

**FEMICIDE: THE IMPACT OF VICTIM/OFFENDER
RELATIONSHIP ON CRIME CHARACTERISTICS**

By

Donna M. Morgan

**A dissertation submitted to the Graduate Faculty in Criminal
Justice in partial fulfillment of the requirements of the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy, The City University of New York**

2006

UMI Number: 3205005

Copyright 2006 by
Morgan, Donna M.

All rights reserved.

UMI[®]

UMI Microform 3205005

Copyright 2006 by ProQuest Information and Learning Company.
All rights reserved. This microform edition is protected against
unauthorized copying under Title 17, United States Code.

ProQuest Information and Learning Company
300 North Zeeb Road
P.O. Box 1346
Ann Arbor, MI 48106-1346

©2006

Donna M. Morgan

All Rights Reserved

Approval Page

This manuscript has been read and accepted for the Graduate Faculty in Criminal Justice in satisfaction of the dissertation requirement for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

Date

Patricia Zapf
Chair of Examining Committee

Date

Todd R. Clear
Executive Officer

Jennifer Groscup
Supervisory Committee

Barry Spunt
Supervisory Committee

THE CITY UNIVERSITY OF NEW YORK

Abstract

FEMICIDE: THE IMPACT OF VICTIM/OFFENDER RELATIONSHIP ON CRIME CHARACTERISTICS

By

Donna M. Morgan

Advisor: Dr. Patricia Zapf

The complexity of human behavior is never more evident than in the events surrounding the taking of another life (Flewelling & Williams, 1999). However, the preponderance of research on homicide has primarily focused on those committed against male victims (Moracco, Runyan, & Butts, 1998). Therefore, currently recognized patterns and theories in homicide research may merely be representative of those involving male victimization.

Recent studies examining femicide have shown that it is, in fact, very different than homicide committed against men. It has been shown that homicides against women have different causes and circumstances than male-victim homicide, especially in terms of victim/offender characteristics, relationship, motive, method, and location (Block & Christakos, 1995; Moracco et al., 1998). Furthermore, this research has shown that just as homicide is not a homogeneous phenomenon, neither is femicide. We can expect different characteristics of the victim, offender, and offense based upon the victim/offender relationship.

The present study adds to the growing body of knowledge on homicides against women by examining the role of the victim/offender relationship in crime characteristic variation. A number of hypotheses related to victim/offender characteristics, method,

location, and crime scene behavior were developed utilizing an integrated lifestyle-routine activities approach. These hypotheses were tested through the analyses of 393 solved and unsolved cases of femicide committed in New Jersey during a seven-year period (1991 through 1997). This information was obtained from homicide reports completed by the case investigators and submitted to the New Jersey State Police, Violent Crime Analysis Unit (ViCAP). These reports include information on victim/offender relationship, victim/offender characteristics, location, cause of death, sexual assault, and additional crime scene behavior.

While quantitative analyses are utilized in the present study to examine the patterns and interactions found in femicide, qualitative interviews help provide depth to this data. In-depth interviews were conducted with twelve offenders to provide further insight into the factors behind the offenders' behavior. The combination of quantitative and qualitative analyses presented in this dissertation helps provide a more comprehensive examination of femicide at the macro level as well as at lower levels of aggregation.

This dissertation provides new insight into the victim/offender interaction. Most notably, it has practical utility for investigators. It provides a more scientific and systematic basis to previously subjective approaches of police investigations through an increased understanding of femicide and the affect of the victim/offender relationship.

Acknowledgments

I owe a great debt of gratitude to the wonderful men and women of the New Jersey State Police Investigations Section. Without them this project would not have been possible. Thanks to Jim McCormick and Keith Hackett for giving me my start in law enforcement and supporting this project from its very inception. Special thanks to Jim for assisting me in conducting the interviews and to Keith for all he has taught me about investigations and his contagious enthusiasm for the job. I would like to thank Fred Tavener, Dean Sassman, and Fred Madden for all of their assistance in cutting through any red tape that could have stalled or prevented the gathering of this data and for sharing their "connections."

Thank you to the fine staff at the New Jersey Department of Corrections for allowing me to come in and conduct the interviews for this research. They already have an often thankless and dangerous job yet they did not hesitate to extend me assistance.

I would like to express my sincere gratitude to my advisor, Patricia Zapf, and committee members, Barry Spunt and Jennifer Groscup for their insight and exceptional assistance. A special thank you to Dr. Zapf for her patience and encouragement as I struggled to finish and "just be done with it." I thank my friends and fellow Doctoral students, Rick Fuentes and Jerry LaSalle for showing me it was possible to finish, that there is life after graduate school, and helping me laugh through it all.

I have been extremely fortunate in my career to be a part of two outstanding organizations, first the New Jersey State Police and now the Monmouth County Prosecutor's Office. I could not have asked to work with a finer group of individuals.

Specials thanks to Steven Padula and Karen Odom for all of their support and encouragement. They understand first hand the importance of education and the difficulties of attaining it while working many and often unpredictable hours. Thank you to Cathy Bryan for her transcription services, when I had neither the patience nor the skill to put in writing all the hours of interviews.

A project of this magnitude requires a support network of equal size. Thank you to all my family, friends, and co-workers who believed in me and provided unwavering support when I even doubted myself. A special thanks to my parents, Robert and Margaret Morgan, who although they are not here to see this, provided me with the building blocks and the motivation to even attempt such a goal. And finally, to my husband Matthew, who has not known me without the pressure of graduate school hanging over my head, thank you for your patience and sharing your family with me.

This work is dedicated to all the victims of femicide, may their murderers not go unpunished.

Table of Contents

<i>Abstract</i>	<hr/>	<i>iv</i>
<i>Acknowledgments</i>	<hr/>	<i>vi</i>
<i>Table of Contents</i>	<hr/>	<i>viii</i>
<i>List of Tables</i>	<hr/>	<i>ix</i>
<i>List of Figures</i>	<hr/>	<i>ix</i>
Chapter 1	Introduction	1
Chapter 2	Literature Review	4
A)	The Victims	11
B)	The Offenders	15
C)	The Victim/Offender Relationship	17
D)	The Crime Scene	19
E)	Critique	26
Chapter 3	Lifestyle and Routine Activities Theory	29
Chapter 4	Research Questions and Hypotheses	32
A)	The Victims	32
B)	The Offenders	34
C)	The Victim/Offender Relationship	36
D)	The Crime Scene	37
Chapter 5	Research Design and Methodology	43
A)	Sample	43
B)	Operationalization	47
C)	Data Collection	50
D)	Data Analysis	52
Chapter 6	Quantitative Analyses: ViCAP Data	58
A)	The Victims	58
B)	The Offenders	65
C)	The Victim/Offender Relationship	69
D)	The Crime Scene	71
Chapter 7	Qualitative Analyses: Interview Data	96
Chapter 8	Discussion	116
Chapter 9	Conclusion	122
<i>Appendix A. NJSP ViCAP Form</i>	<hr/>	<i>127</i>
<i>Appendix B. Inmate Consent</i>	<hr/>	<i>156</i>
<i>Appendix C. Federal Certificate of Confidentiality</i>	<hr/>	<i>157</i>
<i>Appendix D. Consent to Interview</i>	<hr/>	<i>159</i>
<i>Appendix E. Interview Protocol</i>	<hr/>	<i>160</i>

List of Tables

Table 1: Comparison of Reviewed Studies	25
Table 2: Research Hypotheses.....	42
Table 3: Comparison of NJ ViCAP Femicides and UCR Femicides from 1991-1997.....	46
Table 4: Victim/Offender Relationship Comparison for Interview Population	47
Table 5: Victim Age	60
Table 6: Victim Ethnicity	62
Table 7: Victim Marital Status.....	64
Table 8: Offender Age	66
Table 9: Age Difference.....	66
Table 10: Victim Ethnicity and Offender Ethnicity	67
Table 11: Offender Gender	68
Table 12: Offender Status	69
Table 13: Descriptive Characteristics of Offenders.....	71
Table 14: Location.....	74
Table 15: Method	77
Table 16: Type of Firearm	78
Table 17: Range Of Gun Fire.....	79
Table 18: Number of Gun Shot Wounds	80
Table 19: Number of Stab Wounds	81
Table 20: Excessive Brutality.....	82
Table 21: Sexual Assault	84
Table 22: Victim's Property.....	86
Table 23: Victim's Clothing	88
Table 24: Covering the Victim.....	90
Table 25: Binding.....	92
Table 26: Scene Altering	94

List of Figures

Figure 1: Victim Ethnicity.....	62
Figure 2: Victim Marital Status	64
Figure 3: Offender Status.....	69
Figure 4: Offender Relationship.....	71
Figure 5: Location	74
Figure 6: Method.....	77
Figure 7: Sexual Assault.....	84
Figure 8: Victim Property.....	86
Figure 9: Covering or Redressing the Victim	90

Chapter 1 Introduction

The complexity of human behavior is never more evident than in the events surrounding the taking of another life (Flewelling & Williams, 1999). Homicide is a diverse and complex multidimensional phenomenon (Rojek & Williams, 1993; West, 2000). Yet, while no two homicides are the same, some are more similar than others.

Wolfgang's (1958) classic study, *Patterns in Criminal Homicide*, was one of the first works that recognized the need to categorize homicides for the purpose of analysis. Wolfgang proposed that "if criminologists are to acquire general principles of homicide that are essential to effective control, prevention, and treatment they must seek patterns, similarities, and repetitions that can become the basis for classifications and generalizations" (p. 3). Many studies have been produced in the 48 years since that use this philosophy to increase our knowledge of the homicide event as well as our knowledge of the characteristics of the victims and offenders. Safarik, Jarvis and Nussbaum (2002) have further shown that, through the examination of crime scene variables, there is a potential to identify offender characteristics.

Current studies categorize homicides based on victim/offender relationship, circumstance, motive, and drug relatedness, but few have examined victim gender. One explanation is that homicide is most often committed against males with females constituting only about one fourth of homicide victims in any given year (Flanagan & Maguire, 1992). Consequently, most of what is known about homicide is based on male victimization (Moracco, Runyan, & Butts, 1998). It is possible that the greater occurrence of male victimization in homicide may obscure any variations involving females

(Smith & Brewer, 1992). Therefore, currently recognized patterns in homicide may merely be representative of those involving male victimization.

In fact, homicides against women differ vastly from those committed against men. It has been shown that femicide has different causes and circumstances than overall homicide, especially as it relates to victim and offender characteristics, motive, method, and location (Block & Christakos, 1995; Moracco, Runyan, Butts, 1998). Identifying patterns of femicide is a crucial step toward developing the conceptual and theoretical frameworks necessary to better understand this event (Moracco, Runyan, & Butts, 1998).

This study examines the effect of victim/offender relationships (i.e., intimate, family, acquaintance, stranger, or unknown) on victim/offender characteristics, location, cause of death, sexual assault, and other crime scene behavior. It provides not only a better understanding of the characteristics and patterns of femicide but also interactions between these variables. This study seeks to fill the gap in our understanding of femicide through the examination of comprehensive investigative data. This data is comprised of the 393 solved and unsolved cases of femicide committed in New Jersey during a seven-year period (1991 through 1997) that were reported to the New Jersey State Police ViCAP Unit.

In addition, in-depth interviews, which were conducted with a sample of the offenders, provide further insight into the factors behind the offenders' behavior. The quantitative analysis examines the patterns and interactions found in femicide, while the qualitative interviews provide richness to the data. Although qualitative case studies have long been viewed as the weaker research method, many researchers recognize that interviews are among the most powerful means we have in our quest to understand our

fellow human beings (Fontana & Frey, 1994). Interviews provide strong insight into the 'who' and 'why' of the femicide phenomenon. One common concern regarding case study research is scientific generalization (Yin, 1994). However, it should be noted that the interviews in this study are not intended to generalize to the whole population but rather to expand and generalize to the theoretical propositions. The combination of quantitative and qualitative analyses presented here helps provide a more comprehensive examination of the phenomenon of femicide.

Chapter 2 Literature Review

For many years, extensive research literature has been published on homicide. The belief that homicide should not be viewed as a homogeneous phenomenon has been widely accepted and can be seen in the body of research which has been carried out and published. Many of these studies have examined the role of victim/offender relationships in homicides, predominately involving male victims (Decker, 1996; Decker, 1993; Drawdy & Myers, 2004; Huong & Salmelainen, 1993; Maxfield, 1989; Messner & Tardiff, 1985; Morgan & Kratcoski, 1986; Riedel & Zahn, 1985; Silverman & Kennedy, 1987; Simon, 1995; Smith & Parker, 1980; Wilson, 1993; Zahn & Sagi, 1987).

Homicide and Victim/Offender Relationship

Five of the most comprehensive and informative studies examining the effect of victim/offender relationship on homicide characteristics are described here followed in more detail by five studies which specifically examine the effect of victim/offender relationship on femicide. The first study is included in both the homicide and femicide sections of this literature review. Wolfgang's (1958) classic study, *Patterns in Criminal Homicide*, was the first to recognize the need for categorization in homicide and the only to provide enough detail on femicides to allow for separate analysis.

Wolfgang conducted a study of the patterns in 588 cases of criminal homicide that occurred between 1948 and 1952 in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. His work was the first to systematically classify the victim/offender relationship. When examining and comparing the victim/offender relationships, he found significant differences on a wide variety of variables, including race, sex, age, method, temporal and spatial patterns, alcohol use, degree of violence, motive, etc.

The second study examined was conducted by Silverman and Kennedy (1987) utilizing data submitted to Statistics Canada by the Canadian Police Department on 9642 homicides committed between 1961 and 1983. They studied the effect of 'relational distance' or victim/offender relationship on the ability to predict patterns in gender, age, means, and location.

The next study was conducted by Zahn and Sagi (1987). Zahn and Sagi collected police and medical examiner data on 1373 homicides occurring in 1978 in Philadelphia, Newark, Chicago, St. Louis, Memphis, Dallas, Oakland, San Jose, and one unnamed city. These cases were categorized based on victim/offender relationship and then examined for statistical differences based on age, race, gender, method, location, and witnesses.

The final two studies examined were conducted by Decker and published in 1993 and 1996. Utilizing data on 792 homicides gathered from the St. Louis Police Department for the years of 1985 through 1989, Decker first examined the association between victim/offender relationship and race, age, gender, location, motive, weapon, and number of suspects.

Decker then examined the homicides that did not fall within normative expectations about the relationship between victim-offender relationship and motive. This refers to the expectation that homicides committed by those intimately related would be motivated by emotion, whereas homicides committed by strangers would be more likely motivated by material gain. He then examined the effect of the victim-offender relationship and motivation on variables such as race, sex, age, marital status, weapon, location, number of suspects and/or witnesses, as well as drug and/or alcohol involvement.

Each of these studies classified the victim/offender relationship into a different set of categories. Wolfgang (1958) categorized the victim/offender relationship into paramour sex relationship, family, close friend, acquaintance, sex rival, enemy, stranger, felon or police officer, or other. Unfortunately many of the studies to follow collapsed Wolfgang's categories into a dichotomy, primary relationship/secondary relationship (Bankston & Loupe, 1985; Decker, 1993; Parker & Smith, 1979; Smith & Parker, 1980) or stranger relationship/non-stranger relationship (Messner & Tardiff, 1985; Sampson, 1987; Simon, 1995; Smith & Parker, 1980).

Silverman and Kennedy (1987) utilized four victim/offender relationship categories; stranger, spouse/lover, other family, and friends/acquaintances. Their findings revealed that relational distance provided an important factor for the examination of all variables and they conclude that examinations of aggregate data without categorization can be misleading in the development of patterns. Zahn and Sagi (1987) took a different approach and classified the victim/offender relationship as family, acquaintance, stranger felony, and stranger non-felony. Family included blood relatives, unmarried couples living together, separated, and divorced couples.

Decker (1993) used a more traditional approach and examined the use of dichotomies such as primary/secondary or stranger/non-stranger for categorizing victim/offender relationships vs. utilizing the five categories of intimate, familial, friend, acquaintance, and stranger. He defined primary as including intimates and family relationships. His classification of secondary included those with limited or no prior relationship, such as acquaintances and strangers. Decker acknowledges the use of

dichotomies in categorizing these relationships may in fact mask the variations between the relationship categories.

Decker (1993) argued that homicides committed within the primary/non-stranger relationships differ from those within the secondary/stranger relationships due to the intensity of the victim and offender bonds and the level of the offender's stake in the victim's wellbeing. Within the primary relationship there is also a variance in the intensity of the relationship, with relationships involving blood ties the most intense, followed by those romantically involved, and lastly by friendship. Therefore, Decker notes that the difference in the intensity between these relationships is masked by collapsing them into a single primary/non-stranger variable. As predicted, he found differences between the victim/offender relationship categories would have been missed had a dichotomy been utilized.

While the studies of the role of victim/offender relationship in homicide have greatly added to the body of knowledge, the collapse of the victim/offender relationship into a dichotomy or combined categories has made further differentiation and analysis limited if not impossible. Some prior studies have used motive and relationship as two interchangeable measures of the same dimension. Decker (1996) found that while relationship intensity did appear to play a role in the motive for the homicide, it is not as strong a predictor as was previously thought.

Decker (1996) defined motive as either expressing outrage and emotion or as instrumental, in pursuit of financial gain or to gain an advantage over the victim. Decker predicted that homicides normally involve expressive motives when there is an intimate relationship and instrumental motives when no close relationship is observed. Decker

hypothesized this would be due to expressive violence being a product of a more intense relationship and the fact that stranger relationships should lack the “history or intensity of interaction necessary.” Whereas, the bonds established in the intimate relationship should provide a protection from instrumental violence not found in the stranger relationship. However, he found that homicides between victims and offenders with primary relationships (i.e. intimate, family) were not primarily expressive (emotional) violence and homicides between strangers were not primarily motivated by instrumental (monetary) reasons. Decker’s study found that nearly 20% of intimate/familial homicides were motivated by material gain rather than emotional expression and stranger homicides were equally as likely to be expressive as for material gain.

The findings of Decker’s (1996) study show that the victim/offender relationship is not as important a determining factor in motivation as was predicted. Twenty-eight percent of intimate victim/offender relationship homicides actually involved an instrumental motivation. Even more significant, 46% of secondary victim/offender relationship homicides involved an expressive motivation. These findings show that prior studies have erroneously used victim/offender relationship and motivation as alternative measurements of the same concept.

Femicide and Victim/Offender Relationship

More recently, we have begun to see an emergence of work done on homicides involving women. Much of this research has been devoted to women as the perpetrators of homicide (Bradfield, 2001; Browne, 1987; Kirkwood, 2003; Peterson, 1999; Rasko, 1976; Walker, 1989). This is surprising as even fewer women are found to be perpetrators of homicide than victims of it. Those studies which have examined the female

as the victim have focused primarily on the victims of domestic violence (Barnard, Vera, & Newman, 1982; Block & Christakos, 1995; Dawson & Gartner, 1998; Johnson & Hotton, 2003; Morton, Runyan, & Moracco, 1998; Smith, Moracco, & Butts, 1998; Wilson & Daly, 1993) and the role of gender inequality in violence against women (Bailey & Peterson, 1995; Brewer, 1995; Brewer & Smith, 1995; Davies, 1996; Gartner, Baker, & Pampel, 1990; Gauthier & Bankston, 1997; Stout, 1992; Vieraitis & Williams, 2002).

Although these studies are valuable to our understanding of spousal homicide, they lack generalizability to femicide as a whole (Moracco, Runyan, & Butts, 1998). Domestic femicide only focuses on one sub-group of this population and may not be generalizable to the victims of familial, acquaintance, or stranger femicides. Just as male-victim homicide statistics overpower the reality of female victims, within femicide the large number of domestics can obscure the findings for family, acquaintance, and stranger femicides.

Five primary studies which provide the most descriptive and thorough analysis of femicide were identified. The first study was conducted by Wolfgang (1958). The study included both male and female victims, but unlike other studies, he separated the results for most of the variables, thus allowing for an examination of femicides specifically. One hundred thirty-nine of these cases (23.6%) included female victims. This is in keeping with current reports that female victims account for approximately one-fourth of homicide victims.

Wolfgang (1958) utilized police reports, coroners' reports, court records, and prison records. The results, published in *Patterns in Criminal Homicide*, allow for the first in-depth examination of femicide through analysis of the following variables: method, location, brutality, motive, victim/offender relationship, and victim precipitation. This

study provides us with our first real look at homicide against women. Wolfgang also found significant differences between homicides of African American women and Caucasian women, as well as those killed by their spouses and those killed by offenders other than their spouses.

More than thirty years passed before a second study was published. This study, conducted by Goetting (1991), greatly contributed to understanding the overall patterns of femicide. Goetting's study examined only those homicides perpetrated against female victims during 1982 and 1983 in Detroit, Michigan. She utilized data gathered from police reports in order to analyze 131 solved cases of femicide. This study examined the descriptive characteristics of offenders and victims, relationship, motive, method, victim precipitation, and location.

Goetting's (1991) study was then followed, six years later, by the work of Wilt, Illman, and Brodyfield (1997). Through the New York Department of Health, they conducted a study of female homicide victims in New York City from 1990 through 1994. Wilt et al. reviewed medical examiners' records and police reports for 1159 women, ages 16 and older, murdered in New York City during that period. Their study examined the descriptive characteristics of offenders and victims, motive, method, location, relationship, victim precipitation, and brutality. This study was later expanded by Frye, Hosein, Waltermauer, and Wilt (2004) to include all 1861 femicides victims in New York City from 1990 through 1999.

The final primary study that examined femicide was conducted by Moracco, Runyan, and Butts (1998). This study examined 586 cases of femicide occurring in North Carolina between 1991 and 1993. Moracco et al. collected data from medical examiners'

reports and interviews with investigators to gather information on the descriptive characteristics of offenders and victims, method, and location.

Additionally, two studies that specifically examined victim marital status were also included (Kposowa, Singh, & Breault, 1994; Breault & Kposowa, 1997). Each of these studies is detailed by variable in this section, followed by a table comparing the findings for each. Lastly a critique of the five primary studies is presented.

A) The Victims

1. Victim Age

The mean and median ages for victims of femicide were similar across all five studies. When Wolfgang (1958) examined the victims' ages in the Philadelphia study, he categorized it by victim's race. Using the dichotomy of Caucasian and African American, he found that female Caucasian victims were, on average, 36 years of age. Female African American victims had a slightly lower mean of 31 years of age. Goetting (1991) found a similar mean age of 32 years for the femicide victims in her Detroit study. The Detroit victims ranged in age from 2 months to 84 years.

The first New York City study conducted by Wilt et al. (1997) only considered victims who were 16 years of age or older. Its findings reported a mean age of 37 years with only 19% of the victims being 50 years of age or older. When the study examined age in conjunction with victim race, the researchers found Caucasian females more evenly distributed with 43% being 50 years of age or older. This is also consistent with Wolfgang (1958)'s findings of a higher mean for Caucasian victims. Wilt et al. also reported that 73% of the New York City familial femicide victims were 40 years of age or older.

With Frye et al. (2004) expansion of the New York City study, victim age was lowered to include all females 12 years of age and older beginning in 1995. In order to compute the mean age for victims for the ten-year period, Frye et al. examined victims 16 years of age and older and reported no change in the average age of 37 years that Wilt et al. (1997) reported. When examining age in conjunction with motive and perpetrator, they found victims with known motive and perpetrators had a mean age of 38 years, and victims with unknown motive and perpetrators had a mean age of 37 years. The study then calculated the mean age of intimate femicide victims and found they had the youngest mean age of 35, whereas victims of all other offenders had a mean age of 38.

The North Carolina study (Moracco et al., 1998) took a similar approach and only included victims who were 15 years of age or older. It reported a range in age from 15 to 90 years with a median age of 32 years. Consistent with the findings of Wilt et al. (1997), Moracco et al. also found that young women were particularly affected by femicide with 77% of the victims being less than 45 years of age.

Further examining this younger group in conjunction with relationship and gun usage, Moracco et al. (1998) discovered these younger victims were more than four times likely to be killed by a intimate partner and twice as likely to be killed by a gun than were victims 55 years of age or older. The latter victims were more likely to be killed by a family member, acquaintance, or stranger and more likely to be killed by bodily force in their homes. This is consistent with Frye et al. (2004) reporting a younger mean for intimates and Wilt et al. (1997) reporting most familial victims were over 40 years of age.

2. Victim Ethnicity

All five studies found higher rates of femicide for African American victims.

Wolfgang (1958) reported that 69% of the Philadelphia victims were African American although African Americans comprised only 17% of the city's population at the time.

Goetting (1991) found a similar though less dramatic proportionality between victimization and population rates in Detroit, finding that 76% of the victims in Detroit were African American, while 63% of Detroit's population was African American, according to a 1980 census reported.

This phenomenon also repeated itself in the New York City studies. In the Wilt et al. (1997) study from 1990 through 1994, 52% of the victims of femicide were reported to be African American although they only comprised 25% of the city's population. The number of African American victims dropped slightly to 50% when Frye et al. (2004) extended the study to 1999. Wilt et al. further reported that Caucasian (16%), Hispanic (29%), and Asian (2%) victim rates were either similar to or less than their percentage in the population, reported as 46%, 22%, and 7% respectively. Frye et al. found no significant change in the percentages of Caucasian (17%), Hispanic (28%), and Asian (3%) victimization.

While they comprised only 22% of the state's population Moracco et al. (1998) also found that 50% of the victims in North Carolina were African American. However, unlike the study's predecessors, North Carolina had a higher rate of Caucasian victims (48%).

With respect to ethnicity and victim/offender relationship, Wilt et al. (1997) reported that while over twice as many African American women in the New York City study were killed by intimate partners, Caucasian victims (25%) succumbed to intimate femicide in greater proportion than African Americans (19%) or Hispanics (22%).

However, when Frye et al. (2004) lengthened the New York City study to include 1995 through 1999, they found the Asian/Other (35%) and Hispanic (26%) categories surpassed the proportion in which both Caucasian (24%) and African Americans (22%) were killed by intimate partners. Conversely, Moracco et al. (1998) reported that Caucasians in North Carolina were twice as likely to be killed by a stranger as were African American victims.

3. Victim Marital Status

It should be noted that in a study on the effects of marital status, Kposowa, Singh, and Breault (1994) found marriage to be a protective factor in male victimization. They found that single and divorced men were more likely than married men to be the victims of homicide. However, Breault and Kposowa (1997) in a later study hypothesized that due to the higher rate of domestic violence, this phenomenon would not hold true for women. Breault and Kposowa (1997) and Moracco et al. (1998) both found that the rates for single women did not appear to differ from married women. It might be expected the femicide rate for married women to even surpass that of single women. However, many intimate femicides are committed by boyfriends and ex-boyfriends, which also raise the percentage of single female victims.

Goetting's (1991) and Moracco et al. (1998) studies reported similar findings. Goetting found that 49% of all the women murdered in Detroit were married and living with their husbands at the time of their deaths. Similarly, Moracco et al. found little difference when marital status was considered. Moracco et al. reported that approximately one-third of the victims in North Carolina were married (35%), another third were single (36%), 6% were separated, 13% were divorced, and 10% were

widowed. Gartner and McCarthy (1991) also found that, unlike males, marriage does not provide females protection from homicide.

B) The Offenders

1. Offender Age

Goetting (1991) and Moracco et al. (1998) found similar rates for the offenders of femicide. Goetting reported that the Detroit offenders ranged from 13-74 years of age with a mean of 32 years. Moracco et al. found their North Carolina counterparts ranged from 10-82 years of age with a median age of 30 years. While Wilt et al. (1997) did not present a mean age for the offenders in the New York City study, they did report that 58% of the offenders ranged in age from 20 to 39. This finding was consistent with the mean age reported in the Detroit and North Carolina studies.

In the expanded New York City study, Frye et al. (2004) focused on victim characteristics and did not cite descriptive information on the offenders. While Wolfgang (1958) did present offender information for homicides as a whole, he did not break down offender age by the gender of the victim. Wolfgang did, however, address femicides when he specified the age difference between victims and offenders. Wolfgang reported that female African American victims had a median age two years younger than their offenders. However, since Caucasian females were slightly older than their African American equivalents and their offenders remained roughly the same age, they had a median age four years older than their offenders.

Consistent with Wolfgang's (1958) findings, Goetting (1991) found that only 38% of the Detroit victims were older than their offenders. Goetting hypothesized that this might be due to the high number of domestic femicides and the tendency for these

domestic relationships to involve an older male and younger female.

2. Offender Ethnicity

Each study that addressed offender characteristics reported proportions of offender ethnicity similar to those of victim ethnicity. This was consistent with reports that femicide is primarily an intraracial phenomenon. Both Moracco et al. (1998) and Goetting (1991) reported that 86% and 87%, respectively, of the homicides with known offenders were intraracial.

Philadelphia data (Wolfgang, 1958) showed that 71% of the known femicide offenders were African American and 29% were Caucasian. Goetting (1991) reported similar proportions, finding that 86% of the known Detroit offenders were African American. Wilt et al. (1997) reported that 48% of the known New York City femicide offenders were African American, 12% were Caucasian, and 35% were Hispanic. These findings were consistent with the rates for victim ethnicity.

The data from North Carolina (Moracco et al., 1998) showed that 54% were African American, 43% were Caucasian, and 3% were categorized as other. Although these findings presented by Moracco et al. showed a significantly higher rate for Caucasians, they were consistent with North Carolina's higher reporting of Caucasian victims, which is expected in light of the findings that femicide is primarily intraracial.

3. Offender Gender

Goetting (1991) found that 89% of the femicide offenders in Detroit were male and 11% were female. Similarly Wilt et al. (1997) reported that 94% of the known New York City offenders were male and 6% were female. Moracco et al. (1998) reported an even higher number of known male femicide offenders (96%) in North Carolina. These

findings are not surprising considering the common prevalence of male offenders in general and in addition studies have shown that when women kill, they typically kill men (Goetting, 1988).

C) The Victim/Offender Relationship

Based on Durkheim's (1951) theory that females typically lead a less secular life than do men, Wolfgang (1958) hypothesized that they would be more likely to be killed by someone who they were in a "relatively close, intimate, personal, and direct" (p. 204) or primary relationship with than would male victims. Wolfgang, in fact, found that while primary relationships accounted for 59% of the male victims, they accounted for 84% of the femicides. Further examination revealed that while only 11% of men were murdered by their wives, 41% of the women killed were murdered by their husbands.

Wolfgang (1958) stated:

Criminal homicide is probably the most personalized crime in our society. Because motives do not exist in a vacuum, the subject-object, doer-sufferer relationship is of prime importance in this particular crime . . . homicide is a dynamic relationship between two or more persons caught up in a life drama where they operate in a direct, interactional relationship. More so than in any other violation of conduct norms, the relationship the victim bears to the offender plays a role in explaining the reasons for such flagrant violation. (p. 203)

Wolfgang (1958) found that femicides in Philadelphia occurred most often between family members (52%). His study included the husband/wife association as part of the family relationship. A boyfriend/girlfriend relationship was reported in 21% of the solved femicides, followed by friends (9%), acquaintances (6%), strangers (5%), lovers triangle/sex rivals (4%), innocent bystanders (2%), and enemies (1%). There were 38 unsolved / unknown offender homicides in Wolfgang's study. He examined the category of spousal killings at the end of the Philadelphia study but did not examine femicides

separately. Therefore, the findings are for homicides as a whole and may not be representative of femicides.

Goetting (1991) utilized a more simplified victim/offender relationship classification system for the Detroit femicides and found almost identical offender percentages among strangers (22%), marital (21%) and acquaintance relationships (21%). These statistics further showed that 18% of femicides were committed by family members, 15% by former spouses, and 2% were committed by friends. It is unclear where boyfriend/girlfriend relationships fit in to this classification scheme. No cases of femicide in which the offender was unknown were included in this study.

Initially, Goetting's (1991) findings appear to vary drastically from Wolfgang's (1958) results. Though, if Goetting's categories are reworked to more closely mirror Wolfgang's definitions, the numbers become more congruent. For example, combining Goetting's family, marital and former spouse categories as Wolfgang did in his family category would yield 54%, which is similar to Wolfgang's result of 52%.

The studies that followed more closely mirrored the categories selected by Goetting (1991) and therefore appear more similar at face value. Wilt et al. (1997) reported that in New York City, 49% of the solved femicides were committed by intimate partners, 17% by strangers, 14% by family members, 14% by acquaintances, and in 6%, the relationship was unclear or the relationship was classified as "other." In the expanded New York City study, Frye et al. (2004) re-categorized the victim/offender relationship into intimate partners (24%), non-intimate partners (31%), and unknown (45%). Moracco et al. (1998) found femicides in North Carolina were committed predominately

by current and former intimate partners, 35% and 16% respectively, followed by acquaintances (25%), strangers (10%), and family members (7%).

