

Profiles of Killers and Risk Factors

October 5, 2011
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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

Downward Trend Nationally

Bureau of Justice Statistics, U.S. Dept. of Justice

<u>Year</u>	<u>Female Victims</u>	<u>Male Victims</u>
1976	1,587	1,304
1986	1,581	946
1996	1,299	476
2005	1,181	329

Who are the perpetrators?

Massachusetts Intimate Partner Homicides

	<u>Incidents</u>	<u>Male perpetrator</u>
2005	14	11 (79%)
2006	24	23 (96%)
2007	37	35 (95%)
2008	28	28 (100%)
Total	103	97 (94%)

What do we know about these alleged killers?

- Scott Peterson
- OJ Simpson
- Phil Spector
- Mark Hacking

Upcoming 2-Day Trainings

Minneapolis, October 17-18, 2011
St. Petersburg, February 2012
San Antonio, April, 2012
San Francisco, TBA
More information at www.emergedv.com

Training Goals of Danger Assessment and Risk Management Training Project

- Recognize risk factors for homicide and serious abuse
- Become acquainted with danger assessment and safety planning tools and procedures
- Identify best practices for assessing danger and managing risk
- Learn how to interview victims and perpetrators

Training Goals, continued

- Identify characteristics of abusers
- Become acquainted with methods of stalking, including uses of various technologies to stalk or monitor
- Recognize needs/risks for particularly vulnerable populations of victims

Training DVD

- Shows interviews of victims by police officer, community-based advocate, prosecutor, and prosecutor-based advocate
- Shows interview of perpetrator by police
- Interviews show how to incorporate danger assessment into crime investigation and safety planning

Available from Emerge at www.emergedv.com

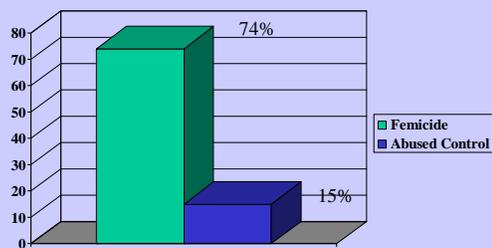
Risk factors for homicide: Which is best predictor?

- 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

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

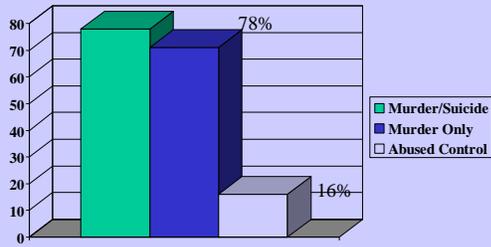
IP Murder Suicides Unique Factors

Prior Threats of Suicide

Murder/Suicide Perpetrators 50%
Murder Only 14%

Source: Koziel-McLain, et al, 2006

Prior threats to kill



Source: J. Koziol-McLain, Johns Hopkins

National Data: Murder-Suicide



- The Violence Policy Center (2006) estimates there are more than 500 murder-suicide incidents that result in over 1,000 deaths annually in the US. They looked at 591 murder-suicide deaths in a six month period of January to July 2005:
 - 92% of incidents involved a firearm;
 - 94% of perpetrators were male and most involved males killing their female intimate partners.
 - 74% were intimate partner murder-suicides. Females were the victims in 96% of these intimate partner murder-suicides.
 - Children witnessed the murder-suicide or found the bodies of slain family members in 43% of the cases.
 - Thirty-nine of the cases involved multiple murder victims; of those, 34 were firearm related murder-suicides.
- Murder-suicide occurs at a higher rate for older persons compared to the rate for younger persons.
 - Older men always the perpetrators
 - Over 90% of the incidents, guns are the method of murder.
 - Generally not suicide pacts, as the perpetrator of elder domestic violence has contemplated and even planned the act for some time.

