

LOVE & LETHAL VIOLENCE

An analysis of Intimate Partner Homicides Committed in London

1998 - 2009

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Abstract

On the evening of 31st October 2003, North London, four hours and six miles separated two homicides. A man ran over his fiancée meanwhile a woman stabbed her lover. The circumstances of these murders are different but both involve the death of intimate partners. This research examines whether there is any difference in the way men and women kill their lovers.

The question is answered through three levels of analysis. Firstly an assessment of quantitative gender differences by examining 207 intimate partner homicides committed in London between 1998 and 2009. Secondly through a series of non-parametric tests on victim, suspect, relationship and offence characteristics to establish any variables are associated with or predictive of perpetrator gender. Finally results were considered in light of feminist criminology and evolutionary psychology, the preeminent theories of intimate partner homicide.

The answers were not as simplistic as the question. Female offending was associated with quarrels, intoxication, self-defence, killing by stabbing and the presence of step-children. Male offending was motivated by infidelity or separation. Men exhibited more varied means of killing and were likely to kill themselves and others. A couple's age discrepancy and level of intoxication were key elements of intimate partner homicide.

What was unexpected was the non-significant influence of precursor relationship violence. The results were at odds with both feminist and evolution theory which seat female violence within on-going male abuse. This study placed female offending within an immediate situational context rather than antecedent violence.

This study is unique as it is based on privileged access to original Metropolitan Police case files. Such detailed analysis providing a view of London's Intimate Partner Homicide landscape had never conducted prior to this study. It is therefore of value to those professionals operating within the fields of domestic violence and homicide investigation as well as those who research it.

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Finally to Steve, I simply thank you for everything.

Declaration

I, Jacqueline Sebire, confirm that the work presented in this thesis is my own.

Where information has been derived from other sources, I confirm that this has been indicated in the thesis.



1st October 2013

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Abbreviations

Association of Chief Police Office	ACPO
Crime Reporting Information System	CRIS
Community Safety Unit	CSU
Crown Prosecution Service	CPS
Domestic Violence	DV
European Union	EU
Federal Bureau of Investigation	FBI
His/Her Honour Judge	HHJ
Home Office Large Major Enquiry System	HOLMES
Metropolitan Police Service	MPS
Police National Computer	PNC
Senior Investigating Officer	SIO
Serious Crime Directorate	SCD
Socio-economic Classification	SEC
Sex Ratio of Killing	SROK
Statistical Package for Social Sciences	SPSS©
Supplemental Homicide Report	SHR
United Nations	UN
United Nations Crime Trends & Operational Criminal Justice Systems	UNCTS
United Kingdom	UK
United States	US

General Introduction

At 5:30pm on the afternoon of Friday 31st October 2003 in Kilburn, North West London, a 46 year old man was having a heated argument in the street with his 49 year old ex-girlfriend. The couple, who had been both lovers and business partners, had separated and were in an acrimonious dispute over the division of their shared assets. As they argued, she leant over the bonnet of their silver Mercedes 200 CLK, which she had bought for him, and physically tried to stop him taking it. The man, who had been sitting in the car, got out and pushed her aside. The woman stood back in front of the vehicle as he then accelerated, driving straight at and over her without stopping. He left her in the road as he drove off. She died from multiple traumatic injuries. On his later conviction for her murder the trial judge, His Honour Judge (HHJ) Barker told him,

“This was a loss of temper, awful behaviour. This car was described as a gift of love but you used it as a lethal weapon. You have taken away the life of the woman who loved you.”¹

Meanwhile on that same Halloween in 2003, four hours later and six miles away in Haringey, North London a neighbour called police due to hearing sounds of a disturbance in a nearby flat. When officers arrived they found a 40 year old male bleeding, in the living room of his home, having suffered a stab wound to his abdomen. Whilst still conscious he told the officers, “She stabbed me”, indicating towards his 53 year old girlfriend, who was sitting quietly on the sofa. During the most mundane of arguments, but one of many which characterised their relationship, she had simply got off the sofa, walked into the kitchen taking a knife out of the drawer, returned to the

¹ Man murdered lover for Mercedes, accessed 25th February 2013 (<http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/england/london/3847745.stm>)

living-room and stabbed her lover once in the stomach rupturing his spleen. He died in hospital from the injury. She pleaded guilty and was convicted of manslaughter.

These two intimate partner homicides took place so close in space and time yet appear to be completely different in terms of method and motive. Was it gender or simply circumstance which led to the man running over and killing his lover for financial gain and the woman, during a quarrel, simply stabbing her boyfriend with a knife?

This thesis, at its heart, seeks to examine the question as to whether there are gendered differences in how and why men and women kill their lovers. Is gender merely a contributory factor dependant on circumstance or does it act to dictate and design murderous behaviours within the domestic arena? This research seeks answers to this question through an examination of 207 investigative case files of intimate partner homicides which were committed in London between 1998 and 2009.

This thesis offers new perspectives in progressing our understanding of intimate partner homicide in three ways; material, methodology and the occupational experiences of the researcher. This study is unique in that it is the first time access to this original source material has been granted, collated and analysed for these particular purposes. It is the most comprehensive analysis of the profile of London's domestic violence homicides for this period which has ever taken place. Using this material has allowed a deep dive into the dynamics of intimate partner homicide since the analytical dataset was compiled from the original investigative case files rather than sanitised or restricted material that is more generally made available for academic research. Through a close inspection of victim, suspect and offence characteristics, these results

and the issues they raise have an inherent credibility due to the richness of the material from which they were drawn.

This research is also distinctive as it also analysed how these individuals related together as a couple. As will be detailed in the literature review the majority of studies are centred upon analysis of victims and/or perpetrators, there has been an absence of focus regarding of the dynamics of the couple (Standish, 2012).

“The shortcomings of the traditional perspectives on DV² is that they have tended to treat the violence as a problem belonging to the individual rather than the couple. The dynamics of the couple relationship are not taken into account regarding the development and perpetuation of the violence.” (Standish, 2012, p.3)

Finally this thesis also differs from traditionally formatted studies since the researcher is a Senior Investigating Officer (SIO) in the Metropolitan Police Service (MPS). They have been directly involved in a number of the investigations and thus have a unique first-hand insight which is not normally afforded to others within this research field.

There are striking differences when examining victim and perpetrator gender by rate and type of homicide. Men in general are responsible for 85 % of all killings within the United States (US) with similar figures in Europe (Gauthier & Bankston, 2004). However as well as being responsible for the majority of its perpetration, men are also at greatest risk of becoming a homicide victim (Stöckl, Devries, Rotstein, Abrahams, Campbell, Watts & Moreno, 2013). Women generally contribute towards 10% of the overall homicide perpetration (Osborne, Lau, Britton, Smith, 2012). However there is a clear dichotomy when intimate partner homicide rates and gender ratios are considered.

² DV- domestic violence

Women are more likely to be both the victim of and suspect in domestic killings over any other homicide category (Reckdenwald & Parker, 2010; Schwartz, 2011). Statistics suggest domestic homicide is the only category of violent crime where women's perpetration rates near that of men (V. Jensen, 2001; M. I. Wilson & Daly, 1992).

Gender variations thus characterise domestic violence murders as a very distinctive subset of homicide. It therefore requires bespoke research and theory in order to understand why their gender dynamic should be so different from homicide in general and to identify those factors which affect men and women in the domestic arena. As noted by Reckdenwald & Parker (2010),

“In no other type of victim-offender relationship is the role of gender so prominent and the gender disparities so clear than those involving intimate partner homicide.” (p.951)

A significant body of domestic homicide research has focused on risk factors associated with female victims (J. C. Campbell et al., 2003; J. C. Campbell, Webster, & Glass, 2009; H. Johnson & Hotton, 2003; Robinson & Howarth, 2012; Weizmann-Henelius et al., 2012). Yet despite increased public awareness, government and charitable investment in prevention and protection programmes, legislative change and the formation of specialist domestic violence police teams and courts, the domestic homicide rate remains at an intractable 20% of the national homicide total in England and Wales (Osborne et al., 2012).

There is little consensus within academic literature as to the nature of murder itself, let alone domestic violence murder. General homicide theory is founded in biological, psychological and social explanations. Domestic violence homicide theory

in general relates to analysis placing female and male behaviours along a continuum of violence within abusive relationships (Brookman, 2005). The fundamental theoretical concept of intimate partner homicide theories is that of victim precipitation and self-help, where a suspect's (who are predominantly male) abusive and controlling behaviour within a relationship causes their partner's death or their own demise when that partner acts out of self-defence. The most prominent explanations are centred on feminist criminological or evolutionary psychological theories (Bates, Graham-Kevan & Archer, 2013). Whilst there is division between the evolutionary and feminist schools as to the causes of domestic homicide, there is unity in the need for further detailed research in this area (Dobash & Dobash, 2012).

As will be highlighted in the literature summary and theory review, much of the published research into both homicide and intimate partner murder has emanated from the US. In 2001 R. Dobash, Dobash, Cavanagh, & Lewis published "Homicide in Britain" This was one of the most extensive pieces of homicide research conducted within Europe. However there has been no in-depth research conducted on the underlying characteristics of domestic violence homicides committed within London. Aldridge & Brown (2003) summarise the current position,

"For the past three decades spousal abuse has been researched vigorously; however the most severe form of violence—the killing of a spouse—has not received an equal amount of attention." (p.265)

This research is an attempt to rectify this deficiency, reviewing the paradoxical association between sex, love and lethal violence. It is divided into seven chapters. Chapter 1 presents a review of definitions of homicide and domestic violence homicide. It examines recent changes to legislation which have a significant impact for domestic

homicide prosecutions. It then details the rates of homicide and domestic homicide both nationally and globally by reviewing fluctuations by total and victim gender. National cumulative figures for domestic homicide perpetration in terms of gender ratios, known as the 'sex ratio of killing' (SROK) index are also considered.

Chapter 2 provides a literature review of the primary concepts of general homicide theory promoted by biological, psychological and sociological explanations as well as consider the prevailing theories accounting for female perpetrated homicide. Feminist Criminology and Evolutionary Psychology are the predominant theories which focus on intimate partner homicide. Chapter 3 summarises and critiques these theories and the respective bodies of research supporting them.

The concept of this thesis is an examination of whether there is a difference in the way men and women kill their lovers. Chapter 4 outlines the three specific research questions through which this concept will be explored; Namely, establishing whether there are gender based quantitative or demographic differences within intimate partner homicides which have been committed within London between 1998 and 2009. Establishing whether any particular variables are associated with or predictive of perpetrator gender. Finally considering what if any support this research provides to prevailing theories of intimate partner homicide.

Chapter 4 continues with details of the methodology supporting this research, outlining the processes of material collection, verification and categorisation which created the working dataset. It provides an explanation of the non-parametric statistical tests which were selected to ascertain whether gender was significantly associated with variables characteristic of domestic violence homicide. Where associations with gender were identified, these were then used to establish whether sex could be a predictive

factor in domestic violence homicide through the use of a stepwise binary logistic regression model. The inter-rater reliability regime to ensure the integrity of the research is outlined as well as the measures adopted to manage the ethical issues arising from the nature of the source material from which the database was derived.

Due to their magnitude, the results are presented over two chapters. Chapter 5 details the descriptive and demographic statistics of the dataset as well as the results of the non-parametric tests examining variables associated with perpetrator gender. Chapter 6 details the results of the series of models which sought to identify whether any specific variables could be predictive of perpetrator gender.

Finally, Chapter 7 reviews and considers the implications of the results in light of the original research questions. The significant methodological issues which arose and measures taken to alleviate their effects are discussed and areas for future research proposed before a final conclusion is presented.

The value in the study is both theoretical and operational. This is real world data being used to examine a real world issue. By its very nature using such data creates its own difficulties as it does not always easily lend itself to the exacting standards of statistical analysis. However this does not mean therefore that such data should not be used. As long as results are regarded within certain caveats, use of real world data can add a credibility to studies which is not always afforded to those taking place within more controlled environments. Many homicide studies have been dependant on utilising generalised and often recycled data sources, such as the US census, for their research and theories (V. Jensen, 2001; Reckdenwald & Parker, 2010; Vieraitis, Kovandzic, & Britto, 2008). This can make the results appear removed from the experience of those people whose deaths populate the datasets. There is real value in being able to examine

this issue with an informed, un-sanitised and previous unseen dataset such as presented within this thesis.

Furthermore this research offers operational support for practitioners in the field, particularly police officers. The rate of domestic violence homicide has not decreased despite levels of government investment, legislative change and amendments to police and social services working practices. The results of this research are to be provided to the Senior Leadership Team of the MPS to be used in a review of current domestic violence risk assessment tools. Practical decisions regarding appropriate resource allocation, risk management, intelligence analysis and investigative focus are best made from an informed understanding of the fundamental situational dynamics within this crime type (Dixon & Graham-Kevan, 2011). This research contributes towards that understanding. These findings will be made available to SIOs nationally to be used for both general information as well as hypothesis testing.

On Friday 31st October 2003 the lives of four families were irrevocably changed in what appears to be unplanned acts of lethal violence. If one of the perpetrators had simply decided not to get into the car or the other just walked out of the front door instead of into the kitchen, two murders could have been prevented. This study aims to gain an insight into the dynamics of these relationships and establish whether men and women do kill their partners as differently as these murders would suggest.

Chapter 1

Homicide Definitions, Rates and Ratios

1.1 Introduction

This Chapter is divided into three sections. Section 1.2 provides the legal definition of homicide within England and Wales together with a review of the defences to murder and the recent legislative change to these defences under the Coroners & Justice Act 2009. Section 1.3 reviews and establishes a working definition of domestic violence homicide. Section 1.4 details the National, London and Global rates of recorded homicides by total and gender and considers the difficulties in accurately obtaining, recording and comparing such data.

1.2 Homicide Legislation

1.2.1 Definition of Homicide

In England and Wales homicide is defined as the killing of a human being, whether lawfully or unlawfully, by another human being. Where the killing is unlawful it is classified as an offence and deemed either an act of murder or manslaughter. Neither offence is statutorily defined by a parliamentary act. Both are defined by and subject to ‘common law’³. Statutory homicide offences however do exist and include infanticide (Infanticide Act 1938), causing the death of a child or vulnerable adult (Domestic Violence, Crime & Victims Act 2004), corporate manslaughter (Corporate

³ Common law is a historic body of laws based on societal and traditional customs recognised, enforced and interpreted by the English & Welsh judicial system. It is based in traditional values of the protection of life, limb and property and has not been introduced through government legislation.

Manslaughter & Corporate Homicide Act 2007) and death by dangerous driving (Road Traffic Act 1988).

1.2.2 Definition of Murder

The offence of murder is committed where ‘a person of sound mind and discretion with malice aforethought unlawfully kills any creature in being and under the Queen’s peace with intent to kill or cause grievous bodily harm.’⁴ Each element of the offence must be proved by the Crown in any judicial proceedings.

Persons who would not be of ‘sound mind and discretion’ are children aged under 10 years and the insane. Insanity proves to be a controversial legal construct. Under the House of Lords M’Naughten Ruling (1843), in order to employ the insanity defence, a person must prove that at the time of committing the offence they were labouring under such a defect of reasoning from a disease of the mind that they did not know what they were doing or, if they did, they did not know it was wrong (Maeder, 1985).

An ‘unlawful killing’ is one in which there is no legal excuse or justification. The unlawful act which causes the death need only be a substantial but not necessarily the sole cause the death. The law also regards acts of omission as murder.

‘Reasonable creatures’, an anachronistic construct of the common law definition, refers to the fact that the victim of the offence must be human. Legal consideration has been given to whether a foetus is a human being and thus capable of being a murder victim. Only those embryos gestated to the stage where they would be capable of independent existence would be regarded as a reasonable creature and thus

⁴ The Crown Prosecution Service accessed 25th February 2013 (<http://www.cps.gov.uk/index.html>)

capable of being murdered. This is an important consideration in the bringing of additional charges where pregnant women are killed.

A key area of consideration within this thesis is the required 'malice aforethought' element in the method and motive within the commission of the offence. Malice aforethought relates to the intent formed by the suspect to kill or cause grievous bodily harm. The exact definition of intention has been subject to considerable case law but in essence a resultant act can be regarded as intended if;

- I. It is the suspect's deliberate purpose to cause death or serious injury
- II. Or even if that was not the accused's purpose, death or serious injury was the obvious consequence of the accused actions and they would have known that it was an obvious consequence.

1.2.3 Definition of Manslaughter

The offence of manslaughter equates to any unlawful killing that does not amount to murder and is categorised as either voluntary or involuntary. Voluntary manslaughter is a murder offence that is reduced to manslaughter due to the application of a statutory defence of either;

1. Provocation
2. Diminished responsibility
3. Death being caused in the pursuance of a suicide pact.

Where a killing occurs but the intent to kill or cause grievous injury is not made out or is absent, the offence is classified as involuntary manslaughter. Involuntary manslaughter can be committed through either an unlawful or dangerous act or through gross negligence or recklessness. Where the death occurs during an unlawful or dangerous act committed by the defendant the following matters have to be proved:

- i. The death must be the result of the unlawful act;
- ii. Any reasonable person would have foreseen some risk of (although not necessarily serious) harm as resulting from the act;
- iii. It is inconsequential as to whether the defendant knew that act was dangerous or unlawful or whether or not the defendant actually intended any harm.

Where a death results through gross negligence or recklessness, the defendant must have been in a position of and breached a duty of care to the victim. That breach must have caused the death and in the opinion of the jury the breach should be so excessive that it amounts to a gross failure.

1.2.4 Homicide Defences

There are a number of both general and statutory defences to murder. Those which are often most relevant to intimate partner homicides are provocation, diminished responsibility and self-defence.⁵

1. Provocation

Provocation is a statutory defence to murder only and describes the situation where an act or series of acts, whether or not carried out by the victim, caused the accused and would have caused any reasonable person in that position to suddenly and temporarily lose their self-control. The provocative act need not be illegal in nature. It has been held that the persistent crying of a baby could be a provocative act leading to loss of control. The act need not necessarily be directed towards the defendant who can be provoked to violence on the part of another. What is essential in this defence is that the loss of control leading to the violence is both sudden and temporary, thus any evidence of premeditation or planning nullify this as a defence.

⁵ For reference purposes all other defences and a brief explanation of each are listed in Appendix A.

The key stated case for judicial directions in issues of provocation is that of R v Duffy 1949 a domestic violence homicide where, following mistreatment, a woman killed her husband with a hatchet and a hammer (O'Riordan, 2003). HJH Devlin in directing the jury describes the defendant's reaction to the provocative acts i.e. the husband's mistreatment of her, as "rendering the accused so subject to passion as to make him or her for the moment not master of his mind".

Issues of provocation are critical in an examination of gender and domestic homicide. They form the basis of much criminological theory as to why women kill their partners. Provocative acts can be primary differentiating factors between male and female perpetrators in terms of their method of and motive for killing.

2. Diminished responsibility

Diminished Responsibility is classified under Section 2 Homicide Act 1957. It is held that if a person is suffering from such abnormality of the mind through either a condition of arrested or retarded development, inherent causes or caused by disease or injury as substantially impaired his mental responsibility for his acts or omissions in doing or being party to the killing.

This is a wider defence than that of insanity, in that it has to be proved that the defendant cannot have mental responsibility for the acts he/she may commit due to arrested development or impairment to mental function due to injury or illness. The defendant's intent and M'Naughton's consideration of right and wrong are not relevant and it is the defendant's own mental history, function and capacity at the time of committing the offence that are critical elements to the successful application of the defence.

The key elements of the diminished responsibility defence are exemplified in *R v Gittens* 1984. During an argument the defendant, beat and killed his wife and raped and killed his step-daughter. He argued his diagnosed depression, combined with the effect of alcohol and prescribed drugs, led him to suffer from such an abnormality of mental capacity and function it substantially impaired his mental responsibility for the killings of his wife and child and thus he was not guilty of their murders. The jury agreed with him and he was convicted of manslaughter (Keenan & Smith, 2007).

3. Self-defence or the defence of others or defence of property

A killing will be lawful and justifiable where lethal force used was used defensively and such force was reasonable in the circumstances. In other words the victim precipitates their own death by forcing the defendant to exert lethal force to defend themselves, others or property dependant on the circumstances. However there is legal inconsistency with this defence as it is dependent on whether the defendant believes the force used was reasonable. This is a subjective assessment of the situation. However the test in manslaughter is objective as to whether a reasonable person would regard the acts as reckless or negligent. In reality this dilemma is never easily resolved and juries are directed to review each case on its merits. Theoretical explanations of female perpetrated domestic homicide are often based on this concept of victim self-defence, where murder is regarded as a self-help option and the only means escape from violent abusive relationships (Peterson, 1999).

1.2.5 Coroners & Justice Act 2009

The offences used to create the research dataset are based on their classification according to the homicide law in England and Wales as it stood until 2009.

This is obviously prior to the commencement of the provisions under the Coroners & Justice Act 2009 which have far reaching implications for intimate partner homicide prosecutions. Whilst not directly relevant to the analysis presented within this thesis, its provisions are summarised here as it is highly relevant to wider considerations of domestic violence and the judicial system.

The Coroners and Justice Act 2009 which came into force in October 2010 makes legislative amendments to homicide defences. This act amends two of the three partial defences to murder, redefining diminished responsibility and revoking the provocation defence replacing it with the defence of loss of self-control.

The definition of ‘Diminished Responsibility’ has been amended to ‘the abnormality of the mind and mental function that is so different from that of ordinary human beings that a reasonable person would think it abnormal’. The abnormality must influence the defendant’s ability to exercise willpower, self-control and/or form rational judgement. This abnormality must be in part responsible for the defendant’s act of killing or being a party to the killing. It must provide some form of explanation as to why the defendant acts as he/she did. The abnormalities can be recognised medical conditions but this would be dependent on medical evidence and subject to jury consideration.

The ‘loss of self-control’ and the provocative and precipitating acts of partners are key elements in many of the circumstances of intimate partner homicide especially where there has been a history of domestic violence within the relationship. The defence of ‘loss of self-control’, under Sections 54-55 replaces the common law partial defence of provocation to murder for all offences committed after 4th October 2010. It is

a step-wise defence and all elements have to be evidenced before it is available to the defendant.

There has to be a loss of self-control but it no longer needs to be sudden. This now allows for the 'slow burn' defence, often cited in cases characterised by long term domestic abuse. So whilst it does not have to be sudden, control must be lost due to a trigger incident(s). The trigger incident(s) must fall within one of two categories;

1. Fear of serious violence, this is a subjective test that the defendant genuinely fears the victim would use serious violence. (This does not necessarily need to be directed toward the defendant but the defendant must fear that serious violence would be used.)
2. Things said or done. The defendant believed that they had been seriously wronged and were justified in acting in the manner in which they did. This is an objective test for the jury.

Of note sexual infidelity, which will become a prominent theme within this research and so often cited as a motive of domestic homicide, is not of itself a qualifying trigger.

This particular piece of legislation is regarded as a rebalancing of the law in terms of domestic violence, since the inclusion of the loss of self-control which now no longer needs to be sudden, allows juries to take into account long term abusive relationships as a defence to murder (Howe, 2012).

1.3 Definitions of Intimate Partner Homicide

There is no specified offence of domestic violence or intimate partner homicide. Domestic circumstances may set the offence in context for a jury, provide a defence to the perpetrator or add mitigation for their acts but they do not constitute a specific crime

in itself. Given the personal dimensions and social and cultural meanings attached to domestic violence, there are contentious issues concerning its definition and legislation as to what it says about the place of women, dominance of men and significance of relationships within society. Definitions and associated legislation can be divisive and where framed without regard for relationship dynamics, society can blame victims, condone relationship abuse and power imbalance (Buss, 2000; Meyer, 2011; Waltermaurer, 2012). For example, the laws governing domestic assault were only amended in the US in 1974 when spousal assaults were classified as felony rather than misdemeanour offences, finally making them comparable with stranger assault legislation. It was only in 1991 and the case of *R v R* where the marital rape exemption was abolished by the Appellate Committee of the House of Lords in England and Wales. Prior to that, rape within marriage was not technically regarded as unlawful. In consenting to the marriage contract, women were deemed to have willingly given themselves over to their husbands and were unable to retract this consent.⁶ Thus legislation can appear to support concepts of male dominance and the subordinate position of women with marriage.

Without a statutory definition of domestic violence homicide, researchers have often formed their own label for these offences. Academic definitions of domestic abuse however can be agenda based, emotive and prescriptive. Pejorative, value laden labels such as ‘battered woman syndrome’ and ‘learned helplessness’ (Brookman, 2005), encapsulate stereotypical scenarios which do not adequately express the complex dynamics of intimate relationships. Definitions and theoretical standpoints can be dependent upon the political inclination of their authors. As Tolan (2007) suggests,

⁶ The Law Commission (Law Com No 205) Rape Within Marriage accessed 25th February 2013 (<http://www.official-documents.gov.uk/document/hc9192/hc01/0167/0167.pdf>)

“There is much controversy about whether violence occurring within intimate, marital or marriage-like relationships should be termed intimate partner violence, domestic violence, one form of violence against women or battering. Such terms carry quite different connotations about the nature of violence, the extent to which it is assumed to be unidirectional or inherently the responsibility of one partner (in most cases male) and the prominence that gender related social and physical power differences should have in framing, measuring and addressing the problem.” (p.9)

In a comprehensive literature review Garcia, Soria, & Hurwitz (2007) found that the most commonly used definition of intimate partners was that of Rennison, Welchans (2000) which classified intimate partners, as current or former spouses, girlfriends or boyfriends. Intimate partner or domestic violence homicide has however been described variously in literature as meaning the murder of a spouse, intimate partner or lover. For example,

“Partner homicide will be used to connote homicides occurring between current or former dating, cohabiting, common-law and formally married heterosexual couples” (Browne, Williams, & Dutton, 1999, p.149)

“Intimate partner homicide specifically refers to the murder or non-negligent manslaughter by his or her current or former intimate partner” (Websdale, 1999, p.4)

For the purposes of this research, the definition extends the concept of intimate to include romantic but not necessarily sexual relationships. Domestic violence homicide in this thesis is therefore defined as the murder or manslaughter of a person perpetrated by a current or previous spouse, common law partner, girl/boyfriend or any person of the opposite sex with whom they have had a romantic or intimate

heterosexual relationship. The terms domestic violence murder, domestic murder and intimate partner homicide will be used interchangeably.⁷

1.4 Measurement and Rate of Homicide

1.4.1 The Homicide Index

Detailed information about the circumstances of all homicide offences recorded by police forces in England and Wales is captured in a national database known as the Homicide Index. It is from this database that the Home Office extracts information and carries out statistical analysis of violent crime trends. This data and its results are published annually by the Home Office in ‘Homicide, Firearms Offence & Intimate Partner Violence.’ This is a supplementary volume to the Home Office Statistical Bulletin: Crime in England and Wales.

When a homicide offence is reported, the relevant police constabulary must submit a form CRIMSEC7A in order to notify the Home Office. Detailed information regarding the victim, suspect, their relationship and the circumstances of the offence are recorded and submitted. This is then updated as the investigation and criminal justice process progresses. It is this data contained within the CRIMSEC7A which is used to compile the Homicide Index. Given the CRIMSEC7A is populated directly from the source material held by the investigative team, whilst there will always be the issues of human error and compliance in its submission, the Homicide Index and the resultant Home Office Annual Statistical Volume on Homicide, Firearms and Intimate Violence provide the most timely and reliable information regarding homicide trends within England and Wales.

⁷ There were 8 homicide offences recorded by the MPS between same sex partners during the research time parameters. Six would have met the research criteria. The numbers were therefore too small to be included for meaningful statistical analysis. However as identified by V. Jensen, (2001) same sex relationship abuse is a neglected area that requires incorporation into gender and homicide research.

1.4.2 National Homicide / Intimate Partner Homicide Rates in England and Wales

According to recently published Homicide data (Osborne et al., 2012) homicide rates in England and Wales have risen over the past 50 years. From 1960 murder rates have doubled, this rate has steadily increased, rising to a peak in the 2004 from which homicide rates have started to decline. In 2009 619 homicide offences were recorded, this was the lowest rate for a decade.

Caution must be used when viewing rate fluctuation since it is subject to the influence of circumstantial anomalies. Individuals and events such as the London 7/7 bombings where 55 people were killed in one day or the Dr Shipman murders where all 172 homicides, although they had taken place over a number of years, were actually officially recorded but entered on the Homicide Index in 2002/3, influence the figures and distort underlying trends.

According to office Home Office Statistics (Osborne et al., 2012), whilst the total number of homicides has fallen within the past decade the number of domestic homicides and the percentage contribution of those homicides to the total number has increased as can be seen in Figure 1.1. The number of domestic homicides committed by partners or ex-partners increased from 104 offences in 1998/99 to a peak of 146 in 2001/2. The rate has fluctuated but has consistently risen since 2005. Over the past decade the contribution has risen from 15 % to 20% to the level that 1 in 5 homicides in 2008/9 were classified as intimate partner killings.

Figure 1.1 Domestic Violence (DV) Homicides as % Contribution to Total Homicides Recorded in England & Wales 1998/9 - 2008/9 (Osborne et al., 2012)

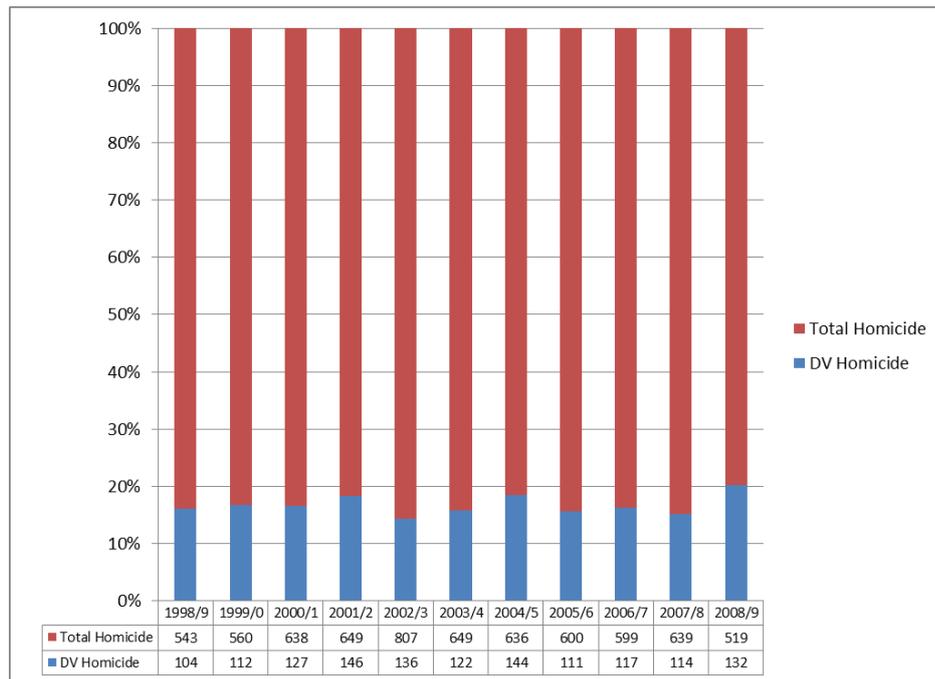
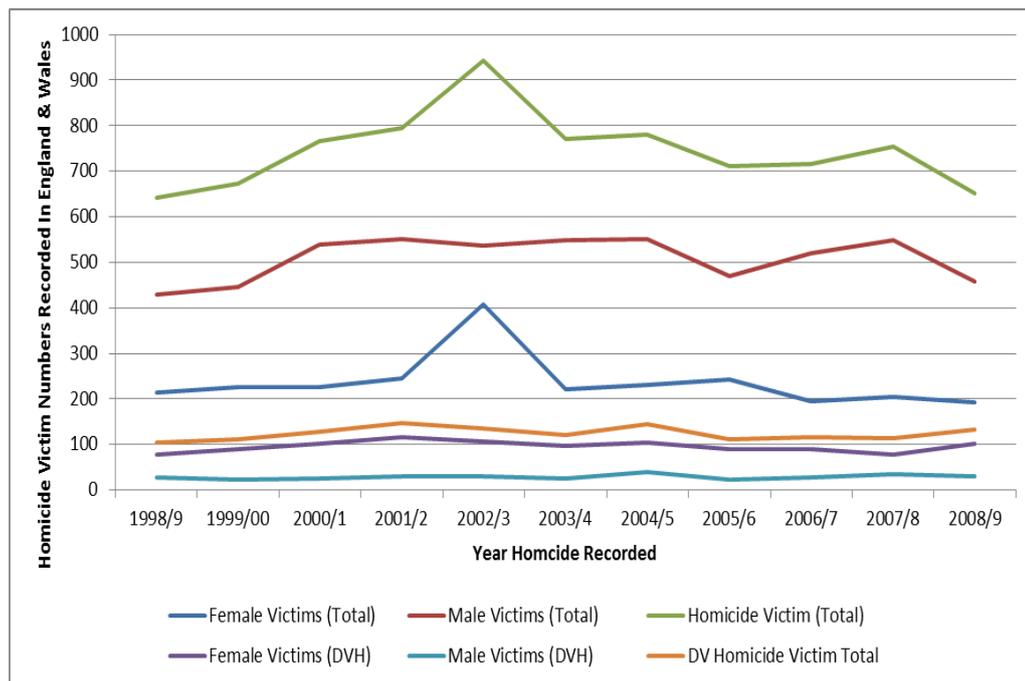


Figure 1.2 illustrates the distribution of both the total and domestic violence homicides by gender. When the total homicide figures are viewed by gender, there is only minor variation in the sex ratio of total homicide victimisation. Overall fewer women than men are killed and on average they account for 30% of the annual homicide victim total. 2009/10 saw a 3% rise in female victims as a proportion of the total victim numbers. This was mirrored by a 7% reduction in the number of male victims from the previous year. However as previously stated such yearly fluctuations can be context specific and unreflective of overall trends. The 11 year picture does indicate that whilst overall levels are falling the gender ratio has remained at an intransigent ratio of 30:70% female to male divide.

Figure 1.2 Total & DV Homicide Victim Numbers Recorded by Gender 1998/9 – 2009 (Osborne et al., 2012)



The Homicide Index, as well as simply recording that an offence has taken place, also holds key information regarding the victim and suspect demographics, their manner of association and details regarding method of offence. The relationship between the victim and the suspect⁸ is classified according to whether the suspect is known to the victim as either family, (ex)/partner/spouse, friend/acquaintance or a stranger. There are gender differences in the manner of association between victim and suspect. When the 1998 -2009 data is averaged over the 11 year recording period, 69% of all female homicide victims either knew or were related to the suspect. Men are more likely to be killed by strangers than acquaintances as 46% of male suspects knew their killers (Ministry of Justice, November 2010).

It is through examining this data that the levels and change of intimate partner homicides can be determined. In contrast to the general homicide trend where victim

⁸ The Homicide Index defines a suspect as a person who has been arrested and charged with an offence classified as Homicide or is suspected of having committed the offence but has died before judicial proceedings concluded.

numbers have decreased over the past decade, there has been a proportionate year on year increase since 1998 in domestic homicides.

Figure 1.2 shows that 104 partner/ex-partner homicides were recorded in 1998. This rose to a peak of 146 offences in 2001, while in 2008/9 there were 132 offences. Asymmetric gender ratios are also reflected in domestic homicide trends. Whilst female victims on average contribute 30% of the total homicide victim numbers, where intimate partner homicide is considered the gender ratio is reversed. Women account for 77% of all domestic partner homicide victims over the last 11 years (Ministry of Justice, November 2010).

Figures from 2008/9 indicate that where the suspect/victim relationship is known two-thirds of women were killed by their partner, whereas 14% of men were killed by their partners. This average 70/30% female to male ratio of domestic violence murder victims, as can be seen in Figure 1.2, is subject to minimal variation over time. Men appear far more likely to be killed by friends or acquaintances. In 2008/9 70% of men were killed by known suspects in this bracket. This figure has remained relatively consistent since 1998.

Thus in summary the national position over the past decade, according to Home Office Data (Osborne et al., 2012) indicates total homicide numbers have started to decline over the past eight years. However the number of domestic violence murders, whilst fluctuating, has increased. In addition the percentage contribution of domestic partner/ex-partner killings towards total number has increased so that by 2008/9 1 in every 5 murders was domestic in nature.

1.4.3 London Homicide / Intimate Partner Rates recorded by the Metropolitan Police Service (MPS)

The MPS has jurisdiction for policing an area of over 600 square miles. It is responsible for recording and investigating all homicide offences committed within any of the 32 London Boroughs. Homicides within the MPS are investigated by one of three commands within the Serious Crime Directorate (SCD)⁹ dependent on the circumstances. Familial child homicide is within the remit of the Child Abuse Command (SCD5). Operation Trident (SCD8) manages homicide investigations of gang related shootings. All other homicide investigations including all intimate partner homicides are managed with the Homicide & Serious Crime Command (SCD1).

Reviewing the most recent SCD1 database held by the MPS for the period 1st April 2006 to 12th February 2012¹⁰ indicates that in line with national trends total homicide numbers have decreased year on year.¹¹ Also following the national trend however, the number of intimate partner homicides has increased as has the proportion they contribute to the total homicide numbers.

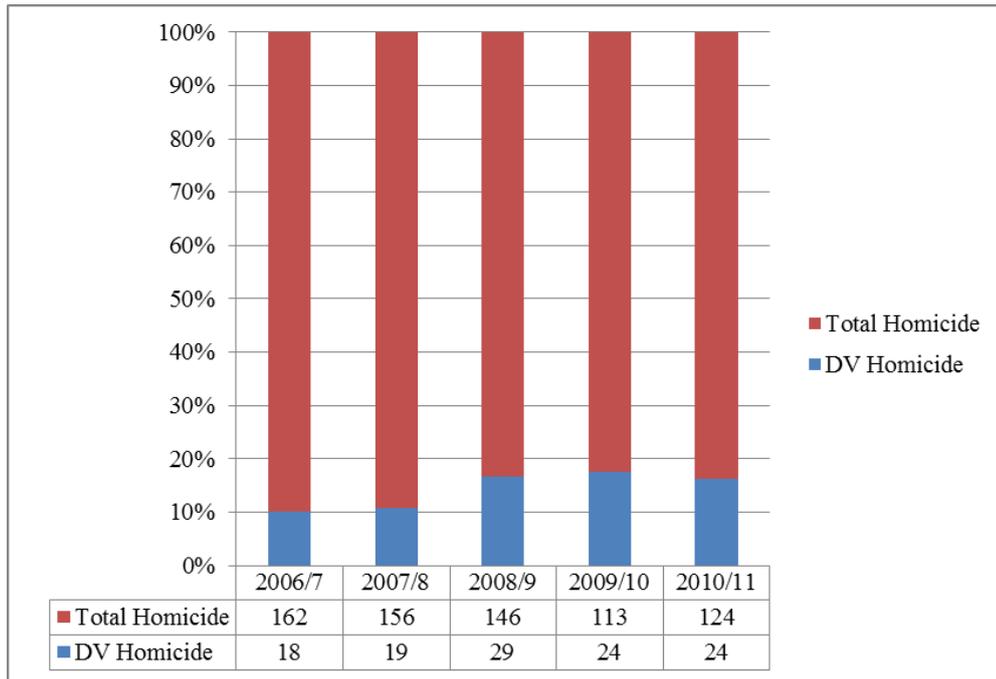
As detailed in Figure 1.3 the MPS figures reflect the national trend of a decrease in overall homicide offences from 2006 and a rise in both the number and percentage contribution of domestic violence homicides. When the five year figures are viewed within London there has been an 8% increase in the percentage contribution domestic homicides provide to the homicide total. In 2010/11 domestic homicides accounted for approximately 1 in 5 murders in London reflective of the national trend.

⁹ Since 2012 this directorate was renamed as SC&O Serious Crime & Operations Directorate.

¹⁰ Caveat: Data was accurate on the date of assessment (17th February 2012) and was measured from CRIS and HOLMES data (see Chapter 4.3); any subsequent changes to the data will not be reflected in this report. Total homicides relate to offences of murder, manslaughter, corporate manslaughter and infanticide.

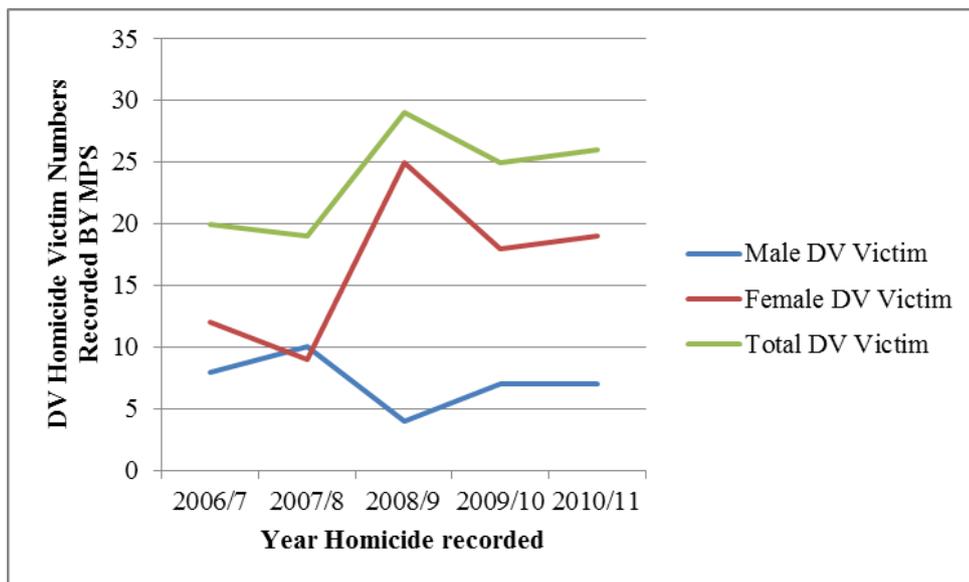
¹¹ MPS Crime Figures accessed 25th February 2013 (<http://www.met.police.uk/crimefigures>)

Figure 1.3 DV Homicide as % Contribution to Total Homicides Recorded by MPS 2006/7 – 2011/11 (MPS SCD1 Strategic Crime Data)



As seen in Figure 1.4 where gender ratios are also considered in line with the national trends there also has been an increase in the ratio of men to women killed. In 2006 60% of all domestic homicide victims were female; this had risen to 73% by 2011.

Figure 1.4 DV Homicide Victim Numbers Recorded by Total and Gender by MPS 2006/7 – 2010/11 (MPS SCD1 Strategic Crime Data)



So the capital, whilst tracking the national trends, shows domestic homicide levels of female victimisation increasing at a higher rate. Whilst numbers are low, the number of male victims has fluctuated compared with the national average whereas the number of female domestic homicide victims has shown an increase on the 1998 level.

1.4.4 Global Homicide Rates

Establishing measurements of national variation in the homicide rate let alone the international domestic homicides rate is problematic. This is due to the differences in measurements, collection, reliability, compatibility, quality and general definitions of what constitutes homicide internationally (Secretariat, 2011). This data collection even on a national let alone scale can be challenging.

There are also factors in relation to the consistency and reliability of such data both within and between countries which impacts on any ability to conduct meaningful comparisons (Stöckl, et al., 2013). Since conducting national comparisons at even the basic levels is difficult, assessing the underlying factors influencing national trends is also subject to methodological issues in terms of the consistency of data collection. As McCall & Nieuwbeerta (2007), found when attempting to complete a homicide comparison across European cities,

“Not only have the varying definitions of homicide across nations made such cross-national analysis difficult if not impossible, but also the challenge of finding comparable social and economic indicators across nations and at city levels has been insurmountable” (p. 168-169)

However data collection though United Nations Survey on Crime Trends and Operational Criminal Justice Systems (UN-CTS) (Malby, 2010) and Eurostat (McCall & Nieuwbeerta, 2007) does allow for international and national comparisons subject to

particular reliability caveats. The most reliable dataset for a regional global comparison is to be found through the collation of survey data submitted to the UN-CTS. Whilst not all countries complete surveys because the data is simply not available or the surveys are simply not submitted, the UN has established a substantial 1996-2006 crime offence database which allow for global comparisons. As homicide is regarded internationally as the most serious of offences, data for this above most other crime types is generally available. Through a combination of public health and criminal justice data, homicide is measured per 100,000 of the population and allows for a regional ranking.

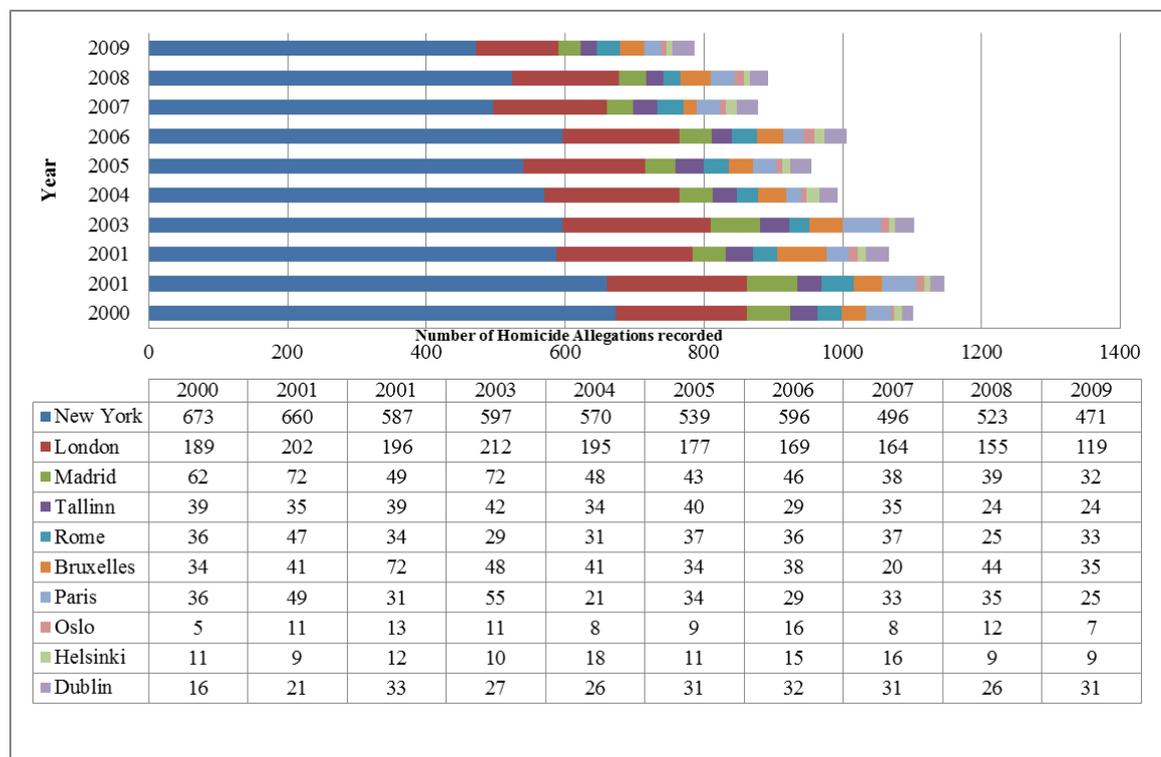
Southern, Middle and East African regions demonstrate the highest homicide rates at 24-63 per 100,000. Central American and Caribbean regions indicate rates of between 18-28 per 100,000. Eastern Europe ranks at over 10 per 100,000 with North America scoring approximately 5 per 100,000. Western European rates are low (under 10 per 100,000) and declining. Rates in the Central Americas and Caribbean continue to rise primarily due to Organised Criminality, drug trafficking and lack of medical intervention facilities (Malby, 2010).

Eurostat also collate homicide data from all European Union member states. Measurements are again taken in homicides per 100,000 of the population. Finland ranks as the most violent European nation with 2.3 killings per 100,000 with Austria ranked lowest at 0.6. England and Wales fall mid table at 1.4.¹² Levels of homicide within Eastern Europe as the UN data reflects are high and rising. Eurostat shows homicide levels of 8.7 per 100,000 for Lithuania and 6.6 for Estonia (Osborne et al., 2012).

¹² Eurostat collates crime returns for the England and Wales figure. Utilising the Homicide Index the rate falls to 11 per million

Current rates for the United Kingdom (UK) as well as England and Wales are differentiated and the inclusion of Scotland and Northern Ireland increases the ranking by 11 places. London records a murder rate of less than 2 per 100,000 of the population. This is lower than Paris or Copenhagen but higher level than Rome and Madrid. As shown in Figure 1.5¹³, within many European capital cities there is has been a general and sustained decline in the homicide rate over between 2000 and 2009. Such information is of use to governmental agencies for planning and assessing the success of intervention and prevention programmes as well as policing levels.

Figure 1.5 Comparative Homicides levels by Capital Cities 2000 – 2009 (Eurostat) ¹⁴



1.4.5 National Comparative Homicide Victim Gender ratios.

Subject to the data collection caveats previously listed the 2011 Global Burden of Armed Violence has calculated international homicide rates by gender. There are

¹³ European Commission, Eurostat accessed 25th February 2013 (http://epp.eurostat.ec.europa.eu/statistics_explained/index.php/Crime_trends_in_detail#Homicide_.28Table_3.29)

¹⁴ Eurostat, ‘Criminal Justice Database’ accessed 5th July 2012 (<http://epp.eurostat.ec.europa.eu>)

approximately 66,000 women murdered each year and this accounts for 17% of total homicide worldwide (Secretariat, 2011). Figures suggest that in 2010, nearly half a million people had been murdered worldwide and that 80% of them were men (Stöckl, et al., 2013).

Eurostat records national rates of homicide offences by victim gender over time for the 27 European Union nations. In total twice the number of males than females are killed per 100, 000 of the population. Both male and female rates have declined since 2000 however the rate of male decline is faster than that of women. Table 1.1 details the total and UK national homicide breakdowns of EU nations by gender per 100,000 since 2000.

Table 1.1 European Union/United Kingdom Countries Homicide data by gender 2000 – 2009 per 100,000 population (Eurostat)

	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009
E.U Male	2.0	1.9	1.8	1.7	1.7	1.5	1.4	1.3	1.3	1.2
E.U Female	0.9	0.8	0.8	0.8	0.8	0.7	0.6	0.6	0.6	0.6
U.K Male	1.2	0.6	0.7	0.7	0.8	0.6	0.7	0.5	0.5	0.4
U.K Female	0.6	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.2

When compared to the European Union averages both UK male and female rates are below the member state average. However the female ratio per 100,000 has plateaued since 2001 whereas the male ratio has reduced by almost half.

1.4.6 National Comparators for Domestic Violence Homicide & Measures of Sex Ratio of Killing (SROK)

In considering the difficulties within analysis of empirical data in order to gain a broad understanding of the nature and level of domestic violence homicide Websdale (1999) notes,

“the use of abstracted empiricism, even within the ranks of such empiricists, is fraught with difficulty if the variable “domestic homicide” is subject to multiple and conflicting social and legal definitions, at the same time as being susceptible to significant errors in reporting” (p.2)

The US Supplemental Homicide Report (SHR), equivalent to the Homicide Index, has a recognised error rate in determining the number of intimate partner homicides of 13% due to misclassifications (J. C. Campbell, Glass, Sharps, Laughon, & Bloom, 2007). In addition to under-reporting, US homicide data does not take into account prior medical or anecdotal information regarding previous violence to contextualise homicide events. Nor does it differentiate Hispanic/Latino ethnic status from White or Black ethnic classification or include ex-boy/girlfriend relationships as intimate partner homicide (Moracco, Runyan, & Butts, 2003; Garcia, Soria, & Hurwitz, 2007). Given that vast majority of the published theory is derived from US based studies this generates a caveat against which their findings should be judged.

It is of note that neither the UN- CTS nor the Eurostat data present any specific sub-section of information regarding rates of domestic violence homicides. This is understandable at the global level due to the reliability of general data collection. However within the European Commission whilst there is data available for theft of motor vehicle and domestic burglary offences but no bespoke collective statutory analysis of domestic violence homicide to allow for international or national tracking or comparative analysis (Tavares, Thomas & Bulut, 2012).

Thus any estimates of the global level of intimate partner homicide have to be viewed with caution due to the inconsistencies of definition and data collection (Stöckl, et al., 2013). Whilst mindful of such issues when conducting a meta-analysis of data

obtained for sixty-six countries, Stöckl et al. (2013) found that 13.5% of homicides were committed by intimate partners. They estimated that nearly a third of female homicides are perpetrated by intimate partners.

In England and Wales the position is improved, as under Section 95 of the Criminal Justice Act 1991, the government is required to produce information regarding female victimisation and perpetration as well as female staffing levels in policing and judicial agencies. This is contained within the annual statistical bulletin of Women within the Criminal Justice System (Ministry of Justice, November 2010). Whilst not providing an in-depth trend analysis, annual levels of domestic violence homicide are included within this material. Again however there is no information regarding national comparators of domestic homicide.

