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A Statewide Profile of Abuse of Older Women and the Criminal Justice Response

March 24, 2008

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Introduction

The Challenge:

The abuse of older women is largely hidden in our society. Research on the extent and nature of elder abuse has been limited, compromised by the incompleteness of reporting to Adult Protective Services (APS), which generates much of the currently available data (Teaster, et.al. 2006; Tatara, et.al., 1998). Research based on broader community surveys suggests that law enforcement domestic/family violence incident reports may provide much more complete (Wolf and Pillemer, 1997; Pillemer and Finkelhor (1998) , or at least additional data, because, as other research has found, up to 90 percent of elder abuse is perpetrated by family members (NCEA, 1998). At the same time, however, law enforcement data can vary significantly from state to state, and can be compromised by various disincentives to report.

Most research on domestic violence victims concentrates on younger victims who constitute the vast majority of domestic violence victims. According to the National Crime Victim Survey (NCVS), for example, the rate for adult intimate victimization for adults under age 50 is 6.3 to 17 per 1,000 population compared to only 1.4 or less for victims 50 or over (Catalano, 2006).

As a result of these data limitations, it has been difficult for researchers to accurately describe elder abuse in the first instance, and then to develop reliable models for analyzing the effects of different interventions and policy frameworks (Tatara, et.al., 1998).

The Project:

To provide a more complete picture of older women abuse, their abusers, the abuse and the response of state authorities to their reported abuse, researchers examined a state population of all women fifty and over who were victims of domestic violence reported to law enforcement over an entire year. Researchers wanted to know who was being abused, by whom, how, and

what was the criminal justice response, as well as which victims and suspects would be involved in subsequent domestic violence.

Data examined in regard to each reported incident included victim, offender, and incident characteristics, as well as the criminal justice response and whether or not either the study victim or suspect was involved in new domestic violence. In regard to the latter, researchers compared both victims and suspects involved in new domestic violence with those who were not to determine which of the victim, suspect, incident and criminal justice response variables examined constituted either risk or protective factors for subsequent abuse.

Researchers then investigated two sets of finding in regard to victim/suspect subgroups. First, to better understand the effects of victim age on abuse, cases of victims aged 50 and above were compared to cases involving women victims under age 50 for the same year and data set. Based on the differences found between cases involving under age 50 victims and those 50 or older, the 50 and older victim cases were further subdivided into those 50 to 59 years and 60 or above. The divide at 60 was made because most state adult state elder abuse statutes define “elder” as 60 years and above (Teaster, et. al., 2006, at 9). These victim age-based comparisons revealed a significant and fundamental difference in age related abuse, the relationships of the victims to their abusers. As a result, researchers completed the second set of comparisons, cases involving victims of intimate partners and those involving family members.

To assist in understanding the findings, researchers also conducted a series of interviews with relevant Rhode Island law enforcement, court, and adult protective officials and advocates involved in responding to older woman abuse. In addition, researchers reviewed 25 police incident narratives from among the study incidents to provide real life examples to illustrate major findings.

The Research

Hypotheses

In proposing this research project, based on an analysis of the literature, the following hypotheses were made:

a) As suggested in the literature (see, e.g., Steinmetz, 1993), older women are likely to be abused by family members or relatives acting as caregivers, be visibly injured, and require medical attention as a result of the incident.

b) As documented in adult protective surveys (see, e.g. Teaster, et.al.2006), older women are unlikely to have initiated a call to police regarding an incident and are unlikely to cooperate with police.

c) Police are not likely to arrest older victims' abusers and only a marginal number of cases will be prosecuted.

d) Consistent with research that finds 25 to 30% of women abused by intimate, family, or household members are reabused after criminal justice intervention (see, e.g. Maxwell, et. al. 2001 for arrest; Klein, et. al. 2005 for probation; Gondolf, 1997 for treatment; and Carlson, et. al. 1999 for protective orders), but that abuse declines with age (Heckert & Gondolf, 2005), less than 25% percent of older women will experience repeated abuse over the study period.

e) Consistent with the literature on domestic violence (Klein, 2004), victim re-abuse is associated with an abuser's prior criminal history, not victim or incident characteristics.

f) The state's response to the initial incident will have the greatest impact on re-abuse. As suggested by several domestic violence prosecution studies (see, e.g., Wooldredge &

Thistlewaite, (2005); Ventura & Davis, 2004), more punitive responses (e.g. arrest and prosecution) will result in the lowest rates of re-abuse.

Study Site

Researchers examined every domestic violence report made to state and local law enforcement across the state of Rhode Island in 2002 involving women victims fifty and older. These reports include every incident, whether or not police ultimately arrested the alleged suspect that meets the statutory definition of “domestic violence.” Rhode Island was chosen for this study for the following reasons:

First, “domestic violence” is defined broadly (R.I. Gen. Laws § 12-29-2), including any incident, whether violent or not, that involves current or former intimates, married or not, couples with a child in common whether they ever lived together or not, dating partners, family members, or members of the same household.

Second, for this and other reasons, Rhode Island has a large number of reported cases. The number actually exceeds the estimated incidence rates for domestic violence against women 50 and over established by the National Crime Victim Survey (NCVS) (Catalano, 2006) based on data obtained from 1993 through 2004. The Rhode Island rates are higher notwithstanding the fact that they are limited to incidents *reported* to police whereas the NCVS numbers are based on victim reports to interviewers. According to the NCVS, up to 50% of victims do not report their abuse to police.

As illustrated in Exhibit 1 below, comparable data find Rhode Island older women, for example, reported intimate abuse rates higher for both older women, 50 to 64, and women 65 and over than that found in the NCVS.

Exhibit 1: Comparison of Older Women Intimate Abuse Rates Reported to R.I. Police and Found in National Crime Victim Survey

Women Age	Reported Intimate Abuse per 1,000 (NCVS)	Intimate Abuse Reported to R.I. Law Enforcement per 1,000
50 to 64	1.4	2.1
65 and older	0.2	0.36

The Rhode Island reports may be higher because they are not limited to self-reports relied on by victims alone as relied upon in the NCVS. As the study revealed, a little more than a third of the incident reports were not made by the victim. Additionally, unless abuse is indeed worse in Rhode Island than nationally, not indicated by domestic violence homicides and other data, victims may under report their abuse in the national survey. When contacted by telephone, for example, the victim's abuser may be in a position to monitor the victim's responses to the NCVS interviewer.

Data Sources

Rhode Island law enforcement officers are required to file all domestic violence incident reports as well as a supplementary DV/SA Reporting Form to a central court repository, the Domestic Violence Training and Monitoring Unit (Unit). The data from the DV/SA form provided most of the data for the study, although researchers also reviewed 25 incident report narratives accompanying the DV/SA reports to illustrate the quantitative findings. A copy of the DV/SA (2005 revised) form is contained in Appendix A. It contains the same data as the form used in 2002 although reformatted.

Researchers also accessed Unit data to obtain information on cases involving victims who were under age fifty. There were 6,200 DV/SA reports filed for women victims below age 50 reported to Rhode Island in 2002. Unlike the data for fifty and older victims, these reports are by incident, not unduplicated victims or suspects. Prior research suggests that approximately 13% of reported Rhode Island domestic violence cases in any given year involve duplicate parties

(Dubois & Klein, 2004). Because the under 50 data may be skewed due to multiple reports on the same victims and suspects, they were used solely for trend comparisons.

In addition to the police incident reports and DV/SA data, researchers completed Rhode Island court record checks on all of the alleged suspects to determine prior criminal histories and outcomes of any charges that resulted from the 2002 study incident(s). The record checks were obtained from the Rhode Island Courts' automated database called CourtConnect. CourtConnect only provides records from 1979 for felonies and the mid-1980's for misdemeanors and only covers offenses committed in Rhode Island. Offenses that may have been committed across the border in Massachusetts or Connecticut are not included. With only four criminal courts and one centralized registry of court cases in Rhode Island, CourtConnect data are consistently coded and appear to be complete.

The Unit DV/SA repository and CourtConnect were also the sources used to determine revictimization of study victims as well as suspects who were charged in court for new domestic violence.

Independent Study Variables

The independent variables are organized into conceptual clusters, includes those relating to victim characteristics, abuser characteristics, the nature of the incident, and the state's response to the incident. The complete list of case characteristics examined is contained in the DV/SA form in Appendix B.

Victim and Victim-related Characteristics, including age; gender; race/ethnicity; whether victim had restraining/no contact order; experienced prior assault by suspect.

Abuser Characteristics, including age; gender; race/ethnicity; prior criminal history/domestic violence (including charges, sentences of probation and imprisonments); possession of weapons and if currently on probation.

Incident Characteristics, whether location of incident was public or private; weapon used to injure or threaten; witness present; minor children present; violation of restraining/no contact order; victim visibly injured; required medical care; offense (misdemeanor or felony); including whether it involved a physical assault or other crime.

Criminal Justice Response Characteristics, including whether police gathered evidence, photographed the victim, suspect or crime scene; arrested suspect or issued warrant; referred the victim to the Department of Elder Affairs (Adult Protective Services) for services; whether prosecutors charged suspects in court; the charges filed; and court dispositions.

Dependent Outcome Variables

The study uses two outcome measures.

Revictimization: Revictimization includes any domestic violence incident reported to Rhode Island police involving the same study victim after the 2002 study incident, including new abuse reports later in 2002, 2003 and/or 2004. The suspect involved in the subsequent reports is identified as the same as the study incident suspect, different, or both if there were multiple subsequent incidents during this period involving same and different suspects.

Reabuse: Reabuse includes any new Rhode Island court case involving the study suspect through mid-2007, whether or not the subsequent victim is the same as the initial study victim. While CourtConnect reveals whether or not the subsequent court case involves domestic violence or not, it does not reveal the identity of the victim. Therefore, for reabuse, the measure is limited to “yes” or “no” and if “yes,” the number of new cases brought. New domestic

violence charges filed in court represent a more conservative measure than the filing of a DV/SA report although the reporting period for reabuse is two and half years longer.

It should be noted that both revictimization and reabuse measures are conservative, limited to incidents that are reported to Rhode Island police in the former cases and result in court arraignment in a Rhode Island court in the latter. Incidents involving abusers or victims that may occur across the border in Massachusetts or Connecticut are not included.

Data Set (N)

Excluding multiple reports involving the same victim, there were 403 incidents involving older women victims. An additional thirteen of the older female victims were victims of sexual assaults. However, only five of the sexual assaults were allegedly committed by intimate partners, family or household members, as opposed to strangers, friends or acquaintances. Therefore, the population of abused women, 50 and older, reported in Rhode Island as victims of “domestic violence” (including sexual assault) in 2002 totaled 408. These incidents involved slightly more suspects, 411, because three of the incidents involved two suspects in each incident.

The research is, therefore, based on a state population of 408 abused female victims, aged 50 or older, reported to police in 2002. The total number of suspects is 411. However, police did not obtain the dates of birth of eight of the suspects. As a result, prior and subsequent criminal histories could only be obtained for 403 of the suspects.

Analytic Approach for Quantitative Data:

The data analysis involves three major levels of examination described below: 1) descriptive statistics; 2) bivariate analysis; and 3) multiple logistic regression.

Descriptive Statistics: Descriptive statistics formed the basis of the analysis and are used to provide simple summaries about the study population and all of the other study measures. At the descriptive level, the distribution and frequency of all items were examined. Appendix B includes descriptive means, standard deviations, and ranges for continuous variables and frequencies, and proportions for categorical variables.

Bivariate Relationships: As part of the descriptive analysis, researchers explored bivariate associations for each of the victim, abuser, incident, response characteristics, and differences in the rates of reabuse/revictimization. In the second section of the report, bivariate analysis was used to compare cases victims 50 through 59 and 60 and over. It was also used to compare cases of victims who were abused by intimates and those abused by non-intimate family members.

Depending on the variable type, t-tests and chi-square tests were performed to document the association between the independent variables and the outcome variables of re-victimization and re-abuse. For each of the two dichotomous dependent variables, logistic regression was conducted with continuous independent variables, and chi-square tests used for examining associations with other dichotomous variables in the model. In addition to levels of statistical significance, both of these analytic techniques produce odds ratios for the strength of association between the dichotomous dependent variables and independent variables.

Multivariate Techniques: While descriptive statistics and bivariate analyses are useful for describing victim attributes, abuser characteristics, the nature of the incident, and the state's response, these analyses do not allow for the evaluation of the independent influences of all of the factors taken together. To accomplish this, in the final stage of analysis, we used multiple logistic regression. For each of the dichotomized dependent variables (victim was revictimized

again by the same person in the subsequent two years; and suspect was charged in court for domestic violence in the subsequent four years), multiple logistic regression was used to examine the likelihood of re-victimization and reabuse while controlling for all other independent variables. The predictor of primary interest is the state's response to the reported abuse incident. The main effects of the independent variables on revictimization and re-abuse are illustrated by using adjusted odds ratios and corresponding 95 percent confidence intervals (Hosmer & Lemeshow, 1989).

Logistic regression estimates the probability of a certain event occurring. The goal of this technique is to predict correctly the category of outcome for individual cases using the most parsimonious model. With numerous independent variables in the study model, variable selection techniques were used. All variables significant at the 0.05 level in correlation analyses were entered into backward stepwise analyses while controlling for all other variables, and findings were confirmed with forward stepwise analyses. Correlations between independent variables were examined to check for multicollinearity. Variables significant at the 0.05 level in the stepwise runs were entered into the full model runs.

Initial runs tested effects variable by variable and then cluster by cluster (e.g., does the state's response have a greater effect on predicting re-abuse/revictimization, and if so, what variable(s) in this cluster cause this to happen?).

Multivariate logistic regression is a widely used analytic approach because it allows for the analysis of the relationship between a dichotomous dependent variable and multiple independent variables that may be continuous, discrete, dichotomous, or a mix of any of these (Tabachnick and Fidell, 1996). Additionally, logistic regression is more flexible than other

methods in its assumptions: it does not require that the independent variables be normally distributed, linearly related, or of equal variance in each group (Tabachnick and Fidell, 1996).

Descriptive statistics answered the following questions: what does police reported abuse look like for women over 50? Who is abused? Who are their abusers? What types of abuse occur and what types are most common? What is the nature of the initial incident (e.g., victim visibly injured, requires medical attention)? What is the law enforcement response to the initial incident (e.g., arrest, elder victims referred to adult protective services)? Which cases are prosecuted and what is the result, if prosecuted (e.g. dismissed, probated or imprisoned)? What is the likelihood that a victim will be re-victimized by the same or different suspect and the suspect go on to engage in repeat domestic violence to the same or different victims?

The bivariate analyses answer the following questions: what are the differences between cases where victims and suspects were involved in subsequent domestic violence and where they were not? How are cases involving elder victims, those 60 or older, different from those of older victims, 50 through 59? Do cases involving victims of non-intimate family members differ from those involving intimates?

The multiple logistic regression analysis answers the question if the state's response (e.g., referral of the case to DEA, arresting the suspect, prosecuting the case, or a combination of any or all of these) have an effect on repeated abuse/victimization over time? What variables are associated with increased likelihood for reabuse/revictimization and what are associated with decreased likelihood for reabuse/revictimization?

Approach for Qualitative Data

Researchers held a series of group and individual interviews with key informants in the fall of 2007. The purpose of these meetings was to explore preliminary quantitative findings with

individuals most involved in the day-to-day work of responding to elder abuse, as well as to capture a more nuanced picture of the problem of elder abuse in Rhode Island and the current practices that address it. Two researchers attended each meeting, which lasted approximately 1-2 hours. The meetings were structured using an open-ended protocol with questions organized by type of respondent.

