-setting effects, and we can recognize them clearly when they occur; but we do not know much yet about how or why they occur--or why they often do not" (Berger, 105).

This study can, to some extent, point to factors that might explain why agenda-setting effects did not occur, or why they did not need to occur. More importantly, however, the results of the study highlight the inadequacy of the agenda-setting theory to study domestic violence. Too many fears and deep-seated beliefs surround the issue of familial violence, for instance, to enable any one medium (the press) or organization (NOW) to have a single or significant influence on public officials' opinion or response to the issue.

However, this study can apply Barbara Nelson's theory of agenda-setting to the issue recognition, adoption and priority setting of domestic violence. Her theory suggests that the media serve the function of making public what previously has been private. The issue of domestic violence has been largely a private issue for centuries. With the growth of the women's movement, emerging issues such as equality in the workplace, rape and domestic violence were covered by the media thereby shedding their private nature for a public one.

In general, issues affecting women received media attention. "Womanpower! A new American Doctrine," an article by Bella Abzug for *Redbook* in February of 1976, aptly describes the new growing attention to women's issues. Women's role and participation in the workplace became a popular topic in the media. Articles ranged from "Displaced Homemakers" in *Newsweek* and "Women Who Head Families: A Socioeconomic Analysis" in the *Monthly Labor Report*, to "How Women Can Get Ahead in a Man's World" and "Liberated Women: How They're Changing American Life" in *U.S. News & World Report*.

Similarly, between 1976 and 1977, articles on wife beating appeared in popular publications. "Battered Wives, Now They're Fighting Back" appeared in the September 20, 1976 edition of *U.S. News and World Report*. In August of that year, *Ms.* published "Battered Wives: Where to Get Help, "How I Stopped Beating My Wife," an interview with a former batterer, and "One of These Days--Pow Right in the Kisser." *Newsweek* also carried an article, "Battered Women," in its February 2, edition. *Mademoiselle*, *Good*

Housekeeping, McCalls, Psychology Today (twice), *Reader's Digest*, *Time*, and *Parent's Magazine*. also covered wife abuse.

The interviews with the bill sponsors point to the general support of women's issues and the growing recognition of woman battering as the source of their issue recognition. With such attention to women's issues on the national level, local recognition was inevitable. The national rather than the local press must be credited with bringing the issue of domestic violence to such widespread attention as to instigate a response in a state legislature.

Once advocates of women's issues recognized the problem of domestic violence, adopting the issue quickly followed. Once again, the local press seem to have had little influence on this stage of the agenda-setting process. According to volunteer N.O.W. lobbyist Sherry Oser, local advocates of women's issues and representatives from N.O.W. were already aware of the issue of domestic violence and took action by writing the bill (Oser interview).

The coverage the bill received after its introduction into the legislature, however, helped place it as a high priority during that session. As Gretchen Kafoury related during an interview, the testimony and press stories of victims of woman battering awakened the public and public officials to the very real existence of the problem in Oregon. As for the need for governmental response, the testimony of the women as well as that of police officers and legal advocates supported the claim that current police response was inadequate in the case of domestic violence.

Rosemary Stanfill, a Milwaukie resident, obtained a restraining order against her husband after she filed for divorce. He had abused her and the children for the 12 years they were married. She testified at the House Judiciary Committee in favor of the APA.

"My husband got an attorney, for he wanted to delay the divorce. In March, 1976, my husband began to follow me and harass me both day and night. One day he tried to run over me in his car, and the police refused to arrest him. On June 7, my husband came to my home at 2:00 a.m. telling me he wanted to visit with the children. I did not want to let him in the house, since 2:00 a.m. is not a

reasonable time to visit with kids who are 6, 7, 9, 11, but my husband broke the door down, came in, swung a punch at me, and then threatened to kill me and take my children. Two girlfriends who were visiting me witnessed this. The neighbors called the police, and when the officers arrived I asked them to arrest my husband, telling them what had happened and that I had a restraining order. The police would not arrest him, told me they would not interfere in a civil matter, and told me to call my attorney" (Hearing testimony, exhibit H).

Terry Stewart, an Oregon City resident, also testified in favor of the bill. About two months after she separated from her husband, he came to her apartment to visit the children.

"He stayed until 10:00 P.M., at which time I asked him to leave. He was very annoyed that I should want him to go and repeatedly asked me if he could stay. When I refused, he started screaming so that our neighbors could hear. I asked one of the neighbors to take my children into her apartment so that they would not be subjected to his behavior. I then called the police.

