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**NEWSPAPER COVERAGE OF COLLATERAL INTIMATE  
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**NEWSPAPER COVERAGE OF COLLATERAL INTIMATE PARTNER HOMICIDES**

**By**

**Emily M. Meyer**

**A DISSERTATION**

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## ABSTRACT

### NEWSPAPER COVERAGE OF COLLATERAL INTIMATE PARTNER HOMICIDES

By

Emily M. Meyer

The killing of intimate partners is a topic widely explored in the criminal justice and public health literatures; however there is a dearth of research on mass media reporting patterns. To this end, this dissertation focuses on collateral intimate partner homicides (IPH), or the killing of individuals exogenous to the intimate relationship and how these killings are processed and framed by Michigan newspapers. A mixed-method content analysis of articles published between 1990-2007 is conducted (n=215) as a first step to determining reporting trends in collateral IPH. The database for this project is drawn from a collection of newspaper clippings assembled by the Michigan Press Reading Service and is the most comprehensive in the nation.

This research addresses a critical void in the literature on the use of news frames in intimate partner homicide reporting. Thus, two IPV theories are tested for their impact on framing: family violence and coercive control. The quantitative portion of the study was completed by two independent coders and subjected to a rigorous reliability analysis. Qualitative data analysis consisted of theoretical, open coding as set forth by Glaser & Strauss (1967) and Altheide (1996). The major research questions driving this study are (1) “What are the predominant *trends* in collateral IPH?” and (2) “which theoretical framework better *describes* the media narratives utilized to report collateral IPH”? Results overwhelmingly indicated that a majority of collateral intimate partner homicides are reported as incident-specific and attributed to mutual relationship conflict between

primary partners (e.g., the two individuals involved in either a current or previous intimate relationship), with the collateral victim serving as an auxiliary. However, perhaps the most significant finding is that although IPV research indicates that women and men both perpetrate IPH, using only the inclusion criterion that collateral IPH is related to IPV, 100% of homicides were perpetrated by men. Despite this finding, news articles maintain a gender-neutral tone, failing to explore relationship context. These findings have numerous implications for translational science endeavors, so recommendations for researchers, journalists, advocates, and policymakers conclude the study.

## DEDICATION

I would like to dedicate this dissertation to my husband, Louis Boudreau, and my three furry children: Ziggy, Ivy, and Willow. Without their unconditional love and support, I would not have been able to make it through this challenging phase of my life.

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## Chapter 1: Introduction

*A man angered after a dispute with his wife confessed to tossing his four young children off a bridge, authorities said Wednesday as they searched murky waters for the bodies.*

*Lam Luong, 37, who is charged with four counts of capital murder, told authorities Tuesday night that he drove to the Dauphin Island bridge and dropped the children from a span that reaches 80 feet in places, said Detective Scott Rivera (Associated Press, 2008).*

The media report violent homicides every day in the United States. These events, both shocking and difficult to comprehend, trigger basic emotional reactions in the public's consciousness, leaving many asking "why"; why would a human being do that to another? Why would a father take the lives of his four children? The media, via explanations offered by journalists and other sources (e.g. police, neighbors, friends, etc.) attempt to address these questions in various capacities. For instance, in the example provided, the murder of four children was a result of a marital "dispute" in which his wife triggered Lam Luong's subsequent rage. As such, this dissertation is concerned with how journalists frame these events and what theory of intimate partner violence (IPV) primarily informs explanations provided by reporters. This is a salient and necessary endeavor because it offers potential insight into the dominant beliefs and stereotypes driving newspaper reporting of collateral IPH. In other words, how is a crime in which a bond and / or connection between perpetrator and victim exist portrayed? Possible factors that influence journalistic framing have been well documented in the literature, including: (1) social norms and values; (2) organizational pressures and constraints; (3) pressures of interests groups; (4) journalistic routines; and (5) ideological or political orientations of journalists (Shoemaker and Reese, 1996; Tuchman, 1978). However, there may be

additional reasons, including ignorance, pressure from the editor, or word space limitations (Shoemaker & Reese, 1996). Generally speaking, crime reporting relies heavily on official sources (Ferrand-Bullock, 2008) and is a durable news commodity (e.g., Garofalo, 1981). Media content “provides a map of the world of criminal events that differs in many ways from the one provided by official crime statistics” (Sacco, 1995, p. 143), specifically the what (cultural context), who (social context), where (geographical context), and when (the temporal context) of the act. These four classic contexts also impact the worthiness of crime stories (Koch, 1990). One might also hypothesize that like any other human being, reporters and their informants are trying to make sense of the social world around them, and that simple answers exist for complex crimes. Regardless, there is a disconnect between what IPV researchers are finding and what journalists are reporting (e.g. Ferrand-Bullock and Cubert 2002).

### ***Intimate Partner Violence (IPV) – A Brief Introduction***

Intimate partner violence (IPV), a concept frequently interchanged with “battering” “abuse”, “domestic violence”, and “interpersonal violence”, is a serious social and public health problem in the United States. IPV is defined by the Centers for Disease Control (CDC) as “threatened, attempted, or completed physical or sexual violence or emotional abuse by a spouse, former spouse, current or former boyfriend or girlfriend or a dating partner” (Black & Breiding, 2008). This definition focuses on the existence of an intimate relationship rather than the current relationship status or living arrangements. Furthermore, this definition is gender neutral.

IPV is pervasive in U.S. society, with significant deleterious outcomes. Each year IPV contributes to 2 million injuries among women and nearly 600,000 injuries among men (Black & Breiding, 2008). In addition to injury, IPV is frequently associated with chronic physical and somatic illnesses (Ahmad et al., 2007; Bonami et al., 2006; Campbell & Soeken, 1999; Demaris & Kaukinen, 2005; Kramer, Lorenzon, & Mueller, 2004; Stover, 2005; Thompson et al., 2006), and mental health conditions (Bogat et al., 2003; Campbell & Soeken, 1999; Cascardi & O'Leary, 1992; Demaris & Kaukinen, 2005; Houskamp & Foy, 1991; Huth-Bocks, Levendosky, & Bogat, 2002; Kessler et al., 2001; Vitanza, Vogel, & Marshall, 1995). Women are more likely to suffer abuse than men, as two to four million women are assaulted by their partners every year, making it the number one cause of injury for women ages 15-44. Partners and ex-partners murder at least 1,200 women each year, and experts estimate that at least 5 million children witness an assault (Bancroft, 2002; Black & Breiding, 2008). In a landmark national survey of the prevalence, incidence, and consequences of violence against women (the National Violence Against Women Survey, or NVAW), Tjaden and Thoennes (2000a) uncovered an alarming rate of IPV across the lifespan (22.1% total) (also see Tjaden & Thonnes, 2000b). In line with this, the latest survey conducted by the Centers for Disease Control (CDC) found a lifetime prevalence rate of approximately 25%.

As such, journalists frequently report on victimizations that occur within a familial or intimate context, including child abuse, sexual assault, and IPV. While journalists report collateral IPH killings, to date none have been coined as such and no research exists on this topic. A collateral victim is connected to the IPV victim and/or perpetrator, but is not a direct recipient of ongoing abuse. The killing of a collateral

victim is usually the result of a triggering event that occurs within the context of the intimate relationship - either calculated or unplanned. Collateral victims include parents, siblings, children, and new romantic partners among others. Studying this particular event is salient because (1) it has never been investigated before in the IPV literature and (2) it provides media researchers with a more comprehensive understanding of the types of frames used to report multiple victim IPV.

### ***Rationale for Dissertation***

Media scholars have devoted significant attention to how social issues and problems are reported to the public (e.g. Best, 1995; Hartman and Husband, 1974; Horsti, 2003; McNair, 1988), especially within a political context. Likewise, researchers have debated media impact for nearly a century, fluctuating between the strong effects hypothesis (i.e., the media have a strong influence on public opinion) and minimal effects hypothesis (i.e., the media have little to no impact on the opinions or perceptions of its audience)(for a brief history, see Scheufele, 1999). However, there is reason to believe that the media have an effect on public perceptions and attitudes, with some scholars claiming, “the news media exert significant influence on our perceptions of what are the most salient issues of the day” (McCombs & Reynolds, 2002, p. 1). Zillmann (2002) cautions, “However, the capacity to reach large audiences carries with it the risk of misleading the public in case the disseminated information proves to be *distorted* and *inaccurate* or *simply in error*”<sup>1</sup> (p. 21). He goes on, “Media institutions committed to providing veridical accounts of phenomena of consequence thus should take some

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<sup>1</sup> Emphasis is author’s own

responsibility for their case aggregations, ensuring that the reported cases yield correct rather than distorted perceptions of the phenomena” (p. 21).

Despite a lack of agreement in the weak-strong media effects argument, journalists play a unique role in the information dissemination process since they act as primary gatekeepers, presenting news messages that have potential to affect public perceptions, attitudes, and behaviors (McCombs & Reynolds, 2002). Therefore, how newsmakers frame collateral IPH has an impact on the public’s view of IPV as either the outcome of a relational dispute or part of a pattern of abuse. What the mass media communicate to the public about collateral IPH (and IPH generally) has the potential to sway opinion and perpetuate myths about IPV (Berns, 2004; Ferrand-Bullock & Cubert, 2002; McManus & Dorfman, 2003; Meyers, 1994; Maxwell et al., 2000).

This study explores the framing of collateral IPH in Michigan newspapers. A clipping service assembled the database; so all available years are analyzed (1990-2007). Additionally, two competing theories of IPV, family violence and coercive control, will be tested to determine which theoretical framework more frequently describes the media narratives and subsequent frames. This is of particular importance because unlike traditional applications of framing theory, the given news context does not revolve around electing a candidate, changing an existing law or policy, or arguing for / against a war (e.g. Allen et al., 1994; Nelson & Oxley, 1999); instead, this is the first step towards determining the types of frames used to describe this social problem in the mass media, and thus the potential impact on people’s opinions and perceptions of IPV.

## ***Structure of Remaining Chapters***

The literature review and theoretical frameworks driving the current study are presented in Chapter 2. The review is broken into two major sections: (1) framing in the media and (2) competing IPV theories. Section One provides an introduction to journalistic framing as well as a discussion of framing social problems: specifically intimate partner homicide (IPH). Section Two introduces the major theories associated with IPV scholarship: coercive control (an explication of feminist theory) and family violence (an explication of systems theory). After a description of each, the section closes with a review of the primary disagreements and ongoing debate associated with each theoretical perspective. These two theories will be tested via quantitative and qualitative analysis to determine which better informs media framing of collateral IPH and which theory reflects the acts portrayed in the media. As such, relevant research questions will close the chapter.

Chapter 3 provides a detailed explanation of the study's research methodology and design, including a brief introduction to the primary methods utilized in this project: content analysis and mixed methodological analysis. After a brief description of the selected sample (including exclusionary criteria), conceptual, operational, and variable definitions are provided. Next the coding protocol will be introduced as well as how the data were collected. Analysis procedures end the chapter.

Major results will be presented in Chapter 4 according to their corresponding research questions and hypotheses. Since this is a mixed method endeavor, results for qualitative and quantitative components will be described simultaneously as appropriate,

but care will be taken to delineate findings for clarity. Chapter 5 will synthesize and present implications of the study's results, including limitations and future research. Lastly, Chapter 6 will provide recommendations and guidelines for journalists, policymakers, and advocates.

## **Chapter 2: Literature Review and Theoretical Framework**

### ***Justification of this Research Project***

This dissertation is the first of its kind. It assesses whether media framing of collateral IPH more closely reflects coercive control or family violence theory, an endeavor that will lead to a greater understanding of the mass media's portrayal of the causes and consequences of IPV. By testing these theories, which have been at odds for over thirty years, the mass media and IPV literatures will benefit from the insights gained into how this social problem is constructed and reported to the public. Therefore, two major areas of research: (1) media framing, including its application to social problems and IPH and (2) competing IPV theories (*coercive control theory* and *family violence theory*) are explored in this chapter. These topics form the foundation of research questions as well as the conceptualization and operationalization of subsequent hypotheses and variables.

### ***Introduction to Framing***

Frames “organize the world for both journalists who report it and, in some important degree, for us who rely on their reports” (Gitlin, 1980, p. 7). Thus, framing is a concept with two primary meanings: (1) it is the way in which media content is shaped and contextualized according to some familiar point of reference or latent structure of meaning and (2) it is the way in which an audience adopts the frames of reference offered by the mass media, leading them to see the world in a different way (McQuail, 2005). It refers to the typical manner in which journalists shape news content, and subsequently,



how the audience adopts these frames and sees the world in a way similar to journalists and their informants (McQuail, 2005; Tuchman, 1978). This is a salient concept for this dissertation because how IPH articles are framed by the mass media can play a role in audience perceptions and attitudes. Tuchman (1978) notes, “the news frame organizes everyday reality, and the news frame is part and parcel of everyday reality...[it] is an essential feature of news” (p. 193). Media frames encompass the working routines of journalists, allowing them to quickly identify and classify information and package it “for efficient relay to their audiences” (Gitlin, 1980, p. 7).

Erving Goffman (1974) and Gregory Bateson (1972) often receive credit as the “pioneers” of framing research, with Goffman coming from a sociological perspective and Bateson from anthropology. Each adopted a social-psychological perspective to investigate how people make sense of their everyday realities (Reese, 2001). However, the concept of framing can be traced back to the early 1930s and has been used in many other disciplines including cognitive psychology (Bartlett, 1932), economics (Kahneman & Tversky, 1979), linguistics (Tannen, 1979), social-movements research (Snow & Benford, 1988), policy research (Schon & Rein, 1994), communication science (Tuchman, 1978), political communication (Gitlin, 1980), public relations research (Hallahan, 1999) and health communication (Rothman & Salovey, 1997). However, the sociological approach proposed by Gamson (1989; 1992) is more typically applied to framing in the fields of media and communication. From this vantage point, scholars set out to determine how issues are constructed, how discourse is structured, and meaning developed. The word *frame* traditionally represents an active process and the production of a specific result (Reese, 2001).

Entman (1993), a scholar widely believed to lay the groundwork for most modern framing research (McQuail, 2005), refers to it as a “fractured paradigm”. He notes that “to frame is to select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communicating text, in such a way to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation in the item described” (Entman, 1993, p. 52). His declaration that framing is a “scattered conceptualization” that requires multiple theoretical perspectives to explain its occurrence has stimulated much debate among mass media scholars. He publicly challenged its status as a theory, criticizing its inconsistent definitions and use of key terms (i.e., frame, framework, and framing). Entman (1993) concluded that the only way to master the framing construct is to articulate one single theory of framing, a notion that has met with some resistance (see D’Angelo, 2002).

Therefore, according to Entman (1993), framing consists of *selection* and *salience* in that frames define problems, diagnose causes, make moral judgments, and suggest remedies. This particular definition is especially useful in assessing the reporting of crimes as it aligns with concrete steps involved in the criminal justice process. Additionally, these “diagnostic frames” provide a glimpse into the proposed motivation and cause for the collateral IPH: a result of conflict (e.g., family violence) or an intentional killing (e.g., coercive control). As such, this construct plays a central role in this study because it provides a theoretically guided lens in which to investigate journalistic sense-making of collateral IPH.

## **Media Frames**

Framing studies are typically classified as “individual” or “media” oriented. An individual, or audience frame, is defined as “mentally stored clusters of ideas that guide individuals’ processing of information” (Entman, 1993, p. 52), while a media, or audience frame is a “central organizing idea or story line that provides meaning to an unfolding strip of events...The frame suggests what the controversy is about, the essence of the issue” (Gamson & Modigliani, 1987, p. 143). Scheufele (1999) provides a comprehensive review of the difference between these frames, defining media frames as devices embedded in political discourse, while individual (i.e., audience) frames are conceptualized as internal structures of mind (Kinder & Sanders, 1990). Although both types of studies share the common assumption that frames link social / cultural realms with everyday understandings of social interaction (Friedland & Zhong, 1996), individual frames highlight information-processing schemata, whereas media frames focus on the “attributes of the news itself” (Entman, 1991, p. 7). In sum, although each are related to the other, the present dissertation focuses exclusively on media frames.

### **Media Frames as a Dependent Variable**

It is important to briefly review studies that measure media frames as dependent variables since the present research utilizes this model to determine types of media frames found in newspaper reports of collateral IPH. Seminal research focusing on the media frame as a dependent variable can be found in Gans (1979), Shoemaker & Reese (1996), and Tuchman (1978). These authors investigate the extrinsic and intrinsic factors influencing the production and selection of news, and collectively determined five factors

that tend to impact media frames: (1) social norms and values, (2) organizational pressures or constraints, (3) pressures of interest groups, (4) journalistic routines, and (5) ideological or political orientations of journalists (Shoemaker & Reese, 1996; Tuchman, 1978). Each of these factors play a role in how a collateral IPH is potentially framed, as access to relevant information and preexisting routines may impact reporting. Recent studies reflect these factors in terms of what impacts media frames. For instance, individual experience, daily routines (i.e. demands of the newspaper, the reactive nature of news, assignment-specific writing / reporting), organizational issues, extra-media effects (i.e. current events occurring outside the story), and ideology (Campos-McCoy, 2007) all play a role in how racial issues are framed. In their piece on international social problem construction, Benson and Saguy (2005) found that cultural repertoires, legal constraints, journalistic field relations to the state market and competition among journalistic outlets, and global position of nation-states impact media frames. Interestingly, in their content analysis of newspaper articles about the women's movement, Terkildsen and Schnell (1997) identified five media frames that emerged as a result of public opinion and issue perspectives held by political elites. The following media frames emerged: (1) the gender roles frame, (2) the anti-feminist frame, (3) the economic rights / workplace frame, (4) the political roles frame, and (5) a feminism / gender equality frame. In a similar vein, Misra, Moller, and Karides (2003) assessed magazine articles about the welfare movement (1929-1996) and found that the dominant media frame of "dependency" is a result of racialized and gendered images of welfare recipients.

Obviously, the particular media frame applied by journalists is related to the issue being reported. As such, the current project, in line with the studies cited above, is at a stage in which no issue-specific frames exist; rather, frames are expected to emerge throughout analysis, subsequently categorized in accordance with two major IPV theories. Therefore, Entman's (1993) conceptualization of framing will provide a general template to document the types of generic frames implemented by reporters, while issue-specific frames of coercive control and family violence will be illuminated throughout analysis. This dissertation will cover all of Entman's (1993) generic frames: (1) problem construction, (2) proposed cause of crime, (3) moral implications, and (4) potential remedies, although the first two are expected to be the most apparent. These generic frames will guide coding and interpretation of results, leading to issue-specific frames associated with coercive control and family violence theories. For instance, the quantitative protocol captures proposed causes, motivations, and portrayals of the homicide(s), while the qualitative is segmented according to these five frame categories.

### ***Selection and Construction of Collateral IPH Frames***

The constructionist media frame paradigm proposed by D'Angelo (2002) posits that journalists create "interpretive packages" that are heavily influenced by their sources or sponsors. These "packages" reflect the "issue culture" of a given topic (Gamson & Mogdiliansi, 1987, 1989). D'Angelo (2002) states that researchers can work across paradigms, and presents studies that exemplify this synthesis (McLeod and Detenber, 1999; Iyengar, 1991; Price et al., 1997; Gamson, 1992).

The issue of information selection and subsequent construction of news forms the foundation of the social constructivist media effects model. The media “actively select the frames of reference that readers or viewers use to interpret and discuss public events” (Tuchman, 1978, p. ix). Some scholars have gone so far as to say that journalists give the story a “spin” (Neuman, Just, & Crigler, 1992); a result of the influential factors discussed earlier (i.e. organizational constraints, personal judgments, etc.) This is important to keep in mind as one interprets the types of frames used to describe collateral IPH, as well as the dominant “reasons” for presenting them in a certain way (e.g., conflict or argument-related as opposed to coercive or abusive explanations). For example, according to the constructionist paradigm, journalists can only perceive a portion of reality. Therefore, they select (via internal psychological processes) certain pieces of information in an effort to make sense of the whole. As such, a reporter might interpret a neighbor’s testimony that a couple was experiencing “domestic problems” as evidence for a symmetrical, conflict-oriented homicide cause. In fact, constructionism emphasizes the interactive process of constructing social reality (Scheufele, 2000). As such, reporters have a tendency to emphasize certain information that they see as salient (i.e., an impending divorce, infidelity, or separation) in order to attract the audience, while neglecting others, such as an outstanding personal protection order or history of violence (Entman, 1993).

### ***Newspaper Framing of Social Problems***

The literature presented to this point has focused on the theoretical underpinnings of framing. However, this dissertation highlights collateral IPH, an occurrence considered

a persistent health, social, and political problem in the United States (see Berns, 2004; Stark, 2007). Before moving on to a discussion of framing in this particular context, historical and recent definitions of “social problems” will be explored to provide a foundation for the current analysis.

When reflecting on social problems in the United States, crime (including intimate partner violence and homicide), discrimination, and poverty immediately come to mind. However, conceptualizing a “social problem” is difficult, as sociologists have been debating appropriate definitions for years (Spector & Kitsuse, 2000). As such, the majority of theoretical scholarship on social problem construction comes from the work of Blumer (1971), Becker, (1963), Spector and Kitsuse (1977), Gusfield (1981), Schneider (1985), and Best (1995). Some definitions are as basic as: “social problems are trouble spots within society – social arrangements that do not work properly” (Best, 1995, p. 3), while others define a social problem as “a social condition that has been found to be harmful to individual and/or societal well-being” (Bassis, Gelles, & Levine, 1982, p. 2). Others have been slightly more descriptive, claiming that a social problem is (1) is widely regarded as undesirable or as a source of difficulties; (2) caused by the actions or inactions of people or of society; and (3) affects, or perceived to affect large groups of people (Farley, 1987). Best (1995) defines social problems as events that emerge when a claimmaker (e.g. a journalist) brings an issue to the public. Spector and Kitsuse (2000), however, offer a more recent conceptualization that views social problems as (1) constructed and (2) part of an ongoing process.

*We have proposed to conceive all social problems to be activities of individuals or groups making assertions about perceived social conditions, which they*

*consider unwanted, unjust, immoral, and thus about which something should be done. This definition proposes that any such claim may become a social problem, and focuses research on the process by which claims are assembled and asserted by the claimants (p. xi).*

Unfortunately, recent scholarship on specific social problems does not provide substantive conceptualizations, as authors primarily rely on the readers' commonsense and guidelines set forth by seminal theorists. However, inquiry into the nature and impact of social problems is widely investigated. For example, in a recent study on the struggles of the US underclass, Jargowsky & Yang (2006) define urban poverty as a situation that produces "degradations in...quality of life due to extant social conditions" (p. 58). Additionally, studies of life in slums (Pokhariyal, 2005), the feminization of poverty (Brady & Kall, 2008), and HIV/AIDS in sub-Saharan Africa (Agadjanian & Menjivar, 2008) discuss the implications of their selected social problem. IPV and IPH are also considered social problems (e.g., Garcia et al., 2007), so this study contributes to the social problem literature by defining and exploring collateral IPH as a distinct social problem in U.S. society.

## **Newspaper Framing of Domestic Violence**

A few studies have been published on the newspaper framing of domestic violence, with most concluding that journalists provide a distorted view of the crime (Berns, 1999; Consalvo, 1998; Meyers, 1994). Meyers (1994), through a textual analysis of newspaper articles, notes that news coverage of domestic violence is typically framed to support the status quo. In other words, coverage blames the victim while relieving



society of any obligation to the incident. Similarly, Maxwell et al. (2000) found that articles cover specific incidents, and tend to place blame or solutions with individual victims and perpetrators, failing to offer broader solutions for the problem.

In her book, *Framing the Victim: Domestic Violence Media and Social Problems*, Nancy Berns (2004) proclaims that this social problem focuses only on the victims; either celebrating their courage for leaving a violent relationship or blaming them for letting the abuse continue. Frames frequently utilize accusations; accusing the victim of instigating the abuse or holding them responsible for ending the abuse. She warns that although some of these frames have helped foster support for victims (i.e. developing legislation or building shelters), they have done little to “develop public understanding of the social context of violence and may impede social change that could prevent violence” (p. 3). She goes on to warn that as a result of these frames, the violence perpetrated by abusers is lost; domestic violence is not seen as a social problem originating with the abusers since they are excluded from the *problem definition* portion of frame development. The consequences of this method are serious; domestic violence is not framed as a social problem resonating in a social and cultural context that tolerates and fosters abuse.

In sum, despite the attempts made by activists, advocates, professionals, and researchers, the overall context of domestic violence has not resonated in the public consciousness. Berns (2004) points to a void in the literature that this dissertation will address, specifically the influence of *context* and *principal relationship information* on the framing of intimate partner violence. She states: “However, the information these people can provide us (i.e. advocates, professionals, etc) has not seriously influenced the general public’s understanding of domestic violence and our society’s typical public

policy response to the problem” (p. 3). In other words, the crime is presented as “incident” specific rather than a part of a continuing cycle of violence (see Ferrand-Bullock & Cubert, 2002). As such, Bern’s (2004) framing of domestic violence in the media provides a starting point for this study.

## **Newspaper Framing of Intimate Partner Homicide**

Intimate partner homicide (IPH) is the most extreme outcome of IPV. However it is also the most objective data source since it does not rely on self-reports (Cohen, Llorente, & Eisdorfer, 1998; Garcia et al., 2007; Straus & Smith, 1990). While the events leading up to collateral IPH remain outside the scope of this study (only newspaper articles reporting the crime post-homicide are available), it is important to briefly introduce empirically validated risk factors for IPH in order to establish a context for the present topic. For instance, the greatest risk factor for IPH is history of abuse (Bailey et al., 1997; Campbell et al., 2003; Kellermann & Heron, 1999). Additionally those (Bachman & Saltzman, 1995; Gauthier & Brankston, 2004; Rennison & Welchans, 2000; Tjaden & Thoennes, 2000a) who are divorced, separated or never married are more likely to be victims of IPH. These statistics are important to keep in mind as the reader explores research methodology and results in Chapters 3 and 4.

Ferrand-Bullock and Cubert (2002) analyzed Washington newspaper coverage of domestic violence fatalities, including the accuracy of victim portrayals and overall attention to the broader social issue of domestic violence. They discovered that coverage was often distorted (a finding echoed by scholars investigating domestic violence), supporting common stereotypes and misconceptions of domestic violence. Taylor and Sorenson (2002) conducted a content analysis of homicides reported in the *Los Angeles*

*Times* between 1990-1994. They found that coverage of homicide was episodic, factual, and unemotional in its tone. Additionally, homicides perpetrated by intimates were covered differently than other homicides; they were less likely to be “opinion dominated”, emotional, and more likely to begin with a “hook”.

Wozniak, (2007) investigated gender issues in the reporting patterns of IPH. As a result of a newspaper content analysis she confirmed Best’s (1995) hypothesis that the media attempt to sensationalize the news by highlighting the worthiness of the victim and its role in how stories are reported. Although her study was fairly small, (n=100), she found that the broader issue of domestic violence (or IPV) was not mentioned in 99% of the sampled articles. When context was reported, however, it was generally used to describe the rarity of female perpetrated IPV, leaving the reader to wonder about the framing of the perpetrator.

Although additional articles on newspaper reporting of IPH are unavailable, other databases have been analyzed in order to investigate this crime’s causes and consequences; most notably police records. For instance, Block and Christakos (1995) investigated IPH in Chicago over a twenty-nine year period. They conducted the study in order to differentiate between expressive homicides (typically associated with female perpetrators) and instrumental homicides (typically associated with male perpetrators), with expressive homicides being those in which the motive is to hurt the other person, while instrumental homicides are perpetrated in order to obtain something, such as money or property. Their sample was not drawn from a comprehensive newspaper database; instead, police records were utilized. Similarly, Bowman and Altman (2003) looked at wife murder from 1910-1930 and used police records to answer research

questions in lieu of newspapers. Each of these studies explored gender issues, however they were not resolved. Recently, Biroscak and Smith (2005) assessed how many cases of IPH that occurred in Michigan between 1999-2003 (determined via death reports, police reports, etc) actually ended in newspapers. To their surprise, only 75% were printed in newspapers. Thus, it is safe to conclude that Bern's (2004) recent book on the framing of domestic violence in mass media is among the first to explain the intersection of IPV and journalistic framing. The literature remains sparse although many advocacy groups have developed guidelines for reporters on how to cover IPH (e.g., Ryan, Anastario, & DaCunha, 2006).

