AMERICAN UNIVERSITY
WASHINGTON, DC
School of Public Affairs

NATIONAL BLUEPRINT FOR DEVELOPING AND IMPLEMENTING EVIDENCE-INFORMED POLICE PERPETRATED DOMESTIC VIOLENCE (PPDV) POLICIES

An Evidence-Informed Framework for Policy, Practice, and Research



Janice Iwama, Ph.D.
Ashley Schroeder, ABD
Kevin Lopez
John Firman
Tamia Dyer

NOVEMBER 2026

Executive Summary
Police perpetrated domestic violence (PPDV) presents unique challenges for victims, law enforcement agencies, and the communities they serve. Although national organizations have developed guidance for addressing PPDV for more than two decades, significant gaps remain in research, data collection, policy adoption, and implementation. In May 2026, the American University (AU) School of Public Affairs (SPA) convened a multidisciplinary executive session during the American Society of Evidence-Based Policing Annual Meeting in Washington, D.C. to examine these challenges and identify opportunities for strengthening prevention, intervention, accountability, and victim safety. Drawing on existing research and insights from the executive session, this white paper presents a seven-part evidence-informed blueprint focused on clear policy standards and implementation; accountability and consistency; prevention, screening, and early intervention; leadership and organizational culture; victim-centered responses; data, research, and transparency; and partnerships across policy, practice, and research.

Acknowledgments
This white paper was informed by an executive session on police perpetrated domestic violence convened by the American University School of Public Affairs during the 2026 American Society of Evidence-Based Policing Annual Meeting in Washington, D.C. We are grateful to the law enforcement leaders, researchers, policy experts, victim advocates, and current and former government officials who contributed their expertise, experiences, and perspectives to this important discussion. Executive session participants included Bruce Bieber, Lt. Col. Rick Brown (Ret.), Det. Supt. Dave Cowan, Inspector Valerie Gates, Chief Mary Gavin-Smith (Ret.), Rachael Goodman-Williams, Ph.D. Maureen "Mo" McGough, Katrine Malakhova, Hannah McManus, Ph.D., Tanya Meisenholder, Chief Jason Potts, Kris Rose, Lynn Rosenthal, Lt. Rima Sifri, Megan Stoltz, Ph.D., and Ashleigh Wojslawowicz, Ed.D. We thank each participant for contributing to a thoughtful and multidisciplinary dialogue about opportunities to strengthen the prevention of and response to police perpetrated domestic violence.

Participation in the executive session does not imply endorsement of all findings, recommendations, or conclusions presented in this white paper.

Suggested Citation
Iwama, J., Schroeder, A., Lopez, K., Firman, J., & Dyer, T. (2026). *National blueprint for developing and implementing evidence-informed police perpetrated domestic violence (PPDV) policies: An evidence-informed framework for policy, practice, and research.* Washington, D.C.: American University, School of Public Affairs.

Table of Contents

I. Introduction 1

II. Understanding Police Perpetrated Domestic Violence 2

What is PPDV? 2

What distinguishes PPDV from other forms of domestic violence? 2

Why does officer authority create unique challenges and risks? 2

Impact on victims 2

III. Current State of Police Perpetrated Domestic Violence Research 4

What We Know 4

What We Don't Know 5

International Perspectives 6

Conclusion 6

IV. Key Challenges Identified by Executive Session Participants 7

Challenge 1: Absence of and Consistency with PPDV Policies 7

Challenge 2: Leadership Buy-In and Responsibilities 8

Challenge 3: Pre-Screening and Officer Reviews 8

Challenge 4: Training and Awareness 9

Challenge 5: Organizational and Societal Culture 10

Conclusion 10

V. Blueprint for Action: An Evidence-Informed Framework 12

Part 1. Establishing Clear Policy Standards and Ensuring Implementation. 12

Part 2. Strengthen Accountability and Consistency. 13

Part 3. Prevention, Screening, and Early Intervention. 13

Part 4. Leadership Accountability and Organizational Culture. 13

Part 5. Victim-Centered Approach. 14

Part 6. Data, Research, and Transparency. 14

Part 7. Building Partnerships Across Policy, Practice, and Research. 15

VI. Conclusion: A Unified Path Forward 16

VII. References 17

I. Introduction

Domestic violence is a critical issue in society and carries significant consequences for the victims, their families, and the larger community. These consequences are particularly pronounced when the person perpetrating the violence is in law enforcement. These individuals have the unique role of enforcing the law, serving their community, and protecting victims from harm. Consequently, police perpetrated domestic violence (PPDV) presents an even bigger challenge beyond those faced by the incident itself. Mainly, these victims may face further repercussions for reporting and seeking help from law enforcement as their abusers reside in agencies that are responsible for investigating allegations involving their own personnel, putting the interests of the victim over those of their peers, and maintaining legitimacy and trust in the eyes of the public.[1]

Over the past five decades, law enforcement agencies have adopted several strategies to effectively respond to calls and reduce incidents involving domestic violence. Yet more than one-half (52.3%) of the approximately 1.2 million domestic violence victimizations in the United States were not reported to the police according to the 2023 National Crime Victimization Survey.[2] While researchers frequently rely on victimization surveys and other self-reporting surveys to develop a better understanding on the prevalence of these incidents, PPDV estimates range from 5% to 40% based on different samples of sworn law enforcement officers across the United States; thus, limiting our understanding on the size and scope of these incidents.[3]

In 1999, the International Association of Chiefs of Police (IACP) released a model policy in response to concerns of PPDV. This policy established procedures for handling and preventing domestic violence incidents committed by police officers. The policy, which was updated in 2003 and again in 2019, established a framework that focused on five key areas that were missing from existing policies: prevention and training, early warning and intervention, incident response protocols, victim safety and protection, and post incident administrative and criminal decisions.[4] More than a decade after the initial policy was released, a survey found that only one-quarter of the 56 largest city and county law enforcement agencies had adopted a policy addressing PPDV.[5]

The primary purpose of this white paper is to call for coordinated national action to highlight the significant gaps in data and research on PPDV victimization, encourage local law enforcement leaders to adopt and consistently implement PPDV-specific policies, and bring policymakers' attention to the need for systematic data collection, greater transparency and accountability, and evidence-informed strategies that protect victims, strengthen agencies' responses, and prevent PPDV. The American University School of Public Affairs convened an executive session during the 2026 American Society of Evidence-Based Policing (ASEBP) Annual Meeting in Washington, D.C. to identify persistent challenges in how PPDV is recognized, reported, investigated, and addressed by law enforcement agencies and to consider opportunities for strengthening prevention, intervention, accountability, and victim safety. This white paper builds on those discussions by outlining the current state of knowledge on PPDV, identifying challenges in policy and research, and highlighting priorities for coordinated national action.

