

ISSUES IN RISK ASSESSMENT IN THE FIELD OF INTIMATE PARTNER VIOLENCE: WHAT PRACTITIONERS NEED TO KNOW

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**“Prediction is very hard to do -
especially if it is about the
future”**

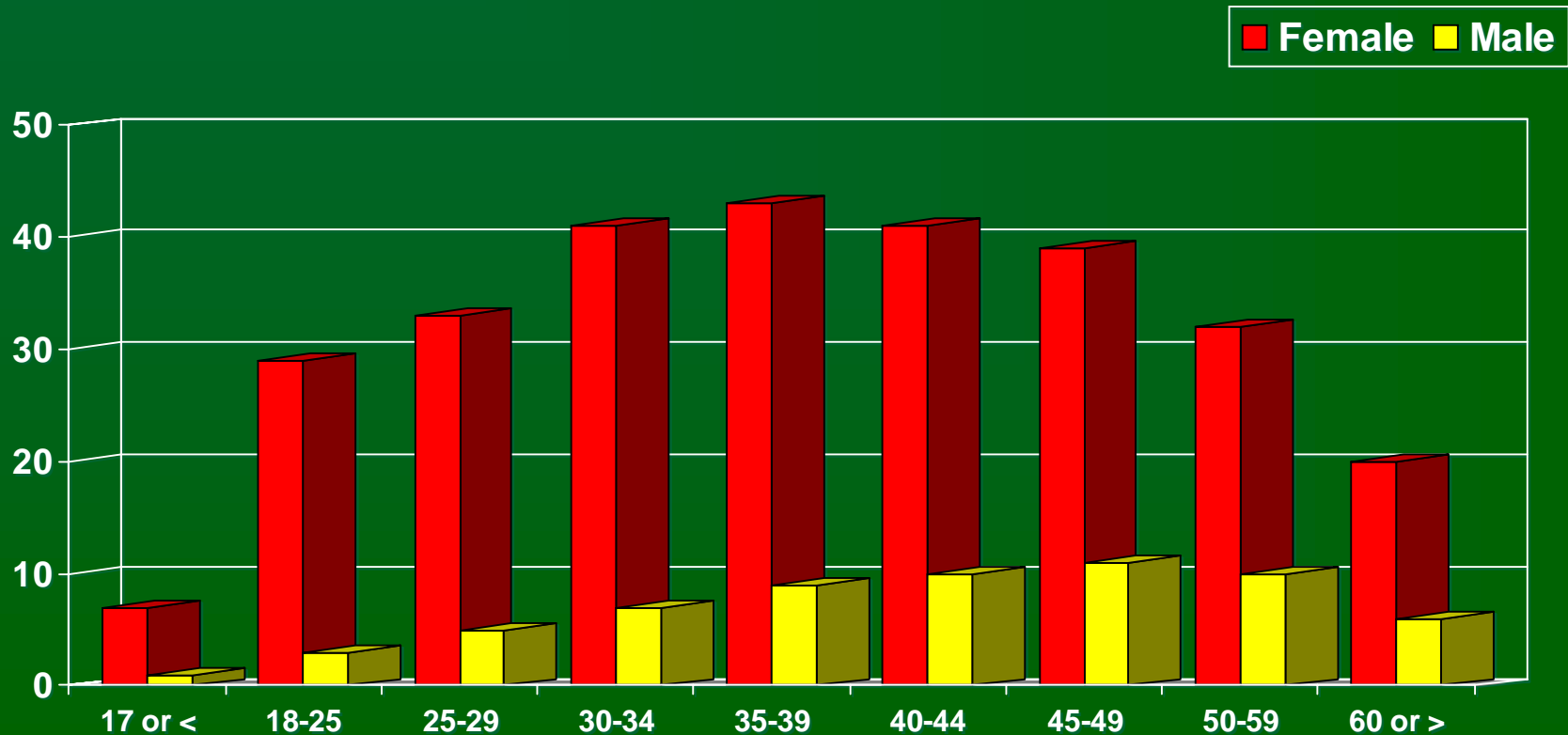
Yogi Berra



Overview of Issues

- Need for both lethality & reoffending risk assessment by advocacy, victim service & health systems as well as criminal justice
- Low base rates
- Relatively young science in intimate partner violence & risk assessment particularly
- 4 interacting parts to consider - instrument, risk assessor, perpetrator & *one* specific potential victim
- Fears that risk assessment will be used to limit service to victims

PERCENT OF U.S. MURDER VICTIMS KILLED BY INTIMATES '96 (SHR)