### **Newspaper Framing of Collateral IPH**

As of the current dissertation, no research exists on the newly developed concept of collateral IPH. Additionally, no study has focused on media coverage of collateral killings; only domestic violence / intimate partner violence and traditional IPH (one victim and one perpetrator) have been investigated. Social science scholars have devoted significant attention to the consequences / risks of IPV for children and other family members, most notably the impact of witnessing IPV (e.g. Coulborn Faller, 2003; Devoe & Smith, 2002; Edelson, 1999; Ganley & Schechter, 1996; Graham-Bermann, 2001); but even this stream of research falls outside this new area.

### ***Competing IPV Theories***

Family violence and coercive control theories are incorporated in this dissertation because they represent two divergent perspectives of intimate partner violence. The crux of the debate centers on the importance of *patriarchy* in domestic violence (Anderson,

1997). Feminist researchers contend that IPV is a result of gender and power (Dobash & Dobash, 1979; Stark & Flitcraft, 1991; Yllo, 1993), while family violence theorists argue that patriarchy is just *one* variable in a complex web of causes (Straus, 1979).

Additionally, family violence scholars believe that IPV is a result of natural familial conflict, and that violence is used to deal with stress, lack of resources, and to settle arguments (see Straus, Gelles, & Steinmetz, 1980; 2007). On the other hand, feminist theorists argue that IPV is a result of structural gender inequality and the use of male power and control within intimate relationships. If one were to dichotomize these perspectives, discussion would primarily revolve around the assumption of gender symmetry in the perpetration of IPV. As such, coercive control (a concept explication of feminist theory) and family violence theorists maintain different etiologies and outcomes of intimate partner violence. For example, each theory regards gender and its place in IPV research differently. Coercive control posits IPV is a gendered phenomenon (i.e. men are more likely to perpetrate IPV than women), while family violence researchers see its occurrence as gender-neutral; men and women are *equally* likely to become perpetrators and victims of abuse. As such, this section provides a brief overview of each theory, including its roots and development, closing with a summary of the primary conceptual and methodological differences.

## **Family Violence Theory**

Family violence theory emerged from the work of sociologists Murray Straus and Richard Gelles at The Family Research Laboratory at the University of New Hampshire (Straus, 1992). These scholars, with their roots in conflict theory (Adams, 1965; Coser, 1956; Dahrendorf, 1959; Scanzoni, 1972; Simmel, 1955; Sprey, 1969) and resource

theory (Allen & Straus, 1980; Horning, McCullough, & Sugimoto, 1981; O'Brien, 1975), assert that violence is an inevitable part of “all human association” (Straus, 1979, p. 75). Sociologists from this tradition are interested in general systems concepts, such as “conflict of interest”, “aggression”, and “hostility”, and how they play out in the American family (e.g. how “intrafamily conflict” occurs and is resolved) (Straus, 1979).

The national survey developed and utilized by family violence researchers to measure IPV and other forms of abuse is referred to as the National Family Violence Survey (NFVS) (Straus, Gelles, & Steinmetz, 1980). It uses the Conflict Tactics Scales (CTS), which measure the methods implemented in response to a conflict situation (Straus, 1987). The CTS situates intimate partner violence (or intrafamilial violence) within conflict theory (e.g. IPV is a natural outcome of relational conflict). The CTS was first launched in 1979 to capture the “taken-for-granted” violence that occurs in daily life. Straus (1979) used Coser’s (1956) conceptual definition of conflict, which is defined as the “means or behavior used to pursue one’s interest” (p. 76). Thus, IPV is a result of interpersonal conflict. Straus (1979), in designing the CTS, articulated three primary control “tactics”. They are:

1. The use of rational discussion, argument, or reasoning, or an intellectual approach to a dispute (defined as “reasoning”). This is the most adaptive means in which to settle an interpersonal disagreement.
2. The use of verbal / nonverbal acts that symbolically hurt the other, or threaten to hurt the other (defined as “verbal aggression”). This occurs when one partner threatens the other via physical or psychological means.

3. The use of physical force as a means of resolving conflict (defined as “violence”).

In this case, hitting, pushing, slapping, or hitting with an object are used as the means to settle a dispute.

The CTS, then, consists of a list of actions that a family member might implement when in conflict with another. Therefore, when intimate partners’ agendas differ (e.g. what television program to watch or how to handle the family’s finances) or they are dealing with a loss / shift of resources (e.g. loss of employment, economic troubles, decreased occupational status of one spouse), any of these tactics can be used. However, according to family violence theorists, these actions are the inherent result of *conflict*. The CTS was revised in 1996 with the creation of the CTS2 (Straus et al., 1996). This version is still used today.

Therefore, a certain amount of family violence is normal. In fact, “most of the violent acts that occur in the family are so much a part of the way family members relate to each other that it is not considered violence” (Straus, Gelles, & Steinmetz, 2007, p. 39). Family violence theorists, then, delineate between “normal” and “abusive” violence. Normal violence, which is a result of a confrontation that takes place between intimates, can cause physical pain and injury that range from slight pain to murder. Abusive violence, on the other hand, is “an act which has the potential for injuring the person being hit” (Straus, Gelles, & Steinmetz, 2007, p. 22). In other words, the “abuser” sets out to injure, maim, or even kill the other. These two concepts are difficult to delineate, as one must pinpoint a motive or context to determine if the act is abusive or normal violence. As a result, additional concepts, including “aggression” and “physical aggression” are used to supplement the two.

## **The Theory of Coercive Control**

Feminist theorists argue that IPV is part of a system of coercive control in which men maintain societal dominance over women (Dobash & Dobash, 1979; Martin, 1976; Stark & Flitcraft, 1996). The theory of coercive control is a recent explication in the field of IPV research. Prominent pioneers that contributed to the development of this theory include Kersti Yllo, Michele Bograd (e.g. Yllo & Bograd, 1988), Susan Brownmiller (1978), Carrie Yodanis (see Yodanis, 2004), Jacquelyn Campbell (e.g. Campbell & Soeken, 1999), Donald Dutton (see Dutton, 2006, 2007), Richard Felson (e.g. Felson & Messner, 2000), Ann Jones (e.g. Jones, 2000), G. Ann Bogat (e.g. Bogat et al. 2003, 2005), Michael Johnson (e.g. Johnson, 1995), and Kristin Anderson (e.g. Anderson, 1997) among others. These scholars focus on the gendered nature of IPV, with many directly challenging the family violence theorists. Using the feminist framework as a theoretical foundation, Evan Stark (2007) recently articulated a theory that encompasses a majority of the tenets proposed by feminist IPV scholars, including the centrality of gender and power. Four additional areas of feminist IPV scholarship have also informed Stark's (2007) work: (1) the explanatory utility of the constructs of gender and power; (2) family as a historically situated social institution; (3) the crucial importance of understanding and validating women's experiences, and (4) employing scholarship *for* women, rather than simply about them (p. 14).

Of primary importance in this evolving theory is the concept of coercion. Coercion is the use of force or threats to either compel or dispel a certain response in another human being.



*No matter how many punches or injuries or instances of depression are catalogued, the cage (i.e. the environment in which a battered woman lives) remains invisible as long as we omit the strategic intelligence (i.e. the manipulative, calculated nature of IPV) that complements these acts with structural constraints and organizes them into the pattern of oppression that gives them political meaning (p. 198).*

Therefore, coercive control theory implies the systematic subjugation and methodical action perpetrated by an abuser. Feminist IPV scholars acknowledge the importance of this concept, noting that battering takes place within a context of coercive control, (e.g. Campbell & Soeken, 1999). However, this is the first theoretical explication to place this concept at the forefront. Stark (2007), unlike early feminist scholars, directly challenged the notion that women crumble under the tyranny of abuse, suffering from classic disorders such as Battered Women's Syndrome (BWS) and post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD). He claims that female victims of coercive control react in ways similar to hostages, with the exception that "they are the formal equals of men who oppress them, not their subjects. Their subjugation occurs against a background of entitlement as well as inequality..." (p. 199). He notes that if men want to maintain their structural hierarchical superiority they "must do so directly and personally in each relationship. These qualities mark coercive control as deliberate and malevolent, setting the stage for them to be defined as criminal" (pp. 199-200). Since the theory of coercive control refutes the assumption that women suffer from the maladies of battered wives, women may actively respond to their abuser's calculated attacks on their personal freedom and liberty (e.g. monitoring mileage on her car or making her keep a log of daily

activities) in ways not traditionally accepted (i.e. they engage in self-preserving behaviors and defense mechanisms rather than succumbing to the violence and abandoning hope).

The groundwork for a theory of battering as coercive control can be traced back to the 1950s and 1960s. However, the feminist movement first gained public attention in the 1970s with a candid discussion of rape and domestic violence (e.g., Brownmiller, 1978). One scholar (Jones, 2000) expanded the Amnesty International “chart of coercion” to illustrate the numerous control tactics employed by abusers, including isolation, threats, degradation, and “total destruction of will”. Along with other pioneers in the battered woman’s movement, she argued for a definition of woman abuse that encompasses controlling behavior that is created and maintained by an imbalance of power between abuser and victim. Adams (1988) conceptualized battering as “controlling behavior” with a violent act being anything that causes the victim to do something she doesn’t want or causes her to be afraid, regardless of the use of physical violence. Bancroft (2002), a counselor that works with abusive men, also documented the coercive behavior aspect of IPV; specifically the rewards batterers gain from employing coercive control. Many therapists working in the field of IPV adopt the Duluth Model (e.g., Pence & Paymar, 1993; van Wormer & Bednar, 2002), an intervention stemming from the feminist-critical paradigm that clearly identifies male power and control as primary causes of violence against women. The Duluth Model is a comprehensive community-based intervention program, focused on victim safety and accountability of perpetrator ([www.duluth-model.org](http://www.duluth-model.org), 2008).

To review, coercive control theory links women’s struggles at home to a larger discourse of human rights through an analogy of hostage taking or kidnapping (Stark,

2007). This theory has tremendous heuristic value because it illuminates dimensions of IPV that are underrepresented in the literature because of a lack of association with physical assault or diagnosable mental health problems. This perspective also encourages innovative research designs that are able to capture subtle tactics of abuse. As such, the intent of coercive control in an intimate relationship is to:

*Usurp and master a partner's subjectivity – in its scope of its deployment, its individualized and personal dimensions, and its focus on imposing sex stereotypes in everyday life. The result is a condition of unfreedom (what is experienced as entrapment) that is “gendered” in its construction, delivery, and consequence (p. 205).*

In sum, a perpetrator using coercive control intends to punish, hurt, or control the IPV victim. The act is cumulative, frequently resulting in injury or death. Most importantly, coercive control is a *gender strategy* with three major dimensions: (1) a basic set of beliefs / values of what it means to be a man or woman in today's society (i.e. a gender ideology); (2) the resources, tools, techniques, and tactics to implement one's gender ideology (i.e. a gender technology); and (3) an action plan (Stark, 2007).

Coercive control is general in its scope (i.e., it encompasses a diverse set of intimate situations); however, the perpetration of IPV is its primary outcome variable of interest. It provides researchers with the necessary tools to understand and explain the killing of collaterals as a means to subjugate and control an IPV victim. As a result, the present dissertation will be the first to test Stark's (2007) explication as it relates to journalistic framing of collateral IPH.

## ***Theoretical Contradictions***

Family violence and coercive control theories contradict in two major areas: (1) the conceptualization of gender and its impact on IPV and (2) the appropriate population / methodology for capturing IPV. These differences have numerous consequences for IPV research, as each theory proposes contrasting reasons for violence, including its causes, consequences, and cures. It is important to keep in mind, however, that this dissertation is testing collateral IPH, which unlike traditional IPV scholarship, focuses on peripheral victims, or those immediately outside the primary intimate relationship (e.g., a child, parent, new romantic partner). This is a situation that has never received attention in the literature, although scholars from both theoretical camps have investigated the causes of child abuse and child witnessing of domestic violence. Since these two theories are used frequently in IPV scholarship, their core assumptions and disagreements will be reviewed and subsequently utilized in determining the types of frames used to present collateral IPH.

Feminist theory (and later coercive control) maintains the centrality of gender, patriarchy, and power in IPV. While scholars in this tradition ask, “why do men beat their wives”, family violence theorists inquire, “what triggers violence in the family”? Family violence researchers assume that “particular structural arrangements within families produce stress and conflict, that the family system responds to the dynamics and conditions of the larger society, and that, mediated through socialization and learning, violence is one response to structural and situational stimuli” (Bograd, 1988, p. 18; also see Straus, 1973). This is not to say that gender does not have an impact in family violence scholarship. In reporting results from two national surveys, Straus and Gelles

(1986) note, “One of the most fundamental reasons why some women are violent in the family, but not outside the family, is that the risk of assault is greatest in her own home” (p. 471; also see Straus, Gelles, & Steinmetz, 1980). They conclude, “Nonetheless, violence by women against their husbands is not something to be dismissed because of the even greater violence by husbands” (p. 471). Thus, family violence scholars simply explore a different battering context that incorporates concepts such as “couple violence”. Researchers of both disciplines acknowledge that both sexes have the potential to be violent; however family violence theorists assume IPV is gender symmetrical or equally likely to occur between both sexes. Feminist theorists have not accepted this conclusion. According to Das Dasgupta (2002), a feminist researcher, “In this particular instance, men and women’s behaviors are perceived as the same and both are termed *battering* due to the obliteration of contexts” (pp. 1377). Additionally, situations in which violence is minor or the woman is acting defensively / protectively are incorporated in family violence surveys, as are instances in which initial aggressive behaviors lead men to respond. Feminist researchers would argue that this type of violence is *not* IPV. In her study, Das Dasgupta (200) found that women who assault their partners are distinct from men who engage in battering behaviors. She concluded that men and women’s violence toward their heterosexual intimate partners is historically, culturally, motivationally, and situationally dissimilar from each other. One must look at the context (i.e., motivation, cause, etc) when defining intimate partner violence.

As such, family violence researchers adopt a “gender-neutral” approach to investigating IPV. Models of familial violence incorporate sexual inequality as one among *many* factors of interest (e.g. Gelles, 1985; Straus, Gelles, & Steinmetz, 2007). In

fact, family violence theorists frequently point to the inadequacy of feminist research, as it tends to focus exclusively on gender or patriarchy. Other variables such as income, unemployment, and age are not always considered (Gelles, 1985). They argue that these variables may explain the perpetration of IPV in both men and women (Gelles, 1993; Gelles & Straus, 1988). However many feminist researchers such Jackie White (2002) and Evan Stark (2007) have moved beyond a single variable focus, developing complex ecological, meta-theoretical models. Yet, the debate continues: “Rancorous debates between scholars who identify gender and power as the key processes in partner violence and those who view gender as just one component of the problem have dominated the literature during the past decade” (Anderson, 2005, p. 853).

Thus, the role of gender in theoretical development and its subsequent impact on research methodology and measurement is of tremendous importance. Feminist scholars argue that family violence research represents an *individualistic perspective* because it removes the *context* and consequences of abuse from the equation (Anderson, 2005). For example, Kimmel (2002) argues that sex-symmetry in IPV is individualistic because family violence researchers do not conduct a thorough analysis of *gender* and how one’s gender identity and ideology (i.e. the cultural definitions of masculinity and femininity) play a role in researchers’ conceptualization, operationalization, and measurement (Kimmel, 2002) of the construct. If gender is only considered one property of individual reasons for abuse, there is little to no relationship between gender and partner violence. Additionally, an individualist approach suggests that gender is not an important predictor of IPV, or that IPV is not a gendered phenomenon (see Dutton, 1994; Felson, 2002; Straus, 1993). However, family violence theorists would argue that gender is not

excluded from analysis per say, it just plays out differently (i.e., husband-beating vs. wife-beating). Straus (2006) acknowledges that husband violence is more dangerous, injurious, repeated, and does more damage. Additionally, a majority of wife violence is in self-defense or the response to an assault. They conclude that despite these findings, IPV research must go beyond controlling assaulting husbands.

*It seems that violence is built into the very structure of society and the family system itself...(wife-beating) is only one aspect of the general pattern of family violence, which includes parent-child violence, child-to-child violence, and wife-to-husband violence. To eliminate the particularly brutal form of violence known as wife-beating will require changes in the cultural norms and the organization of the family and society which underlie the system of violence on which so much of American society is based (p. 44).*

## **Issues of Sampling & Measurement**

Different methodological strategies and study populations emerge as a result of the centrality of gender and power in analysis. For instance, the National Family Violence Survey, a general population survey (GPS), which includes the CTS (and its later version, the CTS2) is an instrument given to households in which a married couple currently resides. Although researchers capture a representative sample of “married” US homes, one major question remains, “is this a valid and reliable measure of IPV”? By only focusing on “intact” households, couples that are not cohabiting (or married), divorced, or separated are excluded from consideration. This has direct implications for scholarly understanding of IPV, as research has previously indicated that risk of severe

violence and homicide dramatically increase after a woman has exited an intimate relationship (Garcia et al., 2007). Critics of the CTS and CTS2 argue that *context* is ignored. They note, “the act base measures used by family interaction researchers, notably the Conflict Tactics Scales, consider such acts out of context and neglect their consequences” (Dobash et al., 1992, p. 651). If the consequences of violence were considered (i.e. severity of injury), nearly all victims would be women. The CTS, in its quest to measure “couple violence” which is “less a product of patriarchy, and more a product of the less gendered causal processes discussed at length by [scholars] working in the family violence tradition” (Johnson, 1995, p. 285; Johnson, 2005) tends to focus on the general population, not those that have been victimized by an intimate partner. Thus, a major fault of the GPS is sample bias in that battered women tend to be excluded in household surveys.

Feminist researchers, on the other hand, frequently utilize purposive, in-depth qualitative designs that capture victims’ experiences and struggles (e.g. Johnson & Sullivan, 2008). This is a useful tool for understanding the details of a particular woman’s environment, but does not guarantee an objective, representative sample of the population. Scholars are rarely able to generalize their findings or identify regular trends in IPV. The use of this particular methodology is frequently a result of feminists’ commitment to advocacy and victim empowerment. Although rich data are generated, the reliance on clinical samples creates a problem with sampling bias. Researchers risk overestimating IPV and drawing inaccurate conclusions of its impact on certain subgroups of women.



However, feminist theorists have recently compensated for this criticism by going beyond clinical sampling and generating population-level surveys of their own. For example, in order to reach a more representative sample of women while still honoring the importance of context, general population surveys (GPS) have been used to capture respondents who may no longer live in an abusive relationship. The National Violence Against Women Survey (NVAW) is perhaps the most well known GPS in that it surveyed 8,000 US men and 8,000 US women about their experiences as victims of violence, including IPV (Post, Klevens, & Maxwell, in press; Tjaden & Thoennes, 2000b). Unlike the surveys executed by family violence researchers (i.e. the National Family Violence Survey), eligible respondents did not have to be married or in a current cohabiting relationship. Additionally, the NVAW, unlike the National Crime and Victimization Survey (NCVS) (another GPS utilized by feminists) found that women are more likely to experience IPV than men (Tjaden & Thoennes, 2000a). This may be a result of unit of analysis, as the NCVS samples household representatives rather than an equal number of men and women. Recently Post, Klevens, and Maxwell (in press) conducted the largest random digit dial (RDD) survey to date.

As such, the samples (and populations) studied by family violence and feminist theorists are inherently *different*. Family violence researchers tend to study large samples of married, cohabiting, or dating couples, while feminist researchers select samples based on high levels of partner violence (Archer, 2000). “The sex-symmetry debate reflects the failure to separate these distinct types of violence rather than the inadequate measure of violence; family violence and feminist researchers are simply studying different populations that engage in distinct types of intimate violence” (Anderson, 2005, p. 854).

For instance, Johnson and Leone (2005) separate “intimate terrorism” (a feminist concept) and “situational couple violence” (a family violence concept) as distinct events. Even Straus (1997, 1999), the pioneer of family violence research, notes that their contradictory conclusions may be a result of different populations.

## **Theoretical Implications for this Project**

Although this ongoing debate will not be resolved in the near future, feminist and family violence theories represent the dominant lenses in which scholars, practitioners, and even the public understand and explain IPV. If one thinks about the common stereotypes that circulate on this topic (“she deserved it; she must have done something to make him angry”, “he was drunk and lost control”, or “the stress of losing his job triggered the rage”), these theoretical assumptions play a part in the views held about intimate partner abuse and violence. Therefore, this dissertation (1) addresses the polarization of the literature, (2) assesses the connection between IPV theory and the media, and (3) dissects which major IPV theory informs media frames. It does so by exploring the contrasting causes and explanations for IPV by analyzing seventeen years of newspaper reporting, which provides a glimpse into the dominant assumptions held by the media. Although conclusions about journalistic motives or intent cannot be drawn, the specific frames used to present collateral IPH will present a much-needed understanding of the predominant theory of IPV.

In sum, each theory offers a divergent perspective of IPV, with their own set of strengths and weaknesses. However, they provide an excellent template to assess the dominant framing patterns used in collateral IPH reporting. By deciphering which theory

frames more frequently align with, media scholars can determine if story construction adequately reflects the complexities of intimate partner violence and homicide and if vital information necessary for public understanding is excluded. This has direct implications for scholars across disciplines, but most importantly, can offer insight to the journalists and editors that produce stories on collateral IPH.

## **Summary**

The above literature review explored two primary areas: (1) mass media framing and (2) the two major IPV theories. To briefly review, the conceptualization of framing utilized in this dissertation is as follows: framing consists of *selection* and *salience* in that frames define problems, diagnose causes, make moral judgments, and suggest remedies (Entman, 1993). This typology provides an excellent template for assessing the overall problem, causes, and consequences of collateral IPH, and whether frames tend to resonate around family violence issues (i.e., relationship conflict) or coercive control (i.e., intentional harm on one's partner). As demonstrated through a discussion of framing's developmental history, its difference from audience frames, and its role as a dependent variable, framing is a flexible, dynamic construct that is frequently applied in many disciplines and studies. Although a majority of framing research highlights political events, scholarship does exist on the framing of social problems, as indicated by Best (1995) and Berns (2004). In fact, Berns (2004) is among the first to focus on issues related to violence against women.

Scant research exists on the framing of IPH, and *no* research exists on collateral IPH. As a result, the predominant IPV theories described in this section will help researchers better understand and explain the occurrence of IPV as well as why

journalists frame news stories the way they do. These theories, in addition to constructionist framing, will be tested throughout the remainder of this dissertation.

## ***Research Questions & Hypotheses***

Two primary research questions drive the current dissertation. These questions test two divergent IPV theories introduced in this earlier: coercive control and family violence theory. As a result, numerous sub-research questions and hypotheses were generated.

The first major research question, “what are the predominant *trends* in collateral IPH”, is posited to capture the general characteristics associated with collateral IPH and will be answered by answering the following sub-questions and corresponding hypotheses:

RQ<sub>1a</sub>: Who are the primary collateral victims and perpetrators in newspaper coverage of this topic?

H<sub>1a</sub>: *The primary collateral perpetrator will be the current or ex male intimate partner.*

H<sub>1b</sub>: *The primary collateral victim will be the Primary IPV Victim's child.*

The above hypotheses are informed by feminist theory, specifically coercive control (Stark, 2007). According to the theory of coercive control, IPV is gender-specific, with male perpetrators and female victims. Additionally, since the primary goal of intimate terrorism is to control, hurt, and dominate another, it is hypothesized that the most frequently occurring collateral victim will be the primary victim's child.

The second research question, “which theoretical framework better describes the media narratives utilized to report collateral IPH” will be addressed by answering the following sub-questions and hypotheses:

RQ2a: Why does collateral IPH occur?

*H<sub>2a</sub>: Journalists more frequently report that the homicide is a result of relationship conflict (i.e., family violence frame).*

RQ2b: Is the collateral IPH reported as unexpected (i.e., loss of control, anger or conflict-driven) or premeditated?

*H<sub>2b</sub>: Journalists more frequently report collateral IPH as an unexpected crime (i.e., family violence frame).*

RQ2c: Does the proposed explanation of the homicide (i.e., whether it was unexpected or premeditated) impact reporting frames?

*H<sub>2c</sub>: If the collateral homicide is reported as unexpected, the proposed cause will be relationship conflict (i.e., family violence frame).*

*H<sub>2d</sub>: If the collateral homicide is reported as premeditated, the proposed cause will be ongoing IPV or domestic violence (i.e., coercive control frame).*

RQ2d: Does the type of victim (i.e. kids vs. siblings vs. parents vs. new partner) impact reporting?

RQ2e: Where are the collateral victims described in the article? Specifically, in what sequence are the collateral victims introduced?

By determining this sequence, researchers can observe the priority (whether intentional or non-intentional) given to each of the main players in

collateral IPH articles. Doing so will provide a glimpse into where collateral victims fall in this complex IPV situation.

Since the dissertation data come from newspaper articles, it is difficult to discern the history and context of homicides as the investigator is looking at the homicide through the lens of the journalist. However, the impact of gender and proposed cause of violence can be captured, which is central to the IPV theoretical debate. If males and females are reported to perpetrate homicides equally, with the primary cause of violence stated as relationship conflict, then family violence theory will be supported. However, if males are reported as the primary aggressors and are committing the collateral IPH to terrorize and hurt their intimate partner (i.e., the homicide is premeditated) then coercive control theory will be supported.

## Chapter 3: Research Methodology

This study explores whether newspaper reporting of collateral IPV homicide aligns more closely with coercive control or family violence theories, two perspectives that are polarized in the literature. These theories facilitate the overarching research questions: (1) “what are the predominant trends in collateral IPH” and (2) “which theoretical framework better describes the media narratives utilized to report collateral IPH”. Sub-questions and hypotheses are informed by core theoretical assumptions, allowing for targeted measurement and analysis. As such, the present sample of newspaper articles and subsequent mixed-method content analysis provides the tools necessary to explore questions and support / reject hypotheses.

### **Sample**

The Michigan Reading Press Service located in Williamston, Michigan, collected the IPH newspaper articles used in this study. The clipping service was unofficially initiated in 1989 when domestic violence shelters began sending newspaper articles to the Michigan Coalition Against Domestic and Sexual Violence (MCADSV) Resource Library. In 1991, the Michigan Domestic Violence Prevention and Treatment Board’s (MDVPTB) Center on Sexual and Domestic Violence acquired funding to contract with a Michigan newspaper clipping service for a more comprehensive and efficient way to collect statewide news about domestic and sexual homicides. Fearing sample bias, the MDVPTB contracted with the clipping service to collect all IPH articles for the state of Michigan. The selection criteria for the service were to *search for and send all newspaper articles about violent deaths occurring within domestic relationships (murder*

*or homicide of men or women involved in an intimate relationship). In addition, articles were included if a death occurred during a sexual assault by an intimate partner or stranger, or because a person was linked to the victim. Specific criteria included in original purchase order from the state include:*

1. “Murders of men, women, and teens by someone with whom the victim had a romantic relationship.”
2. “Trials of men and women accused of murdering someone with whom they had a romantic relationship.”
3. “Stalking charges and trials of intimate partners.”
4. “Domestic violence and laws, courts, police.”
5. “Agencies that address domestic violence.”

This collection is the most comprehensive available in the United States. Since all daily or weekly newspapers were searched, any reported IPV homicide is included in the database. This was the most efficient and only way at the time to learn about “domestic homicides” statewide, as well as determine how many occur within a year’s time. Even Biroscak, Smith, and Post (2006) used this database for state surveillance.