[1] Brander, 2025; Reeves et al., 2026; Stanley, 2025
[2] Tapp & Coen, 2025
[3] Mennicke & Ropes, 2016
[4] International Association of Chiefs of Police, 1999, 2003, 2019
[5] Cohen et al., 2013

II. Understanding Police Perpetrated Domestic Violence

What is PPDV?

According to the U.S. Department of Justice's Office on Violence Against Women (OVW), domestic violence is a pattern of abusive behavior intended to establish or maintain power and control within an intimate partner relationship.[6] An intimate partner generally refers to someone an individual has dated, lived with, or with whom they share a child, regardless of sex.[7] Although domestic violence is often associated with physical abuse, it may involve other methods of exerting control such as sexual, emotional, economic, psychological, and/or technological forms of abuse.[8] Police perpetrated domestic violence (PPDV) may be considered an especially serious form of domestic violence due to the position of power of the perpetrator. Moreover, as a law enforcement officer, the perpetrator's occupation poses a larger threat to not only the victim and their family, but the community at large. Thus, PPDV represents a major public safety and trust issue.

What distinguishes PPDV from other forms of domestic violence?

PPDV presents many of the same patterns of abuse and dynamics associated with domestic violence; however, the suspected offender's profession introduces additional means of exercising control and creates further legal and safety barriers for victims of PPDV. For instance, victims may experience heightened vulnerability when seeking safety or reporting abuse. An officer's knowledge of local victim resources, access to and training with firearms, and familiarity with navigating the criminal justice system may all be exploited to undermine the victim's credibility and safety.[9] Consequently, the professional authority of law enforcement officers involved in domestic violence creates unique risks that set PPDV apart from other incidents of domestic violence.

Why does officer authority create unique challenges and risks?

At the core of police culture and institutional protection is the 'blue wall of silence,' an unspoken expectation of solidarity that deters police officers from reporting misconduct committed by fellow officers.[10] In PPDV incidents, this dynamic undermines thorough reporting and investigation, leaving victims of this violence feeling ignored while shielding alleged abusers from accountability. This code of silence even extends to victim advocates who may overlook PPDV allegations to maintain law enforcement working relationships that they rely on for other cases.[11] In addition to peer and institutional silence, an officer's professional authority allows direct access to restricted resources, such as confidential law enforcement databases, technological surveillance capabilities, and knowledge of local domestic violence shelters, which present unique risks to victims of PPDV who want to covertly seek help or flee. Moreover, knowledge of their jurisdiction's domestic violence policing practices allows officers engaged in intimate partner violence to exert control over their victims with little evidence, especially through nonphysical abuse.[12] Ultimately, these institutional and professional authority advantages make seeking safety or help feel impossible for victims navigating a system inherently leveraged by their abuser.

Impact on victims

Beyond physical and structural barriers that stem directly from their abuser's authoritative position in society, victims of PPDV face compounding psychological burdens. The threat of inadequate intervention, coupled with challenging the very system that innately trusts their abuser, reinforces

a continuous cycle of helplessness and silence.[13] This psychological strain is further heightened when officers weaponize their professional credibility to discredit victims to colleagues and supervisors, often pathologizing the victim's mental health before a report can even be filed. This tactic frames the victim as mentally unstable and unreliable while portraying the victim as the true perpetrator, establishing grounds for responding agencies to dismiss future PPDV claims.[14]

Victims of PPDV also bear the burden of seeking refuge from a law enforcement system marred by a conflict of interest. They are expected to trust an agency to investigate their complaint rather than protect the abuser, its own employee. This institutional contradiction leaves PPDV victims isolated, knowing they have nowhere to turn. Additionally, victims must consider the impending threat of financial ruin and retaliation before reporting PPDV. For example, for victims who monetarily depend on their abuser or share financial responsibilities, the threat of career termination becomes a tool of economic coercion. This forces individuals to either remain silent or risk their economic security and face further retaliation. For victims of PPDV, the consequence of seeking safety threatens their overall well-being. Consequently, the abuser's professional authority allows for additional mechanisms of coercive control, encouraging isolation, helplessness, and vulnerability for victims.[15]

---

[6] U.S. Department of Justice, Office on Violence Against Women, 2025
[7] International Association of Chiefs of Police, 2003
[8] U.S. Department of Justice, Office on Violence Against Women, 2025
[9] Reeves et al., 2026; Russell & Pappas, 2018
[10] Ivković et al., 2020
[11] Cheema, 2016
[12] Reeves et al., 2026; Stinson & Liederbach, 2013
[13] Stinson & Liederbach, 2013
[14] Reeves et al., 2026
[15] Stinson & Liederbach, 2013

III. Current State of Police Perpetrated Domestic Violence Research

The literature on police perpetrated domestic violence (PPDV) remains limited and fragmented, with relatively few systematic studies examining its prevalence, contributing factors, and institutional responses.[16] Existing scholarship has primarily focused on individual and organizational factors associated with officers' perpetration of intimate partner violence (IPV), alongside victim advocacy research and broader discussions emphasizing the need for greater officer accountability.[17] Since the early 2000s, researchers have turned their attention to the role of officer training in addressing PPDV. However, most of this research has emphasized reactive measures, such investigation, reporting, and victim safety, rather than proactive strategies aimed at preventing PPDV before it occurs.[18]

What We Know

Much of the existing literature on PPDV has focused on workplace and organizational factors, individual officer characteristics, and patterns of violence perpetrated by police officers. Because policing is a traditionally high stress occupation whereby officers face consistent exposure to violence and trauma, researchers argue that job-related stressors may contribute to several mental and physical health challenges for police officers. These stressors may trigger negative coping mechanisms, such as alcohol and drug abuse, which could spillover into behavioral stress reactions such as domestic violence.[19] For example, several studies show that officers exposed to greater violence and work-related stressors are associated with an increased likelihood of domestic violence via alcohol use.[20] Researchers also highlight burnout, post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD) symptoms, and alcohol use as mediating factors for domestic abuse in police households.[21] However, these findings should not be interpreted as evidence that mental health challenges cause abusive behavior. Domestic violence involves complex patterns of behavior, including the exercise of power and control, and prevention efforts must distinguish officer wellness initiatives from measures intended to identify, prevent, and respond to abusive conduct.

