Intimate Partner Violence Risk Assessment: Implications for Women’s Safety

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Multi City Intimate Partner Femicide Study
Funded by: NIDA/NIAA, NIMH, CDC, NIJ VAWA R01 DA/AA1156
HOMICIDE IN BATTERING RELATIONSHIPS

• 40 - 50% OF US WOMEN KILLED BY HUSBAND, BF OR EX (vs. 5-8% of men)
• 7th leading cause of premature death for women in US
• US – At least 2/3 of women killed – battered prior – if male killed – prior wife abuse in 75% of cases (Campbell, ‘92; Morocco et al, ‘98);
• More at risk when leaving or left (Wilson & Daly, ‘93; Campbell et. al. ‘01)
• Women far more likely to be victims of homicide-suicide (29% vs. .1% in US;
• 44-47% of women killed seen in health care system before killed (Sharps, Campbell ’02; Wadman & Muelleman ’99)
INTIMATE PARTNER FEMICIDE BY PERPETRATOR IN TEN CITIES (N= 311)

- Spouse: 40.5%
- Boyfriend: 29.6%
- Ex-spouse: 8.0%
- Ex-bf: 19.3%
- Other: 2.6%
Femicide in Oklahoma – 2001- Violence Policy Center www.vpc.org

• Oklahoma #10 in femicide in US – 34 women killed
• 1.97 per 100,000 women vs. 1.35 in US overall
• 2 less than 18 yo; 2 >65 yo – average age 39
• 3 Native American (8.8%); 8 African American (23%); 3 Hispanic (8.8%); 20 white
• 59% perpetrator an intimate partner (not counting ex GF)
• 47% of all women killed by guns; 61% of intimate partner
Decline in Intimate Partner Homicide and Femicide

• Decline in male victimization in states where improved DV laws and services - resource availability (Browne & Williams ’89; ‘98)
• Exposure reduction - increased female earnings, lower marriage rate, higher divorce rate (Dugan, Nagin & Rosenfeld ‘97)
• Gun availability decline (Wilt ‘97; Block ‘95; Kellerman ‘93, ‘97- gun increases risk X3)
U.S. INTIMATE PARTNER HOMICIDE RATES & DOMESTIC VIOLENCE SERVICES 1976-9
(Resources per 50 million - Dugan, Nagin & Rosenfeld ‘03)
Intimate Partner Homicides, by Offender Relationship
INTIMATE PARTNER HOMICIDE: WEAPON USE in U. S. ‘76-’95 (SHR)
“Prediction is very hard to do - especially if it is about the future”

Yogi Berra
Overview of Issues

- High demand for both lethality & reoffending risk assessment by criminal justice, advocacy, victim service, & health systems
- Low base rates
- Relatively young science in intimate partner violence & risk assessment particularly
- 4 interacting parts to consider - instrument, risk assessor, perpetrator & one specific potential victim (vs. sexual assault or mental health – MacArthur study)
- Fears that risk assessment will be used to limit service to victims
- High stakes with either false negatives or false positives
Overlapping Concerns

Similar;
Not the same
## Risk Prediction 4 Quadrant Model

(Webster et. al. ‘94)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Quadrant</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Outcome 1</th>
<th>Outcome 2</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A TRUE POSITIVES</td>
<td>Predicted violence, Violent outcomes</td>
<td>Sensitivity</td>
<td>(B) FALSE POSITIVES</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C FALSE NEGATIVES</td>
<td>No violence predicted, Violence occurs</td>
<td>Specificity</td>
<td>(D) TRUE NEGATIVES</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
## Existing Risk Assessment Scales

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Scale</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Evaluation Details</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Navy FAP Risk &amp; Safety</td>
<td>Victim &amp; Offender - reoffend &amp; safety (FA, MP, health)</td>
<td>Evaluation 2002-03 (Stith, Milner)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mosaic DV (20) (deBecker)</td>
<td>Computerized/Victim (criminal justice) - lethality risk system</td>
<td>Evaluation underway</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DVSI (Williams &amp; Houghton)</td>
<td>Offenders (criminal justice) short – reoffending</td>
<td>Predictive validity 80% (Williams, ’03)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SARA (Kropp et al)</td>
<td>Offender (criminal justice) - reoffending</td>
<td>Evaluation published</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PSI (Duluth)</td>
<td>Victim &amp; offender - both (advocates &amp; criminal justice)</td>
<td>Process evaluation (CDC) - no outcomes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K-SID (Gelles)</td>
<td>Victim &amp; offender - reoffend (advocates &amp; criminal justice)</td>
<td>Some evaluation data</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Danger Assessment (Campbell)</td>
<td>Victim- Lethality (Advocates, Health Care)</td>
<td>Evaluation continuing</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Femicide Risk Study

**Purpose:** Identify and establish risk factors for IP femicide – (over and above domestic violence)

**Significance:** Determine strategies to prevent IP femicide – especially amongst battered women – Approximately half of victims (54% of actual femicides; 45% of attempteds) did not accurately perceive their risk – that perpetrator was capable of killing her &/or would kill her
RISK FACTORS FOR INTIMATE PARTNER FEMICIDE: RESEARCH TEAM
(Funded by: NIDA/NIAA, NIMH, CDC, NIJ VAWA R01 DA/AA1156)