Individuals not trained in the dynamics of domestic violence interpreted selection instructions. Articles about child abuse deaths, sibling homicides etc., were sent for review by the Resource Library. The Resource Library director read and sorted the articles by appropriateness and kept those that were related to intimate partner homicide (referred to as domestic homicide in this case) as well as cases in which someone was killed as a result of their involvement, relationship with, or proximity to an IPV victim. The articles were sorted and stored by victims’ last names and subsequently used by the



Resource Library to create a yearly list of synopses of the IPV homicides reported. The list was distributed statewide to shelters, batterers programs, trainers, students and others.

As such, a total of 48 Michigan newspapers, both daily and weeklies, are included in the present sample, with circulation numbers ranging from 1,000 (*Birch Run Herald*) to 1,215,149 (*Detroit News and Free Press, Sunday morning edition*). Please refer to Appendix A for a complete list of sampled newspapers and included articles.

The entire database contains approximately 1200 articles. The sub-sample selected for this project is based on the following criteria: (1) a collateral intimate partner homicide is perpetrated and reported and (2) a previous / current intimate relationship is established in the story. A total of 215 articles met this criteria and are included in the present analysis. Thus, all newspaper articles are included in the sample where a family member, friend, or significant other is murdered. The principal individual involved with the perpetrator may or may not be murdered, however at least *one* person other than the primary partner is murdered in each case.

The unit of analysis in this dissertation is the article. The article was selected since it is the most comprehensive, allowing for situations in which characteristics of family violence and coercive control theories are presented in the same story. Additionally, it was not unusual to come across multiple articles that report the same collateral IPH. Each article was included even if it was the same incident described by a different source or was continued coverage of the same incident.

## ***Definitions***

There are numerous concepts included in this study, each contributing to the overall dissertation research questions and hypotheses. Independent variables are

generally exploratory and descriptive in nature. Each term is conceptualized, operationalized, and provided with a variable definition. Thus, the major concepts are: (1) gender of principal and collateral IPV victims (2) gender of collateral IPH perpetrator, (5) collateral victim type (i.e. their relationship to the principal partners). Additional variables include: (1) homicide explanation; (2) homicide portrayal, (3) perpetrator intent; and (4) crime context. The outcome (dependent) variable of interest is the media frame. Table 3.1 summarizes the conceptual and operation definitions used in this dissertation.

**Table 3.1. Conceptual & Operational Definitions**

<b>Concept</b>	<b>Conceptual Definition</b>	<b>Operational Definition</b>
Gender	Complex, multilevel construct of what it means to be male or female in a given context.	Description of the perpetrator and victim(s)'s sex through use of names and pronouns (he, she, etc.)
IPV	Serious, preventable public health problem that describes physical, sexual, or psychological harm by a current or former partner or spouse.	The violence and abuse is explicitly described as occurring within an intimate relationship in which one individual is the abuser and the other is the victim.
Principal IPV Victim	Partner or previous partner of the individual that commits the collateral IPH. Prior abuse may or may not be stated.	The individual identified in the newspaper article as having been intimately involved with the perpetrator of the collateral IPH.
IPH / Collateral IPH Perpetrator	The individual who commits the intimate partner homicide and / or collateral IPH	The individual identified in the article as killing the collateral victim
Collateral Victim	An individual outside of the identified intimate relationship that is killed during an IPV-related attack	The individual(s) who is / are killed during the incident. They are clearly identified as being outside the intimate relationship under investigation.
Collateral IPH	Collateral IPH occurs when someone known to the IPV victim and / or perpetrator is murdered during crime commission	Collateral IPH is measured by documenting the deaths of individuals (including, but not limited to children, family members, new boyfriends/girlfriends) outside the principal intimate relationship.
Homicide Explanation	The proposed reasons for the collateral IPH.	This concept will be measured as follows: (1) accidental; (2) result of a conflict or fight in the principal relationship; or (3) intentional / premeditated.

**Table 3.1 Conceptual & Operational Definitions Continued**

<b>Concept</b>	<b>Conceptual Definition</b>	<b>Operational Definition</b>
Homicide Portrayal	How the collateral IPH is reported in a given newspaper story	This concept is considered a dichotomy in the present analysis. Either the homicide is presented as shocking/unexpected or deliberate/intentional. This concept is measured by synthesizing reporter and informant testimony.
Homicide Motivation and Cause (Perpetrator Intent)	The proposed “trigger” that led the perpetrator to commit the collateral IPH	This concept is measured by first documenting if the collateral IPH is related to a problem in the principal intimate relationship (i.e., divorce, separation, infidelity, etc). Second, individual causes (i.e., mental health or personality issues) and social causes (i.e., unemployment, financial strain) are recorded.
Perpetrator’s History of Violence (Crime Context)	Any background information provided by the journalist about the IPV victim, collateral victim(s) or perpetrator, including past IPV or abuse in the principal intimate relationship.	Background information related to the collateral IPH. Potential examples include previous attempts to leave the relationship, prior involvement with the police, filing a personal protection order, number of shelter stays, past domestic violence, IPV-related arrests, etc.
Media Frames	Media frames define problems, diagnose causes, make moral judgments, and suggest remedies. They serve as “interpretive packages”.	Media frames are determined via quantitative and qualitative analysis. They are measured according to Entman’s (1993) generic framing criteria. Incident-specific frames are expected to emerge via qualitative analysis.

**Variables**

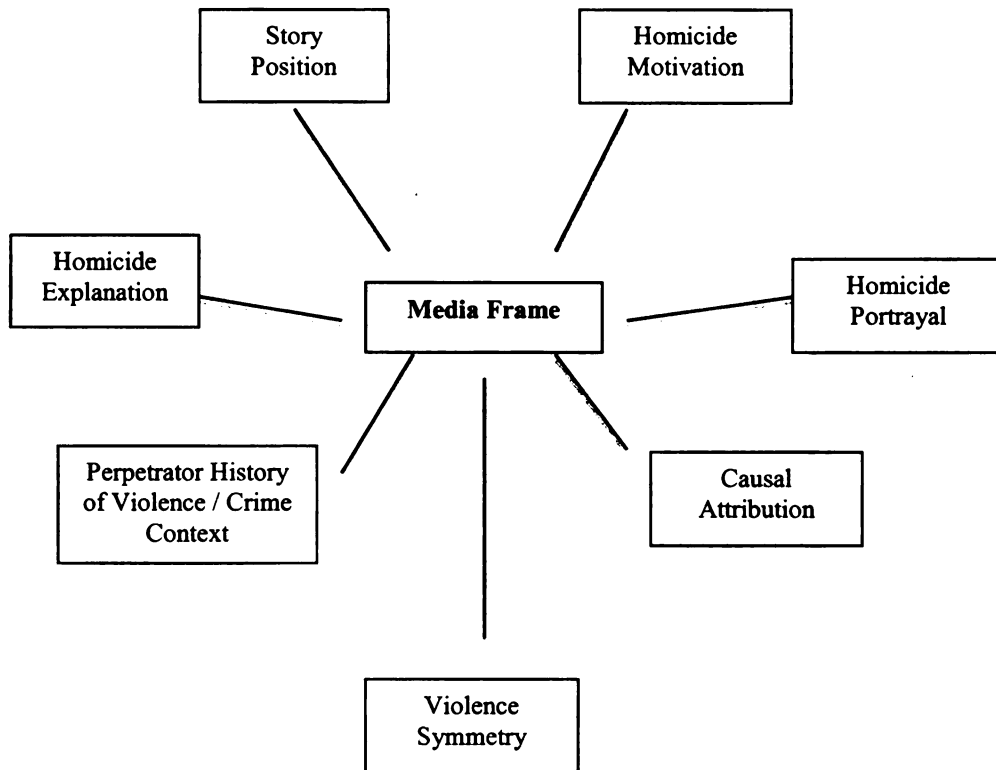
The methodological goals are twofold: (1) describe the generic and incident-specific media frames associated with collateral IPH and (2) assess how closely story characteristics align with family violence and coercive control theories. Implicit in these goals is determining the proposed motivation and causal attribution for the crime(s). As such, the primary outcome, or dependent variable, of interest is the media frame. In line with Entman’s (1993) criteria, the problem definition, potential causes, moral judgments, and possible remedies are considered when determining frames used to report collateral

IPH. Media frames are determined by both qualitative and quantitative analysis, both of which will be explained in a later section.

The primary exploratory, descriptive variables included in this study are: (1) victim / perpetrator story position (i.e. the order in which perpetrator and victims are introduced by the reporter); (2) homicide explanation (i.e., accident, result of fight, or intentional); (3) perpetrator history of violence / crime context; (4) homicide portrayal (i.e., shocking or expected); (5) perpetrator motivation for homicide (i.e., whether it was related to the principal intimate relationship or not); (6) violence symmetry; and (7) causal attribution (i.e., individual or social factors). Each of these variables inform the media frames used to report collateral IPH, thus addressing the second major research question of this study, “which theoretical framework better describes the media narratives utilized to report collateral IPH”.

Descriptive variables are collected in order to provide general story characteristics and document overall trends in collateral IPH (see research question #1). Therefore, (1) crime stage, (2) crime victims, (3) occurrence of perpetrator suicide, (4) principal IPV victim sex, (5) principal IPV victim death (i.e., if they were killed in addition to collateral victim), (6) average number of collateral victims, (7) collateral victim age, (8) collateral victim sex, (9) collateral victim relationship to principals, and (10) perpetrator sex are collected. Please refer to Figure 3.1 for a visual depiction of how independent variables cluster around the dependent variable, media frame.

**Figure 3.1 Variable Diagram**



### **Criteria for Determining Theoretical Alignment**

It is possible that a given news article contains elements of both coercive control and family violence theories. As such, the following table displays the key characteristics used to determine if a story aligns more closely with tenets of family violence or coercive control. The primary issues of consideration are the *context* and *cause* of the homicide. The variables introduced in the previous section (see Figure 3.1) inform the criteria located in Table 3.3.

**Table 3.2. Criteria for Theory Determination**

Criteria	Coercive Control	Family Violence	Relevant Variable
The perpetrator of collateral IPH is portrayed as a good person who made a bad decision		X	Homicide Explanation Homicide Portrayal Motivation for Homicide
The perpetrator is portrayed as a killer who knew what he/she was doing	X		Homicide Portrayal
The collateral IPH is a result of a relational conflict, dispute		X	Homicide Explanation Motivation for Homicide
The collateral IPH is a result of one partner's actions	X		Violence Symmetry Causal Attribution
The collateral IPH was perpetrated to hurt principal IPV victim	X		Homicide Explanation Homicide Portrayal Motivation for Homicide
The collateral IPH is a result of anger, loss of control		X	Homicide Explanation
The collateral IPH was planned, calculated, or premeditated	X		Homicide Explanation Homicide Portrayal Motivation for Homicide
The reporter provides quotes / testimony that the collateral IPH was shocking, unexpected		X	Homicide Portrayal
The reporter provides quotes / testimony that the collateral IPH follows a pattern, history of abuse	X		Perpetrator History of Violence / Crime Context
The collateral IPH is reported as an isolated incident		X	Perpetrator History of Violence / Crime Context
The collateral IPH is reported within a context of IPV (i.e., prior violence is noted in article)	X		Perpetrator History of Violence / Crime Context

## ***Content Analysis Procedures***

Utilizing both quantitative and qualitative procedures to address research questions and hypotheses is gaining popularity in the social sciences. Numerous texts have focused on the strengths, limitations, and practicality of mixed method research designs (e.g., Axinn & Pearce, 2006; Mason, 2002; Tashakkori & Teddlie, 1998; Tashakkori & Teddlie, 2003), concluding that despite their complexity, mixing methods makes for a more comprehensive investigation. Mixed method research is rooted in

pragmatism, so scholars using these techniques invite diverse ways of thinking, knowing, and valuing into their studies to better understand their phenomenon of interest. As such, mixed method research can provide valid and credible inferences, along with understandings that are broader, deeper, and wiser (Tashakkori & Teddlie, 2003). Mixed method research is used in this dissertation in order to achieve more robust, contextual findings. While quantitative statistics provide a “snapshot” of the general trends in collateral IPH reporting, qualitative results triangulate and complement results with textual evidence. Additionally, themes that would otherwise not be detected by a strictly quantitative protocol are allowed to emerge, providing further insight into the phenomenon.

### **Qualitative Content Analysis**

Ethnographic content analysis (ECA) is the reflexive analysis of documents, including newspaper articles. The strategy emerged from ethnography, (Schwartz & Jacobs, 1979) although it was not considered a distinctive research method until the late 1980’s with Altheide’s (1987) seminal manuscript on the topic. Altheide stated that the overall goal of ECA is *discovery*, as the researcher is involved at all stages of the project. In fact, the progression from data collection, analysis, and interpretation is reflexive and iterative.

Ethnographic content analysis is frequently used to document and verify theoretical relationships as well as to understand the communication of meaning in a given set of documents. It is an interactive process, with the investigator playing a central role in all phases of research. ECA is systematic and analytical, but not rigid. For instance, theoretical assumptions and guidelines typically drive protocol design,

preliminary code categories, and variables, but other themes are allowed to emerge throughout analysis (Altheide 1987; 1996). This is a distinctive strength because the researcher is not restricted in their exploration, allowing the study to change directions at any time.

As such, constant discovery and constant comparison are of paramount importance in ECA, with the researcher paying close attention to situations, settings, styles, images, meanings, and nuances (Glaser & Strauss, 1967). Scholars utilizing this method collect both numerical and narrative data, all while testing theoretical claims. ECA has the potential to reveal critical questions and issues that may otherwise go unnoticed (Altheide, 1987; 1996). ECA is not oriented towards theory development; rather its goal is to generate general descriptions or definitions compatible with the selected media (Altheide, 1987; 1996). As such, it is utilized in this dissertation to document theoretical themes that may be missed with a purely quantitative approach, allowing the author to identify situations that align with the IPV theories under scrutiny: coercive control and family violence theory.

## **Quantitative Content Analysis**

Despite Altheide's (1987) strong support for ECA, he states, "structured data collection based on a protocol combined with ethnographic field notes supports a theoretically informed account of media content" (p. 74). Therefore, this dissertation research also includes a quantitative content analysis (QCA), which has its roots in the positivistic assumptions of objectivity (Berelson, 1966). Units of space are seen as countable, thus measurable. In the words of Starosta (1984),



*Content analysis translates frequency of occurrence of certain symbols into summary judgments and comparisons of content of the discourse...whatever 'means' will presumably take up space and/or time; hence, the greater that space and/or time, the greater the meaning's significance (p. 185).*

QCA is used in this dissertation to test hypothesized relationships (Krippendorff, 1980). Following the standardized design, research moves from category construction to sampling, data collection, data analysis, and interpretation (Altheide, 1987). Individual coders are then trained to find, record, and count instances for each unit of analysis. The overall emphasis for this portion of the study is reliability, with numerical data driving analysis and interpretation.

### ***Quantitative Coding Protocol***

The quantitative coding protocol is located in Appendix B. It was constructed to capture each of the concepts and variables introduced at the beginning of the chapter (see section on definitions). A total of 44 major variables were measured in the instrument, and divided into five major sections:

1. **Story Identification and Newspaper Information** – Basic identifying information was collected in this section. Additionally, perpetrator and victim story position were documented.
2. **General Story Characteristics** – Basic descriptive information regarding the principal IPV victim, collateral victim(s), and perpetrator were captured in this section, including the crime stage, types of crime victims, and occurrence of suicide.

3. **Principal Victim Portrayals** – This brief section collected data about the principal IPV victim. Since they are not the primary focus of analysis, only sex and whether he/she was killed in the story were collected.
4. **Collateral Victim Portrayals** – This portion of the coding protocol accommodates up to five collateral victims. The total number killed, their name, age, and sex were noted. For each collateral victim, their specific relationship with the principal victim and/or perpetrator was collected, as well as whether an explanation was provided for the homicide(s).
5. **Homicide Portrayal** – This section collected not only descriptive information on the collateral IPV perpetrator (their sex), but their history of violence against the principal and collateral victims as well. Additionally, how the homicide was portrayed (shocking vs. expected) and whether the motivation was related to the principal relationship was documented.
6. **Violence Symmetry** – Stemming from family violence theory, the variable in this section documented whether violence is described as a symmetrical (e.g. conflict is apparent between the male and female principal partners) or asymmetrical (e.g. dominated by one sex).
7. **Violence Cause** – This section documented the proposed cause of violence (i.e. individual or social factors), or the presence of causal attribution. Individual factors include: relationship conflict, anger, mental health issues, or drug abuse. Social factors include unemployment and financial stress/strain.
8. **Crime Context Information** – Crime context information was collected in the final section of the coding protocol. In this area coders documented if the

journalist or any informants mention prior violence against the principal or collateral victim. Additionally, if IPV (or any related term) was explicitly mentioned in the story, coders marked “yes” and provided a relevant quote. Lastly, coders made a final judgment as to whether the collateral IPH was presented as an isolated event or a continuation of past violence.

Each section was designed around the concepts and variables of interest. In Appendix B the coding protocol is clearly segmented according to the above headings. This format allows for intuitive coding and data analysis.

### ***Quantitative Data Collection***

Once the sample was assembled and sorted according to year and newspaper source, two independent coders collected the quantitative data for this project. After completing a rigorous training that included a thorough background of the study, explanation of variables, and introduction to the coding protocol, two group-coding sessions occurred. These sessions allowed the coders to talk through their thought processes and resolve any disagreements immediately. Once these trainings were complete, an iterative, rigorous reliability analysis was conducted in order to achieve inter-coder reliability. The two coders underwent three rounds of testing. Because of the small total sample (n=215), articles were randomly selected from all available newspapers, as stratification was not a viable option.

The reliability test included all potential study variables in which coders could disagree. The variables were tested using simple percentage of agreement and Scott’s Pi to correct for chance agreement. All variables that obtained 100 % agreement were excluded from further analysis. The remaining study variables were expected to obtain

high levels of agreement, specifically .85 and above. This statistic is the expected norm in the social and communication science communities (Schiff & Reiter, 2004; Zwick, 1986). However, due to small reliability sample size, those variables that failed to meet .85 were not thrown out, but reviewed instead<sup>2</sup>.

### ***Qualitative Data Collection***

Qualitative data were collected from the same dataset as quantitative, with a final sample size of n=215. However, instead of following a structured protocol designed to capture concrete variables, a semi-structured data collection instrument was utilized to capture theoretical-oriented frames (i.e., family violence or coercive control theory). Frames that fit with Entman's (1993) generic typology and emergent themes were also documented. Data were recorded in the forms of quotes, and ranged from brief phrases to entire paragraphs. The data collection process for this phase of the dissertation took approximately three weeks, as it required multiple reviews of each article. Please refer to Appendix D to review the qualitative data collection instrument.

### ***Analysis***

This following section introduces the steps involved in conducting both qualitative data collection / analysis and quantitative analysis. Since the same sample of newspapers was used in each phase, it is important to clearly articulate how each segment was analyzed. Of critical importance in the qualitative segment was achieving trustworthiness of the data (referred to "validity" in some qualitative texts) and a clear

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<sup>2</sup> There were three rounds of reliability testing for this project. The sample size for rounds two and three was n=15. Even if coders disagreed only once, Scott's Pi fell below 0.85. As such, the author reviewed the variable and determined that percent agreement was acceptable.

data analysis plan. For quantitative analysis, inter-coder reliability was a necessity for replication and future research.

### **Coder Reliability Analysis**

Reliability analysis and training were conducted between April and June 2008, requiring three rounds of testing with two independent coders. These particular coders had already completed training and coded for another IPH content analysis project, so they were well acquainted with the complete database. In the first round, each variable was tested, excluding only story identification variables. A total of  $n=30$  articles were randomly selected from the entire database, or 14% of the entire sample. In the second round, a total of twenty-four problematic variables were retested, as they fell below the accepted Scott's  $\pi$  level of 0.85. In round three, ten variables were tested. For these final two analyses, coders completed  $n=15$  articles each for the sake of expediency and prevention of fatigue. As a result of this reduced sample size, six variables fell slightly below the 0.85 level. However, in each of these cases there was only one disagreement, with percent agreement over 90%.

It is important to note that this particular coding protocol allowed for five collateral victims. However, in the reliability samples there were no cases in which collateral victims met that total. As such, these variables were excluded from analysis and ultimately removed from the protocol (the maximum number of collateral victims was four in this database). Next, we found that collateral variables were redundant, with the same homicide explanation offered across victims, so percent agreement and Scott's  $\pi$  statistics were averaged. Thus, analysis focusing on first collateral victims can be inferred to subsequent killings. The Luther Jenkins homicides justify this decision. He

killed his ex-girlfriend, her aunt, and her two children, leaving only his biological child, Latavia, alive. In each article reporting on this “massacre”, the proposed explanation for each collateral death was identical. Lastly, if 100% agreement between coders was achieved Scott’s Pi was not calculated. Please refer to Appendix C for results.

## **Validity & Reliability of Qualitative Data**

An important component to qualitative research is achieving credibility, dependability, conformability, and transferability (Lincoln & Guba, 1985) throughout data coding and analysis. A first step to achieving this is setting aside preconceived ideas and biases in order to fully participate in analysis with an open mind (Porter, 1998). Frequently referred to as reflexivity, this activity promotes active reflection of the investigator’s life experiences, allowing him or her to explore the connections between findings and production / interpretation of results (Taylor & Bogdan, 1998). Therefore, it is vital that researcher bias, motivation, and background are explicitly acknowledged so that the reader can have a clear understanding of the implicit assumptions and biases held by the investigator. For instance, prior to becoming a researcher, the dissertation author worked as an advocate for survivors of sexual and domestic violence, participating in crisis intervention and providing shelter services to female victims of IPV. This advocate identity played a significant role in theoretical alignment and perspectives, as a clear allegiance to feminist theory and methodology emerged early in the graduate career. As a result, there is a strong personal motivation for conducting the current research – giving voice to victims of IPV and uncovering the gendered processes at work in IPV, a goal that stems from feminist theory. It is important to keep these biases in mind as one

explores qualitative results and implications. As such, prior to analysis, memos regarding theoretical alignment and potential biasing viewpoints were generated and shared with the dissertation adviser. These memos served as context for interpreting and presenting results.

### **Trustworthiness of the Findings**

Inter-coder reliability was not achieved in this study, as there was not a second coder to review and triangulate codes and themes generated throughout qualitative analysis. Therefore, trustworthiness of findings (i.e., dependability and conformability) was not fully achieved; leaving the possibility those qualitative results could be discredited. In order to fully assure reliability and validity, an additional individual coder was needed to review transcripts and analysis matrices, as bias becomes increasingly apparent as coding progresses. However, in lieu of a second coder, the dissertation investigator reviewed coded transcripts and emerging themes, followed by conversations about commonalities and disagreements. Although the study investigator solely conducted qualitative analysis, by talking through findings as they emerged, triangulation was achieved to a certain extent. Additionally, an audit trail was maintained (see Rodgers & Cowles, 1993) that included methodological and analytical notes. Often referred to as transferability, establishing trustworthiness of findings requires researchers to achieve “a degree of similarity between sending and receiving contexts” (Lincoln & Guba, 1985, p. 316). As such, the investigator provided a detailed description of how meanings were created, as well as how context influenced gathering and interpreting data. Moving through this process made transferability judgments possible, although not methodologically complete.

## Qualitative Analysis Procedures

Qualitative data collection and analysis focused on research question #2: Which theoretical framework better describes the media narratives utilized to report collateral IPH? As is the case with quantitative analysis, the unit of analysis was the entire article, however sentences served as primary illustrative evidence. The article was selected for this phase of analysis because it maintained context (by not segmenting pieces of the story) and allowed for evidence of family violence and coercive control theories to emerge in one piece. Utilizing a combination of theoretical and open coding, dominant themes were generated and catalogued (i.e. articles are categorized according to thematic similarities). Since ECA is used to tests and validate theory, rather than develop it (Altheide, 1996), a significant portion of this phase focused on capturing the textual data and its support of either family violence (conflict) or coercive control theory. Additionally, the constant comparative method of Glaser & Strauss (1967) was implemented, allowing the investigator to analyze the dataset numerous times, identifying examples that emerged from the data as well as connect relevant variables and hypotheses. Lastly, the author clustered the sample according to theoretical constructs associated with either family violence or coercive control theory. Please refer to Appendix D for the qualitative coding sheet used to facilitate qualitative data analysis.

As such, the steps involved in qualitative analysis were:

1. ***Segment and organize articles according to theory*** - The first step of analysis was to segment and organize articles according to (1) irrelevant data, (2) family violence data, and (3) coercive control data. Irrelevant data were removed since they were outside the scope of the dissertation, while other sentences were



categorized according to tenets of coercive control or family violence theory.

Qualitative matrices (Bazeley & Richards, 2000) were used to track and store theoretical codes as well as document examples and emergent codes that encompassed operational definitions, variables, and major themes.

2. ***Preliminary Theme Generation*** – Since qualitative data analysis is reflective and iterative, this phase consisted of revision, re-coding, comparing, and generating themes. Of particular interest were media frames; specifically whether frames more frequently supported family violence or coercive control theory. So by using the constant comparative method, thematic codes were generated and refined.
3. ***Finalization*** – Upon completion of quantitative coding, theoretical findings and themes that emerged throughout analysis were presented and shared with other coders on the project for feedback and critique. The dissertation adviser also reviewed major themes. Upon completion, themes were given a final title / categorization and description for results.

### ***Statistical Tests & Procedures***

Quantitative data analysis for this project occurred in two stages: (1) conducting inter-coder reliability and (2) generating descriptive statistics. Data collected by the two coders were subjected to Scott's Pi (with an accepted agreement of approximately 0.85) and simple percent agreement. Once reliability was achieved, and the coders collected data from the entire sample, descriptive statistics and frequencies were generated. Of particular importance were sample characteristics (i.e. type of collateral victim most

frequently murdered, gender of perpetrator, etc) and demographics. Major trends and relationships in the data were also reported.

The concepts measured in this dissertation were: (1) victim / perpetrator story position (i.e. the order in which perpetrator and victims are introduced by the reporter); (2) homicide explanation (i.e., accident, result of fight, or intentional); (3) perpetrator history of violence / crime context; (4) homicide portrayal (i.e., shocking or expected); (5) perpetrator motivation for homicide; (6) violence symmetry; (7) causal attribution; and (8) media frames. A total of forty-four variables were measured. Research questions and hypotheses were addressed through both qualitative and quantitative content analysis. To maintain clarity, each variable was assigned a number in the coding protocol and results will be presented according to that number. Table 3.4 should act as a reference for any variable-related findings or discussion.

**Table 3.3. Numbered Variables included in Dissertation**

<b>Variable Number / Symbol</b>	<b>Variable Description</b>
A	Story ID Number
B	Story Date
C	Newspaper ID Number
D	Sex of Reporter
1	Victim / Perpetrator Story Position
2	Crime Stage
3	Crime Victims
4	Perpetrator Suicide
5	Principal IPV Victim Sex
6	Principal IPV Victim Homicide
7	Number of Collateral Victims
8	Collateral Victim #1 Name
9	Collateral Victim #1 Age
10	Collateral Victim #1 Sex
11	Collateral Victim #1 Relationship to IPV Victim and/or Perpetrator
12	Homicide Explanation
13	Type of Explanation
32	Perpetrator Sex
33	Perpetrator History of Violence

**Table 3.3 Numbered Variables included in Dissertation Continued**

Variable Number / Symbol	Variable Description
34	Perpetrator Prior Violence
35	Homicide Portrayal
36	Proposed Homicide Motivation
37	Violence Symmetry
38	Causal Attribution
39	Specific Causes of Violence
40	Prior Harm Against Principal IPV Victim
41	Prior Harm Against Collateral IPV Victim
42	Explicit Mention of IPV or Domestic Violence
44	Incident-Specific Frame

The two major research questions, (1) what are the predominant trends in collateral IPH and (2) which theoretical framework better describes the media narratives utilized to report collateral IPH were addressed by coding specific variables included in the quantitative protocol. Research Question 1a (*who are the primary collateral victims and perpetrators*) and Hypotheses 1a (*the primary collateral perpetrator will be the current or ex male partner*) and 1b (*the primary collateral victim will be the IPV Victim's children*) were answered by calculating frequencies of collateral victim type (e.g., Variable 11; see Appendix B, pg. 143) and the perpetrator's relationship to them. This variable was assessed primarily through quantitative means.