Beyond workplace and organizational factors, researchers have also examined how officers' personal histories and demographic characteristics may be associated with PPDV. For example, studies suggest an association between childhood exposure to domestic or intimate partner violence and subsequent perpetration of PPDV.[22] For example, Prost and colleagues (2020) found that officers who had resolved their own childhood trauma in comparison to those with unresolved trauma were more likely to support victims of PPDV.[23] Limited research also suggests that the relationship between job-related stressors and PPDV may vary across racial and ethnic groups, although the evidence remains inconclusive and the factors underlying these differences are not well understood.[24]

Researchers have also examined how police training and organizational culture may contribute to PPDV. Certain attitudes and behaviors reinforced through police socialization and training may be helpful on the job, but potentially harmful when carried into officers' personal relationships.[25] For example, researchers have connected traditional elements of police culture such as

authoritarianism and domination,[26] negative emotions and pessimism,[27] masculinity and militarization to PPDV.[28] Following the code of silence, police learn to turn a blind eye to their fellow officers' misconduct, further perpetuating the problem and allowing abusers to hurt others with little fear of consequences.[29] Oehme and colleagues (2011) examined a PPDV prevention curriculum that trained officers how to recognize coercive and controlling behavior, built empathy towards survivors of domestic violence, and issued continuous reminders to officers on the severity of PPDV. Despite reports that the training was found to be helpful, very few official policy evaluations have conducted these trainings.[30]

What We Don't Know

Despite growing public awareness of PPDV, significant gaps remain in the empirical literature. Scholarly attention to PPDV has been inconsistent, and the lack of reliable, systematically collected data limits researchers' ability to assess its prevalence, contributing factors, and institutional responses. Existing studies have relied on officer self-reports and media reports, which present methodological limitations. Self-reported data is subject to reporting bias, while media-based studies may only capture high-profile incidents.[31] Consequently, the actual prevalence of PPDV remains unknown and existing estimates likely underrepresent the size and scope of the problem.[32] Thus, researchers' inattention towards this topic likely stems from hard-to-access or non-existent official data sources.

Beyond improving data collection and reporting practices, important questions remain about the individual and organizational factors associated with PPDV and, more critically, evidence-based strategies that may respond to and prevent PPDV. Although prior research has examined individual officer characteristics, evidence identifying a consistent profile of officers who perpetrate domestic violence remains limited. For example, Aamodt and colleagues (1998) compared the personality profiles of police officers and men who perpetrated domestic violence and found little overlap between the two groups, suggesting that the general personality characteristics of police officers do not inherently predispose them to domestic violence. Rather than focusing exclusively on identifying individual risk factors, emerging scholarship points to the need for research evaluating prevention strategies, including domestic violence training, mental health and wellness services, and partnerships with external organizations that specialize in intimate partner violence prevention and intervention. However, the extent to which these approaches have been implemented, evaluated, or demonstrated to prevent PPDV remains unclear.

Additional gaps concern the experiences of victims and the effectiveness of institutional mechanisms intended to facilitate reporting and ensure victim safety. Victims of PPDV may encounter distinctive barriers to reporting, including coercive control, social isolation, and concerns related to their abusive partner's law enforcement authority and professional relationships.[33] Although scholars have increasingly recognized these challenges, limited empirical research has evaluated policies and practices designed to address them, particularly during the reporting process. Further research is needed to examine whether alternative reporting mechanisms, including those operating outside traditional law enforcement channels, can reduce barriers to disclosure, strengthen victim protections, and improve institutional accountability.[34]

International Perspectives

Interestingly, research that centers the voices of survivors tends to take place outside the United States. Studies examining police in Australia and the United Kingdom have identified barriers to reporting incidents of PPDV—such as the use of coercive tactics by the offending officer—and highlight the experiences of victims before, during, and after instances of domestic violence.[35] These studies also address multiple directions for policymakers to approach the issue. For example, these researchers suggest strategies such as ensuring public awareness, training department leadership to identify "low-level concerns" that may lead to future violence and creating stable and independent victim support systems that are inaccessible to offending officers.[36] Overall, studies on PPDV outside of the United States tend to approach the issue from the perspectives of the victims and prioritize the responses to violence rather than the causes of violence.

Conclusion

Despite decades-long efforts to collect PPDV data, there are identifiable gaps in the literature. First, the conversation surrounding violence perpetuated by officers does not remain within the spotlight long enough to generate data, research, and meaningful policy evaluations. Second, research on PPDV remains fragmented, limiting opportunities to compare institutional responses, policies, and prevention strategies across countries.[37] Third, most literature surrounding PPDV incidents are limited in scope, centering on officer experiences rather than victims. Future research may also benefit from examining the challenges identified in the following section.

---

[16] Blumenstein et al., 2012; Brander, 2025; Gerelt-Od, 2023
[17] French & Fletcher, 2022; Zavala et al., 2015; Stanley, 2025; Sweeting & Mulvihill, 2025; Taylor et al., 2025
[18] Cheema, 2016; Oehme et al., 2016; Kaczmarek & Blasdell, 2023; Oehme et al., 2011
[19] French & Fletcher, 2022
[20] Johnson et al., 2005; Oehme et al., 2012
[21] Baron, 2018; Blumenstein et al., 2012; Johnson et al., 2005; Oehme et al., 2012, 2016
[22] Zavala et al., 2015
[23] Johnson et al., 2005; Oehme et al., 2016; Prost et al., 2020
[24] Anderson & Lo, 2011; Erwin et al., 2005
[25] French & Fletcher, 2022; Goodmark, 2015; Oehme et al., 2016
[26] Baron, 2018; Blumenstein et al., 2012; Johnson et al., 2005; Oehme et al., 2016
[27] Baron, 2018; Zavala et al., 2015
[28] Goodmark, 2015; Oehme et al., 2016; Reeves et al., 2026; Stanley, 2025
[29] Mennicke & Ropes, 2016; Oehme et al., 2016
[30] Brander, 2025; Cheema, 2016; Goodmark, 2015; Russell & Pappas, 2018
[31] Anderson & Lo, 2011; Oehme et al., 2012; Stinson & Liederbach, 2013
[32] Goodmark, 2015; Mennicke & Ropes, 2016; Stinson & Liederbach, 2013
[33] Reeves et al., 2026; Sweeting & Mulvihill, 2025
[34] Anderson et al., 2025; Goodmark, 2015; Russell & Pappas, 2018; Stanley, 2025
[35] Reeves et al., 2026; Sweeting & Mulvihill, 2025
[36] Rawdin et al., 2025; Taylor et al., 2025
[37] Gerelt-Od, 2023; Rawdin et al., 2025; Reeves et al., 2026

