

Assessing and Responding to Men who Pose High Risk to their Intimate Partners

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Risk Assessment Specific to Abuser Intervention Programs

- Unique experience of BIPs
- Prolonged contact with abusers
- More frequent contact with abusers
- Unique information based on our observations of them over time as they undergo changes in relationship status, contact with children, etc.

Risk Assessment/Management Protocol in Massachusetts

Batterer Intervention Risk Assessment and Management (BIRAM)

- Developed by David Adams, Emerge, Doug Gaudette, former Director of the Family Safety project, Bob Haynor and Vera Mouradian, Massachusetts Department of Public Health
- Was piloted by all 20 IPAEPs in MA

BIRAM

Consists of:

- 1) Risk Assessment Instrument
- 2) Risk Management Strategies Worksheet
- 3) Risk Management Strategies Inventory
- 4) Risk Management Record

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BIRAM

Risk Assessment Instrument:

43 Questions designed to be answered at least three intervals during BIP program participation

- 1) At program intake (38 questions)
- 2) Between sessions 5-10 (40 questions)
- 3) Between sessions 15-25 (40 questions)

BIRAM

Risk Assessment Instrument:

Questions include known risk factors for lethality as well as for serious re-assaults during BIP Program Participation

Examples of ongoing assessment questions:

- He continues to blame his partner for his violence
- He continues to express anger for partner
- He expresses anger toward partner/others for restricting his contact with children

BIRAM

Risk Assessment Instrument:

Examples of ongoing assessment questions:

- His misuse of alcohol has increased since the last BIRAM assessment?
- His misuse of prescription drugs or use of illegal drugs has increased since last BIRAM assessment?
- He has gotten drunk at least once since the last BIRAM assessment?

BIRAM

Risk Assessment Instrument:

Examples of ongoing assessment questions:

- He does not accept that his partner has ended the relationship?
- He does not accept if his partner should wish to end the relationship?
- He continues to monitor his partner?
- He continues to express jealous beliefs about his partner?

BIRAM

Risk Management Strategies Inventory:

Describes 13 high risk scenarios, and provides strategies for addressing them:

- He is extremely jealous
- He refuses to accept the end of the relationship
- He is depressed and potentially suicidal
- He is extremely hostile
- He abuses alcohol/drugs
- He has a mental health problem

Who Do Killers Target?

Massachusetts Intimate Partner Homicides 2005-2007

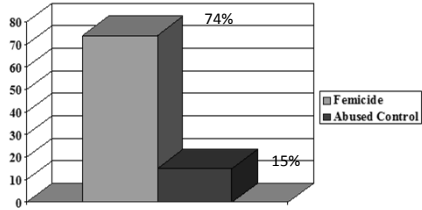
105 Deaths (75 incidents)

- 53 adult women
- 23 adult men
- 9 children
- 20 suicides
105 total

Risk factors for homicide and serious abuse

- A. Past threats to kill
- B. Past threats of suicide
- C. Access to a gun
- D. History of serious domestic violence
- E. Sexual Violence
- F. Stalking
- G. Substance Abuse
- H. Estrangement
- I. Strangulation

A. Prior threats to kill



Source: J. Campbell, NIJ VAWA R01 DA/AA156

Multiple threats to kill

In Emerge study of 20 attempted homicides:

- 19 victims said perpetrator had made at least one prior threat to kill
- 18 reported more than one threat
- 10 said monthly or more
- 5 said weekly or more
- 2 said daily threats

Source: D. Adams, Emerge

Examples of threats prior to homicide attempts

- To maim her, to kill daughter, to make her watch him raping new partner
- To kill her with ax he kept under the bed
- To make her watch as he killed her parents
- To shoot her in head and cut her to pieces
- To chop fingers and then arms off
- To have his daughter kill her

Source: D. Adams, Emerge

Threats

Threats serve two purposes for the serious abuser:

- 1) To intimidate and deter partner
- 2) To 'test the waters', psych himself up to carry out threats

Quote from one killer:

"The more I said it, the more real it became that I could actually do it"

Threats

- Never ask as a yes/no question
- Ask:
 - How many threats have been made?
 - When, including the most recent?
 - What were the exact words and actions?
 - Have the threats escalated or changed?