Key Informants: A total of 24 individuals participated in the meetings, representing a variety of perspectives including personnel from: Rhode Island's Department of Elder Affairs (DEA); a selection of Police Departments; the Office of the Attorney General and its special units on Domestic Violence and Elder Abuse; a selection of Women's Resource Centers and one specialty elder abuse program; Family Services of Rhode Island—the emergency response unit for DEA; Legal Services of Rhode Island; a Law Enforcement Advocate (LEA) and a selection of other individuals who have worked closely on domestic violence and elder abuse issues in Rhode Island.

In addition to interviewing key informants, researchers reviewed 25 police incident reports that provided more extensive narratives about the abuse incidents than contained in the DV/SA forms.

Analytic Approach to Qualitative Data: Meeting notes were transcribed and analyzed for themes, including key areas where researchers found consensus as well as unique perspectives expressed by individuals and groups.

In addition, 25 select police incident reports were reviewed solely to provide examples of the quantitative findings.

Chapter I. Profile of Abuse Cases Involving Female Victims 50 and Over

The report begins with a summary of case profiles for all victims fifty and over who were abused across the state of Rhode Island in 2002 reported to the local and state law enforcement. In addition to state police, Rhode Island has 38 local police departments. The chapter profiles victims, their alleged incident suspects, the incidents, and the criminal justice response, including that of law enforcement, prosecutors and courts. If there were multiple incidents involving the same victim in 2002, the first such incident is considered the “study incident.” Following these descriptive profiles, the research compares those cases where victims were revictimized as measured by subsequent police filings through 2004 and/or suspects were brought to court for subsequent domestic violence offenses through mid-2007. Finally, multiple logistic regression analysis was completed to determine the impact of the state’s response to the reported abuse as well as risk and protective factors for reabuse/revictimization.

A) Victim Profile

1. Gender

Consistent with findings from national surveys (Catalano, 2006) and related research (Klein 2004), the vast majority of domestic violence and sexual assault incident reports filed in Rhode Island involving older victims in 2002 were female. Of the 734 reports of incidents involving victims age 50 and older, 491 involved female victims, representing 66.9% of all 50 and older victim incident reports.

2. Age

As illustrated in the Exhibit 2, two-thirds of the older victims were between 50 and 59. Only 16 were 80 years or older.

Exhibit 2: Age Breakdown of Older Victims

Age	Number	Percent	Cumulative Percent
50-54	182	44.6	44.6
55-59	91	22.3	66.9
60-64	42	10.3	77.2
65-69	24	5.9	83.1
70-74	30	7.4	90.4
75-79	23	5.6	96.1
80-84	8	2.0	98.0
85+	8	2.0	100.0
Total	408	100.0	

Based on Rhode Island's population, as illustrated in Exhibit 3 below, reported abuse of older female victims declines precipitously between ages 50 to 59 and age 60 and over.

Exhibit 3: Rhode Island's Older Population and Abused Female Population (2002)

Age	Population	% of total over 50 women population	DV/SA Reported Victims	Abuse per 1,000 female population
50 to 59	65,265	37.7%	187	2.90
60 and older	107,576	62.2%	135	1.25
Total	172,841	100.0%	408	2.36

3. Race

Rhode Island has relatively few minorities (U.S. Census, 2000). This is also reflected in the population of abused older women. Almost 90% of them are white or white Hispanic, as illustrated in Exhibit 4.

Exhibit #4: Rhode Island Older Abuse Population by Race/Ethnicity

Race/Ethnicity (n=407)	Number	Percentage	% Statewide Population
White	362	88.9	80.0
Black	26	6.4	6.2
White Hispanic	13	3.2	8.9
Black Hispanic	2	0.5	1.8
Asian	2	0.5	2.7
Native American	2	0.5	0.6

Whites appear to be overrepresented among older victims, but this may be an artifact of how local police classify “white Hispanic.” Combining “white Hispanic” with “white” abuse victims, the total white population of victims comes to 92.1% compared to a white population of 88.9%. Hispanic victims are under represented, constituting 3.7% of the older abuse population, although they constitute 10.7% of the state’s population (U.S. Census, 2000). Asians are also under represented among older victims.

4. Victim/Suspect Relationship

Slightly more than half of the suspects (50.3%) were current or former intimates, including married or unmarried, or dating partners of their victims (Exhibit 5). About forty-six percent (45.7%) were other family members. There were also 3.9% who were identified as “cohabitants,” non-intimates, non-relatives who lived with the victims. In three incidents, there was more than one suspect involved. They included the following suspect pairs: 1) daughter and son-in-law; 2) two sons (three years apart in age); and 3) daughter and grandson. Note that Exhibit 5 is based on the *suspect’s* relationship to victims. The three pairs of suspects were all relatives of victims, therefore, the number of *victims* abused by relatives was actually 186.

Exhibit 5: Suspect Relationships to Victims (n=411)

Relationship	Number	Percentage
Married	108	26.3%
Ex-Married	10	2.4%
Current Intimate Partner	55	13.4%
Ex-Intimate	26	6.3%
Cohabitant (not related)	16	3.9%
Dating Partner	8	1.9%
Family Members	189	45.3%

Most of the abuse by non-spousal relatives was intergenerational (94.5%). As illustrated in Exhibit 6, most of the family member abusers were a generation younger, although a little

more than ten percent were two generations younger. Most of the family member abusers were male, although 40.9% were female.

Exhibit 6: Specific Relationships of Family Member Abusers

Relationship	Number	Percent
One Generation Younger	154	82.8
Son	86	46.2
Daughter	50	26.9
Stepson	2	1.1
Stepdaughter	1	0.5
Son-in-law	9	4.8
Daughter-in-law	4	2.1
Nephew	1	0.5
Niece	1	0.5
Two Generations Younger	20	10.8
Grandson	16	8.6
Granddaughter	3	1.6
Step-granddaughter	1	0.5
Same Generation	10	5.4
Brother	4	2.2
Relationship	Number	Percent
Sister	2	1.1
Brother-in-law	1	0.5
Stepbrother	1	0.5
Stepsister	1	0.5
Older Generation	2	1.1
Father	1	0.5
Mother-in-law	1	0.5

5. Minor Children

Given their age, not surprisingly, most of the victims (81.9%) did not have minor children living in their homes.

6. Dwellings and Living Arrangements

A little less than two-thirds of the victims (64.2%) were living with their abusers at the time of the incident. However, it appears that living situations were fluid. While not surprisingly, nine ex-spouses did not live with their victims at the time of the incident, one did and twenty other spouses, still married, did not. While two cohabitants listed as not living

together may appear to be a contradiction in terms, the Rhode Island statute includes persons who lived together anytime in the past three years (§12-29-2(b)) as “cohabitants.”

The majority of both relatives and intimates lived with the victim at the time of the incident, but the latter rate was higher, 68.1% compared to 57.8% for relatives.

Exhibit 7: Victim/Suspect Living Together

Relation	Together	Not Together
Spouse	88	20
Ex-Spouse	1	9
Intimate	44	11
Ex-Intimate	7	19
Dating Partner	1	7
Relative	107	78
Cohabitant	14	2
Total	262	146

A little less than two-thirds (62.5%) of the dwellings were in the victims’ name; 12.3% were in the suspects’ name; 13.4% were in both names; and 11.8% were in neither victims’ nor suspects’ names.

7. Victim Reports of Prior Suspect Abuse

The study included three measures of prior victimization of the study victims. The first is reports made by victims to police of prior *assaults* by their incident suspect that police, in turn, recorded in their incident reports. The second measure is the number of time responding police officers recorded in their reports they had responded to “involved parties” previously. The third is prior protective orders taken out by the victim against the study suspect.

More than a third of the victims, 34.8%, reported they had been *assaulted* by the same suspect previously. Almost forty percent of these victims said they had been assaulted two to five times before. Although two dozen of the victims did not remember when they were first assaulted, of those that did, the first such prior assault occurred on average 5.5 years earlier, a

median of three years. The range of prior assault times ranged from 40 years to one week prior to the study incident.

The victim reports of prior assaults were corroborated, in part, by police. Police reported that they had responded to the parties before in 30.5% of the cases. One would expect the latter number to be smaller than the former because victims do not report all victimizations to police. The NCVS, for example, reports that just over 50% of all incidents are typically reported to police (Catalano, 2006).

Fourteen percent (14.1 %) of victims had obtained protective orders against their suspects prior to the study incident, although only 4.7% had a current order at the time of the study incident.

8. Victim Reaction to Incident

Two-thirds of the victims (65%) called police to report the study abuse incident. It also appears that the majority of victims cooperated with police once they arrived. Once police arrived, 42.4% provided police with a written statement in addition to any oral statement given and 44% pointed out the suspect to police. Combining the two categories, 239 victims, or 58.7%, either provided police with a written statement and/or pointed out the suspect to the police. This percent does not include other victims who may have also been cooperative but were not asked to provide a written statement and could not point out their suspect because he or she fled before police arrived.

Police asked all victims to fill out portions of the DV/SA form, including a body map of injuries, a medical release authorization, and a signature. Only thirteen percent of victims refused to complete the DV/SA form as requested by police. This excludes victims who were unable to

complete the form due to injury or infirmity. About eleven percent (10.8%) were willing but unable to complete the DV/SA forms.

The vast majority of victims who provided written statements or pointed out the suspect agreed to complete the DV/SA forms as requested by police. Only 11 out of 111 victims who pointed out the suspect and 8 out of 173 victims who provided a statement refused to complete the DV/SA form. Therefore, it appears that the vast majority of victims cooperated with police as best they could.

B) Suspect Profile

1. Age, Gender and Race

The average age of older female victims' suspects was 44.9 years, younger than that of their victims, reflecting the large number of adult children and grandchildren suspects. The average age of intimate suspects was 54.6 years, 2.3 years younger than the average age of their partners. Ages ranged from 18 years to 88 years. Although most suspects were male, 16.8% were female. Like their victims, most suspects (88%) were white.

2. Prior Criminal History

Almost half of the suspects (48.9%) had a prior court history within Rhode Island during the period for which automated court records are available as previously described. Each prior court case may involve multiple charges evolving from a single incident. More than a quarter of study suspects, 26.8%, had a prior court case for domestic violence and 14.1% had a prior case for a crime against persons that was not domestic. A little less than a quarter, 21.6%, had a prior record for a drug or alcohol offense such as possession of a controlled substance or drunk driving. Indicating the seriousness of their prior charges, 15.6% of the suspects had been sentenced to prison for at least one of their prior cases and 36% had been placed under probation

supervision for at least one prior case. A little less than ten percent of the suspects (8.8%) were on probation at the time of the study incident according to the police reports.

C) Incidents Involving Older Victims

1. Who Called Police?

As previously stated, in most cases, the victim, herself, alerted police to the incident as illustrated in Exhibit 8.

Exhibit 8: Who Called Police? (n=394)

Caller	Percent
Victim	65.0
Family Member	14.2
Neighbor	8.4
Suspect	2.5
Friend	2.5
Hospital	0.3
Other	7.1

“Other” calls alerting police to the incident were made by medical personnel including two nurses, a visiting nurse, a nursing home employee, and a mental health worker. Police officers themselves uncovered five of the incidents and were alerted to others by a mall security officer, the Attorney General’s Office (which prosecutes all felony cases), a doorman, two landlords, an Innkeeper, an employer, and two passers-by. Only three of the incidents were reported by the Department of Elder Affairs and two were made by domestic violence advocates.

2. Nature of the Incident

Less than half of the incidents, (44%), involved physical or sexual assaults. Three of the older victims were sexually assaulted although in one of the reported sexual assault cases, police found no probable cause to arrest the suspect. Most of the assaults did not result in visible injuries. A little over twenty percent of the victims (21.7%) had visible injuries according to police reports but only 8.3% required medical attention.

In a little more than a quarter of the incidents (26.8%), the victim was threatened and in 5.6% of the incidents, the suspect threatened others, including the victims' children, friends, and family members. According to police, only 9% of the incidents involved weapons. In a little less than a third of the incidents (29%), property was damaged or stolen. In the cases where money was reported stolen, it was generally small amounts ranging from \$2.50 to \$250 although the amount was unspecified in several incidents. Three cars were also reported as stolen as well as a set of car keys. Other stolen items were prescription drugs, including OxyContin, as well as televisions, food, and clothing.

Most of the property damage revolved around that caused by suspect break-ins, including damage to windows, locks, doors, and door frames. Other damage appears to reflect either a struggle or rampage in the house including damaged paneling, dishes, glass pictures, lamps, furniture, bedroom doors, coffee tables, and stoves. There was also reported damage to phones in a dozen incidents that probably reflect the suspects' effort to prevent calls for police assistance.

In their reports, police identified the potential offenses committed by suspects. The largest category was simple domestic assaults (33.8%), followed by domestic disorderly conduct (20%), and domestic vandalism/malicious damage to property (12.7%). The remaining offenses, mostly misdemeanors, included violation of civil protective orders and criminal no contact orders, failure to relinquish the phone, threatening/harassing phone calls, breaking and entering, and "other." Most of these offenses were specifically designated as "domestic violence." Police classified about ten percent of the offenses as felonies, including felony assaults based on victims being 60 or over, the aggravated nature of the assaults, the fact that the assault represented a third domestic assault (making the misdemeanor assault a felony), or because the assaults were

considered sexual. In addition, two incidents were classified as stalking, also felonies under state law.

D) Criminal Justice Response

1. Law Enforcement

When police arrive at the scene, they perform a number of tasks including investigating a possible crime and taking action if they have probable cause to believe a crime has been committed (including either arresting the suspect if present or filing an arrest warrant if the suspect is known and not present), securing evidence at the scene, and providing assistance and support to the victim. Subsequently, they complete their investigations where necessary and write and submit their reports. If the victim is 60 or over, police are also mandatory reporters of elder abuse to the state's Department of Elder Affairs (R.I. Gen. Laws § 42-66-8).

In regard to the first task, investigating a possible crime, responding officers identify the presence of witnesses. They noted witnesses in 34.8% of the incidents. Where victims have visible injuries, they photograph them. Photos were taken in 14.1% of the incidents, although reports indicated that 21.7% of the victims had visible injuries. Where property is damaged, police take crime scene photos. Crime scenes were photographed in 19.7% of the incidents corresponding to the percent of cases involving property damage although the exact percent of cases just involving property damage as opposed to stolen property is not broken down. Police also collected physical evidence in approximately 10% of the cases.

Police checked the state's protective order file to determine if victims had civil or criminal orders against their suspects. They found that 14.1% of the victims had secured orders against their alleged abusers in the past, but less than half of them were still in place. In addition, they found that 19 of the victims had secured restraining orders against their alleged abusers but

the orders had not yet been served. They served the orders. They gave information to more than half of the victims (59.1%) on obtaining a temporary order of protection.

Police confiscated 28 weapons, 16 of them firearms. Police gave victim rights and safety pamphlets to almost two-thirds of the victims (64.2%). Police assisted victims marking the DV/SA form for them in 10.8% of the cases and marked them after victims refused to in another 3.2% of the cases. Police reported 34 victims to the Department of Elder Affairs, representing a quarter (25.4%) of victims 60 years old or older.

Police did not find probable cause to arrest suspects in all cases. Police arrested suspects in 63.2% of the incidents. There were no dual arrests. Police also filed 15 arrest warrants for suspects not arrested at the scene, and four cases were under investigation when the reports were filed with the Domestic Violence Unit. Based on subsequent prosecutions, it appears that the warrants and under investigation cases eventually also resulted in arrests bringing the total arrest rate to 68%.

Approximately 20% of the suspects had left the scene before police arrived.

2) Prosecution and Court Response

Charging

For this section, all 411 suspects are considered including the eight whose dates of birth were not known. If they had been prosecuted, their dates of birth would have become known and contained in the CourtConnect files. Therefore, we can conclude that these eight suspects were neither charged nor prosecuted for the study incident.