Research Question 2a (*why does collateral IPH occur*) and Hypothesis 2a (*journalists more frequently report that the homicide is a result of relationship conflict*) were answered by analyzing the proposed homicide explanation (e.g. Variable 13), homicide portrayal (Variable 35), proposed motivation for the homicide (Variable 36), and causal attribution (Variable 39).

Research question 2b (*Is the collateral IPH reported as unexpected or premeditated*) and hypothesis 2b (*Journalists more frequently report collateral IPH as an*

*unexpected crime*) were answered by analyzing the homicide portrayal variable (Variable 35).

Research Question 2c (*does the proposed explanation of the homicide impact reporting frames*) and Hypotheses 2c (*if the collateral homicide is reported as unexpected, the proposed cause will be conflict*) and 2d (*if the collateral homicide is reported as premeditated, the proposed cause will be ongoing IPV or coercive control*) were answered by first investigating the relationship between homicide portrayal (Variable 35), the proposed motivation for the homicide (Variable 36, option a), and violence attributed to individual factors (Variable 39). Second, the relationship between homicide portrayal (Variable 35) and the mention of prior harm or abuse (Variable 40) and an explicit statement of IPV or domestic violence (Variable 42) was analyzed.

Research Question 2d (*does the type of victim impact reporting*) was addressed by breaking collateral victims into three groups: (1) children, (2) other family members, and (3) new boyfriends or love interests. Then, the first collateral victim in every article (Variable 11) was matched up with the proposed explanation (Variable 13) and frequencies. This question was exploratory and can only provide descriptive statistics, however provide evidence of dominant homicide explanations can be gleaned. Lastly, Variable 1 provided insight into research Question 2e (*where are collateral victims described in the article*).

## **Chapter 4: Results**

### ***Sample Characteristics***

The quantitative portion of analysis included a sample size of  $n = 208$ , as a handful of articles were excluded because they did not fit protocol design. For example, stories in which multiple perpetrators (e.g. father and his children) were implicated and a case where the collateral child killed the perpetrator while he was beating his mother were not analyzed because the coding protocol only allowed for one perpetrator and did not provide an option to select the perpetrator as a victim. The entire database ( $n=215$ ) was coded in the qualitative analysis because the protocol was more flexible in this phase of the project and we wanted to include every possible story to compensate for the rigidity of quantitative data collection. However, before addressing research questions, general story characteristics, both quantitative and qualitative, are introduced.

### ***Newspaper Information and General Story Characteristics***

Like other homicides, the reporting of collateral IPH follows a fairly predictable pattern. Once a murder occurs, police are the first to investigate and speculate on the nature of the crime. The journalist then conducts their own investigation by interviewing police representatives, neighbors / bystanders, friends, coworkers, and family members. Because an article's particular focus depends on the status of the police investigation (e.g., a suspect has been identified, arrested, or sentenced), each story varies according to these issues.

Since many articles were news briefs or Associate Press (AP) articles, 37% of journalists could not be identified by their gender. However, 36.1% were determined male and 25% female, with only 1.9% of articles written by members of both sexes. The predominant crime stage reported on was judicial proceedings, a phase that highlighted events occurring from the perpetrator's trial to sentencing, psychiatric evaluations, and legal appeals (41.8%). These stories were short, and primarily included quotes from prosecutors, defense attorneys, perpetrators, and other relevant witnesses, including police and medical examiners. A first sentence in an article on this stage might say, "A 30-year-old Detroit man accused of killing his girlfriend and infant daughter in Pontiac last month is to undergo a forensic evaluation to determine whether he is competent to stand trial." Crime commission through arrest represented 37.5% of the articles (e.g., "Nikkie Sue Sewell, the wife of the suspect, and Ypsilanti Wayne Jones, 32, were both found shot to death shortly after 2am in a Mott Road Mobile home."), while "aftermath" accounted for 20.7%. An article was considered aftermath if it discussed the implications or outcomes of the collateral IPH, including family reactions to sentencing or funeral services.

Aftermath is an incredibly complex crime stage, as it encompassed a diversity of testimony and witnesses, with journalists infusing text with graphic and / or emotional descriptions of the crime and its impact on those affected. Qualitative examples, organized in an ecological structure, illustrate this category.

- **Micro Level** – Family and friends' reactions to the homicides and its impact on their lives. This level was typically seen in stories that report on funerals or those written to honor the deceased. For example, in remembering Jim Watson, a man

killed by his daughter's boyfriend, loved ones noted, "Our family has experienced a horrific loss...we ask for your prayers and understanding of wanting to grieve privately."

- **Meso Level** – This level typically encompassed neighborhood, community, or coworker reactions to the collateral IPH. There was significant focus on its impact on neighborhood children or how the homicide(s) represented an act of community violence. As with the micro level, stories associated with the meso level frequently covered funerals, but offered community-focused responses. For example, "Hundreds of people, some sobbing and wailing, filed by five flower-laden caskets to pay their respects to the victims of a brutal mass killing that stunned the city."
- **Macro Level** – This level of aftermath reporting introduced policy or societal implications of the collateral IPH, infrequently including a discussion of IPV or domestic violence (e.g., the interviewing of domestic violence experts or presentation of state-level statistics). "Law is a lot better than it used to be in Michigan, Lucas said, especially with the stalking and domestic violence laws, but there are still improvements that need to be made to take every advantage of those laws."

### **Unique Collateral IPH Crime Reporting Techniques**

Because of the shocking nature of collateral homicides (e.g., deaths of children or older individuals), articles reporting at all crime stages tended to highlight the graphic or emotional nature of the events. Journalists frequently incorporated emotional reactions

from neighbors, family members, friends, and other witnesses in order to better share the stories of collateral and / or principal IPV victims. For example, in a “startling” homicide of five people including a 16-year-old boy, 14-year-old girl, 13-year-old girl, and 9-year-old girl, an article from the *Alpena News* provided emotional depictions of neighbors:

- “At least two women collapsed (outside the family’s home), and paramedics were summoned.”
- “A group of five women who approached police began moaning loudly after officers spoke quietly to them.”

Additional examples of emotional or graphic reporting styles include the following: [he] “...walked toward the burned bungalow where his grandchildren died and where teddy bears adorned the front porch. He soon became overcome with grief and collapsed into the arms of friends near the front porch.” The surviving child in this case, Antonia Bailey, told police “My daddy killed me...he killed my whole family.”

In a follow-up story, family reactions in the courtroom provided striking detail. Anthony Bailey, the father and murderer of three of his children, “could barely stand to hear his wife’s cries as he stood Thursday for his arraignment, charged with killing three of their children. The story said, “Bailey tilted his head back – his eyes welling with tears – as he heard his estranged wife, Essie Bailey, sobbing through the sound system in 36<sup>th</sup> District Court. Family members eventually had to carry Essie Bailey out of the courtroom.”

In another case, Daniel Franklin “slashed and stabbed” an eight and ten-year-old, leaving their youngest sibling, four-year-old D’anajeh alive. According to the article, D’anajeh “told investigators ‘Daddy got a knife’ and described how one sister, before she



died, begged to be allowed to say goodbye to her mother.” Similarly, a story on Luther Jenkins, charged with killing four people, reported the crime scene in vivid detail. “Inside the house were signs of a struggle and blood in the living room and upstairs. Police also found a mop, bucket and the strong smell of ammonia – signs that a cleanup had been attempted.” A separate article noted, “Late Sunday, two dozen stuffed animals sat on the porch of the home, along with an unlit candle. The Sunday newspaper was untouched. A trimmed Christmas tree stood in the living room window, and there were kids’ toys on the porch bench. No one answered the door.”

Lastly, in the Jimmie Reed Jr. case, the *Flint Journal* incorporated descriptive police testimony into a story on crime commission. Reed shot his girlfriend, and then set her and their daughter, Arctavia Reed, on fire. “Police say the Detroit man shot Markeda Byas, 31, in the head at Byas’ apartment in Pontiac on July 20. He left for work, returned with a can of gasoline, doused her and daughter Arctavia Reed and set them afire early the next day, police say.” Police detective Darrin McAllister went on to add, “He told us the baby woke up screaming.”

In sum, while articles follow a typical reporting pattern that progresses from arrest to judicial trial and aftermath, the uniqueness of this crime, specifically the deaths of children and other important loved ones, facilitate graphic and / or emotional reporting that frequently utilize numerous witnesses and rich descriptions. Thus, these particular examples were presented at the beginning of the chapter in order to orient the reader to some of the primary reporting characteristics associated with collateral IPH newspaper articles.

## **Research Question #1**

The most frequently occurring type of victim (see Variable 3) was the current / ex-partner of the perpetrator (referred to as the principal IPV victim). A crime victim is any individual that was reported as injured and / or killed in an article. This variable was intentionally left broad so that an overall count of the most frequently reported type of victim could be captured, however suicide was not included. Interestingly, although she was the most predominant crime victim, she was not always killed. In fact, only 57.7% of principal victims were killed during the commission of a collateral IPH. Table 4.2 presents all victim types and their frequency of mention.

**Table 4.1 Total Crime Victims**

<b>Victim Type</b>	<b>N (total mentions)</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
Principal IPV Victim	151	53.9%
Family of IPV Victim	69	18.2%
Children	67	17.6%
New Boyfriend or Partner	44	11.6%
Friends of IPV Victim	26	6.8%
Neighbors / Bystanders	12	3.2%
Other	11	2.9%
Total	380	100%

**Table 4.2 Collateral Crime Victims**

<b>Victim Type</b>	<b>N (total mentions)</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
Principal IPV Victim's Child	82	26.1%
Child of IPV Victim and Perpetrator	57	18.2%
New Boyfriend or Partner	45	14.3%
Other Family Not Specified as Parent or Child (e.g., sisters, brothers, aunts, etc)	41	13.1%
Principal Victim's Mother	29	9.2%
Friend	28	8.9%
Principal Victim's Dad	18	5.7%
Other	14	4.5%
Total	314	100%

The first research question of this exploratory study was: “who are the primary collateral victims and perpetrators?” This question was intentionally broad, as no preliminary evidence has been collected on this topic. However, existing research on intimate partner violence and the nature of coercive control informed hypotheses, as it was predicted that *the primary collateral perpetrator will be the current or ex male partner* and that *the primary collateral victim will be the principal IPV victim's child*. The logic behind these hypotheses – men commit a majority of intimate partner violence and inflict more injury (Straus et al., 2006; Tjaden & Thoennes, 2000a) than women. Women are more likely to suffer from IPV. Additionally, according to coercive control theory, abusive men operate along a spectrum of control tactics designed to hurt and immobilize his partner (Stark, 2007). Thus, at the extreme end of this spectrum is IPH (see Garcia et al., 2007). However in this case the IPH is directed at the person his partner values most – her child. This extension of IPH and line of reasoning have yet to be empirically tested, so exploratory results are presented below.

In this study, principal IPV victims were all women (100%), while all collateral IPH perpetrators were men (100%). This finding contradicts that of general population surveys (e.g. Garcia et al., 2007; Straus et al., 2007) and typical media coverage of IPV and IPH (Biroscak, Smith, & Post, 2006). This result represents a rare case in which there is a clear gender divide between perpetrators and victims; even feminist surveys do not uncover such strong gender divisions. However, principal IPV victims were not always killed, and it was not a criterion to be included in this statistic. This individual was simply someone who had a preexisting relationship with the man that committed the

collateral homicide and were described as attacked and / or injured in the article. Thus, there is a salient difference between IPV and IPH – IPV indicates violence or abuse in the principal relationship (not resulting in death), while IPH is the killing of an intimate partner (and in this study a collateral individual). Evidence of intimate partner violence, however, was not always clear in news stories as only 24% of the articles explicitly mentioned prior violence, with the two most common issues being violence against the principal IPV victim (n=49) and the issuance of personal protection orders (n=11).

Interestingly enough, perpetrators rarely committed suicide after the murder(s), with only 18.3% taking their own lives. This is also an unusual finding, as a large percentage of men kill themselves in traditional instances of IPH (Campbell et al., 2007). This result leads one to further conclude that collateral IPH is somehow different from general IPH. When individuals outside of the primary intimate relationship are involved, overall dynamics change.

The maximum amount of collateral victims killed in any one story was four, although the average across all articles was two. The mean age of homicide victim was 15.98, with the sample containing similar levels of male and female collateral homicide victims (n=157 and n=177 respectively). Table 4.3 summarizes the types of collateral victims included in this dissertation sample, with the most commonly reported victim being the principal IPV victim's child.

Exploratory hypotheses supported this research question. Every perpetrator in this sample was male with an explicitly stated relationship with the female principal IPV victim. Thus, even though the principal victim was not killed in every case, she played a clear role in the collateral IPH because each collateral victim was related to her in some

way (i.e., child, parent, friend, etc). There was not a single case of the perpetrator killing his parent, friend or other family member. Only children he shared with the principal victim were mentioned. Additionally, as originally hypothesized, the primary collateral victim was the principal IPV victim's child (one that the perpetrator had no biological connection to); a finding that lends support to the coercive nature of collateral IPH (see Stark, 2007).

This result also separates collateral IPH from traditional IPH, as these are characteristically different homicides that do not always end with the death of the intimate partner. The current definition of IPH, or “the most extreme outcome of IPV” (Garcia et al., 2007, p. 370) focuses exclusively on the death of one intimate partner. Researchers must expand this definition if they intend to explain the killing of others, especially if the principal victim is left alive. This is where coercive control theory offers insight: If an abuser wants to hurt or punish his victim, killing her child represents an extreme outcome of IPV.

## ***Research Question #2***

The second research question, “Which theoretical framework better describes the media narratives utilized to report collateral IPH”, was tested via qualitative and quantitative analysis. This particular question contains a series of sub-questions and hypotheses, each of which were directly addressed through quantitative means. While qualitative analysis was more theory-focused, both procedures utilized Entman's (1993) generic framing typology as a starting point. In the quantitative section, variables sought to delineate conflict from premeditation (e.g., Variable 7), history of violence (Variables 33 and 34), homicide portrayals (Variable 35), the presence of mutual conflict or fighting

(Variables 36 and 37), symmetry, and causal attribution (Variable 39) in order to determine appropriate problem definitions and crime causes set forth by Entman. Findings from the quantitative portion of analysis are presented prior to qualitative results. This particular order was selected because the surface trends detected by quantitative analysis form the foundation of descriptive examples introduced in the qualitative section. However, relevant statistical findings will be highlighted as necessary throughout qualitative results.

## **Quantitative Results**

The first sub-question addressed in this section is “*why does collateral IPH occur?*” In order to address this question, articles were coded according to the primary explanation offered for the homicide(s) (see variables 35-42). In order to provide a complete comprehensive picture of proposed explanations, only results from the first collateral victim are presented, as they contain complete data (n=208). Due to missing responses for collateral victims 2-4, they have been excluded from analysis and are redundant if provided. Only seventy-four articles reported two victims (35.6%), thirty-seven reported three victims (17.8%), and fifteen reported four victims (7.2%). Additionally, the explanation provided for collateral victim #1 was constant across all subsequent victims, so removing these cases did not affect results.

**Table 4.3 – Homicide Explanations and Portrayals**

<b>Proposed Homicide Explanation</b>	<b>% Of Articles</b>
Collateral IPH was a result of singular conflict or fight within the principal relationship (not intentional)	51.9%
Collateral IPH was premeditated or intentional	5.3%
No proposed explanation included in article (news brief, AP articles)	35%
<b>Homicide Portrayals</b>	<b>% Of Articles</b>
Collateral homicide was expected	9%
Collateral homicide was shocking	31%
Unclear	60%

In order to address this first research question, the following hypothesis was posited: *Journalists more frequently report that the homicide is a result of a singular relationship conflict or altercation.* This explanation directly supports the tenets of family violence theory – IPV occurs out of relational conflict and fighting. Results support this hypothesis, with 51.9% of articles indicating that the collateral IPH was a result of a principal relationship conflict or fight. While 35% had no apparent explanation, only eleven articles (5.3%) concluded that the killings were intentional or premeditated. Additionally, homicide portrayal, or how the murders were interpreted and explained by witnesses and other involved parties, (i.e., neighbors, friends, police, etc) rarely indicated that the homicides were expected (9%); rather shock was the primary response offered (31%). This particular variable highlights the lack of context or background information on preexisting abuse. In fact, 60% of articles were “unclear”, as a concise understanding of the perpetrator and their reasons for committing the homicide(s) were not included in the article. Please refer to Table 4.4 for a summary of results.

In further support of this hypothesis, 60% of the articles indicated that the proposed motivation for collateral IPH was related to the principal relationship, or some

issue stemming from it (i.e., divorce, separation, family fight, etc). 65.4% of stories contained some sort of causal attribution (i.e. that a specific problem precipitated the killings), with 63% attributed to individual factors (e.g., relationship conflict, anger, mental health issues, drug abuse, etc). Please refer to Table 4.4 for a summary of these results.

**Table 4.4 Proposed Motivation & Causes of Collateral Homicides**

Homicide Explanation	Percent of Articles
Collateral IPH stems from issue in principal relationship	60%
Causal attribution contained in article	65.4%
Causal attribution attributed to individual factors (i.e., relationship conflict, anger, mental health problems, drug abuse)	63%

A second research question, “*is the collateral IPH reported as unexpected or premeditated*” and its related hypothesis, *journalists more frequently report collateral IPH as an unexpected crime*, are also supported by exploratory findings articulated in the above paragraph. Although a majority of articles remain unclear (60%), only 9% claimed that the murders were deliberate or expected while 31% highlighted the shocking and unexpected nature of the crime. This leads to a preliminary conclusion that if explanations are offered, collateral homicides are more frequently reported as unexpected or shocking.

To address the next sub-question and associated hypotheses, a chi-square based measure of association, phi, was calculated to determine how closely particular nominal variables were related. Although the researcher learns nothing about the strength and direction of the association (Norusis, 2002), we can gauge a non-association ( $\Phi=0$ ) and a perfect association ( $\Phi=1$ ).



**Table 4.5 Unexpected Nature of The Crime (Variable 35a) and Proposed Conflict (Variable 36a)**

		36A 0	36A 1	Total
35a 0	Count	64	79	143
	Expected Count	57.8	85.2	143
	% Of Total	30.8%	38.0%	68.8%
35a 1	Count	20	45	65
	Expected Count	26.2	38.8	65
	% Of Total	9.6%	21.6%	31.2%
Total	Count	84	124	208
	Expected Count	84	124	208
	% Of Total	40.4%	59.6%	100%

**Table 4.6 Unexpected Nature of the Crime (Variable 35a) and Causes of Violence (Variable 39)**

		Var. 39 0	Var. 39 1	Var. 39 2	Var. 39 3	Total
35a 0	Count	56	84	0	3	143
	Expected Count	49.5	90.1	.7	2.8	143
	% Of Total	26.9%	40.4%	.0%	1.4%	68.8%
35a 1	Count	16	47	1	1	65
	Expected Count	22.5	40.9	.3	1.2	65
	% Of Total	7.7%	22.6%	.5%	.5%	31.2%
Total	Count	72	131	1	4	208
	Expected Count	72	131	1.0	4.0	208
	% Of Total	34.6%	63%	.5%	1.0%	100%

First, the question, “*does the proposed explanation for the homicide impact reporting frames*” necessitates a comparison between the “homicide portrayal” variable (Variable 35), “principal relationship” variable (Variable 36), “individual causal attribution” (Variable 39), the statement of prior harm or abuse against the principal IPV victim (Variable 40), and explicit mention of IPV or domestic violence (Variable 42). As such, the first hypothesis, *if the collateral homicide is reported as unexpected* (Variable 35a) *the proposed cause will be relationship conflict* (Variable 36a), yielded the following statistic:  $\Phi = 0.132$  (see Table 4.5). This finding demonstrates that there is a modest association between reporting a homicide as unexpected and subsequent attribution of relationship conflict. The association between 35a and 39 revealed,  $\Phi = 0.174$ , indicating

a moderate relationship between the reporting of the collateral IPH as shocking / unexpected and individual causes of violence (which includes relationship conflict). This relationship is noteworthy because Variable 39 incorporates additional explanations for the murders, including mental health problems and drug abuse.

**Table 4.7 Intentional Nature of the Homicide (Variable 35b) and Mention of Prior Abuse Against Principal IPV Victim (Variable 40)**

			<b>Var. 40 0</b>	<b>Var. 40 1</b>	<b>Var. 40 2</b>	<b>Total</b>
<b>35b 0</b>	<b>Count</b>		144	7	38	189
	<b>Expected Count</b>		139	6.4	43.6	189
	<b>% Of Total</b>		69.2%	3.4%	18.3%	90.9%
<b>35b 1</b>	<b>Count</b>		9	0	10	19
	<b>Expected Count</b>		14	.6	4.4	19
	<b>% Of Total</b>		4.3%	.0%	4.8%	9.1%
<b>Total</b>	<b>Count</b>		153	7	48	208
	<b>Expected Count</b>		153	7	48	208
	<b>% Of Total</b>		73.6%	3.4%	23.1%	100%

**Table 4.8 Intentional Nature of the Homicide (Variable 35b) and Explicit Mention of IPV (Variable 42)**

			<b>Var. 42 0</b>	<b>Var. 42 1</b>	<b>Total</b>
<b>35b 0</b>	<b>Count</b>		161	28	189
	<b>Expected Count</b>		158.1	30.9	189
	<b>% Of Total</b>		77.4%	13.5%	90.9%
<b>35b 1</b>	<b>Count</b>		13	6	19
	<b>Expected Count</b>		15.9	3.1	19
	<b>% Of Total</b>		6.2%	2.9%	9.1%
<b>Total</b>	<b>Count</b>		174	34	208
	<b>Expected Count</b>		174	34	208
	<b>% Of Total</b>		83.7%	16.3%	100%

**Table 4.9 The Explicit Mention of IPV (Variable 42) and Prior Abuse Against Principal IPV Victim (Variable 40)**

		Var. 40 0	Var. 40 1	Var. 40 2	Total
Var. 42 0	Count	147	6	21	174
	Expected Count	128	5.9	40.2	174
	% Of Total	70.7%	2.9%	10.1%	83.7%
Var. 42 1	Count	6	1	27	34
	Expected Count	25	1.1	7.8	34
	% Of Total	2.9%	.5%	13%	16.3%
Total	Count	153	7	48	208
	Expected Count	153	7	48	208
	% Of Total	73.6%	3.4%	23.1%	100%

The next hypothesis, *if the collateral homicide is reported as premeditated or intentional, the proposed cause will be IPV or domestic violence*, stems from coercive control theory and the connection between the calculated nature of IPV and intimate partner homicide (i.e., the premeditated nature of the crime) and the connection to ongoing abuse. Results, which are summarized in Tables 4.7, indicate a moderately strong association between the deliberate and expected nature of the crime (Variable 35b) and the mention of prior harm or abuse in the principal relationship (Variable 40), with  $\Phi = 0.225$ . This finding provides convincing evidence that there is an association between reporting collateral IPH as deliberate and the introduction of prior violence against the principal victim. Unfortunately, only n=5 articles in the dataset mention prior abuse against the collateral victim, leading one to conclude that the principal victim, not the collateral, is the primary impetus for the homicide, an issue that will be discussed at length later.

The association between Variable 35b and Variable 42 (the explicit mention of IPV or domestic violence in the article), summarized in Table 4.8, had a relatively weak association bordering significance ( $\Phi = 0.131$ ). However, in the process of calculating

this statistic, a strong association between the mention of prior abuse (Variable 40) and an explicit statement IPV or domestic violence (Variable 42) in the article was detected see Table 4.9). With an  $\Phi = 0.593$ , it is clear that there is an association between reporting evidence of abuse in the principal relationship and including a discussion of IPV. Thus, the above hypotheses are generally supported because there is a noteworthy connection between the perceived intentional nature of the homicide and introduction of past violence.

**Table 4.10 – Victim Type Impact on Reporting Homicide as Intentional or Conflict-Oriented**

<b>Victim Type</b>	<b>N</b>	<b>Percent of Deaths</b>
<b>Intentional Explanations</b>		
All Children (Principal Victim’s Child or Child of Both Principal Victim and Perpetrator)	3	4.4%
Family Members	2	3.4%
<b>Conflict Explanations</b>		
New Boyfriend or Love Interest	32	74.4%

Findings for the next research question are summarized in Table 4.10. It was posed in an attempt to understand if and in what ways collateral IPH is reported in Michigan newspapers (“Does victim type impact reporting”?) In other words, does it make any difference if children are killed as opposed to other family members or new boyfriends? This question, although initially intended to be quite complex, ultimately had a simple answer...no. Out of 208 articles, only 11 reported the homicides as intentional, so it was nearly impossible to glean specific results based on victim type. For instance, if children were identified as collateral victims, regardless of parent (victim’s child, perpetrator’s child, or child of both), only three of sixty-eight were attributed to premeditated, intentional murder, or 4.4%. Likewise, only two family

deaths (e.g., principal IPV victim's mother, father, siblings, etc) were determined as intentional, or 3.4%. Interestingly, none of the outside family killed were related to the perpetrator, with the exception of children he shared with his partner / ex-partner.

Lastly, it was originally hypothesized that if new boyfriends or love interests were killed in the article, their deaths would be attributed to principal relationship conflict, including jealousy, divorce, or other "domestic disputes." This was obviously supported, since 95% of the articles alluded to relationship conflict as the primary cause of collateral IPH. Specifically, 74.4%, or thirty-two of the forty-three new partner deaths were linked back to principal relationship conflict. These descriptive statistics are counterintuitive to a certain extent, as one might suspect that reporters and witnesses would be more accusatory in cases of child death, but that was not the case. However, if children were killed, there were unique characteristics associated with these stories; these themes will be described in the qualitative results section.

The final research question addressed in the quantitative portion of this section focused on the introduction of key players in the homicide: the principal victim, collateral victim, and perpetrator. This question was concerned with where collateral victims were introduced in relation to the principal couple (principal IPV victim and perpetrator) so that preliminary insights into how they "fit" in the story could be obtained. As such, coders documented their order of introduction in each article in order to detect overall trends. Interestingly enough, over half (66.5%) of the articles maintained the following order: perpetrator, principal IPV victim, and collateral IPV victim. 28.1% presented the perpetrator first followed by the collateral IPV victim and principal IPV victim, while 5.4% first introduced the collateral followed by the perpetrator and principal IPV victim.

Although one can only provide basic reactions to this question, it offers insight into how a collateral victim was incorporated into reporting of this complex crime. Since nearly 67% of the articles mentioned the members of the principal relationship first, one can cautiously conclude that the connection between these two individuals was first established before mentioning the additional victim, supporting the notion that they are, in fact, “collateral damage.”

## **Qualitative Results**

The use of open, iterative coding facilitated the qualitative analysis, although the coding protocol was designed in accordance with dominant media framing characteristics and IPV theory assumptions. As a result, many themes and trends go beyond the results gleaned in quantitative analysis alone. Thus, the current section introduces major findings, an endeavor primarily driven by research question #2 (“which theoretical framework better describes the media narratives utilized to report collateral IPH”). As such, this section begins by introducing the predominate categories of frames set forth by Entman (1993). These include the (1) problem definition, (2) causal attributions, (3) moral judgments and (4) potential remedies.

### **Generic Frame #1 – Determining the Problem**

As one might intuitively expect, the main problem presented in each article was incident-specific, with the homicide(s) serving as the primary problem of interest. In fact, 82.7% of the articles were incident-specific, while only 17.3% (n = 36) included a connection to past relationship problems or abuse. Although a handful of highly publicized cases carried over into subsequent follow-up stories (usually when a person was of high status or the crime was exceedingly gruesome), the focus overwhelmingly

remained on the killing(s) and crime commission. For instance, the murder was introduced to the reader within the first two sentences of each article. Stories that addressed a “startling homicide”, a “double homicide”, or an escalating marital problem that resulted in “an assault of a former girlfriend and the death of her friend” were frequent. The collateral victim was rarely part of the problem definition, as they were mentioned last in over half of the articles (53.4%).

