



'Family Violence is a Crime'

- In the Police campaign, reports of 'male assaults female' went up 44 percent; as many men were prosecuted in 1994 as were reported in 1993.
- Other family violence reports increased, but simultaneously other crimes such as robbery fell by 10 percent; Armed Offender Squad call outs fell for the first time in ten years.
- Women's Refuge case work increased 35 percent; men's non-violence groups grew 50 percent.
- Perceptions around family violence increased too, with unprompted awareness reached 91 percent a year after the campaign was launched.

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Focused on 'repeats'

- Police also had a strong focus on repeat victimisation people and places that were disproportionately affected by crime
- This approach worked well for crimes including burglary, alcohol-related harm and violence in public places. And family violence was described as the 'quintessential repeat victimisation crime'.
- The approach reduced family violence to some degree but it did not necessarily prevent family violence homicides.
 So what were we missing?

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Homicide Prevention

- In 1999, I got a call from a Detective Inspector. He was investigating a homicide in a provincial town. We discussed a few things that had bothered him.
 - How did a 10 year old girl predict what had happened, yet numerous agencies didn't pick up the danger signals? (He's killed Mum!)
 - And how did an inexperienced scene guard also know? (We knew this was going to happen.)
 - It got me thinking about what we were missing and the broader opportunity for 'Homicide Prevention'.

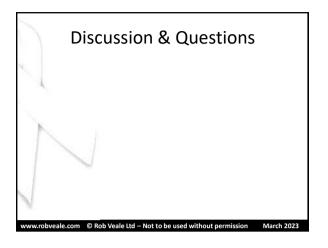
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Developments

- We developed '12 Red Flags'.
- We sought to improve initial attendance and documentation.
- Information sharing protocols and strengthened.
- And national standards were developed.



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Phrenology

The personality traits of a person can be derived from the shape of the skull. It was developed by German physician Franz Joseph Gall in 1796. The discipline was very popular in the 19th century and was influential in 19th-century psychiatry and modern neuroscience.

Phrenology, which focused on personality and character, was distinguished from craniometry, which is the study of skull size, weight and shape, and physiognomy, the study of facial features.



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A Natural Practice

Conventional wisdom suggests that we can not predict violence. But we do - everyday!

Great deal of debate - on both practical and ethical grounds.

Studies have examined intimate partner homicides attempting to identify the risk factors preceding lethal

Definitions

Risk assessment is defined as ...

"The formal application of instruments to assess the likelihood that intimate partner violence will be repeated and escalated. The term is synonymous with dangerousness assessment and encompasses lethality assessment, the use of instruments specifically developed to identify potentially lethal situations."

Roehl & Guertin, 2000, p.171

Gender Differences

Studies have identified apparently different risks for men and women.

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Women at greatest risk when they attempt to leave (or the perception of separation) or end the relationship. This risk is greatest within the first two months. Stalking is also a recognised risk factor.

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Gender Differences

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- Women at greatest risk when they attempt to leave (or the perception of separation) or end the relationship.
 This risk is greatest within the first two months. Stalking is also a recognised risk factor.
- Risk factors for women killing male partners frequency of violence incidents, severity of injuries, men's threats to kill, women's threats of suicide, man's drug use, intoxicated and forced sexual acts. (Browne, 1997)

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Developing 'Science'

Described as 'science in toddler-hood' – still a long way to go before we can predict cases that can end in fatality.

But a useful frame of reference – need to be clear about the risk we are screening for and the change in the intervention that will occur.

Must not be used to screen people out of services – but to identify when enhanced measures are required.

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Benefits

The benefits in using risk assessment have been identified ...

- To assist women and domestic violence workers develop more effective safety plans.
- To assist perpetrator programmes to select the amount and type of treatment.
- To assist the criminal justice system to identify which offenders need closer supervision.
- As a tool for education service providers about domestic
- By providing a shared language across a range of agencies.