Although police eventually arrested or issued warrants for the arrest of 274 of the suspects of older victims, representing 68% of all of the incident suspects, prosecutors filed court charges against only 214 suspects, representing 52.1% of all incident suspects.

The most serious charge is listed for each suspect prosecuted in Exhibit 9. A few of the charges were not specifically charged as “domestic,” notwithstanding the fact that they legally qualified as such. For example, all but five of the 91 misdemeanor assaults were charged as “simple assault domestic,” while the remaining were charged as “simple assaults.” For purposes of the following listing, matching charges, including those not specifically designated as “domestic,” are combined.

If a crime is not charged as a “domestic” offense, a conviction will not qualify as a prior domestic violence conviction. This matters as defendants convicted of a domestic violence offense designated as a second offense must serve at least ten days imprisonment. Persons convicted of a domestic violence offense charged as a third offense must serve at least one year in prison. Subsequent to these study cases, the Rhode Island’s Supreme Court ruled that petty misdemeanor convictions do not qualify as a “convictions” for statutory enhancement purposes (*State v. John*, 881 A.2d 920(2005)). Unlike misdemeanors, the maximum penalty for “petty misdemeanor” is six months, not one year imprisonment. However, while “domestic disorderly” is a petty misdemeanor, in both of the 2002 domestic disorderly cases charged as third domestic violence offenses, the state’s Attorney General accepted pleas for unenhanced disorderly conduct charges and the court imposed suspended sentences in each case, although one of the suspects eventually was imprisoned for three months after violating the terms of his suspended sentence.

All offenses that include assaults with injuries against persons 60 or over are felonies. Those assaults that cause serious injury require minimum imprisonment of three years.

The offenses listed as “violation of protective orders, no contact orders” include either violations of civil protective orders issued by the court upon petition of the victim for abuse or criminal no contact orders. The latter are imposed by statute (R.I. Gen. Laws §12-29-4(a)(1))

against any suspect charged with domestic violence and can only be removed after a court hearing before a judge. Violation of either order is a misdemeanor.

Two of the stalking charges were felonies and one misdemeanor.

Exhibit 9: Most Serious Charge Filed Against Each Suspect (n=214)

Charge	Number
Misdemeanor Assault Domestic	91
Misdemeanor Assault Domestic 2nd	1
Misdemeanor Assault Domestic 3 rd *	2
Felony Assault Domestic*	21
Assault Victim 60 or older/Domestic*	10
Assault Victim 60 or older, serious injury/Domestic*	4
Sexual Assault 2 nd Domestic*	1
Disorderly Domestic**	25
Disorderly Domestic/ 3 rd *	2
Violation Protective, No Contact Order	15
Stalking/Domestic*	2
Stalking/Domestic (Misdemeanor)	1
Vandalism/Domestic	17
Crank/obscene call/Domestic	4
Failure to Relinquish Phone Domestic	4
Larceny Domestic (includes stolen car)	4
Breaking and Entering/ Domestic	3
Other	7

** Indicates Felony Charges ** Indicates Petty Offense*

Although suspects were initially charged in court as above, subsequently many of the charges were pled down. For example, the one suspect charged with a sexual assault was eventually given a probationary sentence for “domestic assault on a person severely impaired (R.I. Gen Laws §§12-29-2/11-5-11).” According to the police report, the suspect, the 41-year-old son-in-law of the 86-year-old victim, and the victim who was in a care facility were seen and/or heard by a nurse to have engaged in sexual activity of some sort. Although the suspect denied some of what the nurse said occurred, he admitted to much of it. However, the nurse also said that the elderly patient, although she was unable to consent to sex, appeared to be “enjoying” the

contact. The suspect was put under a suicide watch as a result of his arrest. The victim was unable to testify as to what had occurred.

Court Dispositions

Of the 214 suspects charged in Rhode Island courts for the above offenses, 33.2% were dropped by prosecutors before trial, resulting in dismissals (Exhibit 10). The remaining two-thirds ended in convictions except for one defendant who failed to show in court and had an arrest warrant lodged against him during the study period. Almost all of the defendants who were convicted pled no contest. A little under ten percent of the dispositions (9.3%) included sentences of imprisonment. The remainder included suspended sentences, probationary sentences, or case filings. In all three of these latter dispositions, if the crime is designated as “domestic violence,” the defendants must complete a 26-week batterer counseling program. The first two dispositional categories include formal probation supervision while filed cases are monitored solely for program completion by an independent court contractor.

Exhibit 10: Court Dispositions

Disposition	Number	Percent
Dismissed by Prosecutor	71	33.2
Probationary Sentences & Filed Cases	122	57.0
Imprisonment	20	9.3
Warrant	1	0.1
Total	214	100.0

Although the research did not track the charges suspects eventually pled to or were convicted of, the dispositions imposed indicate that the majority of defendants initially charged as felons received misdemeanor dispositions as illustrated in Case Study # 1, below.

Case Study #1

Example of Plea Bargain:

The 62-year-old suspect was initially charged on November, 2002 after being arrested by police for felony stalking and violation of a no contact order. The victim, 55 years, was an intimate partner, but she had obtained a protective order against the defendant that was active at

the time of this incident. The defendant was arrested at the victim's residence. The victim had called the police.

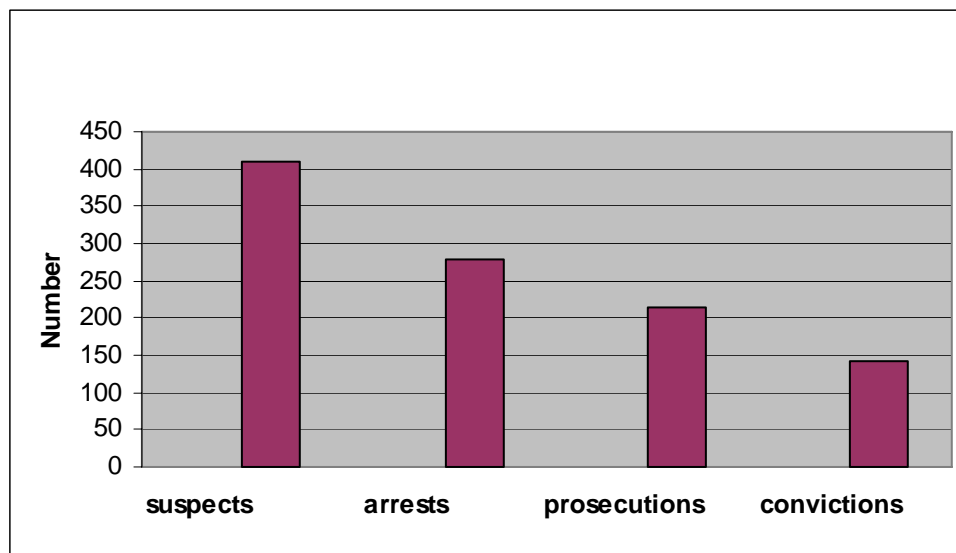
The defendant had been arrested and charged with three sets of prior charges. He was arrested twice for domestic violence and once for non-domestic violence assault. For the latter assault, he had been sentenced to prison for several months. The prior domestic violence offenses had both been dismissed.

Because the defendant was charged with a felony, the case was reviewed by the Office of the State's Attorney General, charged with prosecuting all felonies across the state. The Office reviewed the charges on December 10, 2002 and went forward on the felony stalking charge but dropped the violation of a no contact order charge. The case was then transferred from District Court where all cases are arraigned to Superior Court where felony cases are heard. On May 16, 2003, the defendant entered into a plea bargain with the prosecutor. The remaining charge was amended to misdemeanor stalking which was not contested by the defendant. The judge imposed a sentence of one year, 60 days to be served, ten months suspended and probation for ten months with a condition of no contact with the victim and payment of cost assessment. By statute, the defendant was also required to complete a state certified batterer counseling program.

Subsequently, the defendant was arrested five more times for domestic violence after the 2002 study arrest through 2006.

As to be expected, the number of suspects identified by police, then arrested, then prosecuted, and then convicted declined at each stage. In the end, a little more than a third, 34.5%, of all of the study abuse suspects were successfully prosecuted for their study incident. One defendant died before his case was disposed.

Exhibit 11: Criminal Justice Response to Older Women Abuse Suspects



Although not initially imprisoned, at least some of those placed under probation supervision were subsequently imprisoned for violating their probationary terms by committing subsequent offenses as illustrated in Case Study # 2, below.

Case Study # 2

Example of Probation Violation

The 29-year-old male suspect was arrested in March by police and arraigned the same day for receiving stolen goods less than \$500, a misdemeanor. The victim was his 53-year-old mother with whom he lived. She called the police and pointed out the suspect to the police when they arrived. She also obtained a temporary order restraining the defendant from contacting her or remaining in the house. The defendant was already on probation at the time for a prior disorderly domestic from the year before. He had been arrested on eight sets of prior charges, five for domestic violence, two for non-domestic crimes of violence and one for substance abuse. He had been sentenced to probation three times in the past and sentenced to imprisonment twice.

Three days after being arrested for the 2002 incident, he did not contest the charges and was given a one year suspended sentence and probation for one year. He was ordered into domestic abuse counseling, substance abuse/alcohol counseling, and to have no contact with the victim. The following October, he returned to court for violating his probation. He admitted to the violation on November 4, 2002 and was sentenced to two months imprisonment and five months home confinement. Then in April 2003, he was again sentenced to another month in prison for violating probation again. The second violation involved a new arrest for a domestic assault for which he was arrested on March 25, 2003.

E. Revictimization and Reabuse

1. Revictimization

Based on the filing of new domestic violence incident reports through 2004, 91 victims were revictimized by an intimate, family or household member, current or former. That represents 22.3% of the older victims. While most were revictimized once during the study period, a third were revictimized from two to five times. Most of the new incidents involved the same suspects cited in the initial study incident. The same suspects were involved in 77 of the new incidents, different suspects were involved in 11 new incidents, and both same and different suspects were involved in three additional incidents. Almost half of the victims (47.8%) who were revictimized, were revictimized in 2002. This is consistent with the research that finds that suspects who reabuse their victims do so relatively quickly (Klein, 2004).

2. Reabuse

Researchers were able to continue to check court records for study suspects through mid-2007. During this extended period, 28.8% were charged in court for a new domestic violence crime. Further, half of the suspects charged for new domestic violence were charged multiple times for two to eight new domestic violence charges. It is not known from court records whether or not the subsequent victims were the same or different from the study victims.

II. Revictimization/Reabuse Outcome Analysis

The revictimization/reabuse outcome analysis includes two sets of cases and two sets of analysis. The first two comparisons involve bivariate analysis. First, cases where victims were revictimized through 2004 are compared to those where they were not. Revictimization includes cases where victims were reabused by the study suspect or someone else, or, if revictimized multiple times, by both the study suspect and someone else. Second, cases where study suspects were charged in court for new domestic violence offenses through mid-2007 were compared to cases where suspects were not re-arrested for domestic violence and prosecuted in court. While CourtConnect indicates whether or not cases are classified as “domestic violence” or not, the identity of the victim is not revealed. As a result, the new court cases may involve study victims or different victims.

The second set of analyses involves multiple logistic regression. All of the independent variables are included to determine if the criminal justice interventions, arrest, prosecution, sentencing, as well as referral to adult protective services, reduce likelihood of revictimization and/or reabuse. Additionally, these same variables are included to determine overall risk for both revictimization and reabuse.

A) Revictimized and Non-Revictimized Victims

The following cases illustrate examples of recidivist abusers. As illustrated, most revictimized victims included mothers and wives or ex-wives. Their reabusers mostly included sons as well as husbands and ex-husbands.

Case Study # 3

Mother, 58, Abused by Son, 34

In June, 2002, at approximately 11:20 P.M., a family member called police, but hung up before saying anything. Police responded to the address. At the home, owned by a white, 58 year old mother, shared by her son, her daughter, and her daughter's children, police observed broken eggs on the floor, the handle to the oven door broken off, the stove pulled away from the wall. The mother, sitting in a chair, held a bloody rag on the back of her head. She was crying, shaking and frightened according to the police report.

The mother told police that her son had come home intoxicated, became upset about something and pulled the stove away from the wall and threw eggs on the floor. He also threatened that he would "kill them all while they slept." He then left the house briefly but came right back. At this point, the mother's grandchildren came downstairs to see what the commotion was. The suspect then threatened to kill one of the grandsons and ran at him. The victim said she tried to get in between her son and grandson but tripped and fell, hitting the door jamb. The suspect then fled the house yelling he was going to kill everyone. Officers took pictures of the mother and the scene. When asked if her son had hit her, she said, "No."

The victim told police she feared for her safety because her son was an alcoholic and got like this each time he drank. While the victim was talking to police, the suspect called on the phone. The mother asked him where he was and he responded he was at a local Inn. The officer radioed police headquarters and two officers were dispatched to the Inn, located the suspect at the bar, and placed him under arrest.

The victim received medical attention at a local hospital after being informed of how to secure a protective order. The victim did not provide a written statement but did point out the identity of the suspect.

The responding officers interviewed the mother's daughter, who corroborated the mother's account. She also corroborated that the suspect did not hit her mother, that the mother fell trying to protect the grandchild, the daughter's son. The daughter also feared for her and her children's safety when her brother drinks. She said there have been times when she would awaken and find her brother standing over her and watching her. The two grandsons were also interviewed and confirmed the information given, as did a neighbor, who came by and reported being awakened by the suspect's yelling and threats to beat his sister and kill the sister's son.

The suspect was charged with domestic disorderly and domestic malicious damage. He was not charged with threats. He did not contest that charges in court the following July and received a one year suspended sentence with condition that he attend alcohol and domestic violence counseling and probation for one year as well as pay restitution for the property damage.

The suspect had six prior sets of charges in Rhode Island courts, four sets for violent crimes, including assault with a dangerous weapon, but none was classified as “domestic.” He had been sentenced to probation for four of the sets of charges and was on probation at the time of this incident. He had also been imprisoned up to a year twice for prior charges.

The following October, 2003 he was again charged with domestic malicious damage and given another suspended one year sentence.

Case Study # 4

Wife, 52, Threatened by Husband, 44.

In December, 2002, the 52 year old white victim called police at 5:30 A.M. about her 44 year old husband. She reported her husband was drunk and had threatened to kill her with a gun he had pointed at her. Police were met at the front door by the victim’s son, stepson of the husband. The son said his stepfather was in the bedroom with a pistol. The suspect came out of the bedroom and police took him into custody. Police patted down both the stepfather and the stepson. The stepson, a state correctional officer, was armed. He explained he tucked a gun into his waistband when his mother went downstairs to his apartment telling informing him that the husband had locked himself in the bedroom after threatening to kill her with a gun. Police confirmed that he was a correctional officer.

The suspect told police his guns were in an upstairs safe. Police found and seized three handguns, a Colt 45, a 38 Smith and Wesson, and a derringer from the safe. Officers then located a black 32 caliber Tomcat Berretta under the suspect’s bed. The victim identified the Berretta as the weapon that her husband had held to her head. The suspect was taken into custody. It was later discovered that one of the weapons was confirmed as stolen from Texas. The victim told police that the suspect was part of the “Hells Angels.”

The victim said the incident began when the suspect approached her at 5:15 A.M. to get her bank card. He’d been drinking all night and she said he was intoxicated and she wouldn’t let him have the card. But she finally gave him the card. She then entered the bedroom to get her work clothes and her husband was lying on the bed yelling for her to leave. He proceeded to go to the closet and got a small black loaded handgun. He then grabbed her by the arm and put the gun to the left side of her head and chest, saying, “Do you want to die? I will kill you.” He continued to keep the gun to his wife’s head saying, “Do you want me to kill you now?” He stated he might not be home tonight because he may shoot himself, and then locked himself in the bedroom. The wife then went downstairs to her son’s apartment and called the police.