B. Suicide

30% of femicides are murder/suicides

Source: National Institute of Justice Journal, Intimate Partner Homicide,
Issue # 250, November 2003

IP Murder Suicides Unique Factors

Prior Threats of Suicide

| | |
|-----------------------------|-----|
| Murder/Suicide Perpetrators | 50% |
| Murder Only | 14% |

Source: Koziel-McLain, et al, 2006

IP Murder Suicides Unique Factors

Older than Murder Only Perpetrators

| | |
|--|-----|
| Murder/Suicide Perpetrators over age 50: | 11% |
| Murder Only Perpetrators over age 50: | 7% |

Age Difference with Victims

Murder/Suicide Perpetrators 6 years older, on average
More likely than Murderers to be significantly older or younger

Source: Koziel-McLain, et al, 2006

IP Murder Suicides Unique Factors

Perpetrator More Likely Married to Victim

| | |
|-----------------------------|-----|
| Murder/Suicide Perpetrators | 51% |
| Murder Only | 33% |
| Abused Control Group | 29% |

Couple Has Children

Just as likely to have children
More likely to be living with biological children
More likely to be living with step-children

| | |
|----------------------|-----|
| Murder/Suicide | 45% |
| Abused Control Group | 17% |

Source: Koziel-McLain, et al, 2006

**IP Murder-Suicides
Unique Factors**

Estranged from Partners

Estranged in past year:

Murder Suicides 39%

Abused Control Group 12%

Source: Koziol-McLain, 2006

**IP Murder Suicides
Unique Factors**

Perpetrator's Substance Abuse

Alcohol

Murder/Suicide Perpetrators 52%

Murder Only 33%

Abused Control Group 32%

Perpetrator's Illicit Drug Use

Murder/Suicide Perpetrators 50%

Murder Only 50%

Abused Control Group 31%

Source: Koziol-McLain, et al, 2006

**IP Murder Suicides
Unique Factors**

Use of Gun to Kill

Murder/Suicide Perpetrators 61%

Murder Only 28%

Source: Koziol-McLain, et al, 2006

19 of 20 murder/suicides in Arizona involved guns

Source: Arizona Coalition Against Domestic Violence, 2002

Gun Availability in Home

Killers (including murder/suicide) 52%

Abused Control Group 16%

Source: Koziol-McLain, et al, 2006

IP Murder Suicides Unique Factors

History of Depression

Murder/Suicide Perpetrators 75%
Murder Only 0%

Source: Rosenbaum, 1990

Poor Mental Health

Murder/Suicide Perpetrators 38%
Murder Only 28%

Source: Koziel-McLean, et al, 2006

IP Murder Suicides Unique Factors

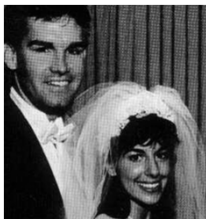
Perpetrator Traits:

Possessive Jealousy and Abusive Control
Depression/other mental illness
Substance abuse

Situational Factors:

Estrangement
Isolation
Unemployment
Despondency/Sense of Failure

Chuck Stuart and Carol Dimaiti



Chuck Stuart

No known history of domestic violence

No known history of depression/suicidality

Suicide was one month after homicide

Chuck fit profile of Materially Motivated killer;
motive was to destroy wife so he could start new
life with someone else

Henry and Karen Trudeau



Henry Trudeau

Prior history of domestic violence and threats

Prior history of depression, suicide attempts

Prior history of alcohol abuse

Situational Factors:

Karen had obtained Protective Order, filed for divorce

Henry was obsessively stalking Karen

Henry was subject to civil commitment for alcohol

**Michael (69) and Joyce Khoury (66)
Spencer**



**Michael (69) and Joyce Khoury (66)
Spencer**



Picaro, 22 years old

Perpetrators of Familicide

Some engage in Righteous Slaughter (Jack Katz)
Self righteous act associated with defense of communal values
last stand in defense of his basic worth
Humiliation from loss of status and respectability, leading to
rage
Wish to obliterate the source of humiliation
Also reflects paternalistic wish to 'protect' partner children
from 'evil' or projected humiliation/loss