IV. Key Challenges Identified by Executive Session Participants

In May 2026, the American University School of Public Affairs (AU SPA) convened an executive session during the American Society of Evidence-Based Policing (ASEBP) Annual Meeting to facilitate a discussion on the state of policy, research, and practice surrounding PPDV. Participants included law enforcement leaders, researchers, policy experts, victim advocates, and current and former government officials, with perspectives from the United States, Canada, and Australia. The executive session provided a forum for participants to identify persistent challenges in how PPDV is recognized, reported, investigated, and addressed within law enforcement agencies and to consider opportunities for strengthening prevention, intervention, accountability, and victim safety. The discussion highlighted five key challenges requiring greater attention as described below.

Challenge 1: Absence of and Consistency with PPDV Policies

Executive session participants expressed concerns with limited data and information on the development and implementation of PPDV policies in the United States. While evidence points to a rise in the adoption of domestic violence policies by law enforcement agencies, participants identified inconsistent standards and practices in responding to PPDV. Participants attributed the dearth of consistent policy to a lack of accountability and transparency as well as an absence of academic research and data on PPDV. Without clear guidelines on how to respond to PPDV, investigations and prosecutions may be inconsistent or incomplete. Participants noted that these reports may be presented and treated as a private domestic issue as opposed to an organizational concern.

In comparison to the United States, participants indicated that PPDV cases are handled quite differently in other countries. For example, PPDV is linked to the larger field of crimes against women and the family in Australia. Domestic violence incidents are universally serious matters regardless of the victim or perpetrator. Through creating departmental culture and policy that properly and seriously responds to intimate partner violence, avenues of investigation and follow-up are created. This serves to address the potential harms of PPDV and challenges barriers that would otherwise reduce the public's trust in the police to manage these harms.[38] Participants recommended that across all levels of officers and administrations, at the civil and civic level, episodes of PPDV should be investigated with appropriate repercussions for officers found to be guilty.

Moreover, the decision to respond to PPDV incidents extends beyond police officers. There are identifiable lapses in the response to PPDV from the court system. The participants highlighted concerns with prosecutorial follow-up, where prosecutors exercise caution and wariness when deciding to prosecute law enforcement officers. Judiciary follow-up on domestic charges where the offender is not an officer already experience challenges, such as victim involvement, evidentiary concerns, and prosecutorial discretion. Officers initiating an arrest against another officer engaging in domestic violence is not enough. As noted by the participants, local prosecutors and courts must also respond accordingly. This might take the shape of policies that shift the burden

of filing charges from victims to prosecutors or an adoption of "no dismissal" policies that allow prosecutors to continue pursuing cases even if victims back out.[39] Responding appropriately to incidents of PPDV requires a working collaborative relationship between police departments, prosecutors, and the courts.

Challenge 2: Leadership Buy-In and Responsibilities

The proposed solutions and avenues for addressing PPDV are null and void without buy-in from department leaders. First-line supervisors to executive level command staff play a fundamental role in addressing and curbing incidents of PPDV, and as such, the participants vehemently advocated for the involvement of police leadership at all ranks. Amongst other forms of police misconduct, solutions to PPDV are contingent on the engagement and participation of police leadership. Incidents that take place are not only the responsibility of the officer, but their department as well. Uncomfortable conversations, reprimands, and punishments are all responsibilities of police leadership. The dialogue starts at the top. Individual officers cannot be expected to have this discussion if their administration is unwilling to do so. Police leaders create the culture; they are pioneers for changes and department standards,[40] so the conversation must begin with them.

Beyond setting the example, participants emphasized two key areas where leadership needs to take the reins. First, they must ensure their agencies utilize proper prescreening tools and assessments throughout officers' careers. Second, they must implement training programs that not only teach their officers how to respond to PPDV but emphasize how they can be key actors in preventing it.

Challenge 3: Pre-Screening and Officer Reviews

Efforts to prevent PPDV should begin during the hiring process and continue throughout officers' careers. Executive session participants raised concerns about gaps in pre-employment screening, background investigations, and ongoing reviews of officer conduct. Previous research has similarly advocated for screening practices and has explored the potential role of psychological assessments in identifying concerning behaviors.[41] However, limited empirical evidence exists regarding the effectiveness of psychological assessments or other screening tools in predicting future PPDV perpetration.

A particular concern raised by several participants was the potential for officers previously dismissed or disciplined for PPDV to move between law enforcement agencies without adequate scrutiny of their prior misconduct. Participants noted that recruitment and retention pressures may contribute to gaps in background investigations, particularly when agencies lack access to complete employment and disciplinary histories. Strengthening pre-employment investigations, improving interagency information sharing, and reviewing documented allegations and findings of misconduct may help agencies make more informed hiring decisions and reduce opportunities for officers with concerning histories to evade accountability.

Participants also emphasized that prevention efforts should extend beyond the hiring process. In particular, they identified coercive and controlling behaviors as important concerns, consistent with research examining associations between domination, control, and domestic violence.[42]

Some participants raised questions about whether aspects of police training and occupational socialization that emphasize authority and control may influence officers' behavior in their personal relationships. [43] However, the extent to which these professional experiences contribute to PPDV remains insufficiently understood.

To strengthen ongoing accountability, participants discussed the potential value of documenting and reviewing concerning conduct throughout officers' careers, including allegations of domestic violence, stalking, coercive control, and other relevant misconduct. Suggested approaches included supervisory reviews, consideration of documented behavioral patterns, and, where appropriate, psychological assessments conducted in accordance with applicable professional and legal standards. One participant also proposed examining officers' narrative reports, particularly those involving domestic violence incidents, for patterns of concerning attitudes or judgments. While these approaches may warrant further exploration, their reliability and effectiveness in identifying or preventing PPDV have not been established. Additional research is needed to evaluate their feasibility, potential benefits, limitations, and implications for officer privacy and procedural fairness.