- R. Block, PhD (ICJA)
- D. Campbell, PhD, RN (FSU)
- J. McFarlane, DrPH, RN (TWU)
- C. Sachs MD, MPH (UCLA)
- P. Sharps, PhD, RN (GWU)
- Y. Ulrich, PhD, RN (UW)
- S. Wilt, PhD (NYC DOH)
- F. Gary, PhD, RN (UFl)
- M.A. Curry PhD, RN (OHSU)
- N. Glass, PhD, RN (OHSU)
- J. Koziol-McLain, PhD, RN (JHU)
- J. Schollenberger MPH (JHU)
- A. Kellerman, MD, MPH (Emory)
- X. Xu, MSN (JHU)
- Kathryn Chouaf, MSN (JHU)
RISK FACTORS FOR INTIMATE PARTNER FEMICIDE: CITIES AND CO-INVESTIGATORS
(Funded by: NIDA/NIAA, NIMH, CDC, NIJ VAWA R01 DA/AA1156)

- Baltimore
- Chicago
- Houston
- Kansas City, KA&MO
- Los Angeles
- New York
- Portland, OR
- Seattle, WA
- Tampa/St. Pete
- P. Sharps (GWU)
- B. Block (ICJA)
- J. McFarlane (TWU)
- Y. Ulrich (UW)
- C. Sachs (UCLA)
- S. Wilt (NYDOH)
- M. A. Curry (OHSU)
- Y. Ulrich (UW)
- D. Campbell (FSU)
RISK FACTORS FOR INTIMATE PARTNER FEMICIDE: 11 CITIES
(Funded by: NIDA/NIAAA, NIMH, CDC, NIJ VAWA R01 DA/AA1156)
Case Control Design

**CASES** - women who are killed by their intimate partners

**CONTROLS** - women who are physically abused by their intimate partners

Data Source

- Police Homicide Files
- Proxy informants

(secondary set of nonabused controls – for later analysis)
# Addition of Attempted Femicides

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>CASES</strong> - women who are killed by their intimate partners</th>
<th>Data Source</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Police Homicide files</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Proxy informants</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>CONTROLS</strong> - women who are physically abused by their intimate partners</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Women themselves</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>CASES</strong> - women who are <strong>ALMOST</strong> killed by their intimate partners</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Women themselves – to address issue of validity of proxy information</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Definition: Attempted Femicide

- GSW or SW to the head, neck or torso.
- Strangulation or near drowning with loss of consciousness.
- Severe injuries inflicted that easily could have led to death.
- GSW or SW to other body part with unambiguous intent to kill.
- If none of above, unambiguous intent to kill.
Recruitment of Attempted Femicides

- From police assault files – difficult to impossible in many jurisdictions
- From shelters, trauma hospital data bases, DA offices – attempted to contact consecutive cases wherever located – many victims move
- Failure to locate rates high – but refusals low (less than 10%)
- Telephone interviews – subsample of 30 in depth
- Safety protocols carefully followed
In Depth Interviews (N = 30) (Nicolaidis et. al. 2003, J of General Internal Medicine)

- Interviews conducted on phone or anywhere woman wished
- Baltimore, Houston, Kansas City, Portland, Tampa, & Wichita – approximately 15% from each city
- Age 17-34 – 40% African American, 40% Anglo, 20% Hispanic; across income categories
- 10 (67%) had history of escalating physical &/or sexual assault; 5 (17%) with minor violence and controlling behavior, 2 with controlling behavior only; 2 with NO history of violence OR controlling behavior – similar to larger study
In Depth Interviews (N = 30)

- Even so, 14 women (almost half) said they had NO clue how dangerous he was – but with DA, all but 3 could have been identified.
- 73% of cases – significant relationship change – majority – she was leaving him but in 4 cases he had left her but got enraged when she started seeing someone else or wouldn’t take him back when he changed his mind.
- About 30% – clearly at risk – she was scared & we would have been scared for her – about 55% could have been identified with skilled risk assessment – but 15% almost totally out of the blue.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Femicide</th>
<th>Attempted</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Prior physical abuse</td>
<td>70%</td>
<td>72%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Increased in frequency</td>
<td>66%</td>
<td>54%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Increased in severity</td>
<td>62%</td>
<td>60%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Stalked</td>
<td>87%</td>
<td>95%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No prior physical abuse</td>
<td>30%</td>
<td>28%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Stalked</td>
<td>58%</td>
<td>72%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
INTIMATE PARTNER ABUSED CONTROLS (N = 356)

• Random sample selected from same cities as femicide and attempted femicide cases
• Telephone survey conducted 11/98 - 9/99 using random digit dialing
• Women in household 18-50 years old & most recently celebrated a birthday
• Women abused (including sexual assault & threats) by an intimate partner w/in 2 years prior – modified CTS
• Safety protocols followed
Sample – (only those cases with prior physical abuse or threats)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>FEMICIDE CASES</strong></td>
<td>220</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>ATTEMPTED FEMICIDE CASES</strong></td>
<td>143</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>ABUSED CONTROLS</strong></td>
<td>356</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Sociodemographic comparisons