D) The Crime Scene

1. Location

Wolfgang (1958) found that femicide victims in Philadelphia were most likely to be killed in a residence (68%). In 55% of those femicides, it was the home of both the victim and the offender. More specifically, 27% took place in the home of the victim but not the offender, 7% were solely in the home of the offender, and 11% were in the residences of a third party. A further breakdown revealed the bedroom (35%) was the most common location, followed by a public street (20%), kitchen (15%), living room (12%), stairway (7%), bar (4%), another commercial place (7%), and other places (2%).

Concerning femicide location, Wolfgang (1958) found it striking that women were significantly more likely than men to be killed in the bedroom. He concluded that, while the particular place did not cause the homicide and the offender did not necessarily choose one place over another, his data showed that location “may play an important role in the circumstances” surrounding the homicide (Wolfgang, 1958, p. 133).

Goetting (1991) utilized similar categories in the Detroit study and found comparable results. She reported the following breakdown for victims killed in a residence: females killed in the bedroom (40%), living room (15%), yard or on the porch (14%), kitchen (10%), bathroom (7%), and in another room or basement (14%).

Goetting also found that the victims were most often killed in the home of both the victim and the offender (31%) or a home belonging to the victim but not the offender (33%), followed by a home belonging solely to the offender (11%), and finally the residence of a

third party (2%). Overall, Goetting reported that 77% of the Detroit femicides occurred in a residence.

Wilt et al. (1997), Frye et al. (2004), and Moracco et al. (1998) reported similar findings. Wilt et al. reported that 60% of the New York City victims were killed in private residences, 50% of which were in the victims' own homes. Thirty-seven percent were killed in a public place; 29% of these were outside, such as on a street or in a parking lot; and 8% were indoors, such as in a restaurant, store, or nightclub. The expanded New York City study conducted by Frye et al. similarly reported findings that 52% were killed in their own homes, and 18% occurred in public on the street, sidewalk or subway.

In both New York City studies, the victim/offender relationship was examined along with the location. Wilt et al. (1997) reported that from 1990 through 1994, 94% of familial femicide and 83% of intimate partner femicides were committed in a private residence. From 1990 through 1999, Frye et al. (2004) reported that 74% of intimate femicides occurred in the victims' homes while only 46% of the non-intimate femicides occurred in the victims' homes.

Location statistics in the North Carolina study revealed that 67% of the state's femicide victims were killed in a private residence, and 56% of the femicide victims were killed in their own homes. In 7% of the cases, the victim was killed in the offender's home, and in 4% it was in the home of a third party. Moracco et al. found 22% were killed in a public place, most often a street or sidewalk, and these victims were more likely to be killed by a stranger or unknown offender than by someone they knew. The victim's workplace was the location in only 3% of the cases.

2. Method

Although Wolfgang (1958) believed that the type of weapon used is often merely an “accident of availability,” he reported finding significant patterns (p. 79). He found that 34% of the women in his study were stabbed to death, 30% were shot, 23% were beaten, and 13% were killed by another method, such as poison or arson. Further, of the 53 women in Wolfgang’s study who were killed by their husbands, 38% were shot, 32% were stabbed, and 28% were beaten. When wives who were killed in the bedroom were examined, these statistics changed to 50% beaten, 25% stabbed, 17% shot, and 8% killed by miscellaneous methods.

Wolfgang (1958) also found an interesting interaction between method and victim ethnicity. Although femicide by gun was relatively comparable between African Americans and Caucasians, 29% and 33% respectively, 42% of the African American victims were stabbed compared to only 16% of Caucasians. Additionally, only 20% of African American women were beaten to death as compared to 30% of the study’s Caucasian women. Only 9% of African American women were killed by another method compared to 21% of Caucasian women. Wolfgang surmised cultural preferences for certain weapons and methods to be a plausible explanation for these differences.

In the Detroit study, Goetting (1991) found 54% of the women were shot, 19% were stabbed, 15% were beaten, 9% strangled or suffocated, and 3% were killed by another method. Interestingly, Goetting reported a higher number of shooting deaths and a higher number of African American victims, which contradicted Wolfgang’s (1958) cultural preference theory and suggested that some other factor was at work here.

Wilt et al. (1997) reported that only 46% of the women killed in New York City were shot compared to 81% of the male victims. Twenty percent were stabbed, 10% were strangled, 7% were bludgeoned, and 9% were killed by other means. Frye et al. (2004) found similar results when the study was expanded. She reported that 42% were shot, 21% stabbed, 10% strangled, 8% bludgeoned, 6% burned or asphyxiated, 12% died due to multiple causes or other methods, such as being pushed out a window.

Wilt et al. (1997) and Frye et al. (2004) further examined method selection by victim/offender relationship. Wilt et al. found that 50% of the victims in intimate partner homicides were shot, 34% of the family homicide victim's were stabbed, and 54% of sexual assault homicide victims were strangled. They went on to report that family and robbery homicide victims were more likely to be bludgeoned. Frye et al. similarly reported that 46% of intimates were shot and 28% stabbed. Thirteen percent of victims killed by an unknown perpetrator were strangled compared to 8% intimate and 8% non-intimate.

Moracco et al. (1998) similarly found that women in North Carolina were less likely to be killed by guns (54%) than were men (75%). A sharp object was used in 19% of the cases and bodily force, such as beating, suffocation or strangulation, comprised 10%. A blunt object was used 9% of the time and 8% were either unknown or another method.

3. Brutality

Wolfgang (1958) examined the degree of violence by studying the number of acts of assault in each homicide. Although he acknowledged that this determination should be based on more information, including the emotional state of the offender, the extent of the victim's resistance, and culture patterns, he indicated that the only data available are "the

number of observable physical movements” (p. 158). Wolfgang classified the violence into six categories: two acts, three to five acts, more than five acts, severe beating, severe beating followed by one stab, or severe beating followed by one shot.

He further classified this category as violent and non-violent. While he recognized the use of the term non-violent may have raised criticism, he defined non-violent acts as those that stop at one to two shots/stabs, or those when the victim is hit only once, but the victim falls back and hits her head. He argued that the individual who repeatedly stabs or shoots his victim after having seen the victim stagger and bleed “has engaged in behavior somewhat more violent than one act involved” (p. 159). The classification of this variable seems to have been left to some subjectivity by the coder.

Wolfgang (1958) found that analysis by victim gender showed significant differences in the extent of violence. He reported that only 46% of men compared to 63% of women were killed violently. Wolfgang concluded this may have been due to the higher number of beating deaths of women and the repeated blows that would be necessary to beat someone to death.

Nevertheless, he still reported finding a higher percentage of women killed “violently” by every method with the exception of the “other” category. Wolfgang (1958) reported that 72% of females who were stabbed were stabbed three or more times compared to 46% of males. Two-thirds of females who were shot were shot more than once compared to only 44% of males. Sixty-three percent of the females who were beaten were classified as violent compared to 50% of the males.

In further analyses, Wolfgang (1958) found that “excessively violent” homicides, those involving five or more stabs or shots, were more likely to occur in the home. He

speculated that this might be a factor in the higher incidence of excessive violence reported in husband-wife slayings. In fact, further analysis by Wolfgang revealed that when examined, the category of more than five acts constituted 24% of the husband-wife slayings.

Wilt et al. (1997) also examined the degree of violence and reported that almost ten percent of the New York City women were assaulted by two or more methods at the time of their death. Their study found 10-20 stab wounds occurring in family and robbery homicides whereas intimate partner homicide victims generally had less than 10.

4. Sexual Assault

Several interesting factors were noted when the presence of sexual assault was examined. Wilt et al. (1997) found that 6% of all the New York City cases showed strong evidence of sexual assault regardless of primary motivation. In only 15% of these cases was the victim killed by an intimate partner. Frye et al. (2004) reported that 4% of all femicides were assessed to have evidence of sexual assault whereas, 2% of intimate and 5% of non-intimate femicides had evidence of sexual assault.

Moracco et al. (1998) noted that in North Carolina almost half of the robbery-femicide victims were over 54 years of age, and in 36% of the cases, sexual assault was involved. However, femicides involving sexual assault alone typically involved victims under the age of 35 (60%). Twenty-nine percent of the victims who were sexually assaulted were killed with a knife or other sharp object, 22% were shot, and 18% were strangled.

Table 1: Comparison of Reviewed Studies

	Frye et al.	Goetting	Moracco et al.	Wilt et al.	Wolfgang
Population	N.Y.C.	Detroit	N. Carolina	N.Y.C.	Philadelphia
Years	1990-99	1982-83	1991-93	1990-94	1948-52
Percentage of Subjects	1861	123	586	1159	139
Victim Ethnicity					
African American	50%	76%	50%	52%	69%
Caucasian	17%	--	48%	16%	31%
Hispanic	28%	--	--	29%	--
Intraracial	--	87%	86%	--	--
Victim Marital Status					
Single	--	--	36%	--	--
Married	--	49%	35%	--	--
Separated	--	--	6%	--	--
Divorced	--	--	13%	--	--
Widowed	--	--	10%	--	--
Offender Ethnicity					
African American	--	86%	54%	48%	71%
Caucasian	--	--	43%	12%	29%
Hispanic	--	--	--	35%	--
Offender Gender					
Male	--	89%	96%	94%	87%
Female	--	11%	4%	6%	13%
Relationship					
Intimate	24%	36%	50%	49%	--
Family	--	18%	7%	14%	--
Acquaintance	--	24%	25%	14%	--
Unknown	--	22%	18%	23%	--
Location					
Residence	--	77%	67%	60%	68%
Public Place	18%	20%	30%	37%	32%
Unknown	--	--	3%	3%	--
Method					
Gunshot	42%	54%	54%	46%	30%
Stabbed	21%	19%	19%	20%	34%
Bodily force	18%	24%	19%	17%	23%

E) Critique

The aforementioned research provides a glimpse into the phenomenon of femicide. These findings provide support for the assertion that femicide is not the same as homicide involving male victims and that previous research examining homicide as whole has failed to notice the nuances of femicide. These studies are only a first step into examining femicide as they exhibit limitations with respect to generalizability, mutual exclusivity of comparison populations, and expansion beyond the descriptive level.

Wilt et al. (1997), Frye et al. (2004), and Moracco et al. (1998) for example, only examined victims over the ages of 16, 12, and 15, respectively. While this is beneficial in allowing the focus to be placed on adult femicide, it might cause a failure to notice some aspects of femicide as a whole, as the homicides of young females were ignored.

Femicides in victims over the age of 12, 15 or 16 are not likely to be generalizable to younger victims. A complete study of femicide should examine the descriptive features of child femicide and how these risks and characteristics compare with adult victimization.

A second problem with generalizability arises in the selection of predominately urban populations. The studies conducted by Wolfgang (1958), Goetting (1991), Wilt et al. (1997), and Frye et al. (2004) are all based on urban data. Goetting even admitted the lack of generalizability due to the urban, predominately African American community represented in her Detroit study. While at the time of these studies, African Americans still represented a minority in Philadelphia and New York City populations, they are most definitely urban settings. Moracco et al. (1998) allows us to compare urban and rural settings in her study of North Carolina and, in fact, found differences in rates of victim/offender relationships and other characteristics.

Goetting's (1991) Detroit study provides a good source of information on the perpetrators of femicide. However, this focus on the offender eliminates the inclusion of unsolved or unknown offender homicides. Goetting did not report how many femicides were omitted due to this, but an average of other studies shows this could represent approximately 21% of the femicides.

Additionally, Goetting (1991) admitted there was a limitation in her study caused by comparing femicides against homicides as a whole. Therefore the two populations being compared were not mutually exclusive. While this is not an ideal situation, this comparison still provides excellent confirmation of the lack of generalizability of homicide as a whole to the phenomenon of femicide.

As with any new exploration, we must begin with descriptive bodies of work. The more recent literature has begun to expand this and examine the effects one variable can have on another. Wilt et al. (1997) and Frye et al. (2004) examined the effect of the victim/offender relationship on the method or cause of death and found dramatic variance, but they only did so for a limited number of variables.

While Wolfgang (1958) actually recognized the need to examine the victim/offender relationship, his categories were somewhat confusing and his work was primarily descriptive with little analysis of the effect of relationship on the other variables. Wolfgang missed the importance of separating family and domestic femicides and combined them into one category. Unfortunately, Wolfgang examined the classification of spousal murder toward the end of his study but for homicides as a whole. Hence this excludes valuable information since intimate homicide is less common for men and varies in the manner in which it is carried out as does the other forms of femicide.

The present study seeks to minimize these limitations and expand upon the body of knowledge of femicide more systematically by examining the effect of the victim/offender relationship on victim, offender, and crime scene characteristics. In order to better explain the dynamics of femicide, this study explores the variation in this relationship by examining a rich, previously unutilized data source. The information gleaned from this study is beneficial to field investigators, forensic psychologists, and others attempting to understand the phenomenon of femicide.

Chapter 3 Lifestyle and Routine Activities Theory

The research questions and hypotheses developed for this study are based on an integrated lifestyle-routine activities approach. Lifestyle theory, developed by Hindelang, Gottfredson, and Garofalo (1978), predicts that an individual's chance of becoming the victim of criminal activity is based on his or her daily patterns (i.e., lifestyle). This theory asserts that lifestyle is affected by demographic and social factors. Variations in these factors create differing levels of exposure to potentially dangerous situations and corresponding risks of victimization.

Routine activities theory, a complementary model to the lifestyle approach, was developed by Cohen and Felson (1979). Routine activities theory similarly believes that the victim's daily activities affect their risk of victimization. Three necessary elements must be present for this victimization to occur; there must be a motivated offender, a suitable target, and an absence of a capable guardian.

When taken all together, lifestyle and routine activities theories provide a more complete theory (Nelsen & Huff-Corzine, 1998; Schreck & Fisher, 2004)). The integrated lifestyle-routine activities approach asserts that individuals who share common socio-demographic characteristics will have similar lifestyles and therefore similar daily or routine activities. By sharing similar routine activities they share similar risk of victimization.

Unlike approaches that examine the factors motivating the offender to choose a life of crime, lifestyle-routine activities theory asks: given a motivated offender, what else affects the probability of a crime occurring. Integrated, these two theories hypothesize that people who share similar demographic and social factors will tend to lead similar

lifestyles and have similar routine activities (Kennedy & Silverman, 1990; Liska, Krohn, & Messner, 1989; Nelson & Huff-Corzine, 1998). Although this approach has been used in many studies to examine victimization, only a few studies have specifically examined the victimization of women (Schwartz & Pitts, 1995).

Since it is often impractical to directly measure a victim's routine activities, most studies have examined factors that indirectly affect the victim's lifestyle (Massey & McKean, 1985; Messner & Tardiff, 1985). These factors, which can affect the victim's vulnerability, include the victim's gender, age, ethnicity, marital status, and environment. Previous research has, in fact, shown that these socio-demographic variables are the best predictors of victimization (Cohen, Kluegel, & Land, 1981; Garafalo, 1986; Kennedy & Forde, 1990).

Routine activities theory has been tested on the crime of homicide. While these studies have shown support for routine activities theory, the findings are more representative of male victimization than female victimization. They find that homicides often occur in public places where no guardians are available and involve single, young males who place themselves in dangerous situations and have no guardians present.

These findings, nonetheless, do not fit the typical femicide victim who is often killed in her residence, married, and in her early thirties. This is not to say that lifestyle and routine activities theory does not apply to femicide, merely that femicide differs from male homicide in that those who would typically be expected to serve as a guardian for females, such as an intimate partner or family member, are most likely to be the motivated offender. Mustaine and Tewksbury (1997) argued that studies utilizing routine activities

theory should be delineated by gender as there are differences in the lifestyle options of men and women.

This study utilized lifestyle-routine activities theory to formulate predictions and hypotheses regarding the role of the victim/offender relationship on the crime characteristics. For the purpose of this research, lifestyle-routine activities theory was not only used to examine who was most likely to be murdered, but also to examine by whom the victim was most likely to be murdered. This dissertation was not designed to be a test of the lifestyle-routine activities approach but merely utilizes it to explore female victimization. It should not be considered as such for two primary reasons: First, since no comparison group of those who avoided femicide is included, predictions cannot be made about the factors affecting the likelihood of victimization. Second, it does not provide a direct measure of the victim's lifestyle or routine activities. Unlike studies that utilize victimization surveys to determine lifestyle activities, this study does not attempt to determine if repetitive or typical behavior led to victimization. However, it does provide information about those situations in which females are typically killed.

Chapter 4 Research Questions and Hypotheses

In this section, the literature on femicide and the integrated lifestyle-routine activities approach reviewed in the previous chapters was applied to each variable for the development of seven hypotheses.

A) The Victims

1. Victim Age

Lifestyle-routine activities theory predicts that children who are victimized are more likely to be killed by family members or acquaintances with whom they have repeated contact, such as babysitters and day-care providers. These individuals function as the child's guardian from strangers, but when they become the motivated offenders it creates an absence of a guardian capable of preventing the violence.

As children grow older, become more independent, and leave the guardianship of the family, it is expected that their victimization by strangers will increase. Similarly, the potential for victimization by intimates arises as they become old enough to form these relationships. Although previous femicide studies have found that intimate victims on average are younger than victims of family femicides, this may be explained by the exclusion of children from these studies.

In a study conducted by Candice Nelsen and Lin Huff-Corzine (1998), lifestyle-routine activities theory was applied to elderly homicide victimization for male and female victimization. This study found the older or elderly population is more likely to have outlived their intimate partners, more likely to be viewed as having valuables, and more likely to be physically vulnerable thereby making them an easy target for victimization by strangers.

Hypothesis (1): It is hypothesized that victims of familial femicides will on average have the youngest femicide victims, followed by acquaintance, intimate and stranger femicide. Thus there will be a statistically significant difference between the mean age of victims based on victim/offender relationship (family, acquaintance, and stranger femicides), with the mean age of familial victims being much younger than stranger femicides.

2. Victim Ethnicity

All five femicide studies reported higher rates of femicide for African American victims when compared to their proportion in the population. Using the lifestyle-routine activities approach, one would argue that this is based on the higher rate of African Americans residing in urban areas and the higher rate of stranger homicides in these locations. Still, Moracco et al. (1998) found that even when controlling for urban-rural status, African American women had a higher rate of victimization. Furthermore, when ethnicity was examined with respect to victim/offender relationship, there appeared to be little or no agreement between studies.

Therefore, analyses were conducted to determine the rate of victimization based on victim ethnicity (Caucasian, African American, Hispanic, other) and whether any relationship exists between victim ethnicity and victim/offender relationship (intimate, relative, acquaintance, stranger, unknown).

3. Victim Marital Status

Previous studies of homicide victimization showed that male victims were more likely to be single; therefore, it has been argued that marriage or its accompanying lifestyle appears to provide a protective effect against victimization in males. This protective effect

does not appear to hold true for women due to the higher likelihood of a female being killed by an intimate partner. However, lifestyle-routine activities approach predicts that while marriage may not provide an overall protective effect, a husband may still serve as a ‘capable guardian’ against victimization by family members, acquaintances, and strangers.

Hypothesis (2): It is hypothesized that, unlike male victims of homicide, marriage will not be a protective factor for victims of femicide overall but will be a protective factor from certain types, in particular, familial, acquaintance and stranger femicide. In other words, there will be a statistically significant difference between the victim’s marital status and her relationship with the offender, with single, divorced, and widowed women more likely to be killed by a family member, acquaintance, or stranger and married women more likely to be killed by an intimate partner.

B) The Offenders

1. Victim/Offender Age Differences

As victim age and the victim/offender relationship are predicted to vary based on lifestyle-routine activities theory, the age difference between the victim and offender is also predicted to vary. Based on the lifestyle-routine activities approach, it was predicted that children are more likely to be victimized by family members or acquaintances, adults by an intimate partner, and the elderly by a stranger.

Hypothesis (3): It is therefore hypothesized that whether the victim is older or younger than her offender will vary with relationship, meaning there will be a statistically significant difference between the victim/offender age distribution, with familial femicide victims being younger than their offenders, intimates being approximately the same age, and stranger femicide victims being older than their offenders.

2. Offender Ethnicity

Previous studies of race relationships indicate that the majority of homicides, regardless of victim/offender relationship, are intraracial (Decker, 1993; Goetting, 1991; Rojek & Williams, 1993; Wilt, Illman, & Brodyfield, 1997; Zahn & Sagi, 1987). These findings are expected according to the lifestyle-routine activities approach and are not predicted to differ for femicides. Individuals are more likely to live and work in racially homogenous areas. Similarly, they are more likely to socially interact and be romantically involved in intraracial relationships.

Hypothesis (4): It is hypothesized that, similar to homicides, femicides will be primarily intraracial. Thus, there will be a statistically significant difference between the victim/offender ethnicity breakdown, categorizing Caucasian offender/Caucasian victim; African American offender/African American victim; Hispanic offender/Hispanic victim; and Other Minority offender/Other Minority victim greatly over-represented and interracial victim/offender relationships rarely occurring.

3. Offender Gender

Unlike ethnicity, gender does not appear to be an intra-group phenomenon with males killing males and females killing females. Instead, women and men are most commonly killed by males and when women do kill, they most often kill men (Goetting, 1988; Wolfgang, 1958). Relatively little examination has been done on the victim/offender relationship in this rare female on female homicide and how this differs from the victim/offender relationship of the more typical male on female homicide.

Analyses were conducted to determine whether any difference in the rate of occurrence of victim/offender relationships (intimate, relative, acquaintance, stranger,

unknown) based on the offender gender (male, female) exists.

4. Offender Status

For the most part, the femicide studies examined here do not address the offender status. However, Wolfgang's (1958) study did address offender status, but he does not specifically examine femicide or the role of the victim/offender relationship. He also reported that those who committed suicide after having committed a homicide were most likely to have killed an intimate partner of the opposite sex. Wilt et al. (1997) also found that intimate partner homicides were more likely to be followed by suicide than other relationships. Analyses were conducted to determine whether any relationship existed between the victim/offender relationship (intimate, relative, acquaintance, stranger, unknown) and the offender status (in custody, identified but not in custody, deceased, or unknown).

C) The Victim/Offender Relationship

Lifestyle-routine activities theory predicts that because females do not routinely participate in 'at-risk' behavior, they will not only have a lower rate of victimization than do males, but they will also be less likely to be victimized by strangers. This is consistent with Wolfgang (1958)'s hypothesis that due to females leading a less secular life, they are more likely to be killed by someone they are close to. Prior research on homicide as well as other violence against women revealed that they are, in fact, more likely to be harmed inside an intimate relationship (Goetting, 1991; Moracco, Runyan, & Butts, 1998; Schwartz, 2005).

Hypothesis (5): It is hypothesized that women are most likely to be killed by someone they have an intimate or familial relationship with. Consequently there will be a

statistically significant difference between the number of intimate, family, acquaintance, stranger, and unknown offender femicides, with intimate and familial femicides greatly over-represented.

D) The Crime Scene

1. Location

Criminals often target victims because of their routine activities (Karmen, 2004), such as where they work, where they shop, and how they get there. Routine activity theory examines how a victim's activities can bring her into contact with an offender. Examining the location of victim/offender contact can provide us with information on the offender and the type of relationship the victim and offender may have had. For example, one is more likely to come into contact with family members or intimate partners in her own home and into contact with strangers outside of her home. In fact, previous studies showed that the more intense the relationship between the victim and offender, the more likely the homicide will occur indoors (Decker, 1993; Moracco, Runyan, & Butts, 1998; Riedel, 1981; Wilt, Illman, & Brodyfield, 1997; Zahn & Sagi, 1987).

Hypothesis (6): It is hypothesized that intimate and familial femicides will more likely occur in a private residence whereas acquaintance, stranger, and unknown offender femicides are more likely to occur in public places. That is, there will be a statistically significant difference between the victim/offender relationship and the location of the incident. There will be much higher rates of intimate and familial femicides occurring at a residence and acquaintance, stranger, and unknown offender femicides occurring in a commercial building, in a field or wooded area, or on the street.

2. Method

The findings of homicide studies predominately involving male victims indicate that handguns are the most common weapon regardless of victim/offender relationship (Decker, 1993). Furthermore, the use of personal contact (stabbing, bludgeoning, strangling, etc) was found to increase with the intensity of the relationship in homicide overall (Decker, 1993). Previous studies of femicide have shown that this phenomenon does not hold true for women. Females killed by intimates are predominately killed with guns whereas females killed by strangers are more likely to be killed by stabbing, bludgeoning, strangling, etc. (Moracco, Runyan, & Butts, 1998; Wilt, Illman, & Brodyfield, 1997).

While previous lifestyle-routine activities research does not appear to address differences in method based on the victim/offender relationship, one study addressed variance in method as a possible affect of age. This study, conducted by Nelsen and Huff-Corzine (1998), examined lifestyle-routine activities and elderly homicide. These authors hypothesized that the common use of physical contact is a result of the increased physical vulnerability of the victim.

Baron and Kenny (1986) address the influence of moderating and mediating variables on correlation between the independent and dependant variables in research. According to their definitions, victim/offender relationship may be a moderating variable, in that it partitions age into subgroups that effect the cause of death.

Hypothesis (7): It is hypothesized that previously observed relations between the cause of death and victim/offender relationship may actually be confounded by the victim's physical vulnerability measured here by the victim's age. That is, the cause of death and

victim/offender relationship are related only because they are both dependent on the victim's age. Thus, age acts as a mediating variable in this relationship.

In addition, analyses were conducted to determine whether any relationship exists between victim age or victim/offender relationship and the type of firearm used, range of gunfire, number of gun shot wounds, or number of stab wounds.

3. Brutality

Marvin Wolfgang (1958) found "excessively violent" homicides, those involving five or more gunshot or stab wounds, were more likely to occur in the home and intimate partner homicides to be more violent than violent homicides in general. However, Wilt et al. (1997) found that, in terms of stabbing, family and robbery femicides were more violent, with 10-20 wounds, whereas in intimate femicide the victim generally had less than 10 wounds.

Therefore, analyses were conducted to determine whether any relationship exists between the victim/offender relationship (intimate, relative, acquaintance, stranger, unknown) and evidence of brutality (more than 4 gun shot wounds, more than 10 stab wounds, blunt force beyond that necessary to cause death, multiple causes of death) for the sample in this study.

4. Sexual Assault

Moracco et al. (1998) found that 32% of the femicides in North Carolina showed evidence of sexual assault. When only those cases involving intimate partner relationships were examined, barely 6% showed evidence of sexual assault. Wilt et al. (1997) reported that 6% of the New York victims who were given rape kits had positive results. Of those, 15% were intimate partner femicides. While interesting, these results raise more questions

than they answer.

Analyses were conducted to determine whether any relationship exists between the victim/offender relationship (intimate, relative, acquaintance, stranger, unknown) and evidence of sexual assault (vaginal, anal, insertion of foreign objects, postmortem sexual assault).

5. Victim's Property

Previous research revealed that motive is difficult, if not impossible, to define and identify. Motives are often not mutually exclusive, and many studies have created motive categories that actually include relationship. Wilt et al. (1997) categorized motive in the New York City study as intimate partner, familial, dispute, robbery, sex crimes, narcotics, random, and other. Obviously, overlap exists among these categories, and there is typically no accurate way to determine what the primary motive actually was. For example, the potential exists for an offender to break in to sexually assault the victim and then take valuables in a robbery of convenience or vice versa.

In order to overcome the difficulties involved with the examination of motive, this study categorized the presence or absence of motive related variables, such as sexual assault or the taking of the victim's property but does not attempt to assign motives to each case. Therefore, regardless of whether the motive of the homicide was robbery or valuables were taken as an after thought, such action is recorded as property taken or not taken.

Analyses were conducted to determine whether any relationship exists between the victim/offender relationship (intimate, relative, acquaintance, stranger, unknown) and evidence the offender took any property from the victim (item missing, no apparent item

missing).

6. Covering or Redressing The Victim

Little or no quantitative research has been done on variables with psychological underpinnings, such as the victim's state of dress or whether the offender covered or redressed the homicide victim. This study examined the probability of occurrence, and analyses were conducted to determine whether any relationship exists between the victim/offender relationship (intimate, relative, acquaintance, stranger, unknown) and the victim's state of dress (fully dressed, partially dressed, nude) or evidence the offender covered the victim (covered body, covered face, redressed victim). Additionally, the quantitative interview portion of this study added further insight into this behavior.

7. Binding and Gagging

Little quantitative research has been done on binding and gagging of the victim. Those works that attempted to examine this behavior focused primarily on sexual and/or serial offenders and may not be applicable to the variety of femicide categories considered here. In this study, analyses were conducted to determine whether any relationship exists between the victim/offender relationship (intimate, relative, acquaintance, stranger, unknown) and evidence the offender bound the victim (bound, gagged, blindfolded).

8. Altering The Scene

Lastly, analyses were conducted to determine whether any relationship exists between the victim/offender relationship (intimate, relative, acquaintance, stranger, unknown) and evidence the offender altered the scene (moved body, disabled utilities, ransacked, destroyed evidence, disfigured, dismembered, staged). Similar to the variables of covering/redressing or binding/gagging the victim, prior research in the area of crime

scene behavior is lacking, especially with respect to femicide and the victim/offender relationship. These quantitative analyses along with the qualitative interviews will provide insight into this previously unexplored area.

Table 2: Research Hypotheses

Number	Description
1	Familial femicides will have the youngest victims, followed by acquaintance, intimate, and stranger femicide.
2	Unlike male victims of homicide, marriage will not be a protective factor to victims of femicide overall but will be a protective factor from certain types, i.e., familial, acquaintance, and stranger.
3	Whether the victim is older or younger than her offender will vary with relationship.
4	Similar to homicides, femicides will be primarily intraracial.
5	Women are most likely to be killed by someone with whom they have an intimate or familial relationship.
6	Intimate and familial femicides will be more likely to occur in a private residence; whereas, acquaintance, stranger, and unknown offender femicides are more likely to occur in public places.
7	Cause of death will be more closely related to victim age than to victim/offender relationship.

Chapter 5 Research Design and Methodology

A) Sample

As outlined in the previous chapters, this study seeks to increase our understanding of femicide through quantitative data analysis and qualitative interviews. This is achieved through examination of victim, offender, and crime scene information as reported in the New Jersey State Police (NJSP) Violent Crime Analysis Unit (ViCAP) form, and in-depth, face-to-face, semi-structured interviews of 12 femicide offenders randomly selected from these cases. This section outlines how the quantitative ViCAP data and the qualitative interview data were chosen and collected. Both qualitative and quantitative samples are then analyzed for generalizability.

Quantitative ViCAP Data

The NJSP database collects information on all cases of criminal homicide investigated by the police, regardless of court outcome or whether prosecutors decide to pursue the case. The database includes a vast collection of data including information on: submitting agency, investigator, victim, offender, scene, offense, condition of victim when found, cause of death and/or trauma, and weapon (refer to Appendix A for complete form). The ViCAP database is victim driven and each victim is counted as a separate criminal homicide event even if more than one woman was killed in the same incident.

All 393 cases of femicide reported to the NJSP ViCAP Unit that occurred within New Jersey over the seven-year period between January 1, 1991 and January 1, 1998 were included. These dates were selected as all county prosecutors were mandated by the Governor to complete ViCAP forms on all homicides occurring after January 1991. January 1998 was given as a cut off date to allow investigators time to conduct a thorough

investigation and submit the ViCAP form to the NJSP as well as allowing those accused to complete the judicial process, including most appeals.

In order to determine the generalizability of the findings, New Jersey Uniform Crime Report (UCR) data were compared to those cases submitted to ViCAP. Although UCR data does not provide the extensive detail offered by the ViCAP data, it does represent one of the most accurate reports of homicide occurrences available and allows for analysis of the generalizability of ViCAP cases.

Although compliance with the ViCAP program is mandatory, only 60% of the homicides reported to the New Jersey UCR were also submitted to the ViCAP unit during this time frame. This low percentage is in part due to the extremely low compliance of Essex County, which includes the City of Newark, where the largest number of cases occurs. In order to assure that this did not affect the generalizability of the cases submitted to ViCAP, these cases were compared with the UCR data on the victim age, victim ethnicity, and relationship of victim/offender.

The average age of the femicide victim reported to ViCAP was 36 years of age compared to 34 years of age for UCR. Although a slightly lower proportion of African Americans were reported to ViCAP (36%) than to UCR (44%), this can again be explained by the underreporting of Essex County, which accounts for 43% of the African American victims reported to UCR. Lastly, an examination of the victim/offender relationship in the cases submitted to ViCAP and UCR revealed no significant differences.