As stated earlier in this section domestic violence homicide is a unique subset of homicide due to the change in gender ratio when compared with total homicides. As M. I. Wilson & Daly (1992) suggest,

“A hitherto unremarked peculiarity of homicide in the United States is that women kill their husbands almost as often as the reverse.” (p.189)

In the absence of generalised reporting to identify whether trends are replicated regionally or internationally, national comparisons have been reliant of bespoke pieces of research. One of the most commonly used measures of domestic violence homicide comparison is a measure of the spousal sex ratio of killing (SROK). M. I. Wilson & Daly (1992) devised this concept which is a measure of the number of women who kill their husbands per 100 men who kill their wives. The SROK was used as an instrument to try and determine why the US and its major cities had higher SROK rates than other comparable nations. Using homicide data for 1976–1985, the SROK rate of the US was

75. Cities such as Chicago and Detroit scored 102 and 200 respectively. During the same period Canada scored 31 and England and Wales 23. The national and city variations in SROK could not be adequately explained by the difference in firearms accessibility and usage nor a cultural facet of devolved gender roles within the American culture. However the study did determine that particular relationship characteristics could act as predictor variables for the SROK rate.

SROK as a predictive instrument of domestic homicide has been revisited by Aldridge & Brown (2003) and Gauthier & Bankston (2004). Both studies note that a decade later there has been little change to the SROK in either the US, where it remains at 74, or England and Wales where it remains at 23. Calculating the SROK rate from the Home Office (Osborne et al., 2012) data for 1998/9 – 2008/9 the rate in England and Wales has risen to 30.2.

Whilst of concern that the SROK rate has risen, caution must be given over its accuracy due to changes in definition and data collection methods by the Home Office during the collection periods. As experienced by Aldridge & Brown (2003),

“Although variations appear year on year, these changes are relatively small and are often due to changes in definitions and the methods used for collecting these figures. Therefore the decline in the number of men killing their current or former partner or lover during 1995 (42%) compared to 1999/2000 (37%) should be viewed cautiously.” (p.266)

1.5 Summary

In England and Wales the primary difference between the commission of murder and manslaughter, and thus the difference between receiving a mandatory life sentence or not, relates to the presence of intent by the perpetrator to kill or cause

serious injury. This clearly has importance for the study of domestic violence homicide. Given that it is so rare for women to kill and that when they do it is most generally their partner, understanding their intent and what lead to its formation is a critical part in understanding this particular subset of homicide. The unique nature of relationship dynamics within intimate partner homicide appears to have been recognised in the legislative changes brought about by the Coroners and Justice Act 2009 which now takes into account issues of provocation and matters that point towards an intent to kill. Men appear to be operating under a different homicide dynamic. They are more likely to be killed by acquaintances and strangers than partners. An increased understanding of the gendered domestic homicide dynamic is crucial as total figures and gendered ratios have been rising in the UK despite the introduction of a number of legislative and social prevention initiatives.

However data collection and survey methodology need to be consistent across nations. In order to target intimate partner violence effectively true rates should be determined and compared both regionally nationally and globally.

Chapter 2

Homicide Theory

2.1 Introduction

Despite perennial issues of incomplete records and individual input errors, there is a relatively comprehensive homicide data collection mechanism for England and Wales via the Homicide Index and for Europe via Eurostat. Globally the UN - CTS is credibly measuring regional homicide trends. Given that homicide rates are such significant and cynically, newsworthy statistics, influencing the public's fear of crime, both national and international agencies have sought improvements and process refinement in their on-going measurement. For instance, the UK government have legislated for an independent Office of National Statistics¹⁵ in order to safeguard the quality and comprehensiveness of all data collection. Further legislation has given rise to a statutory responsibility for the Ministry of Justice to provide annual reports regarding the position of women within the criminal justice system, whether as suspects, victims or employees.¹⁶

However the same progress has not been so evident in respect of advances in the theoretical address of homicide. As Corzine (2011) reflects,

“the last decade has witnessed significant advances in both the quality of data sets available for the study of homicide....but similar evolution in the area of homicide theories over the first decade of the current century is not as evident” (p.315)

¹⁵ Statistics and Registration Service Act 2007

¹⁶ Section 95 of the Criminal Justice Act 1991

General homicide theory has evolved around three key disciplines; biology, psychology and sociology. There remains a theoretical schism between them regarding the influence of the individual over the collective influence of society in determining homicidal behaviour. This chapter provides a summarised literature review of key elements of homicide theory in general while intimate partner murder is reviewed in Chapter 3. A summary overview of biological (Section 2.2), psychological (Section 2.3) and sociological (Section 2.4) explanations of homicide is presented. This is followed by comment regarding their relative merits and limitations in providing a holistic account of murder.

Whilst data suggests sex differences in many aspects of homicide, theoretical explanations are often based on the male homicide experience rarely distinguishing between genders. Therefore the chapter concludes with a general summary of the prevailing theories specifically related to women and homicide.

2.2. Biological Theories of Homicide

The majority of biological explanations for homicide tend to be subsumed within overall theories of violence and aggression. Homicide is regarded as an extreme event within a spectrum of violence rather than standalone behaviour. Explained at an individualist level behaviour is directed through individual agency where, either through genetic predisposition, mental illness or injury or substance abuse, the perpetrator is author of their own actions. There are four key categories of biological explanations of violence and aggressive behaviour;

2.2.1 Criminal Anthropology

The criminal anthropological school suggests that there is an association between body shape and aggression. Lombroso (1911) identified specific

anthropological characteristics such as cranial size, amongst prison inmates and concluded that criminals possessed a distinct inherited constitution differing from that of the general population. Sheldon & Stevens (1942) produced similar findings equating body morphism with criminality, the assumption being that these physical differences accounted for criminal behaviour. However whilst the association of a particular body shape with aggression was noted, how shape directed behaviour appeared more a correlational observation rather than a causal effect. Much of this work was discontinued due to its negative political connotations in 'labelling' people as criminal simply because of their build (Raine, 1997).

2.2.2 Criminal Heredity

Genetic theories of crime suggest that variations in the structure of the genetic code (genotype) will determine an individual's propensity toward criminality (Blackburn, 1993; Flannery, Vazsonyi & Waldman, 2007; Raine, 1997). The majority of research underpinning genetic theories of crime is based on the results of twin, adoption and family studies.

Twin study methodology centres on the variation in criminality displayed between identical (monozygotic) and fraternal (dizygotic) twins. Studies are based on scoring levels of criminal concordance, the measure of whether one or both twins display criminality, and suggest that any variation could be accounted for by the non-shared genetic influences between siblings (Rhee & Waldman, 2002; Flannery et al., 2007). Family studies measure the generational correspondence of criminal conduct to assess levels of heredity (Farrington, 1995; Robins, 1966). Adoption studies compare the criminality of children who have criminal/non-criminal biological and adoptive parents (Mednick, Gabrielli Jr, & Hutchings, 1984).

Just as criminal anthropology's determinism undermined its theoretical credibility, so too has heredity's conception that people are simply 'born bad' limited its general acceptance as an overarching theory of violence. Additionally there are considerable methodological issues with genetic studies since many were unable to control for, and disaggregate the effect of, environmental factors on behaviour.

Whilst many of the biological studies have focused on criminality and aggressive behaviour, few have predominantly centred on an understanding of homicide per se (Flannery et al., 2007; Rhee & Waldman, 2002). None provide a rigorous explanation for homicidal behaviour primarily due to the limited sample populations. However what is apparent is that criminal heredity research has amassed a significant amount of evidence which suggests that criminal variance within the population does have a strong genetic content but it is the interaction of genes within the environment that determines behaviour (Mason & Frick, 1994).

2.2.3 Psychopathology

There are diverse psychopathological and physiological explanations accounting for aggression and violent behaviour which encompass homicidal activity. Common to all theories is that criminal behaviours are seen as a disorder due to disease or dysfunction.

The key research areas have been studies in relation to low resting heart rate impacting on arousal, (Raine, 1997; Ortiz & Raine, 2004) fronto-cortical function effecting impulse control, (Scarpa & Raine, 2007) mental illness (Richard-Devantoy et al., 2011; Tehrani, Brennan, Hodgins, & Mednick, 1998), brain injury (León-Carrión & Ramos, 2003) and abnormal electro cortical wave forms (Howard, 1984). A collection of neurobiological studies also identified the key role neurotransmitters, particularly

serotonin, plays in the regulation of behavioural impulses (Moore, Scarpa, & Raine, 2002; R. Lee & Coccaro, 2007).

Media reporting of homicides where perpetrators suffer from psychiatric disorders tends to suggest that there is a link between mental health and dangerousness (Kalucy et al., 2011). However there is limited evidence to suggest that this is in fact the case. Cumulative statistics suggest that between 3-14% of homicide offenders suffer from some form of psychiatric disorder (Brookman, 2005). Violence is most closely associated with those sufferers who also are additionally alcohol or substance abusers (Shaw et al., 1999). As Blackburn (1993) notes

“With the possible exception of some forms of personality disorder, none of the major categories recognised by psychiatry seems strongly associated with a propensity for violence.” (p.272)

There is considerable research diversity and limited theoretical cohesion which is why, as suggested in Chapter 1, legal arguments in terms of mental capacity and individual liability are so complex. Psychopathological explanations are deterministic and dependant on a perpetrator’s condition or dysfunction. Issues of rational choice over individual agency and mental functionality are not adequately addressed as much research is “correlational rather than explanatory” (Blackburn, 1993).

2.2.4 Toxicological Stimulation

The influence of alcohol and drugs within the homicide act is a key variable within this research. It is estimated that between 33% and 60% of all crime is alcohol related (Herrnstein & Wilson, 1985) and 24% of homicides globally have an association with alcohol (Bye, 2012). Through a meta-analysis of 24 international studies Kuhns,

Exum, Clodfelter, & Bottia, (2013) identified that 48% of homicide offenders were reportedly under the influence of alcohol at the time of the offence.

Alcohol myopia influences both a victim's and perpetrator's perception of situations and their corresponding responsive acts to deal with them (Josephs & Steele, 1990; Steele & Josephs, 1990). Alcohol, even at minimal levels of consumption, influences autonomic arousal, motor skills, heart rate and brain function. Whilst there is a correlation between alcohol use/abuse and violence, its effects are not uniformly experienced due to body type and metabolism (Pernanen, 1991).

Illicit substance abuse acts as a violence generator in terms of the criminal economy surrounding illegal drug production, purchase and consumption as well as the pharmacological effects it has on an individual's biological function (Boles & Miotto, 2003). Research indicates a link between violence, aggression, and psychosis in relation to cocaine and amphetamine use (Ellinwood, 1971; Licata, Taylor, Berman, & Cranston, 1993).

There are conflicting research results in terms of the impact of cannabis use, in particular on violent and aggressive behaviour. A key component of cannabis is tetrahydrocannabinol which can act as a suppressant and inhibitor. However this contrasts with studies which correlate cannabis use with violence and criminal activity (Kretschmar & Flannery, 2007). There is also research suggestive that cannabis use, as well as alcohol abuse, is associated homicidal psychosis in those users suffering from mental health disorders (Swinson et al., 2011).

2.2.5 Summary

Biological explanations singular focus on individual determinism has been tempered in more recent research discourse. Increasingly biology is not seen as isolated

or acting on the individual independently but the effects of the interaction of biology within the social and physical environment appear to offer more comprehensive explanations. The technological advances offered through brain imaging systems offer a significant potential to progress theories based on integrated patterns of brain function operating on individuals within a biosocial framework (Scarpa & Raine, 2007). However distinguishing whether biological influences are causal or correlational to violent and homicidal behaviour remains a complex and far from resolved issue

2.3. Psychological Theories of Homicide

Psychological theories of homicide are also similarly explained through internal processes and individual agency. However instead of being the result of genetics or brain function, the psychological school accounts for behavioural activity, including criminality and aggression, either within inner unconscious struggles or through the response of distinct personality types to their environment.

Again there are no discrete theories in relation to homicide per se and it is generally accounted for within theories of aggression and violence. Three primary psychological explanations are psychoanalytical theory, personality trait categorisation and social learning theory. There is a fourth theory, environmental psychology, which argues that behaviour is driven by an unconscious desire to survive and reproduce. As the evolutionary psychology school is a preeminent theory as to the cause of intimate partner homicide theory, it will be considered in detail within Chapter 3.

2.3.1 Psychoanalytical Theories of Homicide

Freud argued that all behaviour was engineered at an individual level and directed by internal conflicts within three unconscious layers of self. 'Id' is the primal self-serving element which then develops through childhood experience and

relationships. The 'ego' is the result of that development and understands the impact of behaviour in others and regulates the selfish id. Finally the 'superego' directs and filters that regulation and how behaviours conform to general and personal morals and expectations (Freud, 1938).

Freud regarded homicidal behaviour as murderous impulses resulting from the internal 'Oedipal' dilemma. Instinctual subconscious conflicts were generated by urges to murder one's father to assuage the guilt of the incestuous desire for one's mother (RoUdiNEsco, 2011). The key issue with Freud is, whilst the theory is possible, how these struggles are translated into action remains unexplained. Moreover it is questionable as to how the unconscious can be proved or evidenced in a manner which would conform to any academic scrutiny.

Fromm developed Freud's ideas of aggression and internal conflict and blended them with Darwinian evolutionary theory. He categorised aggression as being benign or malignant (Fromm, 1973). Benign aggression is an uncontrolled reaction, innate and instinctual, and is generated through fear and the need for survival. Malignant aggression, such as sadism or cruelty, is a character rooted passion and just as elemental to the human character as the ability to detect and deter danger. The ability to feel emotion allows people to understand the world and their place in it. Thus passion and aggression fulfil our existential needs.

“The truth is that all human passions, both the good and the bad, can be understood only as a person's attempts to make sense of his life and transcend banal and merely life sustaining existence.” (p.31)

Malignant aggression at its extreme form leads to murder where the struggle to find a balanced existence and one's place within the world is selfishly derailed through one's particular experience, social condition and individual brain function.

“Even the most sadistic and destructive man is human, as human as the saint. He can be a warped and sick man who has failed to achieve a better answer to the challenge of having been born human and this is true; he can also be a man who took the wrong way in search of his salvation.” (p.32)

Fromm suggests aggression and by extension homicide, is generated by a person's innate passions filtered by character and upbringing. An individual may have no conscious control of their malignant and sadistic urges, suggestive that such actions are inevitable and thus excusable. Again as with Freud, there is cohesion to Fromm's theory but limited rigorous quantitative evidence in corroboration of its concepts.

2.3.2 Personality Theories of Homicide

Personality theories of crime pioneered by Eysenck (Eysenck, 1974, 1977; Eysenck & Gudjonsson, 1989) suggest that all individuals have particular traits or internal elements which filter and direct their disposition towards criminality. The theory categorises people along a personality trait axis of three key elements of Neurotic/Stable, Psychotic/Superego and Extravert/Introvert. Their relative position along this scale can be predictive of their propensity towards criminality and violence. Positions on this axis will determine how a person will act within a given situation. For instance Neurotic Extroverts are likely to exhibit antisocial behaviour.

A person's 'score' along these spectrums is formed through the interplay of genetic factors and their environment. Personality theory benefits from embracing the importance of multiple influences on individual behaviour. However whilst personality

theory accounts for a more generalised theory of behaviour, it only focuses on the most extreme personality traits and has limited explanation as to the effects of learning or recidivism. It does not convincingly establish a cohesive theory of homicide per se.

“Family murderers and inadequate criminals are excluded from the theory, which to this extent is not a theory of criminal behaviour in general.” (Blackburn, 1993, p.117)

2.3.3 Social Learning Theories of Homicide

A criticism of many psychological theories is that the individual appears divorced from external influence. Social learning advances the position by incorporating the potential effects of external agency on behaviour. Whilst still founded in individual determinism, personal behaviour is seen as being shaped by socialisation and experience.

The social learning theory posited by Miller & Dollard (1941) presents an explanation that all behaviour and thus, by extension, violence and criminality, is formed by an individual through the process of operant learning from the reactions their behaviours provoke.

“Criminal behaviour is learned in the same manner as other forms of behaviour and that support for such a view could be found in both ecological patterns of crime and delinquency and in case studies of individuals and groups”. (G. F. Jensen, 1999 p.637)

Learning takes place through both observation and experience. The positive and negative benefits accrued by the individual in behaviour selection shapes an individual's learning curve and influences decisions as to whether to utilise such behaviour again. Where violence is seen to achieve goals in a particular situation, a propensity to use violence as a situational response to achieve ones objective is seen as

a desirable option for future transactions. Observing and experiencing the positive instrumental effects that violence and aggression can achieve can make such behaviour cyclical (Bandura, 1973).

Whilst useful in drawing together social and environmental influences in the process of learning and executing behaviour, social learning theorists provide no explanation as to homicidal behaviour per se. However with the rise of the 'Grand Theft Auto' generation and the effects of the media, gaming and films in desensitising and glamorising homicide current research is focusing on the influence of such agents in creating learned behaviour responses and influencing aggressive behaviour (G. F. Jensen, 1999).

2.3.4 Summary

The psychological schools, in common with the biological, seat behaviour within the individual. Aggression and homicide are variously explained through internal subconscious conflict, a combination of personality traits or as a learned experience through social conditioning and processing. Whilst so far there has been limited research in relation to homicide per se, current avenues in psychoanalytical homicide studies are framed in understanding and explaining murderous behaviour through the emotional experience of perpetrator. Katz (1988) identified the mental process of the self-justification and rationalisation acts of killers in explaining their behaviour. Presser (2012) identifies the significance of the individual's perception of their own identity as either a victim or wronged party in rationalising and accounting for their homicidal behaviour. Whilst narratively based, this approach of psychoanalytical processing is useful in advancing understanding at an individual level if not necessarily explaining homicide within a wider global context.

2.4 Sociological Theories of Homicide

The prevailing sociological theories of homicide are either based upon either social and/or cultural influences shaping behaviour or triangulation theories charting the interaction between offender, victim and situation. Common to both themes however is the distancing of violent behaviour from the discretion of an individual and seating it within the interplay and influence of wider non-personal factors.

2.4.1 Socio/Cultural Theories of Homicide

There are three branches of social/cultural theory (deprivation theory, neighbourhood strain or micro-cultural acceptance) accounting for the use of lethal violence.

Deprivation theory suggests that poverty, either absolute in terms of total distribution or relative in terms of the disproportionality of distribution, leads to disaffection and disempowerment. The inability to merely survive and provide basic essentials let alone achieve aspirational goals increases aggression. This generates the potential for individuals to commit murder both out of desperation or acquisitive instrumental violence (Messner & Rosenfeld, 1999). Collective research suggests that poverty and low social economic status is associated with child maltreatment, partner and community violence (Foster, Brooks-Gunn, & Martin, 2007).

Expanding on the behavioural influence of poverty, the neighbourhood disorganisation theories arising out of the work of the Chicago School (Park, Burgess, & McKenzie, 1984) indicate that violence results from the confluence of poverty, environmental deprivation, non-stable and non-indigenous populations and breakdown in social cohesion. The 'bad people/bad places' argument suggests the lack of

opportunity, social mobility, basic provision and a unitary moral tolerance of violence as an acceptable behaviour promotes and allows for its perpetration.

In a similar manner, identifying of the impact of a confluence of stressors on an individual, strain theory suggests that people will resort to acts of lethal violence to reduce the stress or restore equilibrium. Initially, strain theory predicted that within a deprived and disaffected environment individuals, predominantly men, accepted capitalist aspirations but their path towards achieving them was blocked by lack of social mobility and opportunity. However use of violence to achieve status and financial gain was a rational option for an individual. Because society is dysfunctional, any social control measures to deter such behaviour are no longer effective in managing disruptive and criminal activities (Merton, 1938). Agnew, Flannery, Vazsonyi, & Waldman (2007) developed strain theory by suggesting that violent behaviours were generated due to either loss of something of value, injustice felt through low of self-worth or lack of avenues for achievement and attainment.

Micro/sub-cultural theories suggest that within certain environments and cultures there is a condoning and even an expectation of violence, particularly in terms of gender and criminality. Based on research on the Southern States of America, correlating high violence and homicide levels amongst the predominantly Black Afro-Caribbean male population, this theory suggests that specific value systems can be established. Within these micro-cultures the use of violence whether in association with criminal acts, personal domestic disputes or a sense of powerlessness and alienation from the mainstream culture, is expected, accepted and even encouraged (Elliott et al., 1996; Harvey, 1986; M. R. Lee, 2011). The subcultural theory has been incorporated within explanations of street gang violence and homicide where conditions of poor parenting, drug use and alienation generate an acceptance and propensity

towards excessive violence (Anderson, 1999; Thornberry, 1998). Deprivation, inequality and subcultural acceptance of violence particular in relation to the experience of women have been identified as key factors influencing intimate partner homicide and will be considered in further detail in Section 3.3.3.

A limitation of the above theories is that they are predominantly based on research from urban areas within the US and are thus not easily transferrable. They do not easily translate into generalised explanations for homicides given they are founded in the unique population diversity and firearms culture experienced in the US.¹⁷ Furthermore these predominantly urban based processes can not necessarily account for rural deprivation effects or the differential influence such cultures have on gender.

Deprivation theories do not account for the totality of the homicide experience. Where deprivation is designated as a critical factor in the gestation of violent behaviour it cannot then account for violence and homicide committed by the affluent and socially advantaged. Furthermore socio/cultural theories do not adequately explain why the effects are not uniformly exhibited by all experiencing the same conditions. Why some and not others who are labouring under the same socioeconomic and cultural conditions resort to lethal violence clearly suggests there are additional influences promoting aggression and violence.

2.4.2 Interactional Triangulation Theories of Homicide

This group of theories is situation and context based either through the triangulation of players behaviours within the event or analysis of the cost benefit balance such behaviour affords the perpetrator. Triangulated theories explain homicide and violence by identifying the importance of context and the interplay of victim,

¹⁷ Some modelling within Europe has been conducted (Decker, 2007; Klein, 2001).

perpetrator and situation (Athens, 1977; Goffman, 1967; Luckenbill, 1977; Toch, 1992). It is the characteristics of suspect and victim, and where and how they interact within situational factors of time, location, motive and opportunity, which appears to offer a more comprehensive insight into murder. As Corzine 2012 explains,

“From this perspective, homicides are one possible outcome of interpersonal violence, and the emphasis is on determining offender, victim and situational characteristics that influence the potential lethality of violent transactions.” (p.316)

The basic methodology of this approach is to review homicide data through suspect, victim and situational dynamics. Whilst every murder may in itself be unique, there are identifiable areas of commonality when these factors converge at the point of the offence. When examining and grouping these commonalities, clusters of event and situation types can be identified which, dependant on the triangulated dynamics, are predictive of potential use of lethal violence.

The development of triangulated models allowed for the inclusion of the victim and their characteristics and behaviour within the context of the homicide event, an element which limits biological and psychological theories (Curtis, 1973; Wolfgang & Ferracuti, 1967). Theorists argue that it is the context in which offending occurs which is paramount to understanding homicide as killing events are qualitatively different, particularly in terms of gender. What is it about a situation and the convergence of individuals in time and place that provokes the use of lethal violence in some and not others? Identifying these different contexts is key to understanding how and why homicides take place in some situations and not others.

Triangulated and situational theory suggests a staged process of interactions develop through a series of “character contests” between the participants (Goffman,

1967). Disputatiousness and resultant aggression increase until a standoff situation is reached and violence is an option to either save face or as an act of retaliation (Luckenbill & Doyle, 1989). T. D. Miethe, Regoeczi, & Drass (2004) reviewed and triangulated the homicide context of 32,768 homicide events in the US between 1976 and 1998. However 618 situational clusters accounted for 82% of all the homicide events. The homicides appear to be grouped around specific interaction types and appeared to be stable over time.

“Most homicides occur in situational contexts that have changed little over the last three decades”. (p257)

The primary and most stable situational contexts were intra-racial, intra-age and intra-gender group shootings of known victims during disputes within the urban environment. Instrumental homicides of strangers, generally associated with acquisitive or sexual offences are less frequent than expressive homicides committed during arguments amongst known parties.

Research and theory suggest there are clearly delineated roles of ‘suspect’ and ‘victim’ within intimate partner homicide and relationship violence predominantly established within a history of domestic abuse. This has facilitated the use of situated transactions as a framework for intimate partner homicide research (Reckdenwald & Parker, 2010; Swatt & He, 2006). This theme will be considered in the Chapter 3.

In addition to transactional theory, rational choice and routine activity theories of crime have also been applied with varying success as explanations for violence and homicide (Blackburn, 1993). Routine activity theory explains higher levels of male homicide victimisation and perpetration due to their increased risk of exposure to violence through their lifestyle choices and daily activities (Cohen & Felson, 1979). In

general young men are more often in public places without ‘capable guardians’ and are more at risk of receiving or perpetrating violence than married mothers who are more likely to be in the home or protective environments limiting their risk liability.

The decision to take another life is often a deliberate act. Thus many homicides will therefore have some degree of personal decision making within them. Some perpetrators can choose whether to act or just walk away. Rational choice theories suggest that general criminality, and by extension violent crime and homicide, is the result of a cost benefit analysis by the perpetrator. Both situational factors and personal experiences filter the decision making process by an offender. In theory a person will offend if the benefit, such as obtaining status, improving their well-being or punishing disobedience or disrespect, outweighs the cost, such as the penal liability or further retaliation, incurred by such actions (Blackburn, 1993). The concept of cost benefit analysis on the perpetration of intimate partner homicide is an important consideration within evolutionary psychology and will be considered further within Section 3.3.9

2.4.5 Summary

Sociological models benefit from setting the individual’s behaviour within a wider context. The dynamics of deprivation, poor parenting, education, opportunity and social structures can be behavioural drivers. However not everyone within a community will experience and engage with these factors in the same way. These models do not adequately explain why within a uniformly experienced subculture one person may resort to lethal violence and another may not. Through socio/cultural generalisation the individual becomes removed from the event. The self-determination of behaviour cannot be divorced from homicide theory.

“Every time a muscle moves it is because of the brain. No muscle has ever been moved by a social bond or self-concept.” (Jeffery, Del Carmen, & White, 1985 p.85)

The triangulation models in examining the interactive roles of players within the event offer a design to develop a “conjunctive approach.” (T. D. Miethe et al., 2004) Evaluating the elements of victim, suspect and situation as a framework for identifying how people respond to each other and the dynamics of situations which result in lethal violence allows for a greater insight into the homicide act. Their significance is limited however as much of the research is based on male perpetrated homicide data from the US and its conclusions are generalised. It is unclear as to how T.D. Meithe et al., final conclusions from situational transactional analysis that homicide is ‘both simple and complex unique and common’ actually advances understanding.

2.5 Gender & Homicide Theory.

There are quantitative and qualitative differences in male and female homicide dynamics both in terms of perpetration and victimisation which has led to an unresolved debate as to whether generic murder theory can or should be gender neutral. Men are more likely to be both homicide victims and perpetrators than women. Men are more likely to kill and be killed by strangers or acquaintances whereas women are killed and will kill intimate partner or family members (Brookman, 2005; V. Jensen, 2001; Ministry of Justice, November 2010; Schwartz, 2011).

There is gender equality in the proportion of female and male arrests for violence against the person offences which stands at 34% and 31% respectively (2008/9.) This is a consistent trend since 2006/07 (Ministry of Justice, November 2010). However there is a disparity when this translates into the use of lethal violence

as women only account for an average of 11% of total homicides committed in England and Wales each year (Brookman, 2005). Similarly men account for 90% of all U.S. murders (T. D. Miethe et al., 2004). However as V. Jensen (2001) suggests

“Even though women are in the minority of homicide offenders, women do kill.” (p.1)

It is however only within the category of intimate partner homicide, where there are 6 female offenders to every 10 male offenders, (Swatt & He, 2006) that there is any levelling of the gender disparity in perpetration when compared with the total homicide figures. Given the apparent importance of the domestic setting for female victimisation and perpetration, female offending is most commonly explained in terms of dominance and control within relationship dynamics (V. Jensen, 2001; Schwartz, 2011). As explained by T. D. Miethe et al. (2004),

“Homicides committed by women are argued to be predominantly motivated by self-protection against aggressive and threatening behaviour by males” (p.131)

This is not to say that women do not kill with a different mind-set and for other reasons such as finance, sex, quarrels and criminality. However in general their homicidal activity and victimisation is rooted within the domestic environment (Brookman, 2005). Thus there are clearly forces operating unilaterally on gender according to the situation and context which may require differential explanations.

When women kill it is seen as an anathema, so against their nurturing nature that it can only apparently be explained by such women being regarded as deviant and deranged. No rational ‘normal’ woman, with her nurturing nature, would have the ability to commit a violent premeditated act of instrumental murder. Women that kill challenge the generalised roles of femininity within society. If women kill their partners

or their children, it must be because of abuse or because of mental health issues resulting from pregnancy rather than any malign reason. These circumstances sanitise and justify women's uncharacteristic homicidal activity making it socially acceptable. It allows the offence to be deemed tragic and understandable rather than calculating and malicious. Female killers then do not become culturally unthinkable merely culturally vulnerable. Women killing under any other circumstance are categorised as deviant. The vilification of female killers within the media demonises them excommunicating them from society as abhorrent and alien.

“Killing by women violates norms of femininity, such as nurturance, gentleness and social conformity. It disturbs culturally held notions not only of how women should behave, but also of what a woman is.” (Seal, 2010 p.1)

Given the considerable difference in the number and nature of homicides when viewed through a gendered perspective, there is a suggestion that none of the prevailing homicide theories can adequately explain or account for the female homicide experience (V. Jensen, 2001). The majority of studies on which many theories are based have been conducted with male subjects. Many of the theories do not hold true when accounting for female perpetrated homicide. For instance according to socio-economic theories, poverty and deprivation are key drivers in homicide generation (Messner & Rosenfeld, 1999). However women occupy some of the poorest and most deprived positions and therefore one would expect to see far higher levels of female violence and aggression if these drivers operated uniformly according to gender (V. Jensen, 2001). Male centric theories and research do not account for women's biological, psychological or sociological experiences or motivations. There remains a lack of theoretical or analytical vocabulary to understand female violence that is not grounded in male behaviour. Where explanations have been proposed to account for female

perpetrated aggression and homicide they have been centred on individual biology, social learning and cultural equality.

2.5.1 Women & Biology

Biological theories of female aggression centre on testosterone hormonal levels and the behavioural effects associated with premenstrual syndrome. Studies (Dabbs & Morris, 1990; Dabbs, Riad, & Chance, 2001) have suggested that increased testosterone enhances and facilitates aggressive and antisocial behaviour in women however results have been inconsistent and it is unclear as to whether it is a correlation or cause of aggression (R. Lee & Coccaro, 2007b; Raine, 1997).

Pre-menstrual syndrome or, Late Luteal Phase Dysphoric Disorder, is a condition where hormonal changes may induce an increased tendency towards aggressive and antisocial behaviour within sufferers, dependant on where they are within the menstrual cycle. Decreased levels of progesterone unbalanced against other androgens also produce symptoms of irritability, lethargy, lack of concentration and depression (Dalton, 1961; Fishbein, 1992; Hands, Herbert, & Tennent, 1974). Research conducted by d'Orban & Dalton (1980) on a sample of female prisoners convicted of violence offences revealed that 44% had committed their offences within the paramenstruum stage of their cycle, a four day window either side of menstruation where hormonal imbalance is most acute. However results are ambiguous since it is unclear whether the hormonal effects are the cause of the violence or the cycle timings have been influenced and instigated by the stress of the violent event.

2.5.2 Women & Anomie

Durkheim (1893, 1897) proposed a general theory of murder linking internal self struggles with the prevailing social environment and in doing so did consider

gender difference. Durkheim suggested that gender differences in homicide perpetration were not as imbalanced as the murder rate would suggest. Although women commit fewer homicides than men, many of the murders they are prone to commit, such as poisoning and infanticide, remain undetected. In addition within a chivalrous society women are more likely to be given the benefit of the doubt when accused for murder. Durkheim believed that in primitive societies gender murder rates would have been equal, however, as society evolved and the position and power balance between the sexes changed, women's murder rates reduced as they had lesser roles within society and thus less opportunity or motivation to kill.

Durkheim identified a condition of exasperated frustration and weariness with life, an 'anomie', which under specific circumstances could result in suicide or homicide. He argued that a matrimonial anomie or frustration was more likely to affect men, as women's sexual desires and frustrations were more limited as they were less involved in society. Women therefore suffered lower levels of frustration and anger and thus were less likely than man to commit spousal homicide (DiCristina, 2006). Durkheim's position is however anachronistic and is limited lack of statistical corroboration for his theories.

2.5.3 Women & Social Learning

Social Cognition Theory proposes that gender differences in violence can be explained by the difference in the social cognition abilities of men and women (Bennett, Farrington & Huesmann, 2005). There are sex differences in how males and females identify and respond to social or situational cues and the subsequent decision- making processes which prompt particular behaviours in response. Bennett et al., suggest that women due to neurological, upbringing and wider cultural factors are less exposed to criminal risk factors and thus learn to process situations differently to men. Women are

less likely to respond criminally or violently to a situation since girls are often socialised to develop different and more appropriate pro-social responses at an early age compared with boys.

2.5.4 Women & Equality

Liberation/ Emancipation theories are situated in and a product of the changing political situation and advancement in women's rights during the 1960-70's. Proposed by Alder (1975), equality theory suggested that as legislation and western society changed and women were advanced more freedoms, they would have more opportunity to commit crime. Liberated women were allowed to express and indulge in masculine behaviours. It was predicted that this would translate into a rise in female perpetrated homicide. Women would also be offered opportunities to participate in criminal enterprise. Spending more time out of the domestic arena would promote more interaction and lead to the opportunity for violent exchanges as women were influenced by violent subcultures as man had been before liberation (A. Campbell, 1994; Simon, 1975).

Female violence would also increase according to Ogle, Maier-Katkin, & Bernard (1995), where failure to attain equality, low self-esteem and failed coping strategies act as stressors and can be precipitate of homicidal interactions. However liberation has not been commensurate with an increase in female homicide perpetration.

There is also a counter argument that gender equality has still not been reached. Despite significant changes men still hold the balance of power in finance, politics and legislation. In the US merely 3% of Fortune 500 company's Chief Executive Officers are women (Buckalew, Konstantinopoulos, Russell, & El-Sherbini, 2012). There are

only two female Chief Executives in the UK's FTSE 100.¹⁸ Only 22% of elected Members of Parliament in Westminster are women. The English and Welsh judiciary is ranked only above Armenia and Azerbaijan in European diversity ratings with merely 23% of appointed judges being female.¹⁹ The playing field is far from even. The liberation theory's predictions have not yet reached a societal threshold where they can be tested (V. Jensen, 2001).

2.5.5 Summary

Female perpetrated homicide, just as male perpetrated homicide, is diverse in its method and motivation. When considered as a separate and unique phenomenon much of the academic research has focused on female killing within the domestic arena. Whilst this does account for the significant proportion of female driven homicide, it is not the only reason for or arena in which women kill (Chan, 2001; Brookman, 2005; Pearson, 2007; Seal, 2010). Analysis of crime is however a difficult balance since viewing it from a sexually biased perspective fails to account for the similarities in the manner in which men and women kill (Dixon & Graham-Kevan, 2011; Felson 2006).

Gendered explanations may pose acceptable theories as to why situations inciting the use of lethal violence may be different for women and thus account for the asymmetry in perpetration and victimisation, but they do not adequately account for how the offences take place or why other women labouring under similar situations do not resort to violence.

¹⁸The Daily Telegraph "The Two women left running FTSE 100 companies" accessed 12th February 2013 (<http://www.telegraph.co.uk/finance/businesslatestnews/9635346>)

¹⁹ The Guardian, "The UK amongst the worst in Europe for employing female judges" accessed 12th February 2013 (<http://www.guardian.co.uk/law/2012/sep/20/uk-female-judges-ratio-europ>)

As emphasised by Brookman 2005,

“In short neither the ‘gender difference’ or ‘gender similarities’ approach are fully satisfactory in explaining homicide and more research is needed clearly to unravel the extent to which female violence should be understood as distinct or similar to that of males.” (p,309)

Chapter 3

Intimate Partner Homicide

3.1 Introduction

In 2005 on average two women per week in England and Wales were killed by an intimate partner (Povey, Upson, & Jansson, 2005). This is consistent with other global intimate partner homicide measures. US Bureau of Justice Statistics recorded that approximately 45% of female and 5% of male homicides were committed by an intimate partner (Stöckl et al., (2013). In Finland the risk of being killed by an intimate partner is four times higher for women than men (Kivivuori & Lehti, 2012). It is not only the stark gender asymmetry but the paradox of love and lethal violence operating within it which defines intimate partner murder as a significant and distinct subset of homicide. As Taylor & Jasinski (2011) argue,

“Intimate partner homicides may be distinctive from other types of homicides, and some have argued they should be considered in a unique category.” (p.342)

In a study of 739 homicides committed in the US cities of Indianapolis and Newark, DeJong, Pizarro, & McGarrell (2011) identified a series of distinct factors differentiating intimate from non-intimate partner murders. Women were more likely to be both victims and suspects when compared with other homicide categories, offences were more likely to be committed with weapons, particularly firearms, and suspects were generally older in intimate when compared with non- intimate murders. Thomas, Dichter, & Matejkowski (2011), in a study reviewing offender characteristics of male perpetrators of intimate and non- intimate homicides in Indiana in 2004, identified clear differences between the two groups. Male intimate partner killers were more often

employed, socially bonded and killed out of emotional motivations. Non-domestic killers suffered higher levels of severe mental health issues, lower levels of employment, educational issues and killed instrumentally to achieve a goal rather than being emotionally driven. These are examples of both the complexity and distinctiveness gender dynamics apparent within intimate partner homicides.

This chapter is divided into three sections and presents an overview of the current theory and research forwarded to explain such dynamics. Section 3.2 reviews key research literature which identifies the trends and risks which single out domestic violence homicides so significantly from other categories of murder. Feminist criminology and environmental psychology theory and research will be considered in detail within Section 3.3 since these are the predominant theories and research agendas currently advancing the understanding of domestic violence homicide (Bates et al., 2013; Serran & Firestone, 2004; Taylor & Jasinski, 2011). The final element of this chapter, Section 3.4 presents a summary of contemporaneous research in and current academic debates of domestic violence homicide.

3.2 Characteristics of Intimate Partner Homicide

Due to the significant impact of domestic violence both for the individuals and society in terms of health, social welfare and criminal justice provision, considerable research has been conducted regarding relationship abuse to inform intervention and prevention strategies. These include typology of offender and offences, (Babcock, Miller, & Siard, 2003; Fowler & Westen, 2011; Wangmann, 2011) aetiology of violence, (Dixon & Graham-Kevan, 2011; Felson & Lane, 2010) and gender comparisons (Kwesiga, Bell, Pattie, & Moe, 2007; MCFarlane, Willson, Malecha & Lemmy, 2000; Saunders, 2002).

Not all relationship abuse results in lethal violence. Research has indicated that the majority (94%) of perpetrators of minor domestic violence do not resort to more severe or lethal levels (M. P. Johnson, 1995). Non-lethal domestic violence is more generally associated with the routine conflicts within relationships such as the division of labour, male exertion of authority, finance, and simply minutiae of day to day life. Lethal violence cannot always be regarded as simply more of the same. Within intimate partner homicide there is a fundamental shift in motive. Murder is predominantly the result of separation, possessiveness, infidelity and jealousy and it is this which separates it from other non-lethal forms of common couple violence (R. E. Dobash & Dobash, 2012).

Furthermore intimate partner murder is distinct from other forms of domestic violence per se, as well as all other forms of homicide, due to its demographic characteristics, relationship type and violence history, impact of alcohol use, mental health and method (Avakame, 1998; Saunders & Browne, 2000). What follows is a literature review primarily of US based data focusing on the characteristics, trends and risk factors associated with intimate partner homicide specifically, rather than research on domestic violence in general.

3.2.1 Demographic Characteristics;

1. Gender

Whilst the ratios of male to female perpetrators never reach parity within the commission of murder in general, it is within domestic violence homicides that they come closest. Female perpetrators commit 9% of all murders but 29% of all domestic violence murders (V. Jensen, 2001). Considering all homicide victim-suspect

relationship categories, intimate partners are the most common relationship category within which women kill (Peterson, 1999; Brookman; 2005).

Although not apparent at the same levels, this trend for women killing intimate partners over any other relationship category is replicated internationally. As highlighted in Section 1.4.6, the Sex Ratio of Killing (SROK) in the US indicates that for every 100 men that kill their spouse, 75 women will kill their male partners (M. I. Wilson & Daly, 1992). Such gender equality is not reflected when calculating SROK ratios for all other homicide relationships. The gender ratio indicates killings by women are 10 times greater in intimate partner homicides than any other homicide category (Titterington & Harper, 2006). This is suggestive of a specific gender dynamic associated with intimate partner homicides not in evidence in any other victim-offender relationships.

2. Age

In a comprehensive review of intimate partner homicide research Garcia et al. (2007) established the average age range for female intimate partner homicide victims is 30-40 years and for men 40-50 years. Both men and women are at risk however between 20 – 29 years. Domestic abuse within teenage relationships is a significant area of social concern as destructive patterns learned during formative relationships often continue into adulthood. In a Washington survey, 40% of domestic homicide victims were aged under 18 (Garcia, et al., 2007).

The average age for male perpetrators was 34 years (Moracco et al., 2003) whilst Weizmann-Henelius et al. 2012, established there was no significant difference in the mean age of male (38years) and female (40years) intimate partner homicide offenders.

Age disparity between partners is a key feature within spousal homicides. A disparity of 10 years or more is a risk factor for both men and women (Aldridge & Browne, 2003; Shackelford, 2001; M. I. Wilson & Daly, 1992).

3. Ethnic Origin

African-American ethnic groups experience the highest levels of intimate partner homicides in research conducted in North Carolina, (Moracco et al., 2003) Florida, (Websdale, 1999) Chicago (M. I. Wilson & Daly, 1992) and Texas (Titterington & Harper, 2006). According to Riedel & Best (1998) 90% of victims killed by African American women are their husbands, partners or boyfriends. The over-representation of African Americans is also noted when the SROK ratios are compared between ethnic groups. Black Americans score more highly in married relationships and common law relationships over Whites and Latinos. Studies in Florida calculated the SROK at 41.7 (Black), 20.9 (White) and 11.8 (Latino) (Websdale, 1999). In California scores equated to 74 (Black), 26 (White), 15 (Latino) and Chicago 131 (Black), 43 (White) and 29 (Latino) respectively (Riedel & Best, 1998).

The influence of ethnic origin over intimate partner homicide is difficult to assess as the majority of research has been conducted within US metropolitan areas with racial profile which is very specific to those areas. Cross-comparison and interpretation are therefore limited. Any interpretation of the disproportionate over-representation of African Americans must also be set within the context of the social, cultural, economic and political position of this group within American history rather than any ethnic determinism towards intimate partner violence which these figures might tend to suggest. The same rationale applies to consideration of Latino partner killings which are indicative of a specific patriarchal culture.

Consideration of ethnicity illuminates the particular influence of society and culture on domestic violence killings in terms of the women's economic ability to leave dangerous relationships, the acceptance of violence within subculture, the subordinate position of women and gendered designation of household roles.

3.2.2 Relationship Characteristics

1. Marital Status

There are mixed research findings as to the influence type of union have on intimate partner homicide. Cohabiting, non-legalised, 'common law' unions had been identified as a major risk factor with legal marriage appearing a protective factor. Research into Canadian domestic violence homicides between 1974-1990 established that cohabiting women were 8.4 times more likely to be killed by their partners than married women. Within this study cohabiting men were 15 times more likely than their legally married counterparts to be killed by their partners (M. Wilson, Daly, & Wright, 1993). The trend towards a greater risk of homicide within cohabiting relationships was also replicated in both the US and Australia (Shackelford & Mouzos, 2005).

The elevated risk levels of cohabiting couples appears to be due to partners being younger, less economically and emotionally secure and childless, all of which act as stressors with the relationship (Aldridge & Browne, 2003). However research conducted since 2005 suggests an increasing trend towards equalisation of risk rate between the union types in the US and Canada. Societal attitudes have changed, leading towards an increased acceptance and practice of cohabitation (James & Daly, 2012).

2. Estrangement & Separation

In a cross-national study of the US, Australia, Canada and the UK, physical and legal separation were found to be a significant risk factor within the first one to three

months of estrangement (Browne et al., 1999; M. Wilson & Daly, 1993). The ‘if I can’t have you no one will’ murders are primarily centred on female victims. A review of 310 murders in 11 U.S cities found 55% of female domestic violence homicide victims were separated from their partners when they were killed (J. C. Campbell et al., 2007). A similar trend was established in research from Australia where 45% of female domestic homicide victims had left or were in the process of leaving their partners (Aldridge & Browne, 2003). The same levels of risk do not appear to be in operation in male victimisation where only 3% of men were found to have left the relationship (M. Wilson & Daly, 1993).

Whilst estrangement has been identified as a significant risk factor associated with domestic violence homicide, the exact impact of separation has been difficult to quantify. There are mixed research findings but some suggest approximately 70% of intimate partner homicides were actually within ‘intact’ unions (J. C. Campbell et al., 2007). However the process of separation is often long and drawn out and many relationships would be classified as still intact when in fact partners are living estranged lives. Thus generalisation around definitive intact/separated relationship states is an ambiguous categorisation. The importance of this issue is not the categorisation of whether a relationship is intact or not but an understanding of the dynamics, process and ability of partners to accept estrangement.

3. Domestic Violence History

A history of domestic abuse against female partners is a significant characteristic in 75% of all domestic violence homicides regardless of the gender of the eventual victim (J. C. Campbell et al., 2007). Antecedent violent episodes are key elements in all domestic violence risk assessment tools employed in the US (J. C.

Campbell et al., 2009) and the UK (Robinson & Howarth, 2012). In a review of 293 female intimate partner killings recorded in North Carolina between 1991-1993, 66.9 % had documented histories of precursor domestic violence; 36% had had contact with law enforcement in the 12 months prior to their deaths and 9% of female victims had obtained non-contact protective orders (Moracco et al., 2003).

Stalking is a behaviour commonly experienced by domestic abuse victims. A 1998 US national survey indicated 59% of women and 30% of male respondents reported being stalked by their ex/current partners (Tjaden & Thoennes, 1998). Stalking, whilst clearly associated with domestic violence, has not been the focus of published research in relation to its precursor influence on intimate partner homicide. Whilst instinctively it would appear to be a characteristic of such homicides, its significance is debatable. J. C. Campbell et al, (2007), suggest that stalking may be an even greater risk factor than a history of domestic violence whereas data also suggests that only one in four hundred of those stalked by sexual partners will be killed by them (Meloy, 2002).

4. Parental Status

Homicide is a significant cause of death for pregnant women in the US accounting for 20% of all maternal fatalities. Pregnancy has been identified as a significant risk factor in domestic homicide particularly if domestic abuse is present within the relationship (J. C. Campbell et al., 2007). It is estimated that domestic violence occurs in approximately 4 – 8% of pregnancies and is more prevalent where the pregnancy is unplanned (Gazmararian et al., 2000). When partner abuse continues during the pregnancy women are judged to be at three times the risk of lethal violence than those women who experience a cessation of violence during the gestation period.

The infant viability rate under the most extreme abusive circumstances is 50% (Garcia et al., 2007). This abuse may be due to stress of the pregnancy itself as well as increase financial pressures and potential diversion of emotions and prioritisation by the mother from her partner to the unborn child.

Step-children present a substantial risk factor of lethal violence for their mother. In a Canadian study conducted in the city of Hamilton 1974-1995 reviewing female domestic homicides, 50% of female victims had non-biological children with the current partner who murdered them. Women with children sired by a previous rather than their current partner were 12.7 times more likely to be killed than those who had biological children with their partner (Daly, Wiseman, & Wilson, 1997). These results were also corroborated by research conducted in Chicago where 64.5% of female intimate partner homicides were perpetrated by men who were not the biological fathers of at least one of the women's children (Miner, Shackelford, Block, Starratt, & Weekes-Shackelford, 2012). In a further study in Houston, Texas the same trend was replicated where families with step-children account for 48% of male perpetrated intimate partner homicides (Brewer & Paulsen, 1999). However this research is based on small sample sizes²⁰. Whether the presence of step children is either a cause of or a correlation with intimate partner homicide has yet to be established.

3.2.3 Offence Characteristics

1. Mode of dying

Firearms deaths were responsible for 67% of all intimate partner homicides in the US in the twelve years between 1990 and 2002 (Fox & Zawitz, 2007). In a North Carolina study 72% of domestic violence firearms homicides were committed with

²⁰ n=34 Hamilton and n=111 Chicago n=46 Houston

handguns (Moracco et al., 2003). The use of a handgun as a murder weapon was also replicated in research by Kellermann et al. (1993), when reviewing homicides across three US counties between 1987 –1992. They found 68% of women and 48% of men used a handgun to kill their ex/partner. Both access to a firearm and prior domestic assault have been classified as significant risk factors when assessing women's potential threat of homicide victimisation (J. C. Campbell et al., 2007). However as with ethnic origin, conclusions regarding firearm usage and domestic violence homicides are place specific. The rates of firearms deaths are particular to the US due to its distinct firearms culture and legislation. Statistics from Canada, the UK (Aldridge & Browne, 2003) and Finland (Weizmann-Henelius et al., 2012) indicate stabbing with a sharp implement was the most common cause of death, particular for male domestic homicide victims. The UK also registers high levels of strangulation (29%) when compared with the US (Aldridge & Browne, 2003).

There is contrasting research regarding gender and weapon usage between studies which indicate there is no statistical difference and others which suggest men will more commonly use their own strength rather than any weapon (Aldridge & Browne, 2003; Easton & Shackelford, 2009). This simply may be a result of the difference in physiology as the force and exertion required to kill a human without a weapon favours men more than women. Research suggested that men are larger in 96% of relationships and perception by couples is that the male is the stronger partner (A. Wilson, 1993).

2. Overkill

Overkill or the infliction of excessive force and injury, far greater than that which is necessary to cause death is a prevalent feature of male perpetrated intimate

partner homicide. Amalgamated research from the US and Canada suggests that between 83-90% of male perpetrated domestic violence killings feature elements of overkill compared with 12% of female perpetrators who used excessive force (Browne et al., 1999). Men appear to be more violent when killing their partner than when killing anyone else (Aldridge & Browne, 2003; Mize et al., 2009; Mize, Shackelford, & Shackelford, 2009).

3. Alcohol & Drug Use

There is a significant association between alcohol and drug use and domestic violence. A literature review of US based studies (Garcia, et al. 2007), established that women in relationships with an alcoholic partner were 6 times more likely to experience severe domestic violence than those whose partners were not alcohol abusers. The same study also indicated alcohol was in issue in 73.3% of intimate partner homicides where both partners have chronic alcohol dependency issues. Suspected alcohol use was associated with 45% of female intimate partner homicides in a study by Moracco et al., 2003. However, J. C. Campbell et al., (2007) identified that whilst male chronic alcohol abusers are more likely to be victims than perpetrators, female alcoholics are less likely than their male counterparts to be either victims or suspects.

When associated with alcohol, illicit drug use is also a significant factor associated with male perpetration. In an 11 city US study 70% of male suspects had been using both alcohol and drugs at the time of killing their partner (J. C. Campbell et al., 2009). These results are repeated in another 10 city study where two thirds of the perpetrators of attempted or actual domestic violence homicide admitted to taking a combination of alcohol and drugs prior to the incident whereas one quarter of the

victims had abused alcohol or drugs prior to their deaths (Sharps, Campbell, Campbell, Gary, & Webster, 2003).

However establishing rates of intoxication at the time of death, particularly for perpetrators is difficult. This issue will be considered in detail in Section 4.4.2.

Therefore, although substance abuse has been identified as a significant issue, establishing whether intoxication is casual of or simply coincidental within domestic homicide remains subject to continued research (Ali & Naylor, 2013; Kuhns, et al., 2013).

4. Mental Illness

US based research suggests that between 13 and 27.5% of perpetrators of intimate partner homicide have a history of mental illness (J. C. Campbell et al., 2007). Dutton & Kerry (1999) have identified particular mental health conditions and personality types which appear to be associated with particular forms of partner killing. Over-controlled and dependant personality types possessing an inability to express rage, are most commonly associated with partner and particularly estrangement killings. Those with antisocial personality disorders were more inclined towards instrumental killings for gain. Hypersensitive, passive/aggressive, depressive and paranoid personality types are all associated with intimate partner homicide perpetrators (Aldridge & Browne, 2003).

There has been limited research regarding the victim's mental health. That which has been conducted suggests that 29% of female victims of attempted or actual murder had a prior mental health issue (J. C. Campbell et al., 2007). Whilst mental health can be predictive of domestic violence homicide there is limited evidence to suggest it is its primary cause.