Mean Age
- Fem/Att Perp = 36
- Abuse Perp = 31
- Fem/Att Victim = 34
- Abuse Victim = 29
DANGER ASSESSMENT (Campbell ‘86)
www.son.jhmi.edu – CNR, research, homicide

• Developed in 1985 to increase battered women’s ability to take care of themselves
(Self Care Agency; Orem ‘81, 92)

• Interactive, uses calendar - aids recall plus women come to own conclusions - more persuasive & in adult learner/ strong woman/ survivor model

• Intended as lethality risk instrument versus reassault (e.g. SARA, K-SID) - risk factors may overlap but not exactly the same
DANGER ASSESSMENT
(Campbell ‘86, ‘95; Campbell et. al., 2001)

• 15 items yes/no plus calendar
  – Shows **pattern** - frequency & severity of past year
  – Aids recall
• Summative, no cutoff
• 10 samples of 2251 battered women
• Internal consistency = .60-.86; test-retest .89-.94
• Construct validity: convergent w/CTS & ISA (r = .55-.75); discriminant group
Danger Assessment – Independent Predictive Validity Studies - Reassault

- (Goodman, Dutton & Bennett, 2001) N = 92; 53% returned; successful prediction of reabuse, DA stronger predictor than CTS2 (4.2 vs. 2.8 OR per 1 SD DA vs. CTS2)
- Women’s perception of danger stronger predictor than any of the 10 DA items available in criminal justice records – (Weisz, Tolman, & Saunders, 2000)
- Heckert & Gondolf (’02; in press) N = 499 – DA- 66% sensitivity but 33% false positives - Women’s perception of risk PLUS DA best model (over SARA & K-SID) but women’s perception of risk by itself not quite as good as DA
- Williams & Houghton (in press) – DA factors (not all available) comparable or slightly better than SARA & DVSI - N = 1465 criminal record check reoffending & 125 victim reports
DANGER ASSESSMENT –
Actual (N = 263) & Attempted (N=182) Femicides & Abuse Victims (N=342)*

Reliability (Coefficient Alpha)
- Attempted Femicide Victims  .75
- Abused Control Victims      .74
- Actual Femicides            .80

* Presence of DA items within one year prior to femicide and attempted femicide and within one year prior to worst incident of physical abuse experienced by abused controls
## DANGER ASSESSMENT SCORES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Mean</th>
<th>SD</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Abused Controls</td>
<td>2.9*</td>
<td>2.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attempted Femicide</td>
<td>7.9</td>
<td>3.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All Femicides</td>
<td>7.1</td>
<td>3.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Femicide w/o suicide</td>
<td>7.0</td>
<td>3.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Femicide/suicide</td>
<td>7.4</td>
<td>3.2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Attempted and Femicide scores significantly higher than abused controls (*p<.05)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Att/Actual</th>
<th>Control</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Physical violence increased in frequency*</td>
<td>56%</td>
<td>24%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Physical violence increased in severity *</td>
<td>62%</td>
<td>18%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Partner tried to choke victim *</td>
<td>50%</td>
<td>10%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A gun is present in the house *</td>
<td>64%</td>
<td>16%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Partner forced victim to have sex *</td>
<td>39%</td>
<td>12%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Partner used street drugs *</td>
<td>55%</td>
<td>23%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Partner threatened to kill victim *</td>
<td>57%</td>
<td>14%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Victim believes partner is capable of killing her *</td>
<td>54%</td>
<td>24%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Perpetrator AD Military History (ns.)</td>
<td>16%</td>
<td>22%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stalking score*</td>
<td>4.6</td>
<td>24%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### VICTIM & PERPETRATOR OWNERSHIP OF WEAPON IN FEMICIDE (N = 311), ATTEMPTED FEMICIDE (N = 182), ABUSED CONTROL (N=427) & NON-ABUSED CONTROL (N=418) CASES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Victim</th>
<th>Perpetrator</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Femicide</strong></td>
<td>15.7%</td>
<td>74.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Attempted</strong></td>
<td>14.6%</td>
<td>52.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Abused control</strong></td>
<td>16.9%</td>
<td>26.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Nonabused control</strong></td>
<td>15.6%</td>
<td>12.7%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