A comparison of ViCAP and UCR data for 1991-1997 did not reveal a statistically significant difference for age, $t(1153) = -.957, p < .339$. Ethnicity, $\chi^2(2, n=1156) = 8.57, p < .014$ and relationship, $\chi^2(4, n=1156) = 15.31, p < .004$, however, were significantly

different. When each ethnicity was examined separately Caucasians victims were slightly over represented in the ViCAP data (58.8%) compared to UCR reports (51.6%), African American victims were slightly under represented with 35.9% compared to UCR reports of 44.6%. As explained in the previous paragraph, this is expected due to the under reporting of Essex County. When each relationship was examined separately only stranger, $\chi^2 (1, n=1156) = 11.43, p<.001$ was significantly different. Intimate, $\chi^2 (1, n=1156) = 1.245, p<.264$, familial, $\chi^2 (1, n=1156) = 1.885, p<.170$, acquaintance, $\chi^2 (1, n=1156) = 2.022, p<.155$, and unknown, $\chi^2 (1, n=1156) = 1.397, p<.237$, were not.

Stranger femicides accounted for 15.6% of the ViCAP data but only 8.9% of the UCR data. This finding is not surprising because ViCAP was originally designed as a database to record and examine serial homicides. While it functions as a database for all homicides it is especially useful to investigators attempting to develop leads on apparent stranger homicides. Even if the submitting case is solved, it provides the investigator a way to examine similar unsolved cases that may have also been committed by their offender. Due to the lower percentage for ViCAP (15.6%) and UCR (8.9%) combined with relationship being utilized as a dependant variable in this study, the deference in reporting of stranger femicides did not significantly affect the finding of this study.

Table 3: Comparison of NJ ViCAP Femicides and UCR Femicides from 1991-1997

N Column %	NJ - ViCAP Femicides	NJ - UCR Femicides
Mean Victim Age (SD)	36 (21)	34 (21)
Victim Ethnicity		
Caucasian/Hispanic	231 58.8%	394 51.6%
African American	142 36.1%	340 44.5%
Other/Unknown	20 5.1%	29 3.8%
Relationship		
Intimate	121 30.9%	211 27.6%
Family	49 12.5%	118 15.4%
Acquaintance	71 18.1%	165 21.6%
Stranger	61 15.6%	68 8.9%
Unknown	90 23.0%	201 26.3%
Total	393	763

Qualitative Interview Data

This study included in-depth interviews to supplement the ViCAP data outlined above. These interviews provide insight into the quantitative findings through a personal look at a sample of the offenders in these cases. In total, twelve in-depth, semi-structured, face-to-face interviews with offenders were conducted at the Trenton State Prison, Trenton, New Jersey. Of the 393 cases of femicide occurring between 1991 and 1997 that were reported to ViCAP, 236 offenders were listed as identified and in custody. From this group, offenders were placed in random order, utilizing the “Random Selection” feature of SPSS for each victim/offender relationship category (intimate, family, acquaintance, stranger, unknown).

These lists were given to the administration at the Trenton State Prison in Trenton, New Jersey. Social workers at that facility then approached the listed inmates with Adult

Inmate Research Participation Consent Forms (see Appendix B). Twenty-six inmates were approached for interviews; eleven declined, one inmate did not speak English, one refused to participate without a psychologist present, and twelve agreed to participate.

Comparisons between those who refused and those who agreed to participate indicated that there were no significant differences between these two groups with respect to age, $t(21) = 1.11, p < .280$; ethnicity, $\chi^2(2, n=23) = 2.70, p < .260$; or victim/offender relationship, $\chi^2(3, n=23) = 3.25, p < .355$. However, caution must be used in the interpretation of these analyses due to the small number of overall cases and the resulting cells with fewer than 5 cases.

Table 4: Victim/Offender Relationship Comparison for Interview Population

N		Agreed to be	Declined to be	All Offenders In
Column %		Interviewed	Interviewed	Custody
Mean Victim Age		31 (10)	27 (8)	32 (12)
Offender Ethnicity				
	Caucasian	2	4	120
		16.7%	36.4%	50.8%
	African American	8	7	78
		66.6%	63.6%	33.1%
	Hispanic	2		31
		16.7%		13.1%
	Other/Unknown			6
				2.5%
Relationship				
	Intimate	5	2	83
		41.7%	18.2%	35.2%
	Family	1		40
		8.3%		16.9%
	Acquaintance	5	3	64
		41.7%	27.3%	27.1%
	Stranger	1	6	49
		8.3%	54.5%	20.8%
Total		12	11	236

B) Operationalization

Homicide in New Jersey is defined, pursuant to N.J.S.2C:11-2, as “purposely, knowingly, or recklessly causing the death of another human being.” Homicide includes criminal homicide, such as murder and manslaughter as well as non-criminal homicides like

excusable accidents and justifiable self-defense. Accidental and reckless homicides are excluded due to the lack of intent. Throughout this study, the terms homicide and murder are used interchangeably. Cases are victim-driven, and each one was counted as a separate event even if more than one woman was killed in the same event.

1. Victim/Offender Characteristics

Age was defined as the age attained at the victim's last birthday prior to the date of death. For example, if the victim was 26 years and 10 months old, the victim was coded as 26 years old. Newborns and victims under the age of one were coded as one year of age. Therefore, even if the victim was only 3 days old, she was still coded as a 1 year-old. The age difference between the victim and offender was calculated by subtracting victim age from offender age. Race was classified as Caucasian, African American, Hispanic, other, or unknown. Gender was coded as male, female, or unknown. Marital status was coded as single, married, divorced, widowed, or unknown. Married individuals who were separated but still legally married were coded as married for the purposes of this study. Offender status was coded in the following mutually exclusive categories: in custody, identified but not in custody, deceased, or unknown. It is important to note that all offenders were alleged and were not necessarily found guilty by a court of law. Investigators identified those offenders that they believed to be primarily responsible, regardless of the legal outcome.

2. Victim/Offender Relationship

The victim/offender relationship was classified as one of the following mutually exclusive categories: Intimate partner (boyfriend, husband, ex-boyfriend, ex-husband), family (father, mother, son, daughter, other), acquaintance (neighbor, friend, other),

stranger (offender unknown to victim prior to incident), or unknown (no offender identified). These categories are mutually exclusive.

3. Location

Body recovery site was coded as residence, victim's residence, commercial, victim's work place, street, or field/woods.

4. Method

The cause of death is determined by the medical examiner. The categories of gunshot, stab wound, strangulation, blunt force, or unknown are not mutually exclusive. If the victim was shot, the range of gunfire was categorized as distant (no stippling/tattooing), intermediate (stippling/tattooing), or contact/close (powder residue/tattooing). The type of weapon was categorized as handgun, rifle, or shotgun. If the victim was shot or stabbed, the number of wounds was counted.

5. Evidence of Brutality

Brutality was defined as homicides, including any of the following: excessive blunt force, excessive number of wounds, multiple causes sufficient to have resulted in death, excessive binding. If the investigator believed the extent of blunt force was excessive and beyond that necessary for death, this was coded as yes excessive. Cases where the victim received more than four gunshots or more than ten stab wounds were categorized as excessive.

6. Event Characteristics

Evidence the victim was sexually assaulted vaginally, anally, postmortem or had sexual insertion of any foreign object (other than a penis) into the victim's body were each coded separately. The victim's state of dress at the time of discovery was coded as fully

dressed, partially dressed, or nude.

Whether the victim was discovered with the face or body covered was separately coded as yes or no. This variable was mutually exclusive in that cases where the whole body was covered, including the face, were coded as “covered body”. Evidence that the offender attempted to redress the victim was coded as yes or no. Evidence that the victim was bound or restrained was coded as yes or no as was evidence that the victim had a gag placed her mouth and/or was blindfolded.

Evidence that the offender disabled the utilities or ransacked the crime scene was coded separately as yes or no. The presence of evidence that the offender moved the body (i.e., victim was killed at another location) was coded as yes or no. Destroying evidence included attempting to obliterate evidence at the scene or to disfigure the body (i.e., burned body, took hands, feet, head, etc) in order to delay identification. If the victim was dismembered by the offender, it was coded as yes or no. Evidence the offender staged the scene to appear as though the murder was motivated by a different factor or committed by a different person was coded as yes or no.

C) Data Collection

It should be noted that this was archival data drawn from the NJSP ViCAP forms. The form, which contains 168 questions, is coded by the local or county level investigating officer. These questions provide an array of data, including information on administration, victim, offender, scene, offense, condition of victim when found, cause of death or trauma, and weapon. The forms are then submitted to the NJSP ViCAP unit where they are entered into the ViCAP database by a crime analyst.

These analysts reviewed the narrative section in each case, as well as any included police or medical examiners' reports to assure accuracy and completeness of the ViCAP form. They contacted the investigator if there was incomplete information, discrepancies, or if other information was required. Additionally, analysts conducted background checks on all victims and offenders, including but not limited to criminal history and Department of Motor Vehicle searches. Corrections and additions were added to the database, and each case was then verified by a ViCAP supervisor for both content and data entry accuracy.

With the approval of the City University of New York Committee on the Protection of Human Subjects and the full support of the New Jersey Department of Corrections (NJDOC), in-depth, semi-structured, face-to-face interviews were conducted with 12 offenders. Prior to the interview the prosecutors' offices involved in the investigations of these selected participants were notified of the study and solicited for additional information about the offender(s). The investigators were asked to comment on the basic facts of the case as well as the offender's demeanor and attitude toward investigators when previously questioned regarding his case.

Between February 2000 and August 2000, Donna Morgan and Detective Sergeant Jim McCormick conducted bi-weekly interviews, each lasting approximately one hour. All data collected was coded using a master identification file, maintaining the confidentiality of all cases and offenders.

Thus, the information gleaned from this study is presented to protect the identities of the offenders. This research is also covered by a Certificate of Confidentiality issued by the Department of Health and Human Services (refer to Appendix C for copy of

certificate). This certificate protects the interviewers from being forced to release any personally identifying research data, even under court order or subpoena.

Before the interviews, offenders were asked not to discuss crimes other than those for which they had been convicted. They were advised that anything they said would not be used against them in court and that they would receive no assistance or extra privileges for participating. The offenders were also required to sign an informed consent form that stated the above-mentioned conditions in the presence of a witness. Refer to appended Consent to Interview Form (see Appendix D). Additionally, the offender was allowed to take a break or terminate the session at his discretion.

These interviews were audio taped. To alleviate the concerns involved with audio taping, this researcher adhered to the same rules of evidence required in most legal proceedings to safeguard audio tape-recorded evidence and prevent contamination and unsupervised disclosure. The recording tab on each audiotape was broken to prevent erasure and dubbing, and the audiotapes were sealed in envelopes at the conclusion of each interview. The audiotapes were later accessed for transcription purposes. Refer to appended Interview Protocol (see Appendix E).

D) Data Analysis

1. Victim Age

Descriptive statistics, including mean, standard deviation, and range of age of victims in each of the relationship categories were run. Analysis of variance (ANOVA) was conducted to measure the statistical significance of differences between the victims' ages for each relationship category. In addition, individual t-tests were conducted for familial v. intimate, intimate v. acquaintance, and intimate v. stranger to measure the

statistical significance of any differences.

2. Victim Ethnicity

To facilitate examination of the results between variables, cross-tabulations were generated for victim ethnicity and victim/offender relationship. Next, a chi-square 'goodness-of-fit' test was applied to the overall examination of victim ethnicity and victim/offender relationship as well as the examination of African American/Other minority victims and unsolved/unknown offenders. Bar charts were also created for the percentage and number of victims based on the victim's ethnicity and victim/offender relationship.

3. Victim Marital Status

Cross-tabulations were generated for victim's marital status and victim/offender relationship for easier examination of the correlation between variables. Second, a chi-square 'goodness-of-fit' test was applied to the overall examination of victim's marital status and victim/offender relationship. Additional chi-square tests were then conducted to further examine the relationship between married/non-married victims and intimate femicide victims, married/non-married victims and familial or acquaintance femicide victims, as well as, stranger relationships and single or widowed victims. A bar chart was then created for the percentage of victims based on the victim's marital status and the victim/offender relationship.

4. Victim/Offender Age Differences

Descriptive statistics, including mean, standard deviation, and range of age of offenders for each of the relationship categories were run. An analysis of variance (ANOVA) was conducted to measure the statistical significance of differences between the victim and offender's ages for each relationship category. Chi-square analyses were

then conducted to examine the relationship between familial or acquaintance relationships and offenders more than five years older than the victim, stranger relationships, as well as, offenders more than five years younger than the victims. In addition, a cross-tabulation was created to facilitate examination of this data.

5. Offender Ethnicity

A cross-tabulation was created for victim ethnicity by offender ethnicity. A chi-square ‘goodness-of-fit’ analysis was conducted to measure the statistical significance of any differences between victim and offender ethnicity.

6. Offender Gender

A cross-tabulation was created for offender gender by victim/offender relationship. A chi-square ‘goodness-of-fit’ analysis was then conducted to measure the statistical significance of any differences between offender gender and the victim/offender relationship.

7. Offender Status

Analyses were conducted to determine whether any relationship exists between the victim/offender relationship (intimate, relative, acquaintance, stranger, unknown) and the offender status (in custody, identified but not in custody, deceased, or unknown). A cross-tabulation and chi-square analyses were conducted for the offender status and the victim/offender relationship. A second chi-square analysis was then conducted to examine the relationship between offenders who were deceased at the time of reporting and offenders who killed an intimate partner. A bar chart showing the number of offenders in each relationship category by status was also created.

8. The Victim/Offender Relationship

Descriptive statistics, such as frequency and percentage, were computed for each relationship category and the variables contained within each category. Pie charts were presented for easier examination of the variables contained within the intimate and family categories. A chi-square analysis was conducted to determine the likelihood of a femicide victim being murdered by an intimate partner, family member, acquaintance, stranger, or unknown offender.

9. Location

A cross-tabulation was generated for location and victim/offender relationship for easier examination of the correlation between variables. Chi-square 'goodness-of-fit' tests were applied to the overall examination of location and victim/offender relationship and more specifically to victims killed outdoors by offenders with a secondary or unknown relationship (acquaintance, stranger, or unknown). Lastly, a bar chart was constructed to visually display the percentage of victims based on the location and the victim/offender relationship.

10. Method

Cross-tabulations were generated for the victim/offender relationship and each of the following variables: method, type of firearm, range of gun fire, number of gun shot wounds, and number of stab wounds. Chi-square tests were then applied to method, type of firearm, and range of gun fire. Individual chi-square tests were then conducted to further examine the relationship between intimate and gun shot victims, familial/acquaintance relationships and bludgeoning victims, as well as, stranger/unknown victims and strangulation/suffocation as the cause of death. Analysis of variance

(ANOVA) and Pearson correlations were also conducted to determine the relationship between method and victim age. The number of gun shot wounds and stab wounds were tested utilizing an analysis of variance (ANOVA). In addition, a bar chart was then created for the number of victims based on the method of death and the victim/offender relationship.

11. Brutality

Chi-square ‘goodness-of-fit’ tests were applied to each of the victim/offender relationship categories for evidence of brutality. A cross-tabulation was presented for evidence v. no evidence and for each of the variables contained within the brutality category.

12. Sexual Assault

A cross-tabulation was generated for evidence of sexual assault and victim/offender relationship for easier examination of the correlation between variables. Chi-square ‘goodness-of-fit’ tests were applied to the overall ‘evidence of sexual assault’ and victim/offender relationship as well as each of the sexual assault variables. A bar chart was included to illustrate the percent of femicide victims based on ‘evidence of sexual assault’ and the victim/offender relationship.

13. Victim’s Property

Analyses were conducted to determine whether any relationship exists between the victim/offender relationship (intimate, relative, acquaintance, stranger, unknown) and evidence the offender took property from the victim (item missing, no apparent item missing) utilizing cross-tabulation and chi-square tests. Individual chi-square analyses were then conducted for each victim/offender relationship separately. The percentage of

victims was then presented in a bar chart showing property taken and the victim/offender relationship.

14. Covering or Redressing The Victim

Cross-tabulations were generated for the victim/offender relationship and both the manner of dress and evidence the offender covered the victim. A chi-square 'goodness-of-fit' test was conducted on the victim/offender relationship and both manner of dress and evidence the offender covered the victim. Individual chi-square analyses were then conducted for each victim/offender relationship separately. The percentage of victims based on evidence the offender covered or redressed the victim and the victim/offender relationship is illustrated in a bar chart.

15. Binding and Gagging

A cross-tabulation was created for the category 'evidence of binding' as well as each of its variables (bound, gagged, blindfolded). Chi-square analyses were then conducted for 'evidence of binding' in all victim/offender relationships and for each relationship individually.

16. Altering The Scene

A cross-tabulation was created for the category 'evidence offender altered scene' as well as each of its variables (moved body, disabled utilities, ransacked, destroyed evidence, disfigured, dismembered, staged). Chi-square analyses were then conducted for 'evidence offender altered scene', victim/offender relationships, and individual relationship categories with a combination of individual variables. In addition, the percent of femicide victims for each relationship category and presence of an altered scene was represented in a bar chart.

Chapter 6 Quantitative Analyses: ViCAP Data

This chapter reports the findings derived from analyses of the 393 cases of femicide reported to the New Jersey State Police Violent Crime Analysis Program (ViCAP). The frequency of occurrence of each variable as well as its relation to the victim/offender relationship is presented below. In addition, the results of statistical examination of each hypothesis are presented. Tables, bar charts, and pie graphs are included where applicable.

A) The Victims

The mean age for victims reported in the present study (36 years of age) is similar to those reported in previous research (Goetting, 32 years of age; Wilt et al. and Frye et al., 37 years of age). Although Wolfgang (1958) did not give an overall mean age for female victims, he did report that Caucasian female victims had a mean age of 36, and African American victims had a lower mean age of 31. Similarly, a t-test conducted in the present study found that, when examined by race, the mean age for Caucasian victims (42 years of age) was statistically different from the mean age of African American victims (30 years of age), $t(307) = 5.29, p < .001$. This is also consistent with the findings of Wilt et al. (1997) that while overall only 19% of femicide victims were 50 years of age or older, 43% of Caucasian femicide victims were 50 years of age or older.

Similarly, results of the present study indicate that only 20% of femicide victims were 50 years of age or older, whereas 33% of Caucasian victims were in that age group. In fact, 69% of the victims 50 years of age or older were Caucasian. It does not appear that the older age of Caucasian victims can be explained by victim/offender relationship differences. Victim/offender relationships for all victims 50 years of age or older appear to

be evenly distributed. Intimates accounted for 14 victims, 15 were family, 16 acquaintances, 19 strangers and 16 unknown victim/offender relationships.

Ninety-five percent of intimate femicide victims were between the ages of 20 and 49. Twenty-nine percent of familial victims were under the age of 4, and 38% over the age of 60. Forty-four percent of the victims of acquaintance femicides were between the ages of 15 and 34 years old. Fifty percent of stranger femicide victims were between 20 and 39 years old, and 57% of those killed by an unknown offender were between 20 and 39 years old.

Wilt et al. (1997) reported that 73% of familial victims were 40 years of age or older. The present study, however, reported that only 37% of the victims were over the age of 39. This difference may be due to the fact that the present study includes victims of all ages whereas Wilt et al. only included victims over the age of 16. When all ages are examined the research shows that females under the age of 6 are particularly vulnerable to being killed by their mothers or fathers. Females between the ages of 20 and 40 years of age are least likely to be killed by a family member. After the age of 49, females become at risk for familial femicide again as their children reach adulthood.

Hypothesis (1): It was hypothesized that familial femicide would on average have the youngest victims, followed by acquaintance, intimate, and stranger femicide, respectively. Hence, there would be a statistically significant difference between the mean age of victims based on victim/offender relationship (family, acquaintance, and stranger femicides), with the mean age of familial victims being younger and stranger femicides being older.

Results: The table below shows the mean, standard deviation, and range of age for victims in each of the relationship categories. As predicted, familial and acquaintance victims did have the youngest mean age (32 years of age), followed by intimate (37 years of age), and stranger (41 years of age). An analysis of variance (ANOVA), however, indicates that there are no significant differences between the ages in each relationship category (intimate, familial, acquaintance, stranger), $F(3, 298) = 2.44, p < .06$. Individual t-tests conducted for familial v. intimate, $t(168) = 1.297, p < .20$; intimate v. acquaintance, $t(190) = 1.87, p < .06$; and intimate v. stranger, $t(180) = -1.44, p < .15$ yielded similar results.

Table 5: Victim Age

	N	Mean (SD)	Range
Intimate	121	36.7 (14.1)	15 - 86
Family	49	32.4 (29.3)	1 - 89
Acquaintance	71	31.6 (23.9)	1 - 87
Stranger	61	40.7 (23.3)	3 - 90
Unknown	90	35.7 (18.5)	1 - 94
Total	392	35.6 (20.9)	1 - 94

- The age of one of the victims remains unknown

Similar to previous research, African American femicide victimization in New Jersey appears to be disproportionate to the state population for the same time period. Of the femicide victims examined in the present study, 36% were African American while the U.S. Census Bureau reported that African Americans made up only 13% of the state population in 1990 and 2000 (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 2004).

Consistent with the findings of Frye et al. (2004), Hispanics had a higher proportion of intimate femicides (39%), surpassing both Caucasians (36%) and African Americans (23%). The findings based on victim ethnicity did differ from those of Morocco's (1998) in that the risk of death at the hands of a stranger appeared to be evenly

distributed across race and Caucasian victims do not appear to be at greater risk.

Significant differences did arise with respect to victim ethnicity in the rate of unknown offender/unsolved femicides. African American victims accounted for 45% of the unknown offender femicides. This also appears to be a problem for 'other minority' victims. In 42% of 'other minority' victim femicides, the offender remains unknown (unsolved).

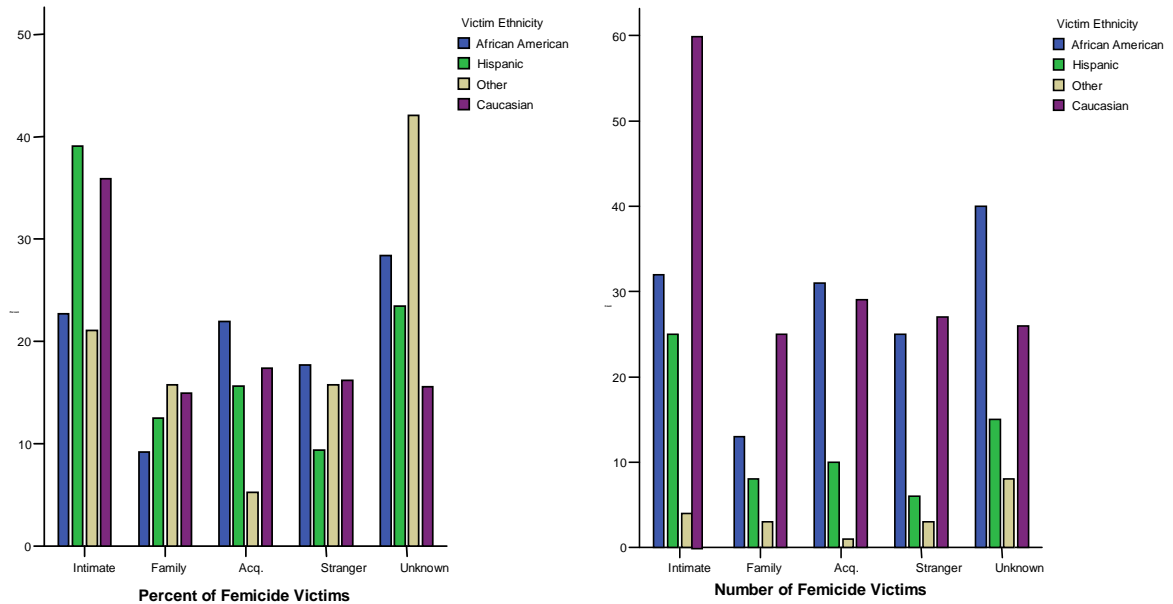
Results of the analyses examining the effect of victim ethnicity on the victim/offender relationship revealed statistically significant differences, $\chi^2 (8, n=372) = 16.90, p < .031$. Visual examination revealed that while intimate partner femicides remain a serious problem for all ethnicities, African American victim femicides, when examined separately, were more likely to be unsolved, i.e., killed by an unknown offender. A separate Chi-square analysis was conducted collapsing the category of victim's ethnicity into African American/non-African American and the category of victim/offender relationship into known offender/unknown offender. This separate analysis indicated that there was in fact a statistically significant difference $\chi^2 (1, n=372) = 5.797, p < .016$. It should be noted that as discussed in the previous chapter, there was an underreporting of African American victims in this study due to the low compliance of predominately minority Essex County.

Table 6: Victim Ethnicity

N Row % Column%	Intimate	Family	Acquaintance	Stranger	Unknown	Total
Caucasian Victim	60 35.9%	25 15.0%	29 17.4%	27 16.2%	26 15.6%	167 44.9%
African American Victim	32 22.7%	13 9.2%	31 22.0%	25 17.7%	40 28.4%	141 37.9%
Hispanic Victim	25 39.1%	8 12.5%	10 15.6%	6 9.4%	15 23.4%	64 17.2%
Total	117 31.5%	46 12.4%	70 18.8%	58 15.6%	81 21.8%	372 100.0%

- The other minorities and unknown categories were excluded due to small N

Figure 1: Victim Ethnicity



The present study found a smaller proportion of married victims than reported in prior research, which reported similar rates for single and married women. The present study found 56% of the victims were single while only 17% were recorded as married. This discrepancy may have been due to a difference in the coding of common law relationships. However, this can not be confirmed or disproved due to the lack of clear definition and rater discretion for both this data source and prior research.

Despite the discrepancy in overall percentages, when the victims' marital status was examined across the victim/offender relationships, the findings were as expected. Those categorized as single and divorced had similar breakdowns across relationship. Single and divorced victims were most likely to be killed by an intimate or an unknown offender. Moreover, married victims were far more likely to be killed by an intimate than any other relationship category. Finally, widows were most likely to be killed by a stranger or unknown offender.

Hypothesis (2): It was hypothesized that, unlike male victims of homicide, marriage will not a protective factor to victims of femicide overall but will be a protective factor from certain types, i.e. acquaintance and stranger femicide. Thus, there will be a statistically significant difference between the victim's marital status and her relationship with the offender, with single, divorced and widowed women more likely to be killed by a family member, acquaintance, or stranger and married women more likely to be killed by an intimate partner.

Results: Chi-square analyses indicate that there is a statistically significant difference between the victim's marital status (single, married, divorced, or widowed) and the victim/offender relationship, $\chi^2 (12, n=392) = 46.45, p < .001$. A separate Chi-square analysis was conducted collapsing the categories of victim's marital status. A Chi-square analysis examining married women v. non-married women indicated that married women were killed by intimates at a significantly higher proportion, $\chi^2 (1, n=392) = 36.43, p < .001$. Another analysis collapsing the victim's marital status into married v. non-married, i.e. single, divorced, and widowed women, indicated that non-married women were more likely to be killed by a family member or acquaintance than were married

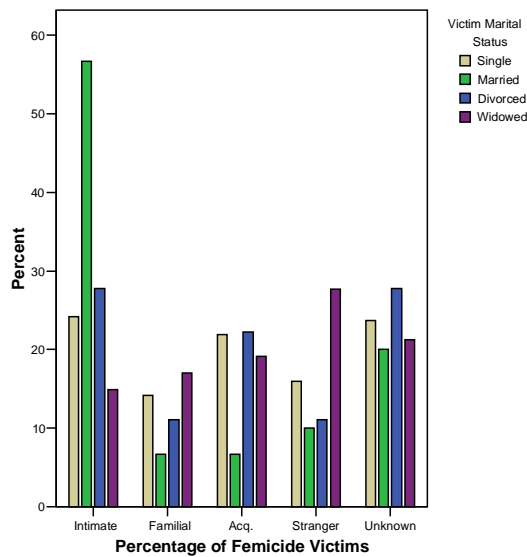
women, $\chi^2 (1, n=392) = 16.42, p < .001$. Lastly, when the category of victim's marital status was collapsed into victims of stranger femicide v. victim's of all other relationships, the victim's of stranger femicide were most likely to be single or widowed, $\chi^2 (1, n=392) = 3.89, p < .049$.

Table 7: Victim Marital Status

N Row % Column%	Intimate	Family	Acquaintance	Stranger	Unknown	Total
Single	53 24.2% 43.8%	31 14.2% 63.3%	48 21.9% 67.6%	35 16.0% 57.4%	52 23.7% 57.8%	219 55.9%
Married	51 56.7% 42.1%	6 6.7% 12.2%	6 6.7% 8.5%	9 10.0% 14.8%	18 20.0% 20.0%	90 23.0%
Divorced	10 27.8% 8.3%	4 11.1% 8.2%	8 22.2% 11.3%	4 11.1% 6.6%	10 27.8% 11.1%	36 9.2%
Widowed	7 14.9% 5.8%	8 17.0% 16.3%	9 19.1% 12.7%	13 27.7% 21.3%	10 21.3% 11.1%	47 12.0%
Total	121 30.9%	49 12.5%	71 18.1%	61 15.6%	90 23.0%	392 100.0%

• One victim's identify and marital status were still unknown at the time of analysis

Figure 2: Victim Marital Status



B) The Offenders

As predicted by prior research, intimate offenders did have a mean age older than that of their victims. Although many were within five years of age of their victims, 39% were more than five years older. The mean age of the intimate offender was three years older than that of the intimate victim.

Consistent with findings that victims of familial femicide were most at risk as children at the hands of their parents or adults at the hands of their children, 37% were five or more years older than their offenders, and 55% were more than five years younger than their offenders. There was no significant difference in their mean age.

The mean age for offenders who had an acquaintance relationship was three years younger than their victims. Strangers had the greatest difference with offenders having a mean age 11 years younger than their victims. This is consistent with the higher number of stranger femicides among widowed and elderly females.

Hypothesis (3): It was hypothesized that age difference between victims and offenders will vary with relationship. Thus, there will be a statistically significant difference between the victim/offender age distribution with familial femicide victims being younger than their offenders, intimates being approximately the same age, and stranger femicide victims being older than their offenders.

Results: As expected, analysis of variance (ANOVA) indicates that the age difference between the victim and offender does vary significantly with the victim/offender relationship, $F(3, 298) = 6.37, p < .001$. Separate Chi-square analyses were conducted collapsing the categories of victim/offender relationship. A Chi-square analysis examining family and acquaintance offenders v. intimate, stranger, and unknown offenders indicated

that family and acquaintance femicide offenders were more likely to be five or more years older than their victims, $\chi^2 (1, n=302) = 4.35, p < .037$. A Chi-square analysis examining intimate femicide offenders v. non-intimate femicide offenders indicated that intimate offenders were most likely to be within five years of the victim's age or more than five years older than the victim, $\chi^2 (1, n=302) = 23.16, p < .001$. Lastly, a Chi-square analysis collapsing the categories of victim/offender relationship to stranger offenders and non-strangers revealed strangers were usually more than five years younger than their victim and, in fact, had a mean 11 years younger, $\chi^2 (1, n=302) = 20.16, p < .001$.

Table 8: Offender Age

	N	Mean (SD)	Range
Intimate	121	39.4 (14.5)	17 - 82
Family	49	32.6 (14.0)	16 - 77
Acquaintance	71	28.8 (10.8)	13 - 64
Stranger	61	30.0 (9.5)	13 - 54
Total	302	33.9 (13.5)	13 - 82

Table 9: Age Difference

N					
Row %	Intimate	Family	Acquaintance	Stranger	Total
Column%					
	18	18	23	33	92
Offender 5+ years younger	19.6%	19.6%	25.0%	35.9%	
	14.9%	36.7%	32.4%	54.1%	30.5%
	55	4	17	10	86
Offender within 5 years	64.0%	4.7%	19.8%	11.6%	
	45.5%	8.2%	23.9%	16.4%	28.5%
	48	27	31	18	124
Offender 5+ years older	38.7%	21.8%	25.0%	14.5%	
	39.7%	55.1%	43.7%	29.5%	41.1%
	121	49	71	61	302
Total	40.1%	16.2%	23.5%	20.2%	100.0%

Consistent with all prior research, femicide is predominately an intraracial phenomenon. Ninety-four percent of the victims of Caucasian offenders were also Caucasian. However, African Americans were the most likely to offend against another

race with only 30% of their victims being interracial.