I went back to my apartment and warned my husband that I had called the police, and asked him to leave again. He began hitting me and breaking things in the apartment. By that time the police showed up. When they came, my husband was calmly sitting on the couch and swore that he didn't have any idea what was going on" (Hearing testimony, exhibit I).

The police listened to both sides of the story then said they could do nothing because they had not witnessed any abuse. The police suggested that the simplest remedy would be for the husband to leave. He refused. With no restraining order and the apartment rented in both names--although Ms. Stewart had been paying the rent herself the past few months--the police "advised me to rerent the apartment in my name in the event that my husband should make trouble in the future. I asked them what they suggested I do in the meantime. They told me to leave." Ms. Stewart spent two days at her parents' until her husband finally left and she could rerent the apartment in her name.

To demonstrate how the media affect this issue recognition, adoption and priority setting, Nelson uses Anthony Downs' issue-

attention cycle. The passage from the first stage, the pre-problem stage before the issue is recognized, to the second stage of "alarmed discovery and euphoric enthusiasm" as the study said before, should be attributed to media coverage on a national level. Press coverage of Erin Pizzey's first women's shelter in England, N.O.W.'s adoption of marital violence as a priority issue, and the following publication of books and studies on woman battering served to thrust the issue of domestic violence into the national spotlight.

To some extent, the local media helped stoke the fire of enthusiasm that the national press seems to have ignited. The alarmed discovery stage led to the resolution stage. Once the press "discovered" the issue, the public officials (i.e. the bill sponsors) resolved to address the problem of woman battering by revising Oregon's arrest statute to better favor the victims of assault. The local press reinforced this resolution by its coverage of domestic violence. The press coverage of the shelter bill certainly boosted the importance of the issue because and, in view of the small amount of specific reference to the Abuse Prevention Act in the newspapers during its passage, indirectly pressured legislators to respond to domestic violence policies currently under consideration.

The local press, judging from the amount of coverage found in the newspapers during the time and in the opinion of the bill sponsors interviewed, did not have a "big impact" on the Abuse Prevention Act. Several of the conditions Martin Linsky identified that can have a significant impact on the amount of level of response of public officials to an issue, however, may also explain the official support and successful passage of the bill.

The first condition Linsky identifies is the department making the policy. The Abuse Prevention Act was sponsored by a large number of Republicans and Democrats in the legislature, a fact that Representative Nancie Fadeley believes assured fellow legislators of the bill's merit. Furthermore, the bill's referral to the Judiciary Committee also guaranteed it would receive careful consideration. Both Representatives Burrows and Fadeley agreed that the legal nature of the bill and the committee considering it assured it of more unbiased consideration and less partisanship. National media

coverage, in this instance, may have influenced the members of the committee by reinforcing the importance of the issue of domestic violence in general.

Again, because the press gave little coverage to the Abuse Prevention Act specifically, any effect of the media on public officials must have arisen from the more general media coverage of domestic violence. This coverage was a result, perhaps, of AP wire stories of domestic violence legislation, such as the one from Philadelphia that appeared in the *Oregon Statesman* and was accompanied by a sidebar story on police response to domestic disturbances and the legislature's consideration of the Abuse Prevention Act.

The two-way communication function of the media, suggested by Van Horn, probably extended the issue of domestic violence from the national agenda to the Oregon agenda. This distinction between "soft" opinions and "real" opinions may account for Nancie Fadeley's impression that the male legislators felt threatened by the shelter bill. Perhaps their "real" opinions on the nature of domestic violence prevented them from supporting legislation that would provide funding for shelters for women: houses, in essence, where they could safely escape to avoid their abusive partners and, Fadeley suggests, the men believe they could escape their family responsibilities.

The next condition identified by Linsky is the stage of the process in which the coverage occurred. Linsky outlines five stages: problem identification, solution formulation, policy adoption, implementation, and evaluation. Local media coverage of the need for police response and the Abuse Prevention Act began during the policy adoption stage. No public outcry demanding better police response preceded the bill's introduction to the legislature. The introduction of the bill alerted the public officials to the issue and so, by this time, press coverage served only to alert the public to the issue and maybe reinforced the testimony of the supporters of the bill.

Kim Smith's study found support for the hypothesis that higher levels of press coverage of community issues are associated with

greater public concern and more negative evaluation of local government services. Extended to this study, media coverage of domestic violence during the passage of the Abuse Prevention Act should have produced community concern for the issue and criticism of governmental response in Oregon. The proliferation of articles on the shelter needs of victims indicates community concern and, indirectly, criticism of government because, tied in to the need for shelter is the inference that, if the women could safely stay at home (i.e. TROs were enforced and police arrested batterers), they would not need shelter as often.

