Intimate Partner Homicide & Intimate Partner Violence: Evidence from the Murder in Britain Study

Rebecca Emerson Dobash
Russell Dobash

Professors Emeritus, Criminology, School of Law
University of Manchester, UK

Toronto, Canada
March, 2011
Intimate Partner Homicide
OVERVIEW

Murder – International Comparisons
Trends & Patterns inIPHomicide
Explanations - IP Violence & Homicide
Murder in Britain Study
Comparisons of:
  Intimate Partner Murder (IPM) & Male-Male Murder (MM)
  IPMurder (IPM) & Non-lethal violence against women
  Two Studies Compared - Murder in Britain Study  * Violent Men Study

Findings – Some Risk Factors
Comparison of two groups of IPMurderers
  IPM - With convictions & With no convictions

Implications for Intervention

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HOMICIDE

Worldwide Patterns

... Trends & Patterns

... Some Explanations
## International Rates of Homicide – 2006

Rates per 100,000

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Rate</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Colombia</td>
<td>61.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>El Salvador</td>
<td>56.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South Africa</td>
<td>39.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Russia</td>
<td>26.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>USA</td>
<td>5.9 (10.1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Switzerland</td>
<td>2.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Finland</td>
<td>2.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scotland</td>
<td>2.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N. Ireland</td>
<td>2.4 (6.0)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>France</td>
<td>1.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>England/Wales</td>
<td>1.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Canada</td>
<td>1.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Italy</td>
<td>1.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sweden</td>
<td>1.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spain</td>
<td>1.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ireland</td>
<td>0.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Japan</td>
<td>0.5</td>
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</tbody>
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Intimate Partner Homicide - Trends
Rates per one million

CANADA (1974 - 2000)
Intimate Partner Homicide= 2,600 (three quarters of victims were women)

Rates of Homicide (per million married couples – all Canada)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Women</th>
<th></th>
<th>Men</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1974</td>
<td>16.9</td>
<td></td>
<td>4.4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2000</td>
<td>11.1</td>
<td></td>
<td>3.4</td>
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Highest Rates (yr 2000)

Provinces –

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<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Women</th>
<th></th>
<th>Men</th>
<th></th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Manitoba</td>
<td>16.1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saskatchewan</td>
<td>7.1</td>
<td></td>
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Territories – Women only

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Northwest Territories</td>
<td>77.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yukon</td>
<td>47.3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Trends:
Canada – decreasing rates in spousal homicides & other types of intimate relationships
USA – decreasing rates over last 30 years of intimate partner homicides:
(9% White Females, 49% African American Females, 56% White Males, 81% Black Males)

Why the decrease???
Patterns in Intimate Partner Homicide

When women are killed & When men are killed
(very different contexts but both usually preceded by men’s violence)
-women usually kill in response to men’s violence
-men usually kill in context of attack on woman

Of all Homicides of Women (percent killed by an intimate partner)
- UK 40% - 50%
- US 30% - 50%
- Canada 55% (yr. 2000)

Of all Homicides of men (percent killed by an intimate partner)
- UK & US 5% - 6%

Others at risk of collateral homicide related to intimate partner conflict
- Children, Protectors, New Partners & Others
- Mass murders (2+ victims) most are family murders
- Mass murders – workplace, public location, officials
Some Explanations of Violence Against Women

1970/80s:

**Psychiatrists** –
- ‘the victims [women] in spouse assaults can always be assumed to have played a crucial role in the offense’ ‘[violence] brought about or precipitated their victimization’
- Murder is the result of: ‘frigid, masochistic’ ‘controlling and castrating behavior’
  ‘querulous & demanding wife’ – her ‘precipitating act’

**Social Scientists** -
- Murder can hardly be considered a serious problem but a domestic crime in which men kill their wives, mistresses and children’ (prominent UK Criminologists)
- Murder – in vast majority of research and commentary considered to be a shared moral, social, interactional agenda where victim & offender ‘agreed violence’ was necessary – ‘victim precipitation’ ‘provocation’ fundamental

1990s:

**Prison Psychiatrist**
- (man murdered his wife) ‘I found him to display the consequences of the rage of a continuously castrated man.’ ‘she was going to torment, aggress and finally destroy him’
- ‘essentially …he finally killed a woman who was the ‘archetypal witch’.

2003: **Ministry of Justice Canada**
‘Since most IP homicides are … crimes of passion… crime control strategies (e.g. prison) have little or no deterrent effect . . . Perpetrators rarely consider the consequences’.
Violence Against Women in Intimate Relationships (Explanations)

**Socio-demographic**
- (age, gender, sex, disadvantage, education, employment)

**Socio-cultural**
- (subcultures, cultural, male honour, masculinity)

**Feminist – Gender based violence**
- (gender, power, domination, jealousy, possessiveness)

**Contextual/Situational Factors & Processes**
- (sites of conflict, victim/offender interaction, high risk locations)

**Cognition – thinking, emotions and action**

**Psychological Traits/attributes**
- (psychopathy, personality, Life course, early onset)

**Evolved Psychology**
- (male proprietariness)

**Biology**
- (genes, hormones, testosterone, serotonin)
MURDER IN BRITAIN STUDY
Murder in Britain Study (funded by ESRC)

Objectives
- study all types of murder – comparative method
- create typology
- improve understanding of pathways to murder
- focus on contexts, situations and motivations

Three sources of Data
- Homicide Indexes (England/Wales and Scotland)
- 866 Case Files (786 men and 80 women convicted of murder)
- 200 Interviews (180 men and 20 women in prison for murder)
Homicide Index:
- All homicides 1980-2000
- England/Wales n=12,000 (27 variables)
- Scotland n=2,000 (19 variables)