Challenge 4: Training and Awareness

Given the importance of leadership in preventing and responding to incidents of PPDV, many of the participants stressed the need for training modules meant to guide administration on how to handle these cases. For example, these modules could help supervisors spot early warning signs of coercive and controlling behaviors, manage timely and appropriate investigations, protect victims from their abusers, decide appropriate consequences, etc.[44] Participants recommended incorporating structured, anonymized case reviews into PPDV training to identify gaps in reporting, supervision, investigation, and institutional responses. These reviews could provide opportunities for organizational learning while protecting the confidentiality of victims and individuals involved and avoiding approaches that may be perceived as punitive or stigmatizing.

Participants also recommended that police academy training explicitly address PPDV, emphasizing its consequences for victims, officers, law enforcement agencies, and public trust. Training should help officers recognize behaviors associated with domestic violence, particularly patterns of coercive control, intimidation, threats, and the misuse of professional authority within intimate relationships. Research has highlighted the importance of power and control in understanding domestic violence, underscoring the need for training that distinguishes abusive conduct from ordinary relationship conflict.[45] Participants further emphasized that PPDV prevention should extend beyond initial academy training to include ongoing education throughout officers' careers. Such training should reinforce expectations for professional and personal conduct, clarify reporting responsibilities, address organizational norms that may discourage intervention, and equip officers and supervisors to recognize and appropriately respond to concerning behaviors among colleagues. These efforts should be supported by clear departmental policies, consistent accountability mechanisms, and leadership commitment to preventing and addressing PPDV.

Challenge 5: Organizational and Societal Culture

Executive session participants identified aspects of police organizational culture that may create barriers to recognizing, reporting, and addressing PPDV. For example, traditional expectations surrounding strength, resilience, and self-reliance may contribute to stigma associated with seeking support or disclosing personal issues. Although these cultural expectations can discourage officers from accessing mental health and wellness resources, they should not be interpreted as evidence that mental health challenges cause domestic violence. Rather, participants emphasized the importance of examining how organizational norms may discourage reporting, reinforce silence, and undermine accountability for abusive behavior. These challenges may be particularly pronounced for officers who experience domestic violence perpetrated by a fellow officer, as concerns about professional reputation, peer relationships, and potential retaliation may discourage disclosure. Organizational expectations of loyalty and solidarity, sometimes described as the code of silence, may further discourage reporting and intervention, allowing allegations of misconduct to go unaddressed. [46]

Participants also emphasized that organizational culture does not develop in isolation from broader societal influences. During the executive session, discussions extended to contemporary social attitudes and the growing visibility of online content that promotes misogynistic beliefs, rigid gender roles, and the normalization of controlling behavior within intimate relationships. Participants raised concerns about how exposure to these messages may reinforce attitudes that are inconsistent with domestic violence prevention and victim-centered policing. Although the extent to which these broader cultural influences contribute specifically to PPDV remains unclear, participants highlighted the importance of recognizing and challenging beliefs that normalize coercion, control, and violence within intimate relationships.

Finally, participants acknowledged the challenges associated with defining and measuring police organizational culture. Although existing research has developed various approaches to examining police culture, these measures often emphasize different dimensions, including authoritarianism, masculinity, officer solidarity, and organizational norms.[47] This variation complicates efforts to understand how particular aspects of police culture may be associated with PPDV and which organizational practices may support prevention and accountability. Participants, therefore, emphasized the need for additional research examining the relationship between organizational culture, reporting practices, institutional responses, and PPDV, including how these factors may vary across agencies and organizational contexts.

Conclusion

The executive session participants identified several key challenges that act as roadblocks to effective standard practices for responding to PPDV. First, there is an identifiable absence of policies that dictate responses to domestic violence perpetuated by law enforcement. Second, changes within the department require engagement from police leadership and other civic leaders to effectively counter PPDV. Key among the responsibilities of department administration is ensuring proper screening tools at the hiring process and throughout officers' careers. Additionally, training and awareness about how to respond to PPDV as well as how to spot early warning signs is crucial. Finally, the culture within both policing and society contributes to the

normalization of violence and the silence that follows. Despite a plethora of challenges, the executive session participants weren't without hope for change. By implementing trauma-informed responses, policies, and trainings, departments have the potential to not only save the lives of PPDV victims but also protect their officers from engaging in regrettable behavior and responding to dangerous DV situations that involve friends and colleagues. From this perspective, departments have multiple motivations for formalizing their own PPDV policies.

---

[38] Reeves et al., 2026
[39] Gwinn & O'Dell, 1993
[40] Dubord & Griffiths, 2021
[41] Cheema, 2016; French & Fletcher, 2022; Russell & Pappas, 2018
[42] French & Fletcher, 2022
[43] French & Fletcher, 2022; Oehme et al., 2016
[44] International Association of Chiefs of Police, 1999; 2003; 2019; Oehme et al., 2011; Oehme et al., 2016; Prost et al., 2020
[45] Babcock et al., 1993; Kernsmith, 2005
[46] Oehme et al., 2016
[47] Cochran & Bromley, 2003; Gutschmidt & Vera, 2020; Paesen et al., 2019

V. Blueprint for Action: An Evidence-Informed Framework

Although model policies addressing police-perpetrated domestic violence (PPDV) have existed for more than two decades, persistent challenges in policy adoption, implementation, accountability, and evaluation suggest that policy guidance alone is insufficient to ensure meaningful change. Existing frameworks, including those developed by the International Association of Chiefs of Police (IACP), provide guidance on prevention, reporting, investigation, and victim protection. However, inconsistencies in how these policies are adopted and implemented raise important questions about the organizational and institutional barriers that continue to hinder effective responses to PPDV.

Building on existing guidance, this blueprint seeks to move beyond policy development by identifying priorities for strengthening implementation, leadership accountability, independent oversight, and ongoing evaluation. Drawing on existing research and insights from the American University School of Public Affairs (AU SPA) executive session on PPDV, held during the May 2026 American Society of Evidence-Based Policing (ASEBP) Annual Meeting, the white paper highlights persistent challenges in translating policy into practice and identifies opportunities to address gaps in research, data collection, and institutional accountability. The following seven-part blueprint provides an evidence-informed framework for strengthening existing approaches and advancing a more coordinated national response to PPDV.[1]

Part 1. Establishing Clear Policy Standards and Ensuring Implementation.