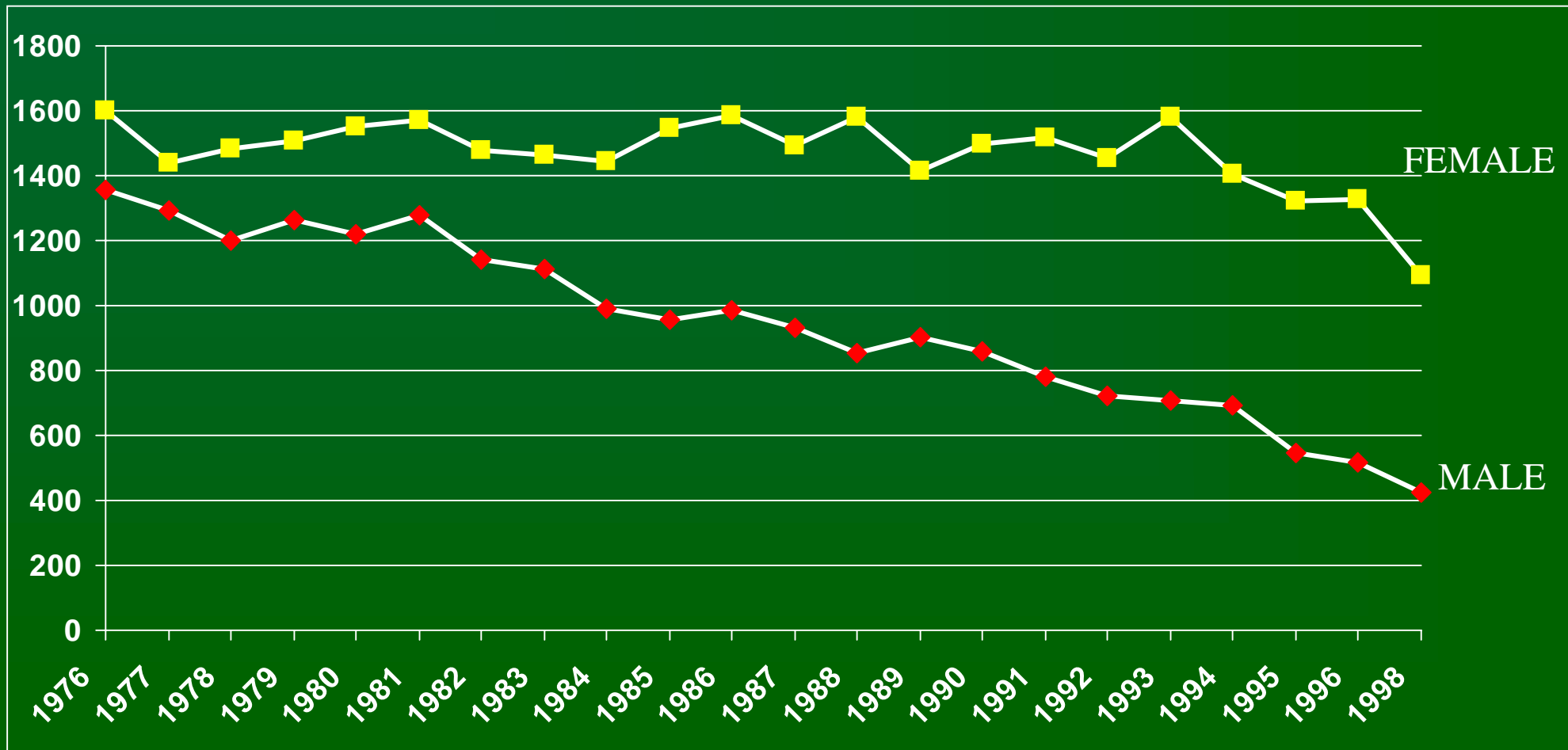


INTIMATE PARTNER VS. OTHER FEMICIDE

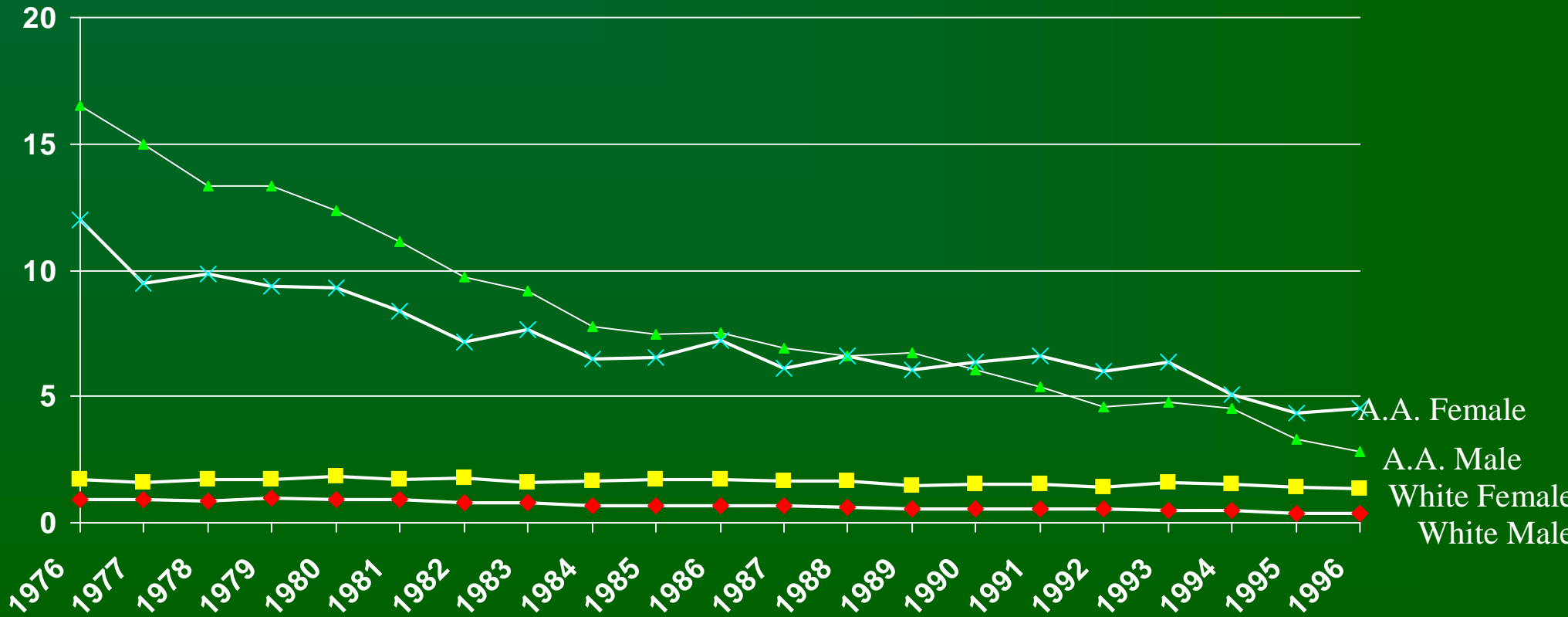
- Partner femicides - younger, more often married, killed at home, murder suicide, more guns, less likely to be drug related, less criminal hx - victim & perpetrator; IPF larger proportion in anglo women (Moracco et. al. '98; Morton et. al. '98, Wilt '97)
- Few comparisons of intimate partner femicide vs. other femicides (more intimate partner vs. other homicides) (Mercy & Saltzman '89)



U.S. INTIMATE PARTNER HOMICIDE RATE DECLINE 1976-98 FBI (SHR, 1976-98)



U. S. INTIMATE HOMICIDE RATE BY RACE, AGE 20-44 FBI, (SHR), 1976-96

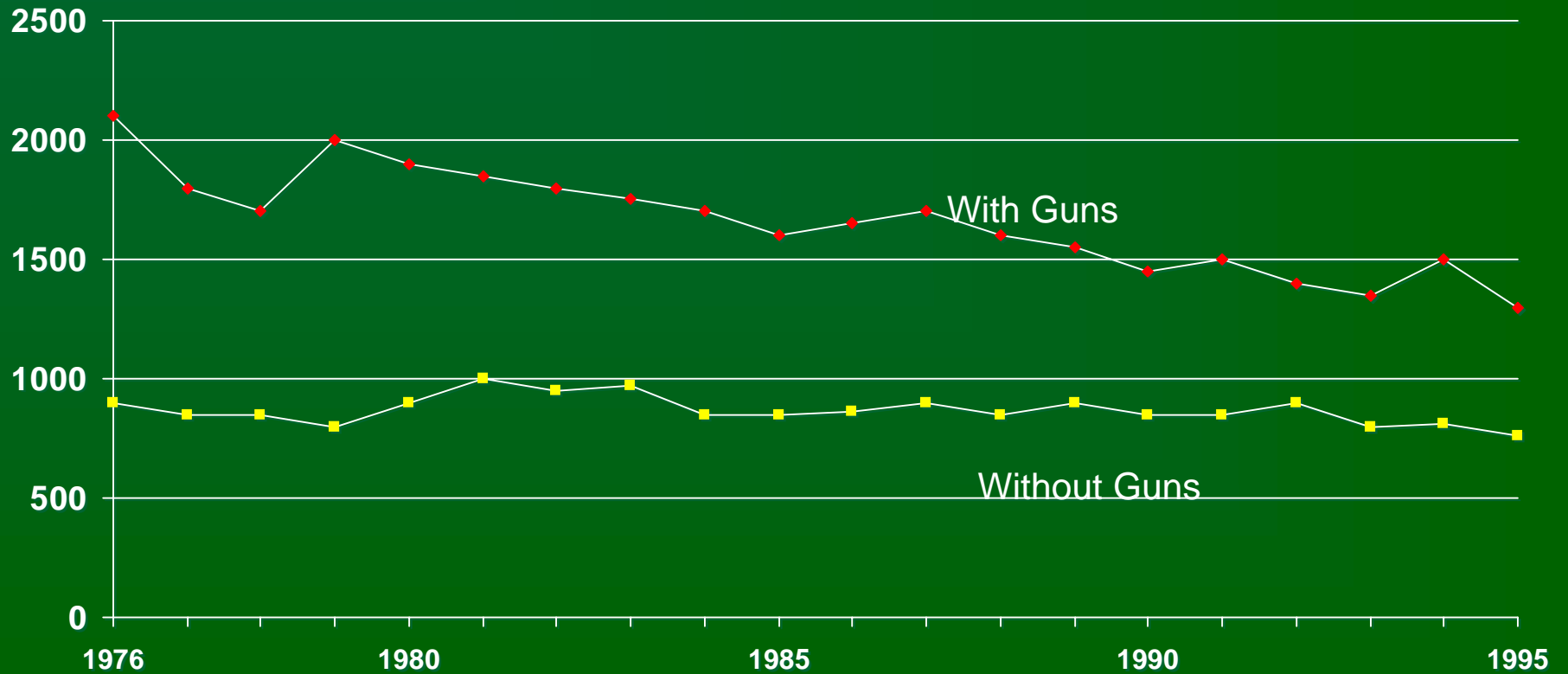


DECLINE IN INTIMATE PARTNER HOMICIDE AND FEMICIDE

- **US decline in male victimization in states where improved DV laws and services - resource availability (Browne & Williams '89; Browne, Williams & Dutton '98)**
- **Exposure reduction - increased female earnings, lower marriage rate, higher divorce rate in US (Dugan, Nagin & Rosenfeld '97)**
- **Gun availability decline (Wilt '97; Block; Kellerman '93, '97- gun increases risk X3)**