Other Factors

The preponderance of media attention to the shelter bill rather than the Abuse Prevention Act may have had two contributory effects on the passage of the Act. The press coverage of domestic violence that resulted from the shelter bill must necessarily relate to the issue of police response and therefore indirectly support the intent of the Abuse Prevention Act. Furthermore, the shelter bill, as a funding issue, deflected any possible criticism from the Abuse Prevention Act, a more simple and relatively less controversial legislative issue.

Media coverage of the shelter bill and of the need for battered womens' shelters in general, significantly impacted the passage of the Abuse Prevention Act. In light of the fact that the APA received little attention itself, the focus on the shelter issue contributed to public officials' and public awareness of domestic violence. Discussion of the needs of a victim of domestic violence for shelter inevitably gives rise to the factors that force her to flee her home and batterer. At the time, inadequate police response, in terms of arrest procedures and TRO enforcement, influenced a victim's need and decision to seek shelter from her batterer.

The issue of shelter for battered women raised several objections that may have made the Abuse Prevention Act a more attractive alternative in terms of legislative support. Any bill requesting government funds, all the sponsors of the APA agreed,

will spawn debate on the need for the services requesting funding and be slowed in its passage. Part of that debate, Representative Fadeley believes, came from the men feeling threatened by the idea of shelters. She recalled one male legislator explaining the opposition of another male colleague by saying that the men had difficulty believing that these incidents of abuse happened and that even men who don't batter feel guilty for the abuse suffered by women. In essence, Fadeley said, shelters posed a threat to men because by approving funding, they would be acknowledging the reality of--and perhaps their collective guilt for--the abuse. Or, as Representative Kafoury suggested, the funding of shelters more than the change in arrest laws may have seemed to encourage women to flee homes, an idea that carried with it the suggestion of women shirking the responsibilities of marriage and family.

Considering the emotional issues that surrounded funding shelters, the demands of the Abuse Prevention Act may have seemed relatively less threatening and more easily conceded.

A further factor that may have positively affected the passage of the Abuse Prevention Act relates to which committee the bill was referred. Even without media attention, the Judiciary Committee, said Representative Fadeley, had a dependable reputation. A bill considered and supported by the Judiciary Committee carries the weight of thoughtful evaluation and consideration of all aspects of the issue. The legislature, perhaps, felt that if the Judiciary Committee supported the bill, it must be worth passing.

Similarly, the broad-based support of the Abuse Prevention Act highly recommended it to the legislators, Representative Fadeley said. In comparison, she pointed out, the shelter bill had only three sponsors and was at the request of a special interest group, the Women's Rights Coalition. The Abuse Prevention Act originated within the legislature and carried the weight of being sponsored by a host of conservatives and liberals. With such across-the-board support, the remaining legislators must have recognized the bill's validity.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Abzug, B. S. "Last Hired, First Fired." Saturday Review 7 August 1976, 16-17.
- Abzug, B. S. "Womanpower! A New American Doctrine." Redbook February 1976, 34.
- "America's Working Women." Harper's Bazaar August 1976, 46-69.
- Armstrong, Louise. The Home Front: Notes From the Family War Zone. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1983.
- "Battered Wives, Now They're Fighting Back." U. S. News & World Report 20 September 1976, 47-8.
- "Battered Wives: Where to Get Help." Ms. August 1976, 95-8.
- Beaumont, D. G. "Male Minds Have Opened Somewhat." U.S. News & World Report 26 April 1976, 51-2.
- Berger, Charles R. and Steven H. Chaffee. Handbook of Communication Science. Newbury Park: SAGE Publications, Inc., 1987.
- Bernstein, P. "Sexual Harassment on the Job." Harper's Bazaar August 1976, 12.
- Buel, Sarah Mausolff. "Mandatory Arrest For Domestic Violence." Harvard Women's Law Journal Spring 1988: 213-226.
- Burrows, Mary. Telephone interview. 16 April 1990.
- Clark, Natalie Loder. "Crime Begins At Home: Let's Stop Punishing Victims and Perpetuating Violence." William and Mary Law Review Winter 1987: 263-93.
- Costa, Joseph J. Abuse of Women: Legislation, Reporting, and Prevention. Massachusetts: Lexington Books, 1983.
- "Displaced Homemakers." Newsweek 23 August 1976, 61.

Dworkin, Andrea. "Phallic Imperialism: Why Economic Recovery Will Not Work for Us." Ms. December 1976, 101-2.