Hypothesis (4): It was hypothesized that similar to homicides, femicides will be primarily intraracial. Hence, there will be a statistically significant difference between the victim/offender ethnicity breakdown, with Caucasian offender/Caucasian victim, African American offender/African American victim, Hispanic offender/Hispanic victim and Other Minority offender/Other Minority victim greatly over-represented and interracial victim/offender relationships rarely occurring.

Results: Chi-square analyses indicate that femicides are overwhelmingly intraracial for all ethnicities, $\chi^2(4, n=288) = 278.66, p < .001$. Again, it should be noted that this study had an underreporting of African American victims due to the low compliance of a predominately minority urban county. Therefore, it can be expected that the actual rate of African American victims and offenders is higher than listed here.

Table 10: Victim Ethnicity and Offender Ethnicity

N	African			Total
Row %	Caucasian	American	Hispanic	
Column%	Offender	Offender	Offender	
	100	32	7	139
Caucasian	71.9%	23.0%	5.0%	
Victim	93.5%	23.9%	14.9%	48.3%
African	4	93	4	101
American	4.0%	92.1%	4.0%	
Victim	3.7%	69.4%	8.5%	35.1%
	3	9	36	48
Hispanic	6.3%	18.8%	75.0%	
Victim	2.8%	6.7%	76.6%	16.7%
	107	134	47	288
Total	37.2%	46.5%	16.3%	100.0%

As expected, offenders of femicide were predominately male (90%). An examination of the victim/offender relationship reveals that female offenders were most likely to kill in the context of familial femicide (60%) and acquaintance femicide (37%).

Results of the analyses on the effect of offender gender on the victim/offender relationship did reveal statistically significant differences. Chi-square analyses indicate that a greater proportion of male offenders are found in each category of victim/offender relationships, $\chi^2 (3, n=302) = 59.83, p < .001$. A separate Chi-square analysis collapsing the victim/offender relationship category into familial relationship and non-familial relationship indicated that when females do commit femicide, it is predominately in the familial context, $\chi^2 (1, n=302) = 46.96, p < .001$.

Table 11: Offender Gender

N Row % Column%	Intimate	Family	Acquaintance	Stranger	Total
Male	121 44.5% 100.0%	31 11.4% 63.3%	60 22.1% 84.5%	60 22.1% 98.4%	272 90.1%
Female		18 60.0% 36.7%	11 36.7% 15.5%	1 3.3% 1.6%	30 9.9%
Total	121 40.1%	49 16.2%	71 23.5%	61 20.2%	302 100.0%

The present study found that offenders who killed an intimate partner were more likely to be deceased themselves (26%). This may be due to the higher number of murder/suicides among intimate partners. Cases in which the victim/offender relationship was identified as stranger were the most likely to be identified (but not in custody) (44%).

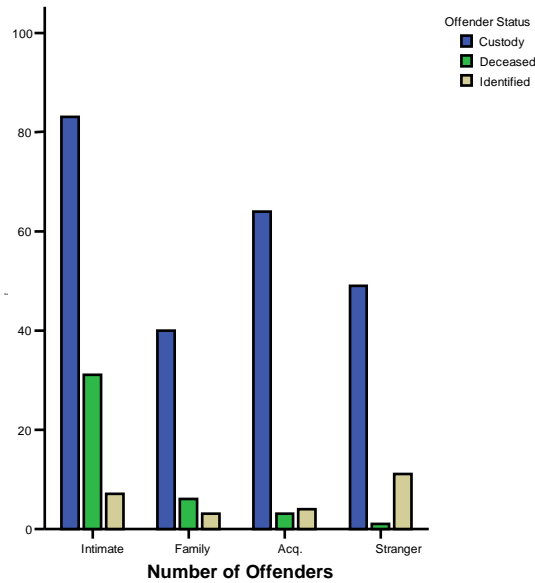
Results of the analyses examining the effect of the victim/offender relationship on offender status did reveal statistically significant differences, $\chi^2 (6, n=302) = 35.59, p < .001$. A separate Chi-square analysis, which collapsed the category of offender status into deceased/not deceased and the category of victim/offender relationship into intimate/non-intimate, indicated that offenders who were deceased at the time of reporting

were more likely to have killed an intimate partner, $\chi^2 (1, n=302) = 24.96, p<.001$. In fact, 76% of those reported to be deceased had killed an intimate partner.

Table 12: Offender Status

N Row % Column%	Intimate	Family	Acquaintance	Stranger	Total
In Custody	83 35.2% 68.6%	40 16.9% 81.6%	64 27.1% 90.1%	49 20.8% 80.3%	236 78.1%
Identified	7 28.0% 5.8%	3 12.0% 6.1%	4 16% 5.6%	11 44.0% 18.0%	25 8.3%
Deceased	31 75.6% 25.6%	6 14.6% 12.2%	3 7.3% 4.2%	1 2.4% 1.6%	41 13.6%
Total	121 40.1%	49 16.2%	71 23.5%	61 20.2%	302 100.0%

Figure 3: Offender Status



C) The Victim/Offender Relationship

The distribution of femicides across victim/offender relationship was similar to that found in prior research. Thirty-one percent of femicides were between intimate partners; current husbands and boyfriends accounted for 81% of these. Thirteen percent of

femicides were committed by family members. Of those familial femicides, 20% were perpetrated by a father, 27% by a mother, 27% by a son, 6% by a daughter, and 20% by an “other” family member. Acquaintances accounted for 18%, strangers 16%, and unknown offenders 23%.

As expected, femicides were predominately committed by intimate partners. It was surprising, based on Wolfgang’s (1958) hypothesis, that familial femicide was the least common victim/offender relationship found in the present study. Wolfgang hypothesized that homicides, including femicides, were more likely to be committed by someone “relatively close, intimate, personal, and direct” (p. 204).

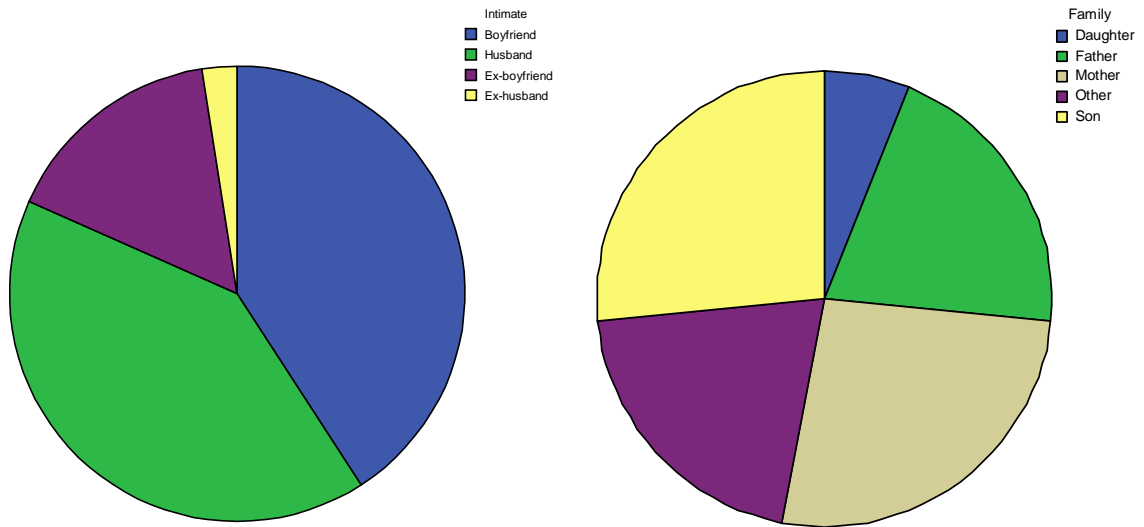
Hypothesis (5): It was hypothesized that women are more likely to be killed by someone they have an intimate or familial relationship with than any other relationship category. That is, there would be a statistically significant difference between the number of intimate, family, acquaintance, stranger, and unknown offender femicides with intimate and familial femicides greatly over-represented.

Results: Chi-square analyses indicate that victims of femicide were more likely to be killed by an intimate partner (31%) than a family member (13%), acquaintance (18%), stranger (16%), or unknown perpetrator (23%). Unexpectedly, familial femicide was the least common of all the victim/offender relationships, $\chi^2 (4, n=393) = 40.65, p < .001$.

Table 13: Descriptive Characteristics of Offenders

Characteristic	n	%
Intimate	121	30.8
Husband	49	12.5
Ex-husband	3	.8
Boyfriend	49	12.5
Ex-boyfriend	20	5.1
Family	49	12.5
Father	10	2.5
Mother	13	3.3
Son	13	3.3
Daughter	3	.8
Other family member	10	2.5
Acquaintance	71	18.1
Friend	1	.3
Neighbor	8	2.0
Other known	62	2.8
Stranger	61	15.5
Unknown	91	23.2

Figure 4: Offender Relationship



D) The Crime Scene

Consistent across the research, female homicide victims were primarily killed in their residences. Wilt et al. (1997) and Frye et al. (2004) found that when intimate and familial victim/offender relationships were considered, the probability increased further.

Wilt et al. reported that while 60% of all femicides occurred in a residence, 94% of familial femicides and 83% of intimate femicides occurred in a residence. Frye et al. similarly found that 74% of intimate femicides occurred in the victim's home compared to only 46% of non-intimate femicides.

The present study found that 65% of women were killed in a residence, and 53% of these residences belonged to the victims. This was not surprising considering most femicide victims are killed by an intimate partner or family member. A routine activity approach would predict that since the home is the most common place of interaction between these two groups; in fact it would be the most probable location. Consequently, the study revealed that 75% of all intimate femicides and 94% of all familial femicides occurred in a residence.

Interestingly, although victims killed in a field/wooded area or on the street were more likely to be an acquaintance (21%), stranger (28%), or unknown offender (35%) than an intimate partner (15%) or family member (1%), overall, they were still more likely to be killed in their residence. Forty-eight percent of acquaintance femicide victims were killed in their homes. Further, 31% of stranger femicides and 32% of unknown offender femicides took place in the victims' residences.

Although the victim's residence was the most dangerous place for a female, there is a statistically significant difference in location based on the victim/offender relationship. Based on these differences, investigators can make inferences about potential offenders based on the location of the crime.

Hypothesis (6): It was hypothesized that intimate and familial femicides will be more likely to occur in a private residence; where as, acquaintance, stranger, and unknown

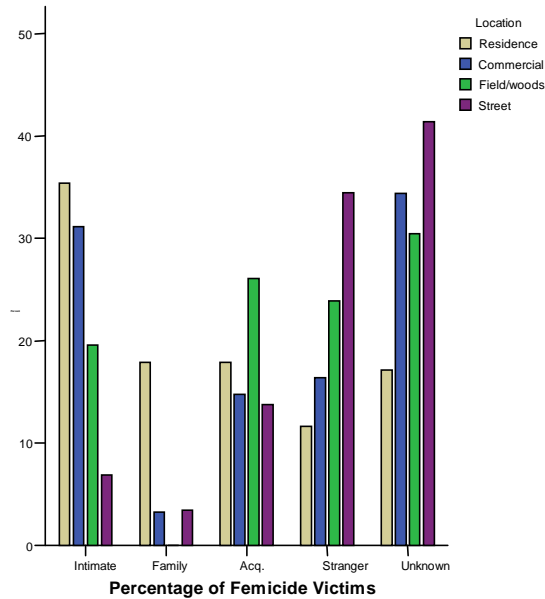
offender femicides will be more likely to occur in public places. That is, there will be a statistically significant difference between the victim/offender relationship and the location of the incident with higher rates of intimate and familial femicide occurring in a residence and acquaintance, stranger, and unknown offender femicides occurring in a commercial building, in a field or wooded area, or on the street.

Results: Chi-square analyses indicate that femicide victims were more likely to be killed in a residence regardless of the victim/offender relationship, $\chi^2 (4, n=393) = 41.49, p < .001$. When the category of location was collapsed into indoors/outdoors and the victim/offender relationship into primary (intimate and familial)/non-primary (acquaintance, stranger, or unknown), Chi-square analysis revealed that if the victim was killed outdoors (field, wooded area, or street), they were more likely to be killed by an acquaintance, stranger, or unknown offender than by an intimate or family member, $\chi^2 (1, n=393) = 28.54, p < .001$.

Table 14: Location

N Row % Column%	Intimate	Family	Acquaintance	Stranger	Unknown	Total
Residence	91 35.4% 75.2%	46 17.9% 93.9%	46 17.9% 64.8%	30 11.7% 49.2%	44 17.1% 48.4%	257 65.4%
V's Residence	81 38.9% 66.9%	45 21.6% 91.8%	34 16.3% 47.9%	19 9.1% 31.1%	29 13.9% 31.9%	208 52.9%
Commercial	19 31.1% 15.7%	2 3.3% 4.1%	9 14.8% 12.7%	10 16.4% 16.4%	21 34.4% 23.1%	61 15.5%
V's Work Place	7 22.6% 5.8%	1 3.2% 2.0%	4 12.9% 5.6%	9 29.0% 14.8%	10 32.3% 11.0%	31 7.9%
Field/Woods	9 19.6% 7.4%		12 26.1% 16.9%	11 23.9% 18.0%	14 30.4% 15.4%	46 11.7%
Street	2 6.9% 1.7%	1 3.4% 2.0%	4 13.8% 5.6%	10 34.5% 16.4%	12 41.4% 13.2%	29 7.4%
Total	121 30.8%	49 12.5%	71 18.1%	61 15.5%	91 23.2%	393 100.0%

Figure 5: Location



Previous research reported that although shooting, which accounts for approximately half of all femicides, is the most common method of killing female victims of homicide, it fell far below that of male victims, approximately 80%. Wolfgang (1958),

Wilt et al. (1997), and Frye et al. (2004) acknowledged differences in the rates for femicide based on the victim/offender relationship. All three studies reported elevated rates of shooting among intimate partners with stabbing being the second most common method.

The results of these analyses indicate that shooting is the most common method overall, although with a lower rate than previous research of 27%. This is not unexpected considering that the present study has a slightly lower percentage of intimate partner victims. The percentage of shooting deaths, 42% among intimate partners, is consistent with that of previous studies. Blunt force trauma was most common in familial and acquaintance femicides, accounting for 37% of each. Finally, strangulation was the most common method among stranger (38%) and unknown (30%) victim/offender relationship femicides.

As hypothesized, guns were more likely to be utilized by intimate partners and hands-on methods by non-intimate offenders. Unexpectedly, family members were similar to acquaintance femicides in that the victims were more likely to be killed by blunt force. However, when considering that familial femicide victims were most commonly the young or the elderly, these findings were consistent with theories of victim weakness.

The type of firearm used (handgun or shotgun/rifle), the range at which it was fired (close, intermediate, or distant), and the number of times the victim was shot did not vary significantly by victim/offender relationship. Victims were typically shot one time at close range with a handgun.

In femicides involving stabbing, the mean number of stab wounds received by femicide victims was 16 with a median of 11 and a range from 1 - 183. These numbers did

not vary significantly by victim/offender relationship. Less than 10% of the stabbing victims had more than 35 stab wounds. Of those, 66% were categorized as unknown victim/offender relationship, including one extreme case with 183 stab wounds.

Hypothesis (7): It is hypothesized that the cause of death and victim/offender relationship may actually be confounded by the victim's physical vulnerability measured here by the victim's age. That is, the cause of death and victim/offender relationship will be correlated because they are both dependent on the victim's age.

Results: Chi-square analyses indicate that cause of death is not independent of the victim/offender relationship, $\chi^2 (16, n=393) = 68.56, p < .001$. Separate Chi-square analyses were conducted collapsing the categories of victim/offender relationship and cause of death. A Chi-square analysis examining intimate/non-intimate v. gun/other method revealed that victims of intimate femicide are more likely to be shot, $\chi^2 (1, n=393) = 21.26, p < .001$. A Chi-square analysis examining familial and acquaintance/intimate, stranger and unknown femicides v. bludgeoned/non-bludgeoned revealed that victims killed by a family member or acquaintance were more likely to be bludgeoned, $\chi^2 (1, n=393) = 19.38, p < .001$. Lastly, a Chi-square analysis examining stranger and unknown offenders/intimate, familial, and acquaintance v. strangled and suffocated/bludgeoned, shot, and stabbed were more likely to be strangled or suffocated, $\chi^2 (1, n=393) = 14.86, p < .001$. An analysis of variance (ANOVA), however, indicates that there are no significant differences between the ages in each cause of death category, $F (4, 392) = 1.31, p < .265$.

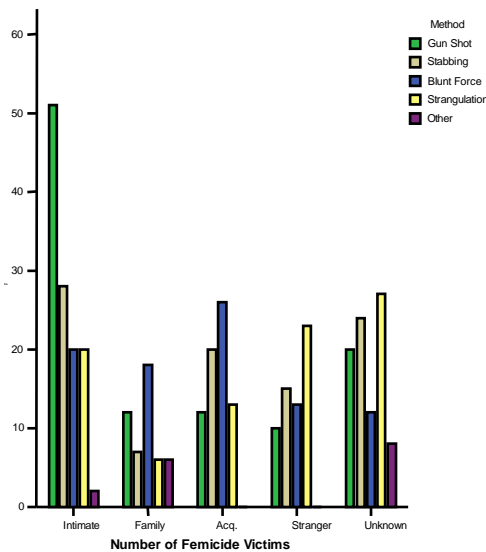
Further analyses indicated that victim/offender relationship and cause of death, $r (393) = .193, p < .001$; and victim age and cause of death, $r (393) = -.109, p < .030$ are

significantly correlated. The partialling out of the third variable did not cause either of these correlations to fall below significance. Victim age and victim/offender relationship, $r(393) = .016, p < .756$, however were not significantly related.

Table 15: Method

N Row % Column%	Intimate	Family	Acquaintance	Stranger	Unknown	Total
Gun Shot	51 48.6% 42.1%	12 11.4% 24.5%	12 11.4% 16.9%	10 9.5% 16.4%	20 19.0% 22.0%	105 26.7%
Stabbing	28 29.8% 23.1%	7 7.4% 14.3%	20 21.3% 28.2%	15 16.0% 24.6%	24 25.5% 26.4%	94 23.9%
Blunt Force	20 22.5% 16.5%	18 20.2% 36.7%	26 29.2% 36.6%	13 14.6% 21.3%	12 13.5% 13.2%	89 22.6%
Strangle or Suffocate	20 22.5% 16.5%	6 6.7% 12.2%	13 14.6% 18.3%	23 25.8% 37.7%	27 30.3% 29.7%	89 22.6%
Other or Undetermined	2 12.5% 1.7%	6 6.7% 12.2%			8 50.0% 8.8%	16 4.1%
Total	121 30.8%	49 12.5%	71 18.1%	61 15.5%	91 23.2%	393 100.0%

Figure 6: Method



Analysis results on the effect of the victim/offender relationship on the type of firearm used revealed no significant statistical differences, $\chi^2 (4, n=105) = 3.46, p < .48$. . Separate Chi-square analyses were conducted collapsing the category of victim/offender relationship. Chi-square analyses indicate that whether a handgun or shotgun is used does not vary significantly by intimate/non-intimate, $\chi^2 (1, n=105) = .75, p < .39$; familial/non-familial, $\chi^2 (1, n=105) = 1.03, p < .31$; acquaintance/non-acquaintance, $\chi^2 (1, n=105) = 1.46, p < .23$; or stranger and unknown/non-stranger and known, $\chi^2 (1, n=105) = .67, p < .41$, victim/offender relationships.

Table 16: Type of Firearm

N						
Row %	Intimate	Family	Acquaintance	Stranger	Unknown	Total
Column%						
Handgun	38 46.3% 74.5%	8 9.8% 66.7%	11 13.4% 91.7%	9 11.0% 90.0%	16 19.5% 80.0%	82 78.1%
Shotgun or Riffle	13 56.5% 25.5%	4 17.4% 33.3%	1 4.3% 8.3%	1 4.3% 10.0%	4 17.4% 20.0%	23 21.9%
Total	51 48.6%	12 11.4%	12 11.4%	10 9.5%	20 19.0%	105 100.0%

Results of analyses examining the effect of the victim/offender relationship on the range of gun fire revealed no statistically significant differences. Chi-square analysis indicate that whether the victim was shot at close, contact, intermediate, or a distant range does not vary significantly by victim/offender relationship, $\chi^2 (12, n=105) = 18.17, p < .111$. Further chi-square analysis indicate similar, non-significant, results when victim/offender relationship for victims shot at close range/contact was compared to the relationship of those shot at intermediate or distant range, $\chi^2 (4, n=88) = 4.85, p < .303$.

Table 17: Range Of Gun Fire

N						
Row %	Intimate	Family	Acquaintance	Stranger	Unknown	Total
Column%						
	28	5	4	6	9	52
Close or	53.8%	9.6%	7.7%	11.5%	17.3%	
Contact	54.9%	41.7%	33.3%	60.0%	45.0%	49.5%
	8	1	4	1		14
Intermediate	57.1%	7.1%	28.6%	7.1%		
	15.7%	8.3%	33.3%	10.0%		13.3%
	6	3	3	1	9	22
Distant	27.3%	13.6%	13.6%	4.5%	40.9%	
	11.8%	25.0%	25.0%	10.0%	45.0%	21.0%
	9	3	1	2	2	17
Undetermined	52.9%	17.6%	5.9%	11.8%	11.8%	
	17.6%	25.0%	8.3%	20.0%	10.0%	16.2%
Total	51	12	12	10	20	105
	48.6%	11.4%	11.4%	9.5%	19.0%	100.0%

Results of the analysis on the effect of the victim/offender relationship on the number of gunshot wounds revealed no statistically significant differences. An analysis of variance (ANOVA) indicates that the number of times a victim is shot does not vary significantly by victim/offender relationship, $F(4,100) = .720, p > .580$.

Table 18: Number of Gun Shot Wounds

N						
Row %	Intimate	Family	Acquaintance	Stranger	Unknown	Total
Column%						
One	26 44.8% 51.0%	9 15.5% 75.0%	8 13.8% 66.7%	6 10.3% 60.0%	9 15.5% 45.0%	58 55.2%
Two	9 45.0% 17.6%		2 10.0% 16.7%	3 15.0% 30.0%	6 30.0% 30.0%	20 19.0%
Three	6 54.5% 11.8%	1 9.1% 8.3%	2 18.2% 16.7%		2 18.2% 10.0%	11 10.5%
Four	4 57.1% 7.8%	1 14.3% 8.3%		1 14.3% 10.0%	1 14.3% 5.0%	7 6.7%
Five	2 100.0% 3.9%					2 1.9%
Seven	2 66.7% 3.9%				1 33.3% 5.0%	3 2.9%
Nine	1 100.0% 2.0%					1 1.0%
Ten		1 100.0% 8.3%				1 1.0%
Twelve	1 100.0% 2.0%					1 1.0%
Seventeen					1 100.0% 5.0%	1 1.0%
Total	51 48.6%	12 11.4%	12 11.4%	10 9.5%	20 19.0%	105 100.0%

Analysis results on the effect of the victim/offender relationship on the number of stab wounds revealed no statistically significant differences. An analysis of variance (ANOVA) indicates that the number of times a victim is stabbed does not vary significantly by victim/offender relationship, $F(4, 92) = 1.46, p > .220$.

Table 19: Number of Stab Wounds

N Row % Column%	Intimate	Family	Acquaintance	Stranger	Unknown	Total
1-4	9 36.0% 30.0%	2 8.0% 28.6%	5 20.0% 26.3%	4 16.0% 26.7%	5 20.0% 19.2%	25 25.8%
5-9	6 30.0% 20.0%		7 35.0% 36.8%	3 15.0% 20.0%	4 20.0% 15.4%	20 20.6%
10-14	3 17.6% 10.0%	2 11.8% 28.6%	4 23.5% 21.1%	3 17.6% 20.0%	5 29.4% 19.2%	17 17.5%
15-19	3 33.3% 10.0%	1 11.1% 14.3%		3 33.3% 20.0%	2 22.2% 7.7%	9 9.3%
20-24	3 33.3% 10.0%		2 22.2% 10.5%	1 11.1% 6.7%	3 33.3% 11.5%	9 9.3%
25-29	2 66.7% 6.7%				1 33.3% 3.8%	3 3.1%
30-34	2 40.0% 6.7%	2 40.0% 28.6%		1 20.0% 6.7%		5 5.2%
35-39					1 100.0% 3.8%	1 1.0%
40-44					3 100.0% 11.5%	3 3.1%
50	1 50.0% 3.3%		1 50.0% 5.3%			2 2.1%
70+	1 33.3% 3.3%				2 66.7% 7.7%	3 3.1%
Total	30 30.9%	7 7.2%	19 19.6%	15 15.5%	26 26.8%	97 100.0%

- Three cases involved a victim who was stabbed but stabbing was not the primary cause of death

Although Wolfgang (1958) reported that women were more likely to be killed in a brutal manner than were male victims, the present study found no statistically significant differences in brutality based on victim/offender relationship. Half of all femicides showed no signs of excessive brutality in any victim/offender category. Those that did show brutality were evenly split among the victim/offender relationship categories. Due to the

relationship between method and victim/offender relationship, separation of each of the variables beyond the dichotomy does not enhance this analysis.

Results of the analyses examining the effect of the victim/offender relationship on the level of brutality revealed no statistically significant differences. Even when the victim/offender relationship category was collapsed, Chi-square analyses indicate that evidence of excessive brutality does not vary significantly by intimate/non-intimate, $\chi^2 (1, n=393) = 2.12, p < .145$; familial/non-familial, $\chi^2 (1, n=393) = .397, p < .529$; acquaintance/non-acquaintance, $\chi^2 (1, n=393) = 1.563, p < .211$; or stranger and unknown/non-stranger and known relationships, $\chi^2 (1, n=393) = .001, p < .973$.

Table 20: Excessive Brutality

N Row % Column%	Intimate	Family	Acquaintance	Stranger	Unknown	Total
Evidence of Excessive Brutality	50 27.2%	25 13.6%	38 20.7%	31 16.8%	40 21.7%	184 46.8%
> 4 Gun Shot Wounds	6 66.7%	1 11.1%			2 22.2%	9 2.3%
>10 Stab Wounds	15 30.0%	4 8.0%	6 12.0%	8 16.0%	17 34.0%	50 12.7%
Excessive or Severe Blunt Force	26 21.7%	21 17.5%	31 25.8%	18 15.0%	24 20.0%	120 30.5%
Multiple Causes	9 20.0%	2 4.4%	10 22.2%	11 24.4%	13 28.9%	45 11.5%
No Evidence of Excessive Brutality	71 34.0%	24 11.5%	33 15.8%	30 14.4%	51 24.4%	209 53.2%
Total	121 30.8%	49 12.5%	71 18.1%	61 15.5%	91 23.2%	393 100.0%

- Categories are not mutually exclusive

Wilt et al. (1997) reported that in half of all femicides, sexual assault was suspected and rape kits were conducted. Wilt et al. reported that 6% of femicides showed

strong evidence of sexual assault, i.e. a “positive rape kit.” Similarly, Frye et al. (2004) reported that 4% showed strong evidence of sexual assault. The present study reported that 14% of the femicides showed evidence of sexual assault. The fact that this classification was based on investigator judgment regarding victims found undressed, injuries consistent with sexual assault, offender confessions, etc. may account for the higher percentage. It should be noted that the present study examined “evidence of sexual assault” and does not definitively identify these as representing the occurrence of sexual assault.

The results from the present study found that while only 3% of intimate femicides showed any evidence of sexual assault, 18% of non-intimate femicides showed some evidence of sexual assault. By far the most common was the stranger relationship with 41% showing evidence of sexual assault. In all cases of femicide where evidence of sexual assault was reported, vaginal assault was suspected in 91%. Anal assault was suspected in 38%, insertion of a foreign object in 11%, and postmortem sexual assault in 21%. In numerous cases, more than one type of sexual assault was suspected.

Results of the analyses examining the effect of the victim/offender relationship on sexual assault revealed statistically significant differences, $\chi^2(4, n=393) = 54.08, p < .001$. Chi-square analyses of each victim/offender relationship separately revealed that when collapsed into intimate/non-intimate, $\chi^2(1, n=393) = 15.53, p < .001$; familial/non-familial, $\chi^2(1, n=393) = 4.24, p < .04$; and stranger/non-stranger relationships, $\chi^2(1, n=393) = 46.80, p < .001$ varied significantly while acquaintance/non-acquaintance, $\chi^2(1, n=393) = .05, p < .82$ and unknown/known relationships, $\chi^2(1, n=393) = .06, p < .80$ did not. Visual

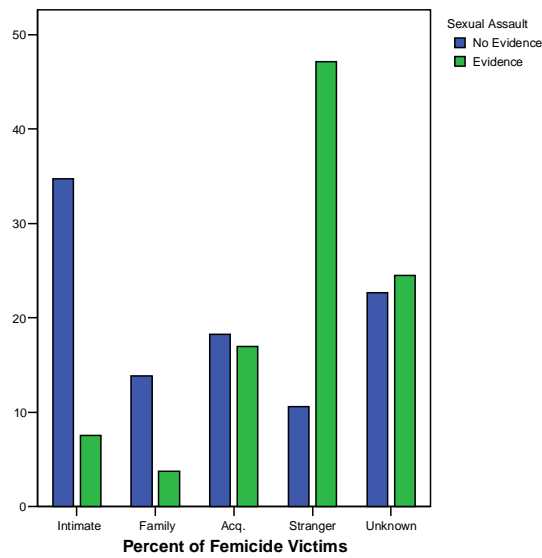
examination revealed that stranger femicide is greatly over-represented among those victims with evidence of sexual assault.

Table 21: Sexual Assault

N	Intimate	Family	Acquaintance	Stranger	Unknown	Total
Row %						
Column%						
Evidence Of Sexual Assault	4 7.5% 3.3%	2 3.8% 4.1%	9 17.0% 12.7%	25 47.2% 41.0%	13 24.5% 14.3%	53 13.5%
Vaginal	4 8.3% 3.3%		7 14.6% 9.9%	24 50.0% 39.3%	13 27.1% 14.3%	48 12.2%
Anal		2 10.0% 4.1%	4 20.0% 5.6%	10 50.0% 16.4%	4 20.0% 4.4%	20 5.1%
Foreign Object		1 16.7% 2.0%	3 50.0% 4.2%	1 16.7% 1.6%	1 16.7% 1.1%	6 1.5%
Postmortem Sexual Assault	1 9.1% .8%	1 9.1% 2.0%	3 27.3% 4.2%	5 45.5% 8.2%	1 9.1% 1.1%	11 2.8%
No Evidence Of Sexual Assault	117 34.4% 96.7%	47 13.8% 95.9%	62 18.2% 87.3%	36 10.6% 59.0%	78 22.9% 85.7%	340 86.5%
Total	121 30.8%	49 12.5%	71 18.1%	61 15.5%	91 23.2%	393 100.0%

- Categories are not mutually exclusive

Figure 7: Sexual Assault



The present study also included analysis of the effect of victim/offender relationship on whether the offender took an item(s) from the victim. These analyses found that items were reported missing in only 21.1% of all femicides. Findings show that of those cases in which the investigator determined an item to be missing, 67.5% were stranger or unknown victim/offender relationships.

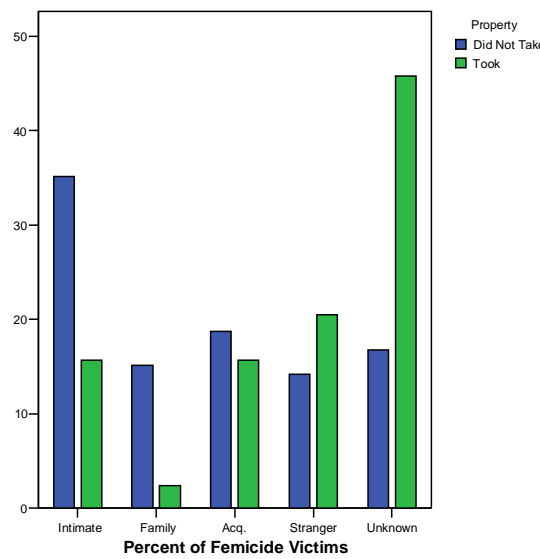
Further, there was no differentiation of whether the item taken was something of value (i.e., a car, stereo, money) or a personal item (i.e., picture, clothing). Future studies may want to break this variable down in order to examine the differences between those considered proceeds from robberies and those taken strictly for personal reasons.