INTIMATE PARTNER HOMICIDE: WEAPON USE in U. S. '76-'95 (SHR)

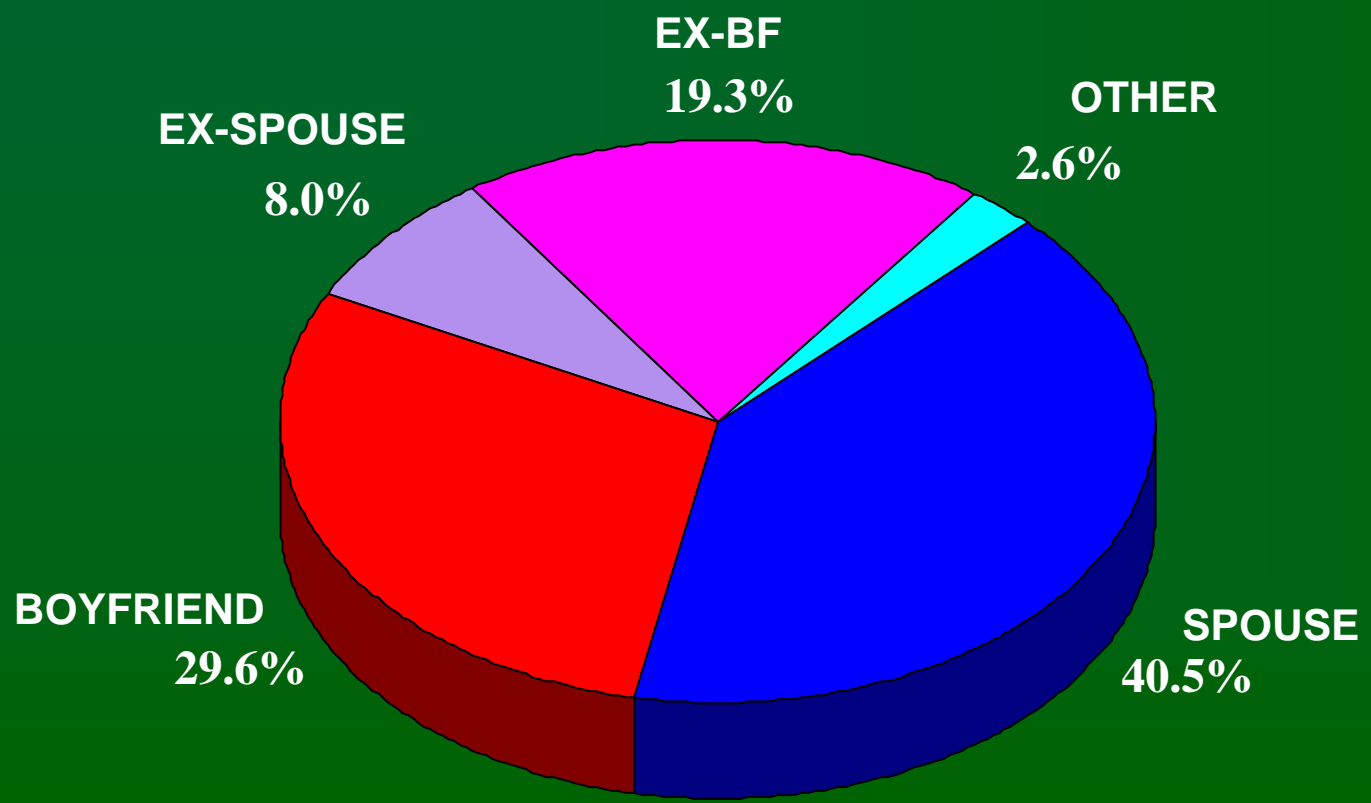


LIMITATIONS IN SOURCES OF DATA: HOMICIDE RECORDS

- Police homicide files - limitations especially re: homicide-suicides-30% of intimate partner femicides
- SHR-identified only 71% of partner homicides '91-'95 in MA (Langford, '98)-no ex-boyfriend category
- US - No Hispanic separate records until '90; lumps all Hispanic groups; no income data
- Medical Examiner-little evidence related data (e.g. weapon, motive, prior domestic violence)
- Prosecutor-no homicide-suicide, self-defense cases



INTIMATE PARTNER FEMICIDE BY PERPETRATOR IN TEN CITIES (N= 311)



HOMICIDE IN BATTERING RELATIONSHIPS

- 50-60% of US femicides - perpetrator is husband, boyfriend or ex-boyfriend
- AT LEAST 2/3 battered before killed (Campbell, 1992)
70% in NY (Pataki '97)
- 56% of spousal homicides in Canada had history of DV (Noonan, 1993)
- When male victim - 75% DV of woman - US
- Separated & divorced women most at risk (Wilson & Daly, 1993) - 1st 3 months most risk
- BUT not compared to *battered* women who stay



INTIMATE PARTNER FEMICIDE

- Increased risk with stepchildren (Daly & Wilson '97)
- Intimate partner homicides (vs. femicides) more likely in self defense (Wolfgang '58; Jurik & Winn '90; Campbell '92; Crawford & Gartner '92; Block '93)
- Dramatically more intimate femicide-suicides (27% of femicides vs. .1% of intimate homicides) with different patterns than other intimate partner femicides (Morton et. al. '98) - e.g. less DV



Intimate Partner Homicide-Suicide

(NC-Morton, Runyon et. al. '98)

- Type I “mercy killing”-13% all husbands
- Type II (no illness) 37% - husbands; 34% ex-husbands; 19% BF; 10% ex-BF
- Type II - 48% separation; 34% prior DV
- Type II - 15% perpetrator MI; 38% BAC
- Type II - 10% criminal history
- Type II - 7% killed children also



FEMICIDE STUDIES TO DATE

- Last 5 years: Increased attention; better and more studies; descriptive to longitudinal, comparisons, multivariate, multiple & varied sources of data; recognition of varying patterns; more interdisciplinarity, collaboration
- BUT - variety of comparison groups (gender of victim, perpetrator, intimate partner femicide vs. other, murder suicide vs. other) confusing, misclassification problematic (Langford et. al. '98); more sophisticated analyses & theory needed, much more work to be done!