5. Homicide/Suicide

Perpetrators who kill themselves after killing their victim are significantly associated with domestic violence homicides (Gregory, 2011). In a US study, 74% of all homicide/suicide scenarios involved intimate partners (J. C. Campbell et al., 2007). There is also a significant gender asymmetry in the incidence of homicide/suicide. Post homicide-suicide is associated with approximately 32% of male but only 0.1% of female perpetrated partner killings (J. C. Campbell et al., 2007). This same trend is reflected internationally with the rates stable across countries and cultures (Starzomski & Nussbaum, 2000). This phenomenon is most closely associated with older, estranged white males with no prior convictions (Aldridge & Browne, 2003; Gregory, 2011).

6. Motive

It is motive, as well as gender, that significantly differentiates, intimate partner murder from other homicides. The reasons why men and women kill those closest to them has been the basis of much of the subsequent theory proposed to explain the polarisation between genders and the unique nature of domestic violence homicide. In essence intimate partner homicide theory is based on the premise that women generally kill in defence of themselves or their children whereas men kill their partners either in sexual jealousy, or due to loss of dominance, control and stability through separation or infidelity.

Women kill their male partners rather than male strangers or acquaintances as it is those partners from whom they are most at risk. Pre-emptive violent acts, escalation of violence and abuse, and an inability to leave abusive relationships are commonly

associated with research conducted on cohorts of female domestic homicide offenders (Browne et al., 1999; Peterson, 1999; V. Jensen, 2001).

“Such homicides are often the end result of physical, sexual and emotional abuse that has escalated to the point women feel their well-being and even their lives are in immediate danger, and they kill as an effort towards self-preservation or in self-defence.” (V. Jensen, 2001, p.11)

The majority of male perpetrated killing of intimate partners relates to jealousy over actual or perceived sexual infidelity (Schwartz, 2011; Wilson, M., & Daly, 1998). Research suggests that up to 80% of male perpetrated partner homicide is a result of challenges to male dominance within the relationship. The sense of entitlement that men feel over their partners is the motive which leads to lethal violence where that entitlement is challenged through sexual betrayal or potential or actual dissolution of their relationship (Aldridge & Browne, 2003; Jordan, Clark, Pritchard, & Charnigo, 2012).

3.2.4 Summary

Intimate partner homicides have particular demographic, relationship and offence characteristics, particularly in terms of gender, which differentiate them from other forms homicide. More women are killed by their partners than in any other circumstance. However it is also within the intimate partner interactions that men's and women's homicide perpetration rates are closer than in any other circumstance. This suggests that domestic violence homicides require singular theories to explain these dynamics over and above those proposed by homicide theories in general.

3.3 Theories of Intimate Partner Homicide

Regardless of whether one accepts that intimate partner homicide is a discrete homicide event or an element within the murder spectrum, a number of theories have been put forward to account for the particular dynamics associated with these offences over and above those forwarded for murder in general. Whilst offshoots of traditional theory have been amended to account for the distinctiveness of intimate partner homicide, the most significant disciplines which tackle the gender dynamics of domestic violence homicide have been feminist criminology and evolutionary psychology (Bates et al., 2013). This section will focus exclusively on these two areas summarising their particular theoretical explanations and supportive empirical research. Each school will be critically assessed, examining their success in accounting for the nature of lethal domestic violence.

3.3.1 Feminist Criminology

Born out of the feminist political and social movements of the 1960s, feminist criminology has since developed as a distinctive school of Western academia. It originated to counter an overt misogyny in academia where the majority of criminological research and theory was based on male subjects. When considered at all, women's experiences were judged through a masculine lens. Female offending was deemed to be either deviant or abnormal and scant attention had been paid to women's experience as either victims or perpetrators (Heidensohn, 2012).

Given the political, social and devastating individual consequences of domestic violence has for women, intimate partner homicide has received considerable focus within feminist criminological theory and research (Cazenave & Zahn, 1992; R. E. Dobash, Dobash, & Cavanagh, 2009; R. P. Dobash & Dobash, 2004; Elisha, Idisis, Timor, & Addad, 2010; Frye, Manganello, Campbell, Walton-Moss, & Wilt, 2006; V.

Jensen, 2001; M. P. Johnson, 1995; A. Reckdenwald & Parker, 2008; Taylor & Jasinski, 2011; Vieraitis et al., 2008; Websdale, 1999).

The thrust of feminist position, which seats female criminality and victimisation within a socially constructed gendered power imbalance, is summarised by Vieraitis et al. (2008),

“Feminist theories of crime victimisation posit that women’s risk of lethal violence is in part due to women’s economic, legal, educational and occupational status in society particularly as this status relates to the status of men.” (p.165)

Feminist criminological theory with regards to domestic violence homicide can be divided into two key arguments; these are ‘patriarchal terrorism’ and ‘gender inequality’. The former is based on absolute measures of inequality and a Marxist assessment of gender, power and control dynamics exercised at both state and couple dimensions. The latter is a more measured assessment of relative and individual levels of inequality and the effects this has on a women’s choice and mobility within society. Both theories however explain men’s violence to their partners as a socially sanctioned control measure to secure their own rights and needs over that of their partner’s. Women’s violence towards their partner is regarded as responsive and defensive rather than being generated in isolation of the abusive and inequitable power dynamics within the relationship.

3.3.2 Patriarchal Terrorism

Patriarchal or intimate terrorism seeks to explain intimate homicide at a societal level. Male perpetrated lethal partner violence is one of a number of forms of systemic dominance and control over women. Male perpetrators have a pervasive belief in, and thus reinforcement of, a traditional patriarchal view of ‘family’ and right of men over

'their' woman to do with them what they will. The patriarchal belief system is based on a structural and individual understanding that women are inferior and the male use of violence is an appropriate means to assert and maintain masculine superiority. Men's wishes, welfare and values are predominant to that of their partners. Just as there is a wider imbalance in female access to power and control within political and economic arenas, there is a power based status quo within relationships that should be managed and maintained to ensure the continuance of the male dominated relationship state. Terroristic tactics of assault, emotional, verbal abuse, economic subordination and isolation and ultimately homicide are enacted and justified in order to control and maintain the male's dominant position within the home (M. P. Johnson, 1995). Male violence as a partner control tactic is condoned and sanctioned by societies and cultures which support the primacy of men and subordination of women. From this perspective women's violence is conceived as a safeguarding measure. Female perpetrated homicide is regarded as a reactionary, self-preservation response against sustained terrorism exercised by their partner (Loue, 2001; Vieraitis et al., 2008).

3.3.3 Gender Inequality

Gender inequality theories are defined within a more liberal less radicalised feminist perspective. It accounts for lethal domestic violence in terms of the absolute and relative economic, social, political positions and mobility of men and women. The division of labour within society minimises the domestic position of women, and reinforces the dominant position of men. Due to both absolute and relative measures of economic and social disparity and marginalisation, created by traditionally ascribed gender roles, women's dependence on their male partners is increased. Men's lethal partner violence is posited as an extended control tactic and motivated by fear of separation, jealousy, stress and frustration. Gender inequality relegates women to child

rearing and domestic roles limiting mobility and any access to economic and political avenues of exit from abusive relationships. Such inequality increases their exposure to violence and as a result their reactive perpetration of homicide becomes the only resort and exit strategy available (Reckdenwald & Parker, 2008).

“Gender equality is argued to best address homicide rates related to women’s subordinate status within an unequal social system. Women’s relative disadvantage in such a gender-unequal system involves a strong emphasis on women playing traditional roles in the home and a concurrent disadvantage in the public spheres of work and social freedom. As such domestic homicide rates for women’s offending should be better explained by conditions of low gender equality.” (V. Jensen, 2001 p. 91)

Should conditions of inequality become more balanced, abused women then have an opportunity of economic and social freedoms and support and acceptance of decisions to remove themselves from the relationship thus reducing their partners’ ability to exert lethal violence or use self- defensive violence themselves.

However there is a counterpoint to this theory. Whilst increased equality may enhance a women’s position by reducing her dependence on her partner and providing opportunities to leave a violent relationship, a ‘backlash/retaliation’ hypothesis suggests that increased levels of independence challenge male dominance. A female’s greater economic and social mobility induces in their partner a fear of separation and loss of power and control within the relationship, so increasing levels of stress and frustration and, ultimately, leading to an increase in intimate partner homicide events by both men and women (Dugan, Nagin, & Rosenfeld, 2003; V. Jensen, 2001; A. Reckdenwald & Parker, 2010; Vieraitis et al., 2008).

3.3.4 Research Findings in relation to Patriarchal Terrorism

Whilst the theoretical framework for feminist explanations of domestic violence homicide is coherent, logical and comprehensive, the empirical results of research in support of the feminist position can be confusing, contradictory and unconvincing. The evidence base to support the principle of male patriarchy and the impact of gender inequality, and most importantly its causal link to lethal domestic violence appears limited.

There is support for the concept of the existence of a patriarchal society as previously highlighted in Section 2.5.4. There is significant evidence indicating the worldwide subordinate position of women and the dominance of men in the control of political, economic, cultural and social agendas.

“Analysts frequently point to cultures of machismo that can distort traditional gender roles and encourage constraints on the freedom of girls and women, misogynist behaviour, and recurring violence with impunity.” (Secretariat, 2011, p.114)

The victimisation of women, particularly through domestic violence, has increasingly been recognised as a serious social problem and a Human Rights Issue (R. P. Dobash, Dobash, Wilson, & Daly, 1992; R. P. Dobash & Dobash, 2004). In addition there is evidence for an increase in the feminisation of poverty which further marginalises the position of women (Malby, 2010). Many cultures have traditions and practices which support patriarchal attitudes such as the sequestering of women in many Muslim nations, female genital infibulation in many African countries and the Indian practice of self-immolation following widowhood (Buss, 1994; Loue, 2001).

Legal support and indeed vindication for male spousal chastisement is transcultural (Buss, 2000). Whilst a considerable and influential lobby has developed

seeking to ensure the provision of protective services in many Western countries, the acceptance of the need to support female domestic violence victims has not been universally accepted. Romanian domestic violence legislation stalled when politicians argued it was not necessary since if women were strong enough to be able to endure violence, they were sufficiently able therefore to kill their abusive husbands and thus able to protect themselves without state intervention (Loue, 2001).

Social attitude surveys also suggest widespread condoning of domestic violence. Research suggests a social acceptance of male violence towards women where they have transgressed defined rules and expectations (Waltermaurer, 2012). Of note it is not only a male justification of patriarchy but there are also recorded levels of female support for violence as a control measure which endorses its societal validity. In a macro review of 23 national studies on attitudes toward female domestic victimisation Waltermaurer (2012), concluded there was majority support, particularly by non-educated rural females, for marital punishment where women had burnt food, answered back, neglected children or been unfaithful. There is also evidence of social acceptance amongst law enforcement agencies. Survey data completed for Canadian police officers again endorsed the patriarchal tradition of male control, in a generalised lack of support for protective orders and a consensus of attitudes in victim blaming (Loue, 2001).

However it is not society but individuals who inflict lethal violence on those they love. Some limited research has also been carried out into the attitudes of the male domestic violence perpetrators (R. P. Dobash & Dobash, 2004; Elisha et al., 2010; Lau & Stevens, 2012). Overwhelmingly, results indicate male intimate partner killers justify and rationalise their actions due to loss of control, feelings of betrayal and a pervasive sense of ownership over their spouse.

Websdale (1999) draws on US police reports and multiagency case files of 319 domestic violence homicides committed in the State of Florida in 1994 in order to test the feminist hypotheses. Websdale's results placed the killing dynamic firmly within the patriarchal systems of power and control. Men perpetrated 80.3% of the domestic partner homicides committed within the 1994 data set. None acted in self-defence but rather were motivated by rage and perceived challenges to control. Websdale identifies precursor regimes of domestic terrorism through assault and emotional abuse in order to control, subordinate and pacify.

“In short, killing is but one way that many men keep many women in their place as socially subordinate subjects in a patriarchal order. Lethal violence is no doubt a crude and highly visible way of maintaining the structure of patriarchy.” (Websdale, 1999 p.207)

Victim precipitation was clearly evidenced. In 83.3% of the female perpetrated homicides the male victim had assaulted their eventual murderer during their relationship. Whilst accepting that a very limited number of women killed in the absence of any abusive context, Websdale accounts for women's use of lethal partner violence as defensive, pre-emptive and responsive to the men, structures and systems which devalued and subordinated them.

In analysing intimate partner homicide from a situated transactional standpoint Swatt & He (2006) also find support for patriarchal terrorism theory. Using data from the Chicago Women's Health Risk study, they examined the roles of men and women throughout the homicide event for 85 domestic violence murders committed 1995-6. Their findings indicated that injury sustained a year prior to the homicide and use of a knife, differentiate gender roles and can be predictive of female perpetration. They

suggest that this supports feminist patriarchal theory since domestic homicide is strongly associated with a history of male perpetrated domestic abuse. Female violence is seen as self-defensive and an explosion of aggression against on-going abuse.

Frye et al., 2006 found statistical support for the existence of patriarchal terrorism within relationships. They analysed differences in violence and controlling behaviours for 310 domestic violence murders and attempted murders in 11 US cities. They found that there were distinct groups of couples who experienced either asymmetric or a balance of controlling, violent behaviours within their relationships. Multivariate analysis confirmed that there was a defined group of women clearly suffering from intimate terrorism. Those women whose partners had been arrested in the previous 12 months of a domestic violence offence, had access to a firearm, experienced mental health issues and exhibited controlling behaviours towards them, were most at risk of domestic violence homicide.

One of the few studies to approach and evaluate the impact of patriarchal domination with statistical rigour is that of Cazenave & Zahn (1992). They classified indicators of patriarchy through measuring variables associated with aggression, rights of ownership, use of weapons, levels of overkill and motive, and tested these variables against 83 intimate partner murders committed in Philadelphia and Chicago between 1968-1978. They found strong evidence for indicators of male rights of ownership and relationship domination and thus patriarchy in both male and female perpetrated homicides. Men primarily used weapons designed to kill and inflict injury to commit domestic murder. Firearms were used by 61% of male compared with 39% of female perpetrators. Men were generally more violent when they killed, with 18 of 42 offences characterised by overkill. Significantly men initiated precursor violence acts in 91% of all the homicides regardless of the gender of the eventual victims. Where motive could

be discerned 56% of women killed in self-defence whereas 54% of men killed through jealousy or attempts to terminate the relationship. Cazenave & Zahn argue that the predominance of male aggression shown in the high levels of overkill and weapon usage, in conjunction with women's self-defence and significant levels of male motivation caused by jealousy and estrangement, signify a male normative right of ownership and control over women within these relationships.

“In general, findings support a male domination view of women and homicide. They suggest that domestic homicides with women as victims tend to be motivated primarily by male offenders' desire for the maintenance of the gender-based status quo and the enforcement of ownership norms, while those homicides with male victims are more likely to be precipitated by the attempts of women to change or escape what is seen as a threatening or intolerable situation.” (p.95)

The problematic issue with patriarchal research is that it fails to establish a causal link between the general mechanisms of a state sanctioned patriarchy and individual male beliefs in their right to relationship dominance. They do not satisfactorily account for how a perceived male right of enforcement over their partners is formed and maintained and thus fail to address a key element of feminist criminological theory.

There is no clear evidence as to how the mechanism patriarchy translates into the specific situations of domestic violence and intimate partner homicide. Although considerable, domestic abuse is not common to all relationships which operate under the same societal conditions. Domestic violence is not as widespread as feminist theory would predict. Indeed when considering levels of common couple violence, although not of the same severity, male and female perpetration is equitable (Dixon & Graham-

Kevan, 2011). The issue is therefore why there are not more men and women committing violence and murder in relationships, if patriarchy is the driving dynamic. The logical extension to feminist theory would be that the dissolution of patriarchal tradition would lead to a cessation to relationship violence.

There is no clear empirical evidence that male perpetrators' attitudes were formed and driven at a societal level as feminists would suggest. The subordinate position of women within global and state mechanisms is evident, but in the microcosm of the home environment it has yet to be ascertained whether such overarching power imbalances are causally linked to men's use, and thus reactively women's use, of lethal violence against each other. Although intensely illuminative of the homicide act itself, interview case studies of male perpetrators aimed to address this issued are based on a very limited subject pool. Elisha et al., (2010), was based on interviews with 15 Israeli males and Lau & Stevens, (2012) on 12 South African detainees. They are thus are of limited support. Whilst patriarchal attitudes of male superiority may be a pre-requisite to domestic violence homicide, they appear to be but one of many factors influencing the use of lethal violence (Dixon & Graham-Kevan, 2011).

3.3.5 Research Findings in relation to Gender Inequality Theory

Significantly more research has been conducted in relation to the influence of absolute and relative measures of gender inequality on intimate partner homicide. Gender inequality studies have been constructed with empirical rigour and are primarily based on US datasets. The general methodology and data sources employed in these studies are however very similar. For the majority of these studies information regarding domestic homicide incidents is taken from the Federal Bureau of Investigation, Supplementary Homicide Reports (SHRs). Measures of both absolute and relative inequality have been identified from US data from cities with a population of

over 100,000. Absolute inequality measures are based on recorded figures of economic marginalisation and measured in terms of overall poverty, income level, population density and unemployment. Relative inequality is determined through the ratio of male to female disparity in terms of income, education, percentage employed within managerial/technical professions, percentage of single parent households, and levels of divorce and cohabitation. Various derivatives of regression analysis are then used to determine the effect of gender equality on intimate partner homicide.

The authors who have presented a significant contribution to gender inequality research are Jensen reviewing social and economic mobility, Vieratis et al., focused on economic gender difference and Reckdenwald & Parker who researched the effects mobility, backlash and prevention measures.

Jensen - Social & Economic Mobility

V. Jensen (2001) followed this generalised methodology using data from 1990 SHRs and Census data from 179 US cities. She suggested that because women have a different experience of the world, traditional variables previously employed to explain homicide per se cannot be used to adequately explain why women kill. Jensen posits that it is social and economic inequality which prevents women from leaving abusive relationships and increases levels of domestic violence homicides. If the power balance was more equitable and women had a sufficient and equal share of resources to allow them to exit relationships or manage the violence they experience within them, domestic homicide rates would fall.

Using regression analysis Jensen found that combined predictors of absolute inequality such as population density, ethnicity, ages and poverty explained 31.9% of women's rates of killing intimate partners. Singular measures of economic inequality

had no significant impact, only increasing the models explanatory power by 1%. The inclusion of social equality variables such as levels of marriage, cohabitation, one-parent families or divorce rates, added a 3.1% improvement. Of significant importance were levels of cohabitation and ratios of women's employment, increases in which caused corresponding decreases in women's rates of perpetration of domestic homicide. Jensen suggests this is supportive of a gender inequality position as less traditionally conformist relationships, which can be dissolved without legal recourse coupled with increased financial independence allows women opportunities to reduce their exposure and leave violent relationships through active choice. Thus, the ability to leave and making the decision to do so reduces a women's risk of using or receiving lethal violence. Thus suggesting the lack of mobility caused by inequality is a substantial cause of intimate partner homicide.

Finally when men's violence rates were added to the model they increased its' explanatory power by 4.6%. Jensen concluded that this was a statistically significant increase and confirmed that women generally only killed within the context of self-defence as a result of abuse.

Vieraitis et al.- Economic Gender difference.

In utilising similar methodology as Jensen, Vieraitis et al. (2008), analysed SHRs and 2000 Census data for 206 US cities. In seeking to measure the impact of gender inequality and economic marginalisation on levels of risk for women in intimate and non-intimate homicides, they used seven variables of absolute and relative status in terms of employment, income, education and occupational attainment. However, there results are at odds with Jensen's. They found economic factors suggesting an apparent association between women's absolute status and risk of victimisation may actually be

the result of chance rather than any definite causal influence. There was no support for the proposition that levels of gender inequality measured in relative terms of male to female ratios had any effect in increasing women's homicide victimisation levels.

Reckdenwald & Parker – Mobility, Backlash & Prevention.

Reckdenwald & Parker (2008, 2010, 2011) have made a considerable contribution to the analysis of gender inequality and domestic homicide. Using the same 2000 census and SHR data for 202 U.S. cities Reckdenwald & Parker (2008), sought to establish the influence of gender inequality and economic marginalisation on female offending behaviour for drug and robbery offences as well female perpetrated domestic violence homicide. Again, absolute variables of poverty, unemployment and single sex households and relative measures of gender disparity in terms of ratios of occupational and education attainment and income are identified and tested using multivariate regression. In contradiction to Jensen (2001), and at a more substantial level than Vieraitis et al, (2008), Reckdenwald and Parker found that economic marginalisation is significantly associated with female perpetrated intimate partner homicide. The higher the level of female economic disparity in absolute terms, the higher the likelihood of a female's use of domestic lethal violence. Results suggested a 34% increase in female partner killing with a 1 standard deviation increase in level of economic marginalisation.

However this particular piece of research also shows gender inequality was positively related to female perpetrated intimate partner homicide. Increases in measures of economic disparity led to a reduction in levels in intimate partner homicide. This is possibly due to men, when more economically dominant, feel less

threatened and thus less violent and therefore women are less likely to resort to self-defensive assaults.

These results do provide some empirical support for backlash theory. However counter to the backlash proposition they also found the greater the disparity in terms of educational attainment, the higher the rate of female lethal violence. Women were three times more likely to be violent when they were less educated than their partner.

Reckdenwald & Parker, (2010) broaden their dataset for the second study, reviewing 178 cities homicide with the inclusion of National Domestic Services data which records provision of domestic violence support services. They sought to test gender inequality through an analysis of exposure reduction. The premise being that where women were more equal and had the additional social support to leave relationships this would reduce their exposure to domestic violence and lead to decreases in intimate partner homicide. They also continued to examine backlash theory in testing whether rises in women's status would lead to an increase in domestic homicides. Variables of absolute and relative economic inequality were used as previously described within a binomial regression model. Within this model there was now no statistically significant association between economic marginalisation and intimate partner violence as did the previous research of Vieraitis et al. This model reinforced the evidence for backlash theory in that greater disparities in income, education and employment led to lower levels of intimate partner homicide. One standard deviation in income disparity according to this model led to a 19% decrease in domestic homicide rates.

Their findings in relation to exposure reduction through the accessibility and availability of protective domestic violence services were mixed. The greater the

proportion of shelters, the higher the rates of male perpetrated domestic homicide. This is indicative of the fear of separation and loss of control as a male homicide driver. However an increase in legal support encouraged a reduction in female perpetrated homicides associated with opportunities of exit rather than murder as self- defence.

A more confusing picture arises in their third study when Reckdenwald & Parker (2011), remodel these same datasets. Factors relating to the feminist hypotheses of exposure reduction, backlash and economic marginalisation were tested by using a time series design to account for the changes to the intimate partner murder rate in the US between 1989 and 2001, where male and female victim rates fell by 45% and 33% respectively. Reckdenwald & Parker argued that these feminist factors would have a gendered effect on rates of intimate partner violence. For instance reducing exposure to violence through the provision of domestic violence services should lead to a reduction in levels of male victims because endangered women would have access to supportive and exit strategies thus preventing the possibility of reactive self-defence. Reductions in economic and status disparity would again lead to falls in male victimisation rates as women have resources available to remove themselves from relationships. However it would have the opposite effect for female victimisation rates as economically matched female partners may provoke backlash violence as men's superior and controlling position within the relationship is challenged. Additionally, absolute economic marginalisation was theorised to have a gendered neutral effect in raising women's rates of perpetration as males would become subject to strain and frustration and thus resort to violence. Women's victim status would also increase due to not having sufficient resources to protect and remove themselves.

When modelled over the decade between 1990 and 2000, the data supports theories of exposure reduction and economic marginalisation in explaining reductions

in male victimisation. Changes in women's status and economic deprivation were significantly associated with changes to the rate of female perpetrated homicide. There was no support within this data and model for backlash theory, counter to their results when testing the influence of these variables on rates over a single year, 2000.

There is further evidence for the impact of inequality and influence of exposure reduction found in the research by Dugan (Dugan, Nagin, & Rosenfeld, 1999; Dugan et al., 2003). Again in seeking to explain the declines in domestic violence homicide rates within the US, research on homicides within 29 U.S Cities between 1976 and 1992 indicates that there is a clear association between this decline and an increase in exposure reduction. Where resources, economic ability and legal remedies are available to women in order to assist them in exiting situations of male violence, both levels of gender homicide perpetration appear to fall. In support of Reckdenwald & Parker's (2011) position, Dugan et al. (2003) also found that the effect of exposure reduction is not experienced uniformly. The type of service or mobility which allows women an exit strategy can have a significant influence on the intimate partner homicide rate as allowing women an 'opt out' without additional support can actually leave them more at risk from their partners. Abusive men may be cued into the possibility of disaffection and dissent and react with pre-emptive violence in order to control the situation. In examining homicides from 49 US cities they find that positive prosecution policy, ready access to initiate divorce proceedings and rises in female educational attainment levels, all of which in theory would reduce exposure, actually lead to increases in violence through male retaliation at their loss of control.

Gender Inequality - Summary

There is a pattern in gender inequality research which often suggests limited proof as to the effect of economic inequality but substantiation for the importance of control and reactive self-defence as a catalyst for perpetration. This ambiguity is most clearly exemplified in the research of Mann (1996). Utilising homicide data from SHR reports for 6 US cities between 1979 and 1983, Mann reviewed demographic and offence characteristics for female killers according to their relationship with the victim. In relation to female perpetrated intimate partner murders, there was no evidence in support of economic marginalisation theory as 36.8% of female domestic killers were employed compared with 21.4% of non-domestic murderesses. Mann's findings support the position however that women's lethal violence is the final element within an on-going and complex pattern of partner abuse. Female domestic murderesses were three times more likely to kill in self-defence than non-domestic killers. Victim precipitation was apparent in 83.7% of cases. However, whilst self-defence is a critical factor, Mann also challenges the feminist notion that female domestic violence killers are passive and docile, caught within states of 'learned helplessness', economically dependent on their partners and unsupported by the legal system.

Gender inequality studies highlight the importance of economic and social mobility as a potential factor within domestic homicide although its effects have not been definitively established by research to date. Inequality studies have evidenced a male belief system in rights of spousal control but again do not necessary promote understanding as to its causal influences. Women's use of lethal violence is associated with feminist constructs of disparity and the role of self or pre-emptive defence rather than for any other reason. Whilst the results in relation to the effect of gender inequality in whatever format are mixed the evidence of these studies all appear to substantiate the

feminist positioning of male control as the catalyst for both male and female perpetration of lethal partner violence.

3.3.6 Summary

Feminist criminological theory through ideas of patriarchal terrorism and gender inequality set both male and female domestic violence homicide within a male dominated social, cultural, economic and political dynamic which seeks to subordinate women and sanctions a male right of violence. Women unable to advance or exit kill in self-defence. Men precipitate their own demise, through seeking control by physical and emotionally abusive behaviours. Men kill when enraged, threatened, disobeyed or fearful of loss of control by the activities or perceived activities of their non-conforming female partners.

Although having a strong theoretical basis and methodologically rigorous statistical modelling, there is limited supporting empirical evidence from key research which has been conducted thus far. Results are mixed and inconsistent in evidencing significant associations between variables representing feminist drivers in both relative and absolute measures of status disparity and intimate partner homicides. Research is at a generalist level, primarily reliant on recycled data sets using US Census and SHRs.

Whilst some evidence has been forwarded regarding the association between gender inequality variables and social disparities there is no explanation as to the impact this had in the mind of the killer, either male or female when committing the homicide act. Feminist criminology is highly generalist and provides no clear linkage between the misogynistic state and how that influences the final acts of stabbing, strangulation or shooting. There is abundant evidence of male domination and patriarchy within many elements of society and politics but how this impacts at an

individual level in time and space is unclear. Significantly there is no explanation as to why the influence of patriarchy is not uniformly experienced.

Feminist criminology supports an account of women's violence being defensive and reactionary but is yet to statistically prove the association of generalised equality variables in fully accounting for male perpetrated domestic homicide. Feminist modes of study do not sufficiently test men's use of intimate partner homicidal violence being the result of social structures and thus cannot clearly substantiate a fundamental element of their argument. Should men's violence not be a direct result of these structures, other non-social or institutionalised dynamics may be more successful in accounting for men's abusive behaviour.

It does seem fanciful to suggest but, at its extreme, if feminist theory is correct in its accounting for domestic abuse homicide, then an equality of the sexual power balance and both individual and national scales and an end of patriarchal society would lead to cessation of couples' violence (Dixon & Graham-Kevan, 2011).

Additionally whilst many of female perpetrated partner homicides are founded in relationship abuse and self-defence, not all are. Women will also kill instrumentally for money, sex and mercy. Centring female violence on male dominance restricts the overall applicability of feminist theory. As noted by Bell & Fox (1996),

“outside the context of the battered woman who kills her abuser, feminists have been unable to posit a rational story which explains the actions of the female killer.”
(p.471)

Feminist theory has achieved is a platform for understanding domestic abuse and female victimisation. By vocalising the issue, it has facilitated a worldwide political lobby to improve, enhance and provide service for abused partners, especially women

and children and treatment programmes for its perpetrators. Because of it there are now opportunities to prevent and suppress murder as through an informed political understanding, women now have the choice and opportunity to leave dangerous relationships rather than stay and resort to lethal violence (Dawson, Bunge, & Balde, 2009). Feminist criminology highlights and recognises male perpetrated domestic violence as an extreme and widespread social rather than individual problem due to the debilitating effects it has on family life (R. P. Dobash & Dobash, 2004). It's empirical and research limitations have been openly acknowledged and recognised both internally and externally within criminological academia. Future research will be best progressed through expanding research data sets, and blending macro and micro approaches accompanying the existing rigorous modelling techniques (R. E. Dobash & Dobash, 2012; V. Jensen, 2001; Taylor & Jasinski, 2011).

3.3.7 Evolutionary Psychology

Evolutionary theory forwards the proposition that the distinctive physiological and behavioural dispositions of species and individuals ensure some are better equipped to survive and thrive under changing environmental conditions than others (Darwin, 1809, 1882) The theory is based on the concept that beneficial characteristics are positively selected for and so are inherited by offspring. These attributes which generate the required behaviours then become established and normalised within the genetic pool until new issues and problems arise which then require further adaptive solutions either biologically or behaviourally and thus the evolutionary adaption process continues. Evolutionary psychology seeks to attribute both certain human behavioural characteristics as well as the manner in which information is processed in order to inform and direct those behaviours as a product of evolutionary processes.

Evolutionary psychology explains how individuals process and interpret information and enact resultant behaviours such as obedience, altruism, cooperation, homicide, sexual violence, interpersonal relationships, dating and mate selection decision making (Buss, 1994; Buss, 2000; J. Duntley & Shackelford, 2008; Kaighobadi, Shackelford, & Goetz, 2009; Loue, 2001).

Such principles have also been proposed as explanations for domestic violence, sexual jealousy and intimate partner homicide. In common with feminist criminology, domestic abuse homicide remains primarily rooted in male generated violence and female reactionary defensive action (Buss, 1994, 2000). However instead of this being caused by societal structures or gender inequalities which endorse a normative right of individual male violence, evolutionary psychology suggests partner violence and homicide are adaptive behaviours which have evolved to solve the problems of securing rights of paternity, managing competing interests within relationships and securing the welfare of children. Through acts of violent aggression men seek to exert and control their exclusive rights to partners' sexual reproductive capacity. Women may also resort to inherited violent behaviours in order to secure her partner resources if there are at risk thus ensuring her own and her children's well-being.

There are two primary theories, slip-up (cf. M. Wilson & Daly, 1998) and homicide adaption (cf. Duntley & Buss, 2011) which have been advanced by evolutionary psychology to account for specific dynamics of intimate partner homicide. Both are grounded in Darwinist ideas of sexually selected inherited behaviours operating to ensure reproductive success but they differ in how these behaviours are exercised at an individual and gender level.

3.3.8 Slip-Up Theory

Slip-up or by-product theory is based on the concept of male sexual proprietariness and has been identified and progressed primarily through the research conducted by Wilson and Daly (Daly & Wilson, 1988; M. Wilson & Daly, 1998). Human behaviour they argue is strongly motivated by self-interest to ensure the survival of genetic material through one's progeny. Evolutionary dynamics have shaped behaviours which facilitate and secure the future welfare of one's offspring. One particular behaviour which contributed to our primeval ancestors successfully reproducing and rearing children to adulthood was that of dual parenting. The most successful couples were ones where both partners equally and complimentary invested time and resources together. There were mutual benefits to this model gained by both partners including the shared pleasure of child rearing and securing the genetic inheritance of both parties. Thus this cooperative bi-parental method of child rearing evolved and became widely established within social and kin groups.

Such parenting behaviours thus became normalised within the population and were positively selected for. However the most successful conditions for shared rearing are only met if these relationships are characterised by mutually exclusive rights of sexual access, shared resources and rearing responsibilities. Particular behaviours and information processing capabilities have developed and been selected for over generations to deal with the problems created when partners do not necessarily adhere to this mutually cooperative model. Where one or other of our ancestral parents did not cooperate, this created a potential detrimental effect on child welfare and security of genetic inheritance. Where partners stray, paternity cannot necessarily be guaranteed and child rearing and genetic longevity are threatened. The evolutionists suggest that just as humans have developed behaviours to deal with fear, competition, danger etc.

they have also developed and passed down behaviours to deal with the problem of domestic disharmony (Buss, 1994; Duntley & Shackelford, 2008).

Wilson & Daly (1998) proposed that male sexual proprietariness is one such behaviour. It is a condition which has evolved where men actually assume rights of control over their partner's reproductive capabilities and sexual access and is an evolved mechanism to deal with the dilemma of ensuring mate security.

“Sexual proprietariness refers to a male pervasive mind-set, encompassing not only episodes of jealous arousal but also presumptions of entitlement and inclinations to exercise control and prevent threats of trespass or usurpation.” (M. Wilson & Daly, 1998, p.202)

If men are to invest their time and resources in off-spring, they need to ensure that children are biologically theirs. Because of internal fertilisation, men can never be confident without biological proof that an offspring is related to him. Due to its private nature and the repercussions of confession, measurement of the rates of infidelity is difficult to ascertain. It is estimated that 25% of married men and 15 % of married women in the US have had extramarital sex (Munsch, 2012). Thus fear of infidelity or perceived infidelity is very real and generates sexual jealousy that will direct behaviours designed to solve the infidelity problem.

Men are sensitised to cues, from their mate or the environment, of potential infidelity or rival competition which risk the security of their spousal and/or paternal rights. These cues incite feelings of sexual jealousy and direct behaviours to deal with the threat. Men will fight off and deter rivals or act in ways to control their partner's activities preventing any opportunity of an affair. They will also use violence and coercive control to frighten women and curtail their behaviour and any opportunity they

may have to mate with another man or, even more seriously, defect from that relationship to a new partner (Buss, 1994; Wilson & Daly 1998; Duntley & Shackelford, 2008).

Wilson & Daly (1998) argue however that male sexual proprietariness is more than sexual jealousy. It is an attitude, state of mind and corresponding set of behaviours through which men because they are in a relationship, feel they have an exclusive right of control over their partner and her reproductive capabilities. Men are therefore justified in exerting behaviours to ensure partner exclusivity. The use of violence and controlling behaviours is indicative of an ancestral attitude where men prioritised their needs and self-interests as superior to that of their partners.

Wilson & Daly (1988, 1998) believed that intimate partner homicide is a by-product of these violent mate keeping and controlling tactics. Men, in circumstances where they feel threatened by partner disaffection, employ tactics of violence, fear and coercive control to ensure compliance. However homicides occur where men 'slip-up' in their use of violence, inadvertently causing their partner's deaths. They describe intimate partner killing as an epiphenomenon, a by-product of a historical psychological mind set which promoted the use of non-lethal violence as a successful means of achieving male defined relationship goals. Thus homicide is not a directed expressive behaviour in and of itself, or the ultimate goal, but a subconscious mistake where violence is taken too far and death is unintentional.

“Men strive to control women by various means and with variable success, while women strive to resist coercion and maintain their choices. There is brinkmanship in any such contest, and homicides by spouses of either sex may be considered the slips in this dangerous game.” (Daly & Wilson, 1988 p. 521)

Wilson & Daly (1988, 1998) supported their hypothesis through a macro-analysis of studies conducted in the US, Canada and Australia. They suggested that if lethal and non-lethal violence both result from an attitude of male sexual proprietariness there should be no difference in its evidence as a motive within both forms of assault. The data suggested support for this position. There is evidence that male sexual proprietariness through fear of, or actual, infidelity or estrangement was the primary motivation in 80% of the reviewed homicide cases. Sexual jealousy and separation anxiety were also primary motivators within male domestic abuse. Canadian survey data indicated that those male partners with proprietary attitudes were also the most violent towards their partners.

Wilson & Daly's (1998) slip-up theory suggested that those at the most risk of extreme lethal violence, were women who had defected from the relationship, challenging male psychological control over them. Wilson & Daly (1988, 1998) found consistent support of this position in cross national data in Canada, US, Australia and England where over half the female intimate partner homicide victims had recently separated from their partners.

A key element of male sexual proprietariness theory is the perceived reproductive value of a woman to her partner. Younger women are predicted to be at most risk of control tactics because in evolutionary terms they are at their most valued. They are more likely to conceive successfully as well as being more attractive to rivals. Younger women are more inclined to leave or be tempted into an affair since they are likely to be in less developed relationships where protective feelings of love and loyalty which may ameliorate proprietariness are less developed. Again cross national data confirms that risk reduces with age with the 15-24 year age bracket contributing the highest proportion of total of female domestic homicide victims (Wilson & Daly 1998).

Wilson and Daly also cited evidence that women are at elevated risk in non-legalised unions as indicative of male sexual proprietariness. Canadian reports of lethal and non-lethal assault²¹ suggest extreme violence is more common to non-legal unions and this indicates the protective factor of marriage. They interpret these findings by suggesting men feel less secure in the commitment made by their partners to the relationship within cohabitation and may be more inclined to develop proprietary feelings and behaviours in order to ensure the relationship remain intact.

Wilson & Daly placed female perpetrated homicide within the overriding context of male violence. Whilst acknowledging through their own research that the SROK in the US reaches parity when women kill, it is generally due to defence of themselves or their children (M. I. Wilson & Daly, 1992). Whilst women experience jealousy and corresponding behaviours in reaction to it, they do not possess the proprietary state of mind which generates violence as a reactive means of controlling and managing disadvantageous situations. Wilson & Daly evidence perpetrator interview data which suggests that male proprietorial concerns over infidelity or separation were the key motivators in the homicide regardless of which partner was eventually killed.

In summary Wilson & Daly point to evidence of higher rates of lethal and non-lethal violence in estranged, non-legally recognised partnerships, where women are at their most valued and thus at most risk, as support for their theory that domestic violence is a continuum of male generated controlling behaviours. Homicide is regarded as an unintended consequence where proprietary violence is taken to extreme. Men are cued into circumstances and situations indicating the potential of

²¹ Female homicide victims in registered and common law unions recorded at 7.2 and 55.1 per million couples per annum respectively. Reports of non-lethal assaults on females in registered and common law unions recorded at 2.0 and 9.0 per hundred couples per annum respectively.

infidelity and relationship failure. They display evolutionarily adapted feelings of jealousy and the necessity to use violence and coercive control measures to solve the problem and ensure their own self-interest remains paramount and catered for within a generalised mind-set of male rights of entitlement over their partners.

3.3.9 Homicide Adaption Theory

Homicide Adaption theory was proposed and developed by the research of Buss and Duntley (Buss, 1994; Buss, 2000; Buss & Duntley, 2011; J. D. Duntley & Buss, 2011). As with 'slip-up' theory, it remains framed in the evolutionary premise that characteristic relationship behaviours are present within the population as a result of inherited learning from our ancestors, as the most successful adaptive tactical solutions for dealing with problems of partner disaffection and paternal security.

A range of such tactics from, 'violence to vigilance,' are employed by men and women to deal with the sexual conflict that arises in relationships. Buss (1994, 2000) reinforced the importance of jealousy within relationships and emphasised the gender differences in its effect. Men's jealousy cues are responsive to risks of female sexual defection whereas women are more receptive to emotional jealousy where a partner's emotional and resource commitment to her maybe in jeopardy. Jealousy can have a positive effect as it identifies risks and produces behaviours to avert it. Buss categorises these as a basket of mate retention tactics which include; mate guarding and surveillance, isolation, threats and violence as acts of deterrence; positive acts of inducement such as increased affection, care and indulgence; public signals of ownership which deter rivals. These are all adaptive and not mutually exclusive behaviours performed to manage a partner's behaviour. However these behaviours can also develop into extremes to ensure the self-interests are met. Given that these behaviours are employed to deal with certain situations they must have been commonly

experienced within ancestral relationships and then selected for as they were successful in achieving their aims.

Buss and Duntley (2011) argued therefore that violence can be predicted under certain common circumstances within relationships. These are primarily within the context of infidelity and separation, uncertain paternity within pregnancy, presence of step-children, unfaithful mates resuming former relationships and resource scarcity where incentives to keep a high value mate are no longer available. Violence is employed as a tactic to prevent disaffection and maintain control.

Whilst accepting that some domestic homicides may be the unintentional result of tactical violence or a 'slip-up', or due to mental health motivations, Buss & Duntley suggest these cannot account for the considerable number of murders which are premeditated, planned and intentional. These cannot be explained as simply 'slip-ups' but are the result of a cost-benefit analysis under circumstance specific situations. They are adaptive behaviour, inherited through our ancestors recognising in such situations the benefits of eliminating the victim outweighed the likely costs incurred by their death. They argued the position that domestic violence is not necessarily only used to threaten and control partners when fidelity or relationship defection is at risk but the use of lethal violence is a deliberate and subjectively rationalised act, employed to ensure an advantage to the perpetrator.

They suggested that benefit is likely to be accrued by the suspect in affecting a lethal violence solution. For instance killing one's partner acts as a deterrent for other or later partners highlighting the perils of not adhering to relationship boundaries. It would also restore an individual's reputation in responding to the 'slight' to their status by a partner's desertion, through a calculated act of retribution. Any potential pregnancy or

risk of unnecessary paternal investment as a result of infidelity would be averted with the death of the mother. The killing of an intimate partner would also ensure that they, their assets, resources and potential reproductive capabilities would not be available to any future rival. Under specific circumstances these benefits clearly outweigh the potential costs incurred through committing murder which include the threat of legal sanction, risk of retaliation by the victim's family and the loss of the contribution to the relationship by the deceased through either assets or child rearing responsibilities.

In line with all other intimate partner homicide theory, the majority of lethal domestic violence is accounted for by male perpetration. Women's violence again is viewed as reactionary and self-defensive. However there is also an acceptance that a minority of women may kill out of jealousy. This is not as with men due to concerns regarding sexual infidelity but fear of emotional and resource withdrawal and diversion should their partner have an affair. Thus the majority of male and some female perpetrated, intimate partner murders are committed as rational, balanced and problem solving solutions to common relationship issues.

“By advancing homicide adaption theory, we propose that there have been highly specific and recurrent contexts over human evolutionary history in which the fitness benefits of killing out-weighted the fitness costs. These contexts are defined by distinct adaptive problems for which murder was one effective solution among several potential other, non-lethal solutions.” (Duntley & Buss, 2011, p.400)

In support of this theory, Buss & Duntley cite cross-national research samples, all of which indicate infidelity, sexual rejection and separation are the preeminent motivating factors in domestic violence homicide (Buss, 2000). This then suggests situations which stimulate a jealousy response can induce homicidal behaviours.

In further support of their argument comparative examples are drawn from zoology to demonstrate that humans are only one of many species in which adaptive homicidal behaviours within mating relationships have evolved. Species of birds, insects and mammals will kill mates, offspring and rivals to ensure reproductive success. They suggest animal adaptations are indicative evidence that similar processes may operate within humans, if they ensure the same fitness benefits. They also point to archaeological findings of prehistoric weapons and injuries to historic remains which show that humans have developed clear behaviours and intentions to kill and these may easily have been translated into the relationship arena.

The development of counter homicide defensive behaviours, necessitated by and a reaction to the risk of potential lethal violence is also, they suggest, proof of adaptation. Just as adaptive behaviour developed to control relationships so to have defensive fight back behaviours have developed simultaneously such as deception, cuckolding, self-defence and pre-emptive attacks. Finally they find support in their own research that suggests that when faced with infidelity or separation men predictably will begin to experience homicidal fantasies towards their partners.

Whilst advancing the theory that intimate partner homicide is a designed, potential solution to deal with relationship problems, partner desertion and infidelity, they do not imply that it is the only solution. Not all faithless situations will result in murder, not all fantasies translate into a homicidal reality. Only infrequently will homicide be deemed as the most beneficial way for a perpetrator to resolve the situation. Buss & Duntley in no way condone such behaviour. Simply because homicide can be an effective choice does not necessarily mean that it is morally or socially acceptable. They argue the influence of evolution should not absolve the perpetrator of moral responsibility for their actions.

“The idea spousal violence serves a deterrent function is undoubtedly disturbing. But it should not be construed as condoning or justifying these detestable and repugnant acts. Nor should this explanation be used to excuse or exonerate the cowardly men who commit them.” (Buss, 2000 p.114)

3.3.10 Research findings in relation to Evolutionary Psychology

The vast majority of research in evolutionary psychology has been the reassessment of pre-existing studies rather than direct variable testing in the manner by which feminist criminology progressed. However this broad level of research does support tenets of evolutionary psychology theory in relation to domestic homicide. These will be considered before the more defined concepts of slip-up and adaption are addressed. Research has been conducted in evidencing fundamental elements of evolutionary psychological theory in general in particular in impact of step-children (Daly et al., 1997; Miner et al., 2012), love triangles (Shackelford, Buss, & Weekes-Shackelford, 2003) and competition within the ‘reproductive marketplace’ (D'Alessio & Stolzenberg, 2010).

Evolutionary psychology theory explains that a male jealousy response and risk of lethal violence will be triggered by circumstances of actual or perceived infidelity. Under these circumstances younger females are more at risk than older women as they are more reproductively valuable. Shackelford et al., (2003), found support for this position in examining 345 male perpetrated wife killings committed in love triangles. Using US SHR data for murders committed between 1976 and 1994 they found that a woman’s age negatively predicted the likelihood of being killed by a partner within a love triangle, as suggested by evolutionary theory.

The presence of children not genetically related to the current male partner has been consistently identified by research as a risk factor for women as described in Section 32.2. In the most recent of these studies, Miner et al., (2012) in conducting research on 265 cases of domestically abused and murdered women in Chicago found that the presence of step-children heightened both risk and severity of violence. In addition to a predictable jealousy response at sharing emotional and physical resources to rear children that are not genetically his the evolutionary effect of step children is extended to suggest how this also impacts on low value males. Men, who are less educated and financially secure and may also have children from other relationships, may seek out less desirable females (i.e. those already with children) as they are both regarded as low value within the reproductive mating market. These men having secured a relationship, in theory, raise their status and commonly manage their relationship through violent and coercive tactics to ensure compliance and its continuance.

Evolutionary theory argues that competition for reproductive resources has led to a number of adaptive behaviours to ensure the highest value mate is acquired and then kept. Those who are successful in warding off rivals and preventing desertion of a mate will be most likely to succeed in producing and rearing children. D'Alessio & Stolzenberg (2010) focus on this concept of competition identifying a reproductive market place created by sex ratios within the population. In theory if there are more men than women within the population, i.e. a high sex ratio, competition for female reproductive resources will become more intense. As there are more men for women to choose a mate from, male partners will become increasingly more jealous prompting intimate violence in order to prevent women having affairs and ensuring compliance. Using Federal Bureau of Investigation Crime reports recorded in 2005 for 134 US

cities, as well as 2000 census data, D'Alessio & Stolzenberg found evidence that the higher the ratio of men to women, the higher the levels of reported violence. They also found that there were higher levels of violence within cities with high sex ratios where there were also higher levels of female employment. This they suggest may be due to competition concerns as women within the workplace will have more contact with and opportunity to meet and evaluate other men who then become potential rivals.

Sexual differences in jealousy are an essential element of all evolutionary psychology theory accounting for relationship homicide and abuse. Studies have been conducted to verify the presence of a gender differential in jealousy responses. Buss, Larsen, Westen, & Semmelroth (1992), conducted research on 202 undergraduate students measuring verbal emotive responses and electro-dermal brain function in a number of scenario based issues of partner infidelity. Of the male subjects 60% verbalised greater distress and physiological responses to sexual infidelity, whereas 83% of the females sampled experienced the heightened levels of distress in scenarios of emotional infidelity. Buss, (2000), cites research conducted in Europe, the former Soviet Union and the US all of which evidenced identical gender differences in jealousy responses. In a similar but more contemporary study, sex differences in how men and women perceived 'on line' infidelity were identified in research conducted among 322 undergraduates. As predicted by the evolutionary model women were more distressed by on line emotional infidelity scenarios whereas men were more jealously responsive to sexual infidelity (Guadagno & Sagarin, 2010).

However a meta-analysis of 54 research studies found no evidence of any such gender difference in jealousy responses (Carpenter, 2012). Combined research evidence suggests that both men and women were more upset by emotional rather than sexual infidelity when measured as a comparison between the two. However when asked to

rate levels of distress, both men and women rated sexual over emotional betrayal as most jealousy provoking when measured on a continuum. These results may be due to variable sampling contexts and research design. Additionally emotional and sexual jealousies are co-existent and can be difficult to separate and measure since sex and emotion can be difficult to divorce in the mind of the betrayed. Methodological issues aside, whilst there may not be clear indications of gender difference, what is apparent is the importance of jealousy as an adaptive selected emotion cued as an overall indicator of relationship problems regardless of gender.

3.3.11 Research Findings in relation to Slip-Up Theory

Of the two theories, 'slip-up' and male sexual proprietariness has been the subject of the most original research and methodological rigour. The research work of Dawson & Gartner, (1998) and H. Johnson & Hotton, (2003) supports the importance of jealousy as a male motivational factor and the existence of male sexual proprietariness within intimate partner homicides. Dawson & Gartner (1998) reviewed 703 male perpetrated domestic homicides committed in Ontario, Canada between 1974 and 1994. Using Medical Examiner and Police Homicide files they sought to establish the effects of relationship state (married, cohabiting, dating) and motives associated with these homicides. They found that 14% of the total numbers of cases were motivated by jealousy. When considered by relationship state there was a more diverse effect in that 24% of dating relationships were subject to jealousy motivated murders compared to 12% of cohabiting and 11% of married couples. This supports the evolutionary argument that men are more likely to become jealous in situations and relationships where there is potential to lose future advantage through partner desertion or infidelity, such as younger and less formally established or committed relationships.

Johnson & Hotton (2003) renew and develop this research strand by including relationship status, examining the influence of estrangement on perpetration. Using Canadian Homicide Survey Data²² between 1991 and 2000 they review the circumstances of 1056 intimate partner murders²³. Their research tested separation and jealousy as key indicators of male sexual proprietariness. Johnson & Hotton found higher victimisation rates for separated women but not for separated men. Measured per million of the population, women were killed at a rate of 40.6 by estranged or divorced husbands compared to a rate of 30.9 per million for intact relationships. The effect was the reverse for male victimisation registering at 2.9 per million of estranged female perpetrators compared to 11.9 per million for current female partners. Thus women were six times more likely to kill in a current rather than concluded relationship whereas men were considerably more likely to kill in estranged unions. This is suggestive of women killing in defence and men in order to maintain control.

In addition to this, statistically significant associations were found between gender, jealousy and relationship status/state. Men were more than twice as likely as women to kill out of jealousy in both intact and estranged relationships. However more women were likely to be motivated to kill out of jealousy in estranged compared to intact relations (15% compared to 4%). This would also support evolutionary theory in that it is in estranged relationships that women's jealousy responses are more likely to be aroused due to the diversion of resources and emotional attachment. Men's jealousy response will be cued into stimuli in both intact and estranged relationships. Following logistic regression analysis of the variables associated with and predictive of proprietariness, Johnston and Hotton conclude that men are more likely to be motivated

²² Canadian Homicide Survey is similar to the UK Homicide Index. Police Agencies are legally mandated to submit detailed survey reports of all criminally negligent deaths, murder, manslaughter, infanticide and suicide.

²³ N= 846 female & 210 male victims

by jealousy and estrangement demonstrating stalking and revenge behaviours where their authority and relationships are challenged.

“Based exclusively on statistical data, these police reports tell a story. They support the views of Wilson et al. (1995) and Wilson and Daly (1998) that there are distinct patterns of intimate partner homicide for male and female perpetrators grounded in sexual proprietariness and entitlement over female partners when men kill, and self-defence against a violent and often highly controlling partner when women kill.” (p.79)

The ultimate act of male proprietariness is evidenced through family massacre. The homicide/suicide phenomenon has been widely established as being a predominantly male behaviour based on an attitude of ‘if I can’t have you then no one will’. The killing of one’s family and then oneself, whether through rage or depression, is an entirely male preserve and indicative of the ultimate act of ownership (Gregory, 2011). As detailed in Section 3.2.3, suicide accompanied homicide is more commonly associated with intimate partner killings than any other form of homicide and speaks of the ultimate right of male entitlement.