$\chi^2 = 125.6$, $P < .0001$
Arrest, Protective Orders & Weapon Use

• 48 (33.6% of 156) of attempteds were shot
  – 15 of the 45 (33.3%) with data - perpetrator either had prior DV arrest or PO at the time of the incident
• 91 of 159 (57.3%) femicides that had weapon information were shot
  – Of 74 with data, 27 (36.5%) had a prior DV arrest or had a restraining order at the time of the incident
• According to federal legislation – these men should NOT have had possession of a gun
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>DANGER ASSESSMENT ITEMS COMPARING ACTUAL &amp; ATTEMPTED FEMICIDE SURVIVORS (N=493) &amp; ABUSED (WITHIN PAST 24 MONTHS) CONTROLS (N=427) (*p &lt; .05)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Att/Actual</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Partner is drunk every day *</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Partner controls all victim’s activities *</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Partner beat victim while pregnant *</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Partner is violently jealous of victim (says things like “If I can’t have you, no one can”)*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Victim threatened/ tried to commit suicide</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Partner threatened/ tried to commit suicide *</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Partner is violent toward victim’s children*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Partner is violent outside house*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Partner arrested for DV* (not criminality)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Partner hurt a pet on purpose</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Nonsignificant Variables of note

- Hurting a pet on purpose -10% of attempteds/actual victims vs. 8.5% of controls
  - BUT – some clear cases of using cruelty to a pet as a threat to kill
  - WAS a risk for women to be abused (compared with nonabused controls)
  - AND more risk in attempted femicide sample – perhaps proxies not as knowledgeable about pets – warrants further investigation

- Perpetrator military history – 16% actual/attempteds vs. 22% of controls
Risk Models

• Femicides with abuse history only (violence & threats) compared to abused controls (*N=181 femicides; 319 abused controls – total = 500 (18-50 yo only)

• Missing variables
  – variables had to be excluded from femicide model due to missing responses – if don’t know – no – therefore underestimate risk

• Logistic Regression Plan – comparing cases & controls
  – Model variable in blocks – background characteristics – individual & couple, general violence related variables, violent relationship characteristics – then incident level
  – Interaction terms entered – theoretically derived
Significant (p<.05) Variables (Entered into Blocks) before Incident (overall fit = 85% correct classification)

- Perpetrator unemployed OR = 4.4
- Perpetrator gun access OR = 5.4
- Perpetrator Stepchild OR = 2.4
- Couple Never Lived Together OR = .34
- Highly controlling perpetrator OR = 2.1
- Estranged X Low control (interaction) OR = 3.6
- Estranged X Control (interaction) OR = 5.5
- Threatened to kill her OR = 3.2
- Threatened w/weapon prior OR = 3.8
- Forced sex OR = 1.9
- Prior Arrest for DV OR = .34
Significant (p<.05) Variables at Incident Level

- Perpetrator unemployed OR = 4.4
- Perpetrator Stepchild OR = 2.4
- Couple Never Lived Together OR = .31
- Threatened w/weapon prior OR = 4.1
- Highly controlling perpetrator OR = 2.4
- Estranged X Low control (interaction) OR = 3.1
- Estranged X Control (interaction) OR = 3.4
- Perpetrator Used Gun OR = 24.4
- Prior Arrest for DV OR = .31
- Trigger - Victim Leaving (33%) OR = 4.1
- Trigger – Jealousy/she has new relationship OR = 4.9
Femicide – Suicide Cases (32% of femicide cases in study – 29% US)

- Significant explanatory power for same femicide – suicide risk factors.
  - Partner access to gun
  - Threats with a weapon
  - Step child in the home
  - Estrangement

- Unique to femicide – suicide:
  - Partner suicide threats – history of poor mental health
  - Married
  - Somewhat higher education levels (unemployment still a risk factor), more likely to be white
CONCLUSIONS

• ALL DV IS DANGEROUS
• But 10 or more yeses on revised scale very dangerous
• Much more sensitive & specific if weighted items used – ROC curves – area under curve .91 (vs. .88 & .83 original version) with acceptable PPV at identifiable higher and lower danger ranges
ROC Curve Analysis – 92% under the curve for Attempted Femicides; 90% for actuals
Revisions to DA – copyright not yet obtained so still in progress

• Using threaten to harm children – does not trigger a mandated report to CPS (although a yes response may indicate a more thorough assessment for child abuse)
• Added arrest for DV, removed violent outside of the home – not present in final models
• Divided threats to kill and perception of danger
• Stalking & stepchild added
• Formatting changed slightly
Instructions for Scoring Revised Danger Assessment

• Add total number of “yes” responses: 1 through 20. ______
• Add 4 points for each “yes” to questions 2 and 3. ______
• Add 3 points for a “yes” to question 4. ______
• Add 2 points for each “yes” to questions 5, 6, and 7. ______
• Add 1 point to each “yes” to questions 8 and 9. ______
• Subtract 3 points if 3a is checked. ______

Total ______
Cutoff Ranges

- Based on sum of weighted scoring place into 1 of the following categories:
  - Less than 8 - “variable danger”
  - 8 to 13 - “elevated danger”
  - 14 to 17 - “high danger”
  - 18 or more - “extreme danger”
Revised DA Scores (ANOVA p<.000)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>Mean</th>
<th>SD</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Not abused</td>
<td>407</td>
<td>-1.54</td>
<td>2.35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abused Controls</td>
<td>328</td>
<td>2.80</td>
<td>5.61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attempted Femicides</td>
<td>108</td>
<td>14.87</td>
<td>7.28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Actual Femicides</td>
<td>132</td>
<td>15.20</td>
<td>7.20</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Revised DA Scores (ANOVA p<.000)