Risk Prediction 4 Quadrant Model

(Webster et. al. '94)

TRUE POSITIVES

Predicted violence,
Violent outcomes

FALSE POSITIVES

Predicted violence
No violent outcomes

TRUE NEGATIVES

No violence predicted,
No violence occurs

FALSE NEGATIVES

No violence predicted,
Violence occurs

OVERALL ISSUES: RISK ASSESSMENT WITH BATTERERS

- **Risk of Homicide versus Risk of Re-offending/ Further Assault**
- **Research issues - low base rates, independent evaluations, funding, experimental designs**
- **High stakes for both false negatives (safety of specific potential victim) & false positives (liberty)**
- **Resource issues, time, user friendliness**
- **Purpose of risk assessment-courts, law enforcement, advocacy, victim services, health care?**

Existing Risk Assessment Scales

Navy FAP Risk & Safety	Victim & Offender -reoffend & safety (FA, MP, health)	Evaluation 2000?
Mosaic 20 (deBecker)	Computerized/Victim (criminal justice) - lethality risk	No formal evaluation (proposed for 2000)
DVI	Offenders (criminal justice)	Evaluation continuing
SARA (Kropp et al)	Offender (criminal justice)	Evaluation underway
PSI (Duluth)	Victim & offender - both (advocates & criminal justice)	CDC funded process evaluation underway
K-SID (Gelles)	Victim & offender - reoffend (advocates & criminal justice)	Evaluation underway
Danger Assessment (Campbell)	Victim- Lethality (Advocates, Health Care)	Evaluation continuing

GENERAL PRINCIPLES FOR RISK ASSESSMENT IN DV

- **More sources of information the better**
- **Perpetrators will minimize perpetration**
- **Victims often minimize victimization**
- **No actuarial methods for DV, few independent evaluations**
- **Instrument improves “expert judgment”**
- **Never underestimate victim’s perceptions (Weisz)**
- **Clinical assessment (psychiatry, psychology) needs specific DV training**



RISK FACTORS FOR INTIMATE PARTNER FEMICIDE

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(Funded by: NIDA, NIMH, CDC, NIJ VAWA R01 DA/AA1156)

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RISK FACTORS FOR INTIMATE PARTNER FEMICIDE: CITIES AND CO-INVESTIGATORS

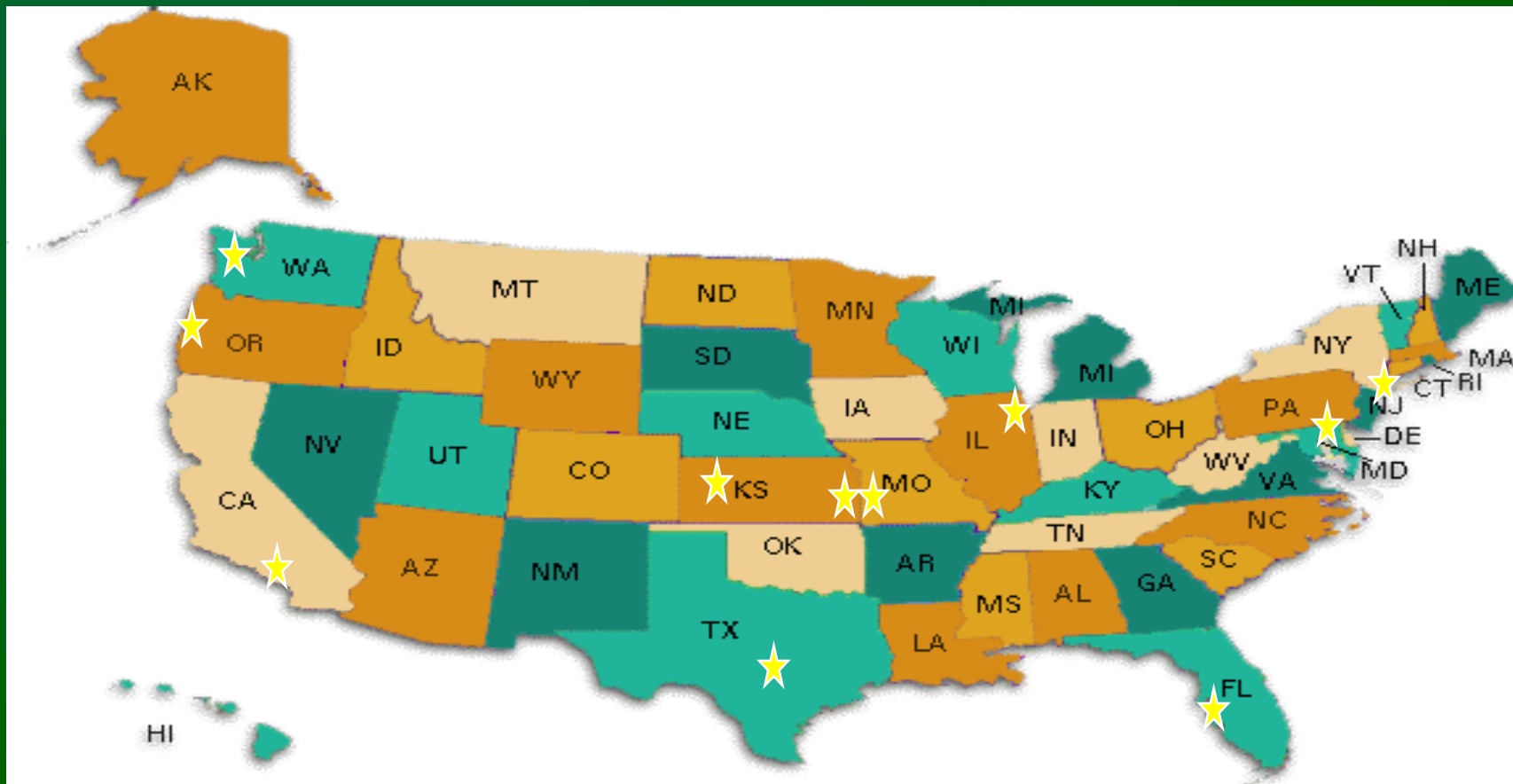
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- **Baltimore**
- **Chicago**
- **Houston**
- **Kansas City, KA&MO**
- **Los Angeles**
- **New York**
- **Portland, OR**
- **Seattle, WA**
- **Tampa/St. Pete**
- **P. Sharps (GWU)**
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RISK FACTORS FOR INTIMATE PARTNER FEMICIDE: 11 CITIES

(Funded by: NIDA, NIMH, CDC, NIJ VAWA R01 DA/AA1156)



STUDY DESIGN: CASE CONTROL WITH PROXIES AS INFORMANTS

- **Cases: Actual and Attempted femicides (n = 493)**
- **Data for femicide victims - police records & proxy who knows most about relationship - sibling, friend**
- **Attempteds & proxy interviews -1-2 hr. semi-structured**
- **Controls: Telephone survey-battered (n=427) & not battered women (n = 418) - same geographic areas**
- **In depth interviews w/ subsample (n=30) of attempteds**
- **Collaborations w/police homicide departments, ME's, shelters & community organizations - each city**
- **Challenges: locating proxies & attempted victims, grief & invasion issues, needs to reconstruct & not knowing details, safety issues, training interviewers**

OPERATIONAL DEFINITION OF ATTEMPTED HOMICIDE

- Gunshot or puncture (stab) wound to the head, neck or torso.
- Strangulation resulting in loss of consciousness.
- Multiple blows to the head with a blunt object (e.g. baseball bat). Exclude cases in which blunt object would only in most rare instance produce lethal injuries (e.g. objects made of plastic).
- OR other incidents with clear *evidence* (e.g. witness) of intent to kill
- Attempteds - all consecutive cases meeting inclusion criteria obtained from police records or trauma center or shelters or DA's



INTIMATE PARTNER ABUSE CONTROLS (N=427)

- **Random sample selected from same cities as femicide and attempted femicide cases**
- **Telephone survey conducted 11/98 - 9/99 using random digit dialing**
- **Women in household 18-50 years old & most recently celebrated a birthday**
- **Women abused by an intimate partner within 2 years prior to interview - from preliminary data from femicides & attempted**
- **Safety protocol from Johnson '94**



MEASUREMENT OF ABUSE FOR ABUSED CONTROLS

Experienced one or more of following in past 2 years (&CTS1 intro) - threshold from preliminary data

threatened to hit victim with a fist or anything that may hurt her

threw something to hurt victim

pushed, grabbed, or shoved victim

punched, slapped, or kicked victim

choked victim

used or threatened to use gun or knife on victim

forced victim into sexual activity

harassed, stalked, or threatened victim

did anything physical or aggressive toward victim



Socio-Economic Characteristics of Homicide And Attempted Homicide Victims (N=493) Compared To Abused Controls (N=427) And Non-Abused Controls (N=418) * < .0001