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Challenges

Risk assessment presents challenges across four dimensions

- Victim comfort, safety, culture, experiences
- Staff training, sensitivity, manner, time
- Instrument validity and reliability
- Organisational level how information is interpreted and influenced by processes, systems and policies at an agency or inter-agency level

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Other 'Markers'

Risk factors across five dimensions

- Batterer history previous assaults, suicide attempts
- Batterer behaviour stalking, escalating violence
- Batterer personality jealous, possessive, entitlement
- Context separation, weapons, victim's suicide attempts
- Other elements identifying extreme danger sudden changes in behaviour, breaches of orders, violence outside the home.

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Predictive power

Predictive power of risk markers is very weak (Gondolf, 2002).

The most comprehensive effort to date is study on femicide by Campbell et al. 2003

Found strongest links with femicide to be abuser's unemployment, arrest as a protective factor, presence of children increased risk, separation, use of a gun and illicit drug use.

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Survivors' Predictions

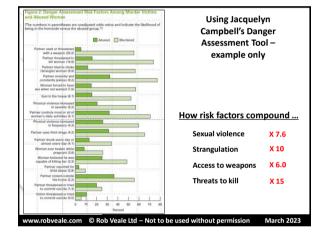
Advocates have stressed the importance of listening to women's assessments (Hart, 1994)

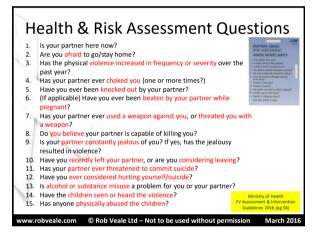
Women's perceptions of safety and the likelihood of reassault [emerged as the] most consistent and strongest risk marker

In fact, the women's predictions were as useful as all the batterer characteristics combined.' (Gondolf, 2002)

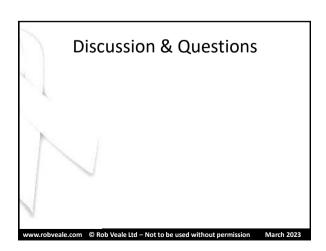
RA & Safety Planning

- Dr Jacquelyn Campbell described the importance of basing safety planning on a thorough assessment of the lethality surrounding each client's family violence.
- Her Danger Assessment is one of the most widely-used instruments developed for this purpose.





Police RA tools Three Questions (for adult victims) Provides the contextual background Adapted from Queensland Police initiative Twelve Red Flags Risk markers for dangerousness adapted from numerous international examples **Risk & Lethality Assessment Worksheet** Quantitative instrument Adapted from Napa Valley Probation Dept, California robveale.com © Rob Veale Ltd – Not to be used without permission March 2023



Professional Judgement Intersectional Analysis Information Sharing Evidenced Based Risk Factors Victim Survivor Self Assessment Www.robveale.com © Rob Veale Ltd – Not to be used without permission March 2023

Professional Judgement

This practice model of structured professional judgement (adapted from MARAM) enables professionals to assess information to determine the level or seriousness of risk.

Professionals are asked to bring their experience, skills and knowledge to the risk assessment process to make an assessment.



MARAM - The Family Violence Multi-Agency

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Risk assessment relies on you or another professional understanding:

- a victim-survivor's self-assessment of their level of risk, fear and safety, and
- identifying the evidence-based risk factors that are present.

You can gather information to inform this approach from a variety of sources, including:

- interviewing or 'assessing' the victim-survivor directly
- requesting or sharing, as authorised under applicable legislative information-sharing schemes, with other organisations about the risk factors present or other family violence risk-relevant information about a victim-survivor or perpetrator's circumstances.

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Professional Judgement

You should consider this information and apply your professional judgement to each of the elements.

This is the act of you analysing and interpreting information to determine the level of risk.

Risk assessment is a point-in-time assessment of the level of risk. Risk is dynamic and can change over time, which means that risk should be regularly reviewed, and any changes should inform future assessment.

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Professional Judgement

Your assessment of the level or seriousness of risk, as well as appropriate risk management approaches must be informed by an intersectional analysis.

You can also take into account relevant information about a victim-survivor or perpetrator's circumstances.