The suspect was charged by police with domestic assault with a dangerous weapon in a dwelling, use of a firearm in a violent crime, possession of armor piercing ammunition, and receiving stolen good. The police report they had been called to the address previously for a domestic call.

The prosecutor subsequently dropped all of the charges except the domestic assault with a dangerous weapon in a dwelling but amended that to a felony assault domestic. The suspect was given five years probation, told to have no contact with the victim, attend the batterer program and forfeit his guns. Subsequently, he was convicted of violating that probation and a five year suspended sentence was imposed.

His prior record in Rhode Island was a possession of a weapon other than a firearm and he had been placed on probation in October 2002. He eventually violated that probation and was incarcerated for 30 days in 2003, after the study case.

He was arrested four more times for domestic violence after this incident, all for violating the protective order. On the first case, December 2002, he was given a suspended sentence and ordered to attend the batterer program again. On the second, May 29, 2003, he was ordered to attend the batterer program and drug counseling. In October 2003, after a third arrest, he was imprisoned for 40 days and given another suspended sentence. In 2004, although his fourth protective order arrest, he was charged with violating the protection order a 3rd time, a felony, but the charges were eventually dropped on February 26, 2004.

Case Study # 5

Wife, 50, Stalked by ex-Husband, 53.

The 50 year old white female victim contacted police at 5 P.M. to come to her residence regarding violation of a no contact order. Upon arrival of police, she showed the officer an unsigned birthday card. The officer asked how she knew it was from her 53 year old court restrained ex-husband. She said she recognized his writing. The card was taken as evidence. The wife gave a written statement to police. Her 14 yr. old son also gave a written statement saying his father was pestering him and his sister by preventing them from going to school in the morning, blocking the roadway and threatening to flatten the car tires with a screwdriver.

The officer told the victim he would start the complaint and turn it over to the prosecution for review. Two days later, the suspect was charged with two counts of violation of no contact, and felony stalking. The prosecutor transferred the case to Superior Court on April 3, 2002.

The suspect's prior criminal history was solely for domestic violence beginning with an arrest in August 2001 for domestic disorderly and failure to relinquish the phone. The latter charge was dropped and the former was initially filed, but eventually converted to a probationary, then suspended, and finally a one year jail sentence in October 2002, after the study incident and many additional domestic violence arrests. The initial sentence was revised as a result of more arrests for violation of no contact orders including one in September, two in October 2001 and again in February 2002. In the latter case, he was also arrested for domestic disorderly. In addition, the defendant was charged with the study incident in March, specifically for two more violations of no contact orders and felony stalking. On September 25, 2002 a jury found suspect guilty of two counts of violation of no contact order. The felony stalking charge was not prosecuted. The defendant was sentenced to 10 years in prison, 15 months to serve and the balance suspended with probation, conditioned upon mental health counseling and batterer program and no contact with victim.

After being released from prison, the suspect was arrested four more times for six new violations of protective orders (civil) and no contact orders (criminal) between March 18, 2005 and December 22, 2005. He was charged with a third violation the last date which would require a minimum one year's imprisonment. As of the study, the cases were all transferred to the Superior Court although three of the violations were dismissed, leaving five still pending. The violation charged as a third violation requiring a one year minimum sentence was among those cases dropped.

As illustrated in Exhibit 12, most of the victims who were revictimized were abused by their study abusers.

Exhibit 12: Revictimization of Study Victims (n=408)

Revictimization	Number	Percent
By study abuser	77	84.6
By different abuser	11	12.1
By both same and different abuser	3	3.3
All	91	100

1. Comparison of Cases

The 91 victims who were revictimized were compared to the 317 female victims who were not and the 116 suspects who were charged in court for subsequent domestic violence were compared to the 287 who were not (for complete table see Appendix C).

Victims

Victim characteristics were generally not associated with revictimization. This is consistent with prior research that indicates risk of reabuse is associated with offender, not victim characteristics (Klein, 2004). There were several exceptions. First, victims who had obtained protective orders against their abusers before the study incident were significantly more likely to be revictimized. However, this variable is probably more revealing of abuser characteristics than victim. Research consistently reveals that prior suspect history of domestic violence is associated with increased likelihood of reabuse on the part of abusers (Klein, 2004). Suspects who have prior orders of protection taken out against them are, by definition, recidivist abusers as they had to have abused the victim previously to have an order taken out against them. Higher reabuse rates for abusers charged with violation of protective orders is consistent with that found in other research, including research conducted in Rhode Island (Klein, et. al., 2005; Newmark, et. al., 2001).

Second, victims who provided written statements to police were significantly less likely to be revictimized. The reasons for this are discussed subsequently.

Suspects

Consistent with most other studies (see, e.g. Klein, 2004), suspects with prior criminal histories, and longer criminal histories, including prior domestic violence charges, and more such charges, were significantly more likely to revictimize their study victims.

While study suspects revictimized 80 study victims, 116 study suspects (28.8%) were subsequently charged for new domestic violence in court through 2007. Similarly, suspects with prior and longer court histories for all crime, crimes of domestic violence, crimes against persons that were not domestic, or crimes involving alcohol and drugs, or were previously sentenced to probation and imprisonment were significantly more likely to be charged in court for subsequent domestic violence.

Age differences between intimate suspects and their victims did not correlate with reabuse. Women married to or with younger partners were no more likely to be revictimized than those with same age or older partners.

Incident Characteristics

Except for violation of protective orders, the nature of the study abuse cited by police was not significantly associated with the likelihood of revictimization. This is consistent with prior research that indicates the presenting offense, including whether it is a felony or a misdemeanor, involves victim injuries or not, or constitutes an assault or not, does not predict likelihood of reabuse (Heckert & Gondolf, 2005).

However, if property was stolen or damaged in the study incident, irrespective of actual charges cited by police, revictimization rates were significantly reduced. This also held true if police took pictures at the scene of the crime, reflecting the fact that police were likely to photograph damaged property.

No incident characteristics were associated with likelihood of suspect reabuse.

Criminal Justice Response

Law Enforcement

Study arrests were not significantly associated with likelihood of revictimization. This is consistent with other studies, including the re-analysis of Spousal Abuse Replication Studies (Maxwell, et. al., 2001). The latter found that only the more numerous reports of reabuse provided by victims to researchers (as opposed to the more limited proportion reported to police) revealed an association between arrest and reduced reabuse.

Study arrests were also not significantly associated with likelihood of suspect reabuse. Police likelihood to arrest suspects was not associated with prior suspect criminal history.

Prosecution

Case charging and prosecution was not significantly associated with revictimization. This is consistent with domestic violence prosecution studies that find no deterrent effect of prosecution of domestic violence (Davis, et. al., 1998).

However, both charging and prosecution were significantly associated with suspect reabuse, increasing the likelihood they would be charged in court for new domestic violence. This is consistent with an extensive study of domestic abusers arrested in three states that found those prosecuted and convicted were significantly more likely to be rearrested (Hirschel, et. al. 2007). As in that study, prosecutors were significantly more likely to prosecute defendants with greater prior criminal histories than those they did not prosecute.

B. Revictimized and Non-Revictimized: Logistic Regression Models

In a logistic regression model (n=402), revictimization was significantly associated with having had a protective order issued before the study incident (OR=2.298, P=.01), the suspect

having had prior criminal history (OR=1.776, P=.023), and with the suspect being charged with the study incident (OR=2.007, P=.03) (See Appendix F).

Several variables were associated with decreased likelihood of revictimization: victim providing police with a written report (OR=.300, P=.00), property was damaged or stolen during the incident (OR=.371, P=.00), and police indicated the incident was an assault (OR=.476, P=.01).

Similarly, in the second logistic regression model (n=400), the suspect being charged with a subsequent domestic violence offense was also significantly associated with having had a protect order issued previously (OR=2.382, P=.01), the suspect having a prior criminal history (OR=2.580, P=.00), and with the suspect being charged for the study incident (OR=1.879, P=.01). Factors associated with reduced likelihood of reabuse included suspect's age (OR=.892, P=.01) and having any charges noted by police on the DV/SA form (OR=.468, P=.01) (see Appendix G).

The factors associated with reduced risk are less readily obvious than the positive risk factors. Many may relate to the difference of the reported offenses. In order to determine why victims' filing of written report might be associated with reduced risk of revictimization, for example, victims who provided written reports were compared to those that did not. Victims who provided written statements were significantly more likely to report different abuse crimes than those who did not provide written reports, including being twice as likely to report disorderly conduct or malicious damage, almost four times as likely to report threatening phone calls, and almost three times as likely to report "other" crime. On the other hand, the suspects of victims who provided written statements were more likely to be charged for the study incident 60.5% compared to 48.5% of victims who did not provide written statements (P=.02). In bivariate analysis charging is associated with **increased** likelihood of revictimization. Victims who did not

provide written reports were also four times more likely to have been unwilling to sign the DV/SA forms or mark body maps. More research is needed to fully explain these negative risk factors because generally the research finds the presenting offense is not associated with likelihood of reabuse with the exception, as mentioned, of violations of protective orders (Klein, 2004).

Police and prosecutors used different criteria in deciding whether to arrest or prosecute cases respectively. Police were equally likely to arrest suspects notwithstanding prior records. However, prosecutors were significantly more likely to prosecute suspects with prior criminal histories, including records for domestic violence, prior crimes against persons other than family members or intimates, prior alcohol/drug crimes, and if the suspect had been sentenced to probationary sentences or imprisoned previously. For example, prosecutors prosecuted almost two-thirds, 62.3%, of suspects with prior records and only 37.7% without priors ($P=.000$). No other factors outside defendant record were significantly associated with prosecution. As a result, it is not surprising that prosecution increased the odds ratio of revictimization.

III. Subgroup Findings

Two subgroups of cases are analyzed. First, to better understand the impact of victim age on abuse, the cases are further subdivided between those victims who were fifty to fifty-nine years and those who were sixty years or older (see Appendix D). Further, they are compared to Rhode Island cases also drawn across the state in 2002 for all women under fifty years. As mentioned earlier, the latter cases are based on incidents, not unduplicated victims or suspects so are used only for trend comparisons. Only case characteristics for under fifty year old victims that are substantially different (or surprisingly the same) are specifically discussed. For the purposes of this report, victims under age fifty are referred to as “younger,” those between 50

and 59 are referred to as “older,” and those 60 and over are referred to as “elder.” The separation at 59 years was chosen because, as previously described, at age 60, persons are recognized by statute as “elderly.” Because both sets of cases involving women 50 and older consist of unduplicated victims, a more rigorous bivariate analyses was completed comparing cases of older and elder victims.

Second, the comparison of younger, older, and elder victims revealed a significant difference in the relationship of the abusers to the victims. The majority of abusers of older female victims are current or former intimates, while the majority of abusers of elder female victims are other family members. To examine this finding in more detail, the research compares intimate and family victims for all study victims, older and elder (see Appendix E). For this comparison, the 16 alleged abusers and victims classified as “cohabitants” are not included as their precise relationships are unknown, leaving 207 intimate victims and 188 family victims.

A. Younger, Older and Elder Abuse

The following two case studies provide an example of an elder victim abused by an elder husband and an older victim abused by a younger boyfriend. Typically, the nature of the abuse was not radically different.

Case Study # 6

Physical Abuse of Elder Victim, 72, by Husband, also 72

The 21-year-old stepdaughter of the elderly 72-year-old white Hispanic woman called police in October at 6:42 P.M. to report an assault on her mother by her 72-year-old Hispanic stepfather who was living with them. When police arrived, they found both mother and daughter crying. The daughter told them that her stepfather had tried to stab her mother, punched her in the face, and threatened to kill her. The mother had blood coming from her lips and blood on her shirt. She had a large cut on the palm side of her right hand sustained when she tried to grab the knife she was being threatened with. The daughter said her stepfather was still in the house, probably still armed and maybe in the basement.

Police observed drops of blood on the floor and inside of the downstairs door. They found the suspect sitting on the bed in a bedroom downstairs. He spoke no English. He was patted down for weapons but none was found. The weapon used was later found in the kitchen drawer.

When a Spanish-speaking officer was brought in to interview the suspect, it was learned that the daughter also was assaulted by the suspect when she tried to separate him from her mother. The suspect admitted to punching his wife twice and assaulting her with the knife. He told the Spanish-speaking officer that he said to his wife as he held the knife 'This is what you need.' The police noted that the defendant had been drinking.

The mother was transported to a hospital by the Fire Department. She was unable to mark the body map of her injuries or complete a written statement. The police did not report the incident to the Department of Elder Affairs.

The stepfather was charged with a felony assault and two misdemeanor domestic assaults. The case was reviewed by the State Attorney General's Office and they indicted the defendant. On June 16, 2003, the defendant pled no contest and was given a ten year suspended sentence and ordered to have no contact with the victim.

The husband had no prior criminal history in the state as reflected in CourtConnect. He was not cited nor arrested again for domestic violence during the course of the study.

Case Study # 7

Physical Abuse of Older Victim, 56, by Live-in Boy Friend, 46.

In July, 2002, the 56-year-old white victim called police. She reported that she and the 46-year-old suspect had been dating for three months. Six weeks ago he moved in with her, but she now wanted him out. Police viewed property damage in the room and handcuffed the boyfriend, put him in the cruiser, and returned to the house where they noted a broken glass table top, a broken potted plant on the floor, two glass candle jars, and a broken figurine on the floor. The victim told police she and the suspect had a couple of beers and went for a walk to watch the sun set. When they returned, the suspect began drinking more heavily and became verbally abusive. When she began to tape his comments, he began to destroy her property, beginning by kicking an ashtray off a table, breaking it. Frightened, she went upstairs to call 911. She hung up when the suspect began to climb the stairs. He challenged her to fight him, knocking everything off her desk. When she asked him to stop, he assaulted her, kicking her in the neck. She then completed her 911 call while the suspect continued to break things. Police asked the victim not to clean up and they would return with a camera.

The suspect swore and threatened police as they drove him to the station and was uncooperative once there. He told them he was a marine and could take them on. Police had to cut his jewelry off his body because he would not remove it himself. After the suspect was placed in the cell, the officers returned to the victim's house, took photographs, and offered medical treatment but the victim refused.

The suspect was charged with domestic assault and vandalism. The suspect had a gun but it was locked up at the time, inaccessible to the suspect. No weapons were involved. The defendant had four prior court cases, including a domestic assault against a different victim for which he had received a one year suspended sentence and ordered to complete a batterer program in 1998. He also had a prior felony assault, accompanying a reckless driving arrest from the year before still pending when he and the victim began dating.

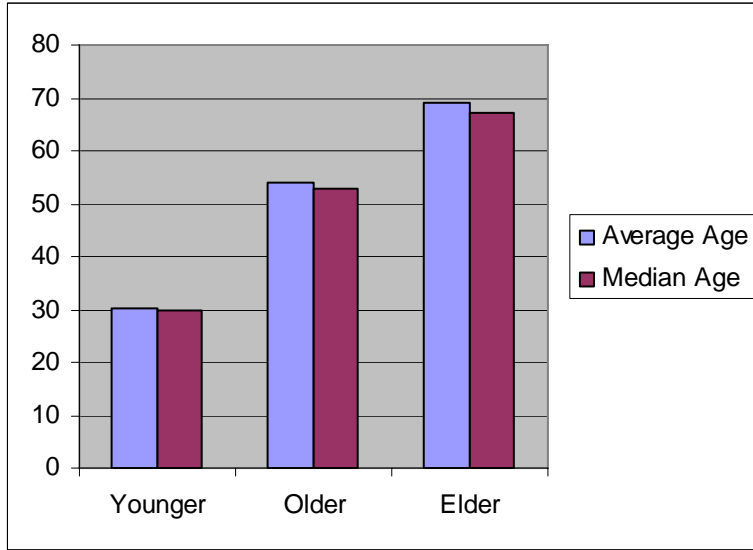
On August 1, 2002, the study case was transferred to Superior Court. The following November 1, 2002, the defendant did not contest the charges and was sentenced to jail for ten days with 355 days suspended and probation for that period with an order to complete a batterer program.