	HOMI/ATT VICTIMS N=490 %	ABUSED CONTROLS N=427 %	NON_ABUSED CONTROLS N=418 %
Race *			
African American	49.6	23.6	16.2
White	26.5	49.3	61.6
Latino	21.0	22.7	17.0
Other	2.9	4.4	5.2
Education *			
<HS	31.4	16.5	7.4
HS	27.0	22.4	17.5
Some college	32.2	32.3	30.2
College grad	9.4	28.8	44.8



Socio-Economic Characteristics of Homicide And Attempted Homicide Victims (N=493) Compared To Abused Controls (N=427) And Non-Abused Controls (N=418) *<.0001

	HOMI/ATT VICTIMS N=490 %	ABUSED CONTROLS N=427 %	NON_ABUSED CONTROLS N=418 %
Employment *			
Full-time	49.9	57.0	65.3
Part-time	13.3	21.8	14.5
Not Emp / looking	7.4	7.1	2.8
Not Emp / not looking	29.5	14.2	17.5
Mean Age *	33.7 ± 11.1	30.0 ± 8.6	34.5 ± 8.9



Socio-Economic Characteristics of Homicide And Attempted Homicide Partners (N=493) Compared To Abused Controls (N=427) And Non-Abused Controls (N=418) *<.0001

	HOMI/ATT PARTNERS N=490 %	ABUSED CONTROLS N=427 %	NON_ABUSED CONTROLS N=418 %
Race *			
African American	52.0	25.5	18.6
White	22.2	45.3	59.9
Latino	21.7	21.9	15.7
Other	4.0	8.3	5.7
Education *			
<HS	48.7	26.5	9.3
HS	30.6	27.9	16.3
Some college	13.4	18.9	21.5
College grad	7.3	26.7	52.9

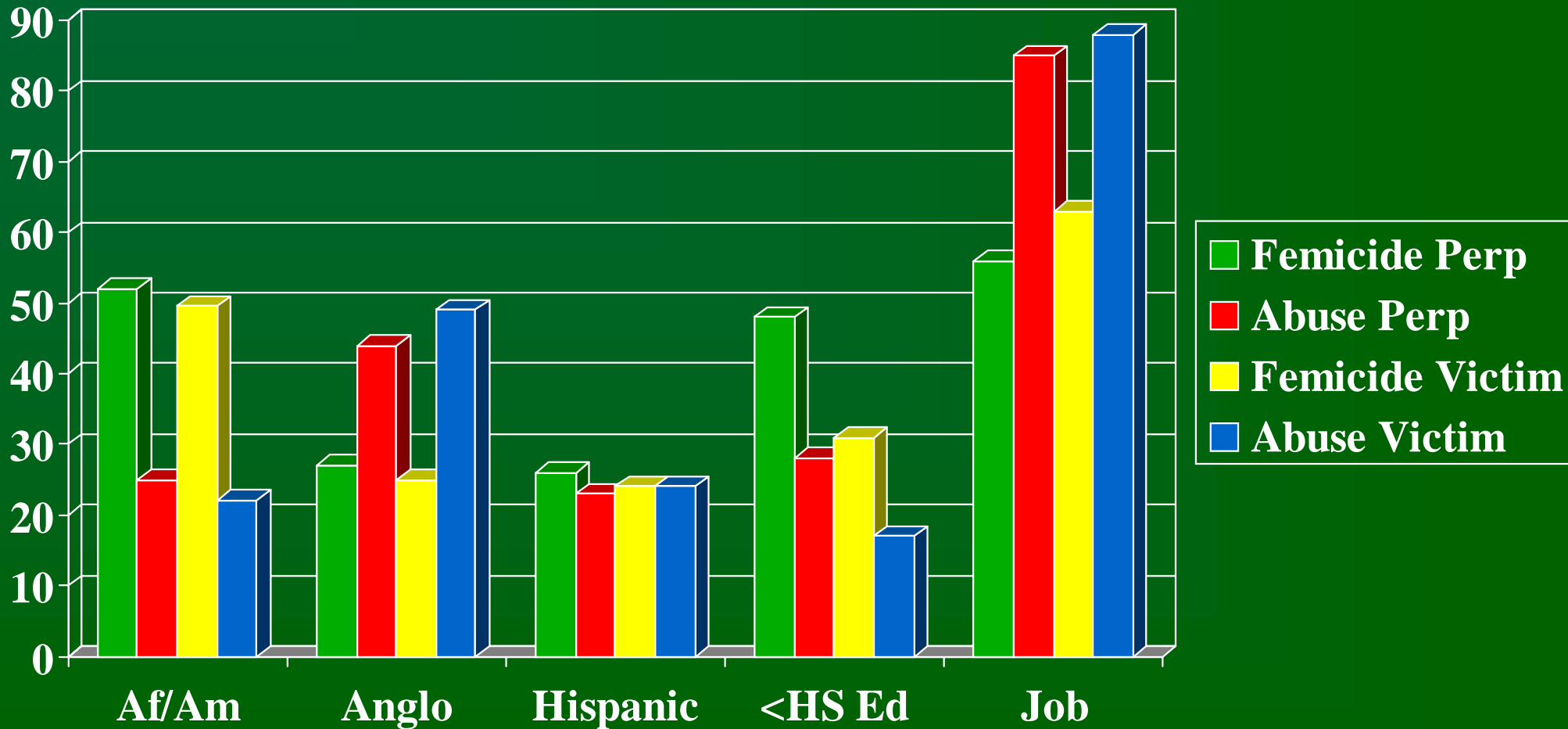


Socio-Economic Characteristics of Homicide And Attempted Homicide Partners (N=493) Compared To Abused Controls (N=427) And Non-Abused Controls (N=418) *<.0001

	HOMI/ATT PARTNERS N=490 %	ABUSED CONTROLS N=427 %	NON_ABUSED CONTROLS N=418 %
Employment *			
Full-time	46.3	72.1	92.0
Part-time	8.9	13.2	6.6
Not Emp / looking	8.2	4.3	0.2
Not Emp / not looking	36.6	10.4	1.2
Mean Age *	35.9 <u>±</u> 12	31.3 <u>±</u> 9.4	36.8 <u>±</u> 9.3



Perpetrator & Victim Sociodemographics



STALKING ASSESSMENT - PREDICTORS OF FEMICIDE STUDY

(FUNDED BY NIDA/NIMH/CDC/NIJ R01 DA/AA1156)

- 11 items from stalking questions on NVAWS (Tjaden & Thoennes, 1998) (& on HARASS instrument) (Sheridan, 1998)
- 8 additional items from HARASS = 19 items - whole range of stalking behaviors
- Reliability (coefficient alpha):
 - Femicide victims: 0.85
 - Attempted femicide victims: 0.81
 - Abused controls: 0.82



PRIOR PHYSICAL ABUSE & STALKING EXPERIENCED BY FEMICIDE & ATTEMPTED FEMICIDE VICTIMS

	Femicide	Attempted
● Stalking behavior		
– Current relationship	69%	84%
– Estranged relationship	88%	88%
● Prior physical abuse	63%	72%
– Increased in frequency	72%	58%
– Increased in severity	63%	64%
● Prior abuse w/stalking	90%	93%
● No prior abuse w/stalking	58%	74%



% OF WOMEN STALKED BY INTIMATE PARTNER BY RELATIONSHIP STATUS: FEMICIDE (N=311), ATTEMPTED FEMICIDE (N=182) & ABUSED CONTROLS (N=427)

Femicide Attempted Controls

• Stalked	74%	89%	68%
• Stalking and relationship status			
– Current relationship	70%	87%	66.8%
– Ended relationship	92%	95%	67%