Rather, the “problem” was an issue tied to some event within the principal relationship. This is an important finding because although the principal IPV victim was not the focus of the current analysis, they remained a focal point of reporting at all levels, including problem definition. This finding supports quantitative results presented earlier.

For example, problems were frequently presented within the context of the principal relationship, such as a boyfriend killing his partner’s 8-month old child *because he could not handle the termination of their relationship* or killing a friend, acquaintance, or significant other because he suspects he is the *wife’s new boyfriend*. Although specific causes and motivations for the homicides will be discussed later, it is important to note that this trend began at the problem definition stage.

If the collateral IPH was ever tied to problems beyond the principal relationship, it was typically related to (1) a current wave of community violence (2) other highly publicized homicides, or rarely, (3) a history of family or domestic violence. Since many of the interviewed informants included neighbors or other local community dwellers, community violence issues frequently encompassed the collateral homicide. In a *Detroit Free Press* article about the killing of a girlfriend and her mother, the reporter stated that the deaths represent a “surge of violence”. They go on to claim “there have been 408

homicides in the city this year, not including this morning's, a 14% increase from 2005's total of 359." While describing a homicide that occurred in the workplace, a journalist noted, "It was the third time in four months that gunfire has echoed through a Metro Detroit auto plant. On Dec. 9, a worker shot a supervisor and wounded a coworker at a Chrysler Corp plant in Sterling Heights." In response to the event, a Ford spokesman said, "While the issue comes up from time to time, it would be impractical to put metal detectors at plant entrances", a statement that strips the killings of any intimate connection. Another illustrative quote demonstrated the blurring of intimate and community violence: "The killings are fresh reminders of the rampant violence that has made Detroit one of the nation's most dangerous cities." When one reads articles framed in such a manner, it is difficult to discern if the problem is intimate partner violence, workplace violence, or community violence; each situation is distinct from the other with varying origins and implications.

There were a handful of cases in which the crime was tied to other, more highly publicized crimes. The OJ Simpson homicides are an excellent example. When Worden Gray killed his wife, Pamela Gray, and her new boyfriend, Clinton Leonard, The *Oakland County Legal Review* made the connection to the OJ case, claiming that Worden "has come to be identified with OJ Simpson..." They go on to note, "Gray was convicted three days before Simpson's ex-wife, Nicole Brown Simpson, and her friend, Ronald Goldman, were found stabbed to death outside her Los Angeles home." However, "despite some parallels between the Simpson and Gray cases, no evidence of abuse was presented during Gray's trial." Similarly, in an article written by the *Saginaw News*, a well-known local case was tied to the collateral IPH being reported. "The slayings



reminded Goyt of a massacre in Clare County that killed seven in 1982. Four adults, including the convicted killers estranged wife, and three children were killed in that spree.”

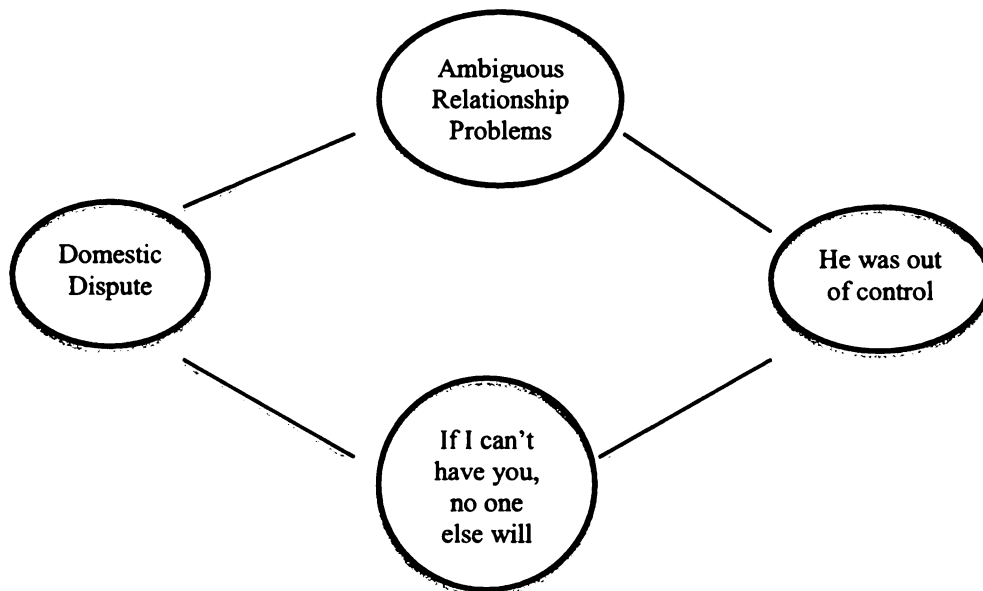
A small percentage of articles, (17.3%), explicitly mentioned a history of domestic violence within the principal relationship. This issue spills over into causal diagnoses and other incident-specific themes, but as expected in qualitative analysis, many code categories intersect. For example, in the case of Omar Dean, a man who killed his 9-day old son, the surviving principal IPV victim related an extensive history of violence and abuse: “Dean had kicked her in the stomach and blackened her eye when she was 7 ½ months pregnant, and that Omar Dean Jr. was born with a broken collarbone.” She goes on to say that “I should have left him a long time ago. My baby would be living now. I just hate that my baby had to come between us for me to open my eyes.” In a separate case found in the *Coldwater Daily Reporter*, a man killed his three children and then himself in a house fire. Information about prior violence and abuse were provided. “Hicks (the perpetrator), 41, threatened to steal his children, blackened the eye of his wife on one occasion and subjected her to a ‘history of physical abuse, mental abuse and violent behavior’”. Lastly, in the Taylor / Fochtman collateral IPH case reported in the *Detroit Free Press*, in which Fochtman’s ex-boyfriend stabbed her and killed two of her friends, a history of abuse was attributed to the homicides (problem). “Fochtman said her relationship with Taylor was marred by violence during the three years they lived together. Fochtman said she called the police on numerous occasions.” Interestingly enough, the stories where a history of IPV is introduced are those in which the principal victim survives the attack and is able to present testimony about the

perpetrator's abusive past. Unfortunately, only 41.8% of principal IPV victims lived through the attack.

**Generic Frame #2 – Causal Diagnosis**

Two major causes of collateral IPH causes emerged throughout analysis: (1) domestic dispute gone awry and (2) the result of perpetrator-specific problems, both of which lend support to family violence theory. The first category was incredibly complex and convoluted, as it encompassed many overlapping causes. As a result, Figure 4.1 depicts the themes included in this category. Cases presented for this first theme frequently highlighted the same perpetrator multiple times because examples fell into various subcategories. Thus, for the sake of concise, clear reporting, each sub-theme will be described individually. The subcategories associated with each major theme are presented in Figures 4.1, 4.2, and 4.3

**Figure 4.1 Domestic Disputes Category**



*It was a Domestic Dispute – Child Custody and Visitation Issues*

A majority of articles discussed a “domestic dispute” or some form of symmetrical fight or conflict that triggered the collateral homicides. Causes included marital separation, impending divorce, cheating spouse, or a custody / visitation dispute with shared children. Each of these events served as an impetus that ultimately led to a family fight, argument, and overall stress on the perpetrator. For example, in one case where the principal victim had left the perpetrator for another man, he killed both of them and then himself. The article reports, “It appears (the woman and the suspect) have kids in common and visitation was an issue between them.” In a follow-up story of the same case the journalist wrote, “The suspect is Brownell’s former husband who may have been angry because his former wife was denying him visitation with his two children”. They added, “There were issues about the suspect not getting his parenting time.” In another article where Levi Stuart Palmer Sr. killed his infant son and then himself, experts noted that the prospect of losing access to the child might have triggered the horrific act. Witnesses claimed, “his life revolved around his child” and experts offered the following insight: “They (the male perpetrators) are feeling trapped, trapped because ‘I can’t have my child, I can’t live without my child, so I have to take him with me.’” When reflecting on the collateral homicide, Susan Gano-Phillips of UM-Flint said, “Sometimes a person facing loss of custody of a child is unable to see options.”

*It was a Domestic Dispute – Ambiguous Relationship Problems*

Although many examples focused on a specific cause, some stories only mentioned domestic dispute in the most general of terms. Some articles were so brief that only an “ongoing dispute between the couple” was mentioned as a potential cause for

the homicide. In one situation where the collateral participant, Jason David Freeman, intervened in a fight between his mother and stepfather, Randy Scott Hall, the event was referred to as a “domestic dispute” that “escalated to fisticuffs between Freeman and Hall.” In a case where an 18-year-old man killed two individuals and wounded his girlfriend, “Investigators say the shootings have been ignited by a dispute between the suspect and his girlfriend, Courtney Harris.” In another example, a family argument was attributed to the shooting of a wife and slaying of her father. According to police, “Sometime before 7:30 pm Sunday, Zhang and his wife got into an intense argument. Police were not able to piece together Monday exactly what the dispute was about. After the fight, Zhang rushed upstairs and got a 9mm pistol.” In a further example of general “domestic disputes”, police claimed that Luther Jenkins, a Detroit man who killed his ex-girlfriend, her aunt, and her two children, murdered them because of an argument, although Jenkins “hasn’t given police a reason for the domestic dispute.” When William Watts Jr. killed a coworker because he suspected him of seeing his estranged wife, police reported that “Watts and his wife were having marital difficulties and the shootings were linked to a domestic dispute.” A fellow colleague of Watts, who sometimes ate lunch with him, noted “he was suffering stress over marital difficulties.” Finally, when Terry Lee Hitchcock killed his girlfriend’s 4-year-old daughter, Jami Renee White, relationship troubles triggered a “moment of rage”. According to police, “A souring romance and failing marriage may have triggered a moment of rage in which a Holland man killed his girlfriend’s 4-year old daughter last week.” They go on to conclude, “Both were estranged from their spouses, and police say Hitchcock may have taken the relationship more seriously than she did.”

### *It was a Domestic Dispute – Relationship Termination*

The principal IPV victim's decision to separate from or divorce her partner was also cited as a potential cause of collateral IPH. In the case of Gregory Scott Alexander, he killed his wife's new boyfriend, Kevin Robert Johnston, because of an impending divorce. According to police, "We don't have a history there...It appears she had just recently filed for divorce." Next, in a highly publicized case in which Anthony Bailey shot all four of his children, killing three and severely wounding the fourth, the proposed cause was that he was severely depressed because his marriage was ending. "Bradley (Anthony's stepfather) said that Essie (his wife) wanted a divorce, which upset his stepson." Anthony's stepfather went on to conclude, "My son had been depressed about the marriage. He didn't want to divorce." As a final example, divorce was the cause for violence in a situation where a man killed another staying in his estranged wife's home. "The couple was involved in an ongoing divorce and had been separated for several months, court records show."

### *It was a Domestic Dispute – Infidelity, New Relationships, and Rejection*

Just as divorce and separation were offered as potential causes of collateral IPH, a cheating spouse or their rejections were frequently proposed as stimuli. When discussing the homicide(s), descriptions of how the perpetrator's partner or ex-partner was engaging in sexual / romantic relations with another man were introduced. Interestingly enough, the articles were not always clear regarding principal relationship status (i.e., if the couple was still together or broken up). Although it was rare for a reporter or police officer to directly attribute infidelity to a collateral's death, information about their "indiscretions" was often presented to provide context for the murder. For example, when Steven

Tierney shot Craig Fleck and Sally Paajanen “in a rage over their apparent romantic relationship”, the perpetrator claimed that he didn’t want to kill them, just an explanation from Sally. “Tierney told the jury that he intended to confront Paajanen about her relationship with Fleck, and then kill himself.” In a similar case where Matthew Sparagowski killed his wife, Mary Elizabeth Sparagowski and Nader Abdel-Karim Rammouni, the journalist reported, “Mary Sparagowski and Rammouni were involved in an extra-marital affair.” In relating the events, police stated that “When he came home, he apparently realized there was somebody else in the house and took the gun with him.” In a further example, another man caught his wife involved in a lesbian affair, despite the fact that she had previously promised to end it. “She said Deleon’s wife promised to end it, but Deleon heard the two talking on the phone and snapped.” Lastly, a man killed his estranged wife’s new boyfriend after he caught them having sex. “A Holland Township man accused of killing his estranged wife’s boyfriend admitted shooting the man after finding the man engaged in sexual intercourse, police testified Wednesday.” This particular case is also tied to the themes of rejection and divorce, as the article noted, “Phitsamay Souvanna filed for divorce from her husband in September, according to court records. The couple had been married for six years and had two sons, ages 4 and 6.”

Additionally, rejection was offered as a motivator for the homicide of James Watson. Jeffery MacIntosh killed his ex-girlfriend’s father because, according to prosecutors, “he was bitter that Watson’s daughter, Michelle Fales, ended their romantic relationship. He was also attracted to Watson’s wife, Annette, who rejected him too.” According to a *Flint News* article, “They are feeling trapped...often the men are

distraught and can't handle rejection." The story concluded, "The cases show how differently men and women cope with rejection. Women who kill their whole family usually do so in despair, the outgrowth of mental illness, while men more often are retaliating against women who left them."

### *Out-of-Control Perpetrator*

Another causal theme detected in these newspaper articles was that of the "out-of-control" perpetrator. Because of the horrific and frequently unexplainable nature of the crimes, police and witnesses frequently attributed his actions to a temporary loss of control. However, most incidents were still connected to frustration, conflict, or anger within the principal relationship (52% of stories in which an explanation is offered). Additionally, while being "out-of-control" was the rationale, rarely if ever were there similar incidents reported when killing co-workers, friends, or others.

Steven Edward Tierney, whom "intended to take his own life, but instead shot Craig Fleck and Sally Paaanen, in a rage over their apparent romantic relationship" said, "I wasn't myself...I didn't know what I was doing." He concluded, "I shot her. I can't remember how many times...I was in a rage. I can't remember everything." In another case, the perpetrator crashed into his ex-girlfriend's car and stabbed her and the presumed new boyfriend to death. Loss of control was presented as the cause for the homicides. According to police, "I asked him what had happened back there and he told me, 'I lost it'". Likewise, when Shawn Harris shot his girlfriend, Tammy Dzurisin, and her friend, Stacy LeClaire, he claimed he "lost it". "He said it started out as an argument and it escalated. Then he just lost it."

*If I can't have you, no one else will*

“If Steven Tierney couldn't have Sally Paajanen in his mind, no one else could either. The crime was clearly premeditated and deliberated.” The final theme in the causal diagnosis category highlights the intentional, or premeditated nature of the collateral IPH. This theme was separated from the rest because it went beyond the notion that the perpetrator was “out of control”, having a dispute with his partner, mentally ill, or frustrated as a result of social factors. The primary indicators of this theme include evidence of jealousy or the explanation that he killed because he “loved her so much.” As mentioned frequently throughout this section, codes and stories do overlap, but these examples explicitly highlight the calculated nature of the homicide. Premeditation is evident, as is the conscious decision to take another's life. Only eleven articles (n=11) clearly identified premeditation as cause.

While ongoing relationship problems were initially attributed to the homicides of three individuals in a *Battle Creek Enquirer* story, as the article progressed, evidence of intense jealousy emerged. “He loved Anna but almost too much. He would rather see her dead than with someone else.” In another case in which too much love was the proposed explanation, Oliver Webb IV shot Tommie L. Ford because he was love struck by 18-year-old Emily Moore. “A love struck Saginaw teen-ager killed a romantic rival, mutilated the body, then bragged about the slaying and displayed the corpse like a prize, prosecutors claim.” In a brutal case in which Robert Edward Fletcher killed his two stepchildren and their mother (his ex-partner), his deep love for her was introduced in conjunction with his sadness over the failed marriage. Friends claimed, “Here is a guy who had been alone a long time...and then he found the love of his life.”



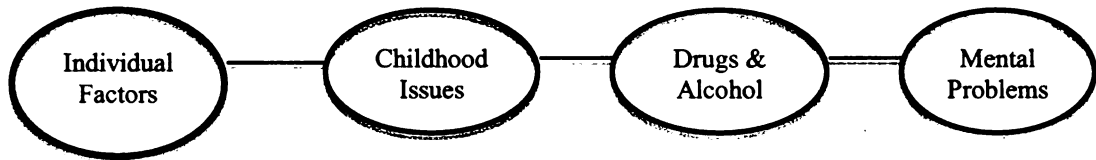
Jealousy was also frequently attributed to the discovery that one's spouse or partner was cheating, and thus instigated collateral homicides. "Taylor was angry with Fochtman because he believed she was seeing other men." When Randy Prater killed his ex-girlfriend and her male friend, police speculated that jealousy was his primary motivation. "Police alleged in Eaton County that Prater was jealous because Mills (his ex-girlfriend) was dating Baker (the collateral victim)." They commented, "This was a tragedy, and we felt that our evidence was overwhelming and that it was premeditated and done during the commission of a serious felony. He is a dangerous, dangerous man."

Some articles focused extensively on the premeditated nature of collateral IPH. When Jason Scott Roof killed a two-year-old, "He was convicted of first-degree murder because it was clear it was intentional." The article went on, "Roof had unsuccessfully tried to smother the boy, then laid him on a beach towel and stabbed him in the heart." The calculated process that Terry Hitchcock engaged in when killing his former girlfriend's daughter (Jami) was introduced by the county medical examiner: "Medical experts testified Jami likely struggled fiercely before passing out after two minutes and the killer's hand remained locked over the child's airway for another minute to two minutes."

### **Perpetrator-Specific Problems**

Although the majority of causal diagnoses emerged from some ongoing problem in the principal relationship (i.e. divorce, separation, cheating, child custody issues), many articles also attributed cause to a specific problem that the perpetrator was coping with. These problems fell into two major categories: (1) individual factors and (2) social factors. Figures 4.2 and 4.3 display the codes described in this section.

**Figure 4.2 Individual Factors**



**Figure 4.3 Social Factors**



*Individual Factors*

According to quantitative results, if a causal attribution was provided, it was primarily individual-oriented (63%). This is not to say that the perpetrator’s motives for committing the homicide were coercive in nature; rather these attributions stemmed from preexisting issues that were out of his control and contributed to subsequent family stress and strife, a finding that falls in line with family violence theory. One particular explanation offered for perpetrators’ violent behavior was a violent childhood or upbringing. For example, Timothy Lee Rumsey “shot and killed a stepdaughter and two of his children before killing himself. He also shot and critically injured a 2-year-old daughter.” In discussing the possible reasons for the homicides, his mother said “although he had a violent history since childhood, and was being treated in Texas with Prozac for severe depression, Rees (his mother) said it was unfair for Joy Rumsey (the perpetrator’s wife) to keep calling the police on him.” The story went into further detail about Rumsey’s turbulent past: “The next thing I know, he was shipped to foster homes

because his father couldn't handle him...that made his violent streak worse." This particular example highlights the comorbidity of mental problems and a maladaptive childhood. In the case of Kenneth Sherry, a man who stabbed his wife and mother-in-law to death, the use of cocaine was linked to the homicides. "He may have been under the influence of illegal drugs at the time. In a follow-up article, "Police say Sherry told them he was high on cocaine when he stabbed 63-year-old Judith L. Dies and 46-year-old Vickie L. Sherry to death on July 15, 2004." In yet another follow-up story that provided more history on Sherry, an individual who knew him claimed, "The stabbings weren't the first time that the highly addictive drug triggered Sherry's dark side." He said "Sherry once shot a girl in the head while under the influence of cocaine." Sherry "claimed he saw demons. Well, his demons have a name – It's cocaine."

Thus far, two highly publicized cases have pointed to childhood, drug, and mental health issues as potential triggers for collateral IPH. However, it was much more common for articles to describe the mental "state" of perpetrators, as defense attorneys frequently requested evaluations of their mental capacity (or incapacity) to avoid first degree murder charges. Particularly in stories that focused exclusively on judicial proceedings, statements such as "a man who killed his son and wife is undergoing a mental examination" were not uncommon. Additionally, some perpetrators attempted to defend their behavior by arguing that mental deficiency or incapacitation caused the homicides. When Jason Scott Roof killed the 2-year-old boy, he pleaded that he was mentally ill at the time of the homicide. "I just stabbed him. I don't know why. I just did it." Even during events preceding the killings, neighbors and friends depicted a person who was not "normal." In the Anthony Bailey case (he killed three of his four

children), neighbors and friends reported, “He just stood there like a statue, staring straight ahead...I told him he needed to get help, and he said there was no way to help him.” Another neighbor said, “I saw him outside and he said, ‘I’m about to go crazy.’ I asked him if he was alright, and he said ‘I don’t know.’”

When Larry Mitchell killed his wife, Beverly B. Mitchell, and her sister, Barbara Lownsberry, he was “constantly depressed and was taking several medications to help deal with his problem.” Terry Lee Hall, “a gunman estranged from his wife” who “went on a shooting rampage around dinnertime, killing his wife at an Allen deli, then gunning down her father and stepmother at his wife’s home before finally shooting himself in the head” also suffered from mental problems. According to court records, “He was in and out of mental hospitals at the same time, and even attempted suicide at least once.”

Timothy Lee Rumsey, a man who killed his stepdaughter and two other children was also being treated for depression.

Other perpetrators reportedly suffered from schizophrenic and related dissociative disorders. Larry Widdell McNeil Stovall, who killed his ex-girlfriend’s roommate, testified in court “he heard ‘voices’ telling him to kill Gadziemski (the roommate), whom he thought was blocking his reconciliation with Hathaway (the ex-girlfriend).” In a gruesome case where Arthur Hollingsworth Cayce abducted and raped his ex-girlfriend and then killed her best friend, Melissa Boyair, setting her home on fire, depression was proposed as the culprit. According to the perpetrator’s mother, “Her son battled depression for years, and had attempted suicide more than once. The breakup touched off another bout of depression.”

### Social Factors

Although individual explanations dominated newspaper articles (63%), certain social issues impacting the perpetrator and his family were offered as possible causes for the collateral homicides. This particular category supports the family violence perspective, as “typical” family issues triggered his violence. Major explanations included financial / economic strain and problems with unemployment. It is important to note that although individual and social factors were separated for simplicity’s sake, a handful of articles contained elements of both (1.9%). For instance, a few stories described how a “domestic dispute” or other relationship problems were magnified by social factors, such as unemployment or financial strain. It appears as if these causal diagnoses go hand-in-hand when explaining a perpetrator’s motives for committing collateral IPH.

For example, when Ray, Virginia, and 6-year-old Joshua Dugan were found dead, neighbors reported, “the Dugans’ were having financial troubles and were divorcing (a theme that overlaps with *relationship termination*)”. They went on to say, “Ray Dugan had recently lost his computer company and had been forced to sell his car.” In an article on the highly publicized Anthony Bailey case, the perpetrator’s unemployment status was a central topic throughout the story. “Police say Anthony Bailey, broke and unemployed, told them he could no longer care for his children.”

In another example in which two causal themes overlap, a “domestic dispute” that resulted in the deaths of four people was attributed to financial strain. “The suspect has been questioned at length by homicide detectives and has made incriminating statements, police said, and said the domestic dispute was financial in nature.” This particular

example came from the Luther Jenkins case, in which he killed his girlfriend, her aunt, and slashed the throats of her two children. The reporter claimed, “A (financial) domestic dispute led to the carnage.”

In describing the possible reasons that led Jimmie Reed Jr. to kill his girlfriend and two-month-old daughter, the casual diagnosis focused on his desire to avoid paying child support. “A man accused of shooting his girlfriend, then setting her and their 2-month-old daughter on fire with the hope of avoiding paying child support has been charged with murdering them.” Additionally, when Edward Evans killed his wife, Rebecca Evans and her mother, Josephine Jones, economic stress was a focal point of the story. “Edward Evans had been unemployed since his lucrative party store business failed several years ago.” Witnesses added, “He’d think they were against him.” At the time of the homicides Rebecca “was carrying all the weight of the bills, and he wanted to be the man of the house.”

**Generic Frames #3 & #4 – Moral Implications & Remedies (“What is this World Coming to?”)**

The final two categories included in Entman’s (1993) generic framing scheme, moral implications and potential remedies, were infrequently found in this sample of articles. Due to the substantial amounts of Associated Press (AP) articles and news briefs, minimal space was allotted for moral reflections or how one might alleviate crimes of this nature. For instance, if a remedy was ever offered, it was only in cases that explicitly discussed DV or IPV, with shelter and social service resources provided. Although such stories were a rarity in this sample, their presence illuminated the coercive nature of collateral IPH by condemning the behavior (instead of exhibiting shock) and providing helpful information for victims of abuse.

Moral judgments generally revolved around the cruel and heartless nature of the homicides. One theme that emerged quite early in analysis was the shock at how someone could kill children (31.2% of articles explicitly mentioned shock). For example, throughout the Bailey case, witnesses exhibited shock and disbelief that he could do such a thing to his own kids. They reported that Bailey was a “caring father who was protective of his children.” Jimmie Reed Jr., who killed his daughter and girlfriend, received this moral condemnation from the principal victim’s brother: “Why would he do that to my sister, but more importantly, why would he do that to the child he just had?” In a similar vein, family members of the late Melissa Friar and her daughter, Alana, commented, “I just don’t understand. She was only 8-years-old.”

Another theme that emerged was the cruel, heartless, and “evil” nature of the collateral homicides. Reverend James Flakes referred to the slaughtering of a woman and her four children as “the devil’s work.” When Roger Thompson killed four children and their mother, witnesses claimed that it was “one of the most gruesome and disturbing crimes in Detroit history” and “This was so evil and coldhearted...I can’t explain this. I just can’t find the words.” Clearly, a theme of tragedy was interwoven throughout each moral judgment.

### **Incident and Relationship-Specific Themes**

In conjunction to generic frames, incident and / or relationship-specific themes also emerged throughout data analysis. These particular characteristics set the stories apart from other homicide reporting, as they were unique to collateral IPH. Five major themes were prominent: (1) a focus on the principals, (2) collateral background and involvement; (3) perpetrator love of family; (4) the preponderance of shock; and (5)

implications for child witnesses and survivors. While categories (1) and (2) were more descriptive in nature, (3) and (4) lend support the family violence perspective because journalists introduced information about how much the perpetrator loved his children (despite the killings) and how witnesses could not believe he was capable of such an act (he must have been out-of-control with anger). The final category, like (1) and (2) represents a unique reporting pattern associated with collateral IPH.

### *Focus on the Principals*

*Perpetrator* – It was evident early in analysis that articles primarily focused on the perpetrator and principal IPV victim, as she was the most frequently reported casualty. Thus, numerous articles tracked the path of the principal relationship across time. Two types of information were apparent: (1) background on each individual or the couple as a unit and (2) preexisting relationship troubles. Only (1) will be discussed here since the final section introduces quotes pertaining to principal relationship problems and their theoretical alignment with either family violence or coercive control theory. It is important to note that some of the information or context included in articles was extraneous but incorporated nonetheless. This may have been done to fill space or to better acquaint the public with the perpetrator and victims.

The type of information provided about perpetrators was diverse, and at times, unusual. For example, in one article, William Detzler's video game habit was introduced: "The suspect didn't hold a steady job and spent an inordinate amount of time playing electronic videogames at home." It went on, "Games with names like Resident Evil and Doom. He'd play those games all day long when he wasn't working and we're talking about a 35-year-old man." In a follow-up story on the Ray Dugan homicides his



political beliefs and frustrations were introduced. “Those who knew Dugan said he was enraged by the federal government’s fiery raid on a complex in Waco, Texas, in 1993 and blamed the Internal Revenue Service for his failed Troy business, Time Communications, Inc.” Friend and neighbor reflections of the perpetrator were also included. “Neighbors and other acquaintances recalled his tirades about the government, letters to newspapers slamming the Troy school board and his antitax views, but friends and associates also think he held the potential to improve government.” Levi Palmer, who killed his son and himself, had worked a part-time job through a temp agency. Said his former boss, “We were getting ready to bring him on full time...he was a good employee, pretty much kept to himself and never talked about problems.” In separate example, the perpetrator was depicted as a good citizen and religious individual. The article said, “But relatives of Terry Lee Hitchcock say he’s a peaceful, churchgoing father of two who’s never been in trouble.” Terry Hall, who killed his wife and her father and stepfather, was described as “a kind of quiet-to-himself style person”.