- (.83) + specificity (.77) is maximized is between 9 and 10. Another option for the initial cut point is between 7 and 8 where sensitivity = .90 and sensitivity = .69. The second cut point suggested is between 12 and 13 (sens. = .66, spec.=.93) or between 13 and 14 (sens.=.58, spec.=.93). The 3rd and final cut could be 18+ (sens.=.35, spec.=.98)
Comparisons on Cutoffs – Sensitivity/Specificity

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Femicides</th>
<th>Attempteds</th>
<th>Specificity</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Variable Danger</td>
<td>90%</td>
<td>92%</td>
<td>69%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt; 8</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elevated Danger:</td>
<td>8 – 13</td>
<td>86%</td>
<td>90%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High Danger:</td>
<td>14 – 17</td>
<td>83%</td>
<td>86%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Extreme Danger:</td>
<td>18 +</td>
<td>57%</td>
<td>48%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Tentative suggestions for ranges

• NEVER DENY SERVICES ON BASIS OF DA or ANY OTHER RISK ASSESSMENT AT CURRENT STATE OF KNOWLEDGE

• Variable danger range – be sure to tell women level can change quickly – watch for other signs of danger, believe their gut

• Elevated and high danger – advise women of risk, assertive safety planning; consult with judges, high level of supervision recommendations

• Highest level – advise of serious danger – take assertive actions – call for criminal justice or other professional help -- recommend highest bail, highest probation supervision
Conclusions

• Danger Assessment has some support for validity in a large national case control study
• DA can be an important basis for safety planning but use of cutoffs can now be used with great caution
• Has been revised with this data – ranges were determined – & tested with attempted femicides
• Additive scoring in front, algorithm on back
• Being further evaluated (along with DVSI, K-SID & Mosaic in large prospective “Risk Assessment Validity Evaluation” supported by NIJ)
Caveats – directions for future investigation

• Choking (we should think “strangulation”) – stronger risk for attempted homicides than actuals – b/c more unknown among proxy informants – probably stronger risk factor than we are counting now

• Forced sex – (we should think “rape”) –

• Arrest – difficult to interpret – very few of murderers had arrest history – abused controls had higher levels so that difference significant – but not definitive proof that arrest by itself protective
GENERAL PRINCIPLES FOR RISK ASSESSMENT IN DV

• More sources of information the better – “gold standard” for information is victim – without information from victim, cutoffs for lethality risk problematic – criminal record check important
• Perpetrators will minimize perpetration
• No actuarial methods for DV, few independent evaluations – use any cutoffs with great caution – DVSI best if criminal justice records only & SARA with psych evaluation
• Instrument improves “expert judgment” – but clinician wisdom important also
• Never underestimate victim’s perceptions (Weisz, 2000; Gondolf, 2002) but often minimize victimization – therefore victim assessment of risk not enough if low
Women’s Statements After Risk Assessment Process (NIJ RAVE study)

• “I never knew – this makes me much more resolved to not go back”
• “I’m gonna’ go get that permanent thing (PO) – I wasn’t gonna’ go through the hassle before but now I surely will”
• “Damn.... He is really dangerous, isn’t he? I keep foolin’ myself about that – now I know I gotta do something”
• “I knew he was scary but no one believed me – I’m going to keep pushing now”
Interviewer/Advocate Perspective

• “Several women said that the interview really opened up their eyes and helped them to see the severity of their situation. Most were glad to have had the opportunity to let their voices be heard. The last woman that I interviewed in court showed great gratitude because she believed that God sent me to her. Doing research turned out to be a rewarding experience after all.”

Hillary Hawkins, Research Assistant, Safe Horizon, RAVE study 10/03
Implications for Policy & Safety Planning

– Clinical assessment (psychiatry, psychology) needs specific DV training
– Batterer intervention - she needs to stay gone until he completes & his attendance monitored
– Employment issues – especially for African American men
– Protective order for stalking - or use stalking laws
– Issues with various “risk” lists included in safety planning
Implications for Policy & Safety Planning

- Engage women’s mothering concerns & skills (Henderson & Erikson ’97 ‘93; Humphreys ‘93; Sullivan et. al.’00)
- If she says she’s going to leave, cannot leave face to face
- Importance of forced sex & stepchild variables – not on most risk assessment instruments
- Make sure she knows entire range of shelter services
- Be alert for depressed/suicidal batterer
- Batterer intervention programs working with partners
Gun Issues

– Get the gun(s) out!!! Implementation of Brady Bill – judges need to order removal of all guns – specify in search warrants & PO’s – MD study showed issue was in implementation – police did not feel empowered to check about guns

– Oklahoma law – No possession with protective order (but not TPO – about ½ states)

– PO information is entered into federal data base as are convictions for DV misdemeanors & felonies – prohibits purchase ONLY – (& only at licensed dealer, not gun shows)

– Does not prohibit possession – no disarming; no removal (about 10 states) but judges can still order removal –
Future Directions