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Professional Judgement

Best-practice approaches to risk assessment with victim-survivors enables them to share their stories with you by you believing them about:

- · their experience of violence
- the relationship
- how this has impacted any children in the family (that is, understanding risk experienced by children as victimsurvivors)
- how they are survivors in their own right, which may also be informed by direct assessment (of children), and
- attitudes, beliefs and behaviours of the perpetrator.

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Professional Judgement

Evidence shows that adult victim-survivors are often good predictors of their own level of safety and risk and that this is the most accurate assessment of their level of risk.

By taking a person- or victim-centred approach to risk assessment and management and listening to and believing the victim-survivor you can recognise the victim-survivor as expert in their own safety, with intimate knowledge.

Reviewing Risk Markers

In this section we will review some common risk markers used to determine 'high risk' situations.

While there are many actual tools we could use, let's have a look at the ACT framework released in 2022 as a guide for our discussion.

In small groups, let's discuss the risk markers and prepare to share your thoughts about them with the wider group.



Risk Markers

Recent, pending or planned separation

Women are most at risk of being killed or seriously harmed during and/or immediately after separation.

The NSW Domestic Violence Death Review Team recorded that 65% of female victims killed by a former partner between 2000 and 2014 had ended their relationship within three months prior to the homicide.

Separation

- A well known trigger point for pushing controlling people to a tipping point.
- Controlling people always have the potential for separation in mind, it's their biggest fear and paranoia.
- Constant accusation of infidelity or disloyalty are a warning maker that a person is preoccupied with such thoughts. They are not broken but outraged by separation, not the loss of the person but the relationship.

Professor Jane Monckton-Smith

Separation

- Acknowledged as a 'high risk' period for women leaving a relationship.
- Sexual violence increases before the woman actually
- Separation is not necessarily the physical act of leaving but psychological separation – especially when the person starts a new relationship.
- It seems that it is not the loss of the person but the loss of the relationship and associated control that is key.

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Risk Markers

Assaulted while pregnant or with a new baby

Violence often begins when women are pregnant and where it was previously occurring, it often escalates in frequency and severity.

Family violence during pregnancy is regarded as a significant indicator of future harm to the woman and child victim.

This factor is associated with control and escalation of violence already occurring.

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Pregnancy

- Pregnancy is a possible trigger point when coercive control and violence becomes more visible. It's a method to trap and control their partner.
- Pregnant women are not only more physically vulnerable, they may be more financially and emotionally dependant.
- A woman's priorities may change, when medical professionals and families may become more influential.

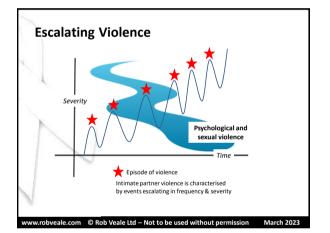
Professor Jane Monckton-Smith

Risk Markers

Escalation in severity and/or frequency

The escalation in frequency and severity of violence over time is linked to lethality and often occurs when there are shifts in other dynamic risk factors, such as the attempts by the victim to leave the relationship.

Dwyer and Miller (2014) found that police investigations and family, criminal or civil court proceedings can trigger an escalation in the aggressive and violent behaviour of the perpetrator and heighten risk to the partner and children. Transition points such as this should be treated with great caution.



Risk Markers

Strangulation and/or choking

Strangulation is one of the most lethal forms of intimate partner violence. The seriousness of strangulation as an indicator of future lethality is often misidentified, or not responded to proportionately, as a consequence of the often minimal visibility of physical injury. However, many victims suffer internal injuries which may result in subsequent serious or fatal harm

Most perpetrators do not strangle to kill but to show that they can kill. Non-lethal strangulation is a powerful method of exerting control over

Through credible threat of death, perpetrators coerce compliance.

Consent and Strangulation



The blanket assumption should never be that anyone suffering control would consent to potentially fatal practices, or that a fetish for strangulation is widespread in women.

There are reports that women, and especially young women are increasingly being pressured into strangulation by their partners.