Like domestic violence policies, every law enforcement agency should maintain a clearly articulated policy specifically addressing PPDV. The 2003 IACP framework provides a substantial foundation, including detailed procedures governing reporting, supervisory notification, incident response, investigation, victim protection, firearm considerations, and administrative action. It also recognizes that policies must be adapted to applicable federal and state laws, collective bargaining agreements, local ordinances, and agency practices.[2]

At the same time, the executive session participants highlighted the importance of establishing specific practices to help with implementation. Law enforcement agencies should carefully consider how PPDV policy is implemented in their training, supervision, and everyday activities. Participants discussed opportunities to strengthen PPDV-related training throughout an officer's career, beginning in the academy and extending through supervisory and executive leadership positions. Suggested topics included recognizing risk factors, responding appropriately to

[1] This white paper is not intended to report findings from a formal empirical study or consensus process. Rather, it integrates existing research and policy guidance with insights generated through a multidisciplinary executive session to identify persistent challenges and develop an evidence-informed framework for strengthening PPDV policy and practice.

[2] Note that this document was combined with IACP guidance on police response to domestic guidance in 2019, communicating a broad policy of zero tolerance for domestic violence, irrespective of who the perpetrator or the victim is.

allegations, understanding victim experiences, identifying coercive and controlling behaviors, and addressing barriers to reporting.

Part 2. Strengthen Accountability and Consistency.

Because the accused individual in PPDV cases belongs to the institution that is responsible for responding to and investigating the incident, it is imperative for agencies to establish procedures that strengthen accountability. The IACP framework outlines documentation requirements, supervisory involvement, parallel criminal and administrative investigations, and, when appropriate, use of an outside law enforcement agency to avoid the appearance of conflict. However, concerns were raised during the symposium regarding variation in agency practices, limited transparency, and inconsistent accountability mechanisms. Participants highlighted the importance of establishing standards that clearly define investigative responsibilities, timelines, victim protections, and consequences for misconduct.

Part 3. Prevention, Screening, and Early Intervention.

Prevention and early intervention are central components of the IACP framework for addressing PPDV. Executive session participants identified pre-employment investigations, psychological assessments, and ongoing supervisory assessments as potential preventive measures. While comprehensive background investigations and reviews of documented misconduct are important components of personnel screening, the effectiveness of psychological assessments and other tools for predicting future domestic violence perpetration remains uncertain. Agencies considering these approaches should ensure that they are supported by appropriate evidence, implemented consistently with applicable legal and professional standards, and subject to ongoing evaluation.

Supervisors should also be trained to recognize and appropriately respond to patterns of concerning behavior, including allegations of domestic violence, coercive control, stalking, and other relevant misconduct. Law enforcement agencies should establish clear and accessible procedures for fellow officers, supervisors, family members, and others to report concerns, with appropriate safeguards for confidentiality, victim safety, and protection against retaliation. Additionally, agencies should strengthen interagency communication regarding documented misconduct during lateral hiring and consider how relevant information, including publicly available information, may be appropriately incorporated into background investigations. While additional research is needed to establish the effectiveness of screening tools for identifying coercive and controlling behaviors, agencies should consider mechanisms for documenting and reviewing concerning conduct throughout an officer's career, rather than limiting their attention to the hiring process.

Part 4. Leadership Accountability and Organizational Culture.

PPDV should not be treated solely as individual misconduct, but also as an organizational and systemic problem. The IACP framework emphasizes the responsibility of agency leaders to implement PPDV policies and establish an organizational culture that encourages reporting and accountability. Executive session participants similarly noted that leadership, supervision, workplace climate, organizational culture, and accountability systems influence whether

concerning behavior is identified, whether victims and witnesses feel safe reporting, and whether allegations receive a consistent response. Even agencies with established PPDV policies may discourage reporting, tolerate harassment, protect colleagues from scrutiny, or stigmatize individuals who seek support. Accordingly, agency leaders should establish clear expectations for reporting and responding to PPDV allegations, ensure that policies are consistently enforced regardless of rank or position, and implement safeguards to address potential conflicts of interest and retaliation. Agencies should also establish procedures for reviewing failures to report, inconsistencies in investigative practices, and potential supervisory misconduct. Periodic reviews of PPDV reports, investigative outcomes, and policy implementation can help identify gaps in reporting mechanisms, investigation protocols, recruitment, training, and organizational accountability.

Part 5. Victim-Centered Approach.

The victim's safety should remain a priority in any PPDV response or preventative measure. Like the IACP framework, law enforcement agencies should recognize that PPDV victims face distinct challenges from other forms of domestic violence due to the officer's role, network, training, and access to weapons and technology. Given these obstacles, law enforcement agencies should establish multiple ways for victims and/or families to report these incidents, provide a clear understanding about the level of confidentiality in reporting these incidents, offer to connect victims to service providers, and designate a trained individual as the victim's main contact to maintain information confidential and communicate with victims and/or families on the department's protocol and the investigation. Agencies should also establish safeguards to prevent the misuse of law enforcement databases, surveillance technologies, and investigative resources in PPDV cases. Such safeguards may include restrictions on access to victim-related information, documented authorization requirements, routine audits of database activity, and procedures for investigating suspected misuse. These protections should be incorporated into PPDV policies and periodically reviewed as law enforcement technologies evolve. The executive session participants also recommended incorporating PPDV victim-survivors' perspectives into the development, implementation, and evaluation of the PPDV policy while protecting them from retaliation and re-traumatization.

Part 6. Data, Research, and Transparency.

A major limitation is the lack of evidence available on the size and scope of PPDV victimizations. Without any data, policymakers, practitioners, and scholars are unable to evaluate whether existing interventions are effective. Executive session participants emphasized the lack of reliable national information on prevalence, fatalities, policy adoption, and reporting as well as disparate estimates in research. A national strategy should establish common definitions and standards for documenting PPDV reporting as well as administrative and criminal protocols and outcomes. Victim information should remain protected but accessible to the victims and/or their families to ensure that the correct protocols are being followed.

Additionally, research should extend beyond estimates of PPDV victimizations and explore policy adoption and implementation. Future research questions should examine the design, structure, and effects of policies as well as the factors associated to administrative and criminal outcomes such

as organizational culture. A centralized clearinghouse or resource hub could further address the gaps in research by emerging evidence in one location.

Part 7. Building Partnerships Across Policy, Practice, and Research.

The initial PPDV model policy stemmed from a collaboration among the IACP, the Office on Violence Against Women, the Office of Community Oriented Policing Services, practitioners, and subject matter experts. The AU SPA executive session on PPDV also brought together law enforcement leaders, researchers, policy organizations, advocates, and former federal officials to discuss the challenges faced with PPDV victimizations. The executive session offered participants the opportunity to learn from a range of perspectives to address the challenges faced by PPDV victimizations.