*Principal IPV Victim* – When describing the principal IPV victim, reporters and informants frequently focused on their employment status and familial roles (i.e., what kind of mother they were). For instance, when discussing Reco’s murdered girlfriend: “Bellamy’s focus was her children. She was constantly moving between jobs, at Kmart, Bob Evans, McDonalds, Toys ‘R’ Us. She had just gotten a position as a telemarketer for Utilities Analysis, Inc. of Redford Township, where she was well regarded.” When her ex-husband killed Macheikia Franklin and her two daughters, Rockell Johnson and Teria Johnson, family members had this to say about her: “Family members said Franklin was a quiet Pontiac native who had one major fault: she always picked the wrong men.”

Additionally, “Robinson (she changed her name after the divorce) was a front desk receptionist and on track for a promotion at the Wingate Inn in Auburn Hills.” Another principal victim was described as “just one of those people who would do anything for anyone.” Jimmie Reed’s principal victim, Markeda Byas, “was a fun-loving and spiritual woman, who loved to cook for her family and ballroom dance.” Melissa Friar, murdered by her husband, was “a wonderful mom...she was going to school because she wanted to help people. I think because she had asthma and knew what it was like to be sick.” As a final example, in an article entirely devoted to the victims of Terry Hall, Diane Hall received this homage: “She will be remembered as an unselfish person, liked by all who knew her, and a wonderful mother who sometimes worked as many as three jobs so her five children would never go without necessities.”

*The Principal Couple* – “Margaret Wasuikanis, who lived next door to the Bailey family, said the couple seemed very much in love when they moved in two years ago.” In order to provide background on the principal couple, it was not unusual to encounter outside opinions on the principal IPV victim and perpetrator. As such, common quotes included: “The couple was private and minded their own business”, “She said she never witnessed any problems between the husband and the wife”, and “She went her way and he went his.” Often, the employment status of both parties was presented: “DeLeon worked for General Motors’ Grand Blanc Metal Center. His wife and Jetawyn Lee (the collateral victim) worked for the Flint Truck Plant”. At other times, a brief family snapshot was provided: “The Watts’ have preschool age twin girls and a 22-month old boy, coworkers said.” Additionally, some articles introduced the principal relationship, but also incorporated a troubled past: “Friends and family say Thursday’s murders were a

tragic, blood soaked ending to a relationship that began more than ten years ago, produced four well-liked children and ultimately ended in Terry Hall making good on previous threats to his wife.”

### *Collateral Background & Involvement*

Despite the focus being primarily on the perpetrator and principal victim, collateral background information and their involvement in the primary relationship were included in many articles. The type of information or description varied greatly depending on collateral victim, as the article frames were different for children as opposed to adult men.

*Adult Collateral Victims' Involvement* – If the homicide included an adult collateral victim, their deaths were frequently attributed to intervening in a domestic dispute or their attempt to protect the principal IPV victim from harm. In a story titled, *Man Dead After Family Fight Takes a Violent Turn*, William Detzler was killed in an apparent “family fight” that went too far. “The crime occurred after William Detzler confronted the suspect, who is married to Detzler’s sister.” Witnesses claimed, “From what I heard she said (the suspect) has been shoving her around all day, so she called her brother, Bill (Detzler) to talk man-to-man to (the suspect)”. A related article said, “Foy and his wife, who are going through a separation, were having an argument in their mobile home on the west side of Beaverton on Wednesday night...Detzler thought he could straighten it out.”

When Randy Sanchez murdered Peter Wilkinson, who was reportedly friends with his girlfriend, the collateral was presumably caught in the crossfire of an ongoing conflict. “Wilkinson came to her aid again on Dec. 5, when Coon’s boyfriend, Sanchez,

41, came at her with a knife after she'd asked Sanchez to leave, Coon testified on Tuesday." In a separate case, Roger Sanford, a collateral victim who was killed because he was with the suspect's ex-girlfriend, Robin Howard, tried to protect her from harm: "When the suspect attacked Howard, Sanford tried to help her, police said. He was stabbed several times as well." Michael Brattin killed his estranged wife's new partner in their workplace parking lot. "Witnesses told police that Michael Brattin shot his wife first, then fired at O'Brien, who apparently tried to intercede." Even those not romantically involved with the principal victim, such as parents, were not safe from this outcome: Haoran Zhang killed his father-in-law when he tried to protect his daughter. "The wife's father, who lived at the home with his wife and cared for the two young children, became part of the argument as well, police said."

In addition to describing adult collateral victims' intervention in crime commission, their "romantic" involvement with the principal IPV victim was also highlighted. Whether they were friends with or dating her, the article often told a story of a tragic "love triangle" that resulted in murder. For instance, Michael O'Brien "knew he was courting big trouble" when he decided to date his coworker, Sandra Brattin. "He'd been seeing his co-worker, Sandra Brattin, and knew that it angered her estranged husband, Michael." One man was killed because he was caught having sex with a perpetrator's estranged wife: "A Holland Township man (Souvanna) accused of killing his estranged wife's boyfriend admitted shooting the man after finding the couple engaged in sexual intercourse, police testified Wednesday." Despite the couple's impending divorce, he had reportedly threatened the collateral victim in the past. Said a family member, "He wanted to kill my brother...He said he would not let my brother stay

alive to the end of the year.” Although these pieces of information did not overtly blame the collateral victim for their death, they did insinuate a known risk that could have been avoided.

*Child Collateral Victim Description* – Interestingly enough, adult collateral victims were rarely described in detail, but children received significant attention and description. Their hobbies, personalities, or school interests were frequently introduced. “Several teachers and principal Carol Garland called the girls model students who were involved in student council, earned high grades, and possessed exemplary reading and writing skills.” Likewise, reporters provided a significant amount of information on Luther Jenkin’s four collateral victims. “Alicia Jackson was a good little girl, a great teenager, and a beautiful adult. She made you happy because she was just a happy spirit. She was a decent, respectful, good girl.” The other collateral victims, ages four and seven, received attention as well. “Jamon, known as Mony, attended Hope of Detroit Academy in Detroit. A’Janneya, known as Nay Nay, was in preschool... Their grandmother, Rosetta Hamilton, 49, called them ‘beautiful children.’”

The room of Machekia Robinson’s two slain daughters was vividly described in one story: “Brightly colored cherries adorned the sheets in the little girls’ bunk beds. In the corner of their room was a small, pink, heart-shaped dressing table. A school poster on the white wall encouraged: ‘Reading Power.’” The hobbies and career aspirations of Joshua and Naomi Ross were also introduced. “They remembered the Ross children as bright, responsible kids; one was headed to Michigan State to become a police officer, the other was busy with track, basketball and volleyball.” Lastly, Arctavia, the infant victim

of Jimmie Reed Jr., “was a contented baby and a ‘sweet sleeper’ who never wanted to be put down, family said.”

*General Collateral IPH Victim Information* – Similar to the information reported about principal victims and perpetrators, the types of descriptions provided on collateral victims varied greatly. In one article, a collateral victim’s employment, spirituality and role as father were explored. “Ketchens, 40, was considered a devoted father and husband, a gregarious salesman at Extreme Dodge and a faithful Christian. He was the life of Trinity United Methodist Church’s Christmas tree lot in recent weeks.” Roger Gibson, father of a principal victim, “was a really nice man – he was always puttering around the garage.” Lastly, Robert Gibson, shot and killed by his daughter’s ex-boyfriend, Chadwick Wiersma, “was not a confrontational person in any way. He was a very gentle person. I don’t think I ever heard him raise his voice.” The story concluded: “They wanted to tell the story of Robert Gibson, a devoted father and husband whom his wife remembered as a ‘renaissance man’, who was comfortable among books or watching the Discovery Channel as he was in his workshop.”

#### *Perpetrator Love of Family*

A third theme that emerged throughout analysis, particularly in those stories where children were killed, was a discussion of the perpetrator’s love of his family and children. Once again, the Bailey homicides provide an excellent example. Although he killed three of his four children, “he was so helpful, so mindful of [them].” One article in the *Detroit Free Press* even reported, “He loved his kids” despite the brutality of the murders. One of the Baileys’ neighbors stated to the *Detroit News*, “When I heard about

it, I thought, no, no, no. Not Tony. He loved those kids so much. If anything, he was overprotective of them.”

Levi Stuart Palmer, the man who killed his 17-month-old son, was described as an attentive father, whose “life revolved around his child.” Gary Hicks, who “took two 5-gallon fuel containers and doused his house with gasoline while his three children slept”, was described by neighbors “as a private yet friendly man, who loved working on his house and jogging, but most off spending time with his three daughters, Vanessa, 12, Ginger, 7, and Erika, 3.” A court affidavit introduced in the story “describes a man somewhat obsessed with keeping his marriage together and keeping his children in his life.” To sum up, “For Garry, everything was for the kids...everything was. He was a family man.” Next, Leo Carmona, who killed his girlfriend’s 2-year-old son, loved him like he was his own. “Carmona claims he didn’t kill the blonde toddler he says loved watching the movie Stuart Little and could already count to 10.” He said in court, “I couldn’t have loved him more. He was perfect.” In a final example, Timothy Lee Rumsey, convicted of killing a stepdaughter, two of his other children, and himself “loved his children so much.” “He just loved them so much that he didn’t trust her with them alone.”

*The Preponderance of Shock – “These Incidents are Hard to Explain”*

“I just can’t believe it...he was always listening to bible tapes and he was rational when I talked to them yesterday.” Perhaps one of the most apparent themes in this sample was that of overwhelming shock. Regardless of collateral victim (adult or child) or type of witness (police, neighbors, family), quotes highlighted extreme shock. Even in those articles where a history of violence was introduced, including past abuse against the

principal IPV victim, witnesses and / or informants just couldn't believe it. For instance, in an article on the Terry Hall case, his past abuse was first articulated: "In less than one month in 1990, Diane Hall made three phone calls and four visits to a domestic assault shelter – deathly afraid her husband would follow through with his oft-repeated threat to burn her alive." The story then goes on to say, "But no one expected a hail of bullets" and "Everyone's in shock...there was no indication that this would happen."

However, most examples of shock occurred when no family or domestic violence had previously been identified (i.e., no context). "No prior calls to the home for domestic violence by the sheriff's department were discovered, Richardson said. A check of court records showed there had been no personal protection orders or divorce papers filed." In the Bailey case, not only were neighbors and friends shocked that Anthony could do such a thing ("Why would a man who loves his children and was so interested in them do something like this?"), but the lack of family problems was introduced as well. "If there were warning signs of problems at home, Bryant said, she didn't see them." When William Watts Jr. killed a coworker because he believed he was seeing his estranged wife, co-workers exhibited extreme shock: "Co-workers, who huddled across the street from the factory, said they were aware of William Watts' marital problems but never knew him to be violent. He had no known felony convictions." One coworker even remarked, "Watts owned a lot of guns and was a deer hunter, but he never talked of violence." In a similar vein, Roger Thompson "had no criminal record, and Wayne County Prosecutor Kym Worthy said no domestic violence complaints ever had been filed against him." Lastly, a coworker of Garry Hicks said, "We are all totally surprised.



I've known Garry for years and I never would have expected something like this. I don't think anybody did."

Other examples of shock include:

- "How could this man hurt two innocent children?"
- "It's so close to home. How could something like this happen so close to home?"
- "The brutal deaths of two women and two small children shocked a city torn by bloodshed of more than 370 murders and 1,300 nonfatal shootings in 2004."
- "I don't understand how anyone could do this."

*Implications for Child Witnesses & Survivors – "My Mamma's Boyfriend Shot My Dad"*

The final incident-specific theme detected in the present analysis was that of implications for child witnesses and survivors of the collateral IPH. Many homicides discussed thus far involved children (47.3% of victims mentioned), and in some cases, not all were killed. As such, a focus on the killings' impact on survivors and witnesses (e.g. those that were not a target of attack, but saw the homicides occur) was prevalent. In one example, child witnesses had to hide with their mother in a bathroom. "The Alexanders' two sons, ages 6 and 3, were inside the home when the shooting occurred. Tammara Alexander locked herself and her sons inside a bathroom fearing that her husband had entered the house." When David Gibbard shot his ex-wife's husband, her son was also present. It was reported, "He looked like he was very traumatized." Even a two-year-old child witnessed the Kenneth Powell homicides. "The 2-year-old told authorities that her father pulled the trigger. Her exact words were, 'Daddy shot twice', said Sherriff Jeffery V. Goyt." Lastly, when Diane Hall, along with her father and stepmother were killed, she left four children behind. "It's for all those poor kids left

behind. They'll need all the help they can get." Diane's nephew, David, is "taking it real hard because he was really close to his grandpa, and he saw his grandfather get shot and saw his grandma go down, and when he went to run for help, he saw his Aunt Diane lying in front of the store."

Two particular child survivors received extensive media coverage: Antonia Bailey and D'anajeh Robinson. D'anajeh lost her mother and two sisters, and reportedly told investigators that "Daddy got a knife" and "described how one sister, before she died, begged to be allowed to say goodbye to her mother." One article noted, "D'anajeh Robinson, now 4, spent the night alone with the bodies of her mother and half-sister, according to prosecutors." One article focused on how she was coping in the care of her maternal grandmother. "Her life today is all about learning to read, riding her two-wheel bike with the training wheels, playing with her Barbies and visiting the Jeepers! Game center with her aunts and cousins." Gwendolyn Robinson, her grandmother, said "I call her my miracle child...my daughter is gone, my other grandchildren are gone, but God has given me this little girl."

Antonia Bailey claimed, "My daddy killed me. My daddy killed my whole family" (this quote was repeated frequently across newspapers). Although her mother was not involved in the attack, she lost all of her siblings in this particular collateral homicide case. "As the emergency medical technician administered first aid to Antonia Bailey, she mustered the strength to tell him who had shot her and her siblings." During her father's trial she was still in the hospital, so she sent a letter to her deceased siblings saying, "I love you all, and I miss you very much...I know you are all watching down over me. That's why I'm still here. Don't be mad at me."

### **Family Violence vs. Coercive Control**

A primary goal of the qualitative portion of this study was to gather evidence that aligned with either family violence or coercive control theory. If reader refer to Appendix D, they will see that an entire section of the coding protocol was devoted to identifying examples that support the family violence framework, coercive control, or both. Each article underwent rigorous, iterative analysis so that themes were accurately captured and assigned. Please refer back to Table 3.3 for criteria used to determine theoretical alignment.

For the sake of space, results are presented in table format (see Table 4.11). A total of ninety-seven (n=97 or 45.1%) articles included evidence of family violence theory, attributing the collateral IPH to mutual family fights, “domestic disputes” between the perpetrator and principal intimate partner, the termination of an intimate relationship, or unexpected perpetrator anger / rage (which is linked to numerous causes, such as a cheating girlfriend, jealousy, argument, etc). As such, the key criterion of a family violence sentence is evidence of a symmetrical cause or contribution, while coercive control sentences introduced a pattern of abusive and coercive behavior by men. The “conflict” label is similar to that found in quantitative analysis, with approximately 52% of killings identified as conflict-driven. A total of twenty-six (n=26 or 12.1%) articles included evidence of coercive control theory, indicating prior perpetrator violence or IPV, coercion, and controlling behaviors. Articles were included in this category if the perpetrator killed himself in front of children or the principal victim, or if he killed his partner’s children but spared his own. Like quantitative results indicating the occurrence of intentional homicide (5.3%), this was a small percentage of articles. Next, a total of

eight (n=8 or 3.7%) articles contained elements of both family violence and coercive control, while eighty-three (n=83 or 38.6%) were marked “unclear”. An article was deemed unclear if it was a news brief or AP article that lacked the background information necessary to determine theoretical alignment. Please refer to Appendix E to review the qualitative analysis matrices used in this portion of the study.

**Table 4.11 Illustrative Family Violence & Coercive Control Sentences**

Source	Date	Coercive Control	Family Violence
<i>Ann Arbor News</i> Ann Arbor, MI	4/28/98		“Crawford said her boyfriend, who lived in the small bungalow with her parents and brother, had been angered because she asked him to move home with his mother.”
<i>Ann Arbor News</i> Ann Arbor, MI	8/21/03	“Bailey called his wife about 7:30pm Tuesday and told her to watch the news that night. Investigators believe the children were shot about an hour later.”	
<i>Battle Creek Enquirer</i> Battle Creek, MI	10/23/92		“Blood covered the kitchen floor of a small apartment where an ongoing dispute between former lovers ended in a rampage late Thursday.”  “But police records show the relationship turned violent.”  “They had a long-term, sick relationship and (Thursday) he just lost it.”
<i>Battle Creek Enquirer</i> Battle Creek, MI	10/24/92		“Friends and family said Taylor and Fochtman had an ongoing dispute.”  “They were trying to work things out and get together, but something snapped.”
<i>Battle Creek Enquirer</i> Battle Creek, MI	11/23/92	“She claims he listened through the walls and spied on her and her friends.”  “Taylor drove most of them away (her friends). It was like he wanted me to himself, where I didn’t have any interaction with anybody else.”	

**Table 4.11 Illustrative Family Violence & Coercive Control Sentences Continued**

<b>Source</b>	<b>Date</b>	<b>Coercive Control</b>	<b>Family Violence</b>
<i>Battle Creek Enquirer</i> Battle Creek, MI	12/30/06		“Detective Sgt. Todd Madsen of the Battle Creek Police Department said the killings appear to be part of an ongoing dispute between the couple, although he declined to give further theories.”
<i>Bay City Times</i> Bay City, MI	5/27/99		“A family fight in Beaverton ended in the stabbing death of a 36-year-old Beaverton man on Wednesday.”
<i>Commercial News</i> Three Rivers, MI	2/18/98	“A man suspected of killing his three daughters in a murder-suicide had previously threatened to steal his children if his wife left him, court records show.”	
<i>Commercial News</i> Three Rivers, MI	4/28/98	“He said that if he couldn’t have me and the baby, he would kill himself.”	
<i>The Daily News</i> Greenville, MI	9/21/06		“We don’t have a history there... it appears she had just recently filed for divorce.”
<i>The Daily News</i> Iron Mountain, MI	10/21/03	“If Steven Tierney couldn’t have Sally Paajanen, in his mind, no one else could either. The crime was clearly premeditated and deliberated.”	
<i>Daily Tribune</i> Royal Oak, MI	12/19/96		“Elkins said a family member told her ‘problems’ had recently escalated between Maria Joseph and her ex-husband, but could not specify. Nor did she know how long the two had been divorced.”
<i>Detroit Free Press</i> Detroit, MI	2/17/94	<p>“Terry was always threatening to blow people up. When she was pregnant, he held a gun to her belly.”</p> <p>“Hall told of one incident in which her husband shot their dog, twisted the heads off their goldfish, and put an ax through their kitten’s head. Another time, he chased Hall and her oldest son down the street with a gas can and a cigarette lighter.”</p>	

**Table 4.11 Illustrative Family Violence & Coercive Control Sentences Continued**

Source	Date	Coercive Control	Family Violence
<i>Detroit Free Press</i> Detroit, MI	1/4/96		“He said it started out as an argument and it escalated. Then he just lost it.”
<i>Detroit Free Press</i> Detroit, MI	6/6/96		“She described the Dugans as ‘private people’, but said the neighbors were aware of money and marriage troubles.”
<i>Detroit Free Press</i> Detroit, MI	6/7/96		“The months leading up to the shootings were filled with tension for Dugan, whose personal and professional life were crumbling.”
<i>Detroit Free Press</i> Detroit, MI	9/24/97	“In jail, he began calling Bellamy collect. At first the calls were wistful. Then they took on a more demanding tone. ‘Who are you seeing? Are you cheating on me?’”	
<i>Detroit Free Press</i> Detroit, MI	6/23/03	“She hated those letters. In them, her ex-husband would threaten to kill her and said it would be ‘all over’ as soon as he was released from prison.”  “He was going to get her...when he got out of jail...he said it would all be over when he got out, and it’s all over now.”	
<i>Detroit Free Press</i> Detroit, MI	7/25/03		“Investigators say the shootings have been ignited by a dispute between the suspect and his girlfriend, Courtney Harris.”
<i>Detroit Free Press</i> Detroit, MI	8/21/03	Right before Anthony Bailey killed his children, he called Essie Bailey. “Anthony Bailey called his estranged wife at work Tuesday night with an order: ‘watch the news tonight.’”	“There has been some indication that there has been some abuse in the family between the husband and wife.”
<i>Detroit Free Press</i> Detroit, MI	12/9/04		“Thompson told police the massacre began with an argument with is on-again off-again girlfriend, Shelton, about a coat he stuffed under his pillow before going to sleep.”
<i>Detroit Free Press</i> Detroit, MI	12/21/04		“Detroit police 2 <sup>nd</sup> Deputy Chief James Tate said Pitts and Jenkins argued before the killings but no clear motive has been established.”  “Family members said Pitts had recently broken up with Jenkins.”

**Table 4.11 Illustrative Family Violence & Coercive Control Sentences Continued**

<b>Source</b>	<b>Date</b>	<b>Coercive Control</b>	<b>Family Violence</b>
<i>Detroit Free Press</i> Detroit, MI	4/25/06		<p>“The couple, who had been married about a decade, had been having arguments for weeks, Scherlinck said.”</p> <p>“There was no sign that alcohol or drugs were involved or that the family had financial problems.”</p>
<i>Detroit Free Press</i> Detroit, MI	7/27/06		“Police said Reed did not want to pay child support to Byas and he wanted to keep the relationship a secret from other girlfriends.”
<i>Detroit Free Press</i> Detroit, MI	5/23/05		“Rivalry over a woman likely compelled a 19-year-old man to firebomb a Detroit home last week, killing two children but not the intended victim, according to court documents.”
<i>Detroit Free Press</i> Detroit, MI	No Date	“With just a week or so to go before Daniel Franklin would walk out of prison, his ex-wife and her boss asked corrections officials how she could protect herself and her children.”	
<i>Detroit News &amp; Free Press</i> Detroit, MI	11/26/92		“A religious man who frequently read the bible and listened to gospel tapes apparently let his inner demons consume him Wednesday.”
<i>Detroit News &amp; Free Press</i> Detroit, MI	7/31/93	“In less than one month in 1990, Diane Hall made three phone calls and four visits to a domestic assault shelter – deathly afraid her husband would follow through with his oft-repeated threat to burn her alive.”	“People who knew the Halls said they were aware of their domestic problems. They had reconciled without marrying after the divorce, and had several stormy breakups since then.”
<i>Detroit News &amp; Free Press</i> Detroit, MI	1/8/95		“There’s a triangle going there...he warned the other guy. He told him, ‘if you wanna see my wife, don’t do it in front of me.’”
<i>Detroit News</i> Detroit, MI	2/10/97		“He told investigators that he and his wife of 14 years had been having marital difficulties and that he shot her because he was afraid she was going to leave him.”
<i>Detroit News</i> Detroit, MI	3/11/97		“Campbell told police that he and his wife had gotten into an argument over the stopped-up sink in the kitchen.”

**Table 4.11 Illustrative Family Violence & Coercive Control Sentences Continued**

Source	Date	Coercive Control	Family Violence
<i>Detroit News</i> Detroit, MI	12/20/04	“Police went to the house responding to domestic violence calls twice in 2004, but the suspect wasn’t arrested on either occasion. In one instance, he fled before police arrived; in the other, no one was injured so police didn’t make any arrests.”	
<i>Detroit News</i> Detroit, MI	4/25/06		“It escalated into a heated argument and ended after gunshots rang out down a stairwell, leaving a mother critically wounded and a grandfather and father dead.”
<i>Detroit News</i> Detroit, MI	7/27/06		“Investigators believe there was some kind of argument earlier in the day, and he shot her and then went to work.”
<i>Flint Journal</i> Flint, MI	1/96	“Palmer called his wife and told her he was going to kill himself. He offered to let her listen while he pulled the trigger on a deer rifle.”  “It’s the ultimate act of aggression. ‘If I can’t have you, then you’re not going to have the thing that is most important to you.’”  “If you can’t hurt her and you kill her child, how much more can you hurt her?”	
<i>Grand Rapids Press</i> Grand Rapids, MI	11/15/01		“Police said Watts and his wife were having marital difficulties and the shootings were linked to a domestic dispute.”
<i>Grand Rapids Press</i> Grand Rapids, MI	4/25/05	“I am afraid for my children and myself...he has pushed me, grabbed me and hit me and threatened me. He has broken a window in my living room and has cut most of the screens in my house to get inside.”	
<i>Grand Rapids Press</i> Grand Rapids, MI	7/21/06		“I pray for the family of Mr. Thompson and my family. In a world of turmoil, this is what happens with bad judgment and unhealthy relationships.”



**Table 4.11 Illustrative Family Violence & Coercive Control Sentences Continued**

<b>Source</b>	<b>Date</b>	<b>Coercive Control</b>	<b>Family Violence</b>
<i>Grand Rapids Press</i> Grand Rapids, MI	9/21/06	“A man shot and killed his estranged wife’s boyfriend early today then killed himself in a field nearby as he talked to his wife on the phone.”	
<i>Grand Rapids Press</i> Grand Rapids, MI	No Date		<p>“A souring romance and a failing marriage may have triggered a moment of rage in which a Holland man killed his girlfriend’s 4-year-old daughter last week, police say.”</p> <p>“People handle stress differently. It may have been a situation of stress he could not handle.”</p>
<i>The Herald-Palladium</i> St. Joseph / Benton Harbor, MI	7/17/01		<p>“Court documents show a relationship often plagued by violence and abuse.”</p> <p>“Even before the couple wed in July 1999, the relationship seemed determined for destruction.”</p>
<i>Hillsdale Daily News</i> Hillsdale, MI	7/30/93		<p>“He said investigators believe problems in the Halls’ marriage led to the deadly rampage. Neighbors said Diane Hall kicked her husband out of their home just two weeks ago.”</p> <p>“Every time we have a domestic problem, we have the potential for it to end up this way.”</p>
<i>Hillsdale Daily News</i> Hillsdale, MI	7/31/93	“Many, if not most, battered women hear over and over, ‘if you ever leave me, I’ll kill you.’ The fear of exactly this happening keeps women trapped in abusive relationships.”	
<i>Hillsdale Daily News</i> Hillsdale, MI	8/7/93	<p>“That pattern – a pattern designed to control and dominate a woman is prevalent in most domestic assault cases.”</p> <p>“Physical violence is just one behavior, but verbal abuse, isolation, and economic control (are) other controlling factors.”</p>	

**Table 4.11 Illustrative Family Violence & Coercive Control Sentences Continued**

<b>Source</b>	<b>Date</b>	<b>Coercive Control</b>	<b>Family Violence</b>
<i>Holland Sentinel</i> Holland, MI	12/20/97		“Investigators were uncertain if the three were involved in a love triangle and described the victim as only an ‘acquaintance’ of the wife’s.”
<i>Jackson Citizen Patriot</i> Jackson, MI	10/2/99	<p>“Clare County court documents show Powell had twice threatened to kill his wife if she left him – once in February 1996 and again in July.”</p> <p>“Court records show that Rebecca Powell alleged that her husband broke her collarbone in May 1995. She also alleged that Powell hit and slapped her several times over the past few years.”</p>	
<i>Kalamazoo Gazette</i> Kalamazoo, MI	4/4/96	<p>“Court records show Wiersma had a history of violence against his ex-girlfriend.”</p> <p>“In February 1994, he was convicted of attempted kidnapping after he broke into her car, forced her into his car and drove for an hour and a half, refusing to let her out and threatening her with a knife.”</p>	
<i>Kalamazoo Gazette</i> Kalamazoo, MI	2/17/98	“Hicks, 41, threatened to steal his child if his wife, Theresa, left him, blackened her eye on one occasion and subjected her to a ‘history of physical abuse, mental abuse, and violent behavior’, according to a personal protection affidavit filed Nov. 4.”	
<i>Lansing State Journal</i> Lansing, MI	4/3/04		“These five horrible deaths illustrated in the strongest possible terms the problem we have with family violence in this country.”
<i>Lansing State Journal</i> Lansing, MI	1/11/93		“Jon Michael Escareno, 18, and Brenda Martinez, 17, had argued since ending their relationship...McSwain didn’t know how long ago the couple had separated.”