Epler, Amy. "Battered Women and the Equal Protection Clause: Will the Constitution Help Them When the Police Won't?" Yale Law Journal March 1986: 788-809.

Eugene. The Register-Guard. January-June 1977.

Fadeley, Nancie. Telephone interview. 23 April 1990.

Finesmith, Barbara K. "Police Response To Battered Women: A Critique and Proposals For Reform." Seton Hall Law Review 1983: 74-109.

Francke, L. B. "Battered Women." Newsweek 2 February 1976, 47-8.

Gelles, Richard J. and Murray A. Strauss. Intimate Violence: The Causes and Consequences of Abuse in the American Family. New York: Simon & Schuster, Inc., 1988.

Geracimos, A. ed. "How I Stopped Beating My Wife; Interview With Former Wife Beater." Ms. August 1976, 53.

Gingold, J. "One of These Days--Pow Right in the Kiss." Ms. August 1976, 51-2.

Guggenheim, Alan. "Police Don't Rush to Arrest Complainant's Husband." Oregon Statesman 3 June 1977, p.1B.

Hamos, Julie E. National Coalition Against Domestic Violence. State Domestic Violence Laws and How to Pass Them: A Manual For Lobbyists. National Clearinghouse on Domestic Violence: June 1980.

Heide, W. S. "Why Don't We? Womanifesto for Change." Ms. June 1976, 88-9.

Higginson, M. "How Women Can Get Ahead in a Man's World." U.S. News & World Report March 29, 1976, 46-8.

Huber, J. and U. Bronfenner. "Liberated Women: How They're Changing American Life." U.S. News & World Report 7 June 1976, 46-9.

- Humphreys, Janice C. and William O. Humphreys. "Mandatory Arrest: A Means of Primary and Secondary Prevention of Abuse of Female Partners." Victimology April 1985: 267-80.
- Kafoury, Gretchen. Telephone interview. 1 May 1990.
- Korda, Michael. "Getting Women off the Boat and into the Power Swim." Harper's Bazaar February 1976, 119.
- Lerman, Lisa G. "A Model State Act: Remedies for Domestic Abuse." Harvard Journal on Legislation 1984: 61-143.
- Linsky, Martin. Impact: How the Press Affects Federal Policy Making. New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1986.
- Lippman, Walter. Public Opinion. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, Inc., 1922.
- Loving, Nancy. Responding to Spouse Abuse and Wife Beating: A Guide For Police. Police Executive Research Forum, 1980.
- Lystad, Mary. Violence in the Home: Interdisciplinary Perspectives. New York: Brunner/Mazel, Publishers, 1986.
- Marcus, Maria L. "Conjugal Violence: The Law of Force and the Force of Law." California Law Review July 1981: 1657-1733.
- McCarthy, A. "Displaced Homemaker." Commonwealth 16 January 1976, 38.
- McClure, R., and T. Patterson. "Print v. Network News." Journal of Communication 26: 23-28, 1976.
- McEaddy, B. J. "Women Who Head Families: A Socioeconomic Analysis." Monthly Labor Report June 1976, 3-9.
- McLean, K. "Give Me Liberty and I'll Give You Guilt; How Working Women Cope With Success." American Home August 1976, 30.
- Meier, Joan. "Battered Justice: Everyone Knows Women Are Beaten; Why Won't the Law Do Anything About It?" Washington Monthly May 1987: 37-45.

- Miller, Marilyn G. Domestic Violence in Oregon. Oregon. Governor's Commission on Women. Executive Department. Salem, 1979.
- Nelson, Barbara J. Making An Issue of Child Abuse. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1984.
- "New Hope for the Battered Wife; Haven House, Los Angeles." Good Housekeeping August 1976, 94-5+.
- Okun, Lewis. Woman Abuse: Facts Replacing Myths. New York: State University of New York Press, 1986.
- Olds, S. W. "When Homemakers Lose Their Jobs; Alliance for Displaced Homemakers." McCalls March 1976, 38.
- Oregon. House. Judiciary Committee. Hearings on House Bill 2438. 6 April 1977.
- . Oregon Legislative Assembly. House. House Bill 2438. House Bill no. 2400-2499. 1977.
- . ---. ---. House Bill 2688. House Bill no. 2600-2699. 1977.
- Oser, Sherry. Telephone interview. 18 April 1990.
- Pascoe, E. J. "Shelters for Battered Wives." McCalls October 1976, 51.
- Pfouts, Jane H. and Connie Renz. "The Future of Wife Abuse Programs." Social Work November 1981: 451-55.
- Pleck, Elizabeth. Domestic Tyranny: The Making of Social Policy Against Family Violence from Colonial Times to the Present. New York: Oxford University Press, 1987.
- Portland. The Oregonian. January-June 1977.
- Record, J.C. "Economic Rights." Society July 1976, 12-14.
- Reed, David, Fischer, Sonia, Kantor, Glenda Kaufman, and Kevin Karales. All They Can Do . . . Police Response to Battered Women's Complaints. Chicago Law Enforcement Study Group, 1983.