Thus whilst there is evidence to support the presence of a male proprietary state of mind, the evidence in terms of ‘slip-up’ theory is less convincing. It cannot account for the significant number of deaths which are the result of deliberate, premeditated and intentional acts. Contract killings, financial and sexual motivations and premeditation, which also characterise domestic violence murder, (Mann, 1996; Moracco et al., 2003; Websdale, 1999) cannot be accounted for by the ‘slip-up’ hypothesis and thus it appears the other dynamics must account for these particular homicide circumstances.

3.3.12 Research finding in relation to Homicide Adaption Theory

Other than the body of research general evolutionary research cited in Section 3.3.10, there is limited extraneous research other than that detailed in Section 3.3.9 which verifies homicide adaption theory. This has been conceded by Buss & Duntley 2011 who recognise the need for future testing and theory development to ensure its credibility by remarking,

“Although there is evidence consistent with a few of these evolution-based hypotheses, many remain untested. The hard hand of empirical evidence may eventually support some, partially support others and refuse some entirely. Even with those that receive support much conceptual and empirical work remains to be done. The precise psychological mechanisms by which intimate partner violence attains its effectiveness, for example, remain largely unexamined.”(p 418)

3.3.13 Summary

Evolutionary reasoning suggests characteristics and behaviours which most successfully overcome environmental challenges, allowing for survival and reproductive success are adapted and inherited through generations. This reasoning has been applied to theories of intimate partner homicide. Issues of parental uncertainty and partner defection and infidelity put strain on a relationship and are less than optimal for ensuring the successful rearing of children. Partner violence and homicide are explained as the result of a proprietary mind-set and associated coercive behaviours where males feel a sense of entitlement over their mate's bodies and activities in order to ensure their own self- interests. Homicide can be an unintended result or by-product of excessive controlling, proprietary violence. However this suggests most murders are 'slip-ups' or accidental which is clearly not the case. Adaption theory explains those

other subset of murders which are ruthless, calculated and intentional, where the benefit derived exceeds the cost of killing one's partner.

An academic deficiency within evolutionary psychology theory is that many of the elements cannot be scientifically recreated or proved under experimental conditions. Duntley & Buss (2011) do accept that many elements of homicide adaptation theory have yet to be tested. Whilst there is a strong multidisciplinary consensus of evidence and opinion that male jealousy and proprietariness are instrumental in the execution of lethal partner violence there is limited statistically significant evidence which proves these are adaptive behaviours but, given the nature of evolutionary theory, nor can there be expected to be. Homicide cannot be subject to laboratory conditions and therefore anthropological and zoological inferences are applied to explain human behaviours. Evolutionary theory is logical and comprehensive but is reliant on interpretation of ancestrally adaptive behaviours and tracking them within modern relationship dynamics. Causally linking current potentially instinctual behaviour to historic problem solving is challenging. It can seem to absolve the individual from responsibility in that they are only acting on an innate response. This then sets a dangerous precedent for mitigation and whilst jealousy may well be an inherited predisposition, responsive to particular circumstances, it should not be used as a universal justification for murder.

A further issue with evolutionary psychological theory is proving the 'evolving' element to it. Whilst it can be argued successful behaviours have been either genetically or socially reproduced through generations, it appears the actual behaviours themselves have remained static. Despite monumental changes in society and culture that many relationships now operate in, individuals still exhibit the same behaviours and mind-sets in managing their intimate relationship as our ancestors. Such behaviours do not appear

to have adapted or are little changed in response to the socio-cultural environments in which they now operate.

Evolutionary theories are however relatively porous. At an elemental level their arguments are interchangeable. Indeed there is an acceptance by their proponents that they do not offer a catch all explanation (Dobash & Dobash, 2012). However if blended and considered as a backdrop to other micro and macro relationship dynamics, they do offer a coherent and plausible mode of understanding why people who profess to love one another can also kill each other.

3.4 Intimate Partner Homicide, Contemporary & Prevailing Academic Debates.

3.4.1 Contemporary Studies

Two contemporary studies have been published which are based on a comparable premise to this research. Weizmann-Henelius et al., (2012), studied the forensic reports of 624 offenders convicted in Finland between 1995 and 2004 with the intention of identifying any gender differences between intimate and non-intimate homicide offenders. Using logistical regression and a backward stepwise model as well as a series of non-parametric tests, they found significant gender differences in these groups. Men when offenders were more likely to be in employment and when victims, were more often intoxicated at the time of the offence. Female offenders more commonly used self-defence and were influenced by alcohol induced quarrels.

Bourget & Gagné (2012) reviewed 276 domestic homicides committed within Quebec, Canada between 1991 and 2010 through analysis of Coroner's case files, in order to identify the characteristics of female offenders. Results again indicated the influence of victim intoxication and substance abuse as factors in female perpetration.

They established 50% of male victims were abusing substances at the time of their death. Previous relationship violence had limited influence of female offending and most offences appeared unpredictable.

Given these studies share similarities in both their methodology and results and the timeliness of the publication, they will be used for both comparison and corroborative purposes later within the discussion section in Chapter 7. However this thesis advances beyond these contemporary studies in a number of ways due to its level of detail, the number and type of variables measured and through the application of its results of psychological theory.

Due of the quality and quantity of the case files, the variables analysed within the London data are far more detailed when compared with these studies. For instance, whilst measuring alcohol abuse, neither Bourget & Gagné (2012) or Weizmann-Henelius et al., (2012) sought to quantify levels of intoxication at time of death. Additionally, both studies measured the presence of a history of domestic abuse but not its detail. However the London research has been able to identify specific levels of victim intoxication and the exact nature and direction of previous domestic abuse. The Canadian study classified motive as being either it being intended/ unintended or psychiatric. The Finnish study also had three categories for motive; self-defence, quarrel and revenge. However this research has been able to code motive into ten classifications.

Both contemporary studies focused on victim and offender characteristics but neither provided detail regarding the couple's relationship dynamics, as has been possible in this research. Finally neither study actively considered the subsequent theoretical implications arising from their results. As will be identified in Section 7.4

applying results to existing theories advances the debate and overall understanding of intimate partner homicide.

3.4.2 Prevailing Academic Debates

Whilst there is a general consensus within research as to the descriptive and risk characteristics associated with domestic violence homicides, there are considerable and on-going academic and theoretical deliberations as to its causes. As detailed above there is both a divergence within and between feminist criminology and evolutionary psychology as to a cohesive explanation of domestic violence homicide.

In addition three particular strands of on-going debate concerning the conception of domestic violence homicide can be identified. One discourse concerns debate as to whether there are distinct differences between perpetrators and victims of intimate partner violence and intimate partner homicide (Archer, Dixon, & Graham-Kevan, 2012; DeJong et al., 2011; Dixon & Graham-Kevan, 2011; R. E. Dobash et al., 2009; Fowler & Westen, 2011; Thomas et al., 2011; Frye et al., 2006;). Secondly, there is the consideration as to whether there are psychological, biological and socio-cultural differences between intimate partner homicide and non-intimate partner murder per se (Avakame, 1998; Corzine, 2011; Felson & Lane, 2010; Mize et al., 2009; Taylor & Jasinski, 2011). Finally, there is debate concerning whether there is any gender difference associated with the perpetration of relationship abuse and lethal violence. In short do women and men kill their lovers differently and for different reasons? (Felson, 2006; Jordan et al., 2012; Saunders, 2002). To date none of these debates have reached a satisfactory resolution. However it is this last question which this research now seeks to address.

Chapter 4

Methodology

4.1 Introduction

The intention of this chapter is to explain the aims, objectives and methodology supporting this research. It is divided into six sections. Section 4.2 qualifies the research strategy and details the three questions this research aimed to answer. Sections 4.3 through 4.5 explain how the data parameters were established and how it was then collected and codified. Section 4.6 details the database development and analytical strategies employed. Section 4.7 reviews the inter-rating reliability process conducted to ensure the integrity of the research data whilst Section 4.8 summarises the ethical considerations associated with this real world research.

4.2 Research Strategy and Theory Testing

As stated in the general introduction the principle focus of this thesis was to assess if there is a difference in the way men and women kill their lovers. The research strategy is to explore this concept through addressing three research questions. Firstly, what is the landscape of intimate partner homicides committed within London over an eleven year time span and are there any quantitative differences according to gender? Particular emphasis was given not only to address this through a narrative of victim and offender but their dynamic as couple was also measured. Secondly, are there any variables within the dataset that are statistically associated with or predictive of the sex of the perpetrator. Finally, what support does the data testing offer to the prevailing theories accounting for domestic violence homicide? Each of these elements will be determined as follows.

London's Landscape of Intimate Partner Homicide; the first question and an essential element of this research, is to provide an in-depth narrative of the pattern of domestic violence homicide offences committed between 1998 and 2009. The data was mined to explore the characteristics of four homicide components; victim, suspect, relationship and offence. Variables associated with each of these components will be measured and used to populate a dataset from which subsequent statistical analysis will be conducted. All the variables will be considered by total and by gender. Descriptive statistics and charts will be used to illustrate the results found within each of the four categories. This will then for the first time allow for a view of the landscape of intimate partner murders committed in London over this period.

Gender Association; the second element of this research is to investigate the dynamics of gender. It seeks to test whether there is any association between sex and victim/perpetrator/relationship and offence characteristics. This will be done by testing firstly whether there were any significant statistical associations between the variables and sex and then secondly establishing if any of the variables are predictive of perpetrator gender. Identifying which of these characteristics have a significant association with gender will help define the nature of the domestic violence homicide in London and establish whether there is a quantifiable difference in the way men and women kill their lovers. Again the results will be presented within a descriptive narrative with illustrative outcome tables.

Theory Testing; the final element of the research has been conceived to establish what, if any, corroborative support this dataset and resulting analyses provides towards the current theories of intimate partner homicide. All prevailing theories, regardless of their disciplinary alignment, account for domestic violence homicide in terms of men's use of lethal controlling instrumental violence against women as a means to ensure their

own particular rights, needs and welfare. Female violence is primarily seen as reactionary and defensive in response to abuse. It is a subsidiary to men's violence rather than being instrumental or malign in and of itself (Swan, Gambone, Caldwell, Sullivan, & Snow, 2008). The London dataset results will be examined to establish whether there is support for this proposition. Key elements from feminist and evolutionary theory will be explored through a narrative consideration of the descriptive statistics as well as tested to establish whether certain variables proposed by the theories have any predictive association with suspect gender.

In terms of feminist criminological theory, the effect of patriarchal paradigm on the mind of the offender, were not tested since one to one suspect interviews have not been conducted. However, gender equality can be measured through analysis of the relative employment ratios between partners. Employed women would in theory have the resources available to leave abusive relationships thus the gender equality theory can be tested within this dataset. Additionally where female victims have a higher socio-economic status classification than men this would be potentially suggestive of backlash theory (Reckdenwald & Parker, 2008, 2010).

Precepts of evolutionary theory will also be further examined to establish if there is any evidential validity supporting them within the London dataset. Measurements of the effect of gender on the presence of reproductive mate value according to age, the presence of step children, and the influence of infidelity as a motivating factor will all be examined. If these variables are predictive of suspect gender then they would appear to offer support to evolutionary psychology theory.

The influence of relationship violence is a significant element of both feminist and evolutionary theories as it is indicative of a pattern of male patriarchal terror tactics

as well as the evolutionary concept of male sexual proprietariness. Therefore the presence or absence of domestic violence, as well as the type and level of violence where it is present within the couple's background, will be considered in detail.

4.3 Data Criterion

For a homicide to be included within the dataset it had to meet the following research criteria:

- i. The relationship between the victim and suspect had to be heterosexual:

This research focuses exclusively on heterosexual couples. There were eight recorded homicides between homosexual couples recorded by the Metropolitan Police during this eleven year period (six fell within the research criteria and included one female couple and five homosexual male relationships). Whilst a comparative analysis of these relationships would have been useful in exploring the dynamics where the "reproductive" element of sexual jealousy is excluded, the numbers were too small to be effectively included within the operational research format.

- ii. The case had to have been subject to the criminal justice system

The perpetrator had to have been charged with a homicide offence either and pleaded or was found guilty. Alternately the perpetrator, in was the opinion of H.M. Coroner and/or the Senior Investigating Officer was responsible for the death of the victim and had committed suicide in 12 months following the offence. The fact that a case had been through the rigours of a criminal justice process ensure both a robustness and credibility to the evidence contained within the investigative files. It also eliminated speculation as to the veracity of cases where the person was charged and found not guilty or simply the case was reported and not suspect has been charged and thus undermined the credibility of the conclusions. Whilst not guilty defendants may have

indeed been responsible for the death of their partner and suitable for inclusion, in these cases the criminal burden of proof, i.e. guilty beyond reasonable doubt, was not met.

iii. The offence took place between the 1st March 1998 and 31st April 2009.

The date criteria ensured that all the necessary updates and back-record conversion had taken place in the computerised and data storage systems accessed for this research.²⁴ The end date was set to ensure that all the relevant cases would have been finalised through the criminal justice system on the submission of this thesis.

4.4 Data Collection

Until 2006 there was no historical off the shelf index identifying categories of victim/offender relationships in homicide cases. The initial research design had therefore been to identify all the relevant intimate partner cases from reviewing copies of the CRIMSEC7A forms submitted to the Home Office. These forms have a section where relationship of victim to suspect is a preformatted selection option. The option of spouse/ex-spouse is one of the preformatted categories. It was intended a review of all the forms would yield the applicable domestic violence cases.

It soon became apparent that this approach was problematic for a number of reasons. Firstly, although it is a responsibility of all Police Forces to submit data to the Home Office via the CRIMESEC7A, there were issues with reliability and compliance. There was no method of actually ensuring that all homicide allegations had a corresponding CRIMSEC7A entry at that time. Without the ability to cross check there was no way to ensure that all the necessary data would have been captured thus the dataset initially envisaged may have been unreliable from the outset.

²⁴ The MPS operates according to financial rather than calendar years hence the April start date.

Secondly, the relationship category selection on the CRIMSEC7A forms did not cater for the working research definition of intimate partner homicide. The definition used within this project, domestic violence homicide is defined as the murder or manslaughter of a person perpetrated by a current or previous spouse, common law partner, girl/boyfriend or any person of the opposite sex with whom they have had a romantic or intimate sexual relationship. This encompasses a range of intimate relationship types in order for the most complete picture of the homicide landscape to be considered. However this definition was not easily identifiable from CRIMESEC7A forms as girlfriend/boyfriend or could fall within the general associate category dependent on the inputter's own decision making regarding the circumstance of the relationship.

Thirdly, there was a great variety in the level of detail contained in the CRIMSEC7A forms. Some forms held in-depth information regarding the incident, others were more scant in the details provided. Any cross comparison of cases therefore would have been restricted to a limited baseline of variables, primarily demographic information. There would not have been the opportunity to ascertain details such as relationship characteristics, method and motive. This would have restricted the range and overall utility of this research.

Thus the initial intention to populate the dataset from a harvest of the CRIMESEC7A forms proved unworkable. Therefore the most suitable option was to revert to the original source data contained within two computerised police systems; Crime Reporting Information System (CRIS) and Home Office Large Major Enquiry System HOLMES.²⁵ Since 1995 all allegations of crime have been recorded by the Metropolitan Police Service (MPS) on CRIS. Every recorded allegation is given a

²⁵ UNISYS Website, "What Is HOLMES2" accessed 27th February 2013(<http://www.holmes2.com/holmes2/whatish2>)

unique CRIS number, and the computer record contains details of victim, suspect, offence classification, investigation details and judicial outcomes. In addition to the CRIS report, because of their complexity compared with other investigations, full details of homicide investigations are also held in HOLMES.

Thus the revised plan entailed reviewing all allegations of homicide recorded on CRIS, identifying those offences which fell within the specified intimate partner homicide research definition and then gaining access to the relevant investigative source material on HOLMES database.

The search of the CRIS system identified 1,915 offences which were either initially or subsequently classified as homicide. The CRIS pages have drop-down sections in the victim and suspect fields which are populated to indicate the relationship between the parties. Relationships can be classified as spouse/ex-spouse or girl/boyfriend. In addition the allegation can be marked with a domestic violence 'DV' flag denoting that partner abuse is a feature of the allegation. Finally comments can also be made in the 'details of investigation' field. This is a free text section within the report where police officers can record information about the nature of the relationship and the circumstances of the offence. All 1,915 CRIS reports were read and all those allegations which fell within the domestic violence homicide definition were identified as potential candidates for the dataset then further researched.

Of the total number of recorded homicide offences in this period 286 (15%) were 'domestic' in nature. Of these 8 were between homosexual couples and 45, following further investigation, were not deemed to be criminal offences. This left a potential working data set of 233 allegations.

There were 26 cases (15 female victim/male suspects and 11 male victims/female suspects) were either not proceeded with or the defendants were found not guilty, therefore they were not included within the final working data set.

Having identified the 207 cases, access to the relevant research files was then obtained. In the majority of cases this was through securing appropriate clearance to access the HOLMES2 accounts. The accounts contained a variety of documents, statements, exhibits, photographs, intelligence information, tape and video recorded interviews and other material collected during the homicide investigation and typed onto the HOLMES2 database. However there were a number of cases where, either there was a HOLMES2 account but the material had only been registered for auditing purposes and not actually typed onto the database, or there was no actual HOLMES2 account corresponding to the allegation. Under these circumstances the paper files containing all the original material, known within the MPS as the General Registry Docket, were retrieved from the Records Management Branch and from these the case material was then reviewed.

Having reviewed the HOLMES2 accounts, CRIS reports and General Registry Dockets of all 207 allegations this divided into 34 male victim/female suspect cases and 173 female victim/male suspect offences. Once it was established that an allegation fell within the research criteria all the documentation, whether within the HOLMES2 account, CRIS report or General Registry file, was mined information on variables associated with the four research characteristic fields of victim, suspect, relationship and offence. Whilst the investigative information held within the source material was very detailed, it was not consistent across all cases. The variables selected were those which were most relevant to the research agenda and most consistently recorded within the source material. Where data for a particular variable could not be found, other MPS

and open source media reports of the cases were checked to establish whether the required information was present.²⁶ However despite these attempts some variables within the cases were missing. The effect of this is considered further within the methodological issues Section 7.6.

4.5 Data Coding

4.5.1 Victim Variables

The victim variables measured were gender, age, ethnicity, economic status, profession, socio-economic classification, presence of alcohol and/or controlled drugs at post-mortem examination, indication of the presence of mental health issues and possession of adult criminal conviction. The particular definitions and the material from which determinations were made are summarised below.

1. Gender

Measured as sex of the victim and recorded in the dataset as Female/Male.

2. Age

Measured in years and recorded numerically in the dataset. Age was measured from the date of birth recorded on the initial crime report, death certificate or post-mortem statement.

²⁶ Primary open source research was conducted on The National Archives “Criminal Courts in England and Wales” website, accessed from April 2010 – February 2013 (<http://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/records/research-guides/criminal-courts-from-1972.htm>). The site contains details of tariff setting for mandatory life sentences and Trial Judge case summaries

3. Ethnic Origin

Ethnic origin was classed as in five categories; White, Black, Asian, Oriental and Arabic²⁷. However numbers within the last three groups were not large enough to form groups of their own and so for descriptive and analytical purposes these three were amalgamated into one group. Information was taken from custody records, post-mortem statements, photographs, self-defined ethnicity within statements or interviews, police officer classification within CRIS, HOLMES2, Registry Docket or CRIMESEC7A forms.

4. Economic Status

This was defined and recorded in three ways; firstly, whether the victim was employed or unemployed. Students, retirees, housewives and non-working mothers were recorded as unemployed.

Secondly, where employed, the profession of the deceased was then recorded as described in the case material either within witness statements, suspect interview, exhibits or according to police officer classifications. Where employed, full details of victims and suspects professions and how they compared within the couple's relationship are provided in Appendix I.

Finally, socio-economic classification (SEC) was established through measuring the victim's economic status and profession against the Office for National Statistics SEC grading.²⁸ Occupations were given a score of between 1 and 8 depending on where they fell in managerial, professional, technical, manual or service grading:

²⁸ The Office for National Statistics, "The National Statistics Socio-economic classification" accessed 27th February 2013 (<http://www.ons.gov.uk/ons/guide-method/classifications/current-standard-classifications/soc2010/soc2010-volume-3-ns-sec--rebased-on-soc2010--user-manual/index.html>)

1. Higher managerial, administrative and professional occupations
2. Lower managerial, administrative and professional occupations
3. Intermediate occupations
4. Small employers and own account workers
5. Lower supervisory and technical occupations
6. Semi-routine occupations
7. Routine occupations
8. Never worked and long-term unemployed

5. Presence of Alcohol

Where post-mortem toxicology samples had been taken and analysed and results available within the research data, presence and levels of alcohol within the blood and/or urine samples were captured within the research data. This was recorded within the dataset as presence YES/NO. Only those levels which were detected by the Forensic Science Service as being above the drink-drive limit of 32 milligrams of alcohol per 100 millilitres of blood were considered. Lower levels were excluded as it is not possible to definitively account for them as either ingested alcohol or as a result of biological post-mortem processes. Where levels of alcohol over 32mg are present this will be considered since it may be a factor in influencing their own or the suspect's behaviour and precipitated their death since drunkenness can induce aggressive, provocative or uninhibited behaviours. Details of alcohol toxicology were taken from statements of the forensic scientists who had completed the post-mortem sample analysis.

6. Presence of Controlled Drugs²⁹

Presence of such drugs was recorded as YES/NO. Where post-mortem toxicology samples had been taken and analysed and results were available, the presence and type of illegal drug use was measured. Again evidence for this variable was taken from the scientific toxicology statements within the investigation documentation. In addition where there was evidence within the post-mortem toxicology indicating both alcohol and drug use this was also measured.

7. Presence of Mental Health Issues

Where there was any reference made within the source material, either within the judicial case papers, medical assessments or anecdotal antecedent history, the presence or absence of mental health issues for the victim has been measured. It was recorded within the dataset as present YES/NO. Whilst the presence or absence of mental health issues was referenced, specific diagnosis as to the nature of the issue, either formally or informally, was not routinely recorded, explained or verified. Thus, whilst thus a potentially very important variable in terms of exploring biological explanations of intimate partner homicide, because its reliability could not be guaranteed throughout the dataset, any specificity regarding diagnosis had to be excluded.

8. Previous Adult Criminal Convictions

Where available, measures of any previous adult criminal convictions recorded against the victim on the Police National Computer (PNC) contained within the

²⁹ Controlled drugs are defined under Schedule II, Misuse Use of Drugs Act 1971. Their use and possession, production and sale are illegal. Substances are divided as Class A (e.g. cocaine, MDMA, heroin) Class B (e.g. cannabis, amphetamine) or Class C (e.g. temazepam) dependant on the medical harm and danger to public safety associated with them. Misuse of Drugs Act Chapter 38 accessed 27th February 2013 (http://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/1971/38/pdfs/ukpga_19710038_en.pdf)

investigations file were measured. It was recorded within the dataset as present YES/NO. Again whilst it would have been very useful to have further detailed information regarding the nature of any previous convictions held by the victim, this information was not routinely recorded within the case files to such a consistent degree that it was able to be included within the dataset. Where any previous conviction related to violence or domestic abuse there was mention of it but the researcher was concerned about the overall reliability of this data without recourse to the specific PNC file to provide verification. Additionally other than simply noting a previous conviction, other non-violent offence information was not detailed to a satisfactory level. Theoretically it would have been possible to conduct a check on the PNC to establish the nature and details of any convictions held by the victim. However this would have been against provisions of the Data Protection Act 1998 and thus could not be accessed for the purposes of this research. This issue will be further considered in Section 7.6

4.5.2 Suspect Variables

The same demographic measures as described above were established for perpetrators. In addition, the presence of a co-accused to aid and abet the killing and an additional victim killed within the chronology of the offence was also measured.

1. Presence of Alcohol/Controlled Drugs

Whilst establishing the presence or use of alcohol and/or controlled drugs by the perpetrator at the time of committing the offence would be an extremely useful variable to contextualise a homicide encounter, its measurement proved problematic. Any viable data for establishing a relationship between suspect behaviours and intoxication would only be conceivable if the relevant blood or urine samples were taken from the suspect

within hours of the offence taking place.³⁰ This would allow the process of back calculation. This is a method where through calculating levels of toxic excretion, reliable alcohol levels at the time of the offence can be established. However not all suspects are arrested immediately following the offence to allow this process to take place. Domestic violence murders can remain undiscovered or undetected for years. In some cases intimate partners are only identified as suspects after considerable investigation, by which time any information about alcohol or drug usage at the time of the offence would be anecdotal and uncorroborated. Under these circumstances where the data was available in the form of scientific toxicology statements, it has been included within the descriptive narrative for reference purposes only. No meaningful interpretation can be made without the ability to compare it with those suspects for whom, due to delay in arrest or discovery no forensic toxicological data is available.

2. Previous Adult Criminal Conviction

Unlike the victim data for this variable, information regarding both the presence and nature of any previous adult criminal convictions has been included within the suspect characteristic pool. It was recorded as previous conviction present YES/NO. The nature of the offence for which they were convicted was also grouped by offence category. Establishing all previous convictions of a defendant are required within the judicial process thus PNC antecedent information was routinely available within the case files. This is a significant variable as an offender's propensity for violence and aggression may be predictive of their behaviour towards their intimate partner. The nature of previous convictions was codified according to offence type and grouped under 1 of 10 offence headings namely; assault, homicide, sexual offences, possession

³⁰ Police & Criminal Evidence Act 1984 allows intimate blood and/or urine samples to be taken from arrested persons to prove or disprove their involvement in an offence

of weapons, immigration offences, traffic violations, drugs offences, property offences, miscellaneous offences or multiple offending history.

3. Presence of a Co-Accused

The presence of a co-accused coded as present YES/NO. Where there was evidence that another person was involved in aiding, abetting, procuring or conspiring with the perpetrator to commit the offence this was recorded within the database as it signifies a level of premeditation, intention and planning. Information regarding the presence and use of a co-accused was obtained from charging indictment, statements, CRIMESEC7A and HOLMES2 accounts and trial proceedings.

4. Presence of an Additional Victim

Any additional victim(s) killed within the chronology of the offence and their demographic details were also included within the dataset. This was recorded as additional victim YES/NO. Details for the presence of an additional victim were recorded with the CRIMESEC7A, CRIS reports, HOLMES2 account and post-mortem statements.

4.5.3 Relationship Variables

This was a highly significant category of variables given the potential impact of previous relationship dynamics on the circumstances of the offence. Variables of relationship classification, status, cohabitation, presence and provenance of children and a history of domestic abuse were measured individually at both victim and suspect level. In addition the demographic combination of partners as to how they related to one another within the relationship was considered.

1. Relationship classification

This is a measure of whether the couple were either legally married or girl/boyfriend. It was recorded within the dataset as either MARRIED or GIRL/BOYFRIEND. Evidence of relationship status was taken from witness statements, perpetrator interviews and police classifications.

2. Relationship status

This was defined as a measure of whether the couple were either currently involved within a relationship or completely estranged. It was recorded within the dataset as SEPERATED/TOGETHER. Separation was defined as circumstances where the couple had either jointly or unilaterally terminated the relationship. Where offences had occurred where one party had simply left the home address in the heat of the moment the relationship was not deemed as separated. Again evidence of status was taken from victim and suspect home address records, witness statements, perpetrator interviews as well as police and judicial reports.

3. Cohabitation

The presence or absence of cohabitation was also measured and was recorded within the dataset as cohabiting YES/NO. It was defined as to whether the couple lived within the same dwelling or lived separately. Evidence for this was found in similar material to that of the relationship status variable.

4. Relationship length

This was defined and quantitatively measured in terms of the actual length of time the couple had been intimately or romantically involved together in years. It was measured by year and also grouped within 3 year blocks of time. Evidence for this

variable was found in witness statements, dates of birth of the couple's children, perpetrator interviews and police and judicial reports.

5. Partner Comparison Ratio measures

Comparison of the couples' relative age, ethnic origin, employment and socio-economic status were present were measured through merging the relevant victim and suspect variables.

6. Parental status

This was measured in terms of whether either or both partners were parents, having had children either together or separately. Four 'parent' variations were identified and coded namely, children YES/NO, parents of children together only YES/NO, parents of children separately YES/NO, parents of children both together and separately YES/NO. The provenance of any stepchildren associated with the signature relationship was also measured.

It is the fact that the perpetrator had had a child which was tested even if that child was an adult at the time of the offence. Details regarding parental status were taken from statements from the children themselves, witness statements, exhibited birth certificates, perpetrator interviews and police and judicial reports.

7. Domestic Abuse History

This variable was codified as two measures. Firstly whether there was evidence of a history of violence present or not present or whether there was simply no information on which to make a codification. This was coded as domestic violence YES/NO/NOT KNOWN. Secondly where there was data within the investigative

material indicating any abusive history, this was then graded according to whether it was;

- i. a substantiated report of abuse by the eventual suspect against the victim,
- ii. an unsubstantiated report of abuse by the eventual suspect against the victim,
- iii. an unsubstantiated report of abuse by the eventual victim against the suspect,
- iv. witnessed or anecdotal violence by either the suspect against the victim or the victim against the suspect.
- v. cross allegations, where both the eventual victim and suspect had previously made allegations against one another.

A substantiated report was regarded as one where an allegation had been made to the police, medical or social services or civil lawyer and the victim had cooperated within the criminal justice process. Simply measuring the number of substantiated allegations would not provide a true reflection of a couple's domestic violence history. There is a high attrition rate within domestic violence allegations as many victims withdraw allegations or refuse to assist the prosecuting authorities hence the requirement for an unsubstantiated tag. This will be considered further in Section 7.7. Evidence for codification was taken from police reports, witness statements, medical reports, civil proceedings information, photographic evidence, post-mortem indication of previous injury, perpetrator interviews and police and judicial reports contained within the case files.

4.5.4 Offence Variables

Ten variables were identified and measured to populate information regarding offence characteristics including time, location, method, and motive, weapon use,

overkill, presence of defensive injuries, post offence behaviours and criminal justice outcomes.

1. Time of offence

Time of day is a problematic variable to consider since offences may go undiscovered or undetected thus specifically establishing when they took place can be impossible. Further difficulties arise as, unless witnessed and actually recorded by a third party or independently captured on CCTV, there is no way to independently verify time of death estimates. Pathologists can estimate time of death according to body temperature and microbial and other biological changes within the body, but this is not necessarily an accurate measurement. The influence of external effects such as exposure and changes in external temperature after death can make any estimates unreliable. Perpetrators recall is also flawed as even when available it cannot be independently verified. However in order to gain some approximate measure of whether there could be an influence of gender over the time of day when offences took place, if independent time measures were recorded within the case files, they were included in the dataset. Where independent time information was available it was taken from the timestamps of the emergency call to the police or ambulance services³¹ informing them of a crime in progress or assistance is required.

In addition, where recorded, anecdotal evidence from witnesses who may have heard either screaming or sounds of disturbance was also coded as a 'time of offence variable'.³² The exact times, where available within the source materials were recorded within the dataset but given the concerns that exact hour and minute measures cannot be

³¹ All 999 calls to emergency services are logged and date stamped in the computer aided dispatch system (CAD)

³² This does not necessarily translate into time of death as due to emergency medical intervention some victims initially survived only to die later in hospital from their injuries

corroborated, time of offence was categorised as to whether it occurred within a twelve hour window either midnight to midday (A.M.) or midday to midnight (P.M.). Thus consideration of time variables is problematic and should be viewed in relation to these caveats.

2. Location of offence

As with time, ascertaining the exact location of offence is not as simple a variable to measure as it at first may seem. There are the obvious confirmed locations where bodies have been discovered where they lay. However attempting to gain specifics about what room within a household lethal violence was inflicted in can be difficult in cases of long and protracted attacks which move locations throughout the house. Suspects also move bodies and clear up evidence and so information regarding specific location is not always easily or readily attainable. Thus where clear and verified information was available regarding location in the form of either photographs, forensic evidence or witness and suspect statements this was recorded in the dataset. Location was categorised by household room, other external or non-domestic location.

Location information will be quantitatively summarised within Section 5.2.4. However, due to the assumptions required by certain statistical tests, as the numbers of homicides within particular areas such as hotel rooms or pubs were small, when the subject of predictive modelling, (Section 6.2.4) groups were collapsed into whether the offence occurred either in a domestic or non-domestic/external location.

3. Cause of death

Mode of dying was identified from the post-mortem examination conclusions of the pathologist. According to the Coroner's Rules 1984³³, all sudden and unexplained deaths, as well as criminally perpetrated homicides, require a Home Office registered pathologist to conduct a post-mortem examination to establish the cause of death.

Whilst there are wide inconsistencies in the wording used by pathologists in recording their findings, mode of dying could be grouped into the following 9 categories; stab wound, (multiple or single), asphyxia, drowning, gunshot injury, poisoning, smoke inhalation/burns, head injury and multiple injuries. Where death was caused by stab wounds, the number of wounds inflicted as identified by the pathologist was also measured and assessed by suspect gender.

There were two further categories identified. 'Unascertained' was concluded where the body was in too advanced stage of decomposition or too damaged to allow the pathologist to establish the cause of death. Finally a 'no body recovered' group identified those offences where the victim was missing and there was substantial evidence to suggest that they had been subject to a homicide offence but their remains were undiscovered. All variables were coded as present YES/NO within the dataset.

4. Weapons/Instruments

The use of weapons was classified firstly as to whether a weapon had been used or not within the commission of the homicide. It was recorded within the dataset as weapon used YES/NO. Secondly, if a weapon or instrument had been used it was then classified according to type. Weapons type groups included knife, point/bladed article, hammer, firearm, belt/flex/ligature, pillow/plastic bag, blunt object, or multiple objects

³³ The National Archive, "The Coroners Rules 1984" accessed 27th February 2013. (<http://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukSI/1984/552>)

used. Evidence for use of weapons was determined from the post-mortem findings, forensic analysis of the scene or other exhibits for blood and tissue transfer, scientific statements indicating mechanical fit of weapons recovered to injuries sustained, CCTV footage as well as witness and perpetrator accounts.

5. Defensive Injury

There are two forms of wounds that are categorised as defensive injuries; passive injury where victims sustain wounds when protectively raising their arms to ward off blows to their head and upper body or active injury where wounds are inflicted as victims try and grab towards the assailant or weapon.(Hugar, Harish, Girish Chandra, Praveen, & Jayanth, 2012). Any defensive injuries identified by the pathologist were recorded and categorised within the dataset as either present or absent YES/NO. This variable provides a measure of the level of fight back by the victim during the attack which led to their death. The more defensive injuries received, the more prolonged and sustained the attack and the more violently the victim fought against it.

6. Overkill

In addition to the presence of multiple stab wounds, levels of overkill were also measured where one or more weapons were used in the commission of the offence or where multiple traumatic injuries or causes of death have been identified by the pathologist. This was recorded within the dataset as overkill present YES/NO and evidenced from post-mortem examination statements.

7. Post offence behaviour:

This was measured in terms of evidence of body disposal and destruction through burial, burning or dismemberment. Remains may be tampered with either to

remove evidence or due to some psychological need by the perpetrator. Where there was material such as statements, CCTV or forensic findings that the body had been treated in such a manner it was coded as present or absent within the dataset YES/NO.

8. Post offence suicide

As noted in Section 3.2.3 the post offence suicide of the perpetrator is a significant characteristic associated with intimate partner homicide. Suicide by the suspect within 12 months of the commission of the offence was recorded as a variable present YES/NO. The mode of suicide was also identified and will be presented qualitatively. In addition to suicide, suicide attempts were also recorded within the dataset however as numbers were small they were amalgamated within the suicide variable when statistically analysed to ensure test assumptions were met.

9. Criminal Justice outcomes

Outcome data was available for 84% of cases and this was measured within three variables. Firstly, establishing the nature of the offence for which the perpetrator was convicted was measured and codified within the dataset as MURDER / MANSLAUGHTER / OTHER.

Secondly, whether the suspect actually pleaded guilty to the offence or was found guilty by a jury. Pleas are difficult to interpret as in theory they suggest an admission of guilt on the part of the defendant. However they can also be used as legal measures to gain a lesser sentence. Defendants who plead guilty at the earliest opportunity can receive up to a third off their sentence tariff³⁴. As noted in Chapter 1, if a suspect is convicted of murder they must receive a mandatory life sentence, with the

³⁴ House of Commons Library, "Reduction in Sentence for Guilty Plea Standard Note SN/HA/5974 accessed 24th March 2013. (www.parliament.uk/briefing-papers/SN05974.pdf)

length of the custodial term decided upon by the trial judge. In the case of manslaughter this is not the case. There are a range of sentencing options available from community service penalties, and suspended sentences to a period in custody, dependant on the circumstances of the offence and the mitigation arguments put forward by the defendant as to why they acted in the way they did. Therefore it may be in the interests of the defendant to plead guilty to manslaughter rather than murder, even if they actually did intend to kill their victim, thus avoiding a mandatory sentence. This variable was coded as pleaded YES/NO.

The final measure was that of sentence following conviction. The majority of homicide perpetrators received custodial sentences and in this case the length of the sentence was measured. In addition judges also have other sentencing options for manslaughter convictions including suspending the sentence³⁵. Judges can also impose a range of community sentence options, again the defendant may not serve any time in detention and is at liberty under conditions and restrictions monitored by H.M. Probation Service. Judges and magistrates also have the ability, where circumstances dictate, to sentence an individual to a Hospital Order or a Restriction Order under the provisions of Part Three, Mental Health Act 1983.³⁶ A Hospital Order requires a person who has been convicted of an offence to be detained at a hospital for suitable treatment and care. These orders are generally concurrent with a Restriction Order which imposes restrictions on the perpetrators movement and freedoms as well as post treatment discharge proposals in order to protect the public. The length of these orders in relation to homicide convictions tends to be indefinite.

³⁵ Under a suspended sentence the perpetrator is not required to serve any time in custody as long as they do not commit any further offences for a defined period. If they do a custodial sentence may be reinstated.

³⁶ The National Archive, Department of Health, Acts and Bills, "The Mental health Act 1983" accessed 27th February 2013. (www.dh.gov.uk/en/Publicationsandstatistics/Legislation/Actsandbills/DH_4002034)

Sentence is measured within the dataset as categories of CUSTODIAL/MENTAL HEALTH/OTHER. Where a custodial sentence has been imposed the length of the term this is also considered within the descriptive statistical analysis.

10. Motivational Elements

One of the most difficult and multifaceted variables to accurately measure is that of motive. Only the perpetrator knows what they are thinking, what they intend and their reasons for it, at the time of the killing. However, if acting under mental health issues, physiological dysfunction or intoxication where the perpetrator is unable to control their impulses, there may be no rational thought process or reason underpinning their actions. There may be occasions when the perpetrator themselves is unable to explain or rationalise why they acted as they did.

There may not always be circumstances where there has been a specific motivation to kill but the perpetrator has caused death through an intent to injure or through an intervening action. However there are also events where the homicide is deliberate, malicious and executed under a clear rationale by the suspect to achieve their aims. Even where the perpetrator is aware of why they acted in the way they did, they may not actually explain this. Accounts for their actions may be fictitious explanations to avoid taking responsibility and the subsequent penalties which may follow. Motive therefore, due to relationship dynamics, suspect and victim characteristics, falls within a grey area and is not always easily discernible to the suspect, the investigation team, the jury or the researcher.

Motive is not a quantifiable measure within homicide research. It is not a nominal or tangible variable such as time, age or cause of death. Motive can only be

independently measured by interpretation and a subjective assessment of the facts associated with the death. Information from the perpetrator, the crime scene, forensic analysis, witness evidence, antecedent history and intelligence regarding the victim, suspect and their relationship must be weighted and evaluated to discern why an offence took place. This is the process which the police homicide investigation teams, SIOs and the Crown Prosecutors carry out when presenting the case before a jury. Whilst evidence of motive is not required by law to be presented within the facts of a case at trial, such assessments are often made in order to contextualise events for the jury to assist in their decision making. Thus at every stage from investigation to charging decision, from case presentation to jury deliberation, continuous assessments are made on the facts of the case making rational but subjective determinations as to motive. Although these determinations are subjective they are however evidence based.

Motive determination within this thesis has followed these same steps. All the evidence gathered by the MPS homicide investigators, as well as additional material revealed at trial, has been reviewed and assessed by the researcher. The researcher is an experienced detective and SIO and well versed evidence gathering and assessment. An assessment of the original SIO and Crown Prosecutor opinions as well as all the other surrounding evidence was used to determine and contextualise the reasons for the killing in an independent judgement of the facts made by the researcher. Final judgements are presented with the caveat that decisions could only be based upon the material within the case files.³⁷

There may be material relevant to this research that was not captured in case file as it was not deemed relevant to the investigation of the case at that time. However, reliance must be placed on the integrity of the police teams in collecting and assessing

³⁷ As identified in Chapter 1 these may be subject to human error thus there will always be questions regarding reliability.

all relevant evidence and including it within the case file. It must be remembered that these files have been through a judicial process and would have been extensively scrutinised by prosecution and defence teams for any potential errors. The MPS has a 92.5% detection rate for homicide suggesting that their data collection and determination is reliable for the basis of this research³⁸.

All facts were cross checked where possible across of MPS data bases to ensure reliability. In addition a regime of inter-rating was completed regarding this variable's coding to provide reliability and assurance regarding the evaluation processes adopted by the researcher. (See Section 4.6)

The problematic issues associated with motive determination are not unique to this particular research project. They appear to be regularly encountered in the majority of homicide studies. In reviewing the demographic and offence characteristics of female perpetrated homicides committed within 6 US cities between 1979 and 1983 Mann (1996), codifies motive through analysis of the case material held within the FBI Uniform Crime Reports. Following a similar process to this research study, Mann critiques her own study stating,

“Often an in-depth reading of a specific case led to a different interpretation of the motive recorded in the homicide report. Thus, the difficulty in defining motive is viewed as a major limitation of this study” (p. 174)

Due to a reliance on subjective interpretation, motive categories are often limited and measured by broad grouping such as intended/unintended rather than individual variables (Bourget & Gagné, 2012; Mann, 1996; Websdale, 1999). However a detailed analysis of motive is an essential requirement for this research project in

³⁸MPS Total Policing website, accessed December 2012
(http://www.met.police.uk/about/documents/mps_annual_report_2010-11)

order to establish the dynamics of gender and intimate partner homicide. Motive is one of the most important elements where it appears there may be a discernible difference between male and female perpetrators. Motive is also a key element in intimate partner homicide theory. Both feminist criminology and environmental psychology explain domestic violence homicide in terms of men's behaviour being motivated by proprietary rights or a need to control, punish infidelity or prevent separation. Women's violence is motivated primarily by a responsive need to defend herself from her partner's abuse. Thus, there is a need at least to attempt to capture as much information regarding motive as possible despite the reliability and subjectivity issues.

This study uniquely seeks to drill down into the motives present within the London Homicide dataset given its theoretical importance. Simply because there are sensitivities regarding rigour and credibility around determining motive should not bar attempts to do so. Providing appropriate caveats are in place when considering any results, issues relevant to motive can be explored. The concerns about the reliability of motive determination have been identified and addressed within this research through an independent research determination and selection of those cases which have been through the rigours of the criminal justice process as outlined above. Furthermore the issues regarding determination were also managed through clear definition and an inter-rating process.

This category is named specifically defined as 'motivational elements'. This research does not seek to suggest definitive motive but to identify singular or multiple dynamics occurring within the relationship, the circumstances of the offence, or the characteristics of both the victim and the offender, which contextualises the homicide and provides some form of explanation as to the perpetrator's use of lethal violence. This section is not intended as being regarded as categorically defining the motive as to

why the murder took place, only the perpetrator is able to do that, but it is an assessment of factors which may be considered in part an explanation for the use of the lethal violence.

Building on previous research this study has sought to expand the motive group to enable an in-depth analysis whilst maintaining the bounds of statistical credibility. Initially thirteen motivation elements (with additional sub-codings) were identified within the dataset and evidenced-based decisions made around their coding following a review of the investigative material. These were then collapsed into ten variables and sub-codes in order to comply with the necessary statistical test assumptions to allow for a more rigorous analysis of their association with gender. The following subsections describe the definition and coding process for the motivational elements measured in this research. For reference examples of how variables were coded have been included in Appendix B.

1. Intoxication

This was defined as the presence of evidence of alcohol and/ or controlled drugs use in the commission of the offence. It was coded within the data set firstly as present YES/NO. Its codification as a motivational element was determined by toxicology reports pertaining to the presence of either alcohol and/or controlled drugs within their blood or urine post-mortem sample. Where the perpetrator on arrest directly following the offence had evidence of alcohol and/or drug use within their blood or urine this also contributed towards the coding decision. Additional corroborating evidence was also considered such as whether there was evidence of alcohol usage or substance abuse at the crime scene. This would generally be in the form of empty alcohol containers, evidence of alcohol or drug purchase prior to the incident or evidence of paraphernalia,

e.g. crack pipes or syringes at the scene. Witness or CCTV evidence that either the suspect or the victim had been drinking alcohol or using drugs in the hours prior to the offence also contributed to the decision making codification.

2. Argument

This is one of the most difficult factors to assess in terms of its significance as a motivating element. On initial review of the case files, arguments were associated with many of the homicides recorded within the data. However a clear distinction needed to be made as to whether the argument was coincidental or causal. Due to the physical nature of many homicides, there are often accounts of screaming and sounds of significant disturbance as victims and suspects physically fight each other during the commission of the offence. In these circumstances argument would not be coded as a variable as it is coincident with the offence. However arguments could be causal in themselves. They may have been generated in relation to an isolated and usually mundane event or issue. They can be a height of passion reaction to the issue, the eventual outcome often unplanned or accidental rather than a premeditated murder.

Argument was coded within the dataset as present YES/NO. Coding decisions were based on evidence derived from the content of 999 emergency calls, CCTV, witness statements, perpetrator police interviews and evidence whilst on oath at trial, police and judicial proceeding reports.

3. Self-defence/Provocation

This was defined in terms of the use of lethal violence by the perpetrator in order to protect themselves or another from an actual use or perceived threat of violence. It can be the reactive result of the eventual victim's behaviour towards the suspect provoking and inciting a violent response from them. It was coded as present

YES/NO and evidenced in terms of the presence of injuries to the suspect or another associated party, witness evidence, CCTV, scene photographs and forensic interpretation of the scene. However the majority of information regarding the use of self-defence and/or provocation was provided within suspect accounts either immediately after the incident, during police interviews or in evidence on oath at trial.

A history of domestic violence was considered relevant when considering self-defence codification. If a perpetrator identified this as a causal reason and there was corroborative evidence then this acted as a positive self-defence/provocation coding. However simply because a couple may have had a history of domestic violence it was not automatically assumed, without any additional information, that self-defence was a motivating feature of the perpetrator. In order to achieve the YES coding there has to be clear evidence within the source material that the victim was in fear and acting in their own defence. Not all abuse history necessarily translates into the eventual use of lethal violence and the researcher was clear in making this distinction.

4. Infidelity

This was defined as an actual or perceived sexual or romantic encounter or relationship by one of the parties in the signature victim/suspect relationship with a party outside that relationship. Where evidence was available it was measured in terms of the party who was being unfaithful and coded as INFIDELITY (VICTIM) YES/NO or INFIDELITY (SUSPECT) YES/NO. Both variables were then collapsed into a single infidelity present YES/NO variable to allow for statistical analysis.

5. Separation

This was defined as the actual estrangement and dissolution of the relationship, or the belief by one of the parties that this was going to take place against their wishes.

It was coded within the dataset as separation YES/NO. Determining evidence for this variable took a number of forms. If the couple had actually separated there was information regarding residence at different home addresses, information regarding civil or divorce proceedings, child access, witness accounts and perpetrator evidence pertaining to that fact. In addition if separation was being proposed and objected to by one of the parties there was documentary evidence of preplanning such as diaries, legal visits and witness evidence. Evidence was also evaluated from police interviews or evidence in oath by defendants.

6. Finance

Finance and resources motivations were coded within the dataset as being present YES/NO. They characterised as either motivated by a tangible loss or gain to the perpetrator.

Determining evidence for finance as a motive was found within the source material in bank statements, insurance policy documents, business records and financial audit reports. Evidence was also contained in witness statements, perpetrator accounts and police and judicial proceeding reports.

7. Mercy Killings

These are an unusual and legally complex category of homicides. Within this study they refer to murders which are perpetrated by suspects whose intention is to end the lives of ill, usually terminally so, partners to prevent their continued suffering. This is generally prevalent in older couples. Whilst there is a clear intention to kill, they are rarely viewed as malicious or the perpetrators deemed as a danger to society. They were coded within the dataset as present YES/NO. Evidence for these killings was evaluated

from family and witness statements, perpetrator accounts as well as corroborative medical records within the source material.

8. Mental Health

As commented upon in the victim and suspect sections, this has been a difficult variable to evidence in terms of the specific nature of the diagnosis and ascertaining the mental health history of the sufferer. Whilst convicted defendants often are evaluated by psychiatrists both during the trial and within post-sentence reports, this information was not always routinely available within the source material and does not necessarily indicate the mental state of the perpetrator at the time of the offence. Therefore, as in the victim and suspect categories, the presence of mental health within the circumstances of the offence is simply coded as present YES/NO.

It was coded as being present as a motivating feature regardless as to whether it was the victim or the suspect experiencing such issues. Evidence for mental health motivation was primarily found in psychiatric reports, medical assessments, witness statements, evidence of use of prescription medication for a condition, perpetrator accounts and police and judicial proceeding reports.

9. Sexual Motivations

Where there was evidence within the source material that either a consensual or forced sex act was coincidental to and associated with the homicide it was coded as being a motivational element within the offence. It was coded as present YES/NO. Evidence of sexual activity was found within post-mortem statements recording either trauma or evidence of sexual activity and/or injuries, crime scene photographs, forensic test results of sexual samples taken from the suspect and victim and forensic examination of exhibits, in the form of items such as condoms or other implements that

may have been used during the act. In addition, police and judicial proceedings reports as well as the suspect's own account of events were also used to evaluate the presence of this variable as a motivating feature.

10. Other

This last category captures a range of more isolated, case specific motivational features identified within the case material which were not so uniformly experienced as to allow them to be considered as standalone variables. They included features such as abortion and pregnancy, child access, 'honour-based issues' and jealousy. Given that sexual jealousy is a vital element to intimate partner homicide theory considerable deliberation took place in collapsing the jealousy motive in to the 'other' category. However for the purposes of this research and with the case material available, definitively proving jealousy, unless it is clearly stated by the suspect, was found to be problematic. It could be assumed it would be present within the dynamics of many of the murders which formed this study. However without clear evidence identifying jealousy as an issue, to ensure rigour within the analysis, where there was doubt or lack of corroboration in its determination, it was not codified within the dataset. The variable was coded as other YES/NO and explanatory comments as to its nature were provided. Issues concerning the categorisation of jealousy are considered within Section 7.4.

Evidence for this variable was generally found within witness statements especially those of friends and family who were privy to the relationship dynamics. Again key material on which coding determinations were made was based on the information provided by the suspect in interview or evidence at trial.

4.6 Database Development and Analytical Strategy

All codified data was captured within a ©Microsoft Office Excel spread sheet. This was then recoded from verbal to numerical values and imported into Statistical Package for Social Sciences (©SPSS) versions 18&20³⁹, a statistical analysis software package.

There were certain cases where data regarding a particular variable was missing. Missing data was not variable specific and ranged from simply unknown to unascertainable causes of death to other variables where there was no pertinent information contained within the case file. There was no one variable which had more data missing than any other which would have required its removal. All missing data was evenly spread throughout all categories. Missing data was coded within the SPSS material and accounted for during the calculations and when presented within the descriptive statistics section.

A three stage strategy was employed to analyse the material.

1. Descriptive Analysis

Each of the four categories and their associated variables were considered descriptively by total and gender. This met the first expectation of the research in providing a picture of the London intimate partner homicide landscape over time. Each variable was presented in terms of percentages, distributions, and averages and displayed pictorially in bar charts.

³⁹ The YES/NO variables contained within Excel required conversion to numerical format to allow for import and analysis within SPSS.

2. Tests of association.

The second expectation of the research was to examine whether there was any association between gender and the manner and circumstances of the homicide. Other than age and the length of relationship, all other variables were categorical and Chi-Square tests could be used to establish whether there was any association between the variable and the gender of the suspect/victim.

Chi-square tests establish whether there is any relationship of association between two (or more) categorical variables (Dancey & Reidy, 2008; Field, 2009). Data for each of the categorical variables was populated within a 2*2 contingency table. The test compares the expected frequencies, if there was no association, with the observed frequencies. The results provide evidence as to whether there is any association between the two variables. It determines the probability of any association being due to chance/sampling error or whether there is in fact a relationship apparent between the two.