Most report they are frightened by it and find it painful, not arousing.

Professor Jane Monckton-Smith
Pg 124, In Control Dangerous Relationships and How They End in Murder, 2021

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Risk Markers

Coercive control

Elliott (2017) found through a synthesis of key empirical research, that coercive control is a gendered pattern of abuse, and is the primary strategy used to coerce and exercise control over female survivors by a current or former male partner.

Understanding violence as coercive control, highlights that it is ongoing, cumulative, chronic and routine.

Coercive and controlling patterns of behaviours are particularly dangerous and can heighten the risk of lethality, in contexts where other high-risk factors are present, such as attempts by the victim to leave the relationship.

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Risk Markers

Coercive control continued ...

A perpetrator's obsessive and/or excessive behaviour when experiencing jealousy is often related to controlling behaviours founded in rigid beliefs about gender roles and ownership of victims and has been linked to violent attacks.

Coercive control can include isolating the victim from family and friends.

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Instilling fear

Chronic fear is built through experience. Victims learn what provokes the controlling person, and how they respond. Controlling people will instill in their victims, the price of their resistance.

Professor Evan Stark Coercive Control How Men Entrap Women in Personal Life, 2007

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Web of control

- Control is not one-dimensional, but types of control interweave to form an inescapable web.
- For example, financial abuse adds another layer of control.
- It may involve unwitting collusion of others.
- And there may be threats of serious harm to those that matter to the victim.

Professor Jane Monckton-Smith

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The 'jealousy code'

- Jealousy often seen in the narrative on a 'crime of passion' as a defence for murder, a natural output of romantic love.
- Controlling people want their partner to avoid doing things that make them jealous.
- Jealousy is a pattern it's who they are. Results in people living isolated and miserable lives – a ruse which reveals their partners paranoia and entitlement, not their love.

Professor Jane Monckton-Smith

Pg 79-80, In Control Dangerous Relationships and How They End in Murder, 202

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The 'jealousy code'

- Young people in first relationships are particularly vulnerable

 seeing jealously as a sign of great love.
- Excessive jealously is always a warning sign. The control and manipulation that jealously forgives leads us to understand how coercive control takes hold.
- It gives power to controlling people because they become plausible explanations for what is actually control.

Professor Jane Monckton-Smith g 79-80, In Control Dangerous Relationships and How They End in Murder, 2021

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The 'loyalty code'

- Follows quickly on from the jealousy code.
- It's imposed through a series of hidden tests designed to make someone chose between two sides and prove their devotion to the controlling person.
- Friends and family are likely targets. Friends are a 'bad influence', family members may be trying to 'split up the relationship'.

Professor Jane Monckton-Smith
Pq 81, In Control Dangerous Relationships and How They End in Murder, 2021

Routines and Rituals

- While the jealousy and loyalty codes quickly open the door to instilling and maintain control, rituals and routines function as an early warning system to abusers that control is being challenged.
- There is micro-management, where the slightest change becomes highly visible.
- Planning to leave would be difficult, underpinned with the real fear of the consequences.

Risk Markers

Perpetrator has threatened to harm or kill the victim and/or the children

Perpetrators who threaten to harm or kill their partner or former partner. themselves or others including their children, are particularly dangerous.

Campbell et al. (2003) found that women whose partners threatened them with murder were 15 times more likely than other women experiencing abuse to be killed.

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



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 axe 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

Threats

Threats serve two purposes for the serious abuser:

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

Quote from one killer:

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

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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?

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Suicide or homicide

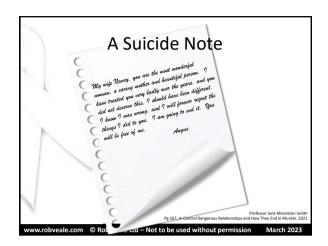
Suicide threats from controlling people in such a situation are a concern, but they are also quite common. Some of these will

The person may intend to take their own life, but in cases where there is coercive control it is prudent to consider them veiled homicide threats.

When death has entered the conversation, it is indicating a final view of things.