**Weapon Use in Femicides since 2000,
(Nationally)**

- 52 % Shooting*
 - 22 % Stabbing
 - 13% Bodily Force
 - 7 % Blunt Object
 - 6% Other
- * 69% of shootings are with handgun

**Weapons used in intimate partner homicides
2007-2011 (Massachusetts)**

Among all adults Method

- 35% shooting
- 36% stabbing
- 13 % strangulation
- 14% blunt object
- 1% use of car
- 1% fire
- 2% arson/bomb

Source: Adams, 2012

**Gun Ownership in USA Compared to
Other Nations**

| <u>Nation</u> | <u>Guns per 100 residents</u> |
|-------------------|-------------------------------|
| 1) USA | 90 |
| 2) Yemen | 61 |
| 3) Switzerland | 46 |
| 4) Iraq | 39 |
| 5) Serbia | 37.5 |
| 17) Australia | 15.5 |
| 25) Russia | 11 |
| 28) Columbia | 7.2 |
| 29) Great Britain | 5.6 |

Perpetrator Access to Gun

Femicides **65%**
Abused Controls **24%**

Source: J. Campbell, NIJ VAWA R01 DA/AA156

Study of killers at Emerge

In-depth interviews with 31 men who killed partners
(recruited in MA prisons)

In-depth interviews with 20 victims of attempted homicide
(recruited from prosecutor case files)

Choice of Weapon Emerge study of 31 killers

14 Shooters:

11 of these (78%) said they wouldn't have used
another weapon

Shooters' reasons for not using other weapons

"I was intoxicated... didn't have the strength to stab or choke her"

"It happened so fast...I would have come to in the time it took to take out a knife"

"A gun depersonalizes... I wouldn't have gone through with it if I had time to think about it"

"I hate knives. I've been stabbed"

Source: D. Adams, Emerge

**How guns are obtained:
14 shooters**

- 7 had legal possession of gun
- 4 had illegally purchased gun
- 3 had failed to surrender gun

Source: D. Adams, Emerge

Multiple victims

- Murderers using guns are more likely to have multiple victims

Stabbers' choice of weapon

- 4 of the 6 stabbers said they would have used gun if available
- 2 said they would not have used gun since it would have made too much noise

Source: D. Adams, Emerge

Stranglers' choice of weapon

- Only 1 of the 8 stranglers said he would have used a gun.
- This man said:
"If I'd had a gun, I would have used it earlier; that's why I didn't keep one in the house"

Source: D. Adams, Emerge

D. Past Serious Violence: Victims of Attempted Murder

- 90% had been punched in face or stomach
- 63% had been choked or gagged
- 31% had gun used against them
- 26% said they'd been knocked out
- 26% had been hit by car or pushed out of car
- 15% had been stabbed

Source: D. Adams, Emerge

Past Violence/Threats

When inquiring about past violence, ask about:

- Injuries?
- Use of weapons?
- Escalation?
- Context (estrangement?, substance use?, jealousy?, depression?)

Prior arrest for domestic violence

| | |
|------------------------|------------|
| Femicides | 26% |
| Abused Controls | 14% |

Source: J. Campbell, NIJ VAWA R01 DA/AA156

Prior Arrests

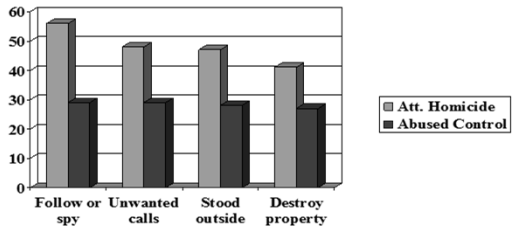
- Never assume that there's no history of violence just because there have been no prior arrests
- Some of the most dangerous situations have no prior police/court involvement