For the test to function correctly the data must meet certain assumptions, namely no more than 25% of the cells can have an expected frequency of less than 5.⁴⁰ For those cases where the data did not meet the 25% assumption, Fisher's Exact Probability, whose results can be interpreted in a similar manner to Chi-Square was used. In addition there must be no double counting of variables between categories so a subject cannot appear in more than one category (Dancey & Reidy, 2008; Field, 2009). Having calculated through Chi-Square tests whether there is any statistically significant

⁴⁰ This accounts for the need to collapse certain variables such as location and motivational elements to allow the data to meet the test assumptions.

relationship between variables, the Cramer's V test was used to measure the strength of that relationship.

In considering numerically distributed variables such as age or length of relationship, Mann-Whitney tests were employed to establish whether there were statistically significant differences in distribution profiles according to gender. Results are presented in tabular and narrative form directly following the descriptive analysis for each variable.

3. Predictive Modelling

Where significant associations were found between gender and particular variables, the researcher then approached the issue from another perspective in order to test gender relationships and their validity through the use of predictive modelling in the form of binary logistic regression. During this process variables were coded into a model to establish which ones, if any, could predict perpetrator gender. The results would be relevant in testing whether feminist or evolutionary theoretical predictions regarding domestic homicide were met by the London dataset. If, for example, infidelity as a motivational element and presence of step-children were predictive of male perpetrated lethal violence, this would add support to evolutionary theory (Wilson & Daly, 1998). If however female employment levels were predictive of male perpetrations this may be indicative of backlash theory (Jensen, 2001).

As gender i.e. whether the perpetrator would be male or female was the dichotomous outcome of the predictive modelling exercise, the most appropriate test was logistic regression. Logistic regression as a technique examines the influence of variables on an event outcome. Logistic regression can be either binary where there is a

dichotomous outcome or multinomial where the outcome is not dichotomous. As Field (2009) explains,

“In plain English, this simply means we can predict which of two categories a person is likely to belong to given certain other information.” (p.163)

In order for the test to be correctly employed certain data assumptions must be met. The outcome considered has to be a categorical dichotomy, e.g. membership or not of a group and the variables must be continuous or categorical. Unlike Chi-Square tests there is no definitive rule regarding the number of cases required, however, guidance suggests that there should be at least 10 to 15 cases for each predictor variable (Field, 2009).

The intimate partner homicide dataset met these requirements since the outcome being tested was male or female perpetration and all the variables being used to predict gender are categorical. Some of the variables were collapsed as previously described into new categories to ensure they met with minimum case requirements ensuring the model's stability. For instance the 'provenance of children' categories were merged into one Children Present YES/NO group. The six 'type of domestic abuse history' categories were amalgamated into Abuse History Present YES/NO. The same is true for sexual/other motivational element which became OTHER. Locations of offence were collapsed into a single INTERNAL/EXTERNAL variable. Cause of death by smoke inhalation, drowning, and gunshot injuries were collapsed into a single OTHERCOD.

Binary logistic regression was conducted within ©SPSS Version 20. A 7 step model was used. Victim, suspect and relationship variables were recoded and tested to establish whether any were predictive of perpetrator gender. Due to their potential

significance in theory testing motive and cause of death variables were recoded and tested in isolation from the remaining recoded offence variables.

Finally all the variables which were identified as being predictive were then placed in one full model to establish finally which, if any, may be the most significant predictors of perpetrator gender. There were various methodological issues encountered during this exercise which will be described in Chapter 7.

4.7 Inter-rating Reliability Process

Determining an effective inter-rating process was essential in ensuring the credibility of the database. However due to the nature of the source material and the required levels of security clearance required to gain access to it, achieving an effective process proved protracted and problematic. A retired MPS Commander, with experience as both a SIO and in the field of forensic psychology, volunteered to act as inter-rater. This former police officer had the necessary Home Office clearance vetting status and was able to view material in the presence of the researcher. They were unable however to view protected intelligence material.

Once permissions were granted for the inter-rating process by the Strategic and Research Analysis Unit, due to database corruption issues within the researcher's profile, all cases had to be reloaded onto the HOLMES2 account by MPS support staff. On the second reloading of cases due to technical issues some of the initially granted access levels were corrupted which limited the number of cases available for the inter-rater to review. Technically the cases could have all been loaded however this would have been disproportionate to the task and the cost and timescales required were prohibitive.

Once the accessible cases were finally available within the HOLMES2 database an inter-rating review plan was devised. All suspect, victim and relationship variables within the research database were populated by transposing the requisite data into Microsoft Excel. This had been triple checked by the researcher and there was no further requirement to test this data for accuracy. Motivational elements were the only variable within the research which required a subjective determination. Therefore, it was decided it this would be the only variable to undergo the inter-rating reliability process. As stated above motive is a primary element in intimate partner homicide theory. It was therefore critical for the credibility of this research that the reliability of the motive determinations for each case, given that it was subject to individual decision making, was tested in the most rigorous manner within the vetting and technical confines.

It had been initially proposed that one in every three cases would be inter-rated. However this strategy could not be fulfilled. Firstly the inter-rater did not necessarily have the necessary clearance to view all of the cases. The second issue related to the length of time motive determination requires. It had taken five years for the researcher to complete full reviews of the documentation contained within the case files to make a motive determination. The inter-rater could not be expected to complete the process to the same degree and therefore was reliant on those cases where there was an overarching summary document prepared by the SIO or Queens Counsel which detailed salient factors of the case. In those cases where there was no such case summary report, the researcher had made an independent evidence based determination by reading all the documentation associated with the case as well as taking into consideration any additional commentary or opinion as to motive. Given the time constraints this was not a proportionate method for the inter-rater, therefore only those cases where case

summary reports were available were included in the reliability checking process. The inter-rater then sought to identify if any of the prescribed motivation elements were present within these cases. Given these caveats, 12% (n=24) cases were reliability checked.⁴¹

Table 4.1 shows the resulting levels of concordance between the researcher and the inter-rater for each of the reliability checked cases.

Table 4.1 Inter-Rater Reliability Concordance

Case	Agreed Variables Present %	Disagreed Variables Present %
F2	33	67
F5	100	0
F14	100	0
F17	67	33
F20	67	33
F27	33	67
M11	100	0
M22	33	67
M30	100	0
M53	50	50
M59	33	67
M60	50	50
M61	100	0
M78	67	33
M79	50	50
M83	100	0
M86	50	50
M96	20	80
M102	50	50
M104	100	0
M111	25	74
M114	100	0
M136	50	50
M150	100	0

⁴¹ See Appendix C for Full Inter-Rating Score Sheet

As can be seen there were 9 of the 24 inter-rated cases where there was total concordance between the researcher and the inter-rater. Thus, in a third of cases there was full agreement in the motive determination. There was partial agreement in 64.5% of cases.

Complete concordance was not expected, as the process is one of individual decision making. In addition to the individual element however some of the discrepancy can be explained by the greater access and knowledge the researcher had of the case material from which to make a determination. This was not available to the inter-rater, whose decisions were based on the more limited case summary documents. For instance in Case *M79* both the researcher and inter-rater made a sexual motive determination. However in addition the researcher flagged an alcohol/drugs motivation element as they had had access to the toxicology statements. These were not included in the case summary document and thus not available to the inter-rater to allow for a more evidence based decision.

Conversely in case *M136* the inter-rater determined alcohol as a motivational element as evidence of alcohol use was noted in the case summary file that the suspect was believed to have been drinking alcohol prior to the offence. However witness statements suggest that the suspect's alcohol intake was a number of hours prior to the killing as the suspect did not provide a sample on arrest toxicology levels could not be accurately determined and thus, being aware of this information which the inter-rater was not, the researcher did not rank this as a motivational element.

Whilst percentage concordance is a useful measure of inter-rater reliability, it does not take into account the scoring between both inter-rater and researcher that could have been due to chance. To assess the level of agreement between the inter-rater and

researcher in order to further enhance the reliability process the Cohen Kappa coefficient was calculated (Banerjee, Capozzoli, McSweeney, & Sinha, 1999; Mackinnon, 2000). The Cohen kappa coefficient informs the inter-rating process taking into consideration those ratings which may be due to chance.

“Cohen's kappa statistic is the most widely used coefficient describing the extent to which two raters agree about the presence or absence of a disorder.” (Banerjee et al., 1999 p.129)

Using a 2*2 table the Kappa coefficient was calculated as 0.657 (Standard Error Rate = 0.061; 95% confidence interval ranged between 0.538 and 0.776.) The kappa calculation, at 0.657, suggests therefore that in this case the level of agreement according to the Fleiss (1981) scale is good and the motivational element determinations are statistically credible and can be reliably included within the research.

4.8 Ethical Considerations.

Certain elements of the data collected during a homicide investigation are of a personal and highly sensitive nature. Private and confidential information such as medical reports, psychiatric assessments and legal correspondence were contained within the various cases files and HOLMES2 accounts. Additionally restricted information regarding policing intelligence, tactics and strategies was also present. Given the nature of this material, before commencing the collation of the data considerable thought was given to the appropriate handing and management of this material, ensuring it complied with the law under the Data Protection Act 1998, the Code of Human Research Ethics of the British Psychological Association and University of Leicester Codes of Practice.

The objectives of the ethical strategy were; to ensure that all process were conducted and material handled with integrity, that it did not compromise any individual, the methodology and results were open to academic scrutiny and finally the research could be used to progress our understanding of such a significant social issue. The strategy was enforced by ensuring sufficient layers of authorisation and access as well as careful management of the unredacted data.

This research was part funded by the Home Office through the National Police Improvement Agency. The outline plans and research methodology were approved and their directions in terms of the ethical handling of material were to ensure the University Ethics Code was adhered to and that any personal information appearing within the body of the research was anonymous. Access to the source material in HOLMES2 and General Registry Dockets was granted by the MPS Commander of Homicide & Serious Crime Directorate who was also a member of the Association of Chief Police Officers Homicide Working Group. Access was granted under certain provisions. It was stipulated that when populating the database and in the associated research text all data was to be anonymous. No original data was to be taken out of any police building. No data was to be copied. Again compliance with the University Code of Ethics was to be assured.

The issue of informed consent was considered with the Commander and the researcher's PhD Supervisors. Since all the data was legally held by the MPS the decision was reached that as long as all data was anonymised and that where detailed case data was used within the body of the research text the information must already in the public domain, (such as media reporting of the trial) individual consent was not required. However as a professional courtesy all Senior Investigating Officers and the HOLMES2 account administrator were written to and asked to make any objections to

the use of the data or to indicate where exclusions may be necessary due to the sensitivity of the material held within the case file.⁴² No objections or exclusions were made.

The researcher, as an SIO, has a vetting level of Security Check (SC). This clearance allows that researcher access to sensitive intelligence material.

Once approval for access had been granted by the MPS Commander, the research outline, including the plan for management of material, was submitted to the Metropolitan Police Strategic Research Analysis Unit (SRAU). This unit collates, approves and monitors all internal and external research utilising MPS data. The research plans were approved by this unit.

Once the professional consents were in place further discussion took place with the researcher's PhD supervisor and inter-rater regarding whether any further approval was required from any other professional body. As no 'live' interviews with subjects were involved in this research and all the appropriate access levels had been granted, the consensus of opinion was that no further authorisation was necessary. Therefore the outline plan and associated stipulations to ensure the integrity of the material was submitted to the University Ethics panel. The plans met approval and all research conditions, as well as the general conditions contained within the University Codes of Practice, were adhered to.⁴³

4.9 Summary

This chapter outlines the three objectives of this research. Firstly, through an extensive reading of the material collated from 207 murder investigations, a database containing details of suspect, victim, relationship and offence characteristics was

⁴² See Appendix D

⁴³ See Appendix E

created. This provides for the first time a unique overview of the ‘how, why and who’, for couples in London who have been killing each other over the 11 years between 1998 and 2009. The second aim was to establish what, if any, relationships exist between gender and the variables associated with domestic violence homicides using statistical tests and logistic regression models. The final aim was to consider what support this dataset and the London experience provides towards prevailing theories and whether they offer any additional insight into the use of lethal domestic violence.

The inter-rating and ethical considerations experienced when conducting the research were detailed and should be used as a caveat when considering the results as they are presented within the following chapters.

Chapter 5

Descriptive Analysis and Statistical Results

5.1 Introduction

Due to the privileged unrestricted access to source material granted to the researcher this is the first in-depth analysis completed in relation to this particular group of homicides. As such the results have an operational and academic utility in adding to the body knowledge concerning intimate partner homicide. These research findings are therefore of relevance to both academics and police professionals. Understanding patterns and gender associations allows SIOs to test case hypotheses against previous case findings to develop and generate potential lines of enquiry in homicide investigations (Geberth & Bagerth, 1996). In addition a clearer understanding of the relationship between gender and offence characteristics allows for a more informed knowledge base from which to draw upon when considering potential risk assessment tools and prevention programmes (Eke, Hilton, Harris, Rice, & Houghton, 2011).

Given the complexity of the finalised dataset and the magnitude of the analytical product, for clarity, the results are presented over the next two chapters. This chapter details the descriptive results from the London dataset determined through each of the four research categories; victim, suspect, relationship and offence. Results are presented by reference to the total numbers and according to gender for each relevant category. In addition, where a statistically significant association between a variable and either victim or perpetrator gender has been identified through the results of non-parametric tests, these particular results are highlighted.

Section 5.2, Category Analysis, answers the overarching research questions posed in Chapter 4. The results reveal both an image of the London domestic homicide landscape and establish that there are key variables which are significantly associated with gender which indicate there are differences in the way men and women kill their lovers.

When considering the results by total number rather than simply gender, the detrimental role alcohol intoxication plays as the primary motive for all homicides committed during the dedicated time parameters becomes apparent. What is of note and was unpredicted given previous research findings⁴⁴ was the limited influence of antecedent relationship violence.

When viewed by gender there were clear differences in terms of motive and method of killing. However there were also similarities particularly when considering the demographic characteristics of victims and suspects. Statistically significant associations were found between female perpetration and victim intoxication, causing death through a single stab wound, self-defence as a motivational element and receiving a manslaughter conviction. Variables most common to male perpetration related to employment status, being older than the victim, infidelity as a motivational element and post offence suicide. All proved to be statistically significant.

Chapter 6 continues the results reporting presenting outcomes of the stepwise predictive modelling process. The effect and meaning of these results and the impact that they have on the prevailing theory are considered in Chapter 7.

⁴⁴ See Section 3.3.2

5.2 Category Analysis

The demographic results of victims and suspects by total and gender are detailed in Table 5.1 their analysis will be presented through Section 5.2.1 to 5.2.4

Table 5.1 Victim & Perpetrator Characteristics, Intimate Partner Homicides in London 1998-2009

Variable	Victim Total		Male Victim		Female Victim		Perpetrator Total		Male Perpetrator		Female Perpetrator	
	N	(%)	N	(%)	N	(%)	N	(%)	N	(%)	N	(%)
Number ^{N = missing data}	207	(100)	34	(16)	173	(84)	207	(100)	173	(84)	34	(16)
Mean Age (years)	38	SD 14	39	SD 9.7	38	SD 14.9	40	SD 13.8	41	SD 14.4	35	SD 18.3
Ethnic Origin - White	131	(63)	21	(62)	110	(64)	122	(59)	103	(59)	19	(56)
Ethnic Origin - Black	43	(21)	8	(23)	35	(20)	52	(25)	43	(25)	9	(26)
Ethnic Origin – Asian/Oriental/Other	33	(16)	5	(15)	28	(16)	33	(16)	27	(16)	6	(18)
Employed	97 ³	(47)	17 ²	(50)	80 ¹	(46)	102 ¹	(49)	92 ¹	(53)	10	(29)
Presence of Mental Health Issues	11 ³	(5)	3 ³	(9)	8	(5)	44 ³	(21)	34 ³	(20)	10 ¹	(29)
Presence of Previous Conviction	38 ⁸	(18)	17 ²	(50)	21 ⁶	(12)	93 ²	(45)	80 ¹	(46.)	13 ¹	(38)

5.2.1 Victim Variables

As previously described in Chapter 4.4.1, victim variables for age, ethnicity, employment, socio-economic classification, presence of any mental health issues, previous adult convictions and the presence of either drugs or alcohol at post mortem were measured. The results of Chi-Square Analysis are detailed in Table 5.2.

Of the 7 victim variables tested, previous convictions and alcohol usage were the only characteristics which had a distinct relationship with gender. In the case of age, ethnic origin, employment and mental health variables there was little variance between the victim gender profiles.

Table 5.2 Results of Chi-Square Analysis between Victim Gender and Victim Characteristic Variables

Victim Variable	Chi-Square χ^2	Degrees Of Freedom (DF)	Significance Level (<i>p</i>)	Valid Cases (N = 207)
Employment Status	0.248	1	<i>p</i> = 0.618	204
Presence of Alcohol	9.822	1	<i>p</i> < 0.005 (0.002)	169
Presence of Controlled Drugs	3.101	1	<i>p</i> = 0.078	168
Mental Health Issues	0.942	1	<i>p</i> = 0.332	204
Previous Convictions	28.52	1	<i>p</i> < 0.001 (0.0001)	199
Ethnic Origin	0.203	2	<i>p</i> = 0.904	207

1. Gender

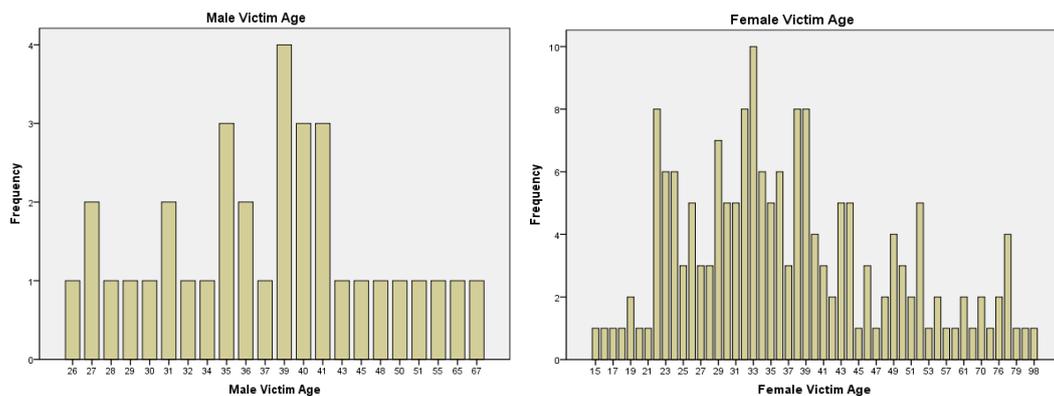
There were 173 female victims and 34 male victims murdered within the dataset parameters. Thus 84% of the domestic homicide victims with this research were women.

2. Age

Male victims were aged between 26 and 67 years (Mean = 39 years; SD = 9.7).

Whilst there was a similar average age of 38 years for the female victims within the dataset there was more variation in age distribution. As shown in Figure 5.1, this ranged from 15 to 98 years (Mean = 38 years; SD = 14.9). There were four cases (2.3%) where the female victim was aged 18 years or under. There were no instances male teenage victims. A Mann-Whitney test concluded that age distribution was the same across both male and female victim cohorts ($p > 0.05$).

Figure 5.1 Victim Age Distribution in years



3. Ethnic Origin

In total the victim ethnic profile measured 63% White, 21% Black and 16% Asian/Oriental/Arab. Whilst there is a similar distribution pattern across both genders, given the London average statistics there is an overrepresentation in terms of both male and female victims of Black ethnic origin. There was no statistical association of ethnic origin with victim gender. Of the male victims, 62% were White, 23% Black and 15% Asian/Oriental/Other. Of the female victims 64% were White, 20% Black and 16% were classified as Asian/Oriental/Other.

4. Employment Data

Status

There is a comparable percentage distribution of employed to unemployed/retired/housewife across the gender profiles. Of the male victims 51.5% were employed, 48.5% either unemployed or retired. For the female victims 53.2% were either unemployed/housewife or retired compared with 46.8% who were employed.

Profession

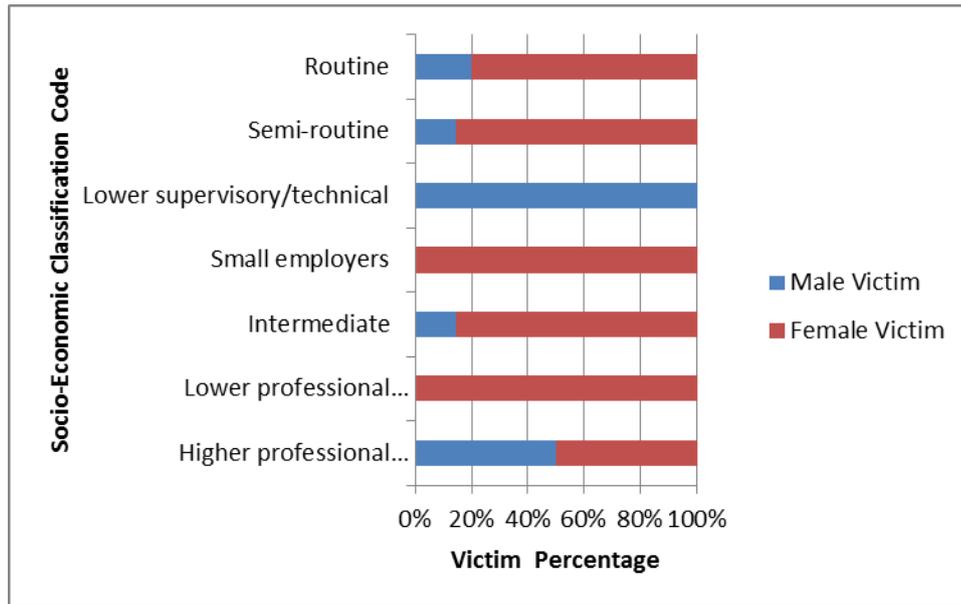
As may be expected where victims were employed there is a vast array of professions attributed to them in the case files. Male victims included a musician, entrepreneur, shop assistants, teacher, engineer and carpenter. The same diversity is also evident within the female victims who range from a doctor, air hostess, civil servants, waitress, cleaners, prostitutes and nail technicians.⁴⁵

Socio-economic Classification

Of the total victim population, 45% received an SEC employment code. The majority, 65% were classified as being within semi/routine employment, 27% as intermediate or lower managerial and 4% within the higher professional bracket. The classification of socio-economic status indicates a degree of variance between male and female victims. As depicted in Figure 5.2, there was a higher percentage (18%:12%) of female to male victims falling into the professional/managerial categories. There are no female victims employed within lower supervisory technical professions whilst this accounts for 18% of the employment of male victims. The remaining SEC categories are evenly distributed across victim gender.

⁴⁵ See Appendix G

Figure 5.2 Victim Gender & Socio-Economic Classification Coding



5. Presence of Alcohol

In total 25% of victims were over the drink-drive limit. The toxicological results indicate an unequal gender distribution in alcohol presence and level at the time of death. Over half the male victims (52%) were over the drink-drive limit at the time of death recording levels over 32mg per 100ml blood. This percentage was halved within the female victim cohort, where 22.5% had alcohol detected in their post mortem blood samples above 32mg. There was also a difference by sex in the recorded levels of alcohol intoxication. Female victims displayed a range of 40mg per 100ml to 476mg per 100ml of blood. The male victims had a higher initial threshold level and thus were more drunk when killed when compared to the female cohort, with levels ranging from 104mg to 422 mg per 100ml of blood.

A chi square test showed that there was a significant association between the victims' gender and the presence of alcohol at the time of death ($\chi^2 = 9.84 (1) p < 0.01$).

As shown in Table 5.3 there are twice the amount of male victims who had recorded alcohol levels over the drink-drive limit at the time of their death than would have been expected. An increased number of female victims were observed to not have alcohol present than would have been anticipated within the data set. Cramer's V statistic however shows this association to be weak ($V = 0.241$ $p < 0.01$ (0.002))

Table 5.3 Actual and Expected Frequencies for Presence of Alcohol by Victim Gender

Victim Gender	Frequency	Alcohol Present	Alcohol Not Present
		N	N
Male	Actual ⁷	14	13
	Expected	7	20
Female	Actual ³¹	32	110
	Expected	39	103

N = Missing Data

6. Presence of Controlled Drugs

When compared with alcohol use there were lower rates of substance abuse amongst the victim cohort with 15% of having evidence of controlled drug use. There was an uneven but non-significant distribution of the presence of drugs between the gender profiles. With samples primarily attributed to cannabis and cocaine use, 31% of males tested positive for the presence of controlled drugs. In relation to female victims, 16% indicated positively for the presence of drugs showing a mixed usage pattern across the cohort as detailed in Table 5.4.

Combined drug and alcohol usage was more prevalent in the female victim group (N=10) than the males (N=4).

Table 5.4 Drug Use by Victim Gender

Controlled Drug Type	Use Detected Male Victim N = 8	Use Detected Female Victim N = 26
Cannabis	4	8
Cocaine	0	8
Cocaine & Cannabis	4	2
Amphetamine	0	1
Amphetamine & Cannabis	0	1
Heroin, Cocaine, Methadone & Cannabis	0	1
Methadone & Cannabis	0	1

7. Presence of Mental Health Issues

When considered by victim total, 5% suffered from mental illness issues. As indicated in Table 5.1 there is a descriptive but non-significant disparity in the presence of mental health issues by the victim gender. Rates displayed by male victims were double that of female victims at 8.8% and 4.7% respectively.

8. Previous Adult Criminal Conviction

In total, 18% of victims had a criminal conviction. However there is a notable difference in gender distribution where information regarding previous criminal offending history was present. Of the male victims 53.1% had a criminal conviction compared with 12.6% of female victims.

A chi square test showed that this was a highly significant association ($\chi^2 = 28.52$ (1) $p < 0.0001$). As detailed in Table 5.5 there are over three times the number of male victims with previous convictions recorded than would be expected. Female victims had fewer previous convictions than expected. This is mirrored in the observed non-convictions. The numbers of male victims with no convictions were lower than expected and for female victims having no convictions were higher than expected.

Table 5.5 Actual and Expected Frequencies for Presence of Previous Conviction by Victim Gender

Victim Gender	Frequency	Conviction Present N	Conviction Not Present N
Male	Actual ²	17	15
	Expected	6	26
Female	Actual ⁶	21	146
	Expected	32	135

N = Missing Data

Thus it appears that male victims were more likely than not to have a criminal conviction. However as with the relationship between alcohol and gender, when testing the strength of that relationship between gender and previous criminality, Cramer's V statistic indicates this association as weak ($V = 0.379$ $p < 0.001$).

5.2.2 Suspect Variables

Of all nine suspect demographic variables measured three; age, employment and presence of a co-accused indicated a significant relationship with the sex of the perpetrator. The results of Chi-Square analysis are detailed in Table 5.6.

Table 5.6 Results of Chi-Square Analysis between Suspect Gender and Suspect Characteristic Variables

Suspect Variable	Chi-Square χ^2	Degrees Of Freedom (DF)	Significance Level (p)	Valid Cases (N = 207)
Employment Status	6.58	1	$p < 0.05$ (0.001)	206
Mental Health Issues	1.728	1	$P = 0.189$	203
Previous Conviction	0.566	1	$p = 0.452$	205
Killed Additional Victim	0.113	1	$p = 0.539^a$	207
Presence of Co-Accused	6.547	1	$p < 0.05$ (0.021) ^a	207
Ethnic Origin	0.168	2	$p = 0.919$	207

a Fishers Exact Test

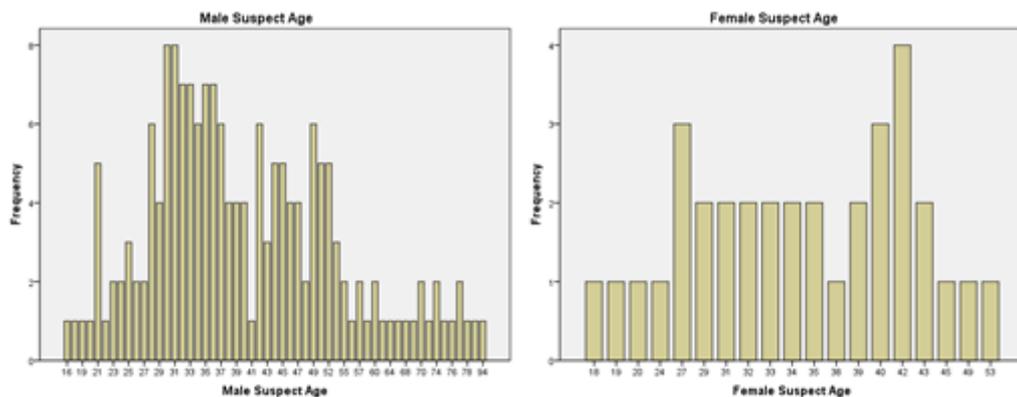
1. Gender

Since this research relates only to heterosexual relationships the suspect gender measures are a mirror of the victim measures with thirty-four female suspects and 173 male suspects.

2. Age

Female suspects were aged between 18 and 53 years ($M = 35$ years; $SD 8.3$). There was a broader variation in the age distribution of male suspects who ranged from 16 to 94 years, ($M = 41$ years; $SD=14.4$) as seen in Figure 5.3. A Mann Whitney test indicates that there is a statistically significant difference in the age distribution between the gender profiles ($p < 0.05$.) This is the result of a cohort of male suspects aged 55 and over which is not reflected within the female suspect pool.

Figure 5.3 Suspect Age Distribution in Years



3. Ethnic Origin

The total ethnic origin profile equates to 59% White, 25% Black and 16% Asian/Oriental/Arab. Of the female suspects 56% were White, 26% Black and 18% Asian/Oriental/Other. There is a broadly similar distribution of ethnic origins across the male suspect pool at 59% White, 25% Black and 16% Asian/Oriental/Other. Again

there is an over representation of suspects of Black ethnic origin when compared to the London average.

4. Employment Data

Status

In total 49% of suspects were employed. There were more women than men unemployed at the time of committing the offence. Data indicated that 71% of the female killers and 46.5% of male suspects were classified as unemployed/housewife/retired. There is a statistically significant relationship between suspect gender and employment ($\chi^2 = 6.58 (1) p < 0.01$). As seen in Table 5.7, greater numbers of male suspects than expected were employed. There was more than the expected frequency of females in the unemployed bracket.

Table 5.7 Actual and Expected Frequencies for Employment by Perpetrator Gender

Perpetrator Gender	Frequency	Employed	Not Employed
		N	N
Male	Actual ¹	92	80
	Expected	85	87
Female	Actual	10	24
	Expected	17	17

N=Missing Data

However, this can be accounted for by the inclusion of 7 female killers who were recorded as ‘housewife/mothers’ within the unemployed category. This element was absent in the male unemployment category. Cramer’s V ($V = 0.179 p < 0.05 = 0.01$) statistic indicates that any association of victim gender with employment was however weak.

Profession

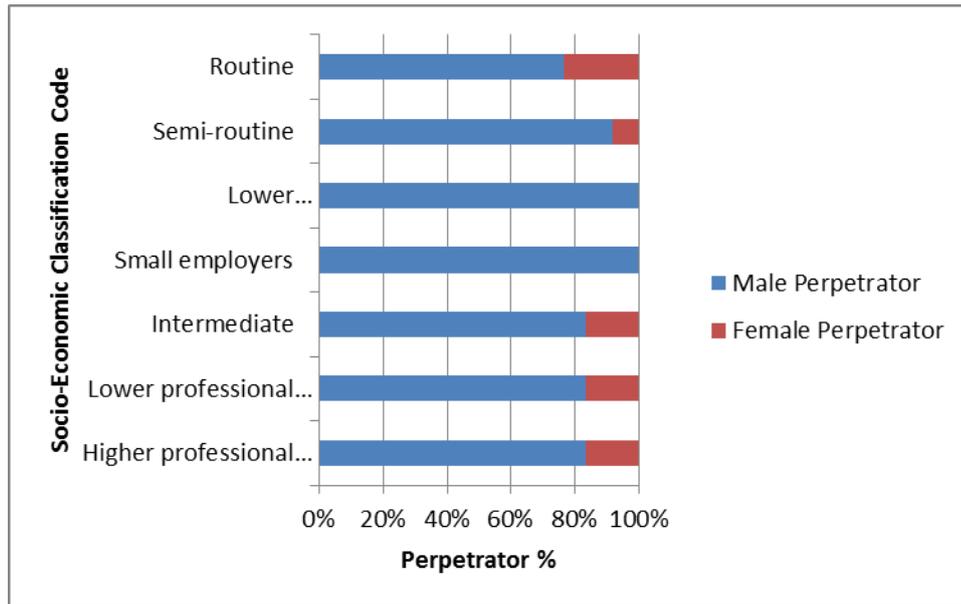
For the 29% of female and 53.5% of male perpetrators employed there is an again an array of occupations listed. Female perpetrators included a doctor, civil servant, barmaid, prostitute and cleaner. In relation to male suspects, fund manager, teacher, consultants, engineer, builder and driver were amongst the recorded occupations.⁴⁶

Socio-Economic Classification

When considered by total there is a similar SEC distribution amongst the perpetrators as compared with the victim cohort with 61% coded as semi/routine, 17% intermediate or lower managerial and 6% within the higher managerial/professional bracket. Perpetrators' SEC classifications by gender are recorded in Figure 5.4 below. Reflecting the female victim data, there were a higher proportion of female suspects within the upper SEC classifications, with 18% of classed as managers/professionals as opposed to 10% of male perpetrators within that category. However, whilst in percentage terms this appears significant, limited interpretation can be applied due to the small numbers within the data sample. There were no female suspects in the small employer or technical categories whereas this made up 17% of employed male killers. For both genders the majority were employed within the routine/semi routine category.

⁴⁶ See Appendix G

Figure 5.4 Perpetrator Gender & Socio-Economic Classification Coding



5. Presence of Alcohol and/or Controlled Drugs on Arrest

As previously suggested, knowing the levels of intoxication of suspects at the time they committed the offence would be a very useful variable for analysis. However there are only 31 cases where suspects were arrested within hours of the offence and the necessary blood/urine samples taken and the results available in the research material. Thus these measures have been included as a point of interest rather than to suggest any inference between toxicology and perpetrator gender.

There were a greater percentage of females (23%) than males (13%) who were over the drink-drive limit at the time of committing the offence. Of the 23 male suspects, their alcohol levels range from 45 to 376mg per 100ml of blood. Ranges were considerably higher in relation to the 8 female perpetrators whose levels ranged from 110mg to 288 mg per 100ml of blood.

There is a similarity in the percentages of controlled drug use amongst suspects. Where drug toxicology data is available 21% male suspects and 29% female suspects indicated positively in their arrest samples. In opposition to the victim profile, female

suspect use related to cannabis and cocaine. Male suspects showed a mixed use profile of heroin, methadone, cocaine, Khat and diazepam. 15% of female suspects and 6% male suspects tested positively for the presence of both illegal drugs and alcohol.

However as stated above these results should be review with caution when considering the generalised impact of intoxication levels within the total suspect profile.

6. Presence of Mental Health Issues

Again it is the presence or absence rather than any specific detail which has been considered in relation to mental health. Total recorded levels at 21% were higher within the suspect rather than victim pool. When considered by gender, 20% of male and 30% of female perpetrators were found to have recorded mental health issues.

7. Presence of Adult Criminal Conviction

In total, 45% of perpetrators had evidence of previous convictions. This equated by gender as 46.5% of male and 39% of female perpetrators having an adult convictions recorded against them. Unlike the victim cohort there were no statistical associations between perpetrator gender and the presence of a criminal conviction. There are however, quantitative gender disparities identified in the nature of the offences for which they were convicted as detailed in Table 5.8.

Table 5.8 Antecedent Criminal Offending History by Perpetrator Gender

Variable	Perpetrator Total		Male Perpetrator		Female Perpetrator	
	N ¹⁶	(%)	N ¹⁴	(%)	N ²	(%)
No Previous Conviction Recorded	112	(59)	92	(58)	20	(62.5)
Previous Conviction Recorded	79	(41)	67	(42)	12	(38%)
Offence Category						
Homicide	4	(2)	3	(2)	1	(0.5)
Assault	21	(11)	18	(11)	3	(9)
Sexual Offences	2	(1)	2	(1)	0	(0)
Possession of Weapons	2	(1)	2	(1)	0	(0)
Immigration Offences	1	(0.5)	1	(0.5)	0	(0)
Property Offences	20	(10.5)	15	(9.4)	5	(16)
Drugs Offences	4	(2)	3	(2)	1	(3)
Traffic Offences	2	(1)	2	(1)	0	(0)
Miscellaneous Offences	1	(0.5)	0	(0)	1	(3)
Multiple Offences	22	(11.5)	21	(13)	1	(3)

*N =Missing Cases

There are four cases where the perpetrator had been convicted of a previous domestic related homicide offence. Case **MI60**, a male had been convicted of the murder his first wife. Case **MI73** a man was convicted of the murder of his then mother- in- law. Case **MI46** a male was convicted of manslaughter of his ex-partner's boyfriend. Case **F33** a female had been convicted of the manslaughter of her ex-partner.

Male suspects' previous offending history was generally more violent and recidivist in nature than that of female perpetrators. Thirty-six per cent of male suspects had convictions for assault (Actual Bodily Harm, Grievous Bodily Harm and Wounding and other offences against the person) or multiple offence convictions. Property crime was ranked third with 9.4% of the male suspects having convictions for Theft Act 1968 offences. Property offences formed the majority of the female suspect offending history with 15% of female perpetrators having a previous conviction for Theft Act offences. In

relation to violence offences, 9% of the female cohort had assault convictions recorded against them.

8. Presence of a Co-Accused

The involvement of another person in the commission of the offence, indicative of a level of planning and premeditation in the murder, was found in 15 of the total 207 cases. When examining the detail of the co-accused's involvement, this was not the 'contract killer' variety but tended to be current partners, family or friends or criminal associates of the suspect. Of the 18 total co-accused persons, three were women.

There was a quantitative gender disparity with 15% of female but 5% of male perpetrated homicides involving a co-accused. There was a marginal statistical association in terms of gender and the presence of a co-accused. (Fisher's Exact Test = (1) $p < 0.05$) indicating that it was positively associated with the perpetrator being female. Twice the number of female perpetrators than expected either conspired with or acted in concert with another to commit the offence. Fewer than the expected number of males had a co-accused present as seen in Table 5.9. However the relationship between gender and the presence of a co-accused, although slightly significant, is weak as suggested by Cramer's V ($V = 0.140$ $p < 0.05 = 0.044$).

Table 5.9 Actual and Expected Frequencies for Presence of a Co-Accused by Perpetrator Gender

Perpetrator Gender	Frequency	Co-Accused Present	No Co-Accused Present
		N	N
Male	Actual	9	164
	Expected	12	160
Female	Actual	6	28
	Expected	2	31

9. Presence of an Additional Victim

Whilst not statistically significant, there is a disparity between perpetrator gender and the killing of another in addition to their ex/partner. In total, in 15 of the 207 offences the suspect killed additional victims. None of the additional victims were strangers to either the male or female suspects. Of the male suspects who killed additional victims (N = 13) over half killed the couple's children in the offence. This is not replicated by the female suspects (N= 2) since none killed their children. One woman attempted to kill her ex-partner's current girlfriend (Case **F15**) and the other killed a family member (Case **F27**).

5.2.3 Relationship Variables

The full details are the London dataset are presented within Tables 5.10 and 5.11 below by perpetrator total and gender.

Table 5.10 Relationship Characteristics of Intimate Partner Homicide in London 1998- 2009

Relationship Variable	Perpetrator Total N = 207 (%)		Male Perpetrator N = 173 (%)		Female Perpetrator N = 34(%)	
	N	(%)	N	(%)	N	(%)
Married	86	(41.5)	77	(44.5)	9	(26.5)
Formally Separated	49	(24)	42	(24)	7	(21)
Cohabiting in same premises	144	(70)	122	(70.5)	22	(65)
Child Associated with relationship	160 ¹	(77)	134 ¹	(77.5)	26	(76.6)
Presence of Domestic Abuse History	108 ³	(52)	92 ²	(53)	16 ¹	(47)
Mean Relationship Length (years)	8.3 ⁵	SD 11.7	8.9 ⁴	SD 12.5	5.4 ¹	(5.8)

N = Missing Data

Of the relationship variables measured, classification and the presence of children all had an association with suspect gender. What is of note within this

particular category, are those variables which do not have a statistical association with gender where they might have otherwise been expected to. Neither relationship status, nor domestic violence history, within this dataset has any statistically significant association with perpetrator sex. This is surprising given the body of literature⁴⁷ which predicts separation and abusive antecedence as risk factors predictive of domestic homicide.

Table 5.11 Results of Chi-Square Analysis between Suspect Gender and Relationship Characteristic Variables

Suspect Variable	Chi-Square χ^2	Degrees Of Freedom (DF)	Significance Level (<i>p</i>)	Valid Cases (N = 207)
Classification	3.80	1	<i>p</i> < 0.05 (0.05)	207
Status	0.214	1	<i>p</i> = 0.64	207
Co-Habitation	4.54	1	<i>p</i> = 0.51	207
Domestic Abuse History Present	0.314	1	<i>p</i> = 0.575	204
Presence of Children	0.034	1	<i>p</i> = 0.854	206
Presence of Biological Children	3.783	1	<i>p</i> < 0.05 (0.05)	205
Presence of Step Children	6.256	1	<i>P</i> < 0.01	205
Presence of Step & Biological Children	8.490	1	<i>p</i> < 0.05(0.03) ^a	205
Age Discrepancy	9.797	2	<i>p</i> < 0.05(0.007)	207

a= Fishers Exact Test

1. Relationship Classification

In the total, 41% of couples were married at the time of the killing. There was a gender disparity in the marital status of perpetrators. Women were more likely to kill boyfriends rather than husbands. The dataset indicated a skewed distribution with only

⁴⁷ Section 3.3.2

26.5% of women being legally married to the men they killed. Status had a minimal impact on male perpetration. Levels of wives or girlfriends killed were more equitable, 44.5% of the male suspects were married to their victims with 55.5% in a boy/girlfriend relationship. A Chi-square test indicates that there is significant association between gender and relationship classification ($\chi^2 = 3.8 (1) p < 0.05$). Greater than expected variation takes place within the female suspect cohort. Fewer women but more men were married to the partners they then killed. Conversely more female suspects than expected were in girl/boyfriend relationships as detailed in Table 5.12.

Table 5.12 Actual and Expected Frequencies for Relationship Classification by Perpetrator Gender

Perpetrator Gender	Frequency	Married	Girl/Boyfriend
		N	N
Male	Actual	77	96
	Expected	72	101
Female	Actual	9	25
	Expected	14	20

2. Relationship Status

There was a matched distribution across suspect gender in terms of whether the couple were together or had separated at the time of the offence. In total couples were more likely to be together (76%) rather than actually separated (24%) when the offence occurred.

The data indicated that 21% of male and 24% of female victims had separated from their partner prior to their death. There was no statistically significant association between the gender of the suspect and the status of the relationship. This is of note given that separation has been identified as a risk factor inciting intimate partner homicide, particularly in terms of the vulnerability it creates for women leaving controlling relationships. It might therefore have been expected to be associated with

male perpetration. This issue will be considered further within the motivational elements at 5.2.4.

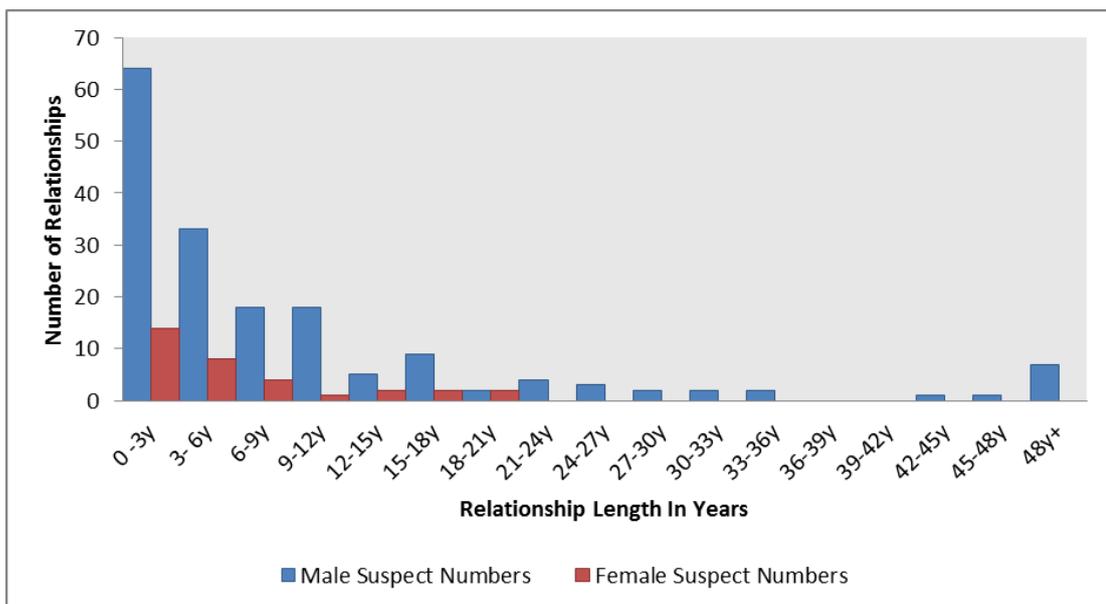
3. Co-Habitation

In all 70% of couples cohabited. There was very limited difference according to gender as to whether couples lived within the same premises or apart. The majority of offences perpetrated by either sex took place within co-habiting relationships with 70% male and 65% of female suspects living in the same property with their partner when they killed them.

4. Relationship length

In total 39% of all intimate partner homicides took place in relationships of under three years in length. The majority of relationships (70%) had been together ten years or less when the homicide took place. As depicted in Figure 5.5, there was a proportionately matched distribution pattern when relationship length was compared by suspect gender.

Figure 5.5 Relationship Length and Suspect Gender



When considered by gender, male suspects had a greater variance in their relationship span, the shortest relationship length prior to death being 2 weeks, the longest 50+ years. The female suspect cohort had a narrower relationship length variation, 3 months to 20 years. A Mann-Whitney test concluded that there was no statistical association in terms of suspect gender and relationship length, ($p > 0.1$).

5. Comparative Relationship Dynamics

Whilst the demographic characteristics of victims and suspects have been considered in isolation, how they combined as a couple within the relationship provides a useful analysis and contextualisation of relationship dynamics within which intimate partner homicide takes place. As previously stated this is a vital but often over looked element of theory and research (Standish, 2012). Comparison of age, ethnic origin, employment, mental health and previous offending history attributes between the couples were therefore measured. As this is distinct element of this research full dataset details are recorded in Appendix G-I.

i. Age Difference

When viewed by percentage distribution according to whether the perpetrator was younger, older or the same age as the victim 62% of female suspects were younger than the man they killed, 32% older and 6% the same age. The ratios are reversed when considering male suspects; 59.5% were older than their victim, 33.5% younger and 7% the same age.

Female suspects were generally younger than the male partners they killed, (M = 4 years younger; SD=10 years; variance 47 years younger to 10 years older). Male suspects were marginally older than their female victims. (M=3 years; SD=8 years; variance 21 years younger to 32 years older).

Given age is a consideration in attributing mate value within the sexual market place (Section 3.3.10), a Mann Whitney test was conducted on the relationship age disparity between couples according to the sex of the perpetrator. The results indicate there was a statistically significant difference in distribution ($p \leq 0.001$).

Chi square testing of couples age discrepancy shows a significant relationship with perpetrator ($\chi^2 = 9.797$ (2) $p < 0.01$). As can be seen in Table 5.13 higher than expected numbers of female perpetrators were younger than their victim whereas a higher number of men than expected were older. Cramer's V however the association between suspect and victim ages is weak (Cramer's V = 0.218 $p < 0.05 = 0.007$).

Table 5.13 Actual and Expected Frequencies for Perpetrator Age Discrepancy

Perpetrator Gender	Frequency	Younger than Victim N	Older than Victim N	Same Age as Victim N
Male	Actual ¹	21	11	2
	Expected	13	19	2
Female	Actual	58	103	12
	Expected	66	95	12

ii. Differing Ethnic Origin Relationships

Seventeen per cent of the total data set related to relationships where couples were of differing ethnic origins. There is a quantitative gender difference in the distribution of such relationships with 20% of male victims but 15% of female victims being killed by a partner of a different ethnic origin, as seen in Table 5.14.

Table 5.14 Ethnic Origin by Relationship Role

Victim	Ethnic Origin	Suspect	Ethnic Origin	Relationship Number N
Male	White	Female	Black	4
Male	Black	Female	White	3
Male	White	Female	Asian/Oriental/Arabic	1
Female	White	Male	Black	11
Female	White	Male	Asian/Oriental/Arabic	5
Female	Black	Male	White	4
Female	Asian/Oriental/Arabic	Male	White	5
Female	Asian/Oriental/Arabic	Male	Black	1

iii. Employment Status

When considering female suspects, over half (56%) matched the status of their partner. The remaining cases were equally divided between those cases where the female was employed but her partner was not and then vice versa. There was a similar pattern when considering the male suspects' employment status in relation to that of their partner. Here 58.3% men have the same status where either both were employed or unemployed. In 25% of cases the male was employed and the victim was not, whereas 17% of female victim were employed and the suspect was not.⁴⁸

iv. Socio-Economic Classification

The degree of disparity between the respective SEC classifications was considered. In relation to female suspects 15% were of a higher grading, 41% the same and 38% of a lower grading than their victims. In the case of male suspects they were generally of a higher classification, with 31% of higher status, 26% of lower and 40% the same grading.

⁴⁸ See Appendix I for Couple's Profession Comparison

v. Mental Health Issues

There was little discrepancy in the presence of mental health issues within the couples. In 20% of cases female suspects suffered from mental health issues where this appeared absent for her male partner. There were no cases where the male suffered and the female suspect did not. In relation to male suspects, 5% suffered from mental health issues and their female victims gave no indication any issue. In 2% of cases the female partner had mental health issues as opposed to the male suspect.

vi. Previous Adult Convictions

In the case of the female suspects, there was a balance between those relationships where either both partners did or did not have an offending history (35% and 41% respectively). In 15% cases the male victim had an offending history but not his partner. There were no examples of cases where the female suspect had a previous conviction but her partner did not. This balance was not reflected in the male suspect relationships. Although similar to the female suspect cases in terms of neither partner having a conviction (50%) there were fewer cases where both had convictions (7%). In 5% of cases the female victim had a conviction only and 38% the male suspect had a conviction only.

6. Parental Status.

In total, 79% of all the intimate partner homicides had children associated with them. One female suspect and three female victims were known to be pregnant at the time of the offence. Parental status and the provenance of any children associated with the relationship were considered by suspect gender as indicated in Table 5.15.

i. Presence of children

Where the presence of children was considered regardless of their parentage there was a similar distribution across the suspect gender profiles with 78% of male and 77% of female suspects being a parent.

ii. Presence of Biological Children

There is a quantitative perpetrator difference identified with 24% of women killing the biological fathers and 41% of men killing the biological mothers of their children.

iii. Presence of Step-children

The distribution is different where step or children from other relationships are concerned. Here 70% of females killed in relationships where they or their partner had children outside the signature relationship. Whereas 46% of male suspects' relationships had 'children separately' associated with them.

iv. Presence of Biological & Step Children

There is further gender variation where children from both their own as well as other partners were associated with the relationship. Twice the amount of female suspects had had their own and step-children within the relationship. This accounts for 18% female but 9% of the male suspect cohort.

A chi square test shows there is a significant association between gender and the presence of children ($\chi^2 = 8.49$ (3) $p < 0.05$).

Table 5.15 Actual and Expected Frequencies for Parental Status by Perpetrator Gender

Perpetrator Gender	Frequency	No Children N	Children Together N	Children Separate N	Children together & Separate N
Male	Actual ¹	37	55	64	16
	Expected	38	48	68	18
Female	Actual	8	3	17	6
	Expected	7	9	13	4

N = Missing Data

Female suspects had fewer children together with their partners but more either separately or separately/together associated with the relationship than would have been expected. However the association between suspect and parental status is weak (Cramer's $V = 0.203$ $p < 0.05$ (0.037)).

v. Provenance of Step-Children

Where such information was available, the parentage of the 103 relationships which had step-children associated with them was examined. Where step-children were associated with the relationship, 89% belonged to the female victim. When considering male suspects, 53% of children in the relationship were the victims', 13% belonged to the suspect and 34% where both partners had had children separately. In relation to female suspects, 22 % of children belong to their partners outside their relationship, 39% were their own children and in 39% were the step-children of both partners.

There was a significant association between suspect gender and the origin of step children associated with couple's relationship ($\chi^2 = 10.33$ (2) $p < 0.01$). As indicated in Table 5.1 fewer women than expected killed partners who had children outside the relationship.

Table 5.16 Actual and Expected Frequencies for Provenance of Step-Children by Perpetrator Gender

Perpetrator Gender	Frequency	Step-Children belong to Victim N	Step Children Belong to Perpetrator N	Step-Children belong to Victim and Perpetrator N
Male	Actual	41	10	26
	Expected	35	15	27
Female	Actual	5	9	9
	Expected	11	4	8

However more women, (39%) twice what would be expected, however, killed when they themselves had children of their own outside the relationship. This compares with 13% of male perpetrators who killed when they had children of their own. Cramer's V suggest that the association between suspect gender and step-child parentage is moderate ($V= 0.3$ $p < 0.05$ (0.006).