He was not returned to court for any new domestic violence during the study period.

1. Victim Characteristics:

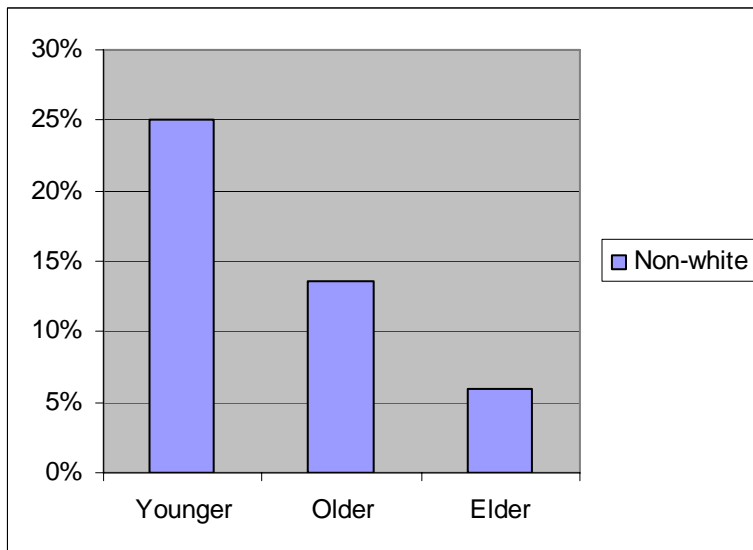
As charted in Exhibit # 13, the average age of the elder victims was 69 and the median age was 67. The average age of the older victims was 54 and the median age was 53. The average age of the under 50 victims was 30 and median age was 30.

Exhibit # 13: Average and Median Ages of Younger, Older and Elder Victims



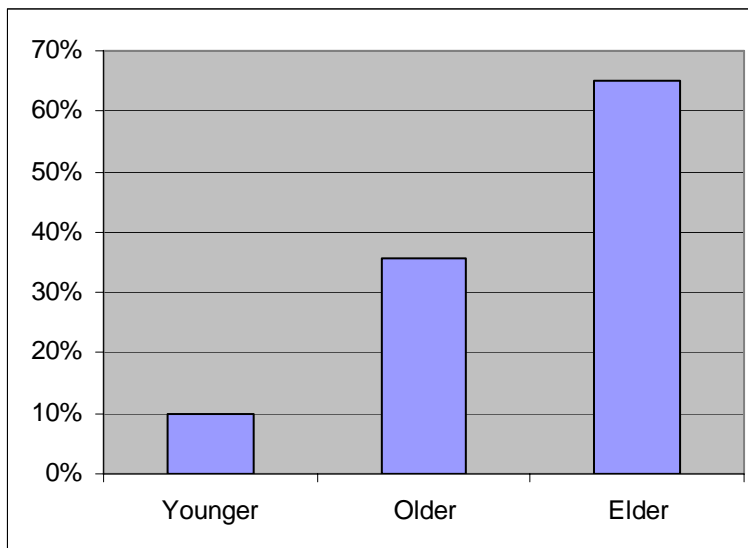
As charted in Exhibit # 14, the older victims were less diverse, more white. This reflects the changing demographics of Rhode Island.

Exhibit # 14: Percent of Non-White Victims



As charted in Exhibit # 15, abusers of older victims are more likely to be non-intimate family members, as opposed to current or former intimate partners.

Exhibit #15: Percent of Non-Intimate Family Member Suspects



As illustrated in Exhibit # 16, older victims were significantly more likely to be abused by current or former intimates and elder victims were significantly more likely to be abused by family members. The one exception, however, involved married victims. Their rate of abuse remained constant regardless of age. The fact that marriage continues to be an unsafe place for abused women was also found in a Massachusetts longitudinal study (Klein & Tobin, 2008).

Exhibit #16: Relationship with Abuser by Victim Age

Relationships	50-59 Victims	60 + Victims
Married	26%	27.4%
Divorced	3.7%	0%
Intimate	17.9%	4.4%
Ex-Intimate	5.5%	2.2%
Date	2.9%	0%
Relative	35.5%	65.2%
Cohabitant	5.5%	0.7%

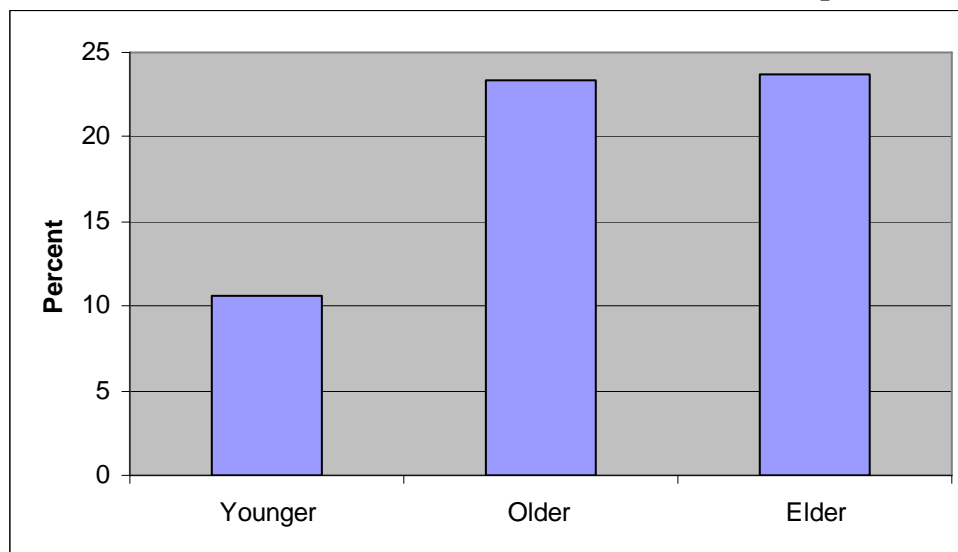
As illustrated, excluding cohabitants, more than half of the older victims (62.4%) were current or former intimate partners of their suspects, while two-thirds of the elder victims (65.7%) were related to their suspects. Despite the differences in the relationships between the

two set of victims and their suspects, almost two-thirds of both sets of victims lived with their suspects at the time of the incident.

The elder victims did not differ from older victims in terms of their response to the study incident. Both sets of victims were equally cooperative in terms of providing written statements, pointing out the suspect to law enforcement, and willingness to complete DVSA forms. Surprisingly, there were no significant differences in victim ability to fill out forms with 23.4% of the older victims unable to do so and 23.7% of elder victims unable. Nor were there significant differences in victim willingness to have police fill out forms for victims incapable of doing so themselves. Half of the elder victims who could not fill out the forms allowed police to do so for them, while the percentage for older victims was 43.8%.

On the other hand, as illustrated in Exhibit #17, although there were minimal differences separating older and elder victims in terms of ability to cooperate with law enforcement, only ten percent of the incidents involving under 50 victims involved victims who needed police assistance in filling out forms. This suggests while there was a difference between younger and older victims, after age fifty, age-related differences were only marginal.

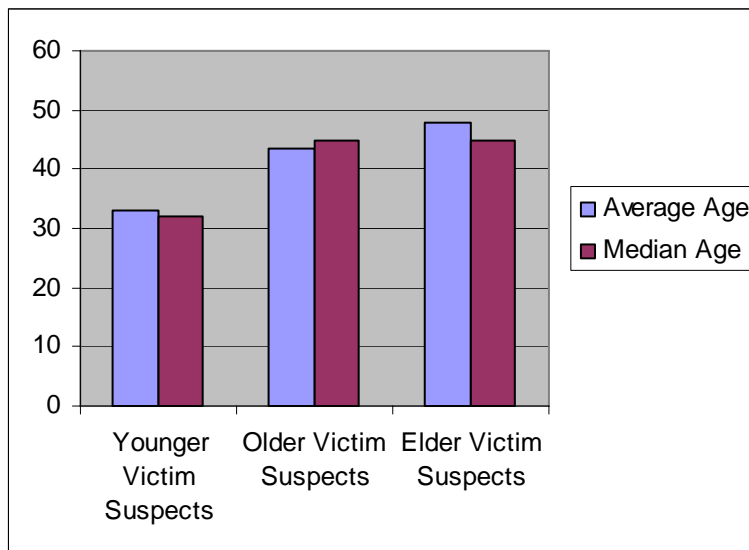
Exhibit #17: Percent of Victims Unable to Fill Out Reports



2. Suspect Characteristics:

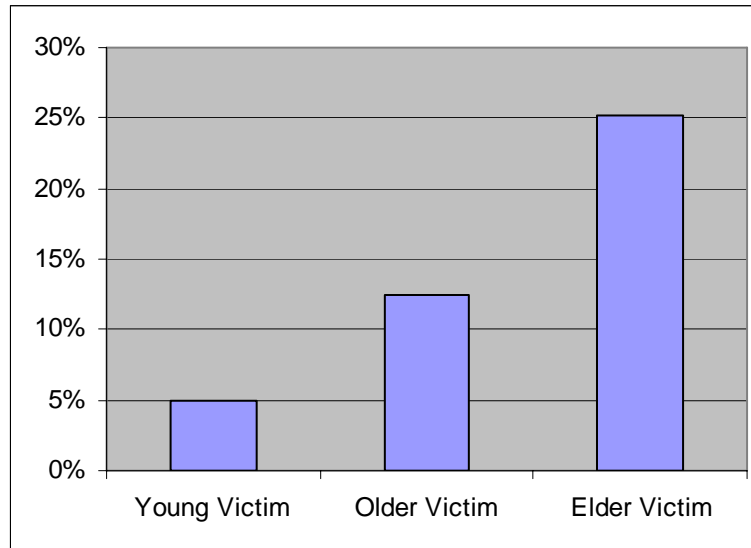
There were several statistically significant differences in terms of older and elder victim suspects. The suspects of older victims were, on average, four and a half years younger than suspects of elder victims, 43.4 years compared to 47.9 years. The suspects of younger victims were the youngest, averaging 33 years with a median age of 32.

Exhibit #18: Average Age of Younger, Older and Elder Victim Suspects



Although most of the suspects were male, the suspects of elder victims were significantly more likely to be female, 25.2%, compared to 12.5% for older victims and 5% for younger victims.

Exhibit # 19: Percent of Female Suspects of Younger, Older and Elder Victims



There were no significant differences between the two sets of suspects in terms of their prior court histories, prior domestic violence cases, prior crimes against persons that were not domestic, or alcohol and drug crimes. About half had prior court histories in both groups. In terms of seriousness of prior criminal histories, both groups of suspects were almost equally likely to have been sentenced to probation and imprisoned in the past. Both sets of suspects were almost equally likely to have been on probation at the time of the incident.

While criminal record checks were not obtained for suspects of younger victims, studies elsewhere generally find that the at least half of domestic violence perpetrators of all ages that come to the attention of criminal justice system have a prior criminal history for a variety of non-violent and violent offenses, against males as well as females, domestic and non-domestic. Studies of abusers have found prior criminal histories ranging from a low of 49% for prior arrest within five years in an arrest study in Portland, Oregon (Jolin, et. al.1998) to 89% for at least one

prior non-violent misdemeanor arrest for misdemeanor domestic violence defendants arraigned in a Toledo, Ohio Municipal Court (Ventura & Davis, 2004). A multi-state NIBRS police study of more than 3,000 incidents found 70% of arrested intimate partner suspects had prior arrest record(s) and 42% had prior arrest(s) for violence (Hirschel, et. al. 2007).

A study of 552 Rhode Island defendants on probation for domestic violence as of January 1, 2003 found 77.5% had at least one prior court case. Their average age was just under 34 years (Klein, et. al. 2005). Most (53.6%) had no prior criminal history for domestic violence. The sample was confined to males who were arrested for domestic violence, prosecuted and placed under probation supervision so one would expect a higher rate of criminal history for these abusers than that found in the current study.

Notwithstanding the similarity in suspect criminal court histories, victim reports of prior assaults by their suspects were fewer for older victims as illustrated in Exhibit #20. The difference between older and elder victims was significant. Incidents involving younger victims were the most likely to include reports of prior assaults.

Exhibit #20: Younger, Older and Elder Victim Reports of Prior Suspect Assaults



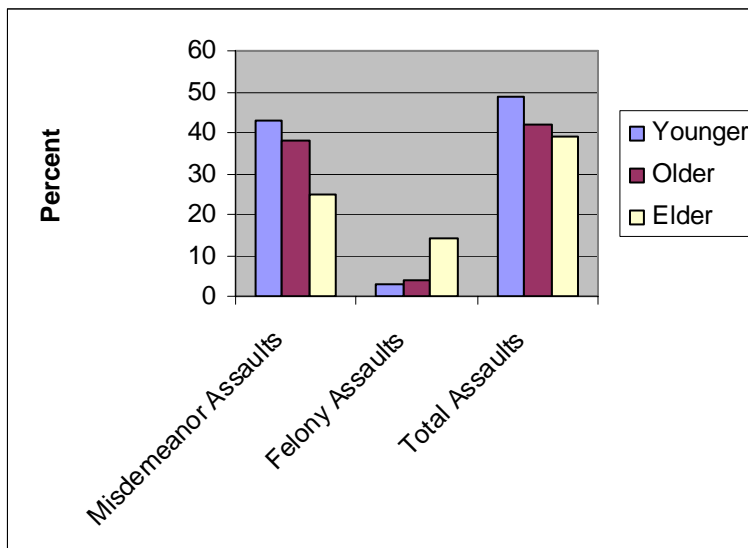
As documented in comparing suspect characteristics, younger victims were more likely to be assaulted by their suspects than older victims.

3. Incident Characteristics

There were no statistical differences between older and elder victims in terms of the study incident including whether or not victims were threatened, assaulted, injured and/or required medical attention, or whether a third party was threatened or assaulted or whether the suspect possessed weapons. Both sets of victims were almost equally likely to suffer property damage or loss. There were no significant differences in terms of third party witnesses, noted in about a third of the cases. The incidents involving younger victims did not appear to be substantially different although the percent of incidents involving assaults appear a little higher (51.2%). The percent for older victims was 45.1 and for elder victims, 42.2. However, the rate of visible injuries and younger victims requiring medical attention were not different from the older or elder victims.

There were significant differences in charges cited by responding police officers. Elder victim suspects were significantly more likely to be cited for felony assaults (and less likely to be charged with misdemeanor assaults). The difference can be attributed to the fact that Rhode Island law specifically enhances assault with injury charges to felonies if the victim is 60 or over.