• “Danger Assessment is a Process not a Product” (B. Hart)
• Field developing rapidly – watch literature
• Differentiating lethality & reoffending risk - different batterer typologies may explain differences (Holtzworth-Munroe)
• Strategies for working with victims important – to increase their realistic appraisal and to determine risk factors not available from criminal record checks or from perpetrators never previously arrested – e.g. as part of batterer intervention programs
• Assessing safety – protective strategies as well as danger – implications for interventions
• Two parallel processes – brief reoffending risk assessment for criminal justice cases?; danger (lethality) – longer process with victim for safety planning
MISSED OPPORTUNITIES: ATTEMPTED & ACTUAL VICTIMS SEEN IN SYSTEM ONE YEAR PRIOR TO INCIDENT

• 47% went to a medical care provider for physical/injuries
  – 35% of them went to ED
• 25% went to mental health professional
• Called police - 29% overall - 38% of abused
• Called or went to a shelter - 4% overall
• Alcohol or Drug Treatment - 7% overall
  – 24% of alcohol abuse had alcohol treatment
  – 18% of those with drug abuse problems had drug treatment
ATTEMPTED & ACTUAL VICTIMS SEEN IN SYSTEM

- Called Police
- Called/Stayed Shelter
- Physical health
- Mental health
- Drug/Alc Tx

- Abuse
- No Abuse
MISSED OPPORTUNITIES:
ACTUAL & ATTEMPTED PERPETRATORS

Characteristics of Perpetrators:

• More abusive perpetrators described with poor mental health
  • Abusive = 38%
  • Non Abusive = 30%
  – However, significantly more non-abusive perpetrators saw MH professionals (p=0.001)
    • Abusive = 15%
    • Non Abusive = 37%
MISSED OPPORTUNITIES: PERPETRATORS

- Alc. Ab.
- Drug Use
- Alc/Drug Tx
- Prior Arrest
- Child Ab.
- Physical/mental care

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Abusive</th>
<th>Non Abusive</th>
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<tr>
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<tr>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Physical/mental care</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
MISSED OPPORTUNITIES: PREVENTION - 83% of Cases

VICTIMS
• Police Contacts - 66% of stalked & battered women
• Any Medical Visit - 56% (27% ED visits only)
• Shelter Contacts - 4% of battered women
• Substance abuse Tx – 6%

PERPETRATORS
• Prior Arrest - 56% of batterers (32% of non)
• Mental Health System - 12%
• Substance Abuse Tx - 6%
• Child Abuse - 11% of batterers; 6% of non
“He Killed my Mommy” Children in Cases of Actual & Attempted Femicide

Journal of Family Violence 6/04
ACTUAL FEMICIDE
(N = 172; 59% WITH CHILDREN)

Victims w/ children in household:

- Age: 16-50 M = 31
- Ethnicity: 7% Other
  27% Anglo; 28% Hispanic
  38% African American
- Income: 43% <$10K
  31% 10-25K
  26% >$25K
- Education: 67% HS or >
- 71% Employed

Children exposed to incident:

- 32% Witnessed
- 43% Found Mother
- Received Counseling
  60% - all children
  56% - of children who witnessed
  57% - of children who found the body
ATTEMPTED FEMICIDES  
(N = 104; 74% WITH CHILDREN)

Victims w/ children in household:
- Age: 17-51 M = 32
- Ethnicity: 4% Other
  13% Anglo; 24% Hispanic
  59% African American
- Income: 49% <$10K
  40% 10-25K
  11% >$25K
- Education: 61% HS or >
- 62% Employed

Children exposed to incident:
- 58% Witnessed
- 37% Found Victims
- Received Counseling
  28% - of all children
  40% - of children who witnessed
  54% - of children who found the body
ABUSE BEFORE HOMICIDAL EVENT IN HOUSEHOLD WITH CHILDREN

**FEMICIDE**
- 71% mother abused
- 35% threats to all
- 22% threats to take the children if she left
- 20% threats to harm the children if she left
- 8% father reported for child abuse

**ATTEMPTED**
- 76% mother abused
- 34% threats to all
- 27% threats to take children if mother left
- 13% threats to harm children if mother left
- 8% father reported for child abuse
DISRUPTION OF CHILDREN AFTER HOMICIDAL EVENT

- Moved from home: 86% Femicide, 25% Attempted
- To mother’s kin: 40% Femicide, 16% Attempted
- To father’s kin: 12% Femicide, 6% Attempted
- Split between mother’s and father’s kin: 5% Femicide, 0% Attempted
- With others (e.g. foster home): 14% Femicide, 2% Attempted
SERVICES FOR CHILDREN WITNESSING INTIMATE PARTNER HOMICIDE

- Vary city to city
- Private - Victim Assistance Funds
- Public - Specialized City Agency
- Services offered but no follow-up
- Coordination with school fragmented
- Custody issues
- *Nothing* systematic for attempted homicides
Femicide – Suicide Cases – Children lose both parents

- Femicide (n=210)
- Femicide-Suicide (n=100)