- Roberts, Albert R. Battered Women and Their Families: Intervention Strategies and Treatment Programs. New York: Springer Publishing Company, 1984.
- Rowe, Kelly. "The Limits of the Neighborhood Justice Center: Why Domestic Violence Cases Should Not Be Mediated." Emory Law Journal 1985: 855-910.
- Ruby, M. et al. "Women at Work." Newsweek 6 December 1976, 68-70+.
- Salem. Capital Journal. September 1976-June 1977.
- Salem. Oregon Statesman. September 1976-June 1977.
- Schechter, Susan. Women and Male Violence. Boston: South End Press, 1982.
- Sedaka, J. B. "Why Not a Woman? Women in New Careers Program for Non-Traditional Jobs." Education Digest March 1976, 22-5.
- Shaw, Donald L. and Maxwell E. McCombs. The Emergence of American Political Issues: The Agenda-Setting Function of the Press. St. Paul: West Publishing Co., 1977.
- Sherman, Lawrence W., Berk, Richard A. "The Specific Deterrent Effects of Arrest for Domestic Assault." American Sociological Review April 1984: 261-272.
- Smith, Kim A. "Effects of Newspaper Coverage on Community Issue Concerns and Local Government Evaluations." Communication Research August 1987, 379-395.
- Smith, Steven Rathgeb and Susan Freinkel. Adjusting the Balance: Federal Policy and Victim Services. Connecticut: Greenwood Press, Inc., 1988.
- Sonkin, Daniel Jay. Domestic Violence on Trial: Psychological and Legal Dimensions of Family Violence. New York: Springer Publishing Company, 1987.
- Strauss, Murray, Gelles, Richard J., and Suzanne K. Steinmetz. Behind Closed Doors: Violence in the American Family. New York: Anchor Books, 1980.

- Tong, Rosemarie. Women, Sex, and the Law. New Jersey: Rowman & Allanheld, 1984.
- United States. House of Representatives. Subcommittee on Select Education of the Committee on Education and Labor. Hearing on Domestic Violence. 98th Congress. 1st session. Washington, D.C. : GPO, 1983.
- . U.S. Commission on Civil Rights. Under the Rule of Thumb: Battered Women and the Administration of Justice. Washington, D.C. : GPO, January, 1982.
- . Department of Health and Human Services. National Institute of Mental Health. Plain Talk About... Wife Abuse. Rockville, MD, 1983.
- . Department of Justice. Attorney General's Task Force on Family Violence. Washington, D.C. : GPO, September, 1984.
- . ---. National Institute of Justice. Confronting Domestic Violence: A Guide For Criminal Justice Agencies. Washington, D.C. : GPO, 1986.
- . ---. ---. Domestic Violence. Washington, D.C. : GPO, 1988.
- Van Horn, Carl E., Baumer, Donald C., and William T. Gormley, Jr. Politics and Public Policy. Washington, D.C.: Congressional Quarterly, 1989.
- Waaland, Pam and Stuart Keeley. "Police Decision Making in Wife Abuse: The Impact of Legal and Extralegal Factors." Law and Human Behavior December 1985: 355-366.
- Waits, Kathleen. "The Criminal Justice System's Response to Battering: Understanding the Problem, Forging the Solutions." Washington Law Review 1985: 267-329.
- Walker, Lenore E. The Battered Woman Syndrome. New York: Springer Publishing Company, 1984.
- Whyte, M. K. "Lowered Status of Women." Intellect February 1976, 347-8.
- "Women Can Make it to the Top." U.S. News & World Report 26 April 1976, 49-54.

Womenspace. Phone/House Cluster Manual.

Wright, Carol. "Immediate Arrest in Domestic Violence Situations: Mandate or Alternative." Capital University Law Review Winter 1985: 242-268.

Yates, M. "Finances: Getting Down to Basics; Tips for Divorced Women." Harper's Bazaar July 1976. 29.

Zimring, Franklin E. "Legal Perspectives On Family Violence." California Law Review January 1987: 521-39.