Victim Alcohol Use Of Homicide And Attempted Homicide Victims (N=445) Compared To Abused Controls (N=384) And Non-Abused Controls (N=376) *<.0001

	HOMI/ATT VICTIMS N=445 %	ABUSED CONTROLS N=384 %	NON_ABUSED CONTROLS N=376 %
Alc/prob drinker*	10.3	7.6	1.9
Treatment	24.4	17.2	57.1
Frequency			
<=1 / week	80.6	76.9	79.7
2-3 times/week	10.7	15.4	14.2
>= 4 / week	8.7	7.7	6.1
Severity*			
0 drinks/episode	39.0	32.3	28.9
1-2 drinks/episode	39.8	41.1	55.4
3-4 drinks/episode	13.7	18.9	12.8
5-6 drinks/episode	5.2	5.6	2.7
7 or more/episode	2.3	2.1	.3

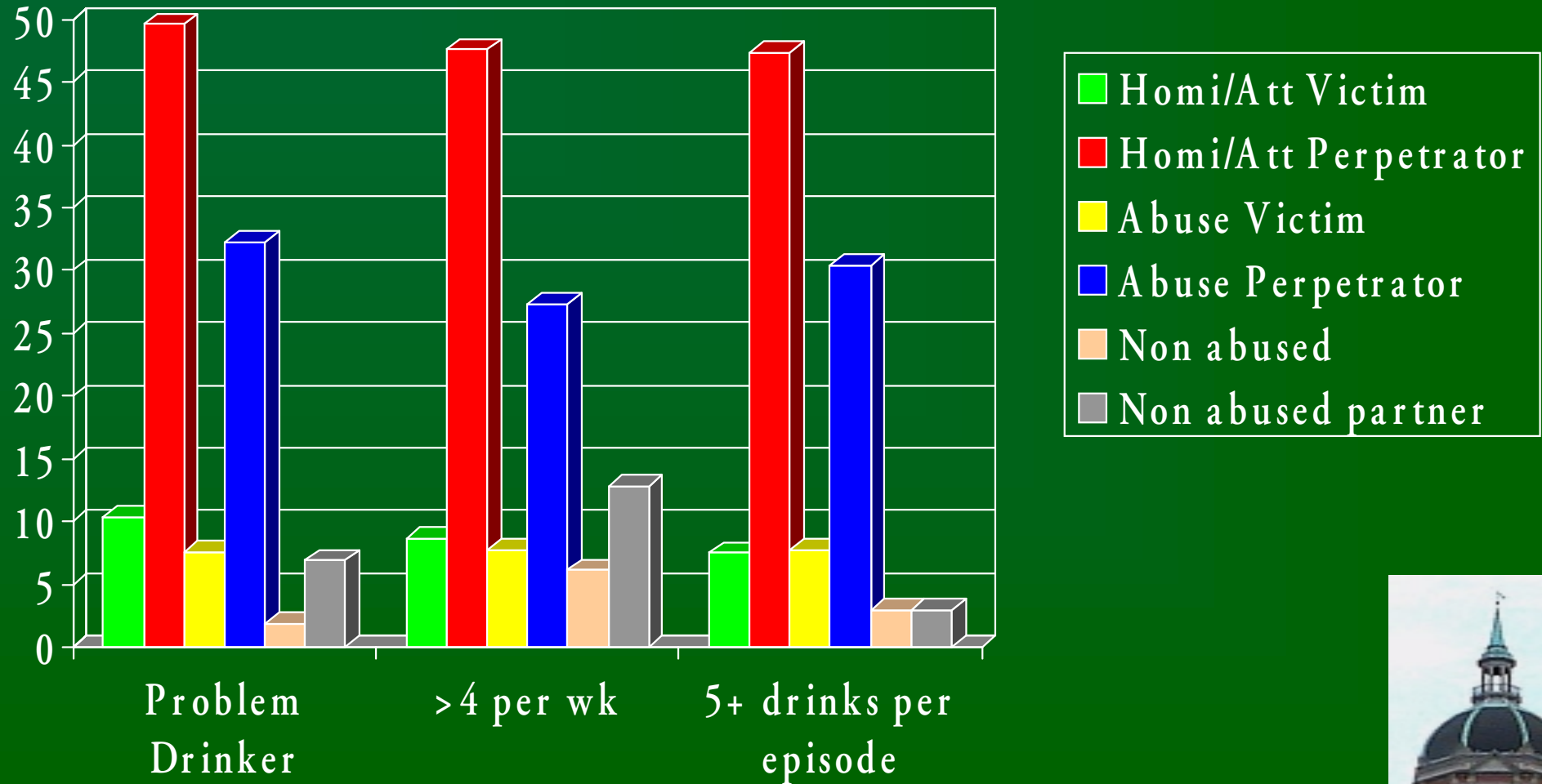


Partner Alcohol Use Among Homicide And Attempted Homicide Perpetrators/Partners (N=445) Compared To Abused Controls (N=384) And Non-Abused Controls (N=376) * <.001 ** <.0001

	HOMI/ATT Perpetrators N=445 %	ABUSED CONTROLS N=384 %	NON_ABUSED CONTROLS N=376 %
Drunk every day**	35.1	11.6	1.2
Alc/prob drinker**	49.6	32.3	6.9
Treatment*	13.5	21.0	23.1
Frequency *			
<=1 / week	39.2	54.0	67.8
2-3 times/week	13.3	18.7	19.4
>= 4 / week	47.6	27.3	12.8
Severity**			
0 drinks/episode	18.5	20.6	28.9
1-2 drinks/episode	19.1	28.2	55.4
3-4 drinks/episode	15.1	20.9	12.8
5-6 drinks/episode	19.8	13.8	2.7
7 or more/episode	27.6	16.6	0.3



Summary Victim & Perpetrator Alcohol Use



Drug Use Of Homicide And Attempted Homicide Victims and Partners (N=445) Compared To Abused Controls (N=384) And Non-Abused Controls (N=376) *<.001 **<.0001

	HOMI/ATT VICTIMS N=445 %	ABUSED CONTROLS N=384 %	NON_ABUSED CONTROLS N=376 %
Victim Drug use*	15.7	13.8	6.9
Partner Drug Use**	53.0	31.5	7.2