7. Domestic Abuse History.

In total 53% of couples had some form of domestic violence history within their relations, 47 % had no recorded incidents of violence or abuse. Complete results are detailed in Table 5.17. The balance of domestic to non-domestic history is relatively matched between the genders with 58.3% of male suspects and 48.5% of female suspects had some form of domestic violence history with their partner. There was no statistical association between suspect gender and presence of a history of relationship abuse allegations.

Where a domestic violence history was present, 17% of female victims had substantiated a report to police. There is no record of any substantiated domestic violence report from a male homicide victim. More females than males retracted allegation with 31% and 19% of female and male abuse victims respectively made reports to police but did not substantiate them. Cross allegations form the highest

percentage of domestic violence history in relationships where women went on to kill their partners.

Table 5.17 Domestic Abuse Category by Perpetrator Gender

Category of Domestic Abuse	Perpetrator Total		Male Perpetrator		Female Perpetrator	
	N⁴	(%)	N³	(%)	N¹	(%)
No Recorded History of Abuse	96	(47)	79	(46)	17	(51.5)
Recorded History of Domestic Abuse	108	(53)	92	(54)	16	(48.5)
Suspect against Victim Substantiated Report	16	(15)	16	(17)	0	(0)
Suspect against Victim Unsubstantiated Report	31	(29)	28	(31)	3	(19)
Victim against Suspect Unsubstantiated Report	1	(1)	0	(0)	1	(6)
Suspect against Victim Witnessed Abuse	42	(38)	39	(42)	3	(19)
Victim against Suspect Witnessed Abuse	2	(2)	1	(1)	1	(6)
Cross Allegations	16	(15)	8	(9)	8	(50)

N=Missing Data

5.2.4 Offence Variables

Offence variables, excluding cause of death and motive which are presented in more depth later in this section, are reported in total and by suspect gender within Table 5.18.

Table 5.18 Offence Characteristics of Intimate Partner Homicide in London 1998- 2009

Offence Variable	Perpetrator Total N = 207		Male Perpetrator N = 173		Female Perpetrator N = 34	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Time of Offence ³⁸			35		3	
AM	81	(39)	66	(38)	15	(44)
PM	88	(42.5)	72	(42)	16	(47)
Offence occurred in Home Address	175 ³	(84.5)	144 ³	(83)	31	(91)
Defensive injury Present	80 ¹⁶	(39)	40 ¹³	(40.5)	10 ³	(29)
Weapon used in commission of offence	152 ¹²	(73)	122 ⁹	(59)	30 ¹	(88)
Overkill Indicators present	118 ⁴	(57)	100 ⁴	(58)	18	(53)
Post-Offence Behaviour present	23 ¹	(11)	22 ¹	(13)	1	(3)
Post Offence Suicide present	27	(13)	27	(16)	0	(0)
Perpetrated pleaded guilty to offence	69 ⁸	(33)	55 ⁴	(32)	14 ⁴	(41)
Convicted of Manslaughter	63 ⁷	(30)	45 ³	(26)	18 ⁴	(53)
Convicted of Murder	105 ⁷	(51)	95 ³	(55)	10 ⁴	(29)
Sentence Length (years)	11.6	SD 6.4	12.5	SD 6.1	8	SD 6.1

N= Missing data

Percentages given relate to proportions of the total 207 homicides. Given the methodological issues previous explained, the presence of missing data was apparent within the category. The number of missing cases is included within the table to allow for a qualified and informed interpretation of the results.

From the ten offence variables measured, Chi-Square analysis indicated gender associations found in relation to cause of death, post offence suicidal behaviours, criminal justice outcomes and certain motivational elements. The results of this analysis are detailed in Table 5.19.

Table 5.19 Results of Chi-Square Analysis between Suspect Gender and Offence Characteristic Variables

Suspect Variable	Chi-Square χ^2	Degrees Of Freedom (DF)	Significance Level (<i>p</i>) (< > & exact value)	Valid Cases (N = 207)
Time of Offence	0.003	1	<i>p</i> = 0.955	169
Offence within Home Address	0.973	1	<i>p</i> = 0.426 ^a	204
Cause of Death				
Asphyxia	9.676	1	<i>p</i> < 0.05 (0.002)	207
Head Injury	4.137	1	<i>p</i> < 0.05 (0.05) ^a	207
Multiple Injury	0.139	1	<i>p</i> = 0.495 ^a	207
Single Stab Wound	31.083	1	<i>p</i> < 0.001 (0.000)	207
Multiple Stab Wound	0.0	1	<i>p</i> = 0.994	207
Weapon Used				
Weapon Used	3.882	1	<i>p</i> = 0.049	195
Presence of Overkill	0.451	1	<i>p</i> = 0.5	203
Defensive Injury	1.409	1	<i>p</i> = 0.235	205
Post Offence Suicide	6.102	1	<i>p</i> < 0.05 (0.01) ^a	207
Post Offence Behaviour	2.777	1	<i>p</i> = 0.135 ^a	207
Suspect Pleads Guilty	2.243	1	<i>p</i> = 0.134	199
Manslaughter Conviction	14.049	1	<i>p</i> < 0.001 (0.000)	194
Murder Conviction	5.297	1	<i>p</i> < 0.05 (0.021)	194

1. Time of offence

There were 169 cases where time of the offence was recorded and could be classified occurring before or after midday. When excluding the missing case data, there was an exact symmetrical distribution when considered by suspect gender. Both 48% of male and female suspects killed their partners between midnight and midday. 52% of domestic murders were committed between midday and midnight. Whilst the symmetry is striking and time of day appears to have no effect on perpetrator gender, any interpretation must be considered according the research caveats detailed in Section 4.4.4 both in terms of the effect of missing data as well as the particular difficulties in the reliability of time of offence data.

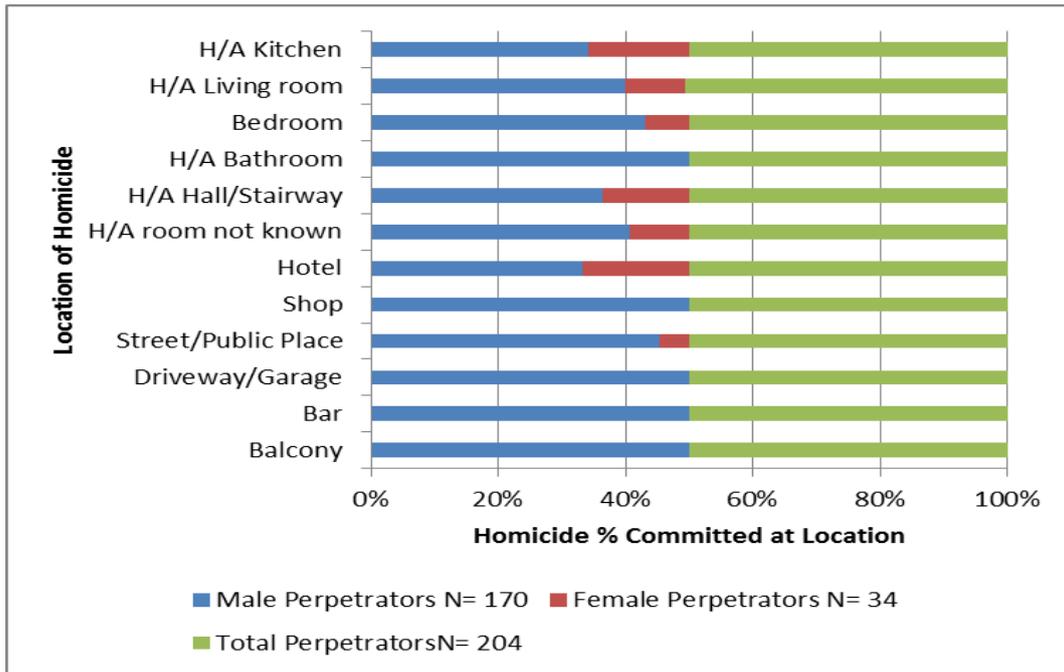
2. Location of Offence

In total where the location of the offence was known 86% of all offences took place within a domestic home environment. When considered by perpetrator gender, excluding the missing case data, 91% of women and 85% of men killed within the home. Specific killing sites are detailed in Figure 5.6.

Bedrooms were the most common areas for homicides with 37% of men and 30% of women killed there. Potentially linked to the association with women and the use of knives as a murder weapon⁴⁹, 17% of women killed their partner in the kitchen as opposed to 8% of male suspects. There were 3 incidents where women killed outside the home address, two being in the street and the other in a hotel bedroom. On the 26 occasions where men killed their partners outside the home environment, 18 were in the street or other public place, two were in bars and two were at their partner's place of work.

⁴⁹ See 4 & 5 in 5.2.4 Offence Variables

Figure 5.6 Location of Offence by Perpetrator Gender

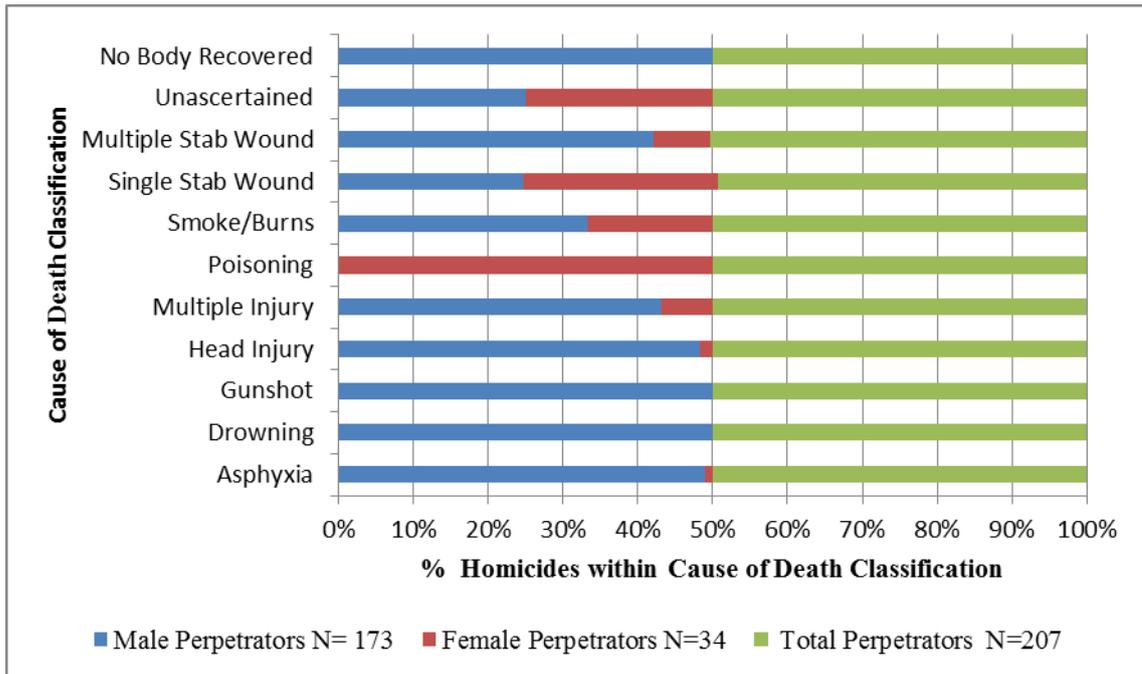


3. Cause of Death

There were four cases within the dataset where the cause of death is not known. Two are due to no body ever having been recovered and two where the condition of the body made any reliable determination unascertainable. Of the remaining 203 cases the cause of death was grouped in one of eleven categories as detailed in Figure 5.7.

In total 30% of intimate partner homicide victims were killed by multiple stab wounds. Where single stab wounds are included this indicated that 45% of domestic homicides committed in London from 1998 to 2009 were stabbings. When considered by gender 76% of all the murders committed by women were stabbings. In 39% of male perpetrated homicides stabbing was the cause of death.

Figure 5.7 Cause of Death by Perpetrator Gender



There was a relative balance where multiple stab wounds were identified as the cause of death with 29.5% of male and 26.5 % of female suspects killed their partners with multiple stab wounds. Of the 9 women who killed with multiple stab wounds the number they inflicted ranged from 3 to 53 (Mean=16, Median/Mode = 12, SD = 18). For the 51 male perpetrators the number of wounds inflicted ranged from 3 to 100+ (Mean= 23 Median= 12 Mode= 4 SD = 26).

A single stab wound as a cause of death proved to be the most highly significant variable associated with suspect gender ($\chi^2 = 35.2 (1) p < 0.001$). Fifty per cent of women killed with a single stab wound compared to 9% of men. Over three times the number of women expected killed their partner this way. Cramer's V shows that this is a moderate relationship ($V = 0.4 p < 0.001$).

Causes of death inflicted by men were generally more diverse than those of women; 28% of men killed through asphyxia, 16% with head injuries and 11% by infliction of multiple injuries. Four women were killed with firearms. Asphyxia was

associated with male rather than female perpetrated homicide ($\chi^2 = 9.76 (1) p < 0.01$).

There was only one case where a woman killed her male partner through ligature strangulation. This may be explained by the physical differences between men and women and the exertion such an act requires. (Easton & Shackelford, 2009) To kill someone by strangulation whether it is manually or with a ligature can require a considerable degree of strength and exertion. However there is also something very personal about killing with one's hands which appears to be connected with male rather than female killers.(Easton & Shackelford, 2009) Cramer's V suggests that this association is weak ($V = 0.216 p < 0.005 = 0.002$). See Table 5.20 below.

There was a slight association between head injury and suspect gender again being more commonly attributed to male perpetration (Fisher's Exact Test (1) $p < 0.05$), Cramer's V again suggests however that this connection is weak ($V = 0.141 p < 0.05 (0.042)$).

Table 5.20 Actual and Expected Frequencies for Significantly Associated Cause of Death by Perpetrator Gender

Perpetrator Gender	Frequency	COD Single Stab	COD Not Single Stab	COD Asphyxia	COD Not Asphyxia	COD Head Injury	COD Not Head Injury
Male	Actual	11	157	48	125	28	145
	Expected	28	145	41	132	24	148
Female	Actual	17	17	1	33	1	33
	Expected	5	29	8	26	5	29

4. Weapons/Instruments

Of the total 207 cases, 73% of offences were committed using some form of weapon. Given that stab wounds accounted for 45% of the total number of deaths, consequently knives were the most commonly used murder weapon.

Table 5.21 Weapon Use by Perpetrator Gender

Weapon Use	Perpetrator Total		Male Perpetrator		Female Perpetrator	
	N ¹²	(%)	N	(%)	N	(%)
No weapon used	43	(22)	40	(25)	3	(9)
Weapon Used	152	(78)	122	(75)	30	(91)
Knife	79	(40.5)	54	(33)	25	(76)
Hammer	6	(3)	6	(4)	0	(0)
Firearm	4	(2)	4	(2.5)	0	(0)
Belt/Flex/Ligature	15	(8)	15	(9)	0	(0)
Blunt Object	11	(6)	11	(7)	0	(0)
Garden/Sports Implement	3	(1.5)	3	(2)	0	(0)
Multiple weapons used	23	(11.8)	18	(11)	5	(15)
Point/Bladed/Article	6	(3)	6	(4)	0	(0)
Pillow/Carrier Bag	5	(7)	5	(3)	0	(0)

N = Missing Cases

Where a murder weapon could be established, knives, particularly kitchen knives were the weapon of choice for female killers being used in 76% of murders. Male killers utilised a greater range of weapons, generally household items, to kill their partners. As detailed in Table 5.21, 25% of men killed without resorting to a weapon compared to 9% of female killers, again potentially indicative of the strength differential between the sexes.

5. Defensive Injuries

When reviewed in total 39% of all victims sustained defensive injuries. In the case of male perpetrated homicide, 40% of female victims attempted to defend

themselves. In relation to female perpetrators 29% of their male victims sustained defensive injuries. Fewer men appear to have fought back, however, since the primary cause of female perpetrated homicide was a single stab wound, defensive injuries would not necessarily be incurred. Women appear to have been subject to more sustained attacks during which they had a greater opportunity to defend themselves and thus sustain this form of injury.

6. Overkill

When considered in total, 57% of offences were characterised by the use of overkill. This was indicated by the presence of multiple injuries, excessive weapon use or multiple causes of death. There is gender balance with 58% of men and 53% of female killers exhibiting measures of overkill when killing. The presence of such a level of overkill exhibited by female perpetrators appears to be at odds with the primacy of a single stab wound as a cause of death. However on further examination where single stab wounds were lethal, there was evidence that the victim also received bruising or additional non-lethal injuries during the offence. Such instances were Cases **F12** where the victim sustained fractured ribs, **F24** where there was evidence of 12 superficial stab wounds or **F20** where the victim sustained 3 stabbing injuries addition to the lethal wound. Additional evidence of extreme overkill was to be found in Case **F10** where the female suspect inflicted 18 fractured ribs and over 80 stab wounds on her victim. In relation to male perpetrated extreme overkill this exemplified within Cases **M51** and **M60** where both victims received in excess of 100 stab wounds and Case **M76** where the victim received 21 fractures to her skull and torso having been repeatedly struck with a claw hammer.

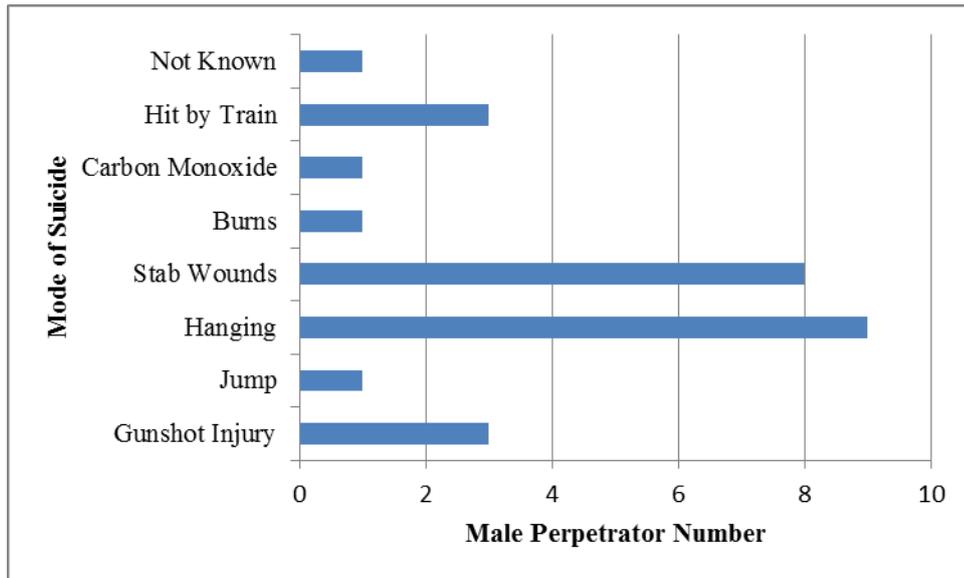
7. Post-Offence Behaviour

Body disposal or destruction was associated with 11% of all domestic murders. It was primarily a male suspect feature with 13% of female victims being mutilated, dumped, buried or destroyed. Examples of male perpetrator post offence behaviours include Cases **M94** and **M163** where victims were dismembered and burnt. In case **M53** the victim was placed in a freezer, **M70** the body was hidden under the suspects bed and in **M71** the victim was hidden in a cupboard and the suspect carved letters on her body post mortem. In case **M83** the suspect staged the body as to give the appearance she had committed suicide. There was only one offence, **F17** which related to a female suspect, where the body was dumped in a wooded area burnt following the murder.

8. Post-Offence Suicide

There were no cases where a female perpetrator went on to take her own life following the offence. However 27 men, 16% of the male suspect cohort, committed suicide having killed their partner. The modes of suicide were all violent acts in themselves as seen in Figure 5.8. Where suicide attempts are included the variance remains, since only 2 of the 34 female suspects attempted to kill themselves but 24 of the male suspects made suicide attempts post offence. Thus when combined, 29.5% of male suspects displayed post offence suicidal behaviour.

Figure 5.8 Mode of Male Suspect Suicide



The fact there are no incidents of female post-homicide suicide is significant as seen in Table 5.22. The prevalence of male suicide was confirmed by a statistically significant association of suspect gender and post offence suicide (Fisher’s Exact $p=0.005$.)

Table 5.22 Actual and Expected Frequencies for Presence of Post-Offence Suicide by Perpetrator Gender

Perpetrator Gender	Frequency	Post-Offence Suicide Present N	Post-Offence Suicide Not Present N
Male	Actual	27	146
	Expected	23	150
Female	Actual	0	34
	Expected	4	30

9. Criminal Justice Outcomes

i. Nature of offence

When considered by total 81% of all the intimate partner offences which populated this dataset resulted in a homicide conviction. There is sexual disparity when considering the specific offence for which perpetrators were convicted. Men were

primarily convicted of murder and women of manslaughter. Results indicated that 55% of male suspects and 29% of the female killers were convicted of murder. This percentage distribution was reversed in the case of female defendants where 53% are convicted of murder and 26% of male suspects were convicted of manslaughter.⁵⁰

Men accounted for 90% of all the domestic murder homicide convictions brought by the MPS between 1998 and 2009. The trend towards higher numbers of men than expected being convicted for murder and higher than expected numbers of women convicted of manslaughter is evidenced in Table 5.23. There is a statistically significant association between receiving a conviction for manslaughter and being female (χ^2 10.28 (1) $p < 0.001$). Cramer's V ($V=0.3$ $p < 0.001$) suggests that this is a moderate association.

Table 5.23 Actual and Expected Frequencies of Manslaughter Convictions by Perpetrator Gender

Perpetrator Gender	Frequency	Convicted of Manslaughter	Not Convicted of Manslaughter
Male	Actual	40	125
	Expected	48	116
Female	Actual	17	12
	Expected	8	20

ii. Plea at Trial

In total 33% of the suspect pleaded guilty at trial. Women appeared more ready to admit their guilt with 47% of female suspects but 39% of male suspects pleading guilty to the offence for which they were indicted. However as detailed in Section 4.4.4 as pleas can be influenced by legal technicalities they are not an entirely reliable measure of the perpetrator intentions at the time of committing the offence.

⁵⁰ The remaining percentage were either murder/suicides or the suspects (N=3) was convicted of Offences Against Person Act offence.

iii. Sentencing

When considered in total the mean sentence term was 11.6 years (SD 12). As detailed in Table 5.24, there is a gender difference in sentence length. The average sentence for women was 8 years and for men 12.5 years. The minimum female sentence was 1.5 years with a maximum of 24 years. The minimum male sentence was 6 months with a maximum of 38 years (SD for both 6.1). A Mann-Whitney test confirms that there is a significant difference in sentence distribution and gender ($p < 0.001$). This is due to the majority of women being convicted of Manslaughter which attracts a smaller sentencing tariff.

Table 5.24 Sentence Length in years by Perpetrator Gender

Sentence length (years)	Female Homicide Sentence (N=24) ¹	Male Homicide Sentence (N=109) ¹⁶
Mean	7.94	12.44
Median	5.750	12.5
Mode	4.0	12.0
Std. Deviation	6.1083	6.1869
Variance	37.311	38.278
Range	22.5	37.5
Minimum	1.5	0.5
Maximum	24.0	38.0

N= Missing Data

Of the 167 suspects convicted of either murder or manslaughter, 16 (2 women and 14 men) were sentenced to indefinite Hospital & Restriction Orders, under the Mental Health Act 1983 (sec 32/37).

10. Motivational Elements

Assessment of motive was completed through identifying the presence or absence of ten motivation elements. Motive was considered firstly in terms of how many men and women appeared to be influenced by each element as a motive to kill. It

was then considered in terms of how each element was distributed within each gender group.

Table 5.25 Motivational Elements present within Total Dataset

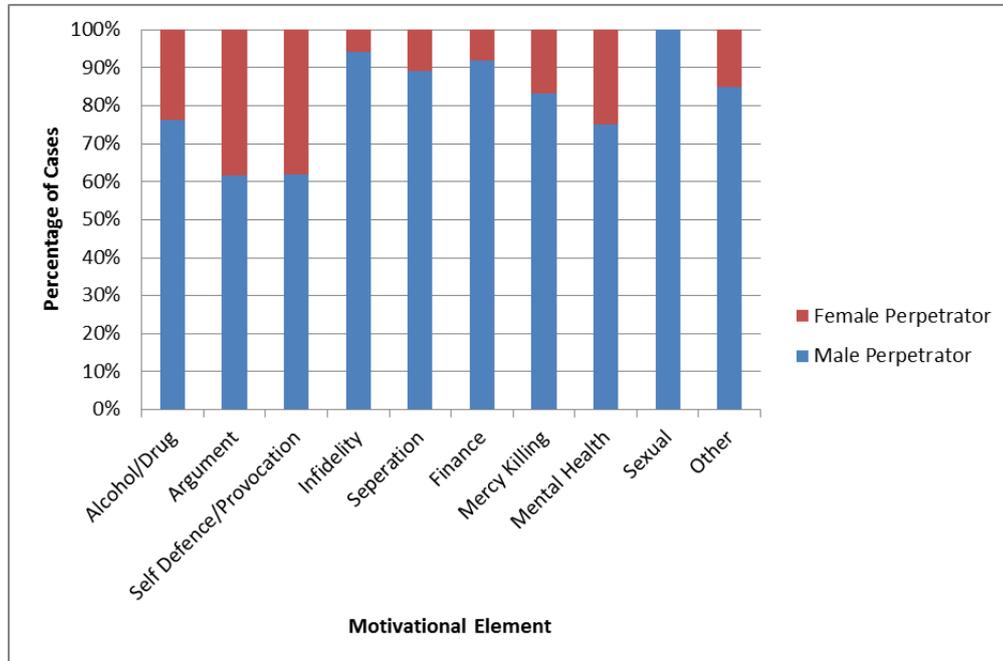
Motivational Element	Total Valid Cases (205)	Presence in Male Suspect Cohort	Presence in Female Suspect Cohort	Chi-Square Value χ^2 (DF)	Significance <i>p</i>
	N (%)	N (%)	N (%)		
Intoxication	80 (20)	61 (35.7)	19 (55.9)	4.868 (1)	<i>p</i> < 0.05 (0.027)
Infidelity	70 (18)	65 (38)	4 (11.8)	9.08 (1)	<i>p</i> < 0.005 (0.003)
Separation	73 (18)	66 (38.6)	8 (23.5)	2.549 (1)	<i>p</i> = 0.107
Argument	48 (12)	37 (21.6)	11 (32.4)	1.819 (1)	<i>p</i> = 0.178
Mental Health	36 (9)	27 (15.8)	9 (26.5)	2.235 (1)	<i>p</i> = 0.135
Other	33 (3)	28 (16.4)	5 (14.7)	0.493 (1)	<i>p</i> = 0.482
Finance	25 (6)	23 (13.5)	2 (5.9)	1.517 (1)	<i>p</i> = 0.387 ^a
Self-defence	21 (5)	13 (7.6)	8 (23.5)	7.825 (1)	<i>p</i> < 0.05 (0.01)
Mercy	6 (2)	5 (2.9)	1 (2.9)	0.0 (1)	<i>p</i> = 0.996
Sexual	6 (2)	6 (13.5)	0 (0)	1.229 (1)	<i>p</i> = 0.592 ^a

^a Fishers exacted test

Table 5.25 relates the influence of motivation elements by both perpetrator gender and by total. Motivational elements were identified for 205 of the 207 offences. As a total, the presence of alcohol and/or drugs was the highest ranked motive followed by separation and infidelity. When considered in combination, given the theoretical importance attributed to them, infidelity and separation lay behind a third of all domestic violence murders. Twenty-one 21 incidents (5%) of all murders were motivated by self- defence or provocation.

Motivational elements were also considered according to how they were ranked and distributed by percentage within each gender group as show in Figure 5.9.

Figure 5.9 Motivational Elements by Perpetrator Gender



Infidelity and separation were the primary motivating factors for male perpetrators, appearing as motivating features in 79% of the murders they committed. These elements were not as evident as motivation elements for female perpetrators, appearing as features in 35% of circumstances under which women who killed.

Where infidelity is considered in isolation there is a statistically significant relationship with suspect gender, ($\chi^2 9.09 (1) p < 0.005 (0.003)$). Cramer's V however suggests that the relationship between male perpetration and infidelity as a motive is weak ($V = 0.21 p < 0.005 (0.003)$). Far fewer murders motivated by unfaithfulness, as detailed within Table 5.26, than expected are committed by women. Thus infidelity does not appear to be a significant motivational element for female suspects as it was for men.

The nature of the infidelity was examined where there was information present in the research material as to which partner had been unfaithful. Out of the total of 66 males who had infidelity as a motivational element, 54 (84%) killed due to the unfaithfulness or the perceived unfaithfulness of their female partner. This trend is reversed for female suspects. Of the 4 women who killed under circumstances of infidelity, 3 killed because of their own infidelity and only 1 was motivated by the victim's unfaithfulness.

Table 5.26 Actual and Expected Frequencies for Infidelity as a Motivational Element by Perpetrator Gender

Perpetrator Gender	Frequency	Infidelity is Present as Motivational Element N	Infidelity is Not Present as Motivational Element N
Male	Actual	66	105
	Expected	113	58
Female	Actual	4	30
	Expected	2	22

Intoxication and arguments featured as motivational elements in 88% of the murders committed by women. Mental health features as a greater issue for female suspects compared to male killers. There were no incidents for sexually motivated homicide committed by women but they accounted for 2% of male perpetrated killings. The importance of financial motivations and mercy killings were proportionately matched between the sexes.

Self-defence or provocation featured as a motivational element within 23.5% of female perpetrated homicides. There was a statistically significant association between gender and self- defence ($\chi^2 = 7.8$ (1) $p = 0.005$). Double the amount of women than would have been expected killed in self-defence as shown within Table 5.27. Cramer's

$V=0.2$ ($p < 0.05$ (0.005) indicates however that this association between female perpetration and self-defence motivation was weak.

Table 5.27 Actual and Expected Frequencies for Self-Defence as a Motivational Element by Perpetrator Gender

Perpetrator Gender	Frequency	Self-Defence is Present as Motivational Element N	Self-Defence is Not Present as Motivational Element N
Male	Actual	13	158
	Expected	17.5	153.5
Female	Actual	8	26
	Expected	3.5	30.5

5.3 Summary

Descriptive results indicate that in general there are few differences between men and women, particularly their demographic and relationship history, in the perpetration of their crimes. There was a limited sex differential in terms of ethnic origin, socio-economic status, mental health, time of day, location of offence and death caused by stabbing. However, the victims' use of alcohol and presence of an antecedent criminal history, use of an accomplice, and presence of children were all statistically significant associations with female perpetrated homicides.

Employment, relationship age differential, post-offence suicide, conviction for murder and higher custodial sentencing tariffs, were all indicative of male offending. Motivational elements acted as a differentiating factor for perpetrator gender and were also significantly associated with sex. Infidelity and separation were the primary causes of men killing their partners. Female motivational elements were more diverse and the majority were linked to intoxication and arguments.

These results illuminate a hitherto unseen picture of the dynamics of domestic violence murders committed in London. The ability to utilise these results within a form of predictive modelling will now be considered in Chapter 6.

Chapter 6

Binary Logistic Regression & Predictive Modelling

6.1 Introduction

Research presented in the previous chapter answer the first research question in providing a detailed description of London's domestic homicide profile. It also begins to address the second in identifying that there are certain variables which are associated with gender. Chapter 6 continues the analysis of gender associations through reporting the results of the stepwise predictive modelling process which establishes which variables were predictive of perpetrator gender.

Predictive modelling has operational value for professions working within domestic homicide investigation and social support services. For SIO's investigating intimate partner homicide, having an understanding of factors which appear to be significantly linked with and predictive of victim and suspect gender can assist in placing an incident in context as well as generate new lines of enquiry which may not necessarily have been obvious at the commencement of the investigation.

It is essential that prevention and risk assessment tools are based in sound and rigorous research in order that meaningful interventions can be made. (Dixon & Graham-Kevan, 2011) Domestic violence support services can therefore also benefit from the identification of predictive factors since they can be used to review risk assessments and allow for more informed decision making when developing support and management packages for both suspects and victims.

Key elements of the feminist and evolutionary theories, such as self-defence, infidelity and presence of step children, are explored within the data to establish if the London murders offer any support or additional insight to these theoretical positions. This modelling analysis, coupled with the statistical and descriptive analysis, presents a platform for the third research question, that of theory testing, to then be considered.

6.2 Binary Logistic Regression & Predictive Modelling

Victim, suspect, relationship and offence categories were recoded to fit the modelling assumptions required for binary logistic regression. They were analysed individually by category to establish which, if any, were predictive of perpetrator gender. Once predictive variables had been identified, they were then amalgamated into a single model to then rate which were the most significant predictors of suspect gender. Results from each model are presented in tabular and narrative form.

The variables of victim intoxication, victim having previous convictions, age differential, and perpetrator being employed all proved to be demographic characteristics predictive of perpetrator gender. Of note, none of the relationship variables proved predictive. Infidelity and self-defence as motivational elements were found to be significant. Asphyxia as the cause of death was highly suggestive of male acts of killing. Weapon usage and killing with the home address were predictive of female offending behaviour. Overall age difference and the victim possession a previous conviction proved the most significant predictor variables.

6.2.1 Model 1: Victim Characteristics

When considering victim characteristics, logistic regression analysis indicated that in combination they significantly impacted on the gender of the perpetrator, ($\chi^2 = 34.4 (5), p < 0.001$). The model correctly predicted 86% of the suspect gender

outcomes. Nagelkerke R= 0.33, indicated the model was a good fit and victim variables accounted for 33% of the variance in perpetrator gender.

Table 6.1 Logistic Regression Predicting Odds of Perpetrator Gender from Victim Characteristics

Victim Variable	B	SE	DF	Wald	Significance Level (<i>p</i>)	Exp (B)	95% CI for Exp (B)	
							Lower	Upper
Intoxicated	-1.342	0.533	1	6.345	<i>p</i> < 0.05 (0.012)	0.261	0.09	0.74
Employed	-0.652	0.518	1	1.581	<i>p</i> = 0.209	0.521	0.19	1.44
Mental Health Issues	-0.755	1.036	1	0.531	<i>p</i> = 0.466	0.470	0.06	3.58
Previous Conviction	-1.883	0.525	1	12.9	<i>p</i> < 0.001 (0.000)	0.152	0.05	0.42
Younger than Perpetrator	0.990	0.514	1	3.7	<i>p</i> = 0.054	2.69	0.98	7.37

B = Regression coefficient, SE = Standard Error, DF= Degrees of Freedom, Exp (B)= Odds ratio, CI= Confidence Interval

As identified from the results shown within Table 6.1, there were two individual variables which proved to be significant predictors of suspect sex. There was a highly significant negative relationship between the victim having a previous conviction and the suspect being a female. (Exp (B) = 0.153, Wald 12.89; *p* < 0.001). There was also a significant negative relationship again between the suspect being male and the victim being intoxicated through drink and/or drugs. (Exp (B) = 0.261, Wald= 6.34; *p* < 0.05).

The model therefore predicts if the victim is intoxicated the odds of the suspect being male decrease by 74%. Additionally if the victim has a previous conviction the odds of the suspect being male are reduced by 85%. Therefore the presence of intoxication and criminal convictions by the victim are associated with female rather than male perpetrated domestic homicide.

6.2.2 Model 2: Suspect Characteristics

The logistic regression of suspect variables had a more limited predictive impact on perpetrator gender than the victim variables. Although less significant, the model was still viable ($\chi^2 = 21.34$ (6), $p=0.002$). The model successfully predicted 84.6% of outcomes correctly. With Nagelkerke $R^2 = 0.173$, 17% of variance in suspect gender was predicted by the independent suspect variables. The model results are shown in Table 6.2.

Table 6.2 Logistic Regression Predicting Odds of Perpetrator Gender from Perpetrator Characteristics

Perpetrator Variable	B	SE	DF	Wald	Significance Level (<i>p</i>)	Exp (B)	95% CI for Exp (B)	
							Lower	Upper
Employed	0.890	0.447	1	3.975	$p < 0.05$ (0.046)	2.436	1.02	5.84
Mental Health Issues	-0.382	0.465	1	0.674	$p = 0.412$	0.683	0.27	1.70
Previous Convictions	0.207	0.418	1	0.245	$p = 0.6210$	1.230	0.54	2.79
Presence of Co-Accused	-1.08	0.642	1	2.829	$p < 0.093$	0.340	0.10	1.20
Presence of Additional Victim	0.95	1.091	1	0.73	$p = 0.382$	2.592	0.30	21.98
Older than Victim	1.22	0.452	1	7.3	$p < 0.05$ (0.007)	3.392	1.40	8.23

B = Regression coefficient, SE = Standard Error, DF= Degrees of Freedom, Exp (B)= Odds ratio, CI= Confidence Interval

Of the suspect variables tested, being employed and older than the victim were both positively associated with male perpetration. There was a highly significant predictive relationship between suspects being either the same age or older than victim (Exp (B) 3.392, Wald = 7.298; $p < 0.05$). Thus if the suspect was the same age or older than the victim, the odds ratio indicates that they were over 239% more likely to be male.

The predictive value of employment was significant but the strength of the relationship to perpetrator gender was not as strong as age. (Exp (B) = 2.436, Wald = 3.975; $p < 0.05$). If the suspect was employed at the time of the offence then the odds suggest they were over 143% more likely to be male. However as previously explained in Chapter 5.2.2, the inclusion of ‘housewife/mother’ in the unemployed category influences the results.

6.2.3 Model 3: Relationship Characteristics

Logistic regression analysis of the categorical variables associated with the relationship also had no predictive value in the determination of the sex of the perpetrator as can be seen in Table 6.3.

Table 6.3 Logistic Regression Predicting Odds of Perpetrator Gender from Relationship Characteristics

Relationship Variable	B	SE	DF	Wald	Significance Level (p)	Exp (B)	95% CI for Exp (B)	
							Lower	Upper
Classification	-0.752	0.452	1	2.77	$p = 0.096$	0.471	0.19	1.14
Status	0.493	0.576	1	0.73	$p = 0.392$	1.64	0.53	5.07
Cohabiting	-0.202	0.503	1	0.16	$p = 0.688$	0.82	0.31	2.19
Abuse History	-0.262	0.393	1	0.45	$p = 0.505$	0.77	0.36	1.66
Children Present	0.210	0.481	1	0.19	$p = 0.662$	1.23	0.48	3.17

B = Regression coefficient, SE = Standard Error, DF= Degrees of Freedom, Exp (B)= Odds ratio, CI= Confidence Interval

Being unable to meet the model parameters in relation to the number of cases required for it to be effective, the domestic violence history and presence of children variables were not further subdivided into specific types as they had been in Chapter 5.2.3 but were coded as simply a singular present or absent variable.

The model itself was viable and predicted 85.3% of correct outcomes ($\chi^2 = 4.815$ (5) $p < 0.5$). The probability score of the model indicates results are not significant. Given this issue, merely 4% of variance in suspect gender was accounted for by the relationship variables (Nagelkerke $R^2 = 0.04$)

6.2.4 Model 4: Offence Characteristics – Motivational Elements

Due to the subjective nature of their classification and their significance when considering prevailing theories, motive variables were considered for their predictive ability in isolation. They were recoded and collapsed into nine categories to ensure the model was populated with the required number of cases thus making it effective. Therefore sexually motivated homicides were merged with the ‘other’ category.

The logistic regression showed that in combination the motive variables significantly impacted on perpetrator gender ($\chi^2 = 24.1$ (9), $p < 0.005$). The model correctly predicted 85% of expected outcomes. Nagelkerke $R^2 = 0.187$ indicated under this model motive accounted for 19% of variance in perpetrator gender.

Table 6.4 indicates a number of individual motives were significant predictors of perpetrator sex. Infidelity as a motive for killing was highly predictive of male offending, (Exp (B) = 4.564, Wald 6.24; $p < 0.05$.) Thus if infidelity was a motive the odds are suspect was over 300% more likely to be male. The calculations for self-defence equated to Exp (B)=0.302, Wald=4.628, $p < 0.05$. Thus where self-defence is a motive the suspect is 70 % less likely to be male.

Table 6.4 Logistic Regression Predicting Odds of Perpetrator Gender from Motivational Elements

Motive Variable	B	SE	DF	Wald	Significance Level (<i>p</i>)	Exp(B)	95% CI for Exp (B)	
							Lower	Upper
Intoxication	-0.824	0.448	1	3.385	<i>p</i> = 0.066	0.439	0.18	1.01
Argument	0.365	0.570	1	0.411	<i>p</i> = 0.522	1.441	0.47	4.40
Self-Defence	-1.197	0.556	1	4.628	<i>p</i> < 0.05 (0.031)	0.302	0.10	0.89
Infidelity	1.518	0.608	1	6.240	<i>p</i> < 0.05 (0.012)	4.564	1.39	15.02
Separation	0.398	0.570	1	0.488	<i>p</i> = 0.485	1.489	0.49	4.55
Financial	0.849	0.810	1	1.097	<i>p</i> = 0.295	2.337	0.48	11.44
Mercy	0.255	1.247	1	0.042	<i>p</i> = 0.838	1.290	0.11	14.86
Mental Health	-0.489	0.607	1	0.650	<i>p</i> = 0.42	0.613	0.19	2.01
Other	0.465	0.609	1	0.583	<i>p</i> = 0.445	1.593	0.48	5.25

B = Regression coefficient, SE = Standard Error, DF= Degrees of Freedom, Exp(B)= Odds ratio, CI= Confidence Interval

6.2.5 Model 5: Cause of death

Recoded cause of death variables were also considered in isolation to establish its significance in predicting suspect gender. Because the levels of drowning, poisoning, gunshot injuries and burning even when amalgamated were too low to be added to the model, they were excluded and the results must be review within the caveat. The results for the predictive power of the remaining variables can be seen in Table 6.5.

The model was significant and produced 83.6% of correct outcomes ($\chi^2 = 35.9$ (5), *p* < 0.001). With Nagelkerke $R^2 = 0.267$, 27% of gender variance was explained by cause of death. Asphyxia was predictive of male perpetration. Where this was recorded as the cause of death then according to these results the odds that perpetrator was male are 1200 to 1.

Table 6.5 Logistic Regression Predicting Odds of Perpetrator Gender from Cause of Death

Cause of Death	B	SE	DF	Wald	Significance Level (<i>p</i>)	Exp (B)	95% CI for Exp (B)	
							Lower	Upper
Asphyxia	2.572	1.202	1	5.577	<i>p</i> < 0.05 (0,032)	13.091	1.24	138.1
Head Injury	2.033	1.208	1	2.831	<i>p</i> = 0.092	7.363	0.72	81.54
Multiple Injuries	0.547	0.90	1	0.369	<i>p</i> = 0.544	1.727	0.30	10.10
Multiple Stab	0.330	0.737	1	0.20	<i>p</i> = 0.655	1.391	0.34	5.90
Single Stab	-1.299	0.741	1	3.074	<i>p</i> = 0.08	0.273	0.06	1.17

B = Regression coefficient, SE = Standard Error, DF= Degrees of Freedom, Exp (B)= Odds ratio, CI= Confidence Interval

6.2.6 Model 6: Other offence characteristics

Having isolated cause of death and motive, the remaining offence variables were recoded. The model again proved to be effective in predicting 82.9% of correct outcomes ($\chi^2 = 33.53$, (8) *p* < 0.001). Nagelkerke $R^2 = 0.308$, therefore 30% of the variance in suspect gender was accounted for by these variables. There was a significant negative relationship between weapon usage and male perpetration as indicated in Table 6.6.

If a weapon was used in the commission of the offence the odds the suspect would be male were reduced by 89% (Exp (B) = 0.119, Wald = (6.534); *p* < 0.05.) There was also a negative relationship in relation to the location of the offence and gender. If the offence took place within the home address the odds the suspect would be male were reduced by 99% (Exp (B)= 0.113, Wald = 4.144; *p* < 0.05).

Table 6.6 Logistic Regression Predicting Odds of Perpetrator Gender from Other Offence Characteristics

Offence Variable	B	SE	DF	Wald	Significance Level (<i>p</i>)	Exp (B)	95% CI for Exp (B)	
							Lower	Upper
Offence Time	0.171	0.463	1	0.136	<i>p</i> = 0.713	1.186	0.48	2.93
Within Home Address	-2.178	1.070	1	4.144	<i>p</i> < 0.05 (0.042)	0.113	0.01	0.92
Weapon Used	-2.127	0.832	1	6.543	<i>p</i> < 0.05 (0.011)	0.119	0.23	1.03
Presence of Overkill	-0.573	0.561	1	1.043	<i>p</i> = 0.307	0.564	0.19	1.69
Defensive Injury Present	0.556	0.558	1	0.933	<i>p</i> = 0.319	1.743	0.01	5.20
Post offence Suicide	18.841	8694.0	1	0.000	<i>p</i> = 1.0	413646234.0	–	–
Post Offence Behaviour	19.453	13051.0	1	0.000	<i>p</i> = 1.0	2809895199.0	–	–
Perpetrator Pleaded	-0.630	0.334	1	3.563	<i>p</i> = 0.6	0.533	0.28	1.02

B = Regression coefficient, SE = Standard Error, DF= Degrees of Freedom, Exp (B)= Odds ratio, CI= Confidence Interval

6.2 7 Model 7: Key Predictors

Theoretically it would have been possible to complete logistic regression on all variables for all categories simultaneously. However as the sample set of 207 homicides is relatively small, the model proved unwieldy and unstable, therefore only key category predictors were recoded into a finalised model. The aim was to establish which category and individual variables had the most significant association with suspect gender. The model was stable ($\chi^2=45.8$ (9), $p < 0.001$) and predicted 88.1% of outcomes correctly. Nagelkerke $R^2 = 0.431$, thus 43% of the variance in suspect gender was accounted for by these key predictors.

Table 6.7 Logistic Regression Predicting Odds of Perpetrator Gender from Identified Significant Variables

Significant Variable	B	SE	DF	Wald	Significance Level (<i>p</i>)	Exp (B)	95% CI for Exp (B)	
							Lower	Upper
Perpetrator Employed	1.094	0.593	1	3.403	<i>p</i> = 0.065	2.986	0.93	9.55
Perpetrator Older	1.392	0.571	1	5.941	<i>p</i> < 0.05 (0.015)	4.023	1.313	12.3 25
Victim Intoxicated	-0.980	0.599	1	2.677	<i>p</i> = 0.102	0.375	0.17	1.21
Victim Previous Conviction	-1.194	0.582	1	4.206	<i>p</i> < 0.05 (0.04)	0.303	0.01	0.10
Self-Defence Motive	-0.761	0.797	1	0.913	<i>p</i> = 0.34	0.467	1.10	2.22
Infidelity Motive	0.157	0.719	1	0.047	<i>p</i> = 0.83	1.170	0.29	4.78
Offence at Home Address	-1.514	1.100	1	1.892	<i>p</i> = 0.17	0.220	.025	1.90
Weapon Used	-1.569	1.175	1	1.784	<i>p</i> = 0.18	0.208	.021	2.08
Asphyxia Cause of Death	1.577	1.116	1	1.997	<i>p</i> = 0.16	4.839	0.54	43.1

B = Regression coefficient, SE = Standard Error, DF= Degrees of Freedom, Exp (B)= Odds ratio, CI= Confidence Interval

As seen in Table 6.7 the suspect being older than the victim and the victim possessing a criminal conviction were the only variables that was significantly predictive of perpetrator gender within this last modelling exercise. An age differential was significantly associated with male perpetration. Where the suspect was the same age or older than the victim, the odds are they were over 300% more likely to be male, (Exp (B) = 4.023, Wald = 5.941; *p* < 0.05). The victim having a previous criminal conviction was predictive of female offending. (Exp (B)= 0.303, Wald = 4.206; *p* < 0.05) Thus is a victim has a previous conviction the odds of the suspect being male are decreased by 70%.

6.3 Summary

The aim of conducting a predictive modelling exercise was twofold. Primarily it was to identify which if any variables could be predictive of perpetrator gender and then consider what support the results offered to prevailing feminist or evolutionary theory. However secondly there is value in developing the knowledge base of factors associated with domestic violence homicides for professionals operating in this field.

An understanding of which factors are linked with perpetrator sex may assist in the development of investigative hypotheses for unsolved or on-going cases. For instance although a simplistic example for an SIO investigating the homicide of a woman where death was caused by asphyxia by an unknown suspect, knowing that the odds are 1200 times more likely that the suspect was male would assist in developing a suspect strategy that the perpetrator was most likely to be male rather than female. The same would be true for offences which took place within the domestic address. Knowing that the odds are 99% more likely that the will be female perpetrator again allows an SIO to make informed decision regarding a suspect identification strategy.

Of the 38 variables tested 9 proved to be significantly predictive of suspect gender. The suspect being older than the victim proved to be the most significant of all variables for the prediction of male perpetration. In addition the suspect being employed, infidelity as a motive and asphyxia as the cause of death were also highly predictive of male offending. When considering female perpetration it was the victim having a previous conviction proved to be the most predictive of variables. The offence taking place within the home address, use of a weapon in the commission of the offence, the victim being intoxicated and the self-defence as a motive were all also predictive of female offending behaviour. All of these factors are of use for professional assessing the risk and potential of domestic homicide.

There were a number of issues which arose during the modelling process in terms of ensuring that the required numbers of cases were available for inputting into the model to ensure that it would be effective. To this end variables were recoded, amalgamated or excluded to ensure the process and the results were reliable.

The interpretation of these findings and the question as to what support they offer towards prevailing theory will be considered in Chapter 7.

Chapter 7

Research Summary, Discussion and Future Research

7.1 Introduction

The aim of this research was to investigate whether there is a difference between how and why men and women kill their lovers. The purpose of this chapter is to consider this paradox of love and lethal violence in light of research findings from a review of 207 domestic violence homicides committed in London between 1998 and 2009. The question is addressed through three levels of analysis. Firstly, a quantitative overview of these killings will be considered in Section 7.2. Secondly a consideration of demographic, relationship and offence attributes identified through statistically analysis which are either associated with or predictive of gender, detailed in Section 7.3. Finally an assessment of what if any support this research provides to prevailing feminist criminological and evolutionary psychological theory presented in Sections 7.4 and 7.5.

Findings should be viewed however under the caveat that distinct methodological difficulties arose prior to and during the research. Such difficulties are to be expected when utilising real world data which does not always easily lend itself to the assumptions necessary for statistical modelling. Where they were encountered, the particular issues are highlighted and any limitations they cast over the results are presented to ensure the resulting analysis can be viewed with a measured perspective. These difficulties, which have been alluded to in earlier sections, will be detailed in full within Section 7.6.

The impact of this research is of significance for those professionals working within the domestic violence arena. Given this is the first time such a detailed and extensive analysis of London's intimate partner homicides has been conducted, the results will be made available to inform and develop MPS policy for the investigation and prevention of domestic violence offences.

In corroborating other research findings (Belfrage & Rying, 2004; Bourget & Gagné, 2012; Weizmann-Henelius et al., 2012) the results indicate the significance of an age differential between the couple as a risk factor for homicide. Given that patterns of behaviour learned during adolescence are often carried into adult relationships, these results have been already been used to justify the need for and create a pilot project investigating the level of and subsequent investigations into teenage relationship violence.

Furthermore the results have also been presented to the MPS Violence against Women and Girls Coordinating Group and the Mayor's Office for Policing and Crime. They are also to be used in a review of the current effectiveness of risk assessment tools. Finally they are to be presented to the Association of Chief Police Officers Homicide Working Group for inclusion in the 'Knowledge Hub' which is an IT support package for SIOs.

Despite significant investment, both nationally and within the capital, and legislative changes such as the Coroners & Justice Act 2009, the rate of domestic violence homicide has not declined therefore it is of critical importance to continue research within this field to better inform investigators and policy makers. However researchers should always be mindful that statistical analysis can detract from the human element within this field of study. Domestic violence homicides have a personal

cost, devastating to the families on which they impact. It is only through understanding the very distinct dynamics of this crime type that what works and more importantly what does not work in its prevention can be identified (Dixon & Graham-Kevan, 2011). Therefore, future research strands within four strategic areas; intoxication, teenage relationship violence, risk assessments within non-abusive relationships and case attrition have been identified by this research and will be considered within Section 7.7.

7.2 Landscape of London's Intimate Partner Homicides

In 2011 London had a population of 8.174 million people, 4,033 were male and 4.141 were female and approximate 50:50 divide. However when ratios of homicide victimisation are considered, they are greatly imbalanced.⁵¹ As detailed in Chapter 1, London's domestic violence homicide rate has risen in line with national trends so that 20% of all homicides, both in the capital and nationally, are now classified as domestic in nature. Whilst nationally the ratio of male to female victimisation has remained relatively stable at 30:70%, within London female victimisation has increased since by 13% since 2006. By 2010 it matched the national average with 73% of intimate partner homicide victims being female (Osborne et al., 2012).