Results of the analyses on the effect of the victim/offender relationship on the whether or not the offender took items belonging to the victim did reveal statistically significant differences. Chi-square analyses indicate that evidence that the offender took the victim's property varies significantly by victim/offender relationship, $\chi^2 (4, n=393) = 45.47, p < .001$. Visual examination reveals that strangers or unknown offenders were more likely to take an item belonging to the victim than were intimate, family, or acquaintance offenders. Separate Chi-square analyses collapsing each of the victim/offender relationships revealed that intimate/non-intimate, $\chi^2 (1, n=393) = 13.17, p < .001$; familial/non-familial, $\chi^2 (1, n=393) = 9.75, p < .001$; and unknown/known relationships, $\chi^2 (1, n=393) = 33.59, p < .001$ varied significantly while acquaintance/non-acquaintance, $\chi^2 (1, n=393) = .41, p < .52$ and stranger/non-stranger relationships, $\chi^2 (1, n=393) = 1.97, p < .16$ did not.

Table 22: Victim’s Property

N Row % Column%	Intimate	Family	Acquaintance	Stranger	Unknown	Total
Item Missing	12 14.5%	2 2.4%	13 15.7%	17 20.5%	39 47.0%	83 21.1%
No Apparent Item Missing	109 35.2%	47 15.2%	58 18.7%	44 14.2%	52 16.8%	310 78.9%
Total	121 30.8%	49 12.5%	71 18.1%	61 15.5%	91 23.2%	393 100.0%

Figure 8: Victim Property



Prior studies have not examined the condition or state of the victims’ dress or undress. Results of the present study reveal that 64.6% of the femicide victims were found fully dressed, 23.9% were partially dressed, and 11.5% were nude. When the victim/offender relationship was factored in, results showed statistically significant differences, revealing that 73.3% of those victims found nude and 53.2% of those found partially undressed were killed by a stranger or unknown offender.

Results of the present study also reveal that 80% of intimate femicide victims were found fully dressed. This finding is somewhat surprising in light of the fact that earlier

studies reported that the bedroom was more deadly for women than any other designated place. Wolfgang (1958) found that 35% of femicide victims were killed in the bedroom. Likewise, Goetting (1991) indicated similar findings of 40% were killed in the bedroom. While these studies did not specifically examine victim/offender relationship by the room in which they were killed, the study by Frye et al. (2004) did report that 74% of intimate femicides occurred in the victim's residence while only 46% of non-intimate femicides occurred there.

Results of analyses examining the effect of the victim/offender relationship on the condition of the victim's manner of dress did reveal statistically significant differences. Chi-square analyses indicate that whether the victim is discovered dressed, partially dressed, or nude varies significantly by victim/offender relationship, $\chi^2 (8, n=393) = 57.05, p < .001$. Separate Chi-square analyses were conducted collapsing the category of victim/offender relationship. Chi-square analyses of each victim/offender relationship separately revealed that intimate/non-intimate, $\chi^2 (2, n=393) = 20.65, p < .001$; stranger/non-stranger, $\chi^2 (2, n=393) = 23.33, p < .001$; and unknown/known relationships, $\chi^2 (2, n=393) = 20.47, p < .001$ varied significantly while familial/non-familial, $\chi^2 (2, n=393) = 5.66, p < .06$ and acquaintance/non-acquaintance relationships, $\chi^2 (2, n=393) = 2.89, p < .235$ did not. Visual examination reveals victims discovered nude or partially undressed were most often killed by a stranger or unknown offender.

Table 23: Victim's Clothing

N						
Row %	Intimate	Family	Acquaintance	Stranger	Unknown	Total
Column%						
Nude	4 8.9%	4 8.9%	4 8.9%	11 24.4%	22 48.9%	45 11.5%
Partially Dressed	20 21.3%	6 6.4%	18 19.1%	27 28.7%	23 24.5%	94 23.9%
Fully Dressed	97 38.2%	39 15.4%	49 19.3%	23 9.1%	46 18.1%	254 64.6%
Total	121 30.8%	49 12.5%	71 18.1%	61 15.5%	91 23.2%	393 100.0%

Those who have examined the psychological aspects of crimes, such as serial or sexual homicide, have reported that the victim's visibility and state of dress often result from specific decisions made by the offender (Ressler, Burgess, and Douglas, 1988). The offender may cover the victim out of remorse or in an attempt to prevent or delay discovery. An offender with a close personal relationship to the victim may redress the victim in order to prevent strangers, such as the police, from seeing her nude.

While the motive behind this offender behavior may be unclear, the present study explored the effect that victim/offender relationship has on its occurrence. In only 19.3% of all femicides did the offenders appear to have covered or redressed the victims. Covering the body was most common but still accounted for only 9.7% of all femicides. Only the victim's face was covered in 5.9%, and the victim appeared to have been redressed in 4.6% of all femicides.

Strangers were most likely to exhibit evidence of covering the victims when covering their bodies or faces and redressing the victims were considered together (31.1%). However, intimate offenders exhibited evidence of covering their victims in only

17.4% of the cases. When each variable was examined individually, two different trends emerged.

A slightly higher percentage of strangers covered the victims' bodies (14.8%) or faces (16.4%) than intimates (9.1% and 2.5% respectively). Although there were fewer cases in which the offender redressed the victim, the trend appeared less common in femicides with stranger and unknown victim/offender relationships. Interestingly, familial femicide offenders were the least likely to exhibit evidence of covering or redressing the victim. Only 10% of familial femicides revealed any evidence of the victim being covered or redressed.

Results of analyses examining the effect of the victim/offender relationship on the offender covering the victim's body revealed statistically significant differences. Chi-square analyses indicate that evidence that the offender covered or redressed the victim varies significantly by victim/offender relationship, $\chi^2(4, n=393) = 11.51, p < .02$. Visual examination revealed that family members were the least likely offender to cover the victim, whereas stranger and acquaintance offenders were the most likely to cover the victim.

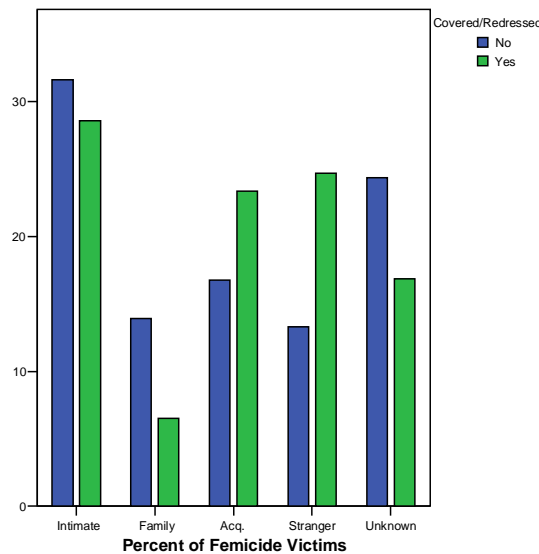
Separate Chi-square analyses were conducted collapsing the category of victim/offender relationship. A Chi-square analysis examining stranger/non-stranger was the only victim/offender relationship that was statistically significant, $\chi^2(1, n=393) = 6.46, p < .01$. Intimate/non-intimate, $\chi^2(1, n=393) = .44, p < .51$; familial/non-familial, $\chi^2(1, n=393) = 2.99, p < .08$; acquaintance/non-acquaintance, $\chi^2(1, n=393) = 2.01, p < .16$; and unknown/known relationships, $\chi^2(1, n=393) = 1.94, p < .16$ were not.

Table 24: Covering the Victim

N Row % Column%	Intimate	Family	Acquaintance	Stranger	Unknown	Total
Evidence	21	5	18	19	13	76
Victim Was	27.6%	6.6%	23.7%	25.0%	17.1%	
Covered	17.4%	10.2%	25.4%	31.1%	14.3%	19.3%
	11	3	6	9	9	38
Covered Body	28.9%	7.9%	15.8%	23.7%	23.7%	
	9.1%	6.1%	8.5%	14.8%	9.9%	9.7%
	3	2	6	10	2	23
Covered Face	13.0%	8.7%	26.1%	43.5%	8.7%	
	2.5%	4.1%	8.5%	16.4%	2.2%	5.9%
Offender	7		6	3	2	18
Redressed	38.9%		33.3%	16.7%	11.1%	
Victim	5.8%		8.5%	4.9%	2.2%	4.6%
No Evidence	100	44	53	42	78	317
Victim Was	31.5%	13.9%	16.7%	13.2%	24.6%	
Covered	82.6%	89.8%	74.6%	68.9%	85.7%	80.7%
	121	49	71	61	91	393
Total	30.8%	12.5%	18.1%	15.5%	23.2%	100.0%

- Categories are not mutually exclusive

Figure 9: Covering or Redressing the Victim



Analyses were conducted to examine the effect of victim/offender relationship on whether the victim was bound, gagged, or blindfolded. Results from the present study again indicated a statistically significant difference based on victim/offender relationship. Only 9% of all femicides showed any evidence of victim binding.

Evidence of the victim's hands and/or feet being bound was the most common with 7.9%. The victim was gagged in 3.3% and blindfolded in 1.8% of all femicides. Binding rarely occurred in incidents of intimate (3.3%) or familial (4.1%) femicide. Similar rates were found for acquaintance, stranger, and unknown relationship femicides, 11.3%, 11.5%, and 15.4% respectively. No significant differences were noted when the three variables (bound, gagged, or blindfolded) were examined individually, with the exception that unknown relationships accounted for a higher number of incidents in which the victim was bound.

Analyses results for the effect of the victim/offender relationship on evidence of binding, gagging, or blindfolding did reveal statistically significant differences. Chi-square analyses indicate that evidence the offender bound, gagged, or blindfolded the victim varies significantly by victim/offender relationship. Intimate and family offenders were the least likely to bind the victim whereas unknown offenders were the most likely, followed by stranger and acquaintances, $\chi^2(4, n=393) = 11.78, p < .019$.

When separate Chi-square analyses were conducted collapsing the category of victim/offender relationship only intimate/non-intimate, $\chi^2(1, n=393) = 6.76, p < .01$ and unknown/known relationships, $\chi^2(1, n=393) = 6.13, p < .01$ were statistically significant; familial/non-familial, $\chi^2(1, n=393) = 1.61, p < .20$; acquaintance/non-acquaintance, $\chi^2(1, n=393) = .60, p < .44$; and stranger/non-stranger relationships, $\chi^2(1, n=393) = .59, p < .44$ were not.

Table 25: Binding

N Row % Column%	Intimate	Family	Acquaintance	Stranger	Unknown	Total
Evidence Of Binding	4 11.4%	2 5.7%	8 22.9%	7 20.0%	14 40.0%	35
Bound	3.3%	4.1%	11.3%	11.5%	15.4%	8.9%
	4 12.9%	2 6.5%	6 19.4%	6 19.4%	13 41.9%	31
	3.3%	4.1%	8.5%	9.8%	14.3%	7.9%
Gagged	1 7.7%		3 23.1%	4 30.8%	5 38.5%	13
	.8%		4.2%	6.6%	5.5%	3.3%
Blindfolded			3 42.9%	1 14.3%	3 42.9%	7
			4.2%	1.6%	3.3%	1.8%
No Evidence Of Binding	117 32.7%	47 13.1%	63 17.6%	54 15.1%	77 21.5%	358
	96.7%	95.9%	88.7%	88.5%	84.6%	91.1%
Total	121 30.8%	49 12.5%	71 18.1%	61 15.5%	91 23.2%	393 100.0%

- Categories are not mutually exclusive

Finally, an examination of evidence that the offender attempted to alter the scene was conducted. In 38.7% of all femicides, the offender appeared to have made an attempt to alter the scene, either by moving the body to another location, disabling the utilities, ransacking the scene, destroying evidence, disfiguring the victim, dismembering the victim, or staging the scene to appear as if it were motivated by another factor. Acquaintances altered the scene in over half (52.1%) of the cases, most commonly by destroying evidence (29.6%), or moving the victim to another location (22.5%). Stranger and unknown offender femicides similarly reported evidence of scene altering in 44.3% and 40.7%, respectively. Intimate offenders were least likely, attempting this only 27.3% of the time.

When each variable was examined separately, only moving the body to another location appeared to be statistically significant. The other variables--disabling utilities, ransacking, destroying evidence, disfiguring the victim, dismemberment, and staging--

appeared to be distributed fairly evenly across the victim/offender categories and chi-square analyses did not reveal statistically significant results.

Results of analyses examining the effect of the victim/offender relationship on evidence that the offender moved the body, disabled the utilities, ransacked the scene, destroyed evidence, disfigured or dismembered the victim, or staged the scene reveal statistically significant differences. Chi-square analysis indicates that evidence that the offender altered the scene varies significantly by victim/offender relationship, $\chi^2 (4, n=393) = 13.07, p < .01$.

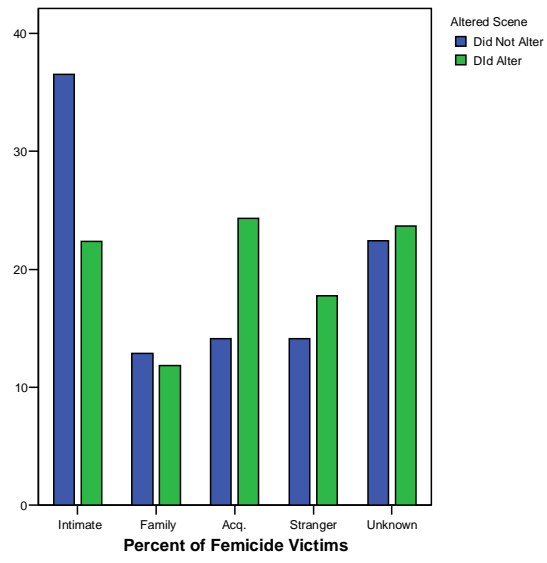
When the evidence of altering the scene and victim/offender relationships were collapsed, the following was revealed: Intimate/non-intimate relationships varied significantly with the behavior of moving the body, $\chi^2 (1, n=393) = 4.85, p < .03$ and disfiguring the body, $4.27, p < .04$. Familial/non-familial femicides varied significantly with moving the body, $\chi^2 (1, n=393) = 4.08, p < .04$. Acquaintance/non-acquaintance victim/offender relationships varied significantly with disabling the utilities, $\chi^2 (1, n=393) = 4.02, p < .04$ and attempting to destroy evidence, $6.55, p < .01$. Stranger/non-stranger relationships did not vary significantly on any of the scene altering behavior. When the victim/offender relationship was collapsed into unknown/known, it varied significantly with the behavior of moving the body, $\chi^2 (1, n=393) = 4.37, p < .04$.

Table 26: Scene Altering

N	Intimate	Family	Acquaintance	Stranger	Unknown	Total
Row %						
Column%						
Evidence	33	18	37	27	37	152
Offender	21.7%	11.8%	24.3%	17.8%	24.3%	
Altered Scene	27.3%	36.7%	52.1%	44.3%	40.7%	38.7%
Moved Body	12	3	16	11	21	63
To Another	19.0%	4.8%	25.4%	17.5%	33.3%	
Location	9.9%	6.1%	22.5%	18.0%	23.1%	16.0%
Disabled Utilities	6	1	8	3	6	24
	25.0%	4.2%	33.3%	12.5%	25.0%	
	5.0%	2.0%	11.3%	4.9%	6.6%	6.1%
Ransacked	10	7	13	10	9	49
	20.4%	14.3%	26.5%	20.4%	18.4%	
	8.3%	14.3%	18.3%	16.4%	9.9%	12.5%
Destroyed	17	10	21	14	12	74
Evidence	23.0%	13.5%	28.4%	18.9%	16.2%	
	14.0%	20.4%	29.6%	23.0%	13.2%	18.8%
Disfigured Victim	2	4	4	4	6	20
	10.0%	20.0%	20.0%	20.0%	30.0%	
	1.7%	8.2%	5.6%	6.6%	6.6%	5.1%
Dismembered	1		2	1	4	8
	12.5%		25.0%	12.5%	50.0%	
	.8%		2.8%	1.6%	4.4%	2.0%
Staged	8		4	3	5	20
	40.0%		20.0%	15.0%	25.0%	
	6.6%		5.6%	4.9%	5.5%	5.1%
No Evidence	88	31	34	34	54	241
Scene Was	36.5%	12.9%	14.1%	14.1%	22.4%	
Altered	72.7%	63.3%	47.9%	55.7%	59.3%	61.3%
Total	121	49	71	61	91	393
	30.8%	12.5%	18.1%	15.5%	23.2%	100.0%

- Categories are not mutually exclusive

Figure 10: Offender Altered Scene



Chapter 7 Qualitative Analyses: Interview Data

Flewelling and Williams (1999) purported that the complexity of human behavior is never more evident than in the events surrounding the taking of another life. The previous chapter revealed that when examined quantitatively, patterns become apparent in these complex events, supporting prior assertions that these events are not random. In this section, the events are deconstructed and examined on an individual basis in order to develop a better understanding of this phenomenon. The narrative data enriches and expands upon the quantitative results.

A picture of the individuals involved and the femicide event itself was examined through the examination of case files, discussions with the case investigators, and in-depth interviews with 12 randomly selected offenders. These offenders discussed their relationships with the victims, the events surrounding the incidents, and their thought processes before, during, and immediately following the femicides. The results of this section will be linked with the quantitative findings in the next section.

Case Study 1 – Intimate Femicide

Background

On a Tuesday morning, police were called to a downtown business. The caller reported that her estranged husband came to her place of employment and was harassing her. A police report was taken, and the woman was advised to go immediately to family court and get a restraining order. She agreed to consider the officer's suggestion but refused to go at that time.

The officer returned to his patrol car in front of the business and was making notes for his report when he observed people screaming and running from the business. He

entered through the front door and observed the offender assaulting his estranged wife. The officer pulled his weapon and advised the offender to drop his knife. He complied and was taken into custody. The victim was rushed to the hospital but succumbed a short time later. She had sustained 16 stab wounds.

The Victim and Offender

Both victim and offender were African Americans in their early forties. The offender and victim had been married for approximately three years but were separated for several months at the wife's request. However, the husband wanted to reconcile. The husband assaulted the victim on prior occasions, but the victim did not follow through with court proceedings.

The offender gave the following account of these prior assaults:

“One time I broke her jaw; another time I cracked her ribs. I know how that sounds, but when I, I'm not making excuses for it. What happened was at the time her jaw broke, she had her mouth wide open, and I smacked it . . . She said something about my children, and I smacked her. . . . The cracked rib, I caught her coming out of a bar with a guy. . . . I saw red, you know? And I hit her. She fell against a car, supposedly cracked her rib. There had been physical violence, not all on my part though . . .”

The offender was married twice before and had an extensive criminal history dating back twenty years, which included drug and weapon charges, burglary, assault and homicide. He had previously attempted suicide and was hospitalized in a psychiatric facility, diagnosed with judgment disorder and borderline personality disorder. The offender had a GED and had attended some college courses. At the time of the incident the offender was unemployed. He admitted to using marijuana, cocaine, and heroin, and was on a drinking binge the day before the event.

The Crime Scene

“So I went to her job. I’m waiting for her to get to work, so in the meantime while I was waiting for her, there’s a liquor store across the street . . . I had gone over there and had another half pint of vodka . . . And finally she comes to work.”

The offender stated that he went to the victim’s work place and asked for money but the victim refused to give the offender any money at that time, but suggested he come back later in the day.

“Then she got a phone call; she got a phone call from some guy . . . [who] was supposed to be going to her house to meet her . . . So I called her outside, and I said, ‘You know what? I am certainly getting sick of this.’ I said, ‘You’re nothing but a whore, and I pushed her . . . So I left, went and got some more to drink. Now in the meantime, she called the police.”

While the officer was in his vehicle at the scene, the offender returned and entered the work place through a rear door.

“So I went back . . . to talk to her, and when I got out of the car, her [boss] came out and told me said [she] doesn’t want to talk to you; she called the cops. And uh, I said ‘Okay, well, I’m leaving’ . . . oh, before that, and this is what got me in trouble because I messed up my credibility. During the time that I was waiting, uh, to go back the second time, I had gone up the street to uh, . . . They sold knives and things like that, and I bought this knife because I was going go confront this guy, you know? . . . I was going to see who this guy was. I didn’t know who he was, and I was going to have something in case, things got out of hand. So, anyway I had this knife, and I go back and she said, uh, when I stepped in the door, I said, ‘Did you call the cops on me?’ She said, yeah, and I just went off . . . And it was like I was standing in the doorway, watching myself chase her through the main door there, and I saw myself stab her . . . Next thing I know, there is a policeman there, about as close as you and I, and he’s got a gun pointed at my chest telling me to drop the knife. And that was it.”

Case Study 2 – Intimate Femicide

Background

The victim’s mother returned home to find her daughter, who resided with her, dead in the daughter’s bedroom. Initially, there were no obvious signs of trauma, but an

autopsy revealed that the victim was strangled and received blunt trauma to her abdomen. Meanwhile, the victim's ex-boyfriend, who fled to New York City, confessed to authorities there that he had killed his ex-girlfriend.

The Victim and Offender

The offender and victim had an on-again-off-again relationship for approximately three years. The victim was in her early thirties and the offender was in his late thirties; both were African American.

The offender had a criminal history, including assault, fraud, burglary, robbery, and weapons possession. He attained a GED and was employed at the time of the homicide in manual labor. He was previously hospitalized for depression and admitted use of marijuana, cocaine, heroin, and alcohol.

The Crime Scene

At the time of the incident, they were arguing in the victim's residence about infidelity and whether the victim had given the offender a sexually transmitted disease.

"She just grabbed me, and I mean, just I'm tired of this here [arguing] man . . . So, as I was leaving there, she threw something [at me] and I rushed her and, you know what I'm saying, I had literally got to that point, you know what I'm saying."

The offender immediately fled the scene. He later recounted the following:

"I just left, you know what I'm saying, because, I mean I thought that maybe she was still all right, you know what I'm saying, and I just left."

Case Study 3 – Intimate Femicide

Background

On a cold January evening, the victim went down to her basement to do laundry. Unbeknown to her, her ex-boyfriend had been hiding in her basement for a number of

days. She was attacked from behind with a barbell and killed. The offender then took her car and numerous items of value from her home. Her ex-boyfriend was developed as a suspect, and upon questioning, he confessed to her murder along with two other murders in the months leading up to this incident.

The Victim and Offender

The victim was a single African American female in her late forties, and the offender was an African American male in his early thirties. He had a criminal history of burglary, robbery and kidnapping. His documented criminal career began at the age of 12 when he was sent to juvenile detention and then placed in a foster home.

The victim and offender met while the offender was in prison where the victim volunteered. When the offender was released, they began a brief intimate relationship until the victim broke it off.

“I was a prisoner, and uh, she made the mistake of being my friend.”

The offender, an admitted cocaine user, stated the following regarding motive and victim selection:

“I had fell into these drugs, using drugs. And um, I needed money. And my mind said pick on someone weaker, and that’s what I did.”

The Crime Scene

“When I committed the homicides, I was using cocaine . . . and when I killed someone, it was to get money. It was to get money for cocaine, but at the same time, I could close my eyes and just remember exactly that moment. I wasn’t afraid. I knew what I was doing was wrong. I knew it was wrong to kill someone. And . . . but it . . . I just don’t get it. I, you know, that’s what I don’t get. I knew it was wrong and everything. I knew what I was gonna do. And I knew it was for money. But, why did I kill them? Uh, maybe I didn’t care about. I do care. I do; I do. But I still did it. Um, you know you can get guns and stuff. You know, you can go out \$25.00, get you a gun. I didn’t use a gun in none of them. You know what I used? You probably do. An object, a blunt object, hit a

person. Just in the head, man. People that were weaker than me. People that I could've just strong-armed. Just throw them to the ground, say give me your money and they would have gave it too. So, I'm thinking, why, why did you do what you did the way you did it? Why, why, I mean shit, you could've terrorized someone with a gun. Whew, I'm going to tell you. You know, I don't know, like even today, I don't know, but I do believe that the first weapon I ever encountered, seen used from someone, was a hammer. And I don't know if there is any relation to me using a blunt object, I mean one was a hammer, but the other one was a dumbbell, and two was a hammer actually. My father used a hammer on my mother. I remember that."

"I could've got \$24.00 and gone to New York, pick your people and pick your places to get guns from, why you chose that? [People ask] was it because you had it right away and that was available? No, that's not the case."

When questioned about covering the victim with a blanket and whether he made attempts to destroy evidence, the offender stated:

"I closed my eyes. I really, each one of the homicides I closed my eyes . . . I tried to cover it up . . . [with] a blanket or something . . . I did it with each one of the homicides . . . cause I didn't want to see her? I did close my eyes."

"When I left the place, I cleaned it up. I did, I wiped off fingerprints, this is probably not good enough, you know, all the techniques you know about that, you know, you need to do more than just wipe off fingerprints."

Case Study 4 - Intimate Femicide

Background

The offender, a long time friend of the victim's family, began to spend a great deal of time with the victim. The relationship turned intimate, much to the family's dismay. The victim ended the relationship but went to the offender's residence, possibly to reconcile. However, an argument ensued, and the altercation turned violent. The offender strangled the victim and then stabbed her repeatedly. The offender, who worked the night shift, left and went to work. While at work, he stole a large sum of money, returned home, put the victim's body in the car, and left the state. He stopped at bar in a southern

state and told the bartender that there was a body in his car. Someone from the bar notified the police; the offender was arrested, and returned to New Jersey.

The Victim and Offender

The offender is a Caucasian male in his late twenties. At the time of the incident, he was married but separated from his second wife. He had been dating the victim, a single Caucasian female in her early twenties, but she had recently ended their relationship. The offender had prior sexual assault and harassment charges which were dismissed. He was also incarcerated in a juvenile detention facility when he was younger.

The offender attempted suicide in the past and was diagnosed as Bi-polar and having a personality disorder. He had earned a GED, and at the time of the incident, he was employed as a cashier.

The Crime Scene

The victim was at the offender's residence when they began arguing. It is believed the victim refused to have sex with the offender. The offender then beat the victim about the face with his fist and manually strangled her. He then dragged her from the living room into the bedroom and used a necktie to strangle the victim, but the noises continued. He then stabbed her six times in the chest with a serrated kitchen knife.

“We were fighting in the living room, and somehow I ended up, she was on her stomach and I was above her and I had like a choke hold on her and she passed out. I thought I had broke her neck, I thought I killed her . . . so I carried her to the bedroom and put her on the bed. I should have called for help, and the question they've asked me a thousand times, is why didn't you call for help? And I think in my mind at the time I was helping her cuz she started making noise. I thought she was in pain, so I tied the tie around her neck to stop her pain. That didn't work, so I went and got a knife, and I stabbed her to stop the pain. And it doesn't even sound right. It doesn't make sense, but that's at the time what I was trying to do. I loved her very much, and I didn't want her to be in pain.”

“It had to have happened around 9:00, between 9 and 11. I’m not sure exactly when . . . then between that time until about midnight. I just sat there and talked to her and walked around and I was crying, talking to her, and then I called my work and told them something happened. I was going to be late, but I went to work.”

“[I] kept calling the house all night. I guess, I don’t know, hoping she would answer the phone. You know, I mean, I guess I was just not accepting that she was dead. I knew she was, but it was like maybe this was all just a nightmare.”

“I went back [home] and then um, got ready to go . . . I was moving to California. . . Packed up everything I needed . . . The blankets on the bed, there were two blankets . . . She was laying on her back on the bed. [I] just pulled them up over her, tied the top in a knot . . . I put everything else in the car, put [her] in the car . . . I was going to turn myself in when I got [there].”

Case Study 5 – Intimate Femicide Background

When the victim did not report to work at her job as an office clerk, her mother went to her home to check on her. It was there her mother discovered the victim’s body. She had been dead for approximately two days. It was discovered that her husband also had not reported for work and had not been seen for a couple days. A week later, the husband turned himself in and confessed to the murder.

The Victim and Offender

Both the victim and offender were African American. The victim was in her early thirties, and the offender was in his early fifties. The offender, a truck driver, had a criminal history dating back nearly twenty years. His charges ranged from disturbing the peace and disorderly conduct to assault and robbery. He was married once before and had seven children. The couple had a long history of domestic violence.

The Crime Scene

The offender indicated that his actions were prompted after he and victim engaged

in sexual intercourse and he climaxed first. Because of this, the victim became annoyed and told the offender if he could not satisfy her, she would get someone else. He reported that the victim began to beat him about the chest area. The offender then placed his hands around her neck and squeezed.

“After it happened, I put her in the bed. And I usually leave her in the bed in the morning when I go to work . . . and I guess, to me that was more like uh, I’d say, the same thing. I was leaving her at night; I just kissed her goodbye and go to work. She’d roll over and go back to sleep, and I’d go to work. That’s all. That’s mainly what I . . . at the time what I was thinking really, that it didn’t happen. That I was on my way to work and uh, that’s all”.

“I sat beside the bed. It was light and I was sitting beside the bedroom. When I realized anything, it was dark. Almost four in the morning, I’d say. Three or four in the morning. Yeah, I’d say about ten hours just, right beside the bed . . . it had to been about six in the morning [when I came back] . . . I just stayed in the house . . . sitting on the side of the bed.”

After killing the victim, it appeared the offender may have redressed her. The offender then fled out of state with the victim’s vehicle. The offender now claims the victim committed suicide.

Case Study 6 – Familial Femicide

Background

A younger girl returned home from work on a rainy Sunday evening. She observed her brother leaving the residence. Upon entering her home, she discovered both of her parents beaten to death. They were found in different rooms, both beaten to death with a hammer and wooden cane.

The girl called the police and told them her brother just murdered both of their parents. Police picked up her brother walking in the rain near a bar a short time later. He had little recollection of the events of that evening. As the events of the evening were

pieced together, it was determined that the offender, who had been drinking all day, came home to borrow money from parents to continue drinking. When they refused, he beat them both to death.

The Victim and Offender

The offender is a Hispanic male in his mid twenties. His mother, the main focus of this femicide study, was a married Hispanic female in her late forties. The offender, who was born in New Jersey, lived with his mom, dad, and sister.

Prior to this incident, he had only two previous charges of shop lifting and marijuana possession. He was however, hospitalized twice and was diagnosed bi-polar and paranoid schizophrenic. He also admitted to heavy alcohol use along with marijuana, crank, and methamphetamines.

The Crime Scene

The victim and her husband were brutally beaten by their son in their home. When questioned about events prior to the murders and what he remembered about the incident, the offender stated the following:

“I went over there one weekend, and I was very . . . I had been on like a three-day drinking binge, and then 25 years of anger all came out, and the next thing you know, I was swinging whatever blunt object I could find . . . I could not believe that I would be capable of something like that. And the way I look at it now, it sounds sick, but it was like cathartic almost. It was like I got it out of my system, and I would never do it again.”

“It didn’t seem long. It’s like I went over there and right away just, just confronted my mother with all these issues I had inside me, and it’s like, I just basically, her just like looking at me like, well, yeah, all right, get it over with, I’m trying to watch TV, that kind of attitude. And, that, that, that is really seemed to be the thing that kind of set me off, like, I’ll get your attention now. But then the next thing you know, I’m out, I’m out in the pouring rain and its dark, and I remember going over there and it was daylight.”

The offender did not bring any weapons with him but instead used items in the residence. Furthermore, he did not attempt to cover up the crime or his involvement.

“A walking cane . . . it was sitting there on the couch. It was, it was, I hope this doesn’t sound morbid but it was like it was saying, here pick me up . . . use me. Because there was no reason at all for it to be there. And they said they found splinters of the cane, pieces of the cane in the room, and I don’t like talking about this, they say they found pieces, slivers of wood out of my mother’s hair, and . . .uh . . . they found a claw hammer. In the house. And, I’m, who knows what else I used. They, I don’t remember using a claw hammer. And, that the thing they said about the claw hammer, was that I would have had to leave the room to get it, because it, there would have been no reason for it to be there in the house. Then, then, that was brought up in fact, that I would leave a room to get something. It would say that I was doing it intentionally. But as far as, as I tried to say, as far as I can remember, it’s like these objects just started coming out of nowhere, and before you know it, it was done.”

“Looking back on it, you can see . . . I can see it was all very sloppy, very impulsive, and I made no effort to hide it from anybody. And, if I can look back on it myself, it was almost like I was; I was asking to get caught. Cuz, I mean, it’s not like I made some kind of effort to try to dispose of the bodies or the weapons or try to create some kind of alibi. It’s like, yeah, here I am, I did it, come get me, basically it’s like the attitude I conceived.”

Case Study 7 – Acquaintance Femicide

Background

The police and fire department were dispatched to a fire in an apartment building. After the fire was contained, fire fighters discovered the body of a female lying on a bed in the apartment where the fire started. Despite the fire, a great deal of evidence remained. Two stab wounds were observed on the victim, and blood patterns found in the bathroom seemed to indicate the assault occurred there. Forensic and eyewitness accounts led police to suspect a neighbor and acquaintance of the victim. Further investigation revealed that on the same day of the murder, the offender pawned jewelry belonging to the victim.