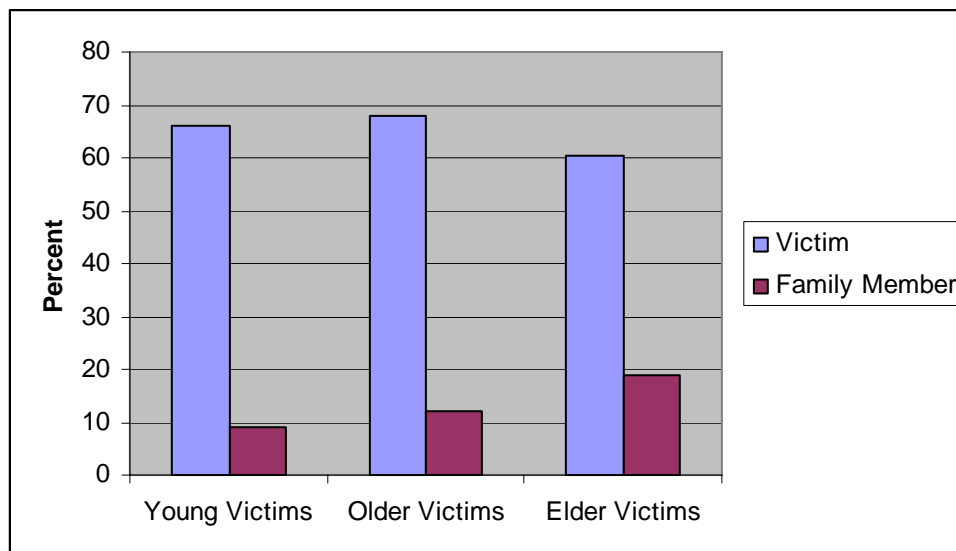
Exhibit #21: Percent of Younger, Older and Elder Victims Cited for Misdemeanor and Felony Assaults and Violations of Protective Orders



Elder victim suspects were also significantly more likely to be charged with order violations (9.6% compared to 4.4%), although there were no significant differences in possession of protective orders between older (48.6%) and elder victims (56.5%). It appears from the incident reports that younger victims' suspects were the most likely to be cited by police for order violations (14%). In this respect, victim age was not related to likelihood of suspect being charged with order violations.

While victims themselves made the majority of calls to police in both sets of victims, family members were more likely to make calls in cases involving elder victims, although the difference only approached statistical significance. Not surprisingly, it appears in the family suspect cases, there were more often third parties in the household than in cases that involved intimate partner suspects. While two-thirds of younger victims also called police, only 8.6% of younger victims' family members called police.

Exhibit #22: Who Called Police?



Although the percent of elder women who self-reported their abuse was less than that of younger women, at 60.5% it was substantially higher than abuse victims typically report to adult protective services. Based on Teaster’s 2004 survey of adult protective services (Teaster, et. al. 2006), Rhode Island elders were ten times as likely to report their abuse to law enforcement as elders reporting their abuse to adult protective services nationally. It should be noted, however, that the abuse reported to adult protective services is broader than the study abuse reported to Rhode Island police.

Exhibit # 23: Reports of Elder Abuse to Adult Protective Services Nationally and to Rhode Island Law Enforcement

	Elder Abuse Incidents Reported to Adult Protective Services¹	Rhode Island Abuse Incidents Reported to Police
Victim	6.3%	60.5%
Family Member	17%	18.6%
Friend/Neighbor	8%	10.8%
Other/Unknown	30.9%	12.7%

4. Criminal Justice Response Characteristics:

The law enforcement response did not differ based on victim age. Between older and elder victims, there were no significant differences in the collection of evidence, photographing suspects or crimes scenes, confiscating weapons, providing victims with safety pamphlets, or arresting suspects. Rates for younger victims, based on incident reports, were similar. More than 60% of suspects were arrested in all three sets of victims.

Prosecutors were equally likely to subsequently charge suspects of older and elder victims in court, charging a little more than 53% of both groups. Similar to police citations, prosecutors were significantly more likely to charge suspects of elder victims with felonies than older victims.

Prosecution success, guilty dispositions that resulted in either imprisonment or probation, were equally likely in both sets of cases with prosecutors successfully prosecuting over 61% of cases in both groups. The specific dispositions did not vary significantly between the two groups either with between eight and nine percent imprisoned and 28 and 31% probated, notwithstanding the fact that the suspects of elderly victims were significantly more likely to be

¹ Teaster, P., Dugar, T., Mendiondo, M., Abner, E., & Cecil, K. (February 2006). The 2004 Survey of State Adult Protective Services: Abuse of Adults 60 Years and Older. Boulder, CO: National Adult Protective Services Association & National Committee for the Prevention of Elder Abuse.

prosecuted for more serious felony charges. This suggests that prosecutors did not treat suspects of cases involving elderly victims more severely than those involving older victims. As highlighted in the qualitative findings of this study that follow, prosecutors explained that they find it more difficult to prosecute cases with elderly victims and may be more apt to plead these cases down so that victims do not have to testify.

The research did not examine prosecution of younger victims. An examination of 120 studies of intimate prosecutions studies across the country between 1973 and 2006, however, found that on average more than three-fifths of arrests resulted in prosecution and nearly one half of the prosecutions resulted in criminal convictions (Garner & Maxwell, forthcoming). This suggests that the prosecution of suspects of older and elder women in Rhode Island appears to be at the very least comparable to prosecution of domestic violence across the nation for all intimate partner suspects. There are no studies of prosecution of domestic violence cases specifically involving women 50 and over.

5. Victim Revictimization and Suspect Reabuse

Both sets of study victims, older and elder, were revictimized at almost the exact same rate. Between 22 and 23% were revictimized on average between 1.6 and 1.7 times. The suspects of elder victims were more likely to be charged in court for subsequent domestic violence than the suspects of older victims. A little more than a third of the elder victim suspects (34.6%) were charged in court again for domestic violence through mid-2007 compared to only 25.8% of suspects of older victims. However, the difference only approached statistical significance.

Younger victim suspects were not examined for reabuse. However, another Rhode Island study of abusers sentenced to probation for domestic violence found that 39.85% were rearrested for another domestic violence offense within one year (Klein, et. al. 2005). This population of

abusers, however, was skewed toward repeat offenders, those more likely to be sentenced to probation, as well as those more likely to reabuse.

B. Intimate and Non-intimate Family Abuse of Women Fifty and Over

As can be seen in Appendix E, there are significant differences between cases involving family member and current or former intimate partner abusers. Highlights follow after the illustrative case examples that include mothers and grandmothers abused by sons, daughters, and grandson as well as wives abused by husbands and ex-husbands. The cases illustrate that the younger abusers do not appear to be stressed caregivers of their elder parent or grandparent, but predatory and/or needy offspring. The current or former intimate abusers more closely resemble typical domestic violence perpetrators described in the literature (Klein, 2004).

Case Study #8

Mother, 67, Threatened by Son, 36

In January, 2002, the 67 year old elderly white victim went to the police station and reported that her 36 year old son had threatened to ‘snap her neck’ in their home. She stated he had a severe drug habit and that she was in fear of him. She told police they had arrested him for domestic vandalism about a year ago. According to police, the suspect was currently on probation. According to the victim, he had assaulted her before, including as recently as two weeks prior to the current incident.

Police began an investigation into this case and issued a warrant for the son. Police were unable to contact the victim again or locate the son at that time. The next month, however, on February 7, 2002, the suspect was charged in court for domestic disorderly. The suspect was given a six month suspended sentence in February, 2002 and ordered to complete a batterer program.

The suspect had a prior domestic vandalism case in 1998 for which he was given a one year suspended sentence and ordered into a batterer program. He eventually was jailed for six months on that case after violating his probation.

The suspect had a long record dating back at least to 1985 when court records were begun to be computerized in Rhode Island. He had been given a two year suspended sentence for a felony assault with a dangerous weapon. He was imprisoned for the first time the next year for carrying a pistol without a license. His first drug charge was in 1991, a conviction for possession of a controlled substance for which he was given a three year suspended sentence. Between then and the 2002 domestic disorderly, the defendant had multiple shoplifting charges resulting in suspended sentences and imprisonment.

The suspect was arrested subsequent to the study incident. In October 2002, he was imprisoned for five years for a (non-domestic) assault in a dwelling. Upon his release, he was

convicted of robbery in 2005 and sentenced to another four years. The latter cases were not classified as domestic.

The police did not report the study incident to the Department of Elder Affairs.

Case Study # 9

Mother, 66, Robbed By Daughter, 46.

In July, 2002 at approximately 7:45 pm, a 66 year old white female informed a police officer at a traffic stop that her daughter had stolen \$250 from her. The victim followed the police officer to the police department where she gave a statement. She presented as tearful and shaking. The incident took place in her car after she and her 46 year old daughter had gone shopping. She had \$250 in her pocketbook to pay her car taxes and she noticed it was missing when she dropped her daughter off at a friend's house. She claimed her daughter pushed her when she tried to retrieve her money, causing bruises on her arm. The officer took photos of several bruises on her left arm. She minimized her daughter's assault by explaining that she, the victim, was on medication that caused her to bruise easily.

The police located the suspect two hours later at a local café and questioned her. Although she denied taking the money, police found \$293 on her and arrested her. She was charged with a felony, domestic assault on a person 60 years of age or older with injury, and larceny, a misdemeanor.

The suspect had been to court six times previously, including once for a domestic disorderly and once for an assault on a person over 60 with intent to rob. She had been sentenced to probation three times in the past and been sentenced to 90 days in jail.

On the current case, the prosecutors subsequently reduced the charge to simple assault and on April 2003 she was given one year's probation and ordered to attend drug and domestic violence counseling and have no contact with her mother. She was not subject to another domestic violence police report during the study period.

Case Study # 10

Grandmother, 84, Threatened by Grandson, 36.

The victim, a 84 year old white female contacted police after an altercation with her 36 year old grandson with whom she lived. She was visibly shaking and trembling, upset and afraid when police arrived. She said her grandson accused her of stealing his Xanax pills. When she denied it, he became verbally abusive – yelling and cursing at her loudly while both were in her bedroom in close proximity to each other. She attempted to call her sister who lived next door but her grandson slammed the phone onto the floor and continued screaming at her, saying she stole his pills and was hiding them from him. She said she was afraid of her grandson and what he might do to her so she left to go next door to her sister's. However, she would not provide a written statement to police.

An officer spoke with the grandson who was still angry. He said that when he went to take his pills, they were gone. He suspected his grandmother and confronted her. He admitted that he yelled and cursed at his grandmother but did not lay a hand on her.

After speaking with both parties, police arrested the grandson for domestic disorderly. He was handcuffed and transported to police headquarters without incident. He was allowed to use the phone on several occasions prior to being processed and placed in cell.

The victim was advised of her rights and given a safety plan pamphlet. She was advised by the officer that if her grandson returned or attempted to contact her, she should telephone the police immediately. She was also advised that if she was in fear of retaliation by her grandson, she should contact the courts for a restraining order. The incident was not reported to the Department of Elder Affairs.

The disorderly charge was later dropped before reaching court, but the defendant violated the no contact order two days later that had automatically gone into effect upon the filing of the disorderly charges. He did not contest the charges the following January and was ordered into anger management and placed on probation for six months. He had no prior record and no subsequent during the study period.

Case Study #11

Wife, 76, Assaulted by Husband, 76.

In August, 2002, at approximately 7:15 pm, an upset, 76 year old elderly white woman called police to report an assault by her 76 year old husband with whom she lived in the family home owned by the couple. Police arrived quickly, greeted by the alleged victim. The husband was not present. The victim told the police that her husband and she had argued. The argument had turned violent when the husband grabbed her left forearm and applied pressure, leaving a visible bruise. Then, after grabbing her neck and strangling her, he left the scene in his car. The victim proceeded to lock the door to prevent his reentry. He soon returned and tried to reenter, breaking the glass in the door in an attempt to get in. He then took off again and drove to a neighboring town.

The responding officer observed a bruise to the victim's left forearm and took a photo. An officer also took 35 mm pictures of the broken glass in the door and called the neighboring police department to take the suspect into custody which was done. Apparently, the strangulation left no visible marks at that time and no photos were taken of the victim's neck. Officers noted no weapons were used nor were either victim or abuser under the influence of alcohol or drugs. Officers checked the state's protective order file to find that none was in effect concerning the involved couple. Police informed the victim how to obtain a temporary protective order. The victim provided police with a written statement and identified the suspect to police. Neither police nor victim reported any prior domestic violence involving the parties.

After being apprehended, the husband was charged with domestic assault as well as domestic disorderly, a lesser offense. Police also notified the Department of Elder Affairs. The suspect was not charged with the property damage. The husband had no prior criminal history within Rhode Island for as far back as the state's automated file reaches.

The next month, the prosecutor had the charges dismissed in court.

The husband was not arrested again during the course of this study nor was he subject to a subsequent police incident report for domestic violence.

Case Study # 12

Mother, 52, and Daughter, 26, Threatened by Ex-Husband, 54.

In November, 2002, one of two victims, a 26 year old daughter and the 54 year old suspect's former wife, age 52, called police when the daughter came home to find her intoxicated father kicking in the door to her apartment. She told her father that she would call the police. At this point, according to the daughter, her father exposed himself to her and said that "This is

what I think of the police.” The residence belonged to the suspect’s former wife. According to the daughter, they have had trouble with the father since 1992.

The suspect was placed under arrest and transported to police headquarters where he was charged with domestic malicious damage and disorderly.

The ex-wife refused to mark the body map or sign a medical disclaimer; the daughter marked the body map.

The suspect had six prior court cases, all for domestic violence-related charges dating back to 1994. He was sentenced to probation for three of them. In 2001, he was placed on probation for violating a no contact order and making an obscene/crank call. He subsequently violated that probation and was sentenced to jail for 30 days in November 2001. At the same time, he was arrested again for a domestic disorderly that was subsequently dismissed. He was arrested in July 2002 for violating a protective order but that charge was not entered into the court files.

For the November study charge, he was eventually charged with domestic disorderly-third offense, enhancing the offense to a felony charge. He was also charged with domestic larceny over \$500. However, subsequently, the first charge was reduced back to a simple domestic disorderly. The defendant was given a six month suspended sentence, ordered into the batterer program (his fifth commitment to the program since 1994!) and ordered to pay restitution.

Police reported that they had been to the victim’s home seven previous times. The ex-wife, however, did not indicate on the form that she had been previously abused by her ex-husband so the prior victim may have been someone else before he married (and divorced) the current victim or the current victim simply failed to report any prior assaults.

There were no new charges against the former husband during the study period.

1. Victims

Exhibit # 24 details the exact relationships involved in both the intimate and family abuse cases excluding cohabitants and two cases where the relationships were not defined.

Exhibit #24: Victim/Suspect Relationships

Intimates (207)	Number	Percentage of Intimates
Married	108	52.2%
Ex-Married	10	4.8%
Current Intimate Partner	55	26.6%
Ex-Intimate	26	12.6%
Dating Partner	8	3.9%
Family Members (186)		Percent of Family Members
One Generation Younger	154	82.8%
Son	86	46.2%
Daughter	50	26.9%
Stepson	2	1.1%
Stepdaughter	1	0.5%
Son-in-law	9	4.8%
Daughter-in-law	4	2.1%

Nephew	1	0.5%
Niece	1	0.5%
Two Generations Younger	20	10.8%
Grandson	16	8.6%
Granddaughter	3	1.6%
Step-granddaughter	1	0.5%
Same Generation	10	5.4%
Brother	4	2.2%
Sister	2	1.1%
Brother-in-law	1	0.5%
Stepbrother	1	0.5%
Stepsister	1	0.5%
Older Generation	2	1.1%
Father	1	0.5%
Mother-in-law	1	0.5%

As can be seen, most of the abuse by non-spousal relatives (92.5%) was intergenerational. Excluding relations by marriage, 155 of the abusers were a generation younger (82.4%), and 20 were two generations younger (10.6%). Only ten were the same generation (4.8%), and two of the suspects were a generation older than their victims, including one father and one mother-in-law (1.5%). Note, the cases with multiple suspects involved only family member suspects, not intimates.

At the time of the study incident, intimate victims were significantly younger than family victims on average five years younger. Intimate victims were significantly more likely to live with their abusers although the majority of both groups lived with their abusers. Not surprisingly, their dwellings were much more likely to be in the suspect's name or in both their and their suspect's names. Only 44.5% were in their name only as compared to 81% of the family victims' dwellings. Family victims were significantly more likely to have minor children in their household. The children, however, were not necessarily theirs, but their adult children's children or other family members' children. At the time of the 2002 incident, intimate victims

were significantly more likely to have active orders against their abusers (9.2%) than family victims (5.4%).