C. Access to guns

- 64% of women murdered from 1981-1998 were shot with a gun
 - 3/4 of these with a handgun

Data source: CDC, Paulozzi et al

Weapons used in femicides; 1981-1998

- 65% shooting
- 16% stabbing with sharp object
- 8.4 % hands or feet
- 4.7% blunt object
- 4.6% other

Source: CDC, Paulozzi et al

Gun Ownership in USA Compared to Other Nations

Nation	Guns per 100 residents
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

Source: Small Arms Survey, 2007 Geneva Graduate Institute of International Studies

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

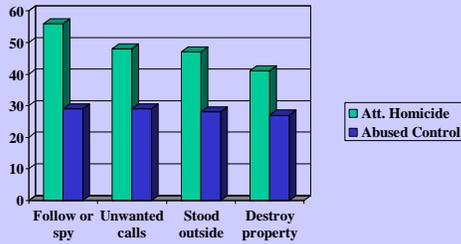
- Never assume that there's no history of violence just because there have been no prior arrests
- Some of the most dangerous situations have no prior police/court involvement

E. Prior Forced Sex

Femicides 46%
Abused Controls 15%

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

F. Stalking



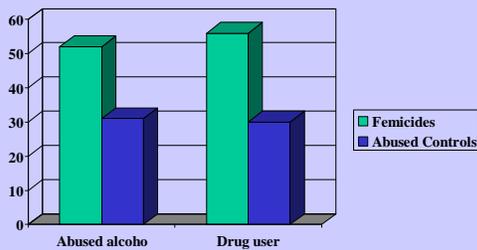
Source: J. Campbell, NIJ VAWA R01 DA/AA156

Extreme Jealousy

Femicides 39%
Abused Controls 17%

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

G. Perpetrators' Substance Abuse



Source: J. Campbell, NIJ 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?

H. Estrangement

Femicides 55%
Abused Controls 35%

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

I. Prior Strangulation Attempt

Femicides 56%
Abused Controls 10%

Source: J. Campbell, NIJ 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, Depressed
- 4) Materially Motivated
- 5) Career Criminals

Source: David Adams, forthcoming in *Why Do They Kill? An Investigation of Men Who Kill Their Intimate Partners*, Vanderbilt University Press

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

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

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

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

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 were out to get him. Towards the end, he'd be saying people was coming into the house to steal his money. He'd accuse 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! I was always bad but then he'd be drinking, he'd think I had something going on with every person I met.

Source: D. Adams, Emerge

What type of killer?

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

What type of killer?

- Scott Peterson-**Materially Motivated**
- OJ Simpson-**Jealous**
- 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

Killer's Upbringings, 1

Behavior	By Father	My Mother
Spouse Abuse	48%	6%
Child Abuse	42%	16%
Child Sexual Abuse	6%	0%
Frequent Criticism of Child	52%	29%

Killer's Upbringings, 2

Behavior	By Father	My Mother
Parent was affectionate	52%	77%
Parent was very protective	39%	58%
Parent spoiled child	22%	22%
Parent was	25%	10%

Serious Abuser's Upbringings As reported by killers and victims

Behavior by parent	As reported by killers	As reported by victims (about their abusers)
Father abused his mother	48%	87%
Mother abused his father	6%	19%
Father abused him as child	42%	64%
Mother abused him as child	16%	57%

Killers' feelings toward parents when they were children

Closeness to Mother (on scale of 1-10)	Closeness to Father (on scale of 1-10)
8.5	4.5
Proportion of killers who felt closer to their mothers	Proportion who felt closer to fathers
55%	26%

Copying father, 1

Learned violence

Developing a tough exterior

"I was attracted to my father's attitude which was to do unto others before they do unto you. I was just tired of being scared. Together we was strong and nobody could beat us"

"Because of my father, we was so scared and mentally beaten. The turning point came when I was 15. My brother, Elroy, used to beat me every single day. ... I couldn't do anything cause he was my father's favorite. Then one day, I beat him bad and after that he never touched me again. And I

Copying father, 2

Learned contempt for women

"My friends always said I had a thing against women, maybe because of my weird relationship with my mother. I verbally castrated my best friends wife once... I think I was 27 at the time... when she didn't let him buy a boat with me"

"I think because of what happened with my father, I reach my limit sooner with women!"

"I'd always said to hit a woman is wrong but I always did it. Once, I slapped this chick on the playground when I was young, like 7 or so, after she said something smart to me"

Other effects

“I’ve got a warped sense of love. Where’s the line between violence and love? I felt cheated, like I never had a real mother and father. Life was survival”

“Nobody ever taught me how to deal with rejection. It led to dependency on women for love to fill that void. Some girls thought I was obsessed with sex. The problem wasn’t sex so much as letting go”

Child abuse by attempted killers

Interviewed 20 victims of attempted homicide

16 had children with the offender

10 reported that he had physically abused the children

3 said he had sexually abused a child

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