E. Prior Forced Sex

Femicides 46%
Abused Controls 15%

Source: J. Campbell, NIJ VAWA R01 DA/AA156

F. Stalking



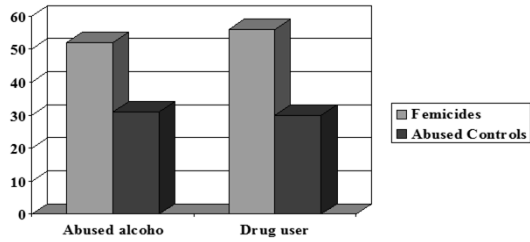
Source: J. Campbell, NIJ VAWA R01 DA/AA156

Extreme Jealousy

Femicides 39%
Abused Controls 17%

Source: J. Campbell, NIJ VAWA R01 DA/AA156

G. Perpetrators' Substance Abuse



Source: J. Campbell, NJ VAWA R01 DA/AA156

Substance Abuse

Don't ask about substance abuse as yes/no question.

Also ask.....

- What drugs are used?
- How often are drugs/alcohol used?
- Have there been any recent changes in use?

I. Prior Strangulation Attempt

| | |
|------------------------|------------|
| Femicides | 56% |
| Abused Controls | 10% |

Source: J. Campbell, NJ VAWA R01 DA/AA156

Extreme Dominance

- Usually consists of extreme possessive beliefs and actions
- Control and monitoring of victim's daily activities
- Statements that the relationship can't end or that the victim can't leave.
- Rigid 'right or wrong' thinking

Source: D. Adams, Emerge

Types of killers

- 1) Jealous
- 2) Substance Abusers
- 3) Depressed, Suicidal
- 4) Materially Motivated
- 5) Career Criminals

Source: David Adams, in Why Do They Kill? Men Who Kill Their Intimate Partners, Vanderbilt University Press, 2007

1) Jealous Type (65-90%)

Description:

Paranoid, obsessive
Can be controlled or impulsive
Often highly dependent on victim

Behavior:

Control over daily activities
Jealous questions and monitoring
Stalking
Lots of past threats and accusations

Source: D. Adams, Emerge

Jealous type

Common triggers:

- Estrangement
- Divorce
- Infidelity or suspected infidelity

Source: D. Adams, Emerge

Jealous type

Potential Deterrents:

- Mandated batterer intervention program
- Clerical intervention (for some)
- Screening for substance abuse
- Lack of access to victim following estrangement
- Strict monitoring

Source: D. Adams, Emerge

2) Substance Abuser (50-65%)

Description:

- Can be functioning or nonfunctioning
- Relationship revolves around drugs
- Emotionally unstable and grandiose

Behavior:

- Daily drug abuse or frequent bingeing
- Unstable employment and finances
- Criminal behavior
- Short courtships
- Violence is more severe
- High risk behavior

Short Courtships

Proportion of Killers and Attempted Killers with short courtships:

| | |
|--------------------|-----|
| Less than 6 months | 54% |
| Less than 3 months | 50% |
| Less than 2 months | 46% |
| Less than 1 month | 31% |
| One or two days | 12% |

Substance abusers were most likely to have short courtships and short relationships.

Substance Abuser

Common triggers:

- Conflicts over drug use and finances
- Infidelity or imagined infidelity
- General deterioration
- Pending criminal charges
- Complaints by victim
- Petty arguments

Source: D. Adams, Emerge

Substance Abuser

Potential Deterrents:

- Mandated substance abuse treatment/detox
- Mandated batterer intervention
- Removal of weapons
- Lack of access to victim

Source: D. Adams, Emerge

3) Depressed/Suicidal (20-40%)

Description:

- Depressed
- Highly dependent
- Emotionally unstable
- Older and more stable than other killers

Behavior:

- Suicide and homicide threats
- Frequent violence
- Isolation (of self and/or family)
- Substance abuse

Source: D. Adams, Emerge

Depressed/Suicidal

Common triggers:

- Estrangement
- Loss of job
- Loss of children
- Nothing to live for

Depressed/Suicidal

Potential Deterrents:

- Counseling for depression
- Monitoring of meds
- Batterer intervention program
- Screening for substance abuse

4) Materially-Motivated Type (20-25%)

Description:

- Obsessed with money and possessions
- Contempt for women
- Financially exploitative or possessive
- Some fit anti-social personality profile
- Exhibits less jealousy than normal

Behavior:

- Level of violence varies
- Frequent acts of vengeance, stealing
- Keeps secrets from victim

Source: D. Adams, Emerge

Materially-Motivated type

Common triggers:

- Financial loss or pending loss
- Criminal charges
- Being “bothered” by victim

Materially-Motivated type

Potential deterrents:

- Incarceration for domestic violence or other crimes
- Close monitoring
- Mandated batterer intervention program

5) Career Criminal (15-20%)

Description:

- Problems with authority
- Anti-social personality
- Exploitative in relationships
- Are criminal justice system savvy

Behavior:

- Supports self via crime
- Level of violence varies a great deal

Source: D. Adams, Emerge

Career Criminals

Common Triggers:

- Financial loss
- Victim fighting back or defying him
- Arrest or attempted arrest
- Incarceration
- Being “bothered” by victim

Career Criminals

Potential deterrents:

- Incarceration
- Arrest for other crimes
- Strict monitoring
- In-house treatment for domestic violence and substance abuse

Double and Triple Threats

- **Frequent overlap among killer types**
(most killers are more than one type)
- **Common overlaps include:**
 - Substance abuser and Jealous
 - Substance abuser and Materially-motivated
 - Career criminal and Materially-motivated
 - Depressed and Substance abuser
 - Depressed and Jealous

Source: D. Adams, Emerge

Jealous Substance Abusers

Interviewer: What would make you jealous?

James: To be honest, I'm not that jealous. I guess if I was drinking, that would make me more so. You know, the insecurity would kick in and then I'd be saying some real shit.

Interviewer: Are you saying that when you were drinking that you would think things that you'd normally not think?

James: You could say that. I'd be thinking a lot of things, yes. Sick shit.

Interviewer: Like what?

James: Like her (Corinne) and her father.

Interviewer: You mean, you'd be thinking Corinne was sexually involved with her father?

James: I might have accused her of that a couple times when I had alcohol in me.

Interviewer: Did you really believe that?

James: Nah! Not regularly, no. But again, if I'd been drinking, yes.

Source: D. Adams, Emerge

Jealous Substance Abusers

Lydia said: He seemed more paranoid. I think it was the drugs.

Interviewer: What do you mean by "paranoid"?

Lydia: He'd always be thinking people was out to get him. Towards the end, he'd be saying people was coming into the house to steal his money. He'd accuse me of crazy things.

Interviewer: Like what?

Lydia: Hiding things from him. He'd accuse me of taking his clothes if he couldn't find them.

Interviewer: Was his jealousy getting worse?

Lydia: Oh God, yes! It was always bad but when he'd be drinking, he'd think I had something going on with every person I met.

Source: D. Adams, Emerge

Celebrity Intimate Partner Killers

What type of killer?

- OJ Simpson (alleged killer)
- Scott Peterson
- Phil Spector
- Mark Hacking

Celebrity Intimate Partner Killers

What type of killer?

- OJ Simpson - Possessively Jealous
- Scott Peterson - Materially Motivated
- Phil Spector - Substance Abuser
- Mark Hacking - Materially Motivated

Significance of Killer Types

When doing danger assessment:

- Ask about relationship history, looking for abuser's longstanding grievances and past responses to victim resistance/defiance
- Ask abuser if he accepts separation and if he can recognize life beyond the relationship

When doing safety planning with victims:

- Anticipate perpetrator's actions in response to estrangement and other steps she's taking
- Look for patterns of escalation and deterioration on abuser's part

Fighting Terrorists

Better Intelligence = better prediction & prevention

What is his history of terror tactics?

What are his grievances?

How is the situation changing?

What are the differences?

Any abuser can kill,
But the odds are greater for some:

Most abusers accept separation and move on with their lives

Potentially lethal abusers:

Are more likely to have used extreme violence, eg.

Weapons, Strangulation

The multiplicity of factors increases the odds

Look for the recentness of tactics post or pending separation: increasing surveillance, jealous threats, increased alcohol, drug use, mounting depression

Why Do They Kill?

Men Who Murder Their Intimate Partners

David Adams, Ed.D.

Vanderbilt University Press

September, 2007

www.VanderbiltUniversityPress.com