> Professor Jane Monckton-Smith Pg 167, In Control Dangerous Relationships and How They End in Murder, 2021

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Risk Markers

History of domestic and family violence

The most consistently identified risk factor for intimate partner lethality and risk of re-assault is the previous history of violence by the perpetrator against the victim.

Risk Markers

Sexual violence

Intimate partner sexual violence (IPSV) is a uniquely dangerous form of exerting power and control due to its invasive attack on victims' bodies and the severity of mental health, physical injury and gynaecological consequences.

Campbell et al. (2003) found that IPSV was the strongest indicator of escalating frequency and severity of violence.

Risk Markers

Sexual violence continued ...

Heenan (2004) found that Australian domestic violence workers believe that 90-100% of their female clients have experienced IPSV.

More than other factors, IPSV is under-reported by victims. Shame and stigma caused by commonly held assumptions that discussing sex or sexual assault within relationships is 'taboo', are significant barriers to seeking help for IPSV.

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Consent and Sexual Abuse

Sexual abuse is nearly always present in coercive control in some way....

It is not unusual for sexual force to be described by perpetrators as 'playful' or consensual ... 'just messing about or the victim's fault, and victims can be accused of over-reacting or not being open enough in their own sexual behaviour.

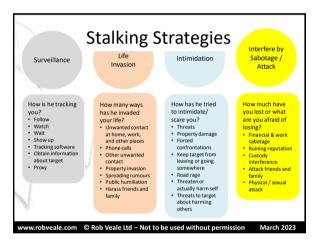
The word 'vanilla' is used as an insult just as the word 'frigid' are still used to make victims feel inadequate. This leads to the rise of the 'sex games gone wrong' defence in Court....

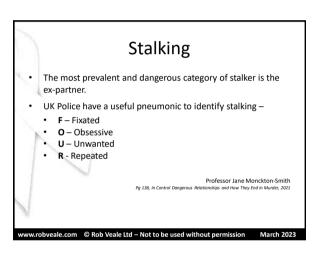
> Professor Jane Monckton-Smith Pg 124, In Control Dangerous Rela

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Risk Markers Stalking Stalking behaviours (repeated, persistent and unwanted) including technology-facilitated surveillance, GPS tracking, interferences with property, persistent phoning/texting and contact against court order conditions, increases risk of male-perpetrated homicide. The vast majority of perpetrators of stalking, and the most dangerous, are intimate partners of the victim, and not strangers.

Risk Markers Stalking continued ... Stalking when coupled with physical assault, is strongly connected to murder or attempted murder. Stalking behaviour and obsessive thinking are highly related behaviours. Technology-facilitated abuse, including on social media, surveillance technologies and apps is a type of stalking.







Risk Markers Breach of orders Breaching a court order, conditions of parole or any other protection order, indicates a disregard for the law and authority. Such behaviour is a serious indicator of increased risk of future violence. Breaching an intervention order, or any other order with family violence protection conditions, indicates the accused is not willing to abide by the orders of a court. It also indicates a disregard for the law and authority. Such behaviour is a serious indicator of increased risk of future violence.

Risk Markers

Threats or harm to pets

Cruelty and harm directed to pets and other animals can indicate risk of future or more severe violence and are often used as a control tactic by perpetrators.

Perpetrator misuse of drugs and alcohol

Perpetrators with a serious problem with illicit drugs, alcohol, prescription drugs or inhalants can lead to impairment in social functioning and creates an increased risk of family violence. This includes temporary drug-induced

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Risk Markers

Perpetrator mental illness and/or threatened suicide

Threats or attempts to self-harm or commit suicide are a risk factor for murder-suicide. This factor is an extreme extension of controlling behaviours.

Victims' perception of risk

Victims know their perpetrator best and can often accurately predict their own level of safety and risk, including the risk of re-assault. Practitioners need to be aware that sometimes victims may minimise their risk as a result of the perpetrators abuse tactics which can create fear, confusion or denial

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Summing Up

- Clusters of risk markers are more helpful than numbers of risk markers.
- Motivation is more helpful than actions.
- Patterns are more helpful than incidents or episodes.