**Table 4.11 Illustrative Family Violence & Coercive Control Sentences Continued**

<b>Source</b>	<b>Date</b>	<b>Coercive Control</b>	<b>Family Violence</b>
<i>Livingston Co. Press</i> Brighton, MI	11/28/04		“Word of the slayings shocked the neighborhood though some said they had called police on previous occasions to complain about loud arguments from the woman’s apartment.”
<i>The Macomb Daily</i> Mt. Clemens, MI	11/18/92		“He was apparently distraught over his impending divorce.”
<i>The Macomb Daily</i> Mt. Clemens, MI	5/5/96		“A 55-year-old Roseville man who had a stormy relationship with his live-in girlfriend and her 16-year-old daughter has been charged with their murders.”  “Warner said Schomaker did not work, which fueled his rocky relationship with Lord.”
<i>Muskegon Chronicle</i> Muskegon, MI	12/11/03	“There were lots of accusations over time. There were physical confrontations, threats made to me...then he would apologize and then tell me he loved me, and it would start over.”	
<i>Muskegon Chronicle</i> Muskegon, MI	11/28/04		“The relationship was rife with conflict and abuse.”  “They’d have misunderstandings, things most people could talk through, but they’d argue.”
<i>Muskegon Chronicle</i> Muskegon, MI	5/20/06	“Stovall murdered his ex-girlfriend’s roommate because he believed she stood in the way of his relationship with the pregnant woman he had long beaten, prostituted and terrorized with threats to harm her 3-year-old daughter.”  “It fit with Stovall’s pattern of cruelty toward his former girlfriend, Misty Hathaway.”  “Stovall had a pattern of using violence to control women.”	

**Table 4.11 Illustrative Family Violence & Coercive Control Sentences Continued**

Source	Date	Coercive Control	Family Violence
<i>Muskegon Chronicle</i> Muskegon, MI	6/7/06		“The shooting was apparently fueled by ‘prior confrontations’ between Gresham and the suspect.”
<i>Oakland Press</i> Pontiac & Royal Oak, MI	7/12/94	“Murder was the logical offshoot of this continuous spousal abuse. That kind of history put the guy in a state of mind where this was the next logical step. She wasn’t doing what he wanted her to do.”	
<i>Saginaw News</i> Saginaw, MI	3/11/99		“On the day of the slaying, Webb went to the home of his girlfriend, 18-year-old Emily Moore, who was preparing for church. They argued about their deteriorating 4-month-old relationship, the prosecutor said.”
<i>Times Herald</i> Port Huron, MI	4/18/98		“One day he’s happily married, the next day he’s banned, he’s got a divorce proceeding and one or two criminal charges against him. That’s enough to make anybody upset.”
<i>Sentinel Standard</i> Ionia, MI	9/22/06	“While Montcalm County deputies were investigating the scene, Gregory Alexander made repeated cell phone calls to Tammara Alexander. He told her he was going to take his own life, and that he was driving around the area.”	“A man jilted over an impending divorce fatally shot the boyfriend of his estranged wife.”
No Source	No Date	She got a PPO because “her husband ran her off the road in September, displayed four or five loaded guns as he moved from their house the next month, and ‘said he will get me’ after a June 22 hearing in their divorce case.”	“The suspect in two killings this week in Pleasant Lake and Ingham County may have targeted his victims based on their roles in a difficult divorce from his wife, the county’s top prosecutor said Friday.”

The quotes provided in the above table demonstrate the breadth of information provided in Michigan newspapers across seventeen years. These data also clarify the dichotomy of conflict vs. premeditated explanations covered in quantitative analysis, capturing the implicit IPV theory that coders were not able to collect in their protocol. Findings also confirmed that evidence of coercive control and family violence theories

can be gleaned out of journalistic accounts, and that these IPV related-frames warrant further attention, an issue that will be discussed in Chapters 5 and 6.

### **Summary of Qualitative Results**

Qualitative findings clearly compensated for the obstacles encountered in quantitative analysis – namely, the ambiguous causal nature of collateral IPH. By coding causal diagnoses in detail, four major categories emerged: (1) domestic disputes (including the subcategories contained in Figure 4.1), (2) out-of-control perpetrator, (3) extreme possessiveness (“if I can’t have you, then no one else will”), and perpetrator-specific problems (i.e., individual and social factors). These themes inform rigid dichotomous variables that were limited to conflict vs. intentional killings in the quantitative protocol, providing the researcher with a deeper understanding of the proposed causes of collateral IPH. This is especially salient when assessing “domestic disputes” (an extremely ambiguous concept), as four distinct types were evident: (1) custody / visitation issues, (2) general relationship problems, (3) relationship termination, and (4) infidelity, new partner, or rejection. These categories are noteworthy not only because they clarify what a “domestic dispute” is, but they indicate that each dispute stems from the principal relationship, a finding that lends support to family violence theory. This conclusion supports quantitative results. The powerful role of the principal IPV victim in the collateral IPH continues to appear over and over again.

Incident-specific themes generated in accordance with grounded theory also contribute to and supplement overall results because they directly address research question #2, which sought to understand the reporting styles associated with collateral IPH. Despite the applicability of Entman’s (1993) generic framing scheme, five incident-

specific themes unique to this crime were evident: (1) focus on the principals, both individually and as a “unit”, (2) the collateral victim’s background and / or involvement in the crime, (3) focus on the perpetrator’s love of children (even if he killed them), (4) the preponderance of shock (a theme echoed in quantitative analysis), and (5) implications for child witnesses and survivors. These themes set collateral IPH apart from typical homicide reporting and could only be detected through qualitative means.

In sum, qualitative findings confirmed and extended quantitative results. The “domestic dispute” was a prominent theme throughout, with quantitative results indicating that 51.9% of articles were the outcome or direct result of a principal relationship conflict, fight or dispute. Additionally, 60% of articles attributed the perpetrator’s motivation to commit the homicide(s) to the principal relationship, which was also confirmed during qualitative analysis. Most importantly, theoretical alignment in the sample (family violence vs. coercive control) was constant across quantitative and qualitative results. Family violence (i.e., conflict-oriented explanations) dominated, while only a small amount of articles contained elements of coercive control (i.e., intentional, planned, premeditated). As such, results listed in Table 4.6 triangulate the general trends uncovered in quantitative content analysis, but also provide textual evidence of the clear theoretical divide in collateral IPH framing.

## ***Summary***

The results presented in this chapter illustrate the unique framing characteristics associated with collateral intimate partner homicide. As a result of mixing qualitative and quantitative methods, collateral IPH reporting trends between 1990 and 2007 were captured along with the richer, more nuanced mechanisms involved with framing this

particular crime. Entman's (1993) generic framing scheme was successfully applied, however this typology alone did not cover the unique contexts associated with collateral IPH. Thus, qualitative incident-specific frames were generated to compensate for the lack of description and understanding.

Additionally, the major goal this study to determine if newspaper articles reporting collateral IPH were more closely aligned with family violence or coercive control theory was achieved. Despite encountering ambiguous examples typically associated with crime reporting (e.g., news briefs), it is clear that, whether intentionally framed this way or not, journalists adopt a family violence perspective when reporting collateral IPH, regardless of collateral victim type. The sample primarily consisted of homicides that were attributed to mutual relationship conflict between the principal IPV victim and collateral perpetrator, even if the killings were gruesome or involved children. Collateral victims clearly play an auxiliary role, indicating that this crime ultimately relates back to preexisting intimate partner violence.

Lastly, there is strong evidence of a gender division in collateral IPH, as 100% of perpetrators were men and 100% of principal victims were women. In other words, each collateral victim was connected to the *principal*...whether a child, family member, friend, or significant other. Even if she was not killed in each story, someone that she cared about was. This clear division between perpetrator and principal victim is not detected in traditional IPV research (e.g. Garcia et al., 2007), lending support to the notion that collateral killings capture a distinct typology of IPV, specifically the nature of coercive control. This leads to the conclusion that by focusing on collateral killings only, a different pattern of perpetrator behavior is uncovered. By removing the one-on-one

context so frequently investigated in IPV research (i.e., one perpetrator and one victim), the tactics and behaviors described by Stark (2007) and other feminist researchers become more evident.

However these gender issues are not incorporated into newspaper reporting. As quantitative and qualitative results indicate, collateral homicides are frequently deemed the result of relationship conflict and rarely identified as coercive or premeditated in nature. Likewise, the female principal victim is commonly portrayed as having a role in the homicide, contributing to the perpetrator's anger or loss of control (i.e., divorce, separation, denying custody or visitation, cheating, etc). Similarly, minimal reporting of past violence or IPV is introduced, so it is difficult to establish any sort of context to connect past to present actions. While explanations frequently tie the principal's actions to the murders, they do not provide any insight into *why* they might be denying visitation or divorcing their partner. These are just a few issues that warrant consideration as research on this topic continues to expand.



## **Chapter 5: Discussion**

### ***General Discussion***

Results presented in chapter 4 provide preliminary findings that facilitate numerous points of discussion, thus acting as a springboard for future research and scholarly inquiry. The most striking finding to emerge from this dissertation is that unlike previous research on IPH, men perpetrated 100% of collateral homicides. The only inclusion criterion for this study was that the collateral IPH was related to the principal intimate relationship. With that distinction alone a clear gender divide became apparent. As such, four related conclusions will be addressed in this chapter: (1) the dominance of symmetrical explanations for collateral IPH; (2) the incongruence of crime severity and subsequent explanation; (3) the collateral's role in the crime; and (4) the ambiguous nature of coercive control in newspaper reporting. Each of these issues highlights the dominance of family violence in journalistic framing as the majority of articles focused on a symmetrical fight, argument, or problem in the principal relationship, rendering the collateral victim as an auxiliary to the issue. Additionally, because a substantial amount of articles portrayed the collateral homicides as shocking and unexpected, with relationship trouble as the root cause (i.e., family violence), the heinous nature of the killings did not match explanations. As such, evidence of coercive control was ambiguous at best. After discussing these issues, the chapter will close with study limitations and recommendations for future research.

## ***Dominance of Symmetrical Explanations for Collateral IPH***

Perhaps one of the most striking findings is the overwhelming use of relationship conflict as the primary explanation for collateral IPH, with 51.9% of sample articles providing this type of causal attribution. Phrases such as “domestic dispute”, “escalating argument”, or “relationship gone bad” offer a glimpse into how stories are constructed and interpreted by the mass media, with most pointing at common family transitions or relationship problems as a trigger. For instance, divorce and separation were frequently cited as reasons why the perpetrator “lost it” and (often) killed his partner and at least one collateral victim. Although it is well established that divorce, marital separation, and child custody problems act as stressors in relationships, they rarely end in homicide. This finding leads media scholars to question if evidence is omitted from certain newspaper articles, specifically any history of IPV and coercive control. One highly covered collateral homicide case illustrates this point. Terry Hall had an extensive history of domestic violence and coercive control, and a handful of stories introduced this information. One noted that in addition to threatening Diane Hall regularly, he exhibited other control tactics such as the killing of animals (he shot the family dog, put an axe through their kitten’s head, and twisted heads off of goldfish). When she finally mustered the courage to leave him for good, he killed her and her parents in a Cracker Barrel parking lot. “Hall threw him out for good. He began following her and confronting her several times a week at the store, Jack’s Cracker Barrel.” In fact, she was so scared of him that “she would sleep with a butcher knife under her pillow.” This example illustrates asymmetrical violence and the use of coercive control, as it points to

Terry Allen as the sole aggressor. However, a separate article paints a different picture of the relationship: “People who knew the Halls’ said they were aware of their *domestic problems*. They had *reconciled* without marrying after the divorce and had many *stormy breakups* since then.<sup>3</sup>” This journalist also incorporated neighbors’ reactions of shock. “Everyone’s in shock. There was no indication that this would happen.” What changed? One article introduced extreme violent behavior; while the other pointed to relationship issues and shock that Terry could do such a thing. By framing a story like this, the journalist implicitly shifts blame, as the woman goes from “victim” to “participant”. The use of conflict and family problems to explain collateral IPH is dangerous because it inherently blames the victim, attributing symmetrical cause while virtually ignoring *context*. For instance, few articles in this sample reported prior perpetrator abuse or violence (The Terry Hall case is an extreme outlier), and only a fraction explicitly mentioned “domestic violence” or some variation of it in the story. This lack of context is tremendously important because journalists and their audience only catch a glimpse of the problem, thus leading to incorrect conclusions about the nature of IPV and collateral IPH.

If one refers back to Chapter 2, a lack of context in determining the causes and consequences of IPV is one of the major ongoing debates between feminist and family violence scholars. Feminists frequently cite that a limitation of family violence research is the exclusion of violence context when explaining IPV (e.g., Anderson, 2005), as differences between male and female-perpetrated domestic violence are not a focal point of analysis. For instance, feminist theorists argue that the Conflict Tactics Scales (CTS)

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<sup>3</sup> Emphasis is author’s own

does not take context into account (specifically the impact of gender) and fear that what family violence theorists represent as IPV may actually be a different phenomenon altogether (i.e., “couple violence.”). This concept is different from “patriarchal terrorism” and “coercive control”, which are regularly reported by feminist scholars. Ultimately, a lack of relationship context leads to a general belief that gender symmetry exists in IPV and that if a homicide occurs, both partners contributed to the problem. This assumption strips the crime of its male-dominated nature and runs the risk of blaming the victim, an outcome that must be stopped if societal understanding of violence against women is to improve. Gender clearly plays a role in collateral IPH as 100% of perpetrators are male partners or ex-partners and 100% of principal IPV victims are women, a striking finding that lends support to coercive control theory.

A clear example of victim blaming can be found in articles where perceived infidelity was occurring (even if the principal IPV victim had separated from the perpetrator). Reporters and their informants frequently acknowledged that she (and her new partner) contributed to the outcome in some way because they “should have known better”. Additionally, even in stories where police and / or the legal system admit that services were not adequate in protecting the victim (e.g. the three-day rule, or waiting three days to file domestic violence charges, failing to arrest, etc), many law enforcement representatives provided responses that placed responsibility on the principal IPV victim, commenting that the woman’s delayed response or failing to offer all necessary information about her abuse contributed to the problem. Comments such as these place responsibility back on the principal victim, as they should have “done more”. Therefore, not only did the principal victim contribute to the collateral IPH by fighting with,

divorcing, or separating from her partner, when his violence was a plausible threat, she still did not do what she was supposed to.

This is not to say that there weren't situations in which a perpetrator was mentally ill, on drugs, upset over a divorce, or out of control at the time of the collateral IPH; however, by defaulting on relationship conflict to explain a majority of homicides has the potential to stereotype IPV and collateral IPH as a gender symmetrical crime, which fails to thoroughly explain the phenomenon. Since the present sample was a secondary source, there is no way to know what else was occurring in each relationship (one would need access to court or police records, child protective services reports, etc); rather researchers had to rely on journalistic accounts and interpret text based on the information provided. This is an issue that mass media researchers must take into consideration, regardless of their personal alignment with feminist or family violence theories.

### ***Does the Explanation fit the Crime?***

Quantitative results indicate that when an explanation is provided it tends to highlight principal relationship conflict or fights. Qualitative findings support this, determining that "domestic disputes", including general relationship problems, make up a majority of causal explanations. Additionally, the notion that the perpetrator was "out of control" or upset / jealous at something going on in his primary relationship were frequently posited as potential causes. In addition to this, processes and issues revolving around the perpetrator's cognitive state and social life, including mental health problems, drug abuse, and financial woes were introduced. Although these explanations are logical

contributors to relationship strife and conflict, a tremendous disparity exists between these explanations and the gruesomeness of many killings. For example, findings indicate that regardless of collateral victim type (e.g., a child, elderly woman, new boyfriend, friend) there was *no difference* between the types of explanation offered. Conflict-related results dominated newspaper articles. This creates cognitive dissonance on behalf of the reader, as how can someone justify killing an infant or 63-year-old woman because of a marital or financial problem? This possibly explains why a third of all articles framed the incident as shocking or unexpected, even if a history of abuse and violence was present in the principal relationship. Journalists and their informants are obviously attempting to make sense out of an upsetting, implausible situation, which is why simple explanations were frequently offered. Regardless, a gap exists between the simplicity of explanation and crime that requires further consideration. A few examples illustrate this point.

- Reco Jones killed his girlfriend and four children because *he wanted to keep the relationship a secret from his other girlfriends.*
- Anthony Bailey shot and killed three of his children, severely injuring the fourth, Antonia, because *he was upset over an impending divorce.*
- Roger Thompson killed his four children and their mother because of *an argument he was having with her.*
- After Gloria Pitts *broke up with Luther Jenkins*, he killed her, Alicia Jackson, and her two children, Jamon and A'Janneya.
- Jimmie Reed Jr. killed his daughter and girlfriend because *he did not want to pay child support and wanted to keep the relationship a secret.*

The above examples illustrate how gruesome homicides are often attributed to simple causes, including the desire to avoid paying child support, settle an ongoing argument, or deal with the prospect of divorce. These deaths were not quick and painless either; they frequently involved stabbing, shooting at close range, or setting children on fire. One article even described the death of 9-day-old Omar Dean Jr.: “I heard a gunshot. I opened my eyes and my baby’s head had just exploded.”

So why does this discrepancy exist? Does the explanation actually fit the crime? The simple answer is no. A person does not set children on fire, stab babies in the heart, or shoot elderly people in the head because of a domestic spat gone awry. The disparity in brutality of crime → explanation reinforces the conclusion that collateral IPH taps into a distinct typology of IPV, namely coercive control. Although tenets of coercive control have yet to be incorporated into news reports, this study clearly illustrates that other forces are at work in collateral IPH, so media scholars must look further into the sources of information that contribute to story construction as well as what journalists do with available data when writing an IPV-related article. Additionally one must consider the internal processes of the journalist and why they offer such explanations for heinous crimes.

### ***Where do Collateral Victims fit?***

The overarching goal of this dissertation was to uncover the framing patterns associated with collateral intimate partner homicide. Approaching this exploratory study with a combination of traditional mass media and IPV theories, a preliminary understanding of the primary perpetrators and victims was discovered. However, even

though collateral victims were killed in *every* article, the primary cause and / or motivation for the homicide came back to the principal IPV victim and perpetrator in *every case*. The only factor tying collateral individuals into this complex web of causes and consequences was their relation to the primary couple, most notably the principal IPV victim. Since the most frequently occurring type of collateral in the dataset was the principal victim's child, researchers can begin to see how closely their deaths tie into general IPV and child witnessing literatures. Additionally, in no story did the perpetrator kill members of his family; with the only exception being children he shared with the principal victim. There were eighty-eight cases of principal victim family deaths, including mothers, fathers, sisters, and aunts. All of the friends killed (n=28) were the principal victim's as well. So this leaves scholars with a question, "where do collateral victims fit?" This study, although exploratory, offers some clues to this inquiry. Clearly, the reporting frame highlights the principal female IPV victim and male perpetrator first and then ties the collateral in to the problem. Whether they were in the "wrong place at the wrong time" or perceived as an impediment to a successful reconciliation, their involvement was auxiliary to the overarching issue. However, this conclusion is incomplete, as there is still much more to learn about this crime and the collateral's specific role. Although some background information was provided on collateral victims, results are still inconclusive. However, at this stage in the research process the term "collateral victim" is obviously appropriate, as they are truly portrayed as "collateral damage" in newspaper reports.



## ***The Ambiguous Nature of Coercive Control in Collateral IPH***

It is clear from this study that assumptions associated with family violence theory were more frequently incorporated into collateral IPH frames than coercive control. In fact, only n=11 (5.3%) articles on collateral IPH cited premeditation, while 23.1% and 2.4% respectively mentioned prior harm or abuse against the principal IPV and collateral victim. Through qualitative theoretical content analysis some examples of coercive control tactics were identified, but they were still in the minority. However, even when sentences were identified as “coercive control”, they were ambiguous and often followed by a statement about a family-specific issue (i.e. divorce, a fight, cheating, etc.) For example, when reporting on the collateral homicide of a principal victim’s (Fochtman) friend, the journalist first stated, “Taylor (the perpetrator) and Fochtman had an ongoing dispute.” That same story introduced prior abuse against Fochtman: “Police say they have several reports of alleged abuse by Taylor on Fochtman.” A witness even testified that a relationship dispute could not instigate such a crime: “I don’t believe he went crazy. I believe he was pissed off about something. I get pissed off sometimes but I don’t try to kill people.” In another example, Reco Jones’ relationship with his girlfriend was described as “hot” and “cold”: “When it got hot, they broke up. When it got cooler they got back together. They just needed space to breathe sometimes.” The story then goes on to provide evidence of coercive control, “In jail he began calling Bellamy collect. At first his calls were wistful. Then they took on a more demanding tone. ‘Who are you seeing? Are you cheating on me?’”

This type of reporting is sending mixed messages to the public. So what really caused the killing? Was it a pattern of abuse that ultimately ended in homicide? Or was it the result of conflict, fight, or stress that just got out of hand? If one refers the tenets of coercive control theory, IPH and collateral IPH are the final step in a complex web of power and control tactics, with the abuser engaging in various behaviors to maintain control over his partner (e.g., monitoring car mileage, making her keep a log of daily activities, physical aggression, threatening to take her children away, psychological torment, such as sleep disruption, etc). Killing his woman's children or parents represents the most extreme control tactic. Unfortunately we still can't be sure by analyzing newspaper articles alone. One must draw cautious conclusions at this point. Yet, this type of ambiguity is not going to enhance public understanding of IPV and its consequences; rather it is going to lead to uncertain and often false conclusions, which is why journalists and policymakers must pay attention to the sensitive nature of reporting intimate crimes, an issue explored in Chapter 6.

### ***Limitations***

The data for the current study are comprehensive, containing all available articles from Michigan newspapers across seventeen years. It is important to note, however, that individuals operating the clipping service were not trained in the dynamics of intimate partner violence, and many included stories were ambiguous, requiring a certain amount of subjective interpretation. As such, assumptions had to be made regarding the nature of the principal relationship, as the connections were not always clearly defined.

Additionally, as a researcher/advocate adopting a feminist perspective, an implicit bias

that most intimate partner homicides are rooted in gendered violence and male domination played a role throughout the dissertation process. However, as with any social research endeavor, personal and professional biases were acknowledged and controlled throughout the study (see “trustworthiness of findings”). Still, primary research is necessary to supplement findings from this study. Newspaper articles should be analyzed in conjunction with other secondary sources (e.g., death reports, police reports) to fill in potential gaps and increase objectivity.

Second, with this specific secondary source comes a certain amount of bias in reporting. Analysis was based on only the information and textual accounts provided to journalists and selected informants. As mentioned earlier, there are many factors that influence news content, so potentially useful data may have been omitted due to space constraints and editorial requirements. By doing so, slants or skews may occur. For example, objective police reports and court records contributed a majority of the information on the crime(s), with sensitive or graphic neighbor and family testimony sprinkled in for shock value. However, researchers can’t be sure if journalists even had access to abuse history. Unfortunately, this type of background information is necessary if a full, contextual picture of collateral IPH is to be achieved in the mass media.

### ***Future Research***

The present study was the first to investigate collateral IPH and how traditional theories of intimate partner violence informed newspaper framing. Since this dissertation was primarily exploratory and descriptive, the next logical step is to utilize generic and incident-specific collateral IPH media frames to conduct research studies in three areas: (1) primary data collection with members of the media industry (i.e., journalists and

editors) regarding personal and professional motivations for story construction, (2) experimental research with media consumers to document reactions to collateral IPH framing styles (audience framing); particularly frames' impact on opinions and attitudes towards IPV; and (3) assess cases in which females murder their children, a partner's family, or new love interests to determine if differences truly exist between the sexes. This particular line of research will illuminate if the nature of coercive control and domination in collateral IPH is gender symmetrical or truly a male-perpetrated act. Additionally, four further areas of research warrant future consideration:

- **New vs. Old Media** – As electronic sources of news become more and more popular, mass media researchers must investigate framing differences between old and new media. One could compare a variety of information sources including online newspapers and traditional newspapers, television reports and specialized blogs.
- **The Tendency to Report IPH as a Gender Symmetrical Act** – Media researchers should continue to explore the issue of gender symmetry in reporting, moving from exploration towards explanation. This type of research requires many data sources, including police reports, newspaper articles, and primary interviews with media, criminal justice personnel, and survivors.
- **The Health and Social Consequences of IPV** – The investigation of intimate partner violence is truly an interdisciplinary effort that requires scholars from mass media, women's studies, public health / epidemiology, and criminal justice to not only collaborate, but explore the distinct dimensions of IPV that fall within and across disciplinary boundaries. Although a large literature exists on child

witnessing and the health consequences of abuse, there is no literature on collateral IPH. An especially salient situation to explore is one in which the principal partner survives. Researchers must determine the impact of collateral deaths, including health and social consequences and implications for future intimate relationships.

- **Coping with losing a collateral** – As an extension of the health and social consequences of IPV, researchers need to investigate the effects on the principal IPV victim after a loved one has been killed by her abusive partner. Just as social scientists investigate the coping strategies (both adaptive and maladaptive) and recovery processes necessary for children who witness abuse or lose a mother to IPV, this phenomenon also warrants investigation. How does a mother move on after her children are killed? How does the family restructure itself if her mother or father is murdered? These questions are salient across many contexts, including the social service, criminal justice, and public health realm.
- **Comparison to other crimes** – Media researchers need to examine collateral IPH in the broader context of general crime reporting in order to illuminate similarities and differences in reporting different crimes and victims.

## Chapter 6: Translational Science

An exploratory study such as this dissertation provides numerous avenues for exploration and application. However, perhaps one of the most important outcomes of this study is its applicability to professional realms outside of academia. Not only will social scientists and media scholars benefit from findings, but implications extend to other professionals as well. For instance, policymakers, journalists, advocates, and service providers can utilize information about collateral intimate partner homicide and apply it in their own work. As such, this chapter is dedicated to delineating the unique applications for those outside the academic realm, and how results are translated into tools for professionals that come in contact with survivors of intimate partner violence and homicide.

The notion of translational science is a prominent goal of feminist research, as scientific findings are expected to be useful for study participants and the general population. Since it is the *only* theory to emerge from grassroots advocacy campaigns (Ramazanoglu & Holland, 2005; Stark, 2007), feminist scholarship is dedicated to empowerment and giving voice to those who cannot speak for themselves. Therefore, pertinent results are extrapolated and packaged in such a way that is understandable and useful to a diversity of individuals. A secondary goal of feminist research, then, is to elicit change at a societal level. Violence against women is rooted in patriarchy and the social structures that support and perpetuate male domination. For this reason alone, macro-level themes generated in this study are of extreme importance if one wants to understand the societal-level changes necessary to address collateral IPH as a male-

perpetrated coercive control tactic. Therefore, societal-level implications uncovered in this dissertation, along with general reporting trends will serve as preliminary guidelines for journalists, policymakers, and service providers.

### ***Mass Media Implications of Collateral IPH***

One of the most prominent problems detected in this dissertation was the general lack of understanding of IPV at a societal level. Since the media have the ability to reach a large amount of people simultaneously, they remain one of the most important information outlets for the US population. Therefore, if collateral IPH is poorly framed, omitting important contextual information (e.g., past domestic violence) and attributing murders to symmetrical disputes within the principal relationship, there is the potential to perpetuate myths of domestic violence, encourage victim blaming, and influence public perceptions and attitudes of IPV. Throughout the century, scholars have demonstrated the power of the media, as numerous studies have found that news media (via editors / journalists) have the potential to impact people's perceptions of an issue, including IPV, rape, and other public threats (Berns, 2004; Franiuk, Seefeldt, & Vandello, 2008; Ridout, Grosse, & Appleton, 2008). As Zillmann (2002) said, "...The capacity to reach large audiences carries with it the risk of misleading the public in case the disseminated information proves to be distorted and inaccurate or simply in error" (p. 21). Therefore, it is the media's responsibility to provide accurate accounts of a phenomenon while also being prepared to deal with consequences if distortion occurs (Zillmann, 2002). Clearly the first step is to disentangle the dispute between family violence and coercive control

theories. However, recommendations on how journalists, policymakers, and advocates can begin to accomplish this will be discussed below.