It appears from the limited length of the abuse reported by victims, as well as specific police reports reviewed, that many of the intimate victim's partners were relatively recent and not the biological father of the victims' children. In other words, they represented second or subsequent marriages, or later in life boyfriends as opposed to life partners. On the other hand, it may be that these intimate victims' life partners only began to abuse them later in life. Because the police reports and DV/SA forms do not specifically ask victims to speak to this, this must be determined by additional research.

Both sets of victims were equally cooperative with police in terms of providing written statements and willingness to fill out DV/SA forms.

2. Suspects

There were significant differences between the two populations of suspects. The intimate abusers were significantly older than the family abusers, reflecting that most of the latter were victims' children. The intimate abusers were much more likely to be male although two-thirds of the family abusers were also male. Family abusers were significantly more likely to have prior court histories, including general violence outside the family and drug and alcohol-related charges. Reflecting their greater criminality, they were more likely to have been sentenced to probation and jail in the past although the latter only approached statistical significance. They were also significantly more likely to have been on probation at the time of the incident.

Surprisingly, intimate victims were twice as likely to report their suspect had assaulted them before, although police reported they had gone to each set of victims' before at the approximate same rate. Either intimate victims exaggerated actual prior assaults or were less

likely than family victims to report them to police. This latter is supported by the finding that family members were significantly more likely to report family victim abuse than intimate partner abuse which would account for why police were, in effect, more likely to have responded to family abuse in the past.

3. Incident Characteristics

Intimate victims were significantly more likely to have been assaulted than family victims. However, family suspects were more likely to be cited for felony assaults (approaching statistical significance) reflecting the fact that family victims average over 60 years and intimate victims under age 60. Family abusers were significantly more likely to assault another person other than the victim in the study incident, reflecting the fact that there appeared to be more persons in these households than that those of intimates only. For probably the same reason, family members were significantly more likely to have reported the study abuse to police in cases involving family suspects than intimates. Police noted significantly more incidents with witnesses in the cases involving family suspects than intimate suspects. Incidents involving family suspects were also significantly more likely to involve multiple suspects.

4. Criminal Justice Response

Law Enforcement

Police were almost equally likely to arrest intimate as family abusers. However, their responses differed in other respects. Controlling for age, police were significantly more likely to refer victims of family abuse to DEA than intimate abuse. Although police confiscated the majority of weapons allegedly used in the study incidents, they were significantly more likely to do so in cases involving family members. Police were also significantly more likely to give victims victim rights and safety pamphlets in intimate cases. Police were significantly more

likely to photograph intimate suspects, reflecting the fact they were more likely to have suffered injuries, 7.7% compared to 4.8%, although the difference was not statistically significant.

There were no statistically significant differences in the responses of the two sets of victims in terms of providing written statements for police, the need for police assistance in marking body maps on the police reports or willingness to cooperate in signing or completing victim sections of police reports. Intimate victims were more likely to point out their suspects than family victims. However, police may not have needed to ask family victims to point out their suspects because there were significantly more likely to be third party witnesses to the crimes.

Prosecutors

Prosecution rates were similar for the two groups of cases.

5. Victim Revictimization and Suspect Reabuse

There was no statistical significance between the revictimization of intimate or family victims by their suspects, however, the intimate victims were significantly more likely to be assaulted more times, averaging 1.9 revictimization between the first 2002 incident through 2004, compared to 1.2 for family victims. On the other hand, family suspects were significantly more likely to be returned to court between the study incident and mid-2007 for new domestic violence cases. The significant difference in age between the family and intimate abusers may account for the differences in rearrest rates for domestic violence. Research consistently finds that younger abusers and those with greater prior criminal histories are more likely to be re-arrested for new abuse than older abusers (Klein, 2004). As mentioned, the family suspects were significantly younger than the intimate suspects and had significantly greater prior criminal histories.

IV. Qualitative Findings

In general, researchers found a sense across all respondents that the issue of elder abuse, especially domestic abuse, is still at an early phase of public awareness in Rhode Island, but is likely to gain increasing attention as baby boomers enter the sixty plus age group. Elder abuse was consistently characterized as an “extremely complex issues” and one that will take collaborative and creative efforts across law enforcement, the courts, and social services to develop responsive approaches to meeting the needs of this very vulnerable population. Respondents also pointed out that since 2002 (when the quantitative data for this study were collected), the state has made some important changes that should positively impact these cases—most notably the institution of a new Elder Abuse Prosecution Unit at the Attorney General’s Office and 24 hour emergency response coverage through the Department for Elder Affairs.

Key informant interviews produced the following additional themes:

1) Defining the nature and scope of the problem of elder abuse in Rhode Island

remains a serious challenge given that there is no centralized repository for key data. Interviews reveal little consensus on the prevalence of elder abuse in Rhode Island. Respondents had very different views on the prevalence of types of abuse as well, with opinions varying depending on the system in which the respondent worked and encountered these cases. Police were least likely to see the problem as broad based, with all police respondents reporting that only small percentages of their domestic violence cases involved elders. On the other hand, a Women’s Resource Center advocate working in a specialty elder abuse program that covers only a small geographic area reported being overwhelmed with cases, handling 35-40 per month. DEA, which provides services statewide, noted they handled close to 800 elder abuse cases in the past year (and an

additional 900 neglect cases). This lack of consistent understanding of the nature and extent of the problem makes planning to address elder abuse extremely difficult.

- 2) **At least eight separate agencies formally work with elder abuse issues in Rhode Island, sometimes with competing missions and goals and often with limited appreciation for each others varied roles and restraints.** While these multiple entities can reportedly get in each other's way, respondents expressed a growing sense that collaboration, especially between the Department of Elder Affairs, the Police, and the Prosecutor's Office, has been improving over the past few years. We heard some concerns, however, that DEA is overwhelmed and can be slow to respond. We also heard that police sometimes fail to report to DEA, and that supervision at least in some departments, is lax on this issue. (In 2002, we found police only referred a quarter of abused elders to DEA, significantly more likely to refer cases where elders were abused by family members than intimate partners ($P < .10$)). Concerns still exist that the Office of the Attorney General (that prosecutes felons) is pleading cases down to misdemeanors, and that abusers are not being sufficiently punished. In addition, we heard a call for a more systematic understanding of which agency should be doing what. Despite these criticisms, respondents also pointed to improvement in relationships among these agencies. The most notable is DEA's response to a police critique (that they were unavailable for emergency response on week-ends and evenings) by contracting with Family Services for emergency off-hour services. In addition, the new Elder Abuse Unit at the AG's Office, according to some respondents, is more aggressively prosecuting cases. Finally, while there is reported variability in the strength of the Elder Liaison positions mandated at each Rhode Island Police Departments, those departments that take

the position seriously and have adequate resources and leadership support also work closely with DEA and visa versa.

3) Confirming quantitative study findings, researchers found general agreement that most cases of elder abuse in Rhode Island do not involve stressed out caregivers.

Rather, respondents pointed to adult children or grandchildren, many with mental health and/or substance use problems as the more likely perpetrators. According to one respondent, the offenders are among “the worst criminals in the state...they are mostly male...between 30-50 years of age, and have untreated mental health or drug problems.” Other groups of perpetrators highlighted in these interviews included males with long histories of spousal abuse and children seeking to secure financial resources from parents (often in conflict with other siblings). The quantitative findings are consistent with the observations that abusive family members, mostly sons, daughters and grandsons are not caregivers.

4) Elder abuse cases are especially challenging because long standing family bonds are very hard to penetrate. This appears particularly true for cases involving victimized mothers and their perpetrator children or grandchildren, where it is especially difficult to convince an elderly person not to let the perpetrator back into the home. Elders were characterized as more forgiving, and more vulnerable, when children or grandchildren are the perpetrators versus spouses. This dynamic reportedly works both ways. Respondents pointed to cases where older women finally proceeded with a spouse abuse complaint after their children threatened cutting off contact with themselves or grandchildren if the victim did not deal with the domestic abuse. The quantitative findings, however, found that the majority of calls to police reporting the abuse were from elder and older victims,

just as with younger victims under age fifty. Further, elder victims were equally cooperative with responding police officers as younger as evidenced by willingness to sign statements and complete DV/SA forms and sign off on medical releases. Finally, we found no significant differences in percent charged and successfully prosecuted for suspects of older compared to elder victims.

5) Elders are more entrapped than younger abuse victims, with the older elderly (over 65 years of age) most at risk. According to a number of respondents, the abuser is often the person the elder relies on completely for both practical and social supports.

Characteristics to note, which add another layer of challenge to those working with elders in abuse cases, include the following:

- Elders often have no transportation, except that provided by the perpetrator. This makes getting to appointments, including meeting with attorneys and counseling, very difficult.
- They are unlikely to be able to find a job or build their job skills this late in life and consequently cannot achieve the financial self-sufficiency often necessary to move forward with an abuse case.
- Many elders in Rhode Island are isolated in rural parts of the state and still living in their own homes, with very limited social supports.
- Elders appear to be less willing to label or characterize interpersonal dynamics as “abusive,” given generational and cultural differences in understanding.
- Elders are often reluctant to accept services.
- They may be fearful of loneliness and giving up their identity as a married woman after so many years.

- Elders may fear getting DEA or others involved because of worry about losing independence and being forced out of their home.

The number of victims 65 and older was too small for this study to shed light on this subgroup of elders.

6) Attitudes and perceptions about elders impact the court and law enforcement’s response to elder abuse. Respondents reported a mixed picture, with perceptions about elder vulnerability impacting both ways—increasing the forcefulness of the response as well as inhibiting it. Comments by respondents in this area are telling and include the following:

- The police operate under a cliché of the elderly and don’t want to put handcuffs on a 90 year old man.
- Judges get annoyed at police and prosecutors for arresting a “poor old man.”
- When mental health issues are involved, or dementia, no one wants to get involved or feel powerless to do so.
- A recurring issue is whether an elder victim is physically or emotionally capable of being a witness. Some judges and prosecutors view putting an elderly victim on the stand as too traumatic.
- Elderly victims are seen as fragile, and decisions about bringing them to court must be balanced with the cost/benefit of doing so.
- Jury will see dementia and conclude that “this is just a crazy old lady where nothing happened.”
- Police react more seriously with elder victims than their younger counterparts, who are sometimes viewed as “less worthy” of their protection.

- Police have greater empathy for elder victims, who they identify with their moms and grandmothers. This may color their judgment on how to proceed, including wariness about reporting to DEA.

The quantitative findings, however, found no statistical difference, at least, in the ability of elder victims to cooperate with law enforcement officials compared to older victims.

7) Elder Abuse cases are pleaded down to misdemeanors for a variety of reasons which include the following:

- The seriousness of the injury, with less serious injuries more likely to be pleaded down.
- The interpretation of the term “physical injury” in determining whether to charge a simple assault as a felony or not.
- The impact of *Crawford*, which disallows the prosecution to proceed without the witness, according to one prosecutor, “Crawford is the brick wall” which stands in the way of proceeding. (**Note:** Decided in 2004, the U.S. Supreme Court case limiting the use of out-of-court victim testimony would not have impacted cases prosecuted in this study based on 2002 incidents.)
- Getting at least something if you bargain down to a misdemeanor.
- Bargaining down to avoid the trauma of putting the elder witness on the stand.
- Having inadequate evidence from the police to move forward.
- Prosecutors are overworked and don’t have time for these cases.

8) Significant gaps exist in the response to elder abuse in Rhode Island, especially for services targeted to the different needs and vulnerabilities of elder versus younger victims. Gaps noted by respondents include the need for the following:

- Elder specific support and counseling groups; current domestic violence groups often deal with issues more specific to younger victims (i.e., the role of child welfare agencies).
- Follow-up medical attention with elders; bruises may take longer to appear.
- Domestic violence lawyers knowledgeable about working with elders victims.
- In-home counseling and other in-home services.
- Multi-disciplinary teams including DEA, Attorney General, police and advocates.
- Follow-up services (for at least 30 days) for elder victims, including those who have dropped charges.
- Advocates to support an elder through whatever decision she makes; these advocates must have special expertise in working with elders.
- Outreach to elders.
- Batterers' intervention programs specific to elder perpetrators. Currently the same program is provided for all abusers.
- A more user friendly Court System for the elderly including such things as special supports like hearing devices.

9) While training on elder abuse exists for some responders, it was generally characterized as inadequate. Comments on training gaps include the following:

- Police need training on how to deal with dementia and recognize abuse in elders.
- Police need improved supervision on when to report to DEA.
- Legal services needs to train DEA on what they are able to offer elder victims.
- Court advocates need more training; what works for younger people does not work for older people.
- Court processes needs to be informed by elder needs (slow moving, hard of hearing).

- Lawyers need to be better trained to handle cases involving elder domestic violence.
- Elderly need to be educated to the services available and repercussions of not coming forward.
- Everyone needs to get on the same page
- Educating judges is key.
- Third party caregivers (like Meals on Wheels) need training.

V. Discussion

As presented earlier, in proposing this research project, based on an analysis of the literature, researchers made a number of hypotheses. In the following discussion, they will be reviewed in light of the study findings.

A. Hypotheses

1. Older women are likely to be abused by family members or relatives acting as caregivers, be visibly injured, and require medical attention as a result of the incident.

The first part of this hypothesis was supported by the data. Elder women were more likely to be abused by non-intimate family members than intimate partners. While the majority of women in 2002 age 50 to 59 were abused by intimates, for those aged sixty or more that reversed dramatically.

However, whether the suspects were intimates or non-intimate family members, they did not appear generally to be caregivers suffering stress. The intimate abusers fit the same pattern of all abusers, with half possessing prior criminal histories and prior abuse histories. Many of the non-intimate family members appeared to be predatory offspring and their children. The comparison of family and intimate abusers suggests that the former were more generally violent and criminal, and less concentrated on the specific elder victim. Consistent with their more

extensive prior criminal histories and relative youth compared to intimate suspects, relative suspects were also more likely to be arrested for new domestic violence than intimates although study revictimization rates did not significantly differ between intimate and family victims. This suggests that the relative suspects were more likely to go on to abuse other relatives or intimates. This also is consistent with other research, including several Rhode Island studies, that find that abusers who abuse multiple victims are significantly less likely to be married and younger than those abusers who reabuse the same victim (Adams, 1999; Klein, et. al., 2005).

In addition to predatory offspring, it appears from the sample of case police incident reports as well as informant interviews that at least a portion of the family member abusers were in need of treatment for a variety of conditions. Several case studies revealed sons and daughter suspects suffering from drug addiction and alcoholism. Their parent victims may, in fact, have called police in order to secure services for their children as in the following case example.

Case Study # 13

Delusional Son, 38, Abuses Mother, 58

In August, 2002 at 9:05 p.m., a 58 year old mother, her daughter, and her daughter's husband called police about the mother's 38 year old son. They called from a gas station so the mother's employer would not be privy to the call. Officers responded to the gas station. The mother told them that her estranged son had come to her workplace that morning demanding money. He threatened to sue her and his father for money owed him. He also asked his sister for money. He smashed a bottle in the parking lot before he drove off. The mother had secured a protective order to keep her son away after being assaulted by him over the past ten years. She indicated that her son suffered from a bi-polar disorder and had not been taking his medications. *The son's caseworker from the mental health clinic had suggested to the mother that she needed to call police. The mother indicated she only called the police so that her son could be made to take his medication.* The mother also showed police a note left by her son indicating that he was owed "\$55 million tax-free." As a result of the mother's poor English, the sister wrote up the report for police, but the mother indicated that she wanted her son arrested for violating the restraining order.