There is an asymmetry in gender distribution with two-thirds of London's intimate partner homicides being perpetrated by men, which mirrors the V. Jensen's, 2001 study in the United States. However putting this asymmetry aside, within the London dataset there was limited actual differentiation in the demographic characteristics between male and female victims and suspects

Both male and female victims tended to be white, unemployed, aged in their late 30's, parents and in a cohabiting, stable relationship. A quarter of victims were

⁵¹ Office for National Statistics '2011 Census for England and Wales' accessed February 2013 <http://www.statistics.gov.uk>

intoxicated at levels exceeding the drink-drive limit at the time of their death. In total 47% of victims were employed while 18% had previous adult convictions. The presence of mental health issues was considerably lower than other studies, (J. C. Campbell et al., 2007) appearing in 5% of the victim cohort.

Suspects again were also more likely to be white, unemployed, parents, aged over 35 years in cohabiting, stable relationships. Mental health issues affected 21% of perpetrator whilst 44% of all suspects had a previous adult criminal conviction recorded against them.

The mean ages of both victims and suspects (38 years for women and 39 for male victims; 41 years for male and 35 years for female perpetrators) are in line with those of previous studies (Garcia, Soria, & Hurwitz, 2007a; Moracco et al., 2003; Weizmann-Henelius et al., 2012). In 7% of homicides within the dataset either the victim or suspect was aged 20 or under.

London has a very diverse community. According to the Greater London Authority ⁵² in 2006, a comparable point within the research parameters, 67.57% of London's population are White, 19% Asian/Oriental/Other and 13.5% are of Black African/Caribbean origin. When compared with London's general ethnic make-up, there was an over representation of people of Black ethnic origin as both victims (21%) and suspects (25%). This replicates the disproportionate over-representation of Black ethnic minorities within domestic violence homicides found in US studies (Moracco et al., 2003; Riedel & Best, 1998; Saunders & Browne, 2000; Websdale, 1999; M. I. Wilson & Daly, 1992). This disproportionality may be explained through the cultural,

⁵² Greater London Authority Intelligence Update, 'The London Plan Ethnic Group Population Projections, Update March 2010', accessed 3rd March 2013 (<http://www.london.gov.uk>)

economic and social experience of Black Londoners as well as geographical concentrations rather than any specific reference to ethnicity itself.⁵³

Perpetrators generally killed their victim at their home address by inflicting either single or multiple stab wounds. Intoxication through drink and/or drugs ranked as the most common motivational element, present within 38% of all intimate partner homicides. This was followed by separation (37%), infidelity (33%) and argument (30%). Mercy killings and sexually motivated murders were the least likely to be encountered, each featuring as an element in 3% of domestic homicides. Additional victims or suspects were involved in 14% of the domestic homicides.

Marriage appeared to be a protective factor with 60% of the murders taking place within girl/boyfriend relationships. This supports previous research suggesting that intimate partner homicide is more common within non legalised relationships (Shackelford, 2001; Shackelford & Mouzos, 2005). As reviewed in Chapter 3 this is presumably due to the fact these relationships can be less mature with limited partner investment, shared bonded experiences and conflict management tactics. Further support for this concept is found in the fact the 37% of killings occurred within relationships lasting three years or less. However contrary to other studies (J. C. Campbell et al., 2007) in the London experience, only in 23% of the relationships had couples formally separated.

Poignantly in 78% of homicides the relationships had children associated with them. This indicates the devastating social tragedy such murder present, as children lose both their parents as either the suspect or victim.

⁵³ Black perpetrators accounted for 25% of the perpetrator total. They had the highest % levels in relation to significant variables; 53% of black perpetrators were unemployed, 58% had previous adult criminal convictions and 69% of their relationships has step-children associated with them. This compared with white perpetrators who accounted for 59 % of perpetrator total. Of them 38% were unemployed, 43% had criminal convictions and 50% has step-children associated with the relationship.

Of significant note, 47% of homicides took place in relationships with no recorded precursor abuse or violence. Whilst social investment is placed in homicide prevention strategies for abusive relationships, a significant proportion of relationships had no potential warning indicators.

However what is of note that whilst the human cost of any homicide is severe, domestic violence homicides within London are extremely rare events. The Metropolitan Police service responds to approximately 100,000 domestic abuse related calls a year (Richards, 2003). On average only 20 of these relate to a homicide.

7.3 Gender Association

Whilst a non-gender based overview proves a useful impression of London's domestic homicide landscape, when viewed by gender, key sex-specific variables were identified in terms of percentage difference, statistical association and predictive capability.

Victim Characteristics

Possession of a previous adult conviction and intoxication at the time of death were highly predictive of, and significantly associated with, male victims and thus female perpetration.

The possession of a criminal conviction by both 53% of male and 13% of female victims exceeded the national average of 33% and 9% respectively⁵⁴.

Possession of a previous conviction was a highly significant variable associated and predictive of male victim status. The significance of male victim's previous convictions was also identified as a significant predictor of female perpetration in a study conduct

⁵⁴ Ministry of Justice Statistics Bulletin, 'Conviction Histories of Offenders aged between 10 and 52', accessed 3rd March 2013 (<http://www.justice.gov.uk/downloads/statistics/mojstats/criminal-histories-bulletin.pdf>)

by Felson & Messner (1998) in 30 US counties. However without further detail as to the nature of particular conviction, possession can only be highlighted and no satisfactory explanation of this occurrence can be posited.

Post-mortem results revealed that 52% of male victims and 22.5% of female victims were intoxicated at the time of their death. Although the London results are at a higher percentage level, they replicate the gender ratios found within the Quebec study, where 38% of men and 10.7% of women had used alcohol at the time of their death (Bourget & Gagné, 2012).

There was a significant and predictable association between alcohol intoxication and male victims. Over half the male victims were drunk and had higher alcohol levels in their blood than would have been expected indicating that women are more likely to kill their partners when they are drunk. A potential explanation for this finding is that reflexes can be dulled and reduced under the influence of alcohol. Drunken men were more easily killed since they are less able to defend themselves or perceive a threat to their safety. Alcohol may also cause the male victims themselves to be more aggressive, argumentative or threatening due to their level of intoxication (O'Leary & Schumacher, 2003). Their actions thus precipitated either fear or a self-defensive reaction in their partner that ultimately lead to their death.

The results of logistic regression analysis support the findings of Finnish analysis which also indicated that if victims were drunk they were more likely to be male (Weizmann-Henelius et al., 2012).⁵⁵ Alcohol and substance misuse has previously been identified as a risk factor in domestic homicides (Bourget & Gagné, 2012; J. C. Campbell et al., 2007; Garcia, Soria, & Hurwitz, 2007; Kuhns et al., 2013; Saunders & Browne, 2000; Sharps, Campbell, Campbell, Gary, & Webster, 2003). However these

⁵⁵ Odds Ratio 22.9 95% C.I. (5.0,105.0) likelihood of female offender if victim intoxicated.

studies present the risk factors being as a result of the perpetrators' use of alcohol measured through long term and chronic misuse. These findings do not necessary negate this. However perpetrator alcohol history could not be accurately or consistently measured within this research. These results indicate the importance of victim's alcohol use at the time of death and its association with gender thus further indicating the significance alcohol plays within domestic homicide.

Suspect Characteristics

Employment status was significantly associated with, and predictive of, male perpetrators. The influence of economic status will be considered in the theoretical review in Section 7.4. Determining the level female un/employment was more difficult due to the effect of the 'housewife/mother' category. When this was included in the unemployed category, 29% of female perpetrators were then classified as employed. When 'housewife/mother' category is removed and seen as a standalone category, the percentage balance of females employed/unemployed is realigned at 40:60%. This provides a more balanced comparison with the 53.5% of male suspects who were employed at the time of the offence.

The greater levels of working males, although lower than other studies, do support previous findings that male perpetrators were more likely to be employed (Belfrage & Rying, 2004; Bourget & Gagné, 2012; R. E. Dobash et al., 2009). The logistic regression analysis indicated that if a perpetrator was employed the odds were 143% more likely that they would be male. This gender based division in employment status is replicated within other studies (Jordan et al., 2012; Weizmann-Henelius et al., 2012). When comparing intimate partner homicide suspects with other non-intimate partner homicide suspects and by gender, they found that female domestic violence

perpetrators were less likely, and male domestic violence perpetrators more likely, to be employed.

Whilst there was no gender association with the presence of a previous adult conviction as there was within the victim cohort, it is of note that the percentage of criminality within the female cohort at 39% far exceeds the national average for women within the overall population at 9%. The distribution of offence type, with a concentration of multiple offences for the male suspects and an equality of assault convictions but a concentration of theft and property offences for women, does however mirror the national distribution of offences by gender.⁵⁶

Although other studies have identified that additional victims, particularly children or family members, are a feature of domestic violence homicides, (Gregory 2012; Mann, 1996; Saunders & Browne, 2000; Websdale, 1999) there appears to be an absence of any analysis regarding the presence of a co-accused. Within the London homicides twice the number of women than expected killed with the aid and assistance of another. The presence of a co-accused is rarely indicative of immediate self-defence but suggestive of elements of determination, intent and preplanning within the offence. Of the five murders perpetrated by women using a co-defendant none have been graded as self-defensive but were deemed as having been motivated through argument, separation, finance or jealousy.

Relationship Characteristics

There were significant suspect gender associations in relation to the age difference between couples, whether they were married and whether step children were associated with the relationship.

⁵⁶ See footnote 37 reference

The single most significant variable discerning perpetrator gender within this research was the age discrepancy between couples. Over half the male perpetrators (59.5%) were older than the women they killed. There was a wide age distribution across both male and female cohorts. Female suspects were on average 4 years younger than their victims. Male perpetrators were on average 3 years older. The male suspect pool also displayed a greater distribution in age disparity. Should the suspect be the same age or older than the victim, then they were most likely to be male. This finding replicates previous research in that an asymmetric age discrepancy in favour of older males is a significant element associated with intimate partner homicide (Aldridge & Browne, 2003; Bourget & Gagné, 2012; Breitman, Shackelford, & Block, 2004; J. C. Campbell et al., 2007; Garcia, Soria, & Hurwitz, 2007; Shackelford, 2001). This supports the concept of a sexual market place suggested within evolutionary psychology which will be considered further in Section 7.4.

The findings that women were more likely to kill their boyfriends rather than their husbands, corroborates previous research (Shackelford, 2001; Shackelford & Mouzos, 2005). This may be due to the fact that girl/boyfriend relationships may be less committed, have limited shared bonding experiences, have less to lose, and have had limited time to develop support or coping mechanisms to manage relationship conflict.

Male suspects within the London dataset were less influenced by classification than women as there was an equitable division between killings which took place within marital and non-marital relationships. This appeared to be initially at odds with previous studies which suggest that men are more likely to kill within common law rather than spousal relationships (Aldridge & Browne, 2003; Riedel & Best, 1998; Shackelford & Mouzos, 2005). Support for the London dynamic however can be found in more recent research conducted within Canada and the US which suggests there has

been a significant decline in the risk to women in non-marital relationships and a convergence of rates between marital and non-marital intimate partner homicides (James & Daly, 2012).

Children sired outside the signature relationship, particularly to women, are a key variable associated with perpetrator gender. Over half the women killed within London between 1998 and 2009 had children born to other fathers. This statistic mirrors previous research where the presence of step-children is identified as a risk factor for women (Brewer & Paulsen, 1999; Daly et al., 1997; Miner et al., 2012). The potential links to previous partners, divergence of resources and affection and parenting conflict may lead to elevated stress within relationships and act as homicide catalysts. Fewer women than expected killed partners who had children outside the relationship. However twice the number of women than expected killed when they themselves were the step-parent. Again this may be due to the emotional connection to previous partners creating stress within the relationship as well as defence of themselves and their own children within conflicted relationships. The effect of the presence of step-children is an element that is predicted by evolutionary psychological theory and this is explored further in Section 7.4.

Antecedence relationship violence has been recognised as an elevated risk factor of and a context for domestic homicides. Victims are at greater risk of lethal violence as abuse up-scales and perpetrators at increased risk from pre-emptive or defensive retaliation (Aldridge & Browne, 2003; J. C. Campbell et al., 2003; J. C. Campbell et al., 2007; J. C. Campbell et al., 2009; T. D. Miethe, Regoeczi, & Drass, 2004a; Moracco et al., 2003; Websdale, 1999).

The London findings are contrary to this established position. There was no indication that antecedent history was associated with either male or indeed female perpetration as would have been predicted by previous research. Whilst not disputing the critical role previous abusive history has within the homicide chronology, just under half of the relationships within the London homicide dataset had no recorded history of conflict. Thus this research, whilst not necessarily at odds with previous studies, does suggest that there are other influences which lead to intimate partner homicide which are not set with antecedent history.

The unexpectedly high level (47%) of homicides committed within relationships without antecedent violence does however correspond with other research findings. When three contemporary studies are considered, Bourget & Gagné (2012), Gregory (2012) and Weizmann-Henelius et al., (2012), the percentage of their intimate partner homicide populations reporting no previous domestic violence history were recorded at 69%, 66.5% and 33% respectively.

For those relationships where previous abuse was a feature, the direction of violence was not uniformly distributed according to perpetrator gender as illustrated in Table 5.17. In cases of male perpetration, where there was a history of abuse, this was primarily directed towards the eventual female victim. In only 10% of cases were any counter or cross allegations reported. Female perpetrators relationship antecedence was very different. In 50% of cases there were cross allegations where abuse was experienced by both parties. This corroborates the work of Dixon & Graham-Kevan (2011) and Felson (2006), who identified a symmetrical rather than gendered distribution of violence within relationships.

These results therefore do not support the feminist and evolutionary theoretical positions where female violence is primarily seated in reactionary self-defence to on-going abuse. Although this was certainly present as an element it could not account for 50% of the London experience, where either abuse was not present or if it was, it was not male dominated, one directional violence.

Offence Characteristics

Offence variables proved to have clear associations with perpetrator gender, particularly in terms of location, post-offence suicide, cause of death and motive.

The location of the offence, regardless of perpetrator gender, was characterised by taking place at the home address. This supports the findings of Bourget & Gagné, (2012) and Riedel & Best, (1998). However murders which took place externally were more likely to be committed by men. Offences which took place outside the home suggest a degree of premeditation. Thus there is a gender difference in how men and women select their kill sites. As women more often killed within the home environment this suggests they either responded to events which had more immediacy to them or, in terms of premeditated killings, were more comfortable in committing the offence within the home environment. This is not to say they weren't necessarily intentional but they showed lower levels of the preplanning required to kill externally. Murders which took place externally were associated with higher levels of risk of identification, capture or intervention of a third party. Male suspects appeared more willing or perhaps simply more determined than female perpetrators to take these risks and kill within public and open spaces.

The findings of the London dataset support all other previous studies in relation to the predominance of homicide followed by suicide as a purely masculine

phenomenon (Gregory, 2011; Liem & Roberts, 2009; Starzomski & Nussbaum, 2000). Not a single female suspect who killed themselves yet 16% of male perpetrators committed suicide. This replicates the findings of Gregory (2012), who examined homicide/suicides committed in North England 1993-2007. Her findings showed 75% of the cases related to intimate partner homicide and all of the suicides related to male perpetrators.

Causing death through a single stab wound was strongly associated with female offending. Over 50% of women killed their partners this way. This corresponds with the lack of defence injuries associated with female perpetrated homicides, since there is only limited opportunity to defend oneself where a single wound inflicted. The use of a single stab wound also correlates with the higher than expected levels of women convicted of manslaughter rather than murder. Complex legal issues can arise in establishing the suspect's intent to kill where a single stab wound is the cause of death. Such 'lucky strike' killings can be difficult to contextualise outside the hiatus of the event. With a stab wound to the neck or chest it can be difficult to argue that anything other than that death was the intended goal. However where a fatal wound is inflicted to other areas of the body, the intentions of the attacker can be more difficult to interpret.

Whilst other studies rarely distinguish between the use of single or multiple stab wounds, this female preference for causing death through stabbing in general is reflected in a number of other studies, (Aldridge & Browne, 2003; Bourget & Gagné, 2012; Weizmann-Henelius et al., 2012). Comparison with US research is not reliable due to the differential effect of firearms access and availability.

However in common U.S. and European studies, the London dataset highlighted female perpetrators use of a weapon to kill. Weapons were used in 91% of female

perpetrated killings. This high degree of weapons usage corresponds with the fact that over 70% of the female perpetrated crimes were due to stabbings, which obviously require a pointed or bladed instrument. For women the use of a weapon evens up the odds in terms of the physical differences between men and women. Many women would be unable to kill manually but use of a weapon overcomes these differences making it physically easier for women to inflict lethal injuries (Easton & Shackelford, 2009).

While men will kill with weapons they are also equally able to kill manually. There is a marked and predictive association in the dataset between asphyxia as a cause of death and male perpetration. A quarter of female victims within the dataset were killed manually without recourse to a weapon compared with 9% of male victims. This corresponds with previous research which suggests that men are more likely to kill their partners manually and women with weapons (Easton & Shackelford, 2009).

What appears incongruous within the London results are the unexpectedly high levels of overkill exhibited by female offenders. The proportion of male perpetrators (59%) that exhibited overkill directly corresponds with levels recorded within other studies, (Browne et al., 1999). However the figure of 53% of female perpetrators demonstrating overkill exceeds that of previous studies as well as that which may have been predicted due to the level of single stab wound fatalities. When this is examined further, whilst a single stab wound may have been recorded as the cause of death, 29% of those deaths had additional injuries or multiple weapon usage associated with them. This again points to the need to contextualise the statistics in order to gain the most detailed appreciation of the gender dynamics. Given the emotional connection, suspect and victim levels of overkill are to be expected. Love and the use of lethal violence become integrated regardless of gender within intimate partner homicide. Feelings of

loss, rage, betrayal and fear can heighten still further those emotions already present within the murder encounter causing such inflated levels of overkill. To a far greater degree than many other forms of homicide, heightened emotions can drive motive and this then translates into the method of killing.

According to both feminist and evolutionary psychological theory there is a division between gender and motive within domestic homicide. In essence men kill due to control, jealousy or to prevent defection and women kill defending themselves from such behaviour (Buss & Duntley, 2011; Brookman, 2005; Daly & Wilson, 1988; R. E. Dobash et al., 2009; Reckdenwald & Parker, 2011; Serran & Firestone, 2004). Support for this position in the context of male motivations is found within the London dataset as 40% of murders committed by men contained infidelity or separation as a motivational element. Whether this is in response to patriarchy or evolutionary selection will be considered in Section 7.4

However findings supporting this concept in relation to female perpetration within the London data are not as straightforward. Over 50% of women's motivational elements within the London data related to intoxication and arguments. Self-defence as a singular motivation was ranked fourth within the motivation hierarchy (see Table 5.24). This seems to be an anomaly given the wealth of research suggesting the critical importance of self-defence killings (Serran & Firestone, 2004). Again the importance of contextualisation is paramount to the interpretation of these findings. Whilst self-defence was ranked fourth, in 5 of the 7 cases where this was the motive there was a recorded history of domestic violence between the couple.⁵⁷ Thus these findings are not at odds with the previous position that there is an association between females killing in self-defence and domestic conflict but this is not the singular reason why women kill

⁵⁷ Of the 4 cases where male suspects were motivated by self-defence, one has an associated history of relationship violence

their partners. Whilst this fact has been acknowledged in previous research, focus has continued to examine the influence of domestic conflict rather than the other extraneous motivations (Brookman, 2005; V. Jensen, 2001; Mann, 1996; Websdale, 1999).

The London findings that self-defence is context specific rather than singularly associated with on-going abuse, support in other research findings. Felson (2006) identified that merely 10% of wives killed husband in self-defence commenting,

“they are no more likely to be motivated by self-defence than other female killers.” (p.22)

Weizmann-Henelius et al., (2012) recognised the importance of self-defence for female perpetrators but this was not always within cycle of on-going abuse. They cite the importance of female defensive reactions within situational context. They identified the key significance of arguments and alcohol. Thus whilst self-defence and associated relationship abuse are present, there are other independent dynamics which act on female perpetration outside the previously conceptualised battered woman concept. The London findings also replicate the Bourget & Gagné (2012) study which suggested that a significant number of female perpetrated homicides are not predictable as they did not take place within the context of relationship abuse. The theoretical implications of these results, given the critical issue of self-defence theory will be considered in the next section.

7.4 Theory Testing

The final aim of this research was to assess what support, if any, the analytical results of London's domestic violence murders offers to the theoretical positions of feminist criminology and evolutionary psychology in explaining the nature and causes of intimate partner homicide.

7.4.1 Feminist Criminology

As detailed in Sections 3.3 1-6, in essence the feminist position, whether argued through the formats of patriarchal terrorism or gender inequality, is that domestic violence and consequential homicides are the result of an inequitable distribution of power between the sexes. This is seen as being absolute, in terms of women's inability to access or influence political, social and economic agendas. It can also be regarded as relative due to disparities in economic independence, social mobility, educational attainment and division of domestic responsibilities between men and women within their relationships. If feminist theory is correct in relation to domestic violence homicide, it would predict a bias towards male perpetration and female victimisation. Male perpetrators would have an inherent acceptance of male dominance and patriarchy within the home environment. Male killers would hold a personal belief in and adherence to the state sanctioned ideals of 'family' and their rightful dominant position within it. Men justify their use of terroristic tactics of violence and abuse to ensure compliance with this ideal.

Feminist theory also predicts economic inequality within relationships where men have greater financial power and freedom giving women less ability to exit violent relationships. There would also be some contradictory findings, in that feminism predicts that as economic inequality lessens and women have more independence to leave violent relationships and the state provides more support for them to do so, then homicides would decline. Conversely as men experience a loss of control or fear of separation as their partners have an ability to exit, this may force them to use pre-emptive violence, leading to rises in homicides. Women may more easily threaten to leave relationships as they know they have the requisite means to do so.

The London data set provides support for the feminist position in relation to the sex ratio of victims and a more qualified support in terms of the influence of employment. There was considerably less support for the concept of patriarchal terrorism and gender inequality.

There is clear evidence of homicide perpetration being a male dominated preserve given that 84% of the murders were committed by men. However the influence of the 'state' and a personal belief in prescribed gender roles had within the actual commission of male perpetrated homicide could not be easily ascertained within this research format. It would require personal interviews with the suspects questioning their individual opinions in relation to issues of dominance and relationship expectations, which were not available within the resource material.

There was mixed support for the gender inequality argument. The suspect being employed was both associated with and predictive of male offending. This suggests that men had more economic control than their partners, who may have had no or limited access to any independent financial means as predicted by feminist theory. However when those relationships with a history of domestic violence are examined, 45% of those women were employed and thus would have had the economic mobility to leave. This suggests there is more the gender inequality issue than economics. Support of the gender inequality is lessened further when viewed against the comparative relationship dynamic figures for employment status. In relation to male perpetration, in over half (58.3%) of homicides, both the male and female partner were of the same economic status. There were 17% of cases where the female victim was employed and her partner not. This is not suggestive therefore of either a generalised backlash or gender inequality dynamic within the London data set. It is of interest however to note the higher percentages of both female victims and suspects when compared with the male

cohort, in the highest socio-economic rankings. So whilst male employment does play a significant role, it is unclear what influence it may have due to the matched economic distribution in over half the cohort. Again this points to the necessity to contextualise intimate partner homicides in terms of both the individuals themselves but also how they relate together as a couple to gain a better understanding of the underlying influences, such as economic disparity.

The results in relation to domestic violence as a terrorist control tactic are more confused. Feminist theory predicts there to be evidence of domestic abuse used as a control measure within relationships to ensure women's compliance with the status quo. There is such evidence of antecedent history in 53% of all offences. In relation to male perpetrated homicide this rises to 58.3%, the majority of which (82%) is male violence directed towards female partners. However in 47% of the total number of cases there is no evidence of violence being used as a control tactic, which either suggests that all these couples were compliant with the status quo and thus no control measures were required or that patriarchal terrorism was not a feature of the relationship and therefore is not a unique prerequisite to domestic homicide as predicted.

The London data does not support the element of feminist theory which seats women's violence singularly as a reactive response to patriarchal terrorism. Only 48% of cases of female perpetration had a recorded history of abuse. Furthermore this was not unidirectional and thus cannot be classified as patriarchal in nature since 18% involved the suspect assaulting her partner and 24% related to violence between both parties. The results do not reflect the feminist position that female perpetration is only a responsive reaction to pervasive male violence. Whilst there is certainly an element of this position and self-defence being a motive in non-abuse based contexts, there was also evidence that female violence was an independent form of instrumental aggression

in itself. Additionally, given that 43% of male offenders also had not used abusive tactics prior to the murder, whilst antecedent relationship history has particular influence this does not appear to be the primary influence as suggested by feminist criminology.

7.4.2 Evolutionary Psychology

The research findings offer more qualified support to the evolutionary perspective. As explained in Section 3.3 7-13, the key tenet of evolutionary psychology suggests that as historically the optimal conditions for child rearing and the successful continuance of an individual's genetic material were within the family unit, behaviours to ensure this unit remained intact developed and were inherited over time. One such behaviour related to the development of a jealousy response triggered where the integrity of the unit was, or was perceived to be, threatened by infidelity, separation or competition. Men developed and maintained a sense of entitlement and proprietary rights over 'their' women using violence as a tactic to manage potential defection. Homicides occur either through an accidental or unplanned excessive use of such violence or as a deliberate act of deterrence and prevention.

A similar jealousy response within women is generated through a fear that resources may be diverted if a partner leaves or has an affair. However as with feminist theory, within evolutionary psychology although recognising a female jealousy response, female perpetrated homicide itself is again situated as a reactive response to male controlling aggression rather than an independent action on the part of the woman.

Evolutionary theory predicts that intimate partner homicides are again dominated by male perpetrated and female defensive acts. Male homicides would be incited by challenges to the family unit, such as the presence of step-children, or

competition from other rivals. There would be evidence of coercive control within relationships as men exerted their proprietary rights and killed through accidental slip-ups or deliberate acts. Women would kill in defence of herself or her children. Support for this position can be found from the London dataset in the sex ratio of homicides as detailed above and in terms of the analysis relating to age difference, presence of step-children, motivational elements, weapon usage and overkill and homicide/suicide.

As noted in Chapter 3, age difference, where the woman is younger than her partner, has previously been identified as a risk factor. Younger women are deemed to be reproductively valuable within the sexual market place but as such liable to potential defection from a relationship due to competition from rivals (Aldridge & Brown, 2003, D'Alessio & Stolzenberg, 2010; Shackelford, T. K., Buss, D. M., & Weekes-Shackelford, V. A., 2003). The influence of age difference between couples is strongly evidenced within the London dataset. Over half of male perpetrators were older than the partners they killed. The suspect being older than the victim was found to be a key predictor variable of male perpetration. This finding supports the evolutionary concept of a sexual market place. The potential loss of a 'high value younger' partner and their corresponding reproductive value can generate circumstances for intimate partner homicide.

The presence of step-children as predicted is also significant to male perpetration. What was unexpected is the influence this variable had in terms of female offending. According to research findings women are at risk of lethal violence if they had children who were not the biological offspring of their current partner (Daly et al., 1997; Miner et al., 2012). However the results of the London dataset show that the presence of step-children was closely associated with both male and female perpetration. Whilst 53% of offences related to men killing their women who had

children they were not the biological father to, what is also significant is the influence of a woman's children on her own offending. The data indicated 47% of female offenders had children of their own, who were thus not biologically related to men they killed. Thus the presence of step-children to whom they are not the father is also a risk factor for men. This may be due to the 'sexy sons' influence (Buss, 2000) where women seek to mate with the most desirable of men and then ensure these offspring survive by forming relationship with men, not necessarily the fathers who are best able to provide for them. It may also be due to the operation of a protective instinct of women over her children in defence of them as well as herself in the face of a perceived threat to their safety (Buss, D.M 1994, 2000, 2011).

The predicted influence of infidelity on men and women was established within the London results. Influence of infidelity and separation accounting for 40% of male motivational elements thus supporting evolutionary theory in general as well as the concept of male sexual proprietariness. Infidelity as a motive was a significant predictor of male perpetration present within 20% of killings. When considering separation, given that 79% of their relationships were actually intact at the time of death, for men it appears to be the potential for separation rather than having actually been separated which is of significance.

According to evolutionary psychology men, amongst other things, have an anticipation of compliance and fidelity from their partners. As such men hold certain expectations in relation to their partners regarding them as possessions as well as reproductive property. Real or perceived infidelity provokes a behavioural response of coercive control through the use of violence to increased vigilance to ensure his partner's behaviour meets his expectations (Buss, D.M. 1994). Concern regarding the potential paternity of children, misdirection of his resources and, ultimately, fear of his

partner leaving him challenge the idea of his ownership over her. The prominent levels of separation and infidelity found in London reinforce the concept that these men deemed they had proprietary rights over their partners given the high percentage of homicides motivated by them.

Evolutionary theory suggests women will be more provoked by emotional rather than sexual infidelity. The London results also support this position as of the 34 homicides committed by women only one took place due to the unfaithfulness of her partner whereas 31% of men killed to their partner's infidelity.

Proponents of male sexual proprietariness theory cite sexual jealousy as clear evidence of and a catalyst for coercive control (M. Wilson & Daly, 1998). Jealousy, although present as a motivator in isolation was a difficult variable to gauge and was measured both directly and indirectly. There were cases such as *M105* or *F28* where the suspect had stated they were jealous of the victim's new relationship. In such cases it was obvious that this was motivational feature of the offence and could be directly classified as such. In many other cases, there was no obvious declaration thus quantifying it in isolation has been problematic. However given feelings of jealousy are so often innately linked to the circumstances surrounding infidelity and separation, its presence as a motive for the perpetrator in these circumstances could not be independently established but could be indirectly assumed and thus appears to further support the position of male proprietariness.

This concept of male ownership is further endorsed by levels of homicide/suicide and/or the additional killing of the couple's children. These were entirely male phenomena within the London homicides. These cases are an extreme exhibition of the male perpetrator's feelings of entitlement over the relationship. It is

argued by Gregory (2011), that men will kill themselves following the homicide as they are unable to emotionally manage the loss of control they had over their partner.

Alternatively, and particularly in the case of familicide/suicide, or where the suicidal impulse proceeds the homicide, the man appears to decide to take his partner's and children's life as he is unable to leave them behind. Both relate to male decision making over what is best for their own self-interest rather than that of their partner's or family's, thus supporting the concept of proprietariness. Given the presence of male homicide/suicide as a significant finding within the London results this does add support to the influence that male sexual proprietariness can have within domestic violence homicide.

Whilst there is evidence of male sexual proprietariness, the research data in relation to slip-up theory is potentially more supportive of this as a factor in female rather than male perpetration. Fifty-three per cent of female perpetrated homicides took place under conditions of argument and intoxication. Homicides committed under these circumstances were less likely to be planned or premeditated. They are subject to the situational influences of the event, hence more prone to accident or unintended consequences. Under the heightened emotions caused through intoxication or quarrels, women were more prone than men to the potential unplanned overuse of force leading to homicide. This is confirmed by the finding that the cause of death by a single stab wound was significantly associated with female killers. Indeed the higher levels of female defendants receiving manslaughter convictions where there has been legal proof that she did not have the requisite intent to kill again supports the slip-up argument.

However these results suggest a divergence from the established slip-up theory in which the overuse of force is related to compliance and control measures exercised by men where their relationships are threatened. The London dataset suggests that slip-

up is more significant to female offending. However this is a slip-up in terms of a situational use of force rather than an excessive use of force during on-going domestic abuse. There is more limited evidence to support slip-up theory in relation to male perpetration as only 29% of homicides took place during intoxication or arguments. In addition, as stated above, with just under half of the male killers not using on-going violence as a tactic, the overuse of force when doing so cannot adequately account for the overall dynamics operating within the London cohort.

However whilst slip-up does appear to be a significant factor for female perpetration there is also evidence that women also killed through pre-planned and deliberate intentional acts. Use of another person as an accomplice was significantly associated with female offenders. Thus it appears that whilst slip-up is a useful vehicle for understanding female perpetration, it is not the sole one.

Evidence of planning, premeditation and an intention to kill all act against slip-up as a generalised theory. Intimate partner homicides can be also be deliberate acts and adaptive behaviours. The London dataset provided support for this position for both male and female perpetration. Weapons were used in 78% of murders and there was evidence of overkill in 57% of cases which indicates an intention to kill or seriously injury rather than simply an accidental slip up in the use of force. There was little evidence of gender variation within both offence variables.

More men than expected were convicted of murder, with 53% of the cohort having been found guilty of murder through an intention to kill their partner. This is as predicted by homicide adaption theory, that men in the ultimate act of coercive control commit intentional and deliberate acts of lethal violence. However a third of women within the cohort were also found guilty of murder, again suggesting that they too are

capable of deciding upon and executing acts of independent deliberate homicide.

Whether women are motivated to kill through an adaptive behaviour as appears to be the case with men or are acting in defence or due to other instrumental gain requires further research.

7.5 Discussion

There is some support found within the London homicide data for both the feminist and evolutionary standpoints, particularly in the case of male perpetration. What is apparent from this data is that female offending is more complex than suggested by either criminological or psychological theories thus far. Previous research has been singularly focused on seeing female offending as a responsive and defensive reaction to on-going male perpetrated relationship abuse. Whilst self-defence was a key predictor of female perpetration and did primarily occur within abusive relationships, this dynamic does not account for the entirety of female offending encountered within the London dataset.

There is no doubt that domestic violence is a key risk factor and female perpetrated homicides are committed in response to it. There were however other situations and circumstances, unrelated to relationship abuse, under which women also killed. Intoxication and argument were both significant circumstances under which women killed. Thus whilst women during these incidents may well have been responding to male aggression, it was situation based rather than founded in antecedent relationship history. Women's partner killing therefore does appear to be situation based. Additionally there was evidence that female domestic killers are not merely the stereotypical abuse victims killing to protect themselves. The London data indicated that women are also capable of malevolent and planned killings of their partners in the same way as men.

As Felson (2006) remarks,

“women who kill their husbands are not usually sweet and innocent” (p.22)

The results for the male cohort did correspond with the findings of many other studies (R. E. Dobash, Dobash, Cavanagh, & Medina-Ariza, 2007; R. E. Dobash et al., 2009; Moracco et al., 2003). Relationship history, infidelity and separation are significant factors as theory would have predicted. However again there were other unrelated influences which impacted upon male perpetration. Under half the relationships in which men killed had no reported history of abuse, 60% of homicides did not involve infidelity or separation as a motivational element. In a similar pattern to female offending intoxication, arguments, mental health and finance all appeared to be significant elements in why men killed their partners. These again are situation based and could not necessarily have been predicted. Thus situational responses in circumstances of heightened arousal and conflict can be just as significant a risk factor to both men and women as is a previous history of relationship violence. The London results suggest intimate partner homicides are complex, contextual and multi-layered. Any singular explanations as to its cause prove ineffective.

An apparent short coming in both feminist criminology and evolutionary psychology identified within this thesis is the limited operational proof of their theoretical concepts. There is little decisive evidence which indicates that either state sanctioned ideals or behavioural adaptations specifically incited an individual to kill their lover. Given the complexity of the London dataset as well as the corroborative findings of other contemporary studies (Bourget & Gagné, 2012; Weizmann-Henelius et al., 2012), the London results do not appear to rigidly conform to either theoretical standpoint. The results certainly provide more qualified support to the evolutionary

rather than the feminist perspective. However it is clear that neither appear entirely satisfactory explanations when accounting for the London dynamic.

There is a growing awareness within psychology of the benefit of a trans-disciplinary approach to understanding homicide (Corzine, 2011; R. E. Dobash & Dobash, 2012).

“Although travel across academic disciplines, domains and languages definitely requires time and tolerance, it simultaneously offers the prospect of expanding theoretical insights and empirical knowledge.” (Dobash & Dobash, 2012, p.8)

Whilst ideological differences exist between feminism and evolutionary theorists there are considerable areas of overlap regarding the influence of power, control, roles, responsibilities and relationship dynamics between both disciplines. A more collaborative approach expanding the role of women’s use of non-abuse based reactive violence and the importance of situational factors for both men and women offers a greater opportunity to enhance our understanding as to why and how love transforms into lethal violence.

7.6 Methodological Issues

Conducting any research using real world data is often problematical as, unlike laboratory research, it does not necessarily lend itself to scientific expectations or statistical assumptions. The idiosyncrasies of such data when conducting homicide research can be particularly problematical and has been commented upon by a number of researchers. Issues vary from access to comprehensive data sources to a dependence on the accuracy and opinions of the legal and state services in their compilation (J. C. Campbell et al., 2007; Cazenave & Zahn, 1992; Gregory, 2011; McCall & Nieuwbeerta, 2007; Stöckl, et al., 2013; Websdale, 1999).

In conducting their research in relation to female homicide perpetration and male dominance, Cazenave & Zahn (1992) suggest homicide studies are generally limited since,

“the reader’s understanding of the acts is limited to second hand and distorted perceptions of police and researchers who attempt to reconstruct the act.” (p.88)

The issues encountered in relation to this research have been alluded to throughout but will now be detailed more thoroughly. They relate to case identification and database collation, data access, reliability, completeness, interpretation and the effect of sample size.

As indicated in Sections 4.3 and 4.6, identifying the relevant cases and subsequently gaining access to the case files and HOLMES2 accounts proved problematic. It has only been since 2006 that the MPS employed systems to easily identify relationship state in its homicide indexing. This study intended to utilise CRIMESEC7A forms which in theory should have provided an indication as to the relationship between suspects and victims but they did not prove entirely accurate. This appears to be due to subjectivity in completing the forms and a lack of uniformity in their submission. To this end, to ensure all the relevant cases were identified, all 1915 homicide allegations reported during the research time parameters were scoped for relevance. The researcher conducted this exercise twice to ensure that all the potential cases were identified, assessed and included within the finalised dataset.

Once identified, the researcher was able to gain access to all the required case material as, by virtue of their position of employment as a MPS SIO, they had the necessary security vetting and also the authorisation of the data holder. However this research must be viewed from the perspective that the researcher is the only person who

has had complete access to the full case material upon which the analysis has been completed. Although the statistical analysis has been checked for accuracy by the researcher's PhD supervisor, the material which populated the statistical analysis has not been blind checked or peer reviewed due to the unavailability of another researcher with the necessary vetting qualifications and time available to complete any form of quality assurance.

An attempt to rectify this position and ensure the veracity of the data was conducted through an inter-rating process. However due to the continual issues of security and access to the material, the inter-rater was only afforded access to case summaries rather than full material. This was blind tested for comparative scoring of suspect motive which was the only variable which required any independent interpretation. The Cohen kappa score of 0.657 suggests a reliable degree of fit between the inter-rater's and the researcher's assessment of suspect motivation. Thus the inter-rating does provide an assurance as to the reliability of the research data where motive is concerned.

Whilst lack of a quality assurance regime is a caveat that these results should be viewed under, such difficulties are routinely encountered when conducting research of this nature. The reliability of these results can be supported to a significant extent through the corroboration provided by similar findings of other contemporary studies. The results presented here echo other projects conducted by for example, Belfrage & Rying, 2004; Bourget & Gagné, 2012; Gregory, 2012; Weizmann-Henelius et al., 2012 particularly in terms of alcohol use, employment, age differentials, homicide/suicide and the presence of non-abusive relationships within intimate partner homicides.

In terms of reliability and completeness of the material, it must be remembered that all the cases selected have been through the rigours of the English judicial process. The facts have been presented before a court and thus much of the detail would have been scrupulously checked for accuracy as it underwent the trial process. Whilst the researcher accepts that data is always prone to human error and inputting mistakes as it entered the cases files or HOLMES2 account and indeed the research database, where possible all data was cross checked to ensure its accuracy and integrity.

There were issues in relation to the completeness of case information to allow for a meaningful cross comparison of data at both case and individual variable level. Whilst demographic data was available for all cases, information for a number of other variables such as mental health, details of a victim's previous conviction, suspect intoxication and relationship antecedence were not routinely available for all cases. Where data regarding a particular variable was missing within a case file it was scored as 'missing' within the SPSS dataset and taken into account during the subsequent statistical analysis and highlighted during the narrative result reporting.

These missing or incomplete variables would have proved useful to the researcher in obtaining a wider understanding of the homicide dynamic. For instance the researcher was unable to ascertain details of the victim's previous convictions if they were not listed in the case file due to Data Protection Act restrictions. Given that the presence of a previous conviction by the victim was significantly associated with female perpetrators, further assessment as to the nature of those previous convictions would have enhanced the understanding of that particular gender association.

Similar issues applied to ascertaining the level of a suspect's intoxication either through drink and/or drugs at the time of the offence. This would have been a useful

indicator for analysis given that intoxication was the highest ranking combined motivational element. However, as stated in Section 4.4.2, this information is impossible to obtain unless samples are taken within hours of the offence.

A further methodological issue related to the measurement of previous relationship abuse. Given its pivotal role in prevailing theory accurately ascertaining the presence and level of relationship abuse was a key element of this study. As explained in Section 4.4.3, a wide definition was employed to ensure all relevant data was captured from police and emergency service reports to family and neighbour accounts. The results identified that 47% of relationships had no previous abusive history. As stated earlier this percentage level was unexpected given previous research findings and was of crucial significance when testing such theories. The researcher was only able to base judgements and findings on material within the case files. Domestic abuse can be a very private offence and whilst incidents may not have been reported that doesn't necessarily mean that they did happen. But there is also the dilemma it doesn't necessarily mean that they did happen either. Thus the researcher has been reliant on the professionalism of the murder investigation teams in ensuring such lines of enquiry were pursued at the time and if there was any information regarding previous abuse, however tenuous, it would have been included within the case file.

The final methodological issue encountered was that of data interpretation. The method by which motivational elements were established has already been articulated through an explanation of the coding and inter-rating reliability processes. However other than the demographic information, all the other variables have been interpreted either directly or indirectly by the researcher from material, statements, officer reports and interviews within the case files and formatted to populate the research database. How each variable was conceptualised and measured has been explained in Section

4.4.1 to 4.4.5. The reliability of this process is enhanced by the fact that the researcher is a SIO and is nationally accredited to Professional Investigator Programme (PIP) Level 3 by the National Policing Improvement Agency. The researcher has been trained to assess and review such evidence within complex investigations. In addition the researcher had been operationally involved in a number of the investigations through either being present at the crime scene itself, the post-mortem or suspect interview and thus had a unique insight of the nature of the offence which is rarely available to researchers within this field. This familiarity with the investigative and evidential process enhances the reliability and credibility of the dataset

Whilst 207 cases is the largest ever dataset analysis of intimate partner homicides conducted within London, all the subsequent results and interpretations must be regarded in the light that this actually it is a relatively small number. It is therefore subject to the influence of overall effect size (Dancey & Reidy, 2008; Field, 2009). When analysing the categories in the both the chi-square and logistic regression phases some categories did not reach above five cases. Therefore a result of ‘non-significant’ does not always imply that the variable itself is not an important element but simply it did not necessarily the necessary statistical threshold in this case.

In summary there were a number of methodological issues encountered. However researching homicide of whatever nature cannot be conducted without encountering such issues. Where they have occurred, they have been clearly identified within the research and where possible measures to alleviate their influence were put in place. Intractable issues have been highlighted and the findings should therefore be viewed under the relevant provisos.

7.7 Future Research

This study has researched the dynamics in operation within a series of intimate partner homicides which were committed within London over an eleven year time span. With privileged access to data, this is the first time such an in-depth exploration into the London offences has taken place using the original case material. What it has proved in essence is that there is an extremely complex set of people, circumstances and emotions bound within these offences. London's domestic violence homicide profile did not easily fall within the traditionally assigned roles of male domination and aggression and female reactive self-defence. Whilst this was an element, it did not paint the entire landscape of London homicides. Men and women also killed each other for money, to prevent suffering, to gain their freedom, during sex and because they were drunk. The data relates to the real loves and lives of the people which should never be subsumed within spread-sheets or results tables.

Whilst providing corroboration for the findings of other similar studies,(Belfrage & Rying, 2004; Bourget & Gagné, 2012; Weizmann-Henelius et al., 2012), this research has gone a stage further in applying its results to test the dominant theoretical schools in assessing whether there was support for either the feminist criminological or the evolutionary psychological positions. What this research suggests is that there is mixed support for both concepts and a progressive way forward would be for continued combined 'trans-disciplinary' research such as that of Dobash & Dobash (2012), which offers a positive way forward in developing our understanding. It also highlights the important of measuring the couples' contextual dynamics as well as simply examining individual victim or perpetrator variables as a platform to gain a greater understating of the homicide transaction.

Other than such theoretical developments, the results of this study also indicate that our understanding of current trends within intimate partner homicide would benefit from research in four strategic areas: intoxication especially in relation to alcohol use, teenage relationship violence, examination of those relationships where there was no history of antecedent abuse and the applicability of current risk assessment tools, and finally attrition rates of abuse allegations in those relationships where violence was experienced.

1. Intoxication

Alcohol intoxication was the highest ranked motivational element when the London intimate partner homicides are considered in total. There was also a positive association between male victims being drunk and their partners killing them. Whether this was due to precipitating acts of the victim himself or the heightened arousal of his partner, alcohol use, both at the time of the offence and historically within the relationship, is clearly a significant dynamic within domestic homicide requiring a more in-depth analysis and further incorporation into risk management tools.

2. Teenage Relationship Violence

Age differentials between couples also proved to be a key risk factor for young women. Whilst less than 5% of the homicide offences related to teenagers, teenage relationship violence is widely underreported. Although research at this stage is limited it has been described as a “significant public health problem” (Hamby & Turner, 2012). Due to the rise in awareness and concern that patterns of violence experienced within teenage relationships often continue into adulthood, in September 2012 the Home Office announced that the definition of domestic violence would include 16-17 year

olds.⁵⁸ Relationship pathways learnt in adolescence can frame future adult relationship boundaries. Substantive research within this area is currently limited (Hambry & Turner 2012) and research regarding the current trends and levels of teenage relationship violence is required to inform suitable educational prevention and diversion programmes to prevent youth relationship violence escalating to homicide. A programme within the MPS mapping and tracking teenage relationship violence has now been introduced as a direct result of this research.

3. Unpredictable Homicides & Risk Assessment

If nothing else, this research indicates that the position of female homicide perpetration is considerably more complex than previous studies suggest. Whilst female offending is generally seated in response to male violence against them, this violence is not always in the context of on-going coercive control tactics. This concept equally applies to male offending. Whilst much of it is in relation to male sexual proprietariness and the need for control over their partner's behaviour, there are also significant levels of offences which did not take place within this context. Homicides perpetrated by men and women with no history of previous abuse were not predictable and thus potentially not preventable. They occurred within circumstances which seemingly did not conform to either feminist or evolutionary theory. These circumstances render police investigations into the offence very difficult in terms of identifying motive and underlying relationship dynamics. There is very limited research regarding these non-abuse based murders from which investigators can draw on in order to advance their understanding of the psychology of this variant of the offence. Further in-depth research into this cohort of homicides identifying prevention indicators, would be of use to SIOs in terms of benchmarking potential motives and forming investigative strategies.

⁵⁸ Home Office, 'Definition of domestic violence and abuse', accessed 3rd March 2013 (<http://www.homeoffice.gov.uk/crime/violence-against-women-girls/domestic-violence>)

At present the MPS's risk assessment tool is based on factors of Separation, Pregnancy, Escalation, Cultural Issues, Sensitivity, Stalking and Sexual Assault. This is known as the SPECSS model. Since 2009 the MPS as well as a number of other police forces nationally have also employed the Domestic Abuse, Stalking, Harassment and Honour Based Violence (DASH) risk assessment model. This is a victim based questionnaire which focuses on the current situation, relationship history, presence of children and the abusers antecedence. What is of note is that the significance of age, employment, infidelity and intoxication identified in this research are not areas of focus within the tools currently in use. It is weighted to address those relationships which have coercive antecedent abuse. It would therefore be of benefit to review the DASH tool within the light of these findings to establish whether its utility can be improved.

4. Case Attrition

Finally there is the cohort of homicides which did as theory predicts, take place within the regime of on-going relationship abuse. What is of concern however is the majority of women who, whilst alleging offences would not substantiate them. Despite significant investment by the MPS, HM Court Service and the Crown Prosecution Service in encouraging reporting and prosecution of offences victims appear unwilling to substantiate allegations and attrition rates are of concern. Nationally, 1 in 3 domestic violence related prosecutions failed due to victim's retracting their evidence.⁵⁹ Within the dataset of those cases where there was an indication of relationship abuse history only 15% of female victims formally substantiated any allegations.

Since April 2011 under Section 9 of the Domestic Violence Crime and Victims Act 2004, in England and Wales, domestic violence homicide reviews are now

⁵⁹Crown Prosecution Service, 'Violence against Women and Girls Crime Report 2010 – 2011' accessed 17th February 2013(www.cps.gov.uk/publications/docs/CPS_VAW_report_2011)

mandatory where a person has been killed as a result of domestic violence. A primary aim of such reviews is to identify any statutory public sector failings and ensure lessons are learned. Case attrition and managing victim's safety outside the criminal justice process are often areas within the researcher's experience which arise during the review process. Whilst accepting the criminal justice is not always the most appropriate course of protective action for relationships, measures to deal with the high levels of case attrition have been introduced such as the use of victimless prosecutions where, on provision of additional evidence such as photographs, witness statements or attending police officer evidence, the victim is not required to attend the criminal trial.

Legislation has also progressed with regards to the contextualisation of domestic homicide under the provisions of the Coroners & Justice Act 2009 as identified in Section 1.2.5. However questions must be asked regarding the current utility of support services and risk assessment tools given the continued lack of decline in London's domestic homicide rates. The reasons why many victims did not pursue allegations and what can be done to support them both within and outside the criminal justice process is another key area requiring future research.

7.8 Conclusion

On the 29th July 2001 in South London, a 45 year old woman beat her 35 year old boyfriend to death using a crutch and broom handle. At the time of his death he was six times over the drink drive limit. He sustained over 80 injuries to his body. Later that same day, 7 miles away a 43 year old man walked into a South London hospital carrying his wife's lifeless body. He had manually strangled her as he believed she was about to leave him.

This thesis has attempted to gain an insight into the dynamics of such intimate partner homicides and establish, as suggested by the events of the 29th July 2001 and 31

October 2003, whether men and women kill their partners differently. The answer is not unfortunately as simplistic as the question. Both men and women kill their lovers for a host of reasons from the banal to the malevolent. There are both similarities and differences in offence, relationship and demographic characteristics which make theoretical generalisations or the application of stereotypes regarding this crime type unhelpful. What is apparent is that domestic violence homicides are a distinctive set of murders which cannot adequately explained as an add-on to general homicide theory. Nor it seems are the prevailing feminist or evolutionary explanations entirely satisfactory.

Situational analysis of homicide is not a new concept, however using context to understand intimate partner murder beyond the myopic focus of antecedent relationship violence as a viable and important tool to further understanding what makes partner kill one another. What this thesis has shown is that whilst victim and suspect characteristics at an individual level are critical, it is the importance of the couple's relationship itself as well as the homicide situation which set these murders apart from other groups of homicides. Whether murders was caused by stabbing, strangulation, hitting with a broom handle or being run over by a Mercedes, victims and suspects at some point loved, lusted or at least cared for one another. This research identifies that domestic homicide is not singularly seated within violent relationships, nor it is the inevitable result of those that are. Whilst an important element, these killings can also range from unpredictable, unintended, deliberate and malign. It is the situational paradox of love and lethal violence in time and space which defines intimate partner homicide and is also the key to understanding them.

Appendices

Appendix A: Homicide Defences

1. Partial defences to murder:

In addition to provocation and diminished responsibility suicide pact reduces the offence of murder to voluntary manslaughter.

Suicide Pact

Suicide Pact is classified under section 4(3) Homicide Act 1957 and is a common agreement willingly entered into and where death of all parties is the objective. If however a pact member survives due to intervention of another or simply circumstance, but has killed another in pursuance of the agreement, they are not deemed to have the requisite murderous intent and therefore are liable only for the offence of manslaughter.

2. General Defences to homicide offences:

In addition to self-defence there following are available defences to murder and manslaughter offences.

i. Age

The Children & Young Persons Act 1933 legislates that no child under 10 years can be guilty of any offence.

ii. Insanity

As described earlier under the M'Naughton rules, to be eligible for this defence a person must show that, due to a mental defect, they did not know what they were doing or if they did, they did not know it was wrong.

iii. Use of force in the prevention of crime

Murder and manslaughter offences can be legally justified if subjective reasonable force was used to prevent a crime, or in the lawful arrest or apprehension of an offender. Again the force or murderous act would need to be proportionate to the crime being committed.

iv. Mistake of fact

Where the defendant has a genuine but mistaken belief as to a fact this can negate the specific intent to kill or cause grievous harm that is required for murder.

v. Intoxication

The effects of intoxication through either alcohol or drugs may have an impact on a defendant's ability to form the requisite intent to kill or injure. This defence however is not open to offences of manslaughter which do not require murderous intent.

vi. Necessity

This generally applies to medical professionals in circumstances whereby procedures are carried out to accelerate death if the purpose is either to relieve pain or save the life of another.⁶⁰

⁶⁰ Often included in the definition is that concept of duress however, whilst a general criminal defence, it is not a defence to murder.