The participants recommended building a broader national coalition rather than allowing this discussion to remain siloed within each group of policymakers, practitioners, researchers, and victim groups. A national coalition would not only pave the way for continued discussions but create a path for sustainable progress that can produce an ongoing cycle of policy development, implementation, evaluation, refinement, and dissemination.

VI. Conclusion: A Unified Path Forward

For more than two decades, national law enforcement organizations, policymakers, researchers, and victim advocates have recognized police-perpetrated domestic violence (PPDV) as a serious public safety and institutional accountability concern. Through collaborative efforts, including those led by the International Association of Chiefs of Police (IACP) and the U.S. Department of Justice, model policies and guidance have been developed to strengthen prevention, reporting, investigation, and victim protection. Despite these efforts, significant gaps remain in the adoption, implementation, and evaluation of PPDV policies, raising questions about why existing guidance has not translated into more consistent and effective practices across law enforcement agencies.

PPDV presents unique challenges because officers who perpetrate domestic violence may possess professional authority, access to weapons and law enforcement resources, and institutional relationships that can complicate reporting, investigations, and victim safety. These circumstances underscore the importance of recognizing PPDV not only as individual misconduct but also as an organizational and systemic issue requiring meaningful leadership engagement, accountability, and oversight. Addressing PPDV requires agencies to establish clear expectations, consistently enforce policies regardless of rank or position, protect victims from retaliation, and foster organizational cultures that encourage reporting and intervention.

The seven-part blueprint presented in this white paper offers an evidence-informed framework for strengthening existing approaches rather than replacing established policy guidance. Its central contribution is an emphasis on translating policy into practice by identifying organizational priorities for leadership accountability, consistent enforcement, prevention and early intervention, victim support, and ongoing data collection and evaluation. While more research is needed to determine the effectiveness of specific prevention and intervention strategies, agencies need not wait for definitive evidence before reviewing policies, strengthening reporting procedures, addressing conflicts of interest, and establishing mechanisms for institutional accountability.

Although this blueprint identifies national priorities for strengthening PPDV policy and practice, implementation will necessarily vary across law enforcement agencies based on organizational capacity, jurisdictional requirements, and available resources. Agencies should consider how these recommendations can be incorporated into their existing policies and procedures, with particular attention to leadership responsibilities, victim safety, and institutional accountability. Future collaborative efforts should examine the feasibility and effectiveness of different approaches to inform policy refinement and identify promising practices that may be adapted across jurisdictions.

Meaningful progress will require sustained collaboration among law enforcement leaders, policymakers, researchers, victim advocates, and other criminal justice stakeholders. Developing consistent data collection practices, assessing policy effectiveness, and incorporating victim-survivor perspectives will be essential to identifying promising approaches and addressing persistent gaps in knowledge and practice. Ultimately, the challenge is not simply developing stronger policies but ensuring that existing and future policies are meaningfully implemented, regularly evaluated, and supported by organizational leadership. A coordinated national commitment to these efforts is necessary to strengthen victim safety, prevent future harm, promote accountability, and maintain public trust in law enforcement.

VII. References

Aamodt, M. G., Brewster, J., & Raynes, B. (2000). Is the police personality predisposed to domestic violence? In Shehan, D. (Ed.) Law Enforcement and Domestic Violence. Quantico, VA: Federal Bureau of Investigation.

Anderson, A. S., & Lo, C. C. (2011). Intimate partner violence within law enforcement families. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence*, *26*(6), 1176–1193. https://doi.org/10.1177/0886260510368156

Anderson, B., Farmer, C., & Tyson, D. (2025). Police-perpetrated domestic and family violence: A scoping review of Australian and international scholarship. *International Journal for Crime, Justice, and Social Democracy, 14*(4), 45-64. https://doi.org/10.5204/ijcjsd.3582

Babcock, J. C., Waltz, J., Jacobson, N. S., & Gottman, J. M. (1993). Power and violence: The relation between communication patterns, power discrepancies, and domestic violence. *Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology*, *61*(1), 40–50. https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-006X.61.1.40

Baron, I. (2018). Officer-involved domestic violence: The mediating factors. *Themis: Research Journal of Justice Studies and Forensic Science*, *6*(1). https://doi.org/10.31979/THEMIS.2018.0609

Blumenstein, L., Fridell, L., & Jones, S. (2012). The link between traditional police sub-culture and police intimate partner violence. *Policing: An International Journal of Police Strategies & Management*, *35*(1), 147–164. https://doi.org/10.1108/13639511211215496

Brander, R. (2025). What do the experiences of victims and survivors of police-perpetrated domestic abuse tell us about the police response to such abuse? *International Journal of Police Science & Management*, *27*(4), 424–435. https://doi.org/10.1177/14613557251379235

Cheema, R. (2016). Black and Blue Bloods: Protecting Police Officer Families from Domestic Violence. *Family Court Review*, *54*(3), 487–500. https://doi.org/10.1111/fcre.12226

Cochran, J. K., & Bromley, M. L. (2003). The myth(?) of the police sub-culture. *Policing: An International Journal of Police Strategies & Management*, *26*(1), 88–117. https://doi.org/10.1108/13639510310460314

Cohen, S., Ruiz, R. R., & Childress, S. (2013). Departments slow to police their own abusers. New York Times.

Dubord, N. & Griffiths, C. T. (2021). Creating a Change culture in a police service: The role of police leadership. *Policing: A Journal of Policy and Practice,* 15(1), 168–180.

Erwin, M. J., Gershon, R. R. M., Tiburzi, M., & Lin, S. (2005). Reports of intimate partner violence made against police officers. *Journal of Family Violence*, 20(1), 13-19.

French, K. A., & Fletcher, K. A. (2022). Officer-involved domestic violence: A call for action among I-O psychologists. *Industrial and Organizational Psychology*, *15*(4), 604–608. https://doi.org/10.1017/iop.2022.74

Gerelt-Od, S. (2023). The prevalence of officer-involved domestic violence cases in Mongolia: From the perspective of support service providers. *Asian Journal of Women's Studies*, *29*(1), 45–68. https://doi.org/10.1080/12259276.2023.2186630

Goodmark, L. (2015). Hands up at home: Militarized masculinity and police officers who commit intimate partner abuse. *BYU Law Review*, 2015(5), 1183-1246. https://digitalcommons.law.byu.edu/lawreview/vol2015/iss5/5

Gutschmidt, D., & Vera, A. (2020). Dimensions of police culture – A quantitative analysis. *Policing: An International Journal of Police Strategies & Management*, *43*(6), 963–977. https://doi.org/10.1108/PIJPSM-06-2020-0089

Gwinn, C. G., & O'Dell, Anne (1993). Stopping the violence: The role of the police officer and the prosecutor. *Western State University Law Review, 20(2),* 297-318.