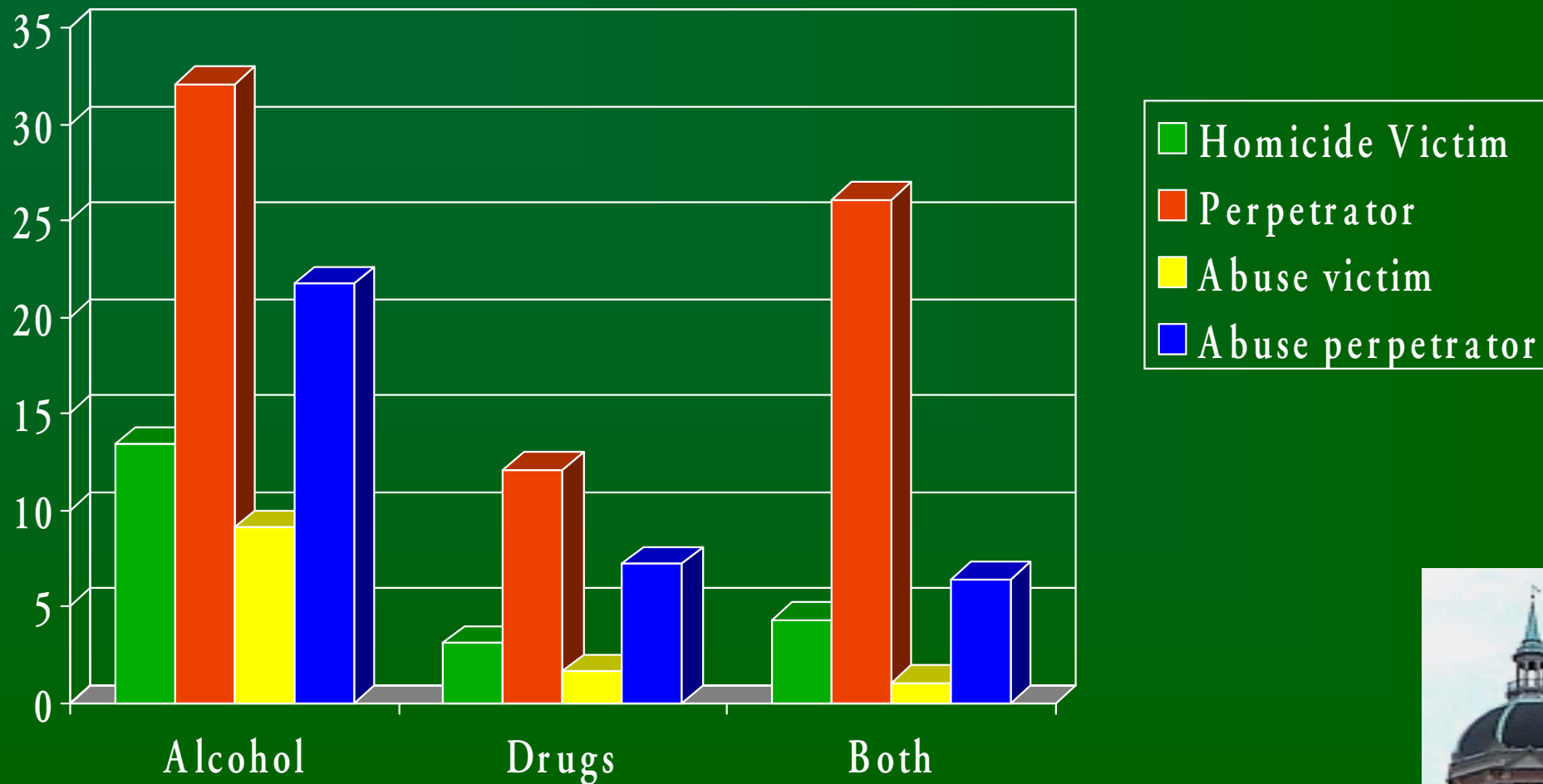
Victim and Partner Use of Alcohol or Drugs at Time of Homicide or Attempted Homicide Incident (N=445) Compared to Time of Worst Incident for Abused Controls (N=384) *<.001 **<.0001

	HOMI/ATT VICTIMS N=445 %	ABUSED CONTROLS N=386 %
Victim Use of **		
Alcohol	13.4	9.1
Drugs	3.1	1.6
Both	4.3	1.0
None	79.2	88.3
Partner Use of ***		
Alcohol	32.1	21.7
Drugs	12.1	7.2
Both	26.1	6.4
None	28.7	64.6

Also significantly different between victim and partner



Use of Alcohol &/or Drugs - Time of Homicide/Attempt (n=445) or Worst Abuse (n=384)



Logistic Regression (controlling for demographic differences)

- Perpetrator problem drinking increased risk of partner abuse (OR = 8.24 p = .001) & femicide/attempted femicide (OR=2.39 p=. 014)
- Both frequency of drinking & drinking <5 drinks per episode increased risk of abuse (OR=3.08 p=.001; 3.53 p=.004).
- Perpetrator problem drinking & frequency increased risk for femicide/attempted femicide & abuse adjusting for demographics (adjusted relative OR = 2.01 p=.004 & OR = 2.08 p = .039)
- Adjusted relative risk - controlling for demographics - *all* victim associations disappear
- Perpetrator problem drinking stronger risk for abuse than femicide/attempts but more associated with demographics
- Higher % of perpetrators using alcohol or drugs at time of femicide than worst abuse incident (71% vs. 35%)

DANGER ASSESSMENT

(Campbell '86)

- **Developed in 1985 to increase battered women's ability to take care of themselves (Self Care Agency; Orem '81, 92)**
- **Interactive, uses calendar - aids recall plus women come to own conclusions - more persuasive & in an adult learner/ strong woman/ survivor model**



DANGER ASSESSMENT (Campbell '86, '95; Campbell et. al., in press)

- 15 items yes/no plus calendar (frequency & severity of past year, aids recall)
- Summative, no cutoff
- 10 samples of 2251 battered women
- Internal consistency = .60-.86; test-retest .89-.94
- Construct validity: convergent w/CTS & ISA ($r = .55-.75$); discriminant group



Danger Assessment - Predictive Validity

- 2 recent small independent predictive validity studies
- (Goodman, Dutton & Bennett, '00) N = 92; 53% returned; successful prediction of reabuse, DA stronger predictor than CTS2 (4.2 vs. 2.8 odds ratio per 1 std. Deviation on DA or CTS2)
- But women's perception of danger stronger predictor than any of the 10 DA items available in criminal justice records (Weisz, Tolman et. al. '00)

DANGER ASSESSMENT

Predictors of Intimate Partner Femicide Study**

Attempted Femicides (N=172) & Intimate Partner Abuse (N=427)*

Reliability (Coefficient Alpha)

- Attempted Femicide Victims .72
- Abused Control Victims .74
- Actual Femicides .60 (missing data)

* Presence of DA items within one year prior to attempted femicide and within one year prior to worst incident of abuse experienced by abused controls.