Appendix B: Examples of Motivational Elements Coding

1. Intoxication

Case *F24* related to a 51 year old male victim was killed by his 29 year old girlfriend. The victim's post-mortem blood analysis was 346mg per 100ml of blood, nine times over the legal drink-drive limit. Under these circumstances alcohol was determined to be present as a motivational element in the commission of the offence and coded as such. However, in case *MI36* where a 30 year old male committed suicide in prison awaiting trial for the murder of his 34 year old girlfriend, there was anecdotal information that both were drug abusers. Thus whilst there may be suspicions about the influence of drugs, as there was no toxicological evidence (either from post-mortem as her remains have yet to be discovered, or from him as he was arrested post offence) which would definitely support that controlled drug use was a motivational feature of this offence and so this offence was not coded as motivated by intoxication.

2. Argument

Case *M35* related to a 44 year old male who had a brief sexual relationship with a 20 year old female colleague. The relationship ended amicably and the pair would occasionally spend time together and have sex but did not resume their relationship. Having spent the day together they returned to his flat where they quarrelled as she wanted to return home and not spend the night with him. He manually strangled her, wrapped her body in plastic sheeting and hid it under his bed. Her body was not found until six days later when police, who were investigating the missing person report lodged by her family, executed a search warrant at his address. In this case argument was coded as a motivational element present in the chronology of the offence. However in Case *M61* where a 25 year old woman was repeatedly struck over the head with a

table lamp and a bottle by her 36 year old ex-boyfriend, although there was evidence of a disturbance as the assault took place this was not coded as argument being a motivational element as there was evidence to suggest it was the victim's unfaithfulness which provoked the attack.

3. Self-defence/Provocation

Case F6 was a clear example of self-defence within a domestic abuse background. A 41 year old man was stabbed 7 times by his 31 year old girlfriend. The couple had been in a relationship for 10 months and during that time he had been violent towards her on a number of occasions. On the evening of his death the male was intoxicated registering nine times over the drink-drive limit. He went to attack his girlfriend who, fearing for her safety stabbed him repeatedly with a breadknife. She pleaded guilty to manslaughter. However in Case F19 a 19 year old woman who had been in a relationship with her 35 year old boyfriend of 3 years stabbed him 18 times. There was no precursor violence alleged during their relationship however at trial she claimed she was motivated self-defence. She was found guilty of his murder and sentenced to 6 years.

4. Infidelity

Examples of infidelity coding included Case M62 where a 37 year old male, believing his 36 old wife and mother to his four children was having an affair, began taping her phone calls. Although there was no evidence that she was unfaithful, he was convinced that she was and hit her multiple times over the head with a dumb bell before strangling her. Although there is no evidence that she was unfaithful it was coded YES within the data set as it may have been a motivating element in commission of the offence.

In Case F14 a 28 year old man was stabbed by his 27 year old wife. There was witness evidence that she had been having an affair and did not want to remain married to her husband but did not want to shame her family by seeking a divorce. Evidence for this variable codification was taken from telephone data records, CCTV, intelligence material and witness statements. Perpetrator interviews and evidence on oath as well as material produced during the police investigation and judicial proceedings were also considered.

5. Separation

Case M41 related to a 33 year old man who repeatedly hit his 35 year old wife, who wanted to end the relationship, about the head and body with a claw hammer. She died of head injuries having suffered severe skull fractures and brain lacerations as well as multiple bruising to her head, face and arms. The male stated in police interview, "*She was going to leave me and I could not let that happen.*"

6. Finance

Some offences presented evidence the murder may have taken place for instrumental gain. In Case M25 where a 33 year old woman was stabbed over 100 times with a screwdriver and knife by her 35 year old husband. They had been together for 15 years and had 2 children. He was unable to fund their lifestyle or sustain employment. He had taken out a substantial life insurance policy on his wife and had pre-planned her murder making a 'to do' list of actions on a computer pocket organiser.

An example of loss prevention is Case M100 where a 55 year old male was convicted of murdering his 40 year old wife. There was evidence to suggest that having lost substantial assets in divorcing his first wife he was concerned that the same would happen again if his current wife left him as she had threatened to do. He did not want to

be financially responsible for her or their thirteen month old daughter. He killed her to prevent this financial loss. He was convicted of her murder although her remains have never been discovered.

7. Mercy Killings

Case M158 related to a 74 year old man suffocated his 78 year old wife with a pillow. They had been married 44 years, but she was suffering from motor neurone disease. He pleaded guilty to her manslaughter mitigating his offence in that as her carer he could not continue to see her suffering and in pain. In similar circumstances Case F22 related to a 53 year old wife who killed her 67 year old husband with a single stab wound. She had been married to him for 20 years and was his carer but again as his health failed she killed him, pleading guilty to his manslaughter.

8. Mental Health

An example of a mental health motivation coding is Case F26 where a 55 year old man was stabbed 12 times in his shoulder, chest and back as slept. His 49 year old girlfriend who he had been together with for two years was suffering from a personality disorder and depression when she killed him. Case F20 is that of a 42 year old woman suffering from a 'psychotic illness'. She killed her 45 year old estranged husband by stabbing him over 50 times with a kitchen knife and causing multiple bruising to his body by hitting him with a hammer. She was sentenced to a Hospital and Restriction Order under the Mental Health Act provisions.

9. Sexual Motivations

Case M91 related to a 25 year old man who killed his 31 year old girlfriend through sexual activity. She died of multiple lacerations to her vagina, anus and intestines when

her boyfriend inserted a golf umbrella into her during intercourse. He was later convicted of her manslaughter. Case M79 again presents similar circumstances where a 24 year old female was killed by her 35 year old boyfriend when during intercourse he penetrated her with his fist and an unidentified 10cm long object. She died of multiple injuries to her anus, rectum and vagina. Both of these cases were coded as containing sexual motivational elements in the commission of the offence.

10. Other

Examples included Case F27 which related to a 42 year old woman killed her former lover and injured his fiancée. She poisoned them, deliberately hiding an organophosphate in their food, as she was extremely jealous of their relationship. He had refused to marry her and shortly after their relationship ended he became engaged to his new girlfriend.

Another example of the ‘other’ category is case M76 where a 27 year old male strangled his 32year old girlfriend with a telephone cable. From suspect evidence and witness statements it appeared that the victim had lied to the suspect about her being pregnant with his child. Thus the motivational element appears to be a pregnancy related issued and thus this was coded as ‘other’ within the dataset.

A final example to assist in the contextualisation of the category is Case M63 where a 28 year old male manually strangled his 27year old wife. He then put her remains in a suitcase and dumped it in the River Thames. From witness evidence from the victim’s family, friends and co-workers it appears that her husband and his family did not approve of her lifestyle choices or failure to conform to cultural marital expectations. Thus ‘honour based’ issues were determined from the evidence to be a motivational element and this was coded as ‘other’ within the dataset.

Appendix C: Inter-Rating Score Sheet Summary

OPERATION CODE	INTOXICATION	ARGUMENT	SELF-DEFENCE/PROVOCATION	INFIDELITY	SEPERATION	FINANCE	MERCY	MENTAL HEALTH	SEXUAL	CHILDREN/JEALOUSY/OTHER	INTER-RATING RESULTS	% AGREED	% DISAGREED
F2	2	2 1	2	2	1 1	2	2	2 1	2	2	1 of 3	33	67
F5	1 1	1 1	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2 of 2	100	0
F14	2	2	2	1 1	2	2	2	2	2	1 1	2 of 2	100	0
F17	1	2 1	1 1	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2 of 3	67	33
F20	2	2	2	2	1 1	2 1	2	1 1	2	2	2 of 3	67	33
F27	2	2	2	2 1	1	2	2	2	2	1 1	1 of 3	33	67
M11	1 1	2	2	2	2	2	2	1 1	1 1	2	3 of 3	100	0
M22	1	2 1	2	2	1 1	2	2	2	2	2	1 of 3	33	67
M30	1 1	2	2	1 1	1 1	2	2	2	2	2	3 of 3	100	0
M53	1 1	1	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	1 of 2	50	50
M59	1	2	2	1 1	2 1	2	2	2	2	2	1 of 3	33	67
M60	1	2	2	1 1	2	2	2	2	2	2	1 of 2	50	50
M61	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	1 1	1 of 1	100	0
M78	2	2	2	1 1	2	2	2	1 1	2	2 1	2 of 3	67	33
M79	1	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	1 1	2	1 of 2	50	50
M83	2	2	2	1 1	2	1 1	2	2	2	2	2 of 2	100	0
M86	1 1	2 1	2	1 1	1	2	2	2	2	2	2 of 4	50	50
M96	1 1	2 1	2	1	1 1	2	2	2	2	2 1	2 of 5	20	80
M102	2	2 1	2	1	2	2	2	1 1	2	2 1	2 of 4	50	50
M104	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	1 1	2	2	1 of 1	100	0
M111	2	2	2	2	1 1	2	2	2 1	2 1	2 1	1 of 4	25	75
M114	1 1	2	2	2	1 1	2	2	2	2	2	2 of 2	100	0
M136	2 1	2	2	1 1	2	2	2	2	2	2	1 of 2	50	50
M150	2	2	2	2	1 1	2	2	2	2	2	1 of 1	100	0
KEY											TOTAL	64.5	35.5
Additional Variable Scored													
Full Concordance													
Non Concordance													
1 = present													
2 = not present													
1st number researcher score 2nd Number Inter-rater score													

Appendix D: Referencing letter to Senior Investigating Officers



SCD1 - Homicide and Serious Crime Command

MIT17
Hertford House
Hertford Road
Barking
IG11 8HW
Telephone

www.met.police.uk

10 November 2008

Dear

I am currently conducting research towards an M.Phil at the University of Leicester regarding gender differences in the commission of intimate partner homicide. The object of which will be to establish useful new learning that could then be applied to the investigation of domestic murders.

This research is being funded by the NPIA and has been endorsed by Commander Foy and is supported by A/DCS Sweeney. I have been granted permission to have access to the HOLMES archive and live accounts for domestic murders within the MPS since 1998.

I am writing out of courtesy to inform you that this research may therefore include investigations conducted by yourself and your team. I wish to reassure you that proper care will be taken to ensure that the investigation will not be comprised in any way and no specific reference will be made that identifies any case without further negotiation direct with the OIC.

I would be happy to discuss any objections regarding the inclusion of a particular case or the research in general.

Kind Regards

Jacqueline Sebire (Detective Inspector, Team 17 SCD1)



RESEARCH ETHICS REVIEW

Section I: Project Details

1. Project title:	An Analysis of Gender and Domestic Homicide
Statement of Research Purpose	To analyse whether there is a gender difference in how and why heterosexual partners kill each other.
Project Aims/ Research questions:	<p>To review the murder investigation files held by Metropolitan Police between for domestic violence homicides between 1998 - 2009. To identify demographic characteristics for victims and suspects as well as relationship and offence characteristics. Statistical tests of association will then be conducted to establish if there is any relation between gender and these individual characters. Should any significant association be identified, binary logistic regression will then be utilised to identify any gender specific predictor variables. These will then be used to establish if they offer any support to the prevailing theories associated with the causes of domestic homicide. It is hoped that this study will increase understanding of the issue to assist in the development of prevention and investigation strategies.</p>

Proposed methods:	As detailed above
Method of recruiting research participants	<p>I am currently a serving police officer and a nationally accredited Senior Investigating Officer on the Homicide Command of the Metropolitan Police Service. I am vetted to have access to police service data. This study has been sponsored by the Home Office. My privileged and exclusive access to the murder case files has been approved by the Commander from the Metropolitan Police and Association of Chief Police Officer - Homicide Working Group. It have been reviewed and approved by the Strategy Research Directorate of the Metropolitan Police Service. The cases concern all domestic violence homicides classified in the Metropolitan Police District between 1998 - 2009. All the relevant Senior Investigating officers were written to asking if they had any objection to my access to their case files. For the purposes of the research and to comply with data protection all cases have been anonymised. All original material remains within Police building and/or within HOLMES 2 database.</p>
Criteria for selecting research participants	<p>Over 1900 homicide offences were reviewed, from this over 240 were classified a 'domestic'. Homosexual couples were excluded due to small number. All not guilty judicial outcomes were excluded leaving a working data set of 207 offences, 34 committed by female suspects and 173 by male</p>

	suspects.
Estimated number of Participants	207 cases
Estimated start date	01/04/2012
Estimated end date	30/04/2014
Will the study involve recruitment of participants from outside the UK?	If yes, please indicate from which country(s). No

Section II: Applicant Details

2. Name of researchers (applicant):	a) JACQUELINE SEBIRE
2b. Department:	Psychology
3. Status:	Postgraduate Research
4. Email addresses:	XXXXXXXXXX
5a. Contact addresses:	a)XXXXXXXXXX
5b. Telephone numbers	a)XXXXXXXXXXXX

Section III: For Students Only

6. Module name and number or MA/MPhil/PhD course and department:	Psychology Research PhD
7. Module leader's/Supervisor's name:	Dr Julian Boon
8. Email address:	XXXXXXXXXXXX
9. Contact address:	Psychology Department New Walk University of Leicester

Section IV: All Research Applicants

Please outline below whether or not your research raises any particular ethical issues and how you plan to address these issues.

The data set involves real world case material collected during homicide investigations namely police statements, photographs, medical reports, forensic analysis and trial material. It is contained within the HOLMES 2 police database or within a paper case file. This material contains personal information which is protected under Data Protection Act Regulations. Any unauthorised disclosure identifying details of the individuals or the offence which has not been subject to public reporting at trial would be inappropriate and unethical. As detailed above I am vetted to this appropriate level to have privileged access to this exclusive material. I have been granted approval by the Commander of the Homicide & Serious Crime Command and member of the ACPO Homicide Working Group to have access to this material. This research has been part sponsored by the Home Office. All original case material remains within police

premises. It was been anonymised for the purposes of research. All data has been encrypted and password protected to prevent any unauthorised access. All relevant Senior Investigating officers were written to with the research purpose and proposals and asked whether any had any objections to the material being included. No objections have been received. It must be highlighted that such detailed access to this material has rarely been granted. This particular data set has never been analysed before and therefore this research is unique. Given that the data actually involved the investigation into the loss of life it will be treated with respect and reverence.

Are you using a Participant Information and Informed Consent Form?

If YES, please paste copy form at the end of this application. NO

Have you considered the risks associate with this project? YES

Now proceed to the Research Ethics Checklist..... Section V

Section V: Research Ethics Checklist

Please answer each question by ticking the appropriate box: YES NO

Does the study involve participants who are particularly vulnerable or unable to give informed consent? (e.g. children, people with learning disabilities, your own students).	YES
Will the study require the co-operation of a gatekeeper for initial access to the groups or individuals to be recruited? (e.g. students at school, members of self-help group, residents of nursing home).	YES
Will it be necessary for participants to take part in the study without their knowledge and consent at the time? (e.g. covert observation of people in non-public places).	YES

Will the study involve discussion of sensitive topics (e.g. sexual activity, drug use)?	YES
Are drugs, placebos or other substances (e.g. food substances, vitamins) to be administered to the study participants or will the study involve invasive, intrusive or potentially harmful procedures of any kind?	NO
Will blood or tissue samples be obtained from participants?	NO
Is pain or more than mild discomfort likely to result from the study?	NO
Could the study induce psychological stress or anxiety or cause harm or negative consequences beyond the risks encountered in normal life?	NO
Will the study involve prolonged or repetitive testing?	NO
Will financial inducements (other than reasonable expenses and compensation for time) be offered to participants?	NO
Will the study involve recruitment of patients or staff through the NHS?	NO
Does this research entail beyond minimal risk of disturbance to the environment) If yes, please explain how you will minimize this risk under section IV above).	NO
Have you gained the appropriate permissions to carry out this research (to obtain data, access to sites etc.)?	YES
Measures have been taken to ensure confidentiality, privacy and data protection where appropriate.	YES

If you have answered 'yes' to any of the questions 1-12 or 'no' to questions 13-14, please return to section IV. All Research Applicants' and ensure that you have described in detail how you plan to deal with the ethical issues raised by your research. This does not mean that you cannot do the research only that your proposal raises significant ethical issues which will need careful consideration and formal approval by the Department's Research Ethics Officer **prior to you commencing your research**. If you answered 'yes' to question 11, you will also have to submit an application to the appropriate external health authority ethics committee. Any significant change in the question, design or conduct over the course of the research should be notified to the Module Tutor and may require a new application for ethics approval.

Declaration

Please note any significant change in the question, design or conduct over the course of the research should be notified to the Departmental Ethics Officer and may require a new application for ethics approval.

I have read the University of Leicester Code of Research Ethics. - YES

The information in the form is accurate to the best of my knowledge and belief and I take full responsibility for it. - YES

I understand that all conditions apply to any co-applicants and researchers involved in the study, and it is my responsibility to ensure they abide by them. – YES

To: JACQUELINE SEBIRE

Subject: Ethical Application Ref: **jas82-f160**

(Please quote this ref on all correspondence)

03/05/2012 11:08:21

Psychology

Project Title: **An Analysis of Gender and Domestic Homicide**

Thank you for submitting your application which has been considered.

This study has been given ethical approval, subject to any conditions quoted in the attached notes.

Any significant departure from the programme of research as outlined in the application for research ethics approval (such as changes in methodological approach, large delays in commencement of research, additional forms of data collection or major expansions in sample size) must be reported to your Departmental Research Ethics Officer.

Approval is given on the understanding that the University Research Ethics Code of Practice and other research ethics guidelines and protocols will be compiled with

<http://www2.le.ac.uk/institution/committees/research-ethics/code-of-practice>

<http://www.le.ac.uk/safety/>

The following is a record of correspondence notes from your application **jas82-f160**. Please ensure that any proviso notes have been adhered to:-

--- END OF NOTES ---

Appendix F: Dataset - Ethic Origin Profile

Ethnic origin was coded according the Police Identification Code (IC) format. This is based on an officer perceived view of an individual's ethnicity based on a visual assessment. Due to the sample size for analytical purposes the Asian, Oriental and Arab group were collapsed into on unit. Table F.1 contains the ethnic profile of dataset.

White – White person, northern European type, Mediterranean or European/Hispanic

Black – African/Afro-Caribbean

Asian – Indian, Pakistani, Nepalese, Maldivian, Sri Lankan, Bangladeshi, or any other (South) Asian

Oriental – Chinese, Japanese, or South-East Asian

Arabic – Middle Eastern

Table F.1 Ethnic Profile

	White	Black	Asian	Oriental	Arabic
Victim Male	21	8	5	0	0
Victim Female	110	35	26	2	0
Perpetrator Male	103	43	25	1	1
Perpetrator Female	19	9	6	0	0

Appendix G: Female Perpetrator – Couple Concordance

Operation Code	Victim (F) Age	Perpetrator (F) Age	Victim (M) Ethnicity	Perpetrator (F) Ethnicity	Victim (M) Economic status	Perpetrator Economic status	Victim (M) Mental Health	Perpetrator (F) Mental Health	Victim (M) Criminal Conviction	Perpetrator (F) Criminal Conviction	Relationship Classification	Relationship Status	Co Habitation	Relationship Length	Children Together	Children separate	Domestic Abuse Antecedence
F1	32	33	W	W	U/E	U/E	N	N	N	N/K	G/B	S	N	MT	N	N	Y
F2	39	34	W	W	E	E	N	N	N	N	G/B	T	Y	ST	N	N	N
F3	48	42	W	W	N/K	E	N	N	N	N	G/B	S	N	N/K	N	N/K	N/K
F4	26	20	B	W	U/E	U/E	N	N	Y	Y	G/B	T	Y	ST	N	Y	Y
F5	50	39	W	W	E	U/E	N	N	Y	N	M	T	Y	ST	N	Y	N
F6	41	31	W	B	U/E	U/E	N	N	Y	Y	G/B	T	N	ST	N	Y	Y
F7	35	19	B	B	U/E	E	N	N	Y	Y	G/B	T	Y	MT	N	Y	N
F8	65	18	B	W	U/E	U/E	Y	Y	N/K	Y	G/B	T	Y	ST	N	N	N
F9	36	45	W	W	U/E	U/E	Y	Y	N	N	G/B	T	Y	MT	N	Y	Y
F10	29	31	W	B	E	U/E	N	N	Y	Y	M	T	Y	LT	Y	Y	Y
F11	43	40	W	B	U/E	U/E	N	N	Y	N	G/B	T	N	ST	N	N	Y
F12	41	29	W	W	E	U/E	N	N	Y	N	M	S	N	LT	Y	Y	Y
F13	37	33	A	A	E	U/E	Y	Y	N	N	M	T	Y	LT	Y	N	Y
F14	28	27	A	A	E	E	N	N	N	N	M	T	Y	ST	N	N	N
F15	27	24	B	B	E	U/E	N	Y	Y	Y	G/B	S	N	MT	N	N	N
F16	40	34	A	A	U/E	E	N	N	N	N	G/B	T	N	ST	N	Y	N
F17	40	42	W	W	U/E	U/E	N	N	Y	Y	G/B	T	N	ST	N	Y	Y
F18	35	32	W	W	U/E	U/E	N	Y	N	N	G/B	T	Y	ST	N	Y	N
F19	27	27	B	W	E	U/E	N	N	N	N	M	T	Y	LT	Y	Y	Y
F20	45	42	W	A	E	U/E	N	Y	N	N	M	S	Y	LT	Y	N	N
F21	34	35	W	B	U/E	U/E	N	Y	Y	Y	G/B	T	Y	MT	Y	Y	Y
F22	67	53	W	W	RET	E	N	N	Y	Y	M	T	Y	LT	N	Y	N
F23	39	43	W	W	U/E	U/E	N	Y	Y	Y	G/B	T	Y	ST	N	Y	Y
F24	51	29	W	W	E	E	N	Y	N	N	G/B	T	Y	ST	N	N	N
F25	40	38	A	A	U/E	U/E	N	N	N	N	M	T	Y	MT	Y	N	Y
F26	55	49	W	W	E	U/E	N	Y	Y	N	G/B	T	Y	LT	Y	Y	Y
F27	39	40	A	A	E	E	N	N/K	N	N	G/B	S	N	MT	N	Y	N
F28	31	35	W	W	E	E	N	N	N	N	G/B	S	N	MT	N	Y	Y
F29	35	32	B	B	E	E	N	N	N	N	G/B	T	N	ST	N	Y	N
F30	41	42	B	B	E	U/E	N	N	Y	Y	G/B	T	N	ST	N	Y	N
F31	30	40	B	B	U/E	U/E	N	N	Y	Y	G/B	T	Y	ST	N	Y	N
F32	39	39	W	W	E	U/E	N	N	Y	N	G/B	T	Y	MT	N	Y	Y
F33	36	43	W	W	U/E	U/E	N	N	Y	Y	G/B	T	Y	MT	N	Y	Y
F34	31	27	W	W	E	U/E	N	N	N/K	N	G/B	T	Y	MT	N	Y	N
KEY																	
F	Female				E	Employed			M	Married		Y	Present				
M	Male				U/E	Unemployed			G/B	Girl/Boyfriend		N	Not Present				
W	White				RET	Retired			S	Seperated							
B	Black				STU	Student			T	Together							
A	Asian/Oriental/Arabic																

Appendix H: Male Perpetrator Couple Concordance

Operation Code	Victim (F) Age	Perpetrator (F) Age	Victim (M) Ethnicity	Perpetrator (F) Ethnicity	Victim (M) Economic status	Perpetrator Economic status	Victim (M) Mental Health	Perpetrator (F) Mental Health	Victim (M) Criminal Conviction	Perpetrator (F) Criminal Conviction	Relationship Classification	Relationship Status	Co Habitation	Relationship Length	Children Together	Children separate	Domestic Abuse Antecedence
M1	98	94	W	W	RET	RET	N	N	N	N	M	T	Y	LT	N/K	N/K	N/K
M2	32	29	A	A	U/E	U/E	N/K	N	N/K	N	M	T	Y	ST	N	Y	Y
M3	76	77	W	W	RET	RET	N	Y	N	N	M	T	Y	LT	Y	N	N
M4	27	45	W	W	E	E	N	N	N	N	G/B	T	N	ST	N	Y	Y
M5	31	33	W	W	E	E	N	N	N	N	G/B	S	N	ST	N	N	N
M6	79	76	W	W	RET	RET	N	N	N	N	M	T	Y	N/K	Y	N	N
M7	30	31	W	W	N/K	E	N	N	N	N	M	T	Y	N/K	N	N	N/K
M8	33	33	W	W	E	U/E	N	N	N	N	M	T	Y	LT	Y	N	Y
M9	24	21	W	W	E	U/E	N	N	N	N	G/B	T	Y	ST	N	N	N
M10	30	40	B	B	N/K	N/K	N/K	N/K	N/K	Y	M	T	Y	MT	Y	N	N
M11	26	19	A	W	U/E	E	N	Y	N	Y	G/B	T	N	ST	N	N	N
M12	38	38	B	B	E	E	N	N	N	Y	G/B	T	Y	MT	N	Y	N
M13	24	22	W	B	U/E	E	N	N	N	Y	G/B	T	N	MT	N	Y	Y
M14	31	37	A	A	U/E	E	N	N	N	N	M	T	Y	MT	Y	N	N
M15	51	34	W	B	E	E	N	Y	N	N	G/B	T	Y	ST	N	Y	N
M16	29	46	B	B	E	U/E	N	Y	N	N	M	T	Y	MT	Y	Y	N
M17	25	33	W	A	E	E	N	N	N	N	G/B	T	N	ST	N	N	N
M18	23	31	B	B	U/E	E	N	N	Y	N	M	T	Y	MT	Y	N	Y
M19	34	44	B	B	E	E	N	N	N	N	M	T	Y	LT	N	N	Y
M20	24	30	W	W	E	E	N/K	N	N/K	N	G/B	S	N	ST	N	N	Y
M21	39	49	W	B	E	U/E	N	N	N	Y	G/B	S	N	LT	N	N	Y
M22	49	45	W	W	E	E	N	N	N	Y	M	T	Y	MT	Y	Y	N
M23	38	39	A	W	E	E	N	N	N	N	M	T	Y	LT	Y	N	N
M24	28	30	W	W	E	E	N	N	N	N	G/B	S	Y	MT	N	N	Y
M25	33	35	W	W	E	E	N	N	N	N	M	T	Y	LT	Y	N	N
M26	25	36	W	W	E	E	N	N	N	N	G/B	S	Y	ST	N	N	Y
M27	35	35	W	B	E	E	N	N	N	Y	G/B	S	N	ST	N	Y	N
M28	17	17	B	B	U/E	U/E	N	N	N	Y	G/B	T	N	ST	N	N	N
M29	59	58	W	W	U/E	U/E	N	Y	N	N	M	T	Y	LT	Y	Y	N
M30	44	42	W	W	E	E	N	Y	N	Y	G/B	S	N	ST	N	Y	N
M31	29	29	W	W	U/E	E	N	N	N	Y	G/B	S	N	MT	Y	Y	Y
M32	25	31	B	B	U/E	U/E	N	N	N	N	M	T	Y	ST	Y	N	N
M33	36	42	W	W	E	E	N	N	N	N	M	T	Y	MT	Y	Y	Y
M34	37	36	W	W	U/E	U/E	N	N	N	N	G/B	T	Y	ST	Y	N	Y
M35	20	44	W	W	E	E	N	N	N	Y	G/B	S	N	MT	N	Y	N
M36	22	25	W	W	E	U/E	N	N	N	N	G/B	S	N	MT	N	N	N
M37	70	70	W	W	RET	RET	N	N	N	N	M	T	Y	LT	Y	N	N
M38	24	35	W	W	U/E	U/E	N	N	N	Y	G/B	T	Y	MT	Y	N	Y
M39	26	28	W	W	U/E	E	N	N	N	N	G/B	T	Y	LT	Y	Y	N
M40	74	71	W	W	U/E	RET	N	Y	N	N	M	S	N	LT	N	Y	N

Operation Code	Victim (F) Age	Perpetrator (F) Age	Victim (M) Ethnicity	Perpetrator (F) Ethnicity	Victim (M) Economic status	Perpetrator Economic status	Victim (M) Mental Health	Perpetrator (F) Mental Health	Victim (M) Criminal Conviction	Perpetrator (F) Criminal Conviction	Relationship Classification	Relationship Status	Co Habitation	Relationship Length	Children Together	Children separate	Domestic Abuse Antecedence
M41	35	33	A	A	E	U/E	N	N	N	N	M	T	Y	LT	Y	N	Y
M42	39	38	W	W	U/E	U/E	N	N	Y	Y	GB	T	Y	LT	N	N	Y
M43	38	28	A	A	U/E	U/E	N	N	Y	N	GB	T	Y	ST	N	Y	N
M44	38	55	W	W	U/E	E	N	N	N	Y	GB	T	N	MT	N	Y	Y
M45	41	47	A	A	E	E	N	N	N	Y	M	S	Y	LT	Y	Y	Y
M46	34	43	W	B	U/E	U/E	N	N	N	Y	GB	S	N	ST	N	Y	N
M47	52	48	B	B	U/E	U/E	N	N	N	Y	GB	T	Y	ST	N	Y	Y
M48	38	52	W	A	U/E	E	N	N	N	Y	M	S	N	MT	Y	N	Y
M49	31	39	B	B	U/E	E	N	N	N	N	GB	T	Y	MT	Y	Y	N
M50	29	46	W	W	E	E	N	N	N	N	M	T	Y	ST	N	Y	Y
M51	64	64	W	W	RET	RET	N	N	N	N	M	S	N	LT	N	Y	N
M52	29	32	B	B	U/E	U/E	N	N	N	Y	GB	T	Y	LT	Y	N	Y
M53	52	36	W	W	U/E	E	N	N	N/K	Y	GB	T	Y	MT	N	Y	N
M54	61	68	W	W	RET	RET	N	N/K	N	N	M	T	Y	LT	Y	N	N
M55	42	31	W	W	U/E	U/E	N	Y	N	N	GB	S	N	LT	Y	N	Y
M56	22	20	B	B	E	U/E	N	Y	N	N	GB	T	N	ST	N	N	N
M57	44	42	W	W	E	U/E	N	N	N	N	M	S	Y	LT	Y	N	N
M58	22	33	A	A	E	U/E	N	N	N	N	M	T	Y	ST	N	N	N
M59	23	24	B	B	U/E	U/E	N	N	N	Y	GB	T	Y	MT	N	N	Y
M60	39	36	W	W	U/E	E	N	N	N	N	GB	S	N	MT	Y	Y	Y
M61	57	60	A	A	U/E	U/E	N	N	N	N/K	M	T	Y	LT	Y	N	Y
M62	36	37	A	A	U/E	E	N	N	N	Y	M	T	Y	LT	Y	N	Y
M63	27	28	A	A	E	E	N	N	N	N	M	T	Y	MT	N	N	N
M64	24	24	W	A	E	E	Y	N	Y	N	GB	S	N	ST	N	N	Y
M65	29	32	A	A	E	E	N	N	N	Y	M	T	Y	MT	N	N	N
M66	46	32	W	W	U/E	U/E	N	N	Y	Y	GB	T	Y	ST	N	Y	Y
M67	32	28	A	B	U/E	U/E	N	Y	N	Y	GB	T	N	ST	N	Y	N
M68	39	31	B	B	E	E	N	N	N	Y	GB	T	Y	MT	N	Y	Y
M69	52	50	A	A	U/E	E	N	N	Y	Y	GB	T	N	MT	N	Y	Y
M70	18	32	W	W	U/E	E	N	N	N	Y	GB	S	N	MT	Y	N	Y
M71	43	49	B	B	E	E	N	N	N	N	GB	T	Y	ST	N	Y	Y
M72	32	33	B	B	E	U/E	N	N	N	Y	GB	S	N	ST	N	N	N
M73	33	46	W	W	E	E	N	N	Y	Y	GB	S	N	ST	N	Y	N
M74	44	42	W	B	U/E	U/E	N	Y	N	Y	GB	T	Y	N/K	N	N	Y
M75	22	30	W	W	E	U/E	N	N	N	Y	GB	S	N	ST	N	N	Y
M76	32	27	B	B	E	E	N	N	N	N	GB	T	N	ST	N	Y	N
M77	40	49	W	B	E	U/E	N	N	N	Y	GB	S	N	MT	Y	Y	Y
M78	33	21	B	B	E	U/E	N	Y	N	N	GB	T	Y	ST	N	N	N
M79	24	35	W	W	U/E	U/E	N	N	N	Y	GB	T	Y	ST	N	N	N
M80	34	40	B	B	U/E	U/E	N	N	N	N	M	T	Y	LT	Y	N	Y
M81	26	34	A	W	U/E	E	N	N	N	N	M	T	Y	MT	Y	Y	N
M82	39	56	B	B	E	E	N	N	N	Y	M	T	Y	MT	N	Y	Y
M83	23	34	W	W	U/E	E	N	N	N	N	M	T	Y	LT	N	N	Y
M84	26	31	W	W	E	E	N	N	N	N	M	T	Y	LT	Y	N	Y
M85	35	48	W	W	U/E	E	N	N	N	Y	GB	T	N	LT	N	Y	Y

Operation Code	Victim (F) Age	Perpetrator (F) Age	Victim (M) Ethnicity	Perpetrator (F) Ethnicity	Victim (M) Economic status	Perpetrator Economic status	Victim (M) Mental Health	Perpetrator (F) Mental Health	Victim (M) Criminal Conviction	Perpetrator (F) Criminal Conviction	Relationship Classification	Relationship Status	Co Habitation	Relationship Length	Children Together	Children separate	Domestic Abuse Antecedence
M86	54	57	W	B	E	U/E	N	N	N	Y	GB	T	N	ST	N	Y	Y
M87	30	45	W	W	E	E	N	N	N	N	M	S	Y	LT	Y	N	Y
M88	21	23	W	W	E	E	N	N	N	N	GB	T	N	ST	N	N	Y
M89	49	46	B	B	E	E	N	N	Y	Y	GB	S	N	ST	N	Y	Y
M90	44	41	W	W	E	E	N	Y	N	Y	M	T	Y	LT	N	Y	N
M91	31	25	W	B	U/E	E	N	N	Y	Y	GB	T	Y	MT	Y	Y	Y
M92	40	52	W	W	E	E	N	N	N	Y	GB	T	N	ST	N	Y	Y
M93	29	30	A	A	U/E	E	N	N	N	N	M	S	N	MT	Y	N	N
M94	51	52	W	W	U/E	RET	N	Y	N	Y	M	S	N	LT	Y	N	Y
M95	35	30	B	B	E	E	N	N	N	N	GB	T	Y	ST	N	Y	Y
M96	36	31	B	B	U/E	E	N	N	N	N	M	T	Y	MT	Y	N	Y
M97	22	21	W	W	E	E	N	N	N	N	GB	T	Y	MT	Y	N	Y
M98	30	34	W	W	E	E	N	Y	N	N	GB	T	Y	ST	N	N	N
M99	32	35	A	A	E	U/E	N	N	N	N	M	T	Y	LT	Y	N	N
M100	40	55	B	W	E	E	N	N	N	N	M	T	Y	MT	Y	N	N
M101	50	29	W	W	E	E	N	N	N	Y	GB	T	Y	ST	N	Y	Y
M102	23	32	A	A	E	U/E	N	Y	N	Y	M	T	Y	MT	Y	N	N
M103	32	36	W	B	U/E	U/E	N	N	Y	Y	GB	S	N	MT	Y	N	Y
M104	52	54	W	W	E	E	N	Y	N	Y	M	T	Y	LT	Y	N	Y
M105	38	39	W	W	U/E	U/E	N	N	N	N	M	S	N	LT	Y	N	Y
M106	78	69	W	W	U/E	RET	N	Y	N	N	M	T	Y	LT	N	N	N
M107	84	85	W	W	U/E	RET	Y	N	N	N	M	T	Y	LT	Y	N	N
M108	39	43	W	W	U/E	E	N	N	N	N	GB	T	Y	ST	N	Y	Y
M109	41	49	W	W	U/E	U/E	Y	N	N	Y	GB	T	Y	LT	N	Y	Y
M110	33	33	W	W	E	E	N	N	N	Y	M	S	N	LT	Y	N	Y
M111	42	40	B	B	U/E	E	N	Y	N	Y	M	T	Y	ST	N	Y	Y
M112	22	44	W	W	E	E	N	N	Y	N	GB	T	Y	ST	N	Y	Y
M113	46	52	A	A	E	U/E	N	N	N	Y	M	T	Y	LT	Y	N	Y
M114	33	29	B	W	U/E	U/E	N	N	Y	Y	GB	T	Y	ST	N	Y	Y
M115	61	62	A	A	U/E	RET	N	N	N	N	M	T	Y	LT	Y	N	Y
M116	76	78	W	W	RET	RET	N	Y	N	N	M	T	Y	LT	Y	N	N
M117	43	39	W	W	E	E	N	N	N	Y	GB	T	Y	ST	N	N	Y
M118	37	34	W	W	U/E	U/E	N	N	N/K	Y	GB	S	Y	ST	N	Y	Y
M119	52	47	W	W	E	E	N	N	N	N	GB	T	N	ST	N	Y	N
M120	32	28	A	W	E	E	N	N	N	N	M	T	Y	MT	N	N	N
M121	15	21	B	B	STU	U/E	N	Y	N	N	GB	S	N	ST	N	N	Y
M122	36	37	W	W	U/E	U/E	N	N	Y	N	GB	T	Y	ST	N	Y	N
M123	22	26	W	W	E	E	N	N	N	N	GB	T	Y	ST	N	N	N
M124	45	77	W	W	U/E	U/E	N	N	N	Y	GB	T	N	MT	N	Y	Y
M125	23	49	W	W	E	E	N	N	N	Y	GB	T	Y	MT	Y	N	Y
M126	39	32	B	B	E	E	N	Y	Y	N	GB	T	Y	MT	N	N	N
M127	54	52	W	W	RET	U/E	N	N	N	Y	M	S	N	MT	N	Y	Y
M128	36	36	A	W	U/E	U/E	N	N	N	N	M	T	Y	LT	Y	N	Y
M129	29	34	W	W	E	E	N	N	N	N	GB	T	Y	MT	N	Y	Y
M130	37	42	W	W	U/E	U/E	N	Y	N	Y	GB	T	Y	MT	N	Y	Y

Operation Code	Victim (F) Age	Perpetrator (F) Age	Victim (M) Ethnicity	Perpetrator (F) Ethnicity	Victim (M) Economic status	Perpetrator Economic status	Victim (M) Mental Health	Perpetrator (F) Mental Health	Victim (M) Criminal Conviction	Perpetrator (F) Criminal Conviction	Relationship Classification	Relationship Status	Co Habitation	Relationship Length	Children Together	Children separate	Domestic Abuse Antecedence
M131	30	25	A	A	U/E	U/E	N	N/K	N	Y	G/B	T	Y	ST	N	N	Y
M132	26	42	B	B	E	E	N	N	N	N	G/B	T	Y	MT	N	Y	N
M133	78	75	W	W	RET	RET	N	N	N	N	M	T	Y	LT	Y	N	N
M134	39	45	W	W	U/E	U/E	N	N	Y	Y	G/B	T	Y	ST	N	Y	Y
M135	22	26	W	A	U/E	E	N	N	N	N	M	T	Y	MT	Y	N	Y
M136	34	30	W	W	U/E	U/E	Y	N	Y	Y	G/B	T	Y	ST	N	Y	Y
M137	41	37	W	B	E	U/E	N	N	N	N	M	S	N	LT	Y	N	Y
M138	36	28	B	B	U/E	U/E	Y	Y	Y	Y	G/B	T	Y	ST	N	Y	N
M139	48	54	W	W	E	U/E	N	Y	N	N	M	T	Y	N/K	Y	N	N
M140	46	45	W	W	U/E	E	N	N	N	N	M	T	Y	LT	Y	N	N
M141	38	43	W	W	E	U/E	N	N	Y	Y	G/B	T	Y	ST	N	Y	Y
M142	33	36	W	W	U/E	E	N	N	N	N	M	T	Y	MT	Y	N	N
M143	49	47	W	W	E	E	N	N	N	Y	M	T	Y	ST	N	N	Y
M144	43	47	A	A	E	E	N	N	N	Y	M	S	N	LT	Y	N	Y
M145	70	74	W	W	RET	RET	N	N	N	N	M	T	Y	LT	Y	N	N
M146	40	57	W	W	U/E	U/E	N	N	N	Y	G/B	T	Y	ST	N	Y	Y
M147	28	44	W	W	E	U/E	N	N	N	N	M	T	Y	LT	Y	Y	N
M148	33	35	W	W	U/E	E	N	Y	N	Y	M	T	Y	LT	Y	Y	N
M149	50	50	W	W	E	E	N	Y	N	N	M	T	Y	LT	N	Y	N
M150	33	50	W	W	E	E	N	N	N	Y	M	S	Y	LT	Y	N	N
M151	31	27	B	W	STU	U/E	N	Y	N/K	Y	G/B	T	Y	ST	Y	Y	N
M152	23	30	A	A	U/E	E	N	Y	N	Y	M	T	Y	MT	Y	N	Y
M153	43	40	A	A	E	U/E	N	N	N	N	G/B	S	Y	ST	N	Y	Y
M154	19	21	W	W	U/E	U/E	N	N	N	Y	G/B	S	N	MT	Y	N	Y
M155	32	32	B	W	U/E	U/E	Y	Y	N	Y	G/B	T	N	ST	Y	N	N
M156	78	70	W	W	RET	RET	N	N	N	N	M	T	Y	LT	N	Y	N
M157	43	37	W	W	U/E	E	N	N	N	Y	G/B	T	Y	MT	N	Y	N
M158	78	74	W	W	RET	RET	N	N	N	N	M	T	Y	LT	N	N	N
M159	28	30	W	A	U/E	E	N	Y	Y	N	M	S	Y	ST	N	Y	Y
M160	50	60	W	W	U/E	U/E	Y	Y	N	Y	G/B	T	Y	LT	N	Y	N
M161	19	16	B	B	E	E	N	N	Y	N	G/B	T	N	ST	N	N	N
M162	47	37	B	B	E	U/E	N	N	N	N	M	T	Y	ST	N	Y	Y
M163	38	35	A	A	E	E	N	N	N	Y	G/B	T	Y	ST	N	Y	Y
M164	49	54	B	B	E	E	N	N	N	Y	G/B	T	Y	LT	N	Y	N
M165	34	38	B	B	U/E	E	N	Y	N	N	G/B	S	Y	ST	N	Y	N
M166	27	31	A	A	U/E	E	N	N	N	N	M	T	Y	MT	Y	N	Y
M167	35	38	W	W	E	E	Y	Y	N	Y	G/B	T	Y	MT	N	N	Y
M169	33	44	W	W	U/E	E	N	N	N	Y	G/B	T	Y	MT	Y	Y	N
M170	53	65	W	W	U/E	E	N	N	N	N	M	T	Y	LT	N	Y	N
M171	48	49	W	W	U/E	E	N	N	N	Y	M	S	N	LT	Y	N	Y
M172	16	23	W	W	E	U/E	N	N	N	N	G/B	T	Y	ST	N	Y	N
M173	44	50	W	W	U/E	E	N	N	Y	Y	G/B	T	Y	MT	N	Y	Y
M174	34	50	W	W	U/E	U/E	N	N	N	Y	G/B	T	N	MT	N	Y	Y
F	Female	B	Black				E	Employed	M	Married			T	Together			
M	Male	A	Asian/Oriental/Arabic				U/E	Unemployed	G/B	Girl/Boyfriend			Y	Present			
W	White		STU	Student			RET	Retired	S	Seperated			N	Not Present			

Appendix I: Dataset: Couple's Profession Concordance

Table G.1 Female Perpetrator - Couple Profession Comparison

Operation Code	Victim Gender	Profession	Suspect Gender	Profession
F2	Male	Entrepreneur/Manager	Female	Sales Assistant
F3	Male	Not Known	Female	Council Worker
F5	Male	Handyman	Female	Housewife
F7	Male	Unemployed	Female	Barmaid
F9	Male	Unemployed	Female	Unemployed
F10	Male	Bricklayer	Female	Housewife
F12	Male	TV repairman	Female	Housewife
F13	Male	Security guard	Female	Housewife
F14	Male	Kitchen Porter	Female	Opticians Receptionist
F15	Male	Mobile phone engineer	Female	Unemployed
F16	Male	Unemployed	Female	Support Worker
F19	Male	Factory worker	Female	Housewife
F20	Male	Teacher	Female	Housewife
F21	Male	Housewife	Female	Unemployed
F22	Male	Lift Engineer	Female	Carer
F24	Male	Musician	Female	Doctor
F26	Male	Decorator	Female	Housewife
F27	Male	Carpet Cleaner	Female	Food Preparation
F28	Male	Shop Assistant	Female	Factory worker
F29	Male	Health Carer	Female	Cleaner
F30	Male	Cab driver	Female	Unemployed
F31	Male	Unemployed	Female	prostitute
F32	Male	Carpenter	Female	Unemployed
F34	Male	Carpenter	Female	Unemployed

Table G.2 Male Perpetrator – Couple Profession Comparison

Operation Code	Victim Gender	Profession	Suspect Gender	Profession
M1	Female	Retired	Male	Retired
M2	Female	Housewife	Male	Unemployed
M3	Female	Retired	Male	Retired
M4	Female	Waitress	Male	Driver
M5	Female	Training & Personnel	Male	Fund Manager
M6	Female	Retired	Male	Retired
M7	Female	Not Known	Male	Marketing Manager
M8	Female	Waitress	Male	Unemployed
M9	Female	Model	Male	Unemployed
M11	Female	Student	Male	Painter/Decorator
M12	Female	Civil Servant	Male	Builder
M14	Female	Housewife	Male	Waiter
M15	Female	Care worker	Male	Labourer
M16	Female	Cleaner	Male	Unemployed
M17	Female	Au pair	Male	Driver
M18	Female	Housewife	Male	Shop Worker
M19	Female	Teacher	Male	Shop Worker
M20	Female	Shipping	Male	Steel fixer
M21	Female	Translator	Male	Unemployed
M22	Female	Child Minder	Male	Painter/Decorator
M23	Female	Language School Proprietor	Male	Teacher
M24	Female	Housekeeper	Male	Driver
M25	Female	Receptionist	Male	Salesman
M26	Female	Tour Operator	Male	IT Consultant
M27	Female	Supermarket manager	Male	Factory worker
M28	Female	Student	Male	Unemployed
M30	Female	Bar maid	Male	Postal Worker
M31	Female	Housewife	Male	Door Supervisor
M32	Female	Housewife	Male	Unemployed
M33	Female	Catering assistant	Male	Postal worker
M35	Female	Telephonist	Male	Cab Controller
M36	Female	Underwriter	Male	Unemployed
M37	Female	Retired	Male	Retired
M39	Female	Housewife	Male	Cab driver
M40	Female	Unemployed	Male	Retired
M41	Female	Social Worker	Male	Unemployed
M43	Female	Unemployed	Male	Student
M44	Female	Unemployed	Male	Plumber
M45	Female	Shop Assistant	Male	Social Worker
M46	Female	Housewife	Male	Unemployed
M48	Female	Housewife	Male	Computer Consultant

M49	Female	Housewife	Male	Computer Engineer
M50	Female	Cleaner	Male	Chauffeur
M51	Female	Retired	Male	Retired
M53	Female	Unemployed	Male	Gardener
M54	Female	Retired	Male	Retired
M56	Female	Student/fast food server	Male	Unemployed
M57	Female	Nursing home assistant	Male	Unemployed
M58	Female	Laundry worker	Male	Unemployed
M60	Female	Housewife	Male	Caretaker
M61	Female	Housewife	Male	Unemployed
M62	Female	Housewife	Male	Minicab driver /Fast food restaurant owner
M63	Female	Airline worker	Male	Airline worker
M64	Female	Escort	Male	Cashier
M65	Female	Police Special/hairdresser	Male	Self-employed vehicle hire
M68	Female	Dental worker	Male	Driver
M69	Female	Unemployed	Male	Landlord
M70	Female	Housewife	Male	Caretaker
M71	Female	Care Worker	Male	Handyman
M72	Female	Waitress/student	Male	Unemployed
M73	Female	Hotel Receptionist	Male	Driver
M75	Female	Beauty consultant	Male	Unemployed
M76	Female	Care Assistant	Male	Plasterer
M77	Female	Civil Servant	Male	Unemployed
M78	Female	Nursery Care worker	Male	Unemployed
M79	Female	Unemployed	Male	Unemployed
M80	Female	Housewife & Student	Male	Unemployed
M81	Female	Housewife	Male	Gardener
M82	Female	Bakery Manager	Male	Laundry presser
M83	Female	Unemployed	Male	Restaurateur
M84	Female	Cleaner	Male	Driver
M85	Female	Housewife	Male	Car Salesman
M86	Female	Civil Servant	Male	Unemployed
M87	Female	Kitchen Porter	Male	Baker
M88	Female	Waitress	Male	Double Glazing fitter
M89	Female	Market trader	Male	Painter/Decorator
M90	Female	Waitress	Male	Painter/Decorator
M91	Female	Unemployed	Male	Sales Assistant
M92	Female	Nursing Assistant	Male	Restaurateur
M93	Female	Housewife	Male	IT analyst
M94	Female	Housewife	Male	Dentist
M95	Female	Social Worker	Male	Labourer
M96	Female	Housewife	Male	Cleaner
M97	Female	Retail assistant	Male	Painter/Decorator
M98	Female	Flower picker	Male	Flower picker
M99	Female	Hotel cleaner	Male	Unemployed
M100	Female	Carer	Male	Lab Technician

M101	Female	Hotel cleaner	Male	Builder
M102	Female	Beautician	Male	Unemployed
M103	Female	Housewife	Male	Unemployed
M104	Female	Cleaner	Male	Cleaner
M105	Female	Housewife	Male	Unemployed
M106	Female	Housewife	Male	Retired
M107	Female	Housewife	Male	Civil Servant
M108	Female	Unemployed	Male	Builder
M110	Female	Payroll Administrator	Male	Driver
M111	Female	Unemployed	Male	Electrician
M112	Female	Hotel worker	Male	Bus Driver
M113	Female	Food processor	Male	Unemployed
M115	Female	Unemployed	Male	Retired
M116	Female	Retired	Male	Retired
M117	Female	Journalist	Male	Planning Engineer
M118	Female	Unemployed	Male	Unemployed
M119	Female	Medical secretary	Male	Police Staff
M120	Female	Travel Assistant	Male	Security officer
M121	Female	Student (school)	Male	Unemployed
M123	Female	Waitress	Male	Bar staff
M125	Female	Lingerie seller	Male	Steel fixer
M126	Female	Shop Assistant	Male	Labourer
M127	Female	Publican	Male	Unemployed
M128	Female	Student	Male	Unemployed
M129	Female	Manicurist	Male	Labourer
M132	Female	Trainee Hairdresser	Male	Mini cab driver
M133	Female	Retired	Male	Retired
M134	Female	Prostitute	Male	Unemployed
M135	Female	Housewife	Male	Shop owner
M137	Female	Secretary	Male	Unemployed
M138	Female	Unemployed	Male	Unemployed
M139	Female	Charity Worker	Male	Unemployed
M140	Female	Housewife	Male	Fund Manager
M141	Female	Cleaner	Male	Unemployed
M142	Female	Housewife	Male	Nursery Owner
M143	Female	Diplomat	Male	Engineer
M144	Female	Shop Assistant	Male	Dyno rod
M145	Female	Retired	Male	Retired
M147	Female	Teacher	Male	Unemployed
M148	Female	Unemployed	Male	Driver
M149	Female	Charity Management	Male	Civil Servant
M150	Female	Shop Assistant	Male	Engineer
M151	Female	Student	Male	Unemployed
M152	Female	Housewife	Male	Driver
M153	Female	Nanny	Male	temporary work
M156	Female	Retired	Male	Retired

M157	Female	Unemployed	Male	Plasterer
M158	Female	Retired	Male	Retired
M159	Female	Unemployed	Male	Delivery Driver
M161	Female	Council Admin	Male	Maintenance Worker
M162	Female	Care Assistant	Male	Unemployed
M163	Female	Cleaner	Male	Decorator
M164	Female	Receptionist	Male	Transport Worker
M165	Female	Housewife	Male	Decorator
M166	Female	Housewife	Male	Waiter
M167	Female	Waitress	Male	Builder
M169	Female	Unemployed	Male	Motor Recovery Driver
M170	Female	Volunteer Charity Worker	Male	Director
M171	Female	Unemployed	Male	Manager
M172	Female	Cleaner	Male	Unemployed
M173	Female	Unemployed	Male	Dispatch rider

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