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| RISK FACTORS FOR ULTIMATE DEATH OF INTIMATE PARTNERS | | |
| Increase Risk | Decrease Risk | X-Factors |
| The presence of one or more children of the victim from another partner increased the risk of lethal injury. | Situations in which the victim and abuser had never lived together significantly lowered women’s risk of death, validating safety advice that battered women have offered to other battered women. | Having a child of the victim living in the home who was not the abusive partner’s biological child more than **2X** the risk of homicide. |
| Women who separated from their abusive partners after cohabitation experienced increased risk of death particularly when the abuser was highly controlling. Having been separated, having ever left or having asked the partner to leave all increased risk of intimate partner death at the hand of the abuser. | When the couple had separated after living together but the abuser was not highly controlling, the risk was present but mitigated. | The risk of intimate partner death is increased **9X** when the abuser was highly controlling and the couple separate after living together. |
| Leaving the abuser creates the highest risk. Batterers were significantly more likely to kill their partner if their partner was leaving them for someone else. Highly controlling male partners present the most danger in this situation. When the incident was triggered by the victim having left the abuser for any other reason, death risks were also significantly increased. | Instances in which the abuser had a college education (vs a high school education) were protective against intimate partner death, as were instances in which the abuser had a college degree and was unemployed but looking for work. | **5X** increase in death risk when the worst incident of abuse was triggered by the victim leaving the abuser for another partner or by the abuser’s jealousy. These incident-level effects appear to mitigate those related to highly controlling abusers and separation after cohabitation. |
| Characteristics of intimate partner violence which associated with intimate partner death at the hands of the abuser included stalking, non-lethal strangulation, forced sex, abuse during pregnancy, a pattern of escalating frequency and severity of physical violence, perpetrator suicidality, perception of danger on the part of the victim, and the presence of child abuse. Many of these characteristics of abuse also were present with previous threats with a weapon and previous threats to kill the victim. The presence of multiple of these factors more urgently elevate intimate partner death risk. | Race/ethnicity of abusers and victims was not independently associated with higher risk for intimate partner death after control for other demographic factors. | Unemployment of the abuser was the most important demographic risk factor for intimate partner death and **4X** greater risk than employed batterers. Unemployment was the only demographic risk factor that significantly predicted death risks after controlled for a comprehensive list of more proximate risk factors. Unemployment appears to underlie increased risk often attributed to race/ethnicity. |
| Previous threats with a weapon and threats to kill the victim were associated with substantially higher risks for death. Abusers who possess firearms tend to inflict the most severe abuse. | Traits of perpetrators thought to be characteristic of violent criminals  tend to be no more characteristic of killers than of other batterers. Arrest  for other crimes did not differentiate killers from perpetrators of intimate partner violence. | **8X** increase in intimate partner death when abuser has access to firearms, reduces to **5X** when previous threats with a weapon were present. |
| Drug abuse significantly increased the risk of intimate partner death, but only before other forms of threats and abuse were present. | Drug abuse was associated with patterns of intimate partner abuse that increase death risk but did not increase the risk of death if other previous threats or abuse was present. | Alcohol abuse alone did not significantly increase intimate partner death risk. |
|  | Prior arrest for domestic violence actually decreased the risk for death at the hand of the abuser, suggesting that arrest of abusers protects against future intimate partner death. | A 2008 study in the Journal of Emergency Medicine suggested that the risks of an attempted IP homicide increase about **7X**  for women who had been victims of prior non-lethal strangulation by their partner. The study also found that 43 percent of women murdered in domestic assaults, and 45 percent of victims of attempted murder, had been strangled by a partner in the previous year. |
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