32% vs. 68%
OTHER IMPORTANT CHILD RELATED FINDINGS FROM FEMICIDE STUDY

• Stepchild in home increasing risk of femicide by OR 3.6 in multivariate analysis
• Importance of battered women as mothers in safety planning
• Abuse during pregnancy increasing risk of femicide in bivariate analysis – implications for Healthy Start, home visitation
• Threats to children an extremely important risk factor for femicide
Children of Femicide in Oklahoma

• Based on 2001 figures – somewhere around 60-70 children in homes where an intimate partner femicide

• Somewhere around 250 children in homes where an intimate partner attempted femicide

• Those children could be identified & services offered without busting the budget!
Partner Alcohol Use Among Homicide And Attempted Homicide Perpetrators/Partners (N=456) Compared To Abused Controls (N=427) And Non-Abused Controls (N=418) * <.05 ** <.001

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>HOMI/ATT Perpetrators N=456+-48 †</th>
<th>ABUSED CONTROLS N=427</th>
<th>NON_ABUSED CONTROLS N=418</th>
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<tr>
<td>Drunk every day** †</td>
<td>35.1</td>
<td>11.6</td>
<td>1.2</td>
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<tr>
<td>Alc/prob drinker**</td>
<td>49.2</td>
<td>31.1</td>
<td>6.2</td>
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<tr>
<td>Treatment</td>
<td>13.5</td>
<td>18.1</td>
<td>19.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Frequency ** †</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>&lt;=1 / week</td>
<td>40.3</td>
<td>54.5</td>
<td>68.0</td>
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<tr>
<td>2-3 times/week</td>
<td>12.1</td>
<td>18.9</td>
<td>18.8</td>
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<tr>
<td>&gt;= 4 / week</td>
<td>47.6</td>
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<tr>
<td>Severity* †</td>
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<tr>
<td>1-2 drinks/episode</td>
<td>24.4</td>
<td>35.1</td>
<td>65.8</td>
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<tr>
<td>3-4 drinks/episode</td>
<td>17.1</td>
<td>27.2</td>
<td>25.5</td>
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<tr>
<td>5-6 drinks/episode</td>
<td>24.8</td>
<td>18.2</td>
<td>4.8</td>
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<tr>
<td>7 or more/episode</td>
<td>33.7</td>
<td>19.5</td>
<td>3.9</td>
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† Drunk every or almost everyday  plus AUDIT for alcohol use
Victim Alcohol Use Of Homicide And Attempted Homicide Victims (N=456) Compared To Abused Controls (N=427) And Non-Abused Controls (N=418) *<.05 **<.001

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<td>%</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>%</td>
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<tr>
<td>Alc/prob drinker*</td>
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<td>7.0</td>
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<tr>
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<td>57.1</td>
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<tr>
<td>Frequency †</td>
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<tr>
<td>&lt;=1 / week</td>
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<td>78.1</td>
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<td>&gt;= 4 / week</td>
<td>8.7</td>
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<td>Severity** †</td>
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<tr>
<td>1-2 drinks/episode</td>
<td>64.6</td>
<td>61.4</td>
<td>77.7</td>
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<td>3-4 drinks/episode</td>
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<td>7.9</td>
<td>3.8</td>
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<tr>
<td>7 or more/episode</td>
<td>3.7</td>
<td>2.9</td>
<td>.3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

† Drunk every or almost everyday plus AUDIT for Alcohol Abuse

All comparisons also significantly different between perpetrator and victim - abused & femicides
Summary Victim & Perpetrator Alcohol Use

- Problem Drinker
- >4 per wk
- 7+/episode 5-7 for women

Legend:
- Femicide Victim
- Fem. Perpetrator
- Abuse Victim
- Abuse Perpetrator
- Non abused
- Non abused partner
Logistic Regression (controlling for demographic differences)

- Perpetrator problem drinking increased risk of IPV (OR = 6.6 p = .001) & femicide/attempted femicide (OR = 2.01, p = .014)
- Both frequency of drinking & drinking >5 drinks per episode increased risk of abuse (OR=3.08 p = .001; 3.53 p = .004).
- Perpetrator problem drinking & frequency (not binge) increased risk for femicide/attempted femicide (OR = 2.01, p = .004 & OR = 2.08, p = .039) vs. Abused Controls
- Adjusted relative risk - controlling for demographics - all victim associations disappear
### Drug Use Of Homicide And Attempted Homicide Victims and Partners (N=456) Compared To Abused Controls (N=427) And Non-Abused Controls (N=418) *<.05 **<.001

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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>%</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>%</td>
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<tr>
<td>Victim Drug use**</td>
<td>18.4</td>
<td>13.4</td>
<td>6.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Treatment*†</td>
<td>20.6</td>
<td>3.5</td>
<td>14.3</td>
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<tr>
<td>Partner Drug Use**</td>
<td>54.2</td>
<td>25.0</td>
<td>4.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Treatment</td>
<td>11.3</td>
<td>12.4</td>
<td>21.4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