The Victim and Offender

The victim was a single Caucasian female in her early fifties and the offender was a single Hispanic male in his mid-forties. The offender had a previous charge for armed robbery and was on disability at the time of the incident.

The Crime Scene

It is now believed that the offender broke into the victim's apartment not knowing she was there. The offender was attempting to rob the victim when she surprised him. After stabbing the victim to death, the offender then set fire to the victim's residence in attempt to cover up the homicide. The offender was convicted on the homicide, and although he admits to the burglary, he still denies committing the homicide or setting the fire.

Case Study 8 – Acquaintance Femicide

Background

At approximately noon on a Wednesday in March, the victim's body was discovered in her apartment. She had been stabbed eight times. An acquaintance of the victim was developed as a suspect based on physical evidence found at the scene. A search of his residence revealed the murder weapon.

The Victim and Offender

The victim was an African American female in her mid-twenties. The offender, an African American male in his early twenties, was unemployed at the time of the incident and had a prior charge for burglary which had been dismissed. The offender admitted to using marijuana and cocaine. He earned his high school degree and had taken some college courses.

The Crime Scene

The offender claimed that the victim owed him money for marijuana, and he went to her residence to collect from her. When the victim told him she did not have any money, he stabbed her repeatedly with a hatchet and kitchen knife. The offender then stole her car, television, VCR, and credit cards.

It should be noted that while this offender agreed to be interviewed, he refused to have the interview audio-taped.

Case Study 9 – Acquaintance Femicide

Background

While on routine patrol on a warm Monday night, two officers spotted a large cardboard box along the roadside. Closer examination revealed the body of a partially dressed young woman. Markings on the box as well as other physical evidence led police to the suspect. Further investigation revealed that the victim was last seen getting into the offender's vehicle.

Prior to the murder, the offender asked the victim to go shopping with him. He then used a ruse to get the victim to come with him to his residence. Once there, he attacked the victim from behind and sexually assaulted her. After the sexual assault, the victim asked to use the bathroom. As she walked toward the bathroom she was again attacked from behind, this time fatally.

The offender strangled the victim with a cord and then made an extensive but unsuccessful attempt to clean up any evidence from the crime scene and victim. He dumped the victim's body in a remote location and fled the state. Approximately three days later, the offender voluntarily agreed to return to New Jersey.

The Victim and Offender

The victim was a single Caucasian female in her early twenties. The offender was a Caucasian male in his mid twenties who worked as a handyman at the time of the incident. He had grown up in a strict but normal household with his mother, father, and a younger brother. The offender had a number of discipline problems as a teenager, so his parents took him to counseling.

The offender was twice charged with rape. In the first incident, he was found not guilty although he now admits his culpability. In the second incident, he was found guilty and served approximately two years of a five-year sentence. The offender admitted little control over his use of alcohol and marijuana.

The Crime Scene

“One day I woke up and, it’s just, it’s hard to explain by how the feeling, I woke up and I knew something was going to happen that day. I just knew it . . . everything just fell the wrong way . . . back in my mind now, O.K., now let’s call some girls.”

“So, I went back to my house and she had no problems with going back to my house, and uh, you know, she didn’t know nothing was wrong. She was just thinking we’re going back to my house; we’re going to get some money so we can go to the mall. I went back to my house, and I locked the door, and I attacked her . . . I knew the whole house was, would be my house. And no one was going to come by and stuff . . . and it just took off from there. Then, once we got back to my house, I took her in, and as soon as I came in, I, you know, I locked the screen door, and I closed the storm door, and I attacked her from behind. And at first she had no clue what was going on. She thought we were just like maybe playing around or wrestling. She was like, sort of like giggling, but sort of like, confused like . . . you know, ‘what the hell you doing?’”

“I just got this like this angry rage. I just got this angry rage and that was it. Once everything was over and done with, I was like, oh no, I messed up. Don’t tell nobody, please don’t tell nobody. This and that, just, I really can’t explain it.”

“I attacked her from behind. I put a cord around her neck, and I started choking her . . . She wasn’t fighting. It was like she was more like scared, more [or] less in

shock . . . In the back of my mind, I'm thinking, she's not fighting; she must want to die."

The offender stated that after the rape and strangulation, he was not sure the victim was dead, so he carried her to the bathroom and placed her in the tub. He filled the tub with water, making sure her face and nose were covered with water. Subsequently the offender left residence for a few hours.

"I panicked. Then once I realized she was dead, the first thing I was like, oh man, I can't believe I did this, and I left . . . I came back, went in the house and she was still in the tub. So that's when I knew, yeah, that's when I begin to panic. So then I tried to cover up, you know, I tried to cover everything up."

When he returned, he washed the victim in an attempt to destroy forensic evidence, spending a great deal of time cleaning the residence in an attempt to remove any other evidence. He then covered the victim's head, hands, and feet. The victim was then placed in a container and dump in the woods.

"I wrapped her [up], and I put her in the [container]. So all it looked like, if I was coming to my house, it was just like I was moving something out of my house, into [my vehicle]."

"I panicked, and as I was trying to pull the container further into the [woods], it hit a stump and it tipped over. Then when it tipped over, I panicked and just left, just left the scene."

"I was gonna go back and uh, check on the body, see if it was still there or not. And as I got on the highway . . . and off to the right hand side you could see the area . . . I seen all the white cars, unmarked, and a photographer there, and cones were up. And that's when I knew they found the body. So, I just left, left the area."

"At first they thought I had this like all planned out, that I staged the [scene]. It was just when we fell to the ground, there was the cord, I just grabbed that. It wasn't like I, you know, had everything set to the side, I knew what I was going to do, nothing like that."

Case Study 10 – Acquaintance Femicide

Background

The victim was discovered in an empty warehouse. She had been dead approximately five days. An autopsy revealed she was strangled and severely beaten. Her body was found partially undressed, and her hands and feet were bound. The offender was developed as a suspect and upon being questioned, he gave a formal statement admitting he choked the victim.

The Victim and Offender

The victim, a single African American female in her early forties, was a known prostitute and drug user. The offender was a married African American male in his late twenties. He came from a large family. He was unemployed at the time of the incident and had one prior criminal charge for drug possession. The offender was hospitalized three times for suicide attempts.

The Crime Scene

The victim was discovered in a vacant building lying on her stomach with her pants partially pulled down. Her arms were tied behind her back with her sweater sleeves, and her shoe laces were tied together.

“So we got into a little scuffle, she hit me with something, and I didn’t like it. So, I tried to subdue her, you know a little bit, to calm her down. Punching and kicking me, scratching me. She picked up a piece of a, I don’t know it was a razor or piece of metal or glass, and she cut me. And with that right there, I grabbed her by the neck and uh, I didn’t know I killed her. . . I put my arm around her neck, into a sleeper hold, and uh . . . she was alive at first, but I hung on . . . I didn’t know I killed her . . . so I left and went home.”

The offender had marks on him from the altercation, and in an attempt to account for these injuries, he filed a false police report stating he had been assaulted.

Case Study 11 – Acquaintance Femicide

Background

On a February afternoon, two surveyors found the body of a female in a stream. She was covered with snow and rocks. An autopsy revealed she had been beaten and strangled approximately one week before her body was found. A composite was done of the victim and given to the media.

The victim was identified and her boyfriend reported that she had gone out for cigarettes and never returned. The investigation revealed that the offender, an acquaintance of the victim, had previously threatened her. The offender admits that the victim owed him money for drugs but denies the murder.

The Victim and Offender

The Hispanic victim was in her late teens and was a known prostitute and drug user. The offender, an African American male in his late twenties, had an extensive prior criminal history, including weapons possession, robbery, assault, possession of CDS, etc. He was charged with homicide nine years prior to this incident, but the charges were not billed.

The offender came from a large family and was raised by his mother until she had a nervous breakdown. At that time, he was placed into the foster care system. He dropped out of high school after the 10th grade. The offender has six children of his own.

The Crime Scene

The victim was last seen near her home in an urban area; however, her body was discovered in a stream surrounded by woods in rural area. The victim appeared to have

been redressed by the offender and then driven to the site where she was eventually discovered.

The offender still denies involvement in this incident.

Case Study 12 – Stranger Femicide

Background

A customer in the video store observed an apparent robbery. He remained at the back of the store until he was sure the robber left. When he emerged from the rear of the store, he was unable to locate the cashier. A further search revealed the cashier's body behind the store. The victim had been stabbed over 20 times.

The police were able to develop the offender as a suspect because he had robbed the store previously and fit the description given by witnesses in the present incident. When police went to the offender's home, they were advised by his family that he had left earlier in the day with a large kitchen knife. The family was advised to contact the police when they heard from the offender. Approximately one week later, the offender was arrested at another family member's home out of state.

The Victim and Offender

The victim, who worked for the video store, was a single Caucasian female in her early twenties. The offender was a married African American male also in his early twenties. He was unemployed at the time of the incident. He had been sent to juvenile detention at the age of 15 and had a fairly extensive criminal history of drug possession, vehicle theft, shoplifting, robbery, and aggravated assault.

The offender dropped out of school after the 8th grade. He was diagnosed as emotionally disturbed and admitted to alcohol and cocaine use.

The Crime Scene

The offender gave the following account of the afternoon of the incident:

“My mother-in-law comes out of the room, the bedroom, and asks me to go to the store . . . so I had, a light went on, you can go by there and rob them again. You got off with it just as easy before. Keep in mind I had been drinking, you know, so my abilities was all screwed up and um, that’s what I did. Yu know, I left, went to the store.”

“I had a mask and a hood on and things like that . . . she complied you know, this is what I’m thinking, so I tells her to come outside with me because I didn’t want her to be able to contact authorities. . . And proceeded out the back door and that’s where she, sheer panic on her side and my side began and things got out of hand. That’s where the murder took place, back there.”

“She wasn’t actually fighting, it’s just that she was, you know, frightened. Which I understand and she was upset, frightened, didn’t know who I was, what I was intending on doing, you know, so she began getting loud and by her getting loud, I began getting nervous and it scared me. And then I, you know, lost my wits even further, and began striking her with this knife that I had and that’s what caused her death.”

“I had made her lie down and, well I asked her to lie down. And uh, as I proceeded to pull the rope, I’m on top of her at this point, you know, she’s lying on her back, I’m on top of her at this point on my knees. And as I proceeded to pull the rope out of my pocket, that’s when everything just, you know, went haywire. And that’s when I went haywire as well.”

The victim was stabbed 23 times in the field behind her place of employment.

Emergency responders began CPR, and the victim was transported to hospital where she was pronounced dead a short time later.

“After she stopped struggling, I immediately ran. Uh, the struggle didn’t take no more, probably about 30 seconds, you know. . . I was pretty much aware of what I was doing, you know. Came to some type of understanding of what was taking place, you know? And I immediately ran, discarded things, the knife, the rope, my clothing that I had on.”

“It was raining like I said, so uh, I had washed my hands off, cause I had blood on my hands too, and I ran the water, the knife through the water puddle on the floor, on the ground in the middle of the street. Ran the knife through it and that’s when I threw it that time.”

“I didn’t concern myself with the security . . . I didn’t really reflect too much on that, I just, it was closer to home, enroute to my home, so I would get in and get out. That’s how I was thinking.”

Summary

The pictures that emerge from these interviews are of femicides committed with little or no premeditation. The victims and offenders are often involved in close personal relationships. The murder is often the result of an argument. The location is often the victim and/or offender’s residence, and the method is almost always a weapon of opportunity. However, as shown in the quantitative section, these variables combine to form statistically significant patterns. The victim’s age and ethnicity, the location of the femicide, the weapon used, etc. are found to vary significantly, not only from homicides with male victims but also within femicide based on the victim/offender relationship.

As shown in the quantitative analyses section, the application of the lifestyle-routine activities approach helps to explain these differences and are reiterated in this chapter’s results. This study’s 12 cases of femicide demonstrate that these women are killed in the course of their routine activities by motivated offenders when no capable guardian was available.

Chapter 8 Discussion

This section combines the quantitative analysis and qualitative interviews along with lifestyle and routine activities theories to present a picture of the phenomenon of femicide. The quantitative analysis showed the frequency, patterns, and interactions among the variables. The interviews were then used to add richness to this data by providing a better understanding of the relationship between the victim and offender as well as a more intimate view of the individuals. Lastly, lifestyle and routine activities theories, which were utilized to form the hypotheses for this study, was again examined in order to better understand these findings.

This study has presented a model of the typical femicide victim in New Jersey. She is a Caucasian female in her mid-thirties. Although lifestyle and routine activities theories were utilized to predict that there would be difference between the mean age of victims based on the victim/offender relationship, no statistically significant differences were found. The assailant in femicide is typically a male, five or more years older than the victim.

Based on the same theoretical principle utilized in examining the mean age of the victims, it was predicted that the age difference between the offender and the victim would vary based on the victim/offender relationship. Statistically significant differences were found in the pattern expected. The offenders interviewed in this study were no exception to these findings. Four of the five intimate offenders were older than their victims. In the one case in which the offender was younger, the intimate relationship was more casual and had ended months before the financially motivated homicide.

Similar to prior studies, these results show that African American females have a higher rate of victimization when compared to their proportion in the population. African American and 'other minority' victims also appear to be overrepresented in the unknown offender/unsolved femicide category. It should be noted that as discussed in the Research Design and Methodology Chapter, there was an underreporting of African American victims in this study due to the low compliance of Essex County, therefore it can be expected that African American females may have an even higher rate of victimization than found in this study.

The offenders in this portrait of a typical femicide are most often the same ethnicity as the victim. As predicted by lifestyle and routine activity theories, femicide is primarily an interracial event. Individuals most often work, socialize, and live in racially homogenous areas; therefore, victims are most likely to come into contact with an offender who is of the same ethnicity. Those victims in the case studies who were killed by an offender of a different race lived or worked in racially diverse areas. These victims were also typically acquainted with their offenders and interacted with them during the course of their daily routines.

The victim is typically single and is most likely to be murdered by an intimate partner or an acquaintance. As predicted by Routine Activity theory, women are more likely to be killed by someone close to them. The majority of femicide victims were killed by intimate partner; over half of these were a boyfriend or ex-boyfriend.

Prior studies have reported that married females are killed at a higher percentage than married males. This study supports the findings that marriage does not provide the same protective factor for female victims as it does for male victims. Marriage does,

however, appear to provide a protective factor from victimization of familial, acquaintance, and stranger femicides as predicted by Routine Activities theory. The only married victim in the case studies murdered by someone other than her husband was killed along with her husband by her own son.

The majority of the femicides examined were solved and the offender was listed as in custody. A closer look at the offenders who were listed as deceased revealed that the majority had killed an intimate partner. This phenomenon is due to a higher rate of murder/suicides among intimates.

The interviews with intimate offenders in custody revealed that there was usually a history of domestic violence long precipitating the murder. To illustrate, the offender in Case Study 1 admitted to breaking the victim's jaw and cracking her ribs on other occasions. Numerous offenders in the case studies reported after being involved in a tumultuous relationship, they had finally 'had enough.'

The victims of femicide are typically killed in a residence, most likely their own, regardless of the victim/offender relationship. For example, in Case Study 3, the victim went down to her basement to do laundry when she was attacked from behind by her ex-boyfriend who had been hiding there. However, the remaining case studies which occurred in the victims' residences were not surprise attacks but involved offenders who were invited into or belonged in the home.

While victims were more likely to be killed in a residence, those who were killed outdoors, i.e. in a field, wooded area, or street, were more likely to have been killed by an acquaintance, stranger, or unknown offender than by an intimate or family member. This is consistent with lifestyle and routine activities theories in that these are the locations

where the victim is most likely to come into contact with the offender. For example, victims are more likely to come into contact with an intimate partner or family member in a residence and more likely to come into contact with an acquaintance or stranger in a public or outdoor venue.

Only one victim in the case studies was confirmed having been killed outdoors. In Case Study 12, the victim was taken out the rear of her retail workplace to a nearby field. When the victim began to scream, she was stabbed. In Case Studies 10 and 11, the location of the actual murder is unknown, but one of the victims was dragged into an empty warehouse and another was dumped in a stream. Both victims were strangled and believed to have been killed by an acquaintance, during altercations over illegal drugs. In Case Study 9, the victim's body was discarded along side of the road after having been sexually assaulted and killed in the offender's, an acquaintance, residence.

While the choice of weapons or methods of death appeared to occur equally as often, when examined within the context of the victim/offender relationship, there were significant differences. Those killed by an intimate partner were most likely to be shot with a handgun one or two times at close range. One of the former studies hypothesized that this variance with victim/offender relationship was actually caused by the victim's vulnerability as a result of the victim's age. The present study found no correlation between the victim's age and the weapon or method of death utilized. The victims in the case studies were typically killed with an object within reach or by the offenders' bare hands, through strangulation or blunt force. In those cases where a weapon was used, the offender most often reported grabbing a nearby object that was handy, i.e., a kitchen knife, appliance cord, or barbell.

Almost half of the cases exhibited evidence of excessive brutality, usually in the form of blunt force trauma. However, there appeared to be no statistically significant difference based on victim/offender relationship. The offender in Case Study 1 stabbed his estranged wife 16 times before being stopped in the act by a police officer. The offender in Case Study 12 stabbed a store clerk over 20 times during a botched robbery. The offender in Case Study 4 beat and strangled his girlfriend with his hands; when the victim made gurgling noises, he then strangled her with one of his ties and finally stabbed her six times in the chest. These offender interviews revealed little difference in the amount of violence used despite differences in the victim/offender relationship.

The victims were typically fully dressed with no signs of sexual assault. There was also no evidence of items taken from the victim or scene. Of those cases where sexual assault did occur or items were taken, the overwhelming majority were stranger femicides. Surprisingly, strangers were more likely to cover the victim's body than an intimate or family member. Based on this finding and the interviews, the behavior of covering the body appears to be driven more by an attempt to prevent the discovery of the body than a sign of remorse or respect for the victim. The offender in Case Study 9 placed the victim in a cardboard box to hinder discovery. Similarly, the offender in Case Study 11 attempted to cover the victim with a large rock.

The victims were rarely bound, and instances of binding were less likely the closer the victim/offender relationship. The offender in Case Study 12 attempted to bind his victim, and when she began screaming, he panicked and stabbed her to death. Finally, there was typically no evidence that the offender attempted to alter the scene by moving the body, destroying evidence, etc. In those cases where attempts were made to alter the

scene, the offender was typically an acquaintance of the victim. As an example, in Case Study 7 the offender set fire to the victim's body and apartment in an attempt to hid the murder. In Case Studies 3 and 9, the offender attempted to destroy forensic evidence, such as fingerprints and/or DNA, by wiping down the scene or using bleach products.

One very striking similarity between these cases is the lack of preplanning on the offenders' part. Among those offenders who were interviewed, a similar story emerged: an offender with a prior history of violence, an argument or altercation between the victim and offender, violence which becomes lethal with little cognitive awareness, either through rage or panic, followed by the offenders' disbelief that the victim is dead. In a few of the cases, the offenders watched the media or called relatives to see if the victim might actually be okay. A couple of the offenders even admitted to passing by the scene to see if the police had found the body yet.

This section combined the quantitative and qualitative data to provide an overview of the typical femicide victim. As seen throughout this study, while each femicide event is unique, when quantitatively examined obvious patterns emerge. In the next section, the implications and practical applications of these findings for researchers and investigators will be discussed.

Chapter 9 Conclusion

Popular conceptions of homicides reflect the notion that these are inexplicable, unforeseeable, and unpatterned events. These notions are not as unnerving as the actuality that homicides are, in fact intelligible, predictable, and patterned. Wolfgang (1958) proposed that if criminologists are to acquire general principles of homicide that are essential to effective control, prevention, and treatment, they must seek patterns, similarities, and repetitions that can become the basis for classifications and generalizations.

As we have seen, it is conceivable that the theories used to explain general patterns of homicide may not be relevant for explaining femicide (Smith & Brewer, 1992). Identifying those patterns specific to femicide is a crucial step toward developing the conceptual and theoretical frameworks necessary to better understand this event (Moracco, Runyan, & Butts, 1998).

The present study provides further support for the beliefs that homicide and even femicide are not homogeneous. This shows the necessity of categorization in homicide and within femicide. Categorization based on the victim/offender relationship has shown utility both descriptively as well as its correlation with other variables. The findings from this study found statistical support the previous research on femicide by utilizing a previously untapped data source, ViCAP.

In addition, utilizing offender interviews, it found theoretical support for theories and hypotheses that were previously examined only with statistical data. In doing so it was able to incorporate theory directly into the study of femicide, in which the prior research was descriptive in nature.

Policy Implications

The present study has helped to describe and demystify the complex interaction between the offender and victim. This in turn has a great practical utility for investigators and psychological services. Investigators are often called to homicide and femicide scenes in which there are no witnesses. It is their responsibility to determine what happened and who was involved. The first twenty four hours into an investigation can be the most important in leading to this success. Unfortunately, the initial scene often leaves little or no definitive direction for which the investigators can follow.

The better their understanding of the typical crime scene behavior observed in an intimate, stranger, or other femicide the more direction they have in their investigation. Of course there are no absolutes in human behavior. However, this can provide a starting point from which to build the investigation. This study provides empirical support for what has previously been considered 'gut' instinct or mere speculation by the investigator.

Beyond the investigator's role after the event has been committed, this study provides information to psychological services and proactive agencies that come into contact with women who may have enhanced vulnerability. This information can be utilized to educate women on which situations may put them in danger. For example, elderly women, who have outlived their spouses and now live alone, are most vulnerable in their residences. Therefore, a lecture given by law enforcement at a local community center on home security may be beneficial.

In the case of children, they are more likely to be victimized by a guardian, one of the very people they are entrusted to, rather than by a mysterious stranger. Therefore, speaking to parents and teachers about the often hidden signs of abuse and educating

children on who to tell when someone in their life is abusing them may also most useful as a preventative measure. Similarly, young adults should be educated about their acquaintances and women in their twenties and thirties about abuse by intimate partners. Women grow up being warned about the scary stranger in the dark parking lot when they are far more likely to be killed by those closest to them.

Theoretical Implications

Although the present study does not purport to directly test the integrated lifestyle-routine activities theory, it does provide indirect support for this approach. The lifestyle-routine activities theory proved utility in the explanation of statistical variation for the femicide victimization variables. These two theories have been especially useful in this study, because they do not focus on offender motivation. Instead they more closely examine the variables surrounding victim vulnerability. These findings hold promise for the application of lifestyle-routine activities approach to femicide victimization specifically and personal predatory victimization in general.

Methodological Implications

In addition to incorporation of lifestyle and routine activities theory, this study also looked at two data sources not typically utilized in the study of femicide, ViCAP and offender interviews. Access to ViCAP data allowed for the examination of variables that are not included in the more often utilized UCR data. While, UCR provides an excellent source of basic information such as victim age and cause of death, it does not provide an adequate view into the extent of the victim/offender relationship or a narrative account of the event itself. This additional information coupled with the offender interviews provides a fuller picture of the interactions between the victim and offender. This in turn provides a

greater understanding of the what, where, why, when, and how and in turn the better application of victimization theory.

Limitations

However, there are some limitations and weaknesses to the data sources incorporated in this study. When analyzed some variable reported high degrees of freedom or cells containing fewer than five cases. It is possible this could account for findings of significance even where none exists. This limitation was solved, however, through the collapsing of some variables during analysis. For example, the victim/offender relationship was collapsed into intimate/non-intimate, familial/non-familial, etc. for the analysis of the cause of death.

In addition, as noted during the Research Design and Methodology Chapter, there was an underreporting of urban, African American victim femicide due to low compliance by Essex County. Due to this underreporting any examination of the findings presented and conclusions drawn regarding ethnicity should be done with the utmost care. The examination and comparison of the UCR data for Essex County during the time period of this study, 1991-1997, reveals that had Essex maintained a higher compliance rate to the ViCAP program the total number of African American Victims would have been higher. Despite the inability to include these cases, the findings from this study remained consistent with the previous studies of femicide which were conducted in the Urban settings of Philadelphia, Detroit, and New York City.

Future Research

Future studies of the different types of homicide should be encouraged to utilize data sources other than the Uniform Crime Reports and Supplemental Homicide Reports,

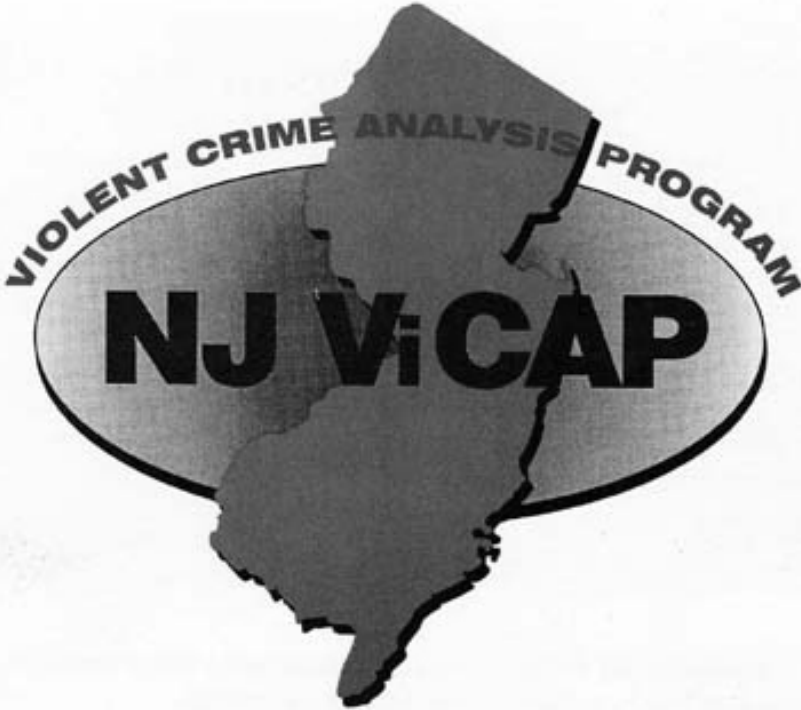

which are typically utilized. As previously discussed, employing other sources allows for the examination of previously unutilized variables as well as the ability to evaluate the generalizability and validity of more common sources.

In addition, future femicide studies should more directly examine the applicability of theories such as lifestyle and routine activities theory. Previous research has been primarily descriptive and exploratory, however, now that a solid basis has been formed future work should begin to expand or theoretical understanding of femicide. Again this would require moving beyond the typical data sources and gathering information from interviews with victim's friends and families as well as the offenders to better determine their specific lifestyle and routine activities. Additionally, a comparison of victims and non-victim populations may provide insight into whether certain lifestyles and more precisely which activities may lead to enhanced vulnerability in women.

Appendix A. NJSP ViCAP Form

LEPS New Jersey Department of
Law & Public Safety

New Jersey State Police
Violent Crime Analysis Unit



VIOLENT CRIME ANALYSIS PROGRAM

NJ ViCAP

**HOMICIDE,
MISSING PERSON
& UNIDENTIFIED BODY
CRIME ANALYSIS REPORT**

In Conjunction With

Federal Bureau of Investigation
Violent Criminal Apprehension Program

&

Royal Canadian Mounted Police
Violent Crime Linkage Analysis System

NJ ViCAP's MISSION

NJ ViCAP is a statewide data information center which collects, collates, and analyzes crimes of violence. Cases submitted to NJ ViCAP are compared to all other cases in the data base in an attempt to identify similar cases. Once a similar case has been identified, the agencies involved are notified of the similar case(s).

NJ ViCAP's mission is to facilitate cooperation, communication, and coordination between law enforcement agencies and provide support in their efforts to investigate, identify, track, apprehend, and prosecute violent serial offenders.

Cases submitted to NJ ViCAP will be forwarded to the FBI's Violent Criminal Apprehension Program (ViCAP) for nationwide analysis.

NJ ViCAP HOMICIDE CRIME ANALYSIS REPORT

SUBMISSION CRITERIA

1. All solved or unsolved homicides or attempts.
2. Missing persons, where the circumstances indicate a strong possibility of foul play and the victim is still missing.
3. Unidentified dead bodies.
4. Regardless of the nature of your investigation, you may at your discretion, submit your case to NJ VICAP, if you have reason to believe that the offender (known or unknown) may be responsible for other violent crimes or, may offend/re-offend in the future.

Cases where the offender has been arrested or identified should be submitted so unsolved cases in the NJ ViCAP system can be linked to known offenders.

It is understood that a homicide can be an apparent singular incident such as a *domestic homicide* or a *bar fight* which results in a homicide. If you, the principal investigator, feel that the likelihood of the offender being involved in other crimes is negligible, or the likelihood of the weapon being linked to other crimes is negligible, it is necessary to complete only the boxed numbers of the report. To aid in determining whether or not to fill out the complete report, consider such things as the relationship between the victim and the offender, the motive for the crime, or the offender's frame of mind.

INSTRUCTIONS

- ▼ Use black/blue ink and **PRINT LEGIBLY**.
- ▼ If in doubt about how to respond to a given item, be guided by your experience and good judgement. Proof beyond a reasonable doubt is not required, however, do not guess either.
- ▼ If there are details of the case that you feel are important but do not fit well into the questions provided in the NJ VICAP form, describe them in "Additional Information" (Question 166).
- ▼ When submitting a supplement or correcting information previously provided, submit a new report completing the Agency Name, ORI, Case Number, Victim's Name and only those items you wish corrected or added. You need not re-submit unchanged items.
- ▼ For advice regarding this report or its completion, call your NJ VICAP representative at (609) 882-2000, extension 2427 or 2519.
- ▼ Mail all NJ ViCAP Crime Analysis Reports, supplements, and/or corrections to:

New Jersey State Police
Investigations Section
Post Office Box 7068
West Trenton, NJ 08628-0068
Attn: Violent Crime Analysis Unit

MULTIPLE VICTIMS AND/OR OFFENDERS

In cases where there are multiple victims and/or multiple offenders involved in the same incident, complete a separate report for each victim/offender pairing. In complex cases, seek the advice of your NJ ViCAP representative.

NARRATIVE

The narrative summary is intended to give NJ ViCAP analysts a general overview of the offense. Provide a brief but comprehensive summary so the analyst will have a clear understanding of the facts, unusual circumstances and events based upon your investigation. Include any signature aspects of the crime. Also, indicate if the offender has been suspected of, implicated in, or has admitted to other similar crimes of violence, and provide details.

KEY FACT/HOLD BACK INFORMATION

Key fact/hold back information refers to information that is known only to the offender and a very limited number of investigators. This information is usually held back from general knowledge to assist investigators during interviews. On the last page of this report, mark all key fact/hold back information. **THIS INFORMATION WILL ONLY BE RELEASED TO ANOTHER AGENCY WITH YOUR EXPRESS PERMISSION.**

THE QUALITY OF THE BENEFIT RETURNED THROUGH THE SYSTEM WILL BE COMMENSURATE WITH THE QUALITY OF THE INFORMATION RECEIVED.

NOTE: SOME QUESTION NUMBERS HAVE BEEN OMITTED FOR DATA CONVERSION PURPOSES.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ADMINISTRATION	1
VICTIM	2
OFFENDER	5
ADDITIONAL NAMES	11
VEHICLE DESCRIPTION	12
SCENE	13
OFFENSE	16
CONDITION OF VICTIM WHEN FOUND	20
CAUSE OF DEATH	21
WEAPON INFORMATION	22
NARRATIVE SUMMARY	23
ADDITIONAL PERTINENT INFORMATION	24
PHYSICAL EVIDENCE	24
KEY FACT/HOLD BACK EVIDENCE	24

ADMINISTRATION

FOR VICAP USE ONLY	
NJ VICAP Case Number _____	Analyst Reference Number _____
Case History: Date Received _____	Date Entered _____
Analyst Assigned (Name) _____	

INVESTIGATORS BEGIN HERE

1. Reporting agency:
 ORI _____ Agency _____ Case Number _____

2. Investigator's name, rank and telephone number:

Last Name	First Name	Rank	Telephone Number	Ext.
Person completing report: <input type="checkbox"/> Same As Above				
Last Name	First Name	Rank	Telephone Number	Ext.