Case Files: sample n=866 (786 men, 80 women) (425 variables)
- Sample of all murderers currently serving life in prison:
  - England/Wales (n=3,000) Scotland (n=500)

Depth Interviews: n=200

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Men</th>
<th>Women</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>England</td>
<td>143</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scotland</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>180</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

... Overall Total=200
Police Investigation
Trial Judge Summary
Forensic Report
Govs & Prison Officers  (Assessment, Life Plan, Conduct)
Probation  (Pre & post sentence, prison)
Psychiatric/ Medical  (Pre & post sentence, prison)
Psychologist
Parole Review
Offending Behaviour Programmes
Offender Accounts
Childhood Background
  Family - School - Social & Legal Services

Adult Life and Circumstances
  Relationships, Problems, Social & Legal Services

Murder Event
  Violence, Injuries, Circumstances, Situations, Perpetrator-Victim Relationship

Legal Process/Criminal Career
  Current Charges & Previous Convictions

Prison Life and Rehabilitation Programmes
  Adjustment, Education, Problems, Violence, Programmes
COMPARISON OF

INTIMATE PARTNER MURDER

&

MALE-MALE MURDER

...
Murder in Britain Study
male murders n=786

Murder

- MM, n=424
- IPM, n=106
- other, n=256
Childhood (before 16) Comparisons of IPMurder & MxM Murder

* Parent Broken Rel
** Father Alco
*3+ Carers
* In Care
*** Alco Abuse <16
*** Drug Abuse <16
* Early onset pre13
*** Sch Probs

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The Murder Event
Comparisons of IPMurder & MxM Murder

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Comparison of Intimate Partner Murder & Non-Lethal Assault
COMPARISON OF TWO STUDIES

Murder in Britain Study  
\( n = 106 \) men

compared to

Violent Men Study  - Evaluation of Criminal Justice Interventions
(funded by Home Office & Scottish Office)  
\( n = 122 \) men

In-depth Interviews with:
- 122 men convicted of offence involving non-lethal violence against an intimate partner
- 136 women partners of violent men
Lethal and Non-lethal Violence
Childhood & Adulthood

- Viol. Fa-Mo
- Alcohol Father
- Abused as Child
- Usually Unemp.
- Alcohol Abuse
- [ns] Conv.
- 6+
- Viol. Prev. Partner

IPMurder n=106
IPViolence n=122

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Lethal and Non-lethal Violence Context, Circumstances & Violent Event

- ***Serious Dating***
- ***Prev Viol. to Victim***
- ***Poss.***
- ***Sep/div***
- ***Drunk***
- ***Sex Attack***
- ***Strangle***
- ***Instru. Weapon***

IPMurder n=106
IPViolence n =122

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### Findings - Risk Factors

**Offender:**
- Unemployment
- Substance abuse
- Arrest/conviction
- Violent offending
- Problems with women
- Viol. to previous partner — —
  — — — — Specialises in VAW
- Previous violence to murder victim
- Suicide threats
- Continued harassment

**Relationship Situational & contextual factors:**
- Tenuous relationships (cohabiting, dating)
- Contested relationships
- Prolonged conflict
- Separation/ attempt to leave
- Possessiveness & jealousy
- Step-children
- Forced sex
- Strangle
- Use instruments/ ‘weapons’

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some IP murders appear to have more conventional backgrounds with few problems in childhood or adulthood and no convictions for crime.

?? Does IPMurder group contain two types of men??

Some with more conventional backgrounds and little or no CJS contact (perhaps undetected abusers - perhaps without previous abuse)

Some with more ‘criminogenic’ backgrounds, problems in childhood & adulthood, substance abuse, previous offending and violence against women and men

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COMPARISON OF INTIMATE PARTNER MURDERERS WITH

- PREVIOUS CONVICTIONS \( (N=79) \)

&

- NO PREVIOUS CONVICTIONS \( (N=25) \)

‘OUT OF THE BLUE’

...
---Differences between IPMurders---

**NoConvict group**
Childhood: *mainly conventional*
  few problems
Adulthood: *more conventional*
  Educ., no offending, employed, married

**PrevConvict group**
Childhood: *problematic*
  considerable adversity
Adulthood: *persistent offender*
  limited educ., alcohol abuse
  chronic offending, unemp., cohabiting, viol. in prev.relat.

---Similarities across both Groups---

**Circumstances:**
Ongoing dispute; Previous Violence to Victim; Jealousy/Possessiveness; Separation; Sexual Attack

**Orientations:**
Problems with women; Lack of Remorse for murder; Lack of Empathy for victim
SUMMARY – 3 COMPARISONS

IPM x Male-Male

IPM x non-lethal assault

IPMmurder (2 Types)

Men with & without previous convictions

- Conflicted relationships
- Orientations to women partners (possessive, controlling, jealous)
- Separation
- Specialize in violence to women
- Previous violence to victim
- Use violence with greater potential for lethality (strangle, use instrument)
- Problems with alcohol

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Differences in ‘problematic’ vs. ‘more conventional’ backgrounds pose problems for traditional risk assessment for those men who
- do not come to the attention of agencies because have no previous offending/convictions
- appear to have no previous violence to the victim
Thus, interventions should be aimed at a broad band of offenders within CJS
and also attempt to: …‘capture’ those who do not come to attention of CJS

Similarities in attitudes & orientations toward women partners suggest relevance of gender based cognitive-behavioural programmes for offenders to deal both with the violence and with supporting attitudes toward women and relationships