International Association of Chiefs of Police. (1999). Police Officer Domestic Violence: Concepts and Issues Paper. Alexandria, VA: International Association of Chiefs of Police.

International Association of Chiefs of Police. (2003). Domestic Violence by Police Officers: Concepts and Issues Paper. Alexandria, VA: International Association of Chiefs of Police.

International Association of Chiefs of Police. (2019). Domestic Violence. Alexandria, VA: International Association of Chiefs of Police.

Ivković, S., Haberfield, M., Kang, W., Peacock, R. P., Porter, L. E., Prenzler, T., & Sauerman, A. (2020). A comparative study of the police code of silence: Exploring the relation between the code of silence and societal characteristics. Policing: An International Journal of Police Strategies & Management, 43(2), 285–298. https://doi.org/10.1108/PIJPSM-06-2019-0081

Johnson, L. B., Todd, M., & Subramanian, G. (2005). Violence in police families: Work-family spillover. *Journal of Family Violence*, *20*(1), 3–12. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10896-005-1504-4

Kaczmarek, S., & Blasdell, R. (2023). Officer-involved domestic violence. In T. K. Shackelford (Ed.), *Encyclopedia of Domestic Violence* (pp. 1–9). Springer International Publishing. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-85493-5_1253-1

Kernsmith, P. (2005). Exerting power or striking back: A gendered comparison of motivations for domestic violence perpetration. *Violence and Victims, 20*(2), 173-85. https://doi.org/10.1891/088667005780905605

Lonsway, K. A. (2006). Policies on police officer domestic violence: Prevalence and specific provisions within large police agencies. *Police Quarterly*, *9*(4), 397–422. https://doi.org/10.1177/1098611104268884

Mennicke, A. M., & Ropes, K. (2016). Estimating the rate of domestic violence perpetrated by law enforcement officers: A review of methods and estimates. *Aggression and Violent Behavior*, *31*, 157–164. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.avb.2016.09.003

National Institute of Policing. (2026, May). *Officer Involved Domestic Violence: Prevalence, Causes, Interventions, and Policy Recommendations* [Executive Brief].

Oehme, K., Donnelly, E. A., & Martin, A. (2012). Alcohol abuse, PTSD, and officer-committed domestic violence. *Policing*, *6*(4), 418–430. https://doi.org/10.1093/police/pas023

Oehme, K., Prost, S. G., & Saunders, D. G. (2016). Police responses to cases of officer-involved domestic violence: The effects of a brief web-based training. *Policing*, *10*(4), 391–407. https://doi.org/10.1093/police/paw039

Oehme, K., Siebert, D. C., Siebert, C. F., Stern, N., Valentine, C., & Donnelly, E. (2011). Protecting lives, careers, and public confidence: Florida's efforts to prevent officer-involved domestic violence. *Family Court Review*, *49*(1), 84–106. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1744-1617.2010.01355.x

Paesen, H., Maesschalck, J., & Loyens, K. (2019). Beyond police culture: A quantitative study of the organisational culture in 64 local police forces in Belgium. *Policing: An International Journal of Police Strategies & Management*, *42*(5), 814–831. https://doi.org/10.1108/PIJPSM-12-2018-0171

Prost, S. G., Saunders, D. G., & Oehme, K. (2020). Childhood family violence and officer responses to officer-involved domestic violence: Effects of cumulative and resolved trauma. *International Journal of Police Science & Management*, *22*(2), 194–207. https://doi.org/10.1177/1461355720907641

Rawdin, C., Wallace, S., Osborne, E., Underwood-Lee, E., Miller, N., & Williams, E. (2025). Supporting victim–survivors of police-perpetrated domestic violence: Insights from a process evaluation of a Welsh advocacy support intervention. *International Journal of Police Science & Management*, *27*(4), 436–447. https://doi.org/10.1177/14613557251379244

Reeves, E., Fitz-Gibbon, K., Meyer, S., & Walklate, S. (2026). “The fact that he was a police officer was probably my number 1 challenge”: Victim-survivor experiences of officer-

involved domestic violence in Australia. *Violence Against Women*, *32*(3–4), 887–909. https://doi.org/10.1177/10778012251319761

Russell, B. L., & Pappas, N. (2018). Officer involved domestic violence: A future of uniform response and transparency. *International Journal of Police Science & Management*, *20*(2), 134–142. https://doi.org/10.1177/1461355718774579

Stanley, B. (2025). Leaving Brame behind: An urgent call to shift the focus of police officer-perpetrated domestic violence research. *Violence Against Women*, *31*(12–13), 3158–3181. https://doi.org/10.1177/10778012251352860

Stinson, P. M., & Liederbach, J. (2013). Fox in the henhouse: A study of police officers arrested for crimes associated with domestic and/or family violence. *Criminal Justice Policy Review*, *24*(5), 601–625. https://doi.org/10.1177/0887403412453837

Sweeting, F., & Mulvihill, N. (2025). 'There is nowhere that you can go, that I can't find you': The experiences of women in abusive intimate relationships with serving police officers in England and Wales. *International Journal of Police Science & Management*, *27*(4), 406–423. https://doi.org/10.1177/14613557251379231

Tapp, S. N. & Coen, E. J. (2024). *Criminal Victimization, 2023*. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Justice, Office of Justice Programs, Bureau of Justice Statistics.

Taylor, H., Porter, L. E., & Eriksson, L. (2025). Surveying public attitudes towards police-perpetrated domestic violence: Does perpetrator occupation matter? *International Journal of Police Science & Management*, *27*(4), 381–393. https://doi.org/10.1177/14613557251379252

U.S. Department of Justice, Office on Violence Against Women. (2025). Domestic Violence. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Justice. https://www.justice.gov/ovw/domestic-violence

Zavala, E., Melander, L. A., & Kurtz, D. L. (2015). The importance of social learning and critical incident stressors on police officers' perpetration of intimate partner violence. *Victims & Offenders*, *10*(1), 51–73. https://doi.org/10.1080/15564886.2014.890688