** Funded by NIDA, NIAA, NIJ, NIMH & CDC

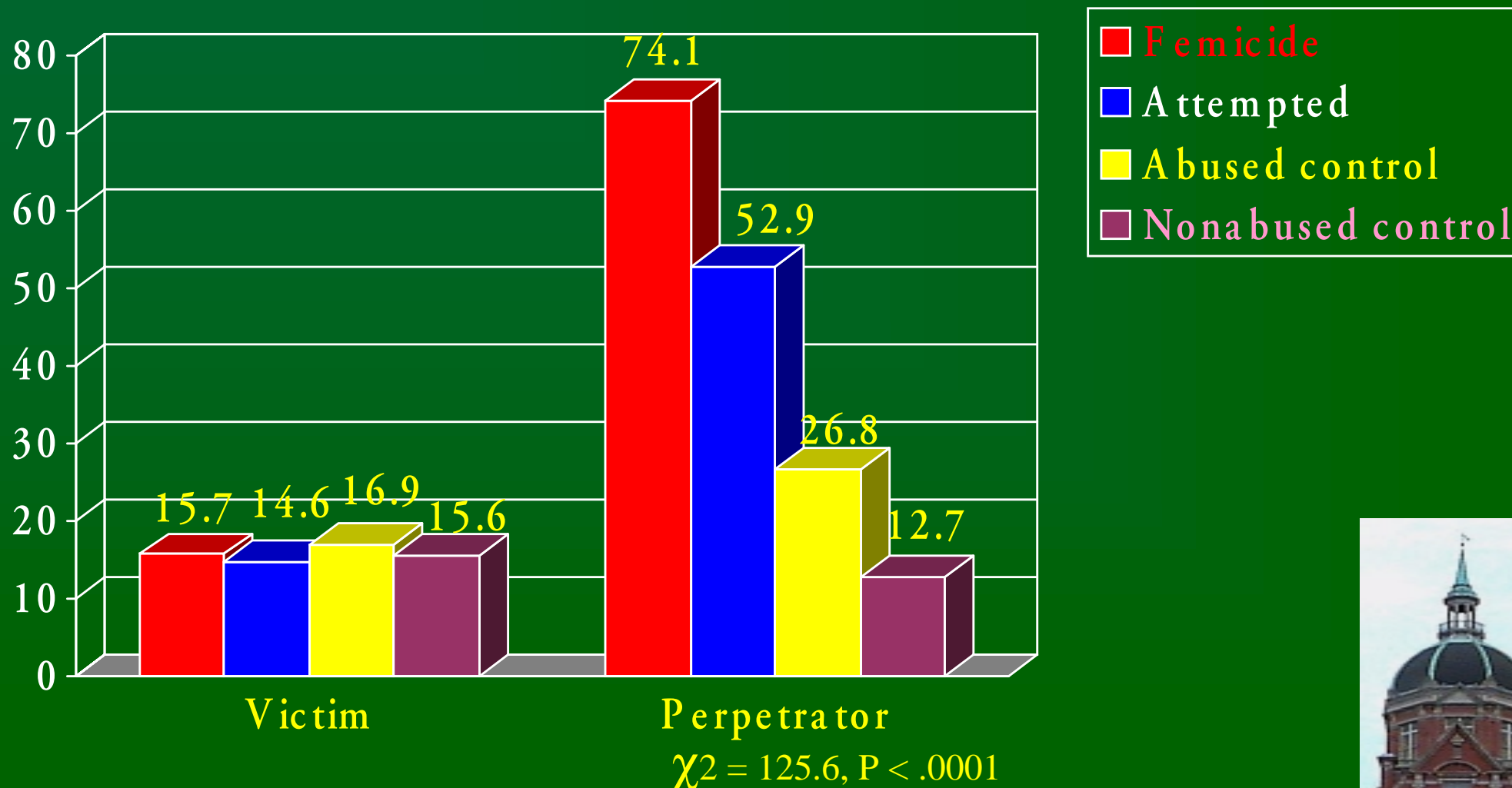


ITEMS ON DANGER ASSESSMENT EXPERIENCED BY FEMICIDE (N=311) ATTEMPTED FEMICIDE (N=182) & PARTNER ABUSE CONTROLS (N=427) IN PAST 12 MONTHS

(*p < .0001)

	Femicide	Attempted	Control
● Physical violence increased in frequency*	66%	54%	24%
● Physical violence increased in severity *	62%	60%	18%
● A weapon or threat from a weapon *	51%	38%	6%
● Partner tried to choke victim *	43%	44%	10%
● A gun is present in the house *	52%	33%	16%
● Partner forced victim to have sex *	46%	42%	12%

VICTIM & PERPETRATOR OWNERSHIP OF WEAPON IN FEMICIDE (N = 311), ATTEMPTED FEMICIDE (N = 182), ABUSED CONTROL (N=427) & NON-ABUSED CONTROL (N=418) CASES



**ITEMS ON DANGER ASSESSMENT EXPERIENCED BY
FEMICIDE (N=311) ATTEMPTED FEMICIDE (N=182) &
PARTNER ABUSE CONTROLS (N=427) IN PAST 12 MONTHS**
(*p < .0001)

	Femicide	Attempted	Control
● Partner used street drugs *	56%	54%	25%
● Partner threatened to kill victim *	63%	58%	14%
● Victim believes partner is capable of killing her *	47%	53%	24%
● Partner is drunk every day *	33%	39%	12%
● Partner controls all victim's activities *	62%	61%	31%
● Partner beat victim while pregnant *	23%	49%	8%

**ITEMS ON DANGER EXPERIENCED BY FEMICIDE (N=311)
ATTEMPTED FEMICIDE (N=182) & PARTNER ABUSE
CONTROLS (N=427) IN PAST 12 MONTHS (* p < .05)**

	Femicide	Attempted	Control
• Partner is violently jealous of victim (says things like “If I can’t have you, no one can”)*	75%	78%	32%
• Victim threatened/trying to commit suicide	5%	8%	9%
• Partner threatened/trying to commit suicide *	24%	29%	19%
• Partner has been reported for child abuse *	8%	10%	3%
• Partner is violent outside house *	49%	47%	38%

DANGER ASSESSMENT SCORES

	Mean	SD
● Abused Controls	2.9*	2.8
● Attempted Femicide	7.9	3.2
● All Femicides	7.1	3.4
● Femicide w/o suicide	7.0	3.6
● Femicide/suicide	7.4	3.2

Attempted and Femicide scores significantly higher than abused controls (*p<.05)



Risk Prediction 4 Quadrant Model

(Webster et. al. '94)

(A) TRUE POSITIVES (B) FALSE POSITIVES

Predicted violence,
Violent outcomes

Predicted violence
No violent outcomes

$PPV = A/n > \text{score}$

Sensitivity = % correct

(C) FALSE
NEGATIVES

No violence predicted,
Violence occurs

(D) TRUE NEGATIVES

No violence predicted,
No violence occurs

Specificity = % correct

$NPV = d/n < \text{score}$

DANGER ASSESSMENT CUT-OFF SCORES

Cut-Off	Sensitivity	Specificity	PPV	NPV
≥ 4	84.4	65.6	73.4	78.8
≥ 6	69.0	82.6	81.8	70.2
≥ 8	50.1	93.7	90.0	62.5

- Lower cut-off for identifying all cases (shelter)
- Higher cut-off for significant consequences (jail)



Conclusions

- **Danger Assessment has some support for validity in a large national case control study**
- **Stalking probably should be added - although common among abused women also - can use HARRASS (Sheridan) instrument or at least one item**
- **DA can be an important basis for safety planning but use of cutoffs for deciding protection for women not advised**
- **Will be revised with this data**



MISSED OPPORTUNITIES: PREVENTION - 65% of Cases

VICTIMS

- Police Contacts - 63% of battered women
- Any Medical Visit - 42%
- ED Visits - 30%
- Shelter Contacts - 4% of battered women
- Substance abuse Tx - 6%

PERPETRATORS

- Prior Arrest - 58% of batterers (32% of non)
- Mental Health System - 22%
- Substance Abuse Tx - 4% (but far more with px)
- Child Abuse - 19% of batterers; 8% of non

CONCLUSIONS

- Clearly risk assessment for intimate partner femicide needed
- Clearly complex - risk factors such as estrangement, controlling behaviors, etc. difficult to operationalize & understand how they operate
- Surprises in data so far - no increased risk for harm to pets,
- Risk factors for homicide/suicides (more mc, white, less abuse) different?
- Risk factors for cases with no abuse different?

CONCLUSIONS

- **DV risk prediction in its infancy (Roehl, 1998)**
- **Need to determine prediction of what in selection of instrument**
 - **Lethality /Dangerousness OR**
 - **Reoffending (Domestic Violence)**
- **Several studies underway**
- **Demand is more than available data**
- **Be careful of making decisions based on “cutoffs” - predictive validity NOT established**



CONCLUSIONS (cont.)

- Both is needed -Re-offending risk for judicial & police decisions
- Lethality risk with victim to raise consciousness, safety planning
- Safety planning using DA - to increase woman's awareness of risk - base level of assertiveness on score plus specific plans around specific risks identified - e.g. guns, workplace stalking
- Use language like “let's talk about keeping you and your children safe”



Specific Safety Planning Strategies

- Get the gun(s) out - issue search warrants, educate judges & police - if nothing else, get them disarmed
- If she plans to leave, cannot do face to face
- Try to get her to a shelter if she is in danger
- Batterer intervention - she needs to stay gone until he completes & his attendance monitored
- Protective order for stalking - or use stalking laws
- Engage women's mothering concerns & skills (Henderson & Erikson '97'93; Humphreys, '93; Sullivan et. al.'00)
- Help her engage her social supports
- Put money aside (McFarlane, Parker et. al. '99)
- Be alert for depressed batterer

Finally

- Remember who it's about - survivors (& their children) -
- their safety paramount, their prediction important