4. NJ VICAP report submission type:
 Original Supplement Correction of Previous Submission

5. Investigating agency's case status:
 Open/Active Investigation Suspended/Closed Open - Warrant Issued
 Cleared by Arrest Exceptionally Cleared

6. Select ALL categories that apply:
 Murder Missing Person - foul play suspected Unidentified Dead Body
 Sudden Death - foul play suspected

8. The following elements were involved in this case: (Check ALL that apply.)

<input type="checkbox"/> Child abuse	<input type="checkbox"/> Drug related	<input type="checkbox"/> Alcohol related
<input type="checkbox"/> Breaking & Entering	<input type="checkbox"/> Robbery	<input type="checkbox"/> Date rape
<input type="checkbox"/> Domestic relationship	<input type="checkbox"/> Altercation/Argument	<input type="checkbox"/> Arson
<input type="checkbox"/> Organized crime - specify _____	<input type="checkbox"/> Youth gang - specify _____	<input type="checkbox"/> Other gang - specify _____
<input type="checkbox"/> Terrorism	<input type="checkbox"/> Torture	<input type="checkbox"/> Other - describe _____
<input type="checkbox"/> Bias/Hate	<input type="checkbox"/> Contract murder	<input type="checkbox"/> Drive-by shooting
<input type="checkbox"/> Financial gain	<input type="checkbox"/> Kidnap for sexual purpose	<input type="checkbox"/> Revenge
<input type="checkbox"/> Sexual assault	<input type="checkbox"/> Undetermined	

9. Other related case number(s):
 Co-op Agencies and Case Numbers:

ADMINISTRATION

VICTIM

DATE AND TIME PARAMETERS

				Military Time	Exact	Approx.
10. Initial Contact:	_____	____/____/____	_____		<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
	(day of wk)	(mo) (day) (yr)				
10A. Death/Major Assault:	_____	____/____/____	_____		<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
	(day of wk)	(mo) (day) (yr)				
10B. Victim or Body Found:	_____	____/____/____	_____		<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
	(day of wk)	(mo) (day) (yr)				
11. Investigation Started:	____/____/____					
	(mo) (day) (yr)					

VICTIM

Victim #: _____ of _____

12. Victim status at time of the offense: (Check ONE Only)

<input type="checkbox"/> Deceased - Identified	<input type="checkbox"/> Deceased - Unidentified	<input type="checkbox"/> Living - Identified
<input type="checkbox"/> Living - Unidentified	(NCIC # _____)	<input type="checkbox"/> Unknown
(NCIC # _____)	<input type="checkbox"/> Missing (NCIC # _____)	

14. Victim name(s) & alias(s) (including married name and prior married names): Unknown

A - Legal Name B - Alias C - Maiden D - Nickname E - Other - Describe Date of Birth

Type	Last, first, middle	Social Security #	SBI #/FBI #	M	D	YEAR
A	Example - Doe, Jane, Anne	123-45-6789	37563B	01	05	1960

15. Victim's age, or apparent age at the time of this incident: _____ Unknown

16. Victim's sex: Male Female Unknown

17. Apparent sex - Indicate how the victim likely appeared to the offender:

As a male As a female Unknown

18. Victim's address At Time Of Offense:

Street Address		City	
County	State	Zip Code	Phone
Current Address: <input type="checkbox"/> Same as above			
Street Address		City	
County	State	Zip Code	Phone

19. Victim's race as they would have appeared to the offender: (Select one option only from EACH category.)

Race

<input type="checkbox"/> Black	<input type="checkbox"/> White	<input type="checkbox"/> Hispanic	<input type="checkbox"/> Unknown
<input type="checkbox"/> Oriental/Asian	<input type="checkbox"/> East Indian	<input type="checkbox"/> Other - describe _____	

Skin Color

<input type="checkbox"/> Black	<input type="checkbox"/> White	<input type="checkbox"/> Dark brown
<input type="checkbox"/> Medium brown	<input type="checkbox"/> Light brown	

20. Victim's height (or best estimate): From _____ To _____

21. Victim's weight (or best estimate): From _____ To _____

22. Victim's build: (Check ONE only.)

- Small (thin) Medium (average) Large (stocky) Obese Unknown

22A. Victim's eye color: (Check ALL that apply.)

- Black Blue Brown
 Gray Green Hazel

23. Victim's hair length: (Check ALL that apply.)

- Bald or shaved Balding Shorter than collar length Unknown
 Collar length Shoulder length Longer than shoulder length

24. Victim's predominant hair color: (Check ONE only.)

- Grey and/or white Blond Red Unknown
 Brown Black Other, describe _____

25. Victim's hair shade: (Check ONE only.)

- Light Medium Dark Unknown - N/A

26. Glasses or corrective lenses normally worn by the victim: (Check ALL that apply.)

- Generic eyeglasses Sunglasses Clear lenses Unknown
 Light tint Heavy tint Prescription
 Rimless Bifocals Plastic frame
 Metal frame Contacts (Tint) _____ Other, describe _____

27. Victim's Scars/Marks/Tattoos/Deformities/Piercing:

Indicate location on body, check whether it is a scar/mark/tattoo or piercing, and provide description.

LOCATION ON BODY	SCAR or MARK	TATTOO	PIERCING	DESCRIPTION

28. Victim was wearing the following clothing at the time of initial contact:

Unknown - N/A

(Use additional pages if required and secure to the inside cover.)

Item	Predominant Colors	Description - Brand & Size	Missing(Yes/No)
Shirt			
Bra			
Underwear			
Nightwear			
Skirt			
Dress			
Pants			
Shorts			
Socks/Hose			
Shoes/Boots			
Jacket/Coat			
Jewelry			
Watch			
Head Covering			
Other			

29. Describe any outstanding physical features (e.g., crossed eyes, noticeable limp, distinctive hairstyle, etc.): Unknown - N/A

30. Occupation(s), legal or illegal: (How Did The Victim Earn Money?) Unknown - N/A
 Occupation Description

31. Victim's affiliations with any organized group/organization: Unknown - N/A
 (e.g., Member of Boy Scouts - Troop 321, Hells Angels)

32. Victim's usual mode of transportation: (Check ALL that apply.)

<input type="checkbox"/> Walks	<input type="checkbox"/> Hitchhikes	<input type="checkbox"/> Bicycle
<input type="checkbox"/> Drives	<input type="checkbox"/> Taxi	<input type="checkbox"/> City bus
<input type="checkbox"/> Inter-city bus (e.g. Greyhound)	<input type="checkbox"/> School bus	<input type="checkbox"/> Commuter train
<input type="checkbox"/> Inter-city train (e.g., via rail)	<input type="checkbox"/> Subway	<input type="checkbox"/> Ferry
<input type="checkbox"/> Air travel	<input type="checkbox"/> Relies on others	<input type="checkbox"/> Unknown
<input type="checkbox"/> Other, describe _____		

33. Victim's marital status: (Check ONE answer only.)

<input type="checkbox"/> Single	<input type="checkbox"/> Married/Common-law	<input type="checkbox"/> Separated
<input type="checkbox"/> Divorced	<input type="checkbox"/> Widowed	<input type="checkbox"/> Homosexual relationship
<input type="checkbox"/> Other, describe _____		<input type="checkbox"/> Unknown

34. Victim was living with: (Check ALL that apply.)

<input type="checkbox"/> Parents	<input type="checkbox"/> Single parent	<input type="checkbox"/> Foster parent(s)
<input type="checkbox"/> Girlfriend/boyfriend	<input type="checkbox"/> Roommate(s)	<input type="checkbox"/> Spouse (includes common-law)
<input type="checkbox"/> Homosexual partner	<input type="checkbox"/> Minor children	<input type="checkbox"/> Adult children
<input type="checkbox"/> Relatives, describe _____		<input type="checkbox"/> Others in shelter
<input type="checkbox"/> Others in correctional facility	<input type="checkbox"/> Others in group home	<input type="checkbox"/> Alone
<input type="checkbox"/> Other, describe _____		<input type="checkbox"/> Unknown

35. General lifestyle: (Check ALL that apply.)

<input type="checkbox"/> Described as "Average Citizen"	<input type="checkbox"/> Day person	<input type="checkbox"/> Night person	<input type="checkbox"/> Unknown
<input type="checkbox"/> Likes to socialize or party	<input type="checkbox"/> Gambler	<input type="checkbox"/> Reclusive/loner	
<input type="checkbox"/> Street person	<input type="checkbox"/> Transient	<input type="checkbox"/> Alcohol abuser	
<input type="checkbox"/> Engages frequently in criminal activity	<input type="checkbox"/> Drug abuser	<input type="checkbox"/> Drug dealer	
<input type="checkbox"/> Homosexual	<input type="checkbox"/> Prostitute	<input type="checkbox"/> Pimp	
<input type="checkbox"/> Heterosexual	<input type="checkbox"/> Bisexual	<input type="checkbox"/> Other, describe _____	
	<input type="checkbox"/> Transvestite		

36. Was the offender attracted to the victim for any reason? Unknown - N/A
 (e.g., loud, obnoxious, wearing provocative clothing (tight/revealing))

37. Victim activity at initial contact scene or when last seen: (Check ALL that apply.)

<input type="checkbox"/> Domestic activity	<input type="checkbox"/> Sleeping	<input type="checkbox"/> Schooling
<input type="checkbox"/> Babysitting	<input type="checkbox"/> Under child care	<input type="checkbox"/> Playing
<input type="checkbox"/> Dining	<input type="checkbox"/> Shopping	<input type="checkbox"/> Traveling to/from somewhere
<input type="checkbox"/> Driving/riding in vehicle	<input type="checkbox"/> Being in a parking lot	<input type="checkbox"/> Jogging
<input type="checkbox"/> Walking	<input type="checkbox"/> Hitchhiking	<input type="checkbox"/> Cycling
<input type="checkbox"/> Camping	<input type="checkbox"/> Sporting/Recreational activity	<input type="checkbox"/> Socializing at bar/tavern
<input type="checkbox"/> Visiting friends/relatives	<input type="checkbox"/> On date	<input type="checkbox"/> Partying
<input type="checkbox"/> Working	<input type="checkbox"/> Working as prostitute	<input type="checkbox"/> House-to-house activity (e.g. delivering newspapers)
<input type="checkbox"/> Other, describe _____		<input type="checkbox"/> Unknown

OFFENDER

38. Could victim's vulnerability to assault have been increased due to any of the following conditions?

(Check ALL that apply.)

- Age - Pre-adolescent (11 years & under) Injured Alcohol impairment Unknown
 Age - Elderly (65 years & over) Poor health Mental disability
 Physical disability Drug impairment Other, describe _____

OFFENDER

For the purposes of NJ ViCAP, an **offender** is the person believed to have committed the crime, whether or not charges have been filed. A **suspect** is a person only suspected to be the offender, but your investigation is still open to considering other suspects. Suspect information should be listed under Additional Names (Question 83).

If the offender is unknown, enter any descriptive information that is available.

Offender #: _____ of _____

39. This offender is: (Check ONE only.)

- Known Deceased Unknown - Description available Unknown - No description

Offender name(s) & alias(s) (including married name and prior married names): Unknown

Type	A - Legal Name	B - Alias	C - Maiden	D - Nickname	E - Other - Describe	Date of Birth		
	Last, first, middle					M	D	YEAR
A	Example - Smith, John James					09	29	1957

41. Offender's age, or best estimate at the time of offense: _____ Unknown

42. Offender's sex: Male Female Unknown

43. Apparent sex - Indicate how the offender likely appeared to the victim:

- As a male As a female Unknown

44. Offender's address At Time Of Offense:

_____ Street Address _____ City
 _____ County _____ State _____ Zip Code _____ Phone

Current Address: Same as above

_____ Street Address _____ City
 _____ County _____ State _____ Zip Code _____ Phone

Address Type: A - Previous Residence B - Frequented Location C - Visited D - Other Location

Address Type _____
 _____ Street Address _____ City
 _____ County _____ State _____ Zip Code _____ Phone

45. List all cities, states, countries where this offender has traveled for any purpose: Unknown

Cities/States	Countries

46. Offender's race as they would have appeared to the victim: (Select one option only from EACH category.)**Race**

- Black White Hispanic Unknown
 Oriental/Asian East Indian Other - describe _____

Skin Color

- Black White Dark brown
 Medium brown Light brown

47. Offender's height (or best estimate): From _____ To _____**48. Offender's weight (or best estimate):** From _____ To _____**49. Offender's build: (Check ONE only.)**

- Small (thin) Medium (average) Large (stocky) Unknown
 Obese

50. Offender's hair shade: (Check ONE only.)

- Light Medium Dark Unknown

51. Offender's hair length: (Check ALL that apply.)

- Bald or shaved Balding Shorter than collar length Unknown
 Collar length Shoulder length Longer than shoulder length

52. Offender's hair grooming: (Check ONE only.)

- Straight Wavy Curly Unknown
 Unkept Styled

53. Offender's predominant hair color: (Check ONE only.)

- Grey and/or white Blond Red Unknown
 Brown Black Other, describe _____

54. Offender's eye color: (Check ALL that apply.)

- Black Blue Brown Unknown
 Grey Green Hazel

55. Glasses or corrective lenses normally worn by the offender: (Check ALL that apply.)

- Generic eyeglasses Sunglasses Clear lenses Unknown
 Light tint Heavy tint Prescription
 Rimless Bifocals Plastic frame
 Metal frame Contacts (Tint) _____ Other, describe _____

56. Offender's teeth: (Check ALL that apply.)

- None Good Broken/chipped Unknown
 Crooked Decayed Noticeable gaps
 Some or all missing Stained/yellow Irregular
 Braces Gold Silver
 Capped Overbite/buck Underbite
 Dentures Other, describe _____

57. Offender's facial hair: (Check ALL that apply.)

- N/A (female/immature male) Clean shaven Unshaven Unknown
 Mustache (typical) Goatee Long sideburns
 Beard w/mustache (typical) Stained Beard but (no mustache)
 Under lower lip Neatly trimmed beard Fu Man Chu mustache
 Handlebar mustache Pencil mustache "Hiller" mustache
 Unkept beard or mustache Other, describe _____

58. Offender's Scars/Marks/Tattoos/Deformities/Piercing:

Indicate location on body, check whether it is a scar/mark/tattoo or piercing, and provide description.

LOCATION ON BODY	SCAR or MARK	TATTOO	PIERCING	DESCRIPTION

59. Offender was wearing the following clothing at the time of initial contact:

Unknown - N/A

(Use additional pages if required and secure to the inside cover.)

Item	Predominant Colors	Description - Brand & Size
Shirt		
Shirt		
Pants		
Shorts		
Shoes/Boots		
Jacket/Coat		
Jewelry		
Jewelry		
Watch		
Head Covering		
Other		
Other		

60. Appeared generally well groomed?

- Yes
 No
 Unknown

61. Describe any outstanding physical features (e.g., crossed eyes, noticeable limp, distinctive hairstyle, etc.):

Unknown - N/A

62. Describe the languages spoken by the offender, including accent:

Unknown - N/A

Language	Accent
<i>Example - English</i>	<i>Spanish</i>

63. Did the offender display any of the following speech characteristics?

- Stutter
 Lisp
 Slur
 Unknown - N/A
 Slow
 Fast
 Nasal
 Cleft Palate
 Mumbles
 Other, describe _____

64. List types of employment by offender within past three years, legal and illegal:

(How did the offender earn money?)

Unknown - N/A

Occupation	Description	Location

OFFENDER

65. Offender's usual mode of transportation: (Check ALL that apply.)

- | | | |
|--|---|---|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Walks | <input type="checkbox"/> Hitchhikes | <input type="checkbox"/> Bicycle |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Drives | <input type="checkbox"/> Taxi | <input type="checkbox"/> City bus |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Inter-city bus (e.g. Greyhound) | <input type="checkbox"/> School bus | <input type="checkbox"/> Commuter train |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Inter-city train (e.g., via rail) | <input type="checkbox"/> Subway | <input type="checkbox"/> Ferry |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Air travel | <input type="checkbox"/> Relies on others | <input type="checkbox"/> Unknown |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Other, describe _____ | | |

66. Offender's marital status: (Check ONE answer only.)

- | | | |
|--|---|--|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Single | <input type="checkbox"/> Married/Common-law | <input type="checkbox"/> Separated |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Divorced | <input type="checkbox"/> Widowed | <input type="checkbox"/> Homosexual relationship |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Other, describe _____ | | |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Unknown | | |

67. Offender was living with: (Check ALL that apply.)

- | | | |
|--|---|---|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Parents | <input type="checkbox"/> Single parent | <input type="checkbox"/> Foster parent(s) |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Girlfriend/boyfriend | <input type="checkbox"/> Roommate(s) | <input type="checkbox"/> Spouse (includes common-law) |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Homosexual partner | <input type="checkbox"/> Minor children | <input type="checkbox"/> Adult children |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Relatives, describe _____ | | |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Others in correctional facility | <input type="checkbox"/> Others in group home | <input type="checkbox"/> Others in shelter |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Other, describe _____ | | |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Alone | | |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Unknown | | |

68. General lifestyle: (Check ALL that apply.)

- | | | |
|--|--------------------------------------|--|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Described as "Average Citizen" | <input type="checkbox"/> Day person | <input type="checkbox"/> Night person |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Likes to socialize or party | <input type="checkbox"/> Gambler | <input type="checkbox"/> Reclusive/loner |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Street person | <input type="checkbox"/> Transient | <input type="checkbox"/> Alcohol abuser |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Engages frequently in criminal activity | <input type="checkbox"/> Drug abuser | <input type="checkbox"/> Drug dealer |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Homosexual | <input type="checkbox"/> Prostitute | <input type="checkbox"/> Pimp |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Heterosexual | <input type="checkbox"/> Bisexual | <input type="checkbox"/> Other, describe _____ |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Transvestite | | |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Unknown | | |

69. At the time of the offense, is there any indication that the offender was under the influence of the following: (Check ALL that apply.)

- Alcohol Drugs Other, describe _____ Unknown - N/A

70. Has the offender ever displayed symptoms of, or been treated for: (Check ALL that apply.)

- | | | | |
|---|--|---|---------------------------------------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Alcohol problems | <input type="checkbox"/> Drug problems | <input type="checkbox"/> Psychological problems | <input type="checkbox"/> Unknown -N/A |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Sexual problems | <input type="checkbox"/> Bed wetting | <input type="checkbox"/> Cruelty to animals | |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Fire setting | <input type="checkbox"/> Other, describe _____ | | |

71. Describe any indication of mental illness:

Unknown - N/A

72. Describe any noticeable odors: (Check ALL that apply.)

- | | | | |
|---|--|------------------------------------|---|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Alcohol | <input type="checkbox"/> Tobacco | <input type="checkbox"/> Gasoline | <input type="checkbox"/> Not Applicable |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Aftershave/cologne/perfume | <input type="checkbox"/> Bad breath | <input type="checkbox"/> Body odor | |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Marijuana | <input type="checkbox"/> Other, describe _____ | | |

73. Offender's dominant hand: (Check both left and right if ambidextrous.)

- Left Right Unknown

74. Describe any outstanding behavioral characteristics displayed by this offender:

Unknown - N/A

75. Offender's status at the time of the offense: (Check ALL that apply.) Unknown

No criminal record Has criminal record Juvenile offender
 Fugitive Other, describe _____

76. Offender's sexual practices and habits: (Check ALL that apply.) Unknown - N/A

Celibate Heterosexual Bisexual
 Homosexual Child molester Incest
 Promiscuous Exhibitionist Voyeur
 Group sex Transsexual Transvestite
 Sadist Masochist Necrophilia
 Bondage practitioner Bestiality Other, describe _____

77. Offender's sex-related collections: Unknown - N/A

Sexual Violence (rape/murder/torture/etc.) Non-sexual	Adult Child	Print (photographs) Print (text) Computer (graphics) Computer (text)	Video/films/audio Clothing Devices	Commercial or Homemade
Collection	Orientation	Media		Source
<i>Example - Sexual</i>	<i>Child</i>	<i>Nude pictures of children (computer)</i>		<i>Commercial</i>

78. Offender's sexual paraphernalia: (Check ALL that apply and describe.) Unknown - N/A

- Sexual bondage material(s) _____
- Belts/leathers _____
- Masks/costumes _____
- Handcuffs (real) _____
- Handcuffs (toy) _____
- Devices (e.g. vibrators/dildos) _____
- Rubber dolls/vagina _____
- Lubricants/lotions _____
- Rape kit _____
- Torture devices _____
- Other, describe _____

79. Describe any names, addresses, or photographs, etc. that may be related to offender's sexual activities or fantasies: (Add additional pages if necessary.) Unknown - N/A

OFFENDER

80. Offender was in possession of property of PREVIOUS victims: (Check ALL that apply.)

- | | | | |
|--|---------------------------------------|---|--|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Body parts | <input type="checkbox"/> Hair | <input type="checkbox"/> Clothing | <input type="checkbox"/> Unknown - N/A |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Money | <input type="checkbox"/> Credit cards | <input type="checkbox"/> Checks | |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Jewelry | <input type="checkbox"/> Photo(s) | <input type="checkbox"/> Gun | |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Other, describe _____ | | <input type="checkbox"/> Driver's license | |

81. What precautions did the offender use to avoid apprehension? (Check ALL that apply.)

- | | | |
|--|---|--|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Told/threatened not to report | <input type="checkbox"/> Wore disguise | <input type="checkbox"/> Wore gloves |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Wore mask - describe _____ | <input type="checkbox"/> Covered victim's eyes or face | <input type="checkbox"/> Gagged victim (include hands) |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Used his/her own alarm system
(e.g. Put article in front of door),
describe _____ | <input type="checkbox"/> Disabled/darkened lighting | <input type="checkbox"/> Used a police radio scanner |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Disabled telephone | <input type="checkbox"/> Used a lookout | <input type="checkbox"/> Removed or destroyed forensic
evidence |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Bound victim | <input type="checkbox"/> Removed or destroyed bedding | <input type="checkbox"/> Used a condom |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Other, describe _____ | <input type="checkbox"/> Forced victim to bathe or douche | <input type="checkbox"/> Administered drug to victim |
| | <input type="checkbox"/> Disabled victim's vehicle | <input type="checkbox"/> Unknown - N/A |
| | <input type="checkbox"/> Gave false name | |

82. Are any of the following available?

- | | | |
|-------------------------------------|--|--|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Photograph | <input type="checkbox"/> Composite drawing | <input type="checkbox"/> Unknown - N/A |
|-------------------------------------|--|--|

OFFENDER STATEMENT ATTACHED:

- | | | |
|------------------------------|---|---|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Yes | <input type="checkbox"/> No - Not taken | <input type="checkbox"/> No - Not transcribed, tape available |
|------------------------------|---|---|

PHOTO OR COMPOSITE ATTACHED:

- | | |
|---|---|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Photo attached | <input type="checkbox"/> Composite attached |
|---|---|

ADDITIONAL NAMES *(Optional)*

83. List here any individuals who may be connected to this offense in a significant way, whom you believe the NJ ViCAP analyst should be aware of or consider: Unknown - N/A

Name _____ Date of Birth _____
Last First Middle M/D/Year

Social Security # _____ SBI# _____ FBI# _____

Describe the subject's relevance to the investigation:

Name _____ Date of Birth _____
Last First Middle M/D/Year

Social Security # _____ SBI# _____ FBI# _____

Describe the subject's relevance to the investigation:

Name _____ Date of Birth _____
Last First Middle M/D/Year

Social Security # _____ SBI# _____ FBI# _____

Describe the subject's relevance to the investigation:

Name _____ Date of Birth _____
Last First Middle M/D/Year

Social Security # _____ SBI# _____ FBI# _____

Describe the subject's relevance to the investigation:

Name _____ Date of Birth _____
Last First Middle M/D/Year

Social Security # _____ SBI# _____ FBI# _____

Describe the subject's relevance to the investigation:

ADDITIONAL NAMES

VEHICLE

VEHICLE DESCRIPTION

Vehicle #: _____ of _____

NOTE: Complete Vehicle Information if:

1. A vehicle was used by the offender in this incident (e.g., used to transport victim to scene or used by offender to flee scene).
2. This is an unidentified body case and a vehicle has been connected with the body.
3. The vehicle is in any way significant in this case.
4. The offender has access to other vehicles.

84. How was this vehicle involved? (Check ALL that apply.)

- | | |
|--|---|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Transport this offender to/from a crime scene | <input type="checkbox"/> Transport this victim to/from a crime scene |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Possibly involved in the crime but not sure how | <input type="checkbox"/> Not involved in this incident, but offender has access to it |
| <input type="checkbox"/> As a crime scene | <input type="checkbox"/> Unknown - N/A |

85. Who owned this vehicle AT THE TIME OF THE OFFENSE?

- Victim # _____ Offender # _____ Other, describe _____ Unknown

86. Who was controlling the vehicle AT THE TIME OF THE OFFENSE?

- Victim # _____ Offender # _____ Other, describe _____ Unknown

87. What was the status of this vehicle AT THE TIME OF THE OFFENSE?

- Stolen Rented Borrowed Unknown

88. Vehicle style:

- | | | | |
|--|--|--|----------------------------------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Passenger car | <input type="checkbox"/> Van | <input type="checkbox"/> Pick-up truck | <input type="checkbox"/> Unknown |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Truck | <input type="checkbox"/> Tractor/trailer | <input type="checkbox"/> Sport utility vehicle (e.g. Bronco) | |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Other, Describe _____ | | | |

89. Type (e.g., 2 door, 4 door) _____ Unknown

90. Make _____ Unknown

91. Model name (e.g., Mustang, Camero) _____ Unknown

92. Year _____ Unknown

93. Plate Number: _____ Partial Complete Unknown

94. Vehicle registration State: _____ Unknown

95. Vehicle color A - Entire B - Top C - Middle D - Bottom E - Front F - Back G - Interior Unknown

Color	Location

96. This vehicle's condition would normally be described as:

- Exceptionally well maintained Good Fair Poor/beat up Unknown

97. This vehicle would normally be described as:

- | | | | |
|------------------|--------------------------------|--------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| Interior: | <input type="checkbox"/> Clean | <input type="checkbox"/> Dirty | <input type="checkbox"/> Cluttered |
| Exterior: | <input type="checkbox"/> Clean | <input type="checkbox"/> Dirty | <input type="checkbox"/> Unknown |

98. This vehicle's age would normally be described as:

- Newer (1-7 years) Older (8+ years) Unknown

99. Describe any distinctive features of this vehicle: (e.g., sun roof, door handle disabled) Unknown

SCENE - Exact Geographic Locations

Indicate in the table below the exact geographic locations of where the victim was last seen alive, where the victim first came in contact with the offender, the actual murder/assault site, and the body recovery site. Remember that the sites may be identical, or each of the four sites could be different.

GEOGRAPHIC LOCATIONS	101D. VICTIM LAST SEEN ALIVE	101A. INITIAL CONTACT	101B. MURDER/ ASSAULT	101C. VICTIM/BODY RECOVERED
Street Address				
City				
County				
State				
Zip Code				
102A. Was the offender familiar with the scene?	<input type="checkbox"/> Familiar <input type="checkbox"/> Unfamiliar <input type="checkbox"/> Unknown	<input type="checkbox"/> Familiar <input type="checkbox"/> Unfamiliar <input type="checkbox"/> Unknown	<input type="checkbox"/> Familiar <input type="checkbox"/> Unfamiliar <input type="checkbox"/> Unknown	<input type="checkbox"/> Familiar <input type="checkbox"/> Unfamiliar <input type="checkbox"/> Unknown
103A. What was the offender's risk of being detected?	<input type="checkbox"/> Area essentially deserted. <input type="checkbox"/> Potential for witness to SEE victim/offender activity. <input type="checkbox"/> Potential for witness to HEAR/ INTERRUPT victim/offender activity.	<input type="checkbox"/> Area essentially deserted. <input type="checkbox"/> Potential for witness to SEE victim/offender activity. <input type="checkbox"/> Potential for witness to HEAR/ INTERRUPT victim/offender activity.	<input type="checkbox"/> Area essentially deserted. <input type="checkbox"/> Potential for witness to SEE victim/offender activity. <input type="checkbox"/> Potential for witness to HEAR/ INTERRUPT victim/offender activity.	<input type="checkbox"/> Area essentially deserted. <input type="checkbox"/> Potential for witness to SEE victim/offender activity. <input type="checkbox"/> Potential for witness to HEAR/ INTERRUPT victim/offender activity.
104A. This scene was:	<input type="checkbox"/> Indoors <input type="checkbox"/> Outdoors	<input type="checkbox"/> Indoors <input type="checkbox"/> Outdoors	<input type="checkbox"/> Indoors <input type="checkbox"/> Outdoors	<input type="checkbox"/> Indoors <input type="checkbox"/> Outdoors

SCENE - Specific Descriptions

Indicate in the table below the specific descriptions of the four scenes - the victim's last known location before the assault/murder, the initial contact site between the victim and offender, the actual murder/assault site, and the body recovery site. Mark the appropriate boxes for each of the four locations, CHECKING ALL THAT APPLY. Remember that the sites may be identical, or each of the four sites could be different.

SPECIFIC DESCRIPTIONS OF SCENES	106D. VICTIM LAST SEEN ALIVE	106A. INITIAL CONTACT	106B. MURDER/ ASSAULT	106C. VICTIM/BODY RECOVERED
<input type="checkbox"/> Unknown - N/A				
LIVING QUARTERS				
Victim's residence				
Offender's residence				
Single-family dwelling				
Multi-family dwelling				
Other, describe _____				

SCENE

SCENE DESCRIPTION (Cont'd.)

BUSINESS	106D. VICTIM LAST SEEN ALIVE	106A. INITIAL CONTACT	106B. MURDER/ ASSAULT	106C. VICTIM/BODY RECOVERED
Victim's work place				
Offender's work place				
Shopping center/mall				
Convenience store/gas station				
Restaurant/fast food				
Truck stop				
Motel/hotel				
Other, describe _____				

TRANSPORTATION	106D. VICTIM LAST SEEN ALIVE	106A. INITIAL CONTACT	106B. MURDER/ ASSAULT	106C. VICTIM/BODY RECOVERED
Victim's vehicle				
Offender's vehicle				
Other, describe _____				

ENTERTAINMENT	106D. VICTIM LAST SEEN ALIVE	106A. INITIAL CONTACT	106B. MURDER/ ASSAULT	106C. VICTIM/BODY RECOVERED
Bar/tavern/nightclub				
Prostitution stroll/vice area				
Party				
Other, describe _____				

PUBLIC AND OTHER BUILDINGS	106D. VICTIM LAST SEEN ALIVE	106A. INITIAL CONTACT	106B. MURDER/ ASSAULT	106C. VICTIM/BODY RECOVERED
College/University campus				
Elementary/Jr./High School				
Public restroom				
Office building				
Vacant building				
Vacant residence				
Shed/outbuilding/barn				
Other, describe _____				

SCENE DESCRIPTION (Cont'd.)

OUTDOOR LOCATIONS	106D. VICTIM LAST SEEN ALIVE	106A. INITIAL CONTACT	106B. MURDER/ ASSAULT	106C. VICTIM/BODY RECOVERED
Residence front/backyard				
Playground/school yard				
Beach				
Public park				
Wood area/forest				
Public street/sidewalk				
Alley				
Gravel/dirt/logging road				
Highway/Interstate				
Rest stop/area				
Ditch				
Bus stop				
Camping area				
Cave/mine/quarry/gravel pit				
Construction site				
Field				
Other, describe _____				

PARKING AREA	106D. VICTIM LAST SEEN ALIVE	106A. INITIAL CONTACT	106B. MURDER/ ASSAULT	106C. VICTIM/BODY RECOVERED
Shopping mall parking lot				
Park and ride lot				
Outdoor single level parking lot				
Sports/fairground parking				
Transit parking				
Indoor parking (above/underground)				
Other, describe _____				

SCENE PHOTO

SCENE DESCRIPTION (Cont'd.)

WATER	106D. VICTIM LAST SEEN ALIVE	106A. INITIAL CONTACT	106B. MURDER/ ASSAULT	106C. VICTIM/BODY RECOVERED
Lake/pond/marsh/swamp				
River				
Stream/creek				
Shoreline/river bank				
Ocean/bay				
Storm drain/sewer system				
Canal				
Other, describe _____				

107A. If inside a building, how did offender gain entry?	<input type="checkbox"/> Building open to public <input type="checkbox"/> Let in by third person <input type="checkbox"/> Forced entry <input type="checkbox"/> Offender worked/lived in building <input type="checkbox"/> Let in by victim <input type="checkbox"/> Through insecure door/window <input type="checkbox"/> Key	<input type="checkbox"/> Building open to public <input type="checkbox"/> Let in by third person <input type="checkbox"/> Forced entry <input type="checkbox"/> Offender worked/lived in building <input type="checkbox"/> Let in by victim <input type="checkbox"/> Through insecure door/window <input type="checkbox"/> Key	<input type="checkbox"/> Building open to public <input type="checkbox"/> Let in by third person <input type="checkbox"/> Forced entry <input type="checkbox"/> Offender worked/lived in building <input type="checkbox"/> Let in by victim <input type="checkbox"/> Through insecure door/window <input type="checkbox"/> Key	<input type="checkbox"/> Building open to public <input type="checkbox"/> Let in by third person <input type="checkbox"/> Forced entry <input type="checkbox"/> Offender worked/lived in building <input type="checkbox"/> Let in by victim <input type="checkbox"/> Through insecure door/window <input type="checkbox"/> Key

OFFENSE

Indicate the Victim/Offender relationship: Victim Number _____ Offender Number _____

108. Based on your experience and the results of the investigation, indicate the motive(s) for this offense:

(Check ALL that apply.)