## ***Recommendations and Guidelines for Journalists***

Since the media have the responsibility to report coherent, accurate, and comprehensive news to the public, journalists should be among the first to utilize findings from this study. This group stands to benefit from the present findings, as tangible guidelines and recommendations can be explicated and put to into immediate use. As such, four major recommendations, or “best practices” are listed below. These topics are dynamic and can be incorporated into nearly every stage of the reporting process including pre-investigation and training (i.e., before a crime is even reported), homicide investigation, story construction, and public presentation. In order to remain concise, recommendations are bulleted.

1. ***Responsible Reporting*** – A clear gender division is evident in the perpetration of collateral IPH. As such, journalists should keep this phenomenon in mind when investigating IPV-related incidents. Reporters must take a step back, incorporate a critical lens, and reflect on the nature of the crime, including what factors beyond a “dispute” might contribute to the killing of children, parents, and other loved ones. Therefore, as much relationship context as possible should be collected so that a complete account is provided to the public. This includes interviewing key witnesses and experts that go beyond default respondents (i.e., neighbors or bystanders), specifically those that know the players or are familiar with the dynamics of IPV. Assessing crime records would also help construct stories.



2. ***Continuing Education*** – Since results from this study are novel and media-oriented, journalists can immediately expand and update their current knowledge base of intimate partner violence, intimate partner homicide, and collateral intimate partner homicide. It is recommended that all major media outlets keep a resource manual that contains relevant statistics, policies, and necessary references available to their journalists, especially those assigned to crime investigation. Regular training and information sessions are also highly recommended because the better their understanding of these phenomena, the more accurate their news stories.
3. ***Comprehensive Inter-Organizational Communication*** – Gathering information and reporting crimes are not a solitary efforts. They require insight from numerous agencies and systems, including police departments, legal representatives, social service programs, and advocacy organizations. Therefore, in conjunction with improving contextual reporting of collateral IPH, inter-organizational communicative efforts should be launched, as regular interaction between these entities will improve reporting. Most importantly, it is vital that media representatives and IPV experts maintain constant communication and collaborate on resource / training manuals regularly. Specific examples will be presented later.
4. ***Social Activism*** – As journalists become more informed about IPV and its consequences, they gain the power to end the perpetuation of domestic violence myths (see Zillmann, 2002). Potential positive outcomes of adopting this social

activist role are numerous. Perhaps the most salient, however, is fostering a societal-level support network for victims of violence. This can be achieved by accurate reporting, providing necessary resources and hotline information. By making this a regular practice, victims will feel empowered, supported, and may decrease risk of future harm.

### ***Public Policy Implications***

A notable amount of aftermath stories pointed to gaps in police policy and how changes to these policies might prevent collateral IPH or protect victims of intimate partner violence from further harm. Therefore, policy change recommendations for collateral IPH are analogous to those of traditional IPV or domestic violence policy, as they are inherently connected. If one wants to protect collaterals and prevent their death, laws that protect principal IPV victims must first be enhanced. As highlighted in Chapter 4, nearly 58% of principal IPV victims were killed along with collaterals, so these groups cannot and should not be delineated.

As evidenced in this sample, IPV policy improvements must start at the local level. Although the Violence Against Women Act (VAWA) of 1994 was a notable societal-level achievement, sustainable policy change, especially regarding crimes that receive minimal national attention, must progress from local to state to national levels. For example, many victims of IPH made numerous attempts at police protection but were unsuccessful because of outdated laws or failing to meet an arrest requirement, such as physical evidence of abuse. In discussing the danger associated with the “three-day rule”, an informant noted, “It’s the kind of policy that departments have used historically

to discourage domestic violence victims from using the criminal justice system...they have these hoops for women to jump through and when the women get discouraged, they blame the women.”

Therefore change must begin with local police departments and communities and move out from there. Concerned citizens, advocacy groups, and social service agencies should contact their local police departments and representatives in order to begin the process. This dataset contains an excellent collection of issues that should serve as a starting point for policymakers, so the following policy concerns should be considered first.

- **The Three-Day Rule** – In many jurisdictions, IPV victims are told to wait three days to file charges. Unfortunately, violence may escalate in this time period, increasing risk of IPH and collateral IPH.
- **Mandatory Arrests in Domestic Violence** – Lawmakers should consider adjusting the evidence needed to arrest an abuser. Many communities still require signs of physical abuse before making an arrest. Macomb County is an exemplar of policy change in this area, as they now require their officers to make arrests based on information and belief that an assault has occurred.
- **Stalking Laws** – Stalking laws should be revised so that they better protect IPV victims. Stalking laws are unique in that they can serve as an additional “layer” of protection if executed properly.
- **Uniform Law Enforcement Policy** – Consideration should be given to establishing a standardized protocol for protecting IPV victims and their families / friends from abuse. There is potential for creating research-informed policy at

both state and national levels, sending the message that as a society, the United States will not tolerate IPV, IPH, or collateral IPH.

According to a domestic violence expert, “Law is a lot better than it used to be in Michigan, especially with the stalking and domestic violence laws, but there are still improvements that need to be made to take every advantage of those laws.” This quote is a call clear call for tailored policy change that takes the unique challenges and demographics of battered women into account. However, in order for this change to occur, societal attitudes must shift. This begins with a more contextual understanding of intimate partner homicide. As one article concludes, “But all of society needs to own up to this.” The public needs to view IPV as a serious social and public health problem and work together to reform laws so that they better protect victims and their loved ones from harm.

### ***Service Provider Implications***

Professionals and advocates working in the violence against women movement (VAW) can also utilize findings from this dissertation, as it is vital that those working directly with victims and their families keep their finger on the “pulse” of IPV reporting practices.

In addition to regularly updating and collecting newspaper articles, domestic violence programs and media professionals need to forge a stronger partnership. If these two groups improve inter-organizational communication, a mutually beneficial relationship will emerge. The production of collaborative training manuals with media outlets is one worthwhile effort. For example, the Michigan Coalition Against Domestic

and Sexual Violence (MCADSV) currently provides media toolkits for journalists and service providers (Michigan Coalition Against Domestic and Sexual Violence, 2008). Additionally, the Rhode Island Coalition Against Domestic Violence (RICADV) developed a handbook of best practices for reporting IPV that acknowledges the numerous constraints journalists work under (Ryan, Anastario, & DaCunha, 2006). Their particular model has become the standard for other states that have created their own guidebooks as well (e.g., Arizona Coalition Against Domestic Violence, 2003; Washington State Coalition Against Domestic Violence, 2002).

Lastly, advocates and service providers should incorporate information on collateral IPV and IPH into their training protocols and manuals. Most agencies primarily focus their training efforts on the principal IPV victim. However crisis intervention should be extended to family members and friends as well. For example, the National Coalition Against Domestic Violence (NCADV) currently publishes training manuals on numerous topics such as teen dating violence, the provision of services to disabled populations, and criminal justice issues (i.e., child custody issues, child witnessing of domestic violence, failure to protect, etc). Each of these resources is freely accessible to advocacy programs across the country (National Coalition Against Domestic Violence, 2008) and should be updated as new research is published. By doing so, agencies will be better equipped to respond to principal IPV victims that have lost children, parents, or friends. This is not to say crisis support and counseling are not currently offered to a range of individuals, but as researchers learn more about the intricacies of collateral IPH, training should be adjusted as well.

## ***Conclusion***

Findings from this study have numerous implications for those within and outside academia. Not only will these exploratory results facilitate more sophisticated inquiries into the nature and reporting of collateral IPH, they can be used in training curricula for social service providers, journalists, legislators, police, lawyers etc. The general public will also benefit from more comprehensive, contextual reporting on IPH. If people are only provided with minimal background or misinformation on intimate relationships that end in violence (e.g., they engaged in a “dispute”), the public will never get a comprehensive picture of the methods and tactics behind male-perpetrated IPV. Lastly, as the theory of coercive control continues to expand, further insight into the controlling nature of IPH can be diffused to the public, dispelling long-held myths of domestic violence and its primary causes.

## APPENDICIES

## APPENDIX A

### Newspapers Included in Dissertation Sample



#	Newspaper	# Of Articles	% Of Sample
1	Alpena News	1	0.47%
2	Ann Arbor News	6	2.79%
3	The Argus Press	2	0.93%
4	Battle Creek Enquirer	11	5.12%
5	Bay City Times	9	4.19%
6	Cheboygan Daily Tribune	1	0.47%
7	The Chesterfield Review	1	0.47%
8	Coldwater Daily Reporter	1	0.47%
9	Commercial News	3	1.40%
10	The Daily Globe	2	0.93%
11	Daily News – Midland	3	1.40%
12	The Daily News – Greenville	1	0.47%
13	The Daily News – Iron Mountain	2	0.93%
14	Daily Telegram	2	0.93%
15	Daily Tribune	1	0.47%
16	Detroit Free Press	30	13.95%
17	Detroit News and Free Press	7	3.26%
18	Detroit News	12	5.58%
19	Flint Journal	8	3.72%
20	Gaylord Herald Times	3	1.40%
21	Grand Haven Tribune	2	0.93%
22	Grand Rapids Press	10	4.65%
23	Greenville Daily News	1	0.47%
24	The Herald Palladium	2	0.93%
25	Hillsdale Daily News	4	1.86%
26	Holland Sentinel	3	1.40%
27	Jackson Citizen Patriot	8	3.72%
28	Kalamazoo Gazette	12	5.58%
29	Lansing State Journal	19	8.84%
30	Livingston County Press	3	1.40%
31	The Macomb Daily	2	0.93%
32	Maple Valley News	1	0.47%
33	Mining Journal	1	0.47%
34	Morning Sun	1	0.47%
35	Muskegon Chronicle	16	7.44%
36	News Advocate	1	0.47%
37	Niles Daily Star	1	0.47%
38	Oakland County Legal Review	1	0.47%
39	Oakland Press	6	2.79%
40	Ogemaw County Herald	1	0.47%
41	Oscoda County Herald	1	0.47%
42	The Pioneer	2	0.93%
43	Saginaw News	3	1.40%
44	Sentinel Standard	1	0.47%
45	Sturgis Journal	2	0.93%
46	Times Herald	1	0.47%
47	Traverse City Record Eagle	1	0.47%
48	Wyandotte News Herald	1	0.47%
49	Unknown Newspaper / Publication Date	2	0.93%
		<b>TOTAL = 215</b>	<b>100%</b>

**APPENDIX B**

**Collateral IPH Coding Sheet**

## Collateral IPH Coding Sheet

Coder ID (Bryce=1; Brendan=2): \_\_\_\_\_

### Story Identification

(A) SIDV1: Story ID number: \_\_\_\_\_

(B) SIDV2: Story Date (mm/dd/yy) \_\_\_\_\_

### Newspaper Information

(C) NPV1: Newspaper ID number: \_\_\_\_\_

(D) NPV2: Sex of Reporter: \_\_\_\_\_

- 1=male
- 2=female
- 3=unknown

(1) NPV3: Victim/ Perpetrator Story Position

Please document when the following individuals were introduced in the story: Mark 1 (first), 2 (second), or 3 (third)

Principal IPV Victim \_\_\_\_\_  
Collateral IPV Victim(s) \_\_\_\_\_  
Perpetrator \_\_\_\_\_

### General Story Characteristics

(2) SCV1: Crime Stage: \_\_\_\_\_

- 0=can't tell
- 1=crime commission through arrest
- 2=judicial proceedings (**events that occur from trial to sentencing and legal appeals**)
- 3=aftermath (**an aftermath story is one that discusses the implications, outcomes of the homicide(s), including family reactions to sentencing, funerals, etc.**)

(3) SCV2: Crime Victims (**for the present collateral IPH ONLY**):

- 0=not mentioned
- 1=mentioned

SCV2a Principal IPV victim (**current or ex-partner of perpetrator**) \_\_\_\_\_  
SCV2b Children of principal victim, perpetrator, or both \_\_\_\_\_  
SCV2c Family of IPV victim \_\_\_\_\_  
SCV2d Friends of IPV victim \_\_\_\_\_  
SCV2e New boyfriend, girlfriend \_\_\_\_\_  
SCV2f Neighbors/bystanders \_\_\_\_\_  
SCV2g Other \_\_\_\_\_ (write in)

(4) SCV3: Suicide: Did the perpetrator commit suicide in this article? \_\_\_\_\_

0=no  
1=yes

**Principal Victim Portrayals**

(5) PV1: Principal IPV Victim Sex \_\_\_\_\_

1=male 2=female 0=not provided

(6) PV2: Was the principal IPV victim killed in this story? \_\_\_\_\_

0=no  
1=yes

**Collateral Victim Portrayals**

(7) CV1: Total Number of collateral victims: \_\_\_\_\_

**Please complete the following for each collateral victim in article (Note: please default on the order in which collaterals are presented in article for organizational purposes) –**

**Collateral Victim #1 (0=no; 1=yes)**

(8) CV2: Collateral Victim Name: \_\_\_\_\_

(9) CV3: Collateral Victim Age: \_\_\_\_\_

(10) CV4: Collateral victim #1 sex

Male \_\_\_\_\_  
Female \_\_\_\_\_

(11) CV5: Collateral victim's relationship to principal IPV victim and / or perpetrator:

Victim's child \_\_\_\_\_  
Perpetrator's child \_\_\_\_\_  
Child of both principal IPV victim and perpetrator \_\_\_\_\_  
Victim's mother \_\_\_\_\_  
Victim's father \_\_\_\_\_  
Perpetrator's mother \_\_\_\_\_  
Perpetrator's father \_\_\_\_\_  
IPV Victim's new boyfriend, love interest \_\_\_\_\_  
Other Family \_\_\_\_\_  
Friend \_\_\_\_\_  
Other (write-in) \_\_\_\_\_

(12) CV6: Was any explanation provided for homicide?

YES \_\_\_\_\_  
NO \_\_\_\_\_

(13) CV7: If yes, what were they?

- CV7a Accident (*i.e. individual caught in the crossfire*) \_\_\_\_\_  
CV7b Result of principal relationship conflict or fight (*i.e. ongoing argument; marital dispute; custody or visitation issues; relationship problems including divorce, separation, or being "estranged"*) \_\_\_\_\_  
CV7c Intentional or Premeditated (*i.e. the perpetrator intended to kill them as the homicide(s) was/were planned in advance*) \_\_\_\_\_  
CV7e Story did not provide information \_\_\_\_\_  
CV7f Other explanation \_\_\_\_\_

**Collateral Victim #2 (0=no; 1=yes)**

(14) CV8: Collateral Victim #2 Name: \_\_\_\_\_

(15) CV9: Collateral Victim #2 Age: \_\_\_\_\_

(16) CV10: Collateral victim #2 sex

Male \_\_\_\_\_  
Female \_\_\_\_\_

(17) CV11: Collateral victim's relationship to principal IPV victim and / or perpetrator:

Victim's child \_\_\_\_\_  
Perpetrator's child \_\_\_\_\_  
Child of both principal IPV victim and perpetrator \_\_\_\_\_  
Victim's mother \_\_\_\_\_  
Victim's father \_\_\_\_\_  
Perpetrator's mother \_\_\_\_\_  
Perpetrator's father \_\_\_\_\_  
New boyfriend, love interest \_\_\_\_\_  
Other family \_\_\_\_\_  
Friend \_\_\_\_\_  
Other (write-in) \_\_\_\_\_

(18) CV12: Was any explanation provided for homicide?

YES \_\_\_\_\_  
NO \_\_\_\_\_

(19) CV13: If yes, what were they?

- CV13a Accident (*i.e. individual caught in the crossfire*) \_\_\_\_\_  
CV13b Result of principal relationship conflict or fight (*i.e. ongoing argument; marital dispute; relationship problems including divorce, separation, or being "estranged"*) \_\_\_\_\_  
CV13c Intentional or Premeditated (*i.e. the perpetrator intended to kill them as the homicide(s) was/were planned in advance*) \_\_\_\_\_  
CV13d Custody or visitation dispute \_\_\_\_\_  
CV13e Story did not provide information \_\_\_\_\_  
CV13f Other explanation \_\_\_\_\_

**Collateral Victim #3 (0=no; 1=yes)**

(20) CV14: Collateral victim #3 name: \_\_\_\_\_

(21) CV15: Collateral victim #3 age: \_\_\_\_\_

(22) CV16: Collateral victim #3 sex

Male \_\_\_\_\_

Female \_\_\_\_\_

(23) CV17: Collateral victim's relationship to principal IPV victim and / or perpetrator:

Victim's child \_\_\_\_\_

Perpetrator's child \_\_\_\_\_

Child of both principal IPV victim and perpetrator \_\_\_\_\_

Victim's mother \_\_\_\_\_

Victim's father \_\_\_\_\_

Perpetrator's mother \_\_\_\_\_

Perpetrator's father \_\_\_\_\_

New boyfriend, love interest \_\_\_\_\_

Other family \_\_\_\_\_

Friend \_\_\_\_\_

Other (write-in) \_\_\_\_\_

(24) CV18: Was any explanation provided for homicide?

YES \_\_\_\_\_

NO \_\_\_\_\_

(25) CV19: If yes, what were they?

CV19a Accident (*i.e. individual caught in the crossfire*) \_\_\_\_\_

CV19b Result of principal relationship conflict or fight (*i.e. ongoing argument; marital dispute; relationship problems including divorce, separation, or being "estranged"*) \_\_\_\_\_

CV19c Intentional or Premeditated (*i.e. the perpetrator intended to kill them as the homicide(s) was/were planned in advance*) \_\_\_\_\_

CV19d Custody or visitation dispute \_\_\_\_\_

CV19e Story did not provide information \_\_\_\_\_

CV19f Other explanation \_\_\_\_\_

**Collateral Victim #4 (0=no; 1=yes)**

(26) CV20: Collateral victim #4 name: \_\_\_\_\_

(27) CV21: Collateral victim #4 age: \_\_\_\_\_

(28) CV22: Collateral victim #4 sex

Male \_\_\_\_\_

Female \_\_\_\_\_

(29) CV23: Collateral victim's relationship to principal IPV victim and / or perpetrator:

Victim's child \_\_\_\_\_  
Perpetrator's child \_\_\_\_\_  
Child of both principal IPV victim and perpetrator \_\_\_\_\_  
Victim's mother \_\_\_\_\_  
Victim's father \_\_\_\_\_  
Perpetrator's mother \_\_\_\_\_  
Perpetrator's father \_\_\_\_\_  
New boyfriend, love interest \_\_\_\_\_  
Other family \_\_\_\_\_  
Friend \_\_\_\_\_  
Other (write-in) \_\_\_\_\_

(30) CV24: Was any explanation provided for homicide?

YES \_\_\_\_\_  
NO \_\_\_\_\_

(31) CV25: If yes, what were they?

CV25a Accident (*i.e. individual caught in the crossfire*) \_\_\_\_\_  
CV25b Result of principal relationship conflict or fight (*i.e. ongoing argument; marital dispute; relationship problems including divorce, separation, or being "estranged"*) \_\_\_\_\_  
CV25c Intentional or Premeditated (*i.e. the perpetrator intended to kill them as the homicide(s) was/were planned in advance*) \_\_\_\_\_  
CV25d Custody or visitation dispute \_\_\_\_\_  
CV25e Story did not provide information \_\_\_\_\_  
CV25f Other explanation \_\_\_\_\_

### Perpetrator Information

(32) PP1: Perpetrator Sex \_\_\_\_\_

1=man 2=woman

(33) PP2: Perpetrator history of violence: \_\_\_\_\_

0=No information included  
1=Information of prior violence included

(34) PP3: Perpetrator's prior violence (**actual physical violence or threats of physical violence**): Code all that apply (0=N/A or not mentioned, 1=mentioned).

PP3a Prior violence against IPV victim \_\_\_\_\_  
PP3b Prior violence against IPV victim's children \_\_\_\_\_  
PP3c Prior violence against own children \_\_\_\_\_  
PP3d Prior violence against other family members \_\_\_\_\_  
PP3e Prior violence against IPV victim's new intimate partner \_\_\_\_\_  
PP3f Prior violence against non-family members \_\_\_\_\_  
PP3g Personal Protection Orders issued against perpetrator \_\_\_\_\_  
PP3h Other \_\_\_\_\_ (write in; assign unique number) \_\_\_\_\_

(35) PP4: Homicide(s) Portrayal: Based on witness testimony regarding the current homicide, how is the incident portrayed (mark 0 or 1)?

PP4a It was shocking, unexpected (**look for quotes describing shock, surprise, and information on how he was a good father, husband, etc.**) \_\_\_\_\_

PP4b It was deliberate, expected (**i.e., the homicide was premeditated or calculated**) \_\_\_\_\_

PP4c The story is not clear \_\_\_\_\_

(36) PP5: Was the proposed motivation for the collateral homicide related to the principal intimate relationship (i.e. impending divorce, marital dispute, cheating, jealousy, etc.)?

PP5a YES \_\_\_\_\_

PP5b NO \_\_\_\_\_

PP5c N/A or not clear \_\_\_\_\_

### **Violence Symmetry**

(37) VSV1: Was mutual fighting or conflict discussed in the article between the perpetrator and other involved parties (**i.e. the principal or collateral victims**)? Note: This need not be limited to the current incident. \_\_\_\_\_

0=no

1=yes

### **Violence Cause**

(38) VCV1a: Story contains causal attribution (**if you answer "1", please complete VCV1b**) \_\_\_\_\_

0=N/A or no causal attribution in story

1=story contains causal attribution

(39) VCV1b: Causes of Violence \_\_\_\_\_

1=violence attributed to individual factors (**e.g. relationship conflict, anger, mental health issues, drug abuse, etc.**)

2=violence attributed to social factors (**e.g. unemployment, financial problems**)

3=violence attributed to both (**e.g. "He was angry about marital troubles and just lost his job"**)

### **Crime Context Information**

(40) CCV1: Story mentions prior harm / abuse against principal IPV victim \_\_\_\_\_

0=no story mention

1=story states that there was no prior harm / abuse

2=story mentions prior harm / abuse

(41) CCV2: Story mentions prior harm / abuse against collateral IPV victim \_\_\_\_\_

0=no story mention

1=story states that there was no prior harm / abuse

2=story mentions prior harm / abuse



(42) CCV3: Was IPV or domestic violence **explicitly** mentioned in the article? \_\_\_\_\_

0=NO  
1= YES

(43) CCV5: If yes, please write the relevant quote here:

---

---

---

(44) CCV6: Overall, was the current homicide(s) presented as an isolated crime (i.e., the "frame" focuses only on the present incident)? \_\_\_\_\_

0=NO  
1=YES

## APPENDIX C

### Coder Reliability Results

## Reliability Results

Variable Label	Variable Description	Percent Agreement	Scott's Pi
D	Sex of Reporter	0.933	0.905
1	Victim / Perpetrator Story Position	1.0	1.0
3a	Crime Victims: Principal IPV Victim	1.0	1.0
3b	Crime Victims: Children of Principal Victim, Perpetrator, or both	0.977	0.872
3c	Crime Victims: Family of IPV Victim	1.0	1.0
3d	Crime Victims: Friends of IPV Victim	1.0	1.0
3e	Crime Victims: New Boyfriend / Girlfriend	1.0	1.0
3f	Crime Victims: Neighbors / Bystanders	1.0	1.0
3g	Crime Victims: Other	1.0	1.0
5	Principal Victim Sex	1.0	1.0
6	Was Principal Victim Killed in Story?	0.933	0.867
7	Total # of Collateral Victims	1.0	1.0
9; 15; 21; 27	Collateral Victim Age	0.963	0.954
10; 16; 22; 28	Collateral Victim Sex	0.975	0.951
11; 17; 23; 29	Collateral Victim's Relationship to IPV Victim and/or Perpetrator	0.942	0.92
12; 18; 24; 30	Any Explanation Provided for Collateral IPH? (Yes or No)	0.957	0.907
13a; 19a; 25a; 31a	Explanation: Accident	1.0	1.0
13b; 19b; 25b; 31b	Explanation: Principal Relationship Conflict or Fight	0.917	0.833*
13c; 19c; 25c; 31c	Explanation: Intentional or Premeditated	0.967	0.874
13d; 19d; 25d; 31d	Explanation: Story did not provide Information	0.983	0.967
13e; 19e; 25e; 31e	Explanation: Other Explanation	0.983	0.97
32	Perpetrator Sex	1.0	1.0
33	Perpetrator History of Violence	0.933	0.841*
PP3a	Perpetrator's Prior Violence: Against Principal IPV Victim	0.967	0.902
PP3b	Perpetrator's Prior Violence: Against Principal IPV Victim's Children	1.0	1.0
34c	Perpetrator's Prior Violence: Against Own Children	1.0	1.0
34d	Perpetrator's Prior Violence: Against Other Family Members	1.0	1.0
34e	Perpetrator's Prior Violence: Against Principal IPV Victim's New Intimate Partner	1.0	1.0
34f	Perpetrator's Prior Violence: Against Non-Family Members	1.0	1.0
34g	Perpetrator's Prior Violence: PPOs Issued against Perpetrator	1.0	1.0
34h	Perpetrator's Prior Violence: Other	1.0	1.0
35a	Perpetrator Portrayal: Homicide Portrayed as Shocking, Unexpected	0.933	0.814*
35b	Perpetrator Portrayal: Homicide Portrayed as Deliberate, Expected	1.0	1.0
35c	Perpetrator Portrayal: Story is not Clear	0.933	0.864
36a	Motivation for CIPH Related to Principal Relationship: Yes	0.933	0.864

36b	Motivation for CIPH Related to Principal Relationship: No	0.933	0.63*
36c	Motivation for CIPH Related to Principal Relationship: Not Clear	0.933	0.864
37	Violence Symmetry: Mutual Conflict or Fighting Discussed in Article	0.933	0.814*
38	Story Contains Causal Attribution: Yes or No	0.933	0.814*
39	Causes of Violence: Individual Factors, Social Factors, or Both	0.933	0.852
40	Crime Context: Story Mentions Prior Abuse Against Principal IPV Victim (Yes or No)	1.0	1.0
41	Crime Context: Story Mentions Prior Abuse Against Collateral IPV Victim	1.0	1.0
42	Crime Context: DV or IPV Explicitly Mentioned in Article (Yes or No)	1.0	N/A
44	Crime Context: Overall, Collateral Homicide(s) Presented as Isolated Crime	1.0	1.0

**APPENDIX D**

**Collateral IPH Qualitative Coding Sheet**

## Collateral IPH Qualitative Coding Sheet

### **Story Identification**

SIDV1: Story ID number: \_\_\_\_\_

SIDV2: Story Date (mmddy) \_\_\_\_\_

SIDV3: Page where story found \_\_\_\_\_

1=Page One 2=Section Front Page 3=Inside Page 4=Can't Tell

### **Newspaper Information**

NPV1: Newspaper ID number: \_\_\_\_\_

### **Generic Framing Characteristics**

Definition of Problem:

Cause of Crime (i.e., diagnosis):

*Moral Judgments regarding the collateral IPH:*

*Any remedies suggested:*

**Article Themes / Points of Interest:**

**Family Violence Sentences:**

**Coercive Control Sentences:**

Final Assessment / Interpretive Package:

**Does this article align more with family violence or coercive control theory?**

**FAMILY VIOLENCE**

**COERCIVE CONTROL**

Notes:



## APPENDIX E

### Example Qualitative Analysis Matrices

### Example Qualitative Analysis Matrices

Article ID	Problem	Cause	Moral / Remedies	Emerging Themes
1-1				
1-2				

Article ID	Family Violence Sentences	Coercive Control Sentences
1-1		
1-2		

Article ID	FV	CC	Unclear	Conclusions
1-1	X			
1-2		X		

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