Two positions that may help with assessing risk

- 1. Measuring time investment of the stalker.
- 2. Tracking an escalation progression in intimate partner stalking.

Non-serious stalking?

We tend to consider small gestures, remote surveillance, and trivial breaches as nonserious.

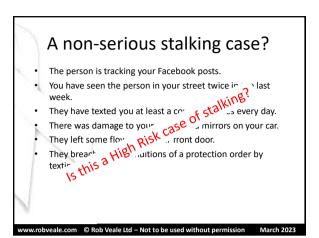
We should re-consider from the perspective of fixation and obsessions, and time invested.

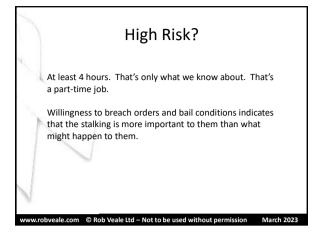
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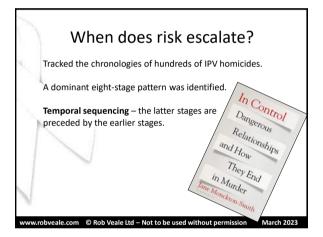
A non-serious stalking case?

- The person is tracking your Facebook posts.
- You have seen the person in your street twice in the last week.
- They have texted you at least a couple of times every day.
- There was damage to your wipers and mirrors on your car.
- They left some flowers by your front door.
- They breached the conditions of a protection order by texting you.

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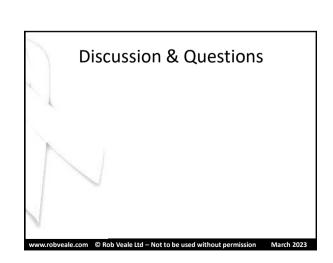


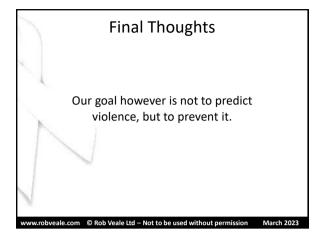




Eight Stages — Homicide Timeline 1. Pre-relationship history: criminal record, allegations 2. Early relationship behaviours: early commitment 3. Relationship behaviours: risk markers 4. Potential homicide trigger: separation, ill health, financial problems, threats or rumours 5. Escalation – frequency. Seriousness, stalking, persistence

Eight Stages — Homicide Timeline 6. Change of thinking 7. Planning — buying weapons, grave digging, manipulate meetings, letters, organise papers. 8. Homicide — homicide/suicide, confessions, missing person, denial, accident, multiple victims





The 'Gift of Fear'

"... we want to believe that people are infinitely complex, with millions of motivations and varieties of behaviours. It is not so. We want to believe that with all the possible combinations of human beings and human feelings, predicting violence is a difficult as picking the winning lottery ticket, yet it isn't difficult at all. We want to believe that human violence is somehow beyond our understanding because as long as it remains a mystery, we have no duty to avoid it, explore it, or anticipate it. We need feel no responsibility for failing to read signals if there are none to read. We can tell ourselves that violence just happens without warning, and usually to others, but in service of these comfortable myths, victims suffer and criminals prosper."

DeBecker, Gavin. The Gift of Fear, New York: Little Brown and Company, 1997. P.16.

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What do we believe?

" ... our work is predicated on the belief that many, if not all, domestic violence deaths are preventable, provided we continue the search for greater knowledge and understanding of the dynamics of domestic violence: sharing that knowledge with those most likely to be in a position to intervene. Unlike many other homicides, these are not characterised by random acts of violence upon random or circumstantial victims.

Compared to other homicides, intimate partner homicides are to some degree or another, calculated acts upon targeted victims.

When Domestic Violence Kills , Project Safeguard, Denver, 2001

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Further contact

- Thank you for your time today.
- If you would like any further information following the session or follow-up training, please feel free to contact me on robveale@xtra.co.nz





Strangulation brochure

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