- | | | | |
|--|--|---|----------------------------------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Sexual | <input type="checkbox"/> Revenge | <input type="checkbox"/> Anger | <input type="checkbox"/> Unknown |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Jealousy | <input type="checkbox"/> Excitement/thrill | <input type="checkbox"/> Financial | |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Political gain | <input type="checkbox"/> Religious/cultural/social | <input type="checkbox"/> Obstruction of justice | |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Mental illness | <input type="checkbox"/> Crime concealment | | |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Other, describe _____ | | | |

109. What was the offender's relationship to the victim at the time of the offense that contributed to bringing them together? (Check ALL that apply.) (e.g., Offender was victim's doctor)

- | | | | |
|--|--|--|--|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Stranger | <input type="checkbox"/> Parent | <input type="checkbox"/> Foster parent | <input type="checkbox"/> Unknown - N/A |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Relative, describe _____ | <input type="checkbox"/> Spouse/common-law | <input type="checkbox"/> Ex-spouse/ex-common-law | |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Girlfriend/boyfriend | <input type="checkbox"/> Ex-girlfriend/boyfriend | <input type="checkbox"/> Friend - long term | |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Acquaintance | <input type="checkbox"/> Employee | <input type="checkbox"/> Ex-employee | |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Co-worker | <input type="checkbox"/> Employer | <input type="checkbox"/> Ex-employer | |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Customer | <input type="checkbox"/> Clergy | <input type="checkbox"/> Teacher | |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Student | <input type="checkbox"/> Doctor | <input type="checkbox"/> Counselor/therapist | |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Patient | <input type="checkbox"/> Lawyer | <input type="checkbox"/> Client | |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Day-care/babysitter (includes relatives of) | <input type="checkbox"/> Neighbor | <input type="checkbox"/> Landlord | |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Cell mate | <input type="checkbox"/> Community volunteer | <input type="checkbox"/> Group leader | |
| | <input type="checkbox"/> Other, describe _____ | | |

110. In your opinion, was the victim targeted by the offender? (Some Pre-Planning Involved by Offender)
 Yes No Unknown - N/A

110A. Prior to, or at the time of the initial contact between the offender and the victim, was there an event or activity in the area that may be relevant to this crime (carnival, concert, convention, etc.)?
 Yes, describe _____ No Unknown - N/A

111. What did the offender do to make contact with the victim? (Check ALL that apply.)

- | | | |
|--|---|---|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Familial/domestic | <input type="checkbox"/> Befriended victim | <input type="checkbox"/> Slips victim incapacitating drug |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Used/abused his/her authority | <input type="checkbox"/> Posed as an authority figure | <input type="checkbox"/> Posed as a business person |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Posed as a service/repair person | <input type="checkbox"/> Posed as a customer/client | <input type="checkbox"/> Asked for assistance/information |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Asked victim to pose/model for photos | <input type="checkbox"/> Wanted to show something to the victim | <input type="checkbox"/> Offered a job, money, treats, toys, etc. |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Offered assistance | <input type="checkbox"/> Caused/staged an accident | <input type="checkbox"/> Offered ride/transportation |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Phoney police traffic stop | | |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Implied a family emergency/illness | <input type="checkbox"/> Phoned/wrote/advertised | <input type="checkbox"/> Contacted victim through Internet |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Used third person to lure the victim | <input type="checkbox"/> Solicited the victim for sex | <input type="checkbox"/> Lay in wait inside a building |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Lay in wait in/near victim's vehicle | <input type="checkbox"/> Lay in wait out of doors | <input type="checkbox"/> Sneaked up on victim |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Victim was sleeping | <input type="checkbox"/> Threatened victim with weapon | <input type="checkbox"/> Grabbed & immediately choked the victim |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Immediately overpowered victim | <input type="checkbox"/> Immediately hit victim with hands/fists/club | <input type="checkbox"/> Immediately stabbed the victim |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Immediately shot victim | <input type="checkbox"/> Other form of direct assault, describe _____ | <input type="checkbox"/> Unknown - N/A |

112. What SEXUAL acts occurred or were attempted? (Check ALL that apply.)

- | | | |
|--|--|---|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Vaginal intercourse | <input type="checkbox"/> Anal intercourse | <input type="checkbox"/> Simulated intercourse |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Rubbing penis against victim | <input type="checkbox"/> Fellatio | <input type="checkbox"/> Cunnilingus |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Anilingus | <input type="checkbox"/> Digital penetration | <input type="checkbox"/> Masturbation |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Fondling/grabbing/hugging | <input type="checkbox"/> Kissing | <input type="checkbox"/> Licking |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Sucking victim's breasts | <input type="checkbox"/> Slapping other body parts | <input type="checkbox"/> Ticking |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Hair pulling | <input type="checkbox"/> Slapping/spanking | <input type="checkbox"/> Victim ejaculated upon |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Mental terror | <input type="checkbox"/> Inanimate object insertion | <input type="checkbox"/> Vaginal fisting |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Anal fisting | <input type="checkbox"/> Piercing body parts | <input type="checkbox"/> Pinching with devices |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Pinching with hands | <input type="checkbox"/> Pulling of body parts | |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Beating sexual areas with hands/fists | <input type="checkbox"/> Beating sexual areas with object | <input type="checkbox"/> Kicking |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Manual choking/strangulation | <input type="checkbox"/> Ligature choking/strangulation | <input type="checkbox"/> Suffocation |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Biting | <input type="checkbox"/> Shaving of pubic hair | <input type="checkbox"/> Shaving of head hair |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Shaving of other areas | <input type="checkbox"/> Sexual bondage | <input type="checkbox"/> Suspension of victim's body |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Blindfolding or gagging victim | <input type="checkbox"/> Physical torture | <input type="checkbox"/> Whipping |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Burning (pain/torture) | <input type="checkbox"/> Cutting | <input type="checkbox"/> Body cavities/genitals mutilated |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Electric shock | <input type="checkbox"/> Victim urinated upon | <input type="checkbox"/> Victim defecated upon |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Victim given enema/douche | <input type="checkbox"/> Victim forced to perform sexual acts with animals | <input type="checkbox"/> Other, describe _____ |
| | | <input type="checkbox"/> Unknown - N/A |

113. What NON-SEXUAL acts or torture did this offender inflict or attempt on this victim?

(Check ALL that apply.)

- | | | |
|--|---|--|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Beating | <input type="checkbox"/> Stabbing | <input type="checkbox"/> Cutting/incision wounds |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Stomping | <input type="checkbox"/> Crushing injury | <input type="checkbox"/> Torso compression |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Burning (cigarettes) | <input type="checkbox"/> Burning (fire) | <input type="checkbox"/> Burning (scalding) |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Burning (chemical) | <input type="checkbox"/> Burning (electrical) | <input type="checkbox"/> Setting body on fire |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Exposure/hypothermia | <input type="checkbox"/> Malnutrition/dehydration | <input type="checkbox"/> Poisoning |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Manual strangulation | <input type="checkbox"/> Ligature strangulation | <input type="checkbox"/> Strangulation - method undetermined |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Suffocation | <input type="checkbox"/> Airway occlusion | <input type="checkbox"/> Drowning |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Gunshot wound | <input type="checkbox"/> Hanging | <input type="checkbox"/> Throat slashing |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Electrocution | <input type="checkbox"/> Explosive trauma | <input type="checkbox"/> Running over victim with vehicle |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Throwing/pushing victim from moving vehicle | <input type="checkbox"/> Blunt force trauma | <input type="checkbox"/> Other, describe _____ |
| | | <input type="checkbox"/> Unknown - N/A |

114. What bizarre or unusual acts of trauma occurred? (Check ALL that apply.)

- Carving on victim
- Evisceration
- Victim skinned
- Body cavities or wounds explored
- Drank victim's blood
- Cannibalism
- Other unusual acts, describe _____
- Unknown - N/A

115. Location of bite marks: (Check ALL that apply.)

- Head
- Face
- Neck
- Unknown - N/A
- Shoulders
- Arms/hands
- Back
- Chest
- Breasts
- Abdomen
- Groin
- Genitalia
- Buttocks
- Anus
- Thighs
- Legs/feet
- Other, describe _____

116. Location of BLUNT force trauma: (Does not include gunshot or stab wounds.)

- Head
- Face
- Neck
- Unknown - N/A
- Shoulders
- Arms/hands
- Back
- Chest
- Breasts
- Abdomen
- Groin
- Genitalia
- Buttocks
- Anus
- Thighs
- Legs/feet
- Other, describe _____

117. Extent of BLUNT force trauma only: (Does not include gunshot or stab wounds.)

- None
- Minimal - Minor bruising only, possibly caused by offender's slapping to control victim.
- Moderate - Injury inflicted which in itself would not have caused death.
- Severe - Injury which in itself could have caused death, whether it was the cause of death or not.
- Extreme - Injury inflicted beyond that necessary for death; Overkill.

118. Estimate the number of:

Gunshot wounds _____ Stab wounds _____ Cutting/incise wounds _____ Blunt force wounds _____

119. Did the offender insert or attempt to insert a foreign object (not including penis or finger) into body opening of victim? Describe all.

Object	Body Opening	Left in?	Damage
<i>Example - Wooden stick</i>	<i>Vagina</i>	<i>Yes</i>	<i>Ruptured vaginal wall</i>

120. Extent of injuries inflicted by the offender:

- No injuries
- Minor - Required no medical treatment
- Moderate - Required outpatient treatment
- Severe - Required hospitalization
- Sufficient to cause death
- Extreme - Overkill

121. Describe any physical or mental torture: (Deliberate acts designed to cause the victim to suffer.)

_____ Unknown - N/A

122. Indicate level of force used by offender at each of the following stages of this offense: Unknown - N/A
 Match the amount of force used in each of the six activities in the left column by placing the prefix letter of the appropriate "Level of Force" used pick list in the right column.

Offender's use of force related to the following activities	Level of Force
Immediately upon contact with victim	
After victim contact, prior to incident	
Only upon resistance from the victim	
During incident	
After incident, prior to offender leaving	
As offender was leaving	

A - Minimal, just enough to keep control of victim
 B - Moderate, beyond that necessary to keep control of victim
 C - Severe, enough to cause death
 D - Extreme, beyond that necessary to cause death - Overkill
 E - None

129. How would you rate the extent of the offender's anger?
 No overt anger Some anger Overwhelming anger Unknown

130. Restraints used on victim: Unknown - N/A

A- Hands B- Feet C- Torso D- Breasts E- Hands to feet F- Hands to neck G- To an object H- Other

Bound	Type	Source	Description
A	L	A	Example - Hands were tied together by looping the phone cord around the wrists.

A - Found at scene by offender B - Brought to scene by offender C - Taken from victim

A-Rope/wine/cord B-Nylons/pantyhose C-Outer clothing D-Packing tape E-Duct tape
 F-Electrical tape G-Other tape H-Shoe laces I-Zap straps (cable ties, flex cuffs) J-Coat hanger
 K-Socks L-Wire (includes phone/ electrical cords) M-Neck tie N-Underwear
 O-Belt P-Scarf Q-Handcuffs R-Other

131. Describe bindings that were symmetrical (e.g., bindings were balanced and equal both sides), neat (applied with care and precision), or excessive (more than necessary to control victim): Unknown - N/A

132. Describe the use of gags, blindfolds, or face coverings (not including hands over mouth or eyes):

	When was it applied?	Description
Gag		
Blindfold		
Entire face covered		

A - Before victim could observe B - After initial contact C - Unable to determine

133. Were the restraints removed from the scene by the offender?
 Yes No Unknown

139. Describe any writing/drawing done by/or initiated by the offender: Unknown - N/A

- 143. To what extent did the offender record the crime? (Check ALL that apply.)**
- Took photographs of the victim Took movies/videos of the victim Made audio recordings
 Made notes/writing Other, describe _____ Unknown
-
- 145. How were the victim's clothes removed? (Check ALL that apply.)**
- Without damage Cut/slashed Torn/ripped Unknown - N/A
 Other, describe _____
- 146. Is there evidence to suggest the victim was redressed by the offender?**
- Yes No Unable to determine Unknown - N/A
- 147. Describe any items taken by the offender:** Unknown - N/A
- (Example - driver's license, jewelry, VCR)*
- _____
- _____
- _____
- 148. How did the victim/offender contact end?**
- Release (offender intentionally gives up control of victim) Escape (offender loses control of victim) Rescue/Interruption (deliberate or inadvertent intervention by a third party)
 Death (victim left for dead) Unknown
- 149. Semen was identified at the following locations: (Check ALL that apply.)**
- None In vagina In rectum
 In mouth On face Elsewhere on victim's body, describe _____
 On victim's clothing, describe _____ Elsewhere at scene - location _____ Unknown - N/A

CONDITION OF VICTIM WHEN FOUND

- 151. Is there a reason to believe the offender moved the body from the area of the death site to the area of the body recovery site?**
- Yes No Unknown - N/A
- 152. Evidence suggest the offender disposed of the body in the following manner: (Check ALL that apply.)**
- Openly displayed or otherwise placed to ensure discovery Concealed, hidden, or otherwise placed to prevent discovery With an apparent lack of concern as to whether or not body was discovered
 Displayed to offend the public Staged to suggest alternate motive Unknown - N/A
- 153. Clothing on victim: (Check ONE only.)**
- Clothing was completely removed Clothing was partially removed Clothing moved up/down to expose genital/anus/breasts
 Fully clothed Unknown - N/A
- 154. Position of the body was:**
- Lying face down Lying face up Fetal position
 Lying on side Sitting Hanging
 Other, describe _____ Unknown - N/A

WEAPON

WEAPON INFORMATION

Indicate in the table below the type of weapon, weapon selection, and weapon recovery location.
(Check ALL that apply.)

USED BY OFFENDER #	WEAPON TYPE	160. WEAPON SELECTION				162. WEAPON RECOVERY		
		Brought to Scene by Offender	Found at Scene by Offender	Taken From Victim	Unknown	Not Recovered	Recovered At Scene	Recovered Elsewhere (Describe)
	Bludgeon/Club (Describe)							
	Drug (Describe)							
	Explosive device							
	Fire/Accelerant							
	Firearm (Describe below)							
	Hands or Feet							
	Ligature (Describe)							
	Stabbing/Cutting Weapon (Describe)							
	Other (Describe)							

163. Firearm Characteristics:

USED BY OFFENDER #	FIREARM (Handgun, rifle, shotgun, etc.)	FIREARM MAKE	CARTRIDGE, CALIBER or GAUGE	# LANDS/GROOVES & DIRECTION OF TWIST or PELLET SIZE

Appendix B. Inmate Consent

FORM 980-II
N.J.A.C. 10A:1-10

Revised
12/19/94

STATE OF NEW JERSEY
DEPARTMENT OF CORRECTIONS

ADULT INMATE RESEARCH PARTICIPATION CONSENT

Please Print or Type

I, _____
Name Number

at _____
Correctional Facility/Parole District

am willing to participate in the research project entitled: _____
Title

conducted by: _____
Name of Researcher

I further state that this is voluntary on my part and that I have not been required or coerced to participate in said project; nor have I received any promises of special favors because of my participation.

Signature of Inmate Date

WITNESSED BY:

Print Name of Witness Date

Signature of Witness Title

APPROVED BY:

Printed Name and Signature of Superintendent/Unit Administrator or Parole District Supervisor Date

Appendix C. Federal Certificate of Confidentiality

CONFIDENTIALITY CERTIFICATE

MH-00-131

issued to

**The Graduate School and University Center
City University of New York/John Jay College**

conducting research known as

“The Impact of Victim/Offender Relationship on Crime Characteristics”

In accordance with the provisions of section 301(d) of the Public Health Service Act 42 U.S.C. 241(d), this Certificate is issued in response to the request of the Principal Investigator, Ms. Donna Hartman, a graduate student, and her faculty advisor, Dr. Barry Spunt, to protect the privacy of research subjects by withholding their identities from all persons not connected with this research. Ms. Hartman is primarily responsible for the conduct of this research.

Under the authority vested in the Secretary of Health and Human Services by section 301(d), all persons who:

1. are enrolled in, employed by, or associated with The Graduate School and University Center, City University of New York/John Jay College, and its contractors or cooperating agencies, and
2. have in the course of their employment or association access to information which would identify individuals who are the subjects of the research pertaining to the project known as “The Impact of Victim/Offender Relationship on Crime Characteristics”

are hereby authorized to protect the privacy of the individuals who are the subjects of that research by withholding their names and other identifying characteristics from all persons not connected with the conduct of that research.

This study will specifically determine how the victim/offender relationship affects the motive, individual attributes, and crime scene behavior in femicide. In-depth interviews will be conducted with twelve offenders to provide further insight into the reasoning behind the offender’s behavior. Subjects will be interviewed for approximately 2 hours in an interview room at the prison. The interviews will be documented, coded, and analyzed using the NUD*IST 4 (Nonnumerical Unstructured Data—Indexing, Searching, and Theorizing) software program. These interviews will be audio tape recorded.

Page 2 - Confidentiality Certificate

A Certificate of Confidentiality is needed because sensitive information about homicides and other criminal activity will be generated. The certificate will help researchers avoid involuntary disclosures which could expose subjects, and their families, to adverse economic, legal, psychological and social consequences.

All subjects will be assigned a coded number and identifying information and records will be kept in locked files at the Institution.

This research is underway, and will end on September 30, 2001.

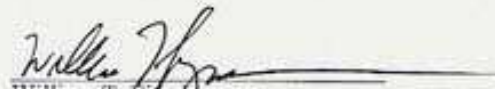
As provided in section 301 (d) of the Public Health Service Act 42 U.S.C. 241(d):

"Persons so authorized to protect the privacy of such individuals may not be compelled in any Federal, State, or local civil, criminal, administrative, legislative, or other proceedings to identify such individuals."

This Certificate does not govern the voluntary disclosure of identifying characteristics of research subjects but only protects subjects from compelled disclosure of identifying characteristics. Researchers are therefore not prevented from the voluntary disclosure of such matters as child abuse or a subject's threatened violence to self or others; however, the consent form should indicate clearly a researcher's intention to make any such voluntary disclosure.

This Certificate does not represent an endorsement of the research project by the Department of Health and Human Services. This Certificate is now in effect and will expire on September 30, 2001. The protection afforded by this Confidentiality Certificate is permanent with respect to subjects who participate in the research during the time the Certificate is in effect.

Date: August 23, 2000


William T. Fitzsimmons
Executive Officer
National Institute of Mental Health

Appendix E. Interview Protocol

NOTES TO INTERVIEWERS

1. Let offender know it is not to seek info on a particular crime but rather just to research certain categories of offenders. Let them know it will not be passed on to authorities.
2. Review all available information prior to interview.

INTERVIEW INTRODUCTION

1. Introduce self.
2. Explain the purpose of interview and how data will be utilized.
3. Stress confidentiality issue. Ask not to discuss crimes for which offender has not been charged.
4. Advise subject that anything he/she says cannot be used against him/her in court.
5. Advise that subject will receive no assistance or extra privileges due to participation.
6. Ask subject if he/she has any questions.
7. With witness present, execute consent form and provide subject with a copy.
8. Advise him/her that breaks will be taken at his/her discretion.
9. Obtain verbal consent to audio tape interview.
10. At beginning of first tape, provide the time, date, location, and persons present. Have the subject verbally confirm that he has agreed to be interviewed, signed a consent form and received a copy, has had an opportunity to ask questions, will be given confidentiality, can expect no assistance in return for his/her participation and has agreed to have the interview tape-recorded.

ADMINISTRATIVE

Subject Code Number:

ViCAP Case Number:

Date of Interview:

Length of Interview:

INTERVIEW GUIDE

The following is to be used as a guide for the interview process. The offenders will be allowed to elaborate on their responses. Depending on those responses the order and wording of the questions may be changed, and some questions may be omitted entirely.

INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

General

What is your current marital status (single, married, separated, divorced, widowed)?

Have you been married before (how many times, length)?

Where were you born?

What is the highest grade or degree you completed in school?
 How was your school performance (A, B, C, D student)?
 Did you ever repeat any grades in school?
 What was your last job, before you were arrested?
 Was your work stable (generally, unstable, student/youth)?
 Were you ever in the military (branch, type of discharge, rejected by service)?

Family

What was and is your parent's marital status?
 Is your father still alive (age, level of education, occupation, occupation stability)?
 Is your mother still alive (age, level of education, occupation, occupation stability)?
 Who would you say was your dominant parental figure?
 Was your father present (most of time, part of time, mostly absent, always absent)?
 Why did your father leave (death, divorce, abandoned, etc.), your age at time?
 Was your mother present (most of time, part of time, mostly absent, always absent)?
 Why did your mother leave (death, divorce, abandoned, etc.), your age at time?
 What was your relationship like with your parents (warm/close, cold/distant, inconsistent and/or accepting, uninvolved, rejecting)?
 Were there stepparents or other adults in your household?
 Do you have brothers and sisters (how many, level of education, occupation)?
 What is your place in the birth order (oldest, youngest, middle, etc.)?
 What was your relationship like with your siblings?
 What was your relationship like with other family members?

Subject

While you were growing up, did you belong to any groups, clubs, or gangs?
 As a youth did you ever live outside the home (orphanage, detention center, foster home, mental health facility, etc.)?
 When did you leave home?
 Did you use drugs when you were growing up (type)?

Offense Data (use this section to discuss each incident separately)

What was your frame of mind immediately before the offense?
 Did you have any precipitating stress (financial, marital, relationship, legal, employment problems, birth of child, injury or illness, death of someone close)?
 Were you drinking or taking any drugs?
 If yes, did he/she receive any inpatient treatment?
 How did you select your victim (planned, opportunistic)?
 Did you know her before this?
 What was special about victim?
 Where did you live at this time (apartment, hotel, institution, rooming house)?
 With whom did you live (parents, girlfriend, spouse, children)?
 What time of day did the assault take place?

What were your work hours at that time (day, evening, night shift)?
What was the area of initial contact like (indoors, outdoors, rural, residential, mall)?
How did you get there (walk, drive, public transportation)?
How did you approach her (pose as authority, deception, con, blitz)?
Did you take victim away from contact site (describe assault area if different)?
How did you control her (threat, force, weapon)?
Did you use restraints (rope, tape, belt)?
Did you bring this with you?
Did you take this with you when you left?
Did you wear a mask, disguise, gloves, etc?
How were her/his clothes removed (you disrobed her, she disrobed self, you disrobed self, she disrobed you)?
Were her/his clothes torn, ripped, or cut?
Did you use a weapon (knife, gun, rock, screwdriver)?
Did you take this with you when you left?
Did you kiss, fondle, bite, masturbate, penetrate vagina or anus, etc?
Did you have her kiss, fondle, masturbate, etc?
Was victim compliant or resistant?
How did that make you feel, react?
How long did this take?
Did you leave her at assault site?
What steps did you take to avoid detection?
Do you think you made mistakes during the crime?

Bibliography

- Bailey, W. & Peterson, R. (1995). Gender inequality and violence against women: The case of murder. In J. Hagan & R. Peterson (Eds.), *Crime and inequality* (pp. 174-205). Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.
- Barnard, G., Vera, M., & Newman, G. (1982). Till death do us part? A study of spouse murder. *Bulletin of the American Academy of Psychiatry and Law*, 10, 271-280.
- Baron, R. & Kenny, D. (1986). The moderator-mediator variable distinction in social psychological research: Conceptual, strategic, and statistical considerations. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 51 (6), 1173-1182.
- Block, C. & Christakos, A. (1995). Intimate partner homicide in Chicago over 29 years. *Crime and Delinquency*, 41, 496-526.
- Breault, K. & Kposowa, A. (1997). The effects of marital status on adult female homicides in the United States. *Journal of Quantitative Criminology*, 13 (2), 217-230.
- Brewer, V. (1995). *Differential female homicide victimization rates across U.S. cities: A test of alternative explanations*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, Tulane University, New Orleans, LA.
- Brewer, V., & Smith, M. (1995). Gender inequality and rates of female homicide victimization across U.S. cities. *Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency*, 32, 175-190.
- Bradfield, R. (2001). Women who kill: Lack of intent and diminished responsibility as the other "defenses" to spousal homicide. *Current Issues in Criminal Justice Journal of the Institute of Criminology*, 13 (2), 143-167.
- Browne, A. (1987). *When Battered Women Kill*. New York, NY: Free Press.
- Cohen, L. & Felson, E. (1979). Social change and crime rate trends: A routine activities approach. *American Sociological Review*, 44, 588-608.
- Davies, K. (1996). *Women as victims and perpetrators of homicide: A test of three theories of women's criminality*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, The Ohio State University, Columbus, OH.
- Dawson, M. & Garner, R. (1998). Differences in the characteristics of intimate femicides: The role of relationship state and relationship status. *Homicide Studies*, 2, 378-399

- Decker, S. (1996). Deviant homicide: A new look at the role of motives and victim-offender relationships. *Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency*, 33 (4), 427-449.
- Decker, S. (1993). Exploring victim-offender relationships in homicide: The role of individual and event characteristics. *Justice Quarterly*, 10 (4), 585-612.
- Drawdy, S. & Myers, W. (2004). Homicide victim/offender relationship in Florida Medical Examiner District 8. *Journal of Forensic Sciences*, 49 (1), 150-154.
- Durkheim, E. (1951). *Suicide: A Study in Sociology*. Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press.
- Flanagan, T. & Maguire, K. (1992). *Sourcebook of Criminal Justice Statistics--1991*. Washington, DC: United States Government Printing Office.
- Flewelling, R. & Williams, K. (1999). Categorizing homicides: The use of disaggregated data in homicide research. In M. Smith & M. Zahn, *Homicide: A Sourcebook of Social Research*. Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE Publications, Inc.
- Fontana, A. & Frey, J. (1994). Interviewing: The art and science. In N. Denzin & Y. Lincoln (eds), *Handbook of Qualitative Research*, 361-376.
- Frye, V., Hosein, V., Waltermauer, E., and Wilt, S. (2004). *Femicide in New York City: 1990 – 1999*. New York: New York City Department of Health, Injury Prevention Program.
- Gartner, R., Baker, K., & Pampel, F. (1990). Gender stratification and the gender gap in homicide victimization. *Social Problems*, 37 (4), 593-612.
- Gartner, R. & McCarthy, B. (1991). The social distribution of femicide in urban Canada, 1921-1988. *Law and Society Review*, 25 (2), 287-311.
- Gauthier, D., & Bankston, W. (1997). Gender equality and the sex ratio of intimate killing. *Criminology*, 35, 577-600.
- Goetting, A. (1991). Female victims of homicide: A portrait of their killers and the circumstances of their deaths. *Violence and Victims*, 6 (2), 159-168.
- Goetting, A. (1988). When females kill one another: The exceptional case. *Criminal Justice and Behavior*, 15, 179-189.
- Hindelang, M., Gottfredson, M., & Garofalo, J. (1978). *Victims of Personal Crime: An Empirical Foundation For a Theory of Personal Victimization*. Cambridge, MA: Ballinger Publishing Co.

- Huong, M. & Salmelainen, P. (1993). *Family, Acquaintance and Stranger Homicides in New South Wales*. Sydney: new South Wales Bureau of Crime Statistics and Research.
- Johnson, H. & Hotton, T. (2003). Losing control: Homicide risk in estranged and intact intimate relationships. *Homicide Studies*, 7 (1), 58-84.
- Karmen, A. (2004). *Crime Victims: An Introduction to Victimology*. Belmont, CA: Wadsworth, Thompson Learning, Inc.
- Kirkwood, D. (2003). Female perpetrated homicide in Victoria between 1985 and 1995. *The Australian and New Zealand Journal of Criminology*, 36 (2), 152-172.
- Kposowa, A., Singh, G., & Breault, K. (1994). The effects of marital status and social isolation on adult male homicides in the United States. *Journal of Quantitative Criminology*, 10 (3), 277-289.
- Massey, C. & McKean, J. (1985). The social ecology of homicide: A modified lifestyle/routine activities perspective. *Journal of Criminal Justice*, 13, 417-428.
- Maxfield, M. (1989). Circumstances in supplementary homicide reports: Variety and validity. *Criminology*, 27, 671-695.
- McClain, P. (1982). Black female homicide offenders: Are they from the same population? *Death Education*, 6, 265-278.
- Messner, S. & Tardiff, K. (1985). The social ecology of urban homicide: an application of the routine activities approach. *Criminology*, 23, 241-267.
- Moracco, K., Runyan, C., & Butts, J. (1998). Femicide in North Carolina, 1991-1993: A statewide study of patterns and precursors. *Homicide Studies*, 2 (4), 422-446.
- Morgan, F. & Kratcoski, P. (1986). An analysis of the victim-offender relationship in homicide cases. *Journal of Police and Criminal Psychology*, 2, 52-63.
- Morton, E., Runyan, C., & Moracco, K. (1998). Partner homicide-suicide involving female homicide victims: A population based study in North Carolina, 1988-1992. *Violence and Victims*, 13 (2), 91-106.
- Peterson, E. (1999). Murder as self-help: Women and intimate partner homicide. *Homicide Studies*, 3 (1), 30-46.
- Rasko, G. (1976). The victim of the female killer. *Victimology*, 1, 396-402.

- Ressler, R., Burgess, A., & Douglas, J. (1988). *Sexual Homicide: Patterns and Motives*. New York, NY: Lexington Books.
- Riedel, M. (1981). *Stranger Homicides in American City*. Paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Society of Criminology, Washington, DC.
- Riedel, M. & Zahn, M. (1985). *The Nature and Patterns of American Homicide*. Washington, DC: US Government Printing Office.
- Rojek, D. & Williams, J. (1993). Interracial vs. Intra racial offenses in terms of the victim/offender relationship. In A. Wilson (Ed), *Homicide: The Victim/Offender Connection*. Cincinnati, OH: Anderson Publishing.
- Safarik, M., Jarvis, J., & Nussbaum, K. (2002). Sexual homicide of elderly females: Linking offender characteristics to victim and crime scene attributes. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence*, 17 (5), 500-525.
- Schwartz, M. & Pitts, V. (1995). Toward a feminist routine activities theory on campus sexual assault. *Justice Quarterly*, 12, 9-31.
- Silverman, R. & Kennedy, L. (1987). Relational distance and homicide: The role of the stranger. *Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology*, 78, 272-308.
- Simon, L. (1995). The violent offender's perception of victim contribution and the victim-offender relationship. *Journal of Crime and Justice*, 18 (2), 47-62.
- Smith, M. & Brewer, V. (1992). A sex-specific analysis of correlates of homicide victimization in United States Cities. *Violence and Victims*, 7 (4), 279-286.
- Smith, P. Moracco, K., & Butts, J. (1998). Partner homicide in context: A population based perspective. *Homicide Studies*, 2, 400-421.
- Stout, K. (1992). Intimate femicide: An ecological analysis. *Journal of Sociology and Social Welfare*, 19, 29-50.
- U.S. Bureau of the Census, Current Population Survey. Available at www.census.gov.
- Vieraitis, L. & Williams, M. (2002). Assessing the impact of gender inequality on female homicide victimization across U.S. cities; a racially disaggregated analysis. *Violence Against Women*, 8 (1), 35-63.
- Walker, L. (1989). *Terrifying Love: Why Battered Women Kill And How Society Responds*. New York, NY: Harper and Row.

- West, A. (2000). Clinical Assessment of Homicide Offenders. *Homicide Studies*, 4 (3), 219-233.
- Wilson, A. (1993). *Homicide: The Victim/Offender Connection*. Cincinnati, OH: Anderson Publishing.
- Wilson, M. & Daly, M. (1993). Spousal homicide risk and estrangement. *Violence and Victims*, 1, 3-16.
- Wilt, S., Illman, S., & Brodyfield, M. (1997). *Female homicide victims in New York City, 1990-1994*. New York, NY: New York City Department of Health, Injury Prevention Program.
- Wolfgang, M. (1958). *Patterns of criminal homicide*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania.
- Yin, R. (1994). *Case Study Research: Design and Methods*. Thousand Oaks, California: Sage Publications, Inc.
- Zahn, M. & Sagi, P. (1987). Stranger homicide in nine American cities. *Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology*, 78, 377-