† 4 of 28 non-abused controls and 2 of 57 abused controls received treatment
Also significantly different between victim and perpetrator - abused & homicides/attempted
Victim and Partner Use of Alcohol or Drugs at Time of Homicide or Attempted Homicide Incident (N=456) Compared to Time of Worst Incident for Abused Controls (N=427) *<.05 **<.001

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>N=456</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Victim Use of</strong></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alcohol</td>
<td>14.6</td>
<td>8.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Drugs</td>
<td>3.3</td>
<td>1.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Both</td>
<td>4.7</td>
<td>.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>None</td>
<td>77.4</td>
<td>88.5</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Partner Use of</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>Alcohol</td>
<td>31.3</td>
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<tr>
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<td>5.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>None</td>
<td>29.9</td>
<td>65.8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Also significantly different between victim and partner
Use of Alcohol &/or Drugs - Time of (n=456)
Homicide/Attempt or Worst Abuse (n=427)
BATTERER TYPOLOGIES

DOMESTIC VIOLENCE BATTERER TYPOLOGY

ANTISOCIAL TYPE BATTERER
INCREASING VIOLENCE
SEVERELY TRAUMATIZED VICTIM
VIOLENCE IN OTHER CONTEXTS

“ORDINARY BATTERER”
INTERMITTENT VIOLENCE
VICTIM “FIGHTS BACK”
LITTLE VIOLENCE OUTSIDE

DEPENDENT BATTERER
LITTLE PHYSICAL ABUSE
VARIATES OVER TIME
SEPARATION
RAGE/ TERROR
BATTERER TYPOLOGY RESEARCH

- Faulk, 1974; Elbow, 1977
- Fagan, Stewart & Hansen, 1983
- Shields, Hanneke, 1983, 1988
- Hamberger & Hastings, 1985, 1986
- Gondolf, 1988
- Flournoy & Wilson, 1991
- Saunders, 1992
- Stith, Jester & Bird, 1992
- Holtzworth-Munro...Stuart ’94; ’00; ‘02
- Johnson ’95; ’00
- Jacobson & Gottman ’95, ‘98
ANTISOCIAL BATTERER  
(15-25% -- HOLTZWORTH-MUNROE)

- Escalating & severe physical, sexual & emotional partner violence – 7% (n = 1) – desisted; 88% of relationship dissolution
- Little remorse; blame others; refuse responsibility
- Power and control tactics obvious and severe
- From Jacobson – sexual violence more frequent & severe
- Less amenable to treatment
- Dismissing attachment
- Deviant peers
ANTISOCIAL BATTERER

• Impulsive; few controls
• Substance abusers
• Arrest records – 40% jailed in follow-up period
• Hx of violence in intimate relationships & outside
• Attitudes supportive of violence & hostile toward women (not necessarily sexist in traditional sense – rather can’t trust women etc.)
• Abused as child
• Probably a subgroup of psychopaths
“FAMILY ONLY” “COMMON COUPLE VIOLENCE”
“ORDINARY BATTERER” (37-70%?) – may be 2 types – low level antisocial & family only (Holtzworth-Munroe ’02)

- Arrest & intervention less likely - good candidate for intervention
- Least severe, least sexual and emotional abuse
- Least child abuse
- More middle class
- Least abuse child
- If woman violent -self-defense
- Most liberal attitudes toward women
- If Low Level & Family Only 2 distinct types –
Family Only may occur only once – but neither group became more violent over time – 40% desisted (23% LLA)
DYSPHORIC-BORDERLINE
(15-25% - HOLTZWORTH-MUNROE, 1994)

• Moderate amount of violence – 14% desisted
• Dependent on relationship
• Volatile
• Dangerous when she leaves or perceives rejection
• Sometimes substance abuse
• Depressed/ threatens suicide
• Child abuse? -- Incest?
• Preoccupied attachment
• More stalking?
• Potential for homicide-suicide
ABUSIVE PERSONALITY
(DUTTON, 1988, 1994, 1995 etc. vs. Gondolf ‘99)

• Borderline personality organization
• Angry attachment
• Rejection by father (especially) and by mother
• Child abuse
• Verbal and physical abuse by parents (especially father)
MUTUAL VIOLENCE
(7% OF DV & INCREASING?)

• Both parents violent toward each other
• Both parents witness violence as children
• Mother as likely (or more so) to abuse child as father
• Association with poverty
• Either one may kill the other
Policy/Practice/Research Implications

• Need for substance abuse Tx in abusive men – concurrent with batterer intervention? Combination programs? New models needed with rigorous evaluations

• Need for collaborations btw. researchers & clinicians in substance abuse, health, criminal justice and advocacy – for advances in risk assessment – research and policy

• Deadly mix of guns, substances & IPV – need for implementation of “Brady Bill” & gun removal from DV offenders
How to get the latest info

- [www.son.jhmi.edu](http://www.son.jhmi.edu)
- Click on Center for Nursing Research (CNR)
- Go to funded research
- Go to homicide study
- Click on Danger Assessment
Never forget who it’s for -

“please don’t let her death be for nothing – please get her story told”

(one of the Moms)