Police found a copy of a valid restraining order but determined that it had not been served, so they could not arrest the son for violating the order. Police asked if the suspect broke the bottle to threaten them and the mother said "no." No charges were brought against the son.

The officers instructed the mother that the next time her son showed up, she should call police right away so they could serve him.

The suspect had four prior court cases, one for a domestic assault for which he was placed on probation in the past. He was not arrested or cited again during the study.

Further, despite their age, the older and elder victims suffered no more injuries or required no more medical attention than younger victims. Whether or not the related trauma of their abuse was heightened due to their age could not be determined by the data examined.

2. Older women are unlikely to have initiated a call to police regarding an incident and are unlikely to cooperate with police.

Despite what respondents expressed in their interviews and researchers' hypothesis, the data suggest that the likelihood of victim cooperation was not associated with age. In fact, in terms of calling police and cooperating with them once the police arrived, the older and elder victims did not differ from younger victims. Further, the conviction rate for abusers of elder victims was no less than that of abusers of older victims.

3. Police are not likely to arrest older victims' abusers and only a marginal number of cases will be prosecuted.

The data suggest that the hypothesis was not supported in both parts. At least in Rhode Island, it appears that the criminal justice system's response to older and elder abuse was not affected by victim age. The overall arrest and prosecution rates in this study place Rhode Island law enforcement and prosecutors as some of the more aggressive in the nation (Klein, 2004; Garner & Maxwell, forthcoming).

4. With respect to repeated victimization, less than 25 percent of older women will experience repeated abuse over the study period.

A little more than 20% of study victims were revictimized during the study period. The measure for revictimization, new incident reports, undoubtedly under reports revictimization.

Based on NCVS, a substantial portion of victims do not report their abuse to police (Catalano, 2006). While the measure used, incident reports, is less restrictive than arrest, victim self-reports would probably yield higher revictimization.

It is also noteworthy that 15.4% of the study victims were revictimized by a different suspect than the initial study suspect during the study period. This may indicate heightened victim vulnerability due to the victims' ages although the literature does not provide comparative data for multiple victimizations of younger victims. The studies of multiple abuse have been confined to serial *abusers*, not serial abuse *victims* (See, e.g. Adams, 1999). On the other hand, it may also suggest that abuse runs in some families. In the three incidents that involved multiple suspects in the same incident, all of the suspects were non-intimate family members.

5. Victim re-abuse is associated with an abuser's prior criminal history, not victim nor incident characteristics.

The data suggests the hypothesis to be largely supported except that victims having obtained prior protective orders and the suspect being charged with violation of protective orders also proved to be significant risk factors. However, both of these variables obviously indicate prior suspect abuse history. It is also easier for police to arrest abusers with outstanding protective orders as the abusers' mere presence or contact with the victim may constitute a criminal offense. Also, in Rhode Island, police are mandated to arrest for order violations.

6. The state's response to the initial incident will have the greatest impact on re-abuse. More punitive responses (e.g. arrest and prosecution) will result in the lowest rates of re-abuse.

The state's response, including arrest, referral to DEA, prosecution, conviction and sentences of probation and incarceration, did not have any significant impact on revictimization

or suspects likelihood of being charged with new domestic violence subsequent to the study incident. While the research does not reveal any significant effects, the measures used for revictimization/reabuse were limited. They do not speak to the nature of the revictimization/reabuse and do not speak to the revictimization experienced by victims that were **not** reported to police. The unreported reabuse may have been less serious than before state intervention and therefore victims felt no need to summons police. Alternatively, as a result of reprisals for summoning police before, reabused victims may have feared to report new abuse or victims may have decided that new reports would not accomplish anything.

While prosecutors identified the higher risk suspects for prosecution, the dispositions imposed, mostly probation and limited incarceration, may have not been punitive enough to influence abuser behavior. Almost half of the suspects who revictimized their study victims had already been sentenced to probation supervision previously and 20% had previously been sentenced to prison. As found in the Rhode Island probation study, specialized supervision of abusers reduced recidivism and reabuse, but only for those probationers who had not already been sentenced to probation supervision (Klein & Tobin, 2008). Some research suggests that prosecution, in and of itself, will not reduce reabuse unless it results in more severe sanctions (Thistlewaite, et. al., 1998; Ventura & Davis, 2004).

Additionally, Rhode Island statute mandates that all abusers attend a standard 26 week batterer intervention program. For a substantial number of non-intimate family member abusers, at least, these programs may not be as appropriate as for intimate abusers.

B. Limitations of the Research and Future Research

The research is based on a population of reported domestic elder abuse over one year in one northeastern state. It must be replicated in more jurisdictions to determine how representative it may be of elder abuse across the region, much less across the nation.

While the population examined includes all cases of elder abuse reported to law enforcement, including those reported to law enforcement by the state elder abuse reporting agency, the Department of Elder Affairs, the extent of unreported abuse is unknown. Nor did researchers have access to DEA files to examine if it had records of domestic elder abuse reported to it which never reached law enforcement.

The elder abuse uncovered also includes all abuse allegedly committed by current or former intimates, cohabitants, and family members. As revealed in the interviews with prosecutors, this excludes many cases of abuse, including financial exploitation of elderly prosecuted by that office that involves friends, associates, strangers, contractors, and others.

Revictimization and reabuse measures employed are conservative, based on only reported reabuse. If we had the resources, interviews with victims would more accurately reveal revictimization. While the study did not find any significant association between arrest and prosecution, even incarceration, and revictimization and reabuse, more liberal measures of the latter may reveal more effect. Similarly, while referral to DEA also did not significantly correlate with reabuse and revictimization, researchers were not able to determine the nature of the referral and what actions or services were taken by DEA in response to the referrals. Also, the number of referrals over the one year study period was small.

Notwithstanding its many limitations, the research does paint a broader picture of elder abuse than that generally captured in adult protective files alone or overall domestic violence

research. It clearly reveals that the nature of domestic abuse of elder female victims (60 and older) and the identities of their suspects are different from that of younger female victims (50-59 or younger), and, unfortunately, that the criminal justice system and social service system are unable to prevent it from reoccurring for a substantial proportion of older and elder female victims.

C. Policy Implications

There are several major policy implications raised by this study. At least in Rhode Island, there is (or was as of 2002) a major divide between the two major statutory responders to elder abuse, law enforcement and adult protective services. Few cases referred to the state's Department of Elder Affairs were referred to police for criminal investigation and few cases involving eligible victims brought to police were referred to DEA for services. The qualitative interviews underscored the need for a strong collaborative judicial and social service response due to the complexity of these cases.

While the abuse of women age fifty to fifty-nine resembles that of women under fifty, abuse of women sixty years and older is significantly different, with a majority of elder female victims abused by family members as opposed to current or former intimates. If nothing else, the state should revisit state statute, R.I. Gen. Laws § 12-29-5, that requires all persons convicted of domestic violence to complete a batterer intervention program. The profile of family member abusers of older women suggests that mandatory substance abuse counseling and abstinence enforced by testing as well as mental health counseling would be a far more appropriate requirement than batterer treatment alone.

On the other hand, the research found a larger proportion of abused victims who qualify as elder, sixty or older, were still abused by current or former intimates than generally reported in

the literature. In the last national survey conducted in 2004 (Teaster, et. al. 2006), for example, only 11.3% percent of adult protective cases involved intimates. This study revealed that the percent was three times as high among elder abuse reported to police. Unless Rhode Island was unique, it would appear that elder intimate abuse is generally under reported to adult protective services. The qualitative interviews revealed the challenge of creating coordinated and systemic approaches to elder abuse in fragmented service systems. Limited data across systems and responder agency constrains comprehensive statewide efforts to define the scope and nature of the problem and plan accordingly. Increasing collaboration among agencies with different missions and goals may require not only sufficient data to make reasonable decisions but openness to understanding the limitations and strengths of these varied response systems. As the problem of elder abuse gains increased public awareness and political will, we would expect that a cross system collaborative may be necessary to address some of the gaps reported above.

Both adult protective workers and domestic violence advocates need to be trained in dealing with both abused intimate and family member elder victims.

While some research suggests that the prosecution of abusers can reduce the likelihood of reabuse, the prosecution of cases in Rhode Island was not found to reduce risk of revictimization for women 50 years and older. Particularly in regard to the cases involving victims 60 and over, the effectiveness of prosecution may have been compromised by the imposition of misdemeanor dispositions for felony charges.

Finally, the fact that researchers found more *reported* abuse against intimates in Rhode Island per capita (for women fifty and over) than that found in the NCVS suggests that Rhode Island may be ahead of the rest of the nation in getting victims to report their abuse to police because there is no evidence that abuse is actually higher in Rhode Island than the nation as a

whole. Additional research is needed to determine if the increased reporting is due to victim advocacy or victim confidence in local law enforcement and prosecutors. In either case, those responsible should keep it up.

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Appendix

A. DV/SA Reporting Form (revised 2005)

DV/SA REPORTING FORM - 2005 revision
DOMESTIC VIOLENCE & SEXUAL ASSAULT/CHILD MOLESTATION

NO STAPLES PLEASE!

POLICE CASE #: _____

A. INCIDENT INFORMATION

LOCATION (street address): _____ CITY: _____
ZIP: _____

PUBLIC PLACE/INDOORS INCIDENT DATE: _____
 PUBLIC PLACE/OUTDOORS
 HOUSE VEHICLE TIME (military): _____
 APARTMENT REPORT DATE: _____
 OTHER (specify): _____ (if different from incident date)

WHO CONTACTED POLICE?

VICTIM FAMILY MEMBER FRIEND NEIGHBOR
 SUSPECT HOSPITAL 911 ANON CHILD
 OTHER (specify type): _____

ALCOHOL/DRUG USE:

IN OFFICER'S OPINION,
ALCOHOL INVOLVED? SUSPECT VICTIM NEITHER UNK
DRUGS INVOLVED? SUSPECT VICTIM NEITHER UNK

B. ARREST INFORMATION

DID PROBABLE CAUSE EXIST TO BELIEVE A DOMESTIC VIOLENCE (DV) CRIME OCCURRED? YES NO
DID PROBABLE CAUSE EXIST TO BELIEVE A SEXUAL ASSAULT (SA/CM) CRIME OCCURRED? YES NO
WERE PHOTO(S) TAKEN OF VICTIM? YES NO
WERE PHOTO(S) TAKEN OF CRIME SCENE? YES NO
WAS OTHER PHYSICAL EVIDENCE COLLECTED? ... YES NO

C. ASSAULT INFORMATION

VICTIM PHYSICALLY ASSAULTED? YES NO
VICTIM SEXUALLY ASSAULTED? YES NO
VISIBLE VICTIM INJURIES DUE TO INCIDENT? YES NO
WEAPON / OBJECT USED TO HURT / INJURE? YES NO
IF YES, WHAT? HANDGUN LONG GUN KNIFE
 OTHER (describe): _____

WEAPON / OBJECT USED TO THREATEN? YES NO
IF YES, WHAT? HANDGUN LONG GUN KNIFE
 OTHER (describe): _____

INDICATE IF VERBAL THREATS WERE MADE BY SUSPECT TO:
 VICTIM CHILDREN FAMILY FRIEND(S)
 PET(S) OTHER (type): _____

IF THREAT WAS MADE, WHAT WAS SAID? _____

MARK OVALS DESCRIBING NATURE OF ASSAULT / INCIDENT:

VERBAL ARGUMENT VERBAL ABUSE
 VICTIM KEPT FROM LEAVING VICTIM KEPT FROM USING PHONE
 THREAT OF PHYSICAL VIOLENCE CHOKING / STRANGLING
 SPITTING AT HAIR PULLING GRABBING SCRATCHING
 KICKING BITING SLAPPING HITTING WRISTS
 PUSHING / SHOVING VICTIM BEATING PET(S) HARMED
 THROWING OBJECTS BURNING
 THROWING / SLAMMING VICTIM ATTEMPTED SEXUAL ASSAULT
 THREAT OF SEXUAL ASSAULT SEXUAL PENETRATION
 SEXUAL TOUCHING OTHER (describe): _____

VICTIM IN PAIN NOW? YES NO
VICTIM PREGNANT AT TIME OF INCIDENT? YES NO
VICTIM REQUIRED MEDICAL ATTENTION? YES NO
IF YES, WHAT MEDICAL FACILITY? _____

ANYONE ELSE ASSAULTED BY SUSPECT? YES NO
 CHILDREN FRIEND RELATIVE
 OTHER (type): _____

SUSPECT ASSAULTED VICTIM BEFORE? YES NO
IF YES, WHEN? _____

HOW MANY TIMES? 1 2-5
 MANY OVER TIME, BEGINNING WHEN? _____ (approximately)

D. SEXUAL ASSAULT / CHILD MOLESTATION INFO.

IF AN ALLEGED SEXUAL ASSAULT OR CHILD MOLESTATION,
DATE OF ALLEGED ASSAULT: _____
WAS A FORENSIC RAPE EXAM DONE? YES NO
IF CHILD CASE, DCYF NOTIFIED? (800-742-4453) ... YES NO
ADULT REPORTING OWN ABUSE AS A CHILD? YES NO
WAS SEXUAL ABUSE ONGOING? YES NO
IF YES, HOW LONG? LESS THAN 1 YR 1 - 5 YRS
 MANY YRS OVER TIME, BEGINNING WHEN? _____

HAS CASE BEEN REFERRED TO THE AG'S OFFICE? YES NO
NUMBER OF SUSPECTS:
 1 2 3 MORE THAN 3 - HOW MANY? _____

E. VICTIM INFORMATION

NAME: _____ (Last) _____ (First) _____ (MI) DOB: _____
ADDRESS: _____ GENDER: F M O
CITY: _____ STATE: _____ ZIP: _____
HOME PH#: _____ CELL or WORK PH#: _____

PH# OF CONTACT PERSON: _____

VICTIM / SUSPECT LIVING TOGETHER AT TIME OF INCIDENT?
 YES NO

IF VICTIM WAS 60 YRS OR OLDER, WAS DEA NOTIFIED?
 YES NO (401-462-0555 Abuse Unit)

VICTIM ETHNIC / RACIAL BACKGROUND:

WHITE BLACK WH HISPANIC BL HISPANIC
 ASIAN NATIVE AMERICAN OTHER (specify): _____

VICTIM Demeanor (choose all that apply):

TEARFUL/CRYING HYSTERICAL AFRAID
 SHAKING/TREMBLING ANGRY NERVOUS
 UPSET WITHDRAWN/FLAT AFFECT
 OTHER (describe): _____

DID VICTIM SAY ANYTHING? YES NO
IF YES, WHAT WAS SAID? _____

F. SUSPECT INFORMATION

NAME: _____ (Last) _____ (First) _____ (MI) DOB: _____
ADDRESS: _____ GENDER: F M O
CITY: _____ STATE: _____ ZIP: _____

RELATIONSHIP TO VICTIM / MARK RELEVANT OVAL.

MARRIED or FORMERLY MARRIED
 INTIMATE PARTNER or FORMER INTIMATE PARTNER
 CHILD IN COMMON COHABITANT (no relationship) DATING
 RELATIVE (specify type): _____

If relationship choices above are not appropriate for sexual assaults, use list below:
 CO-WORKER STRANGER FRIEND EMPLOYER
 ACQUAINTANCE CAREGIVER DATE EMPLOYEE
 OTHER (describe): _____

SUSPECT ETHNIC / RACIAL BACKGROUND:

WHITE BLACK WH HISPANIC BL HISPANIC
 ASIAN NATIVE AMERICAN OTHER (describe): _____

DOES SUSPECT POSSESS WEAPONS? ... YES NO
IF YES, HANDGUN LONG GUN KNIFE
 OTHER (describe): _____

WERE WEAPONS CONFISCATED? YES NO

SUSPECT Demeanor (choose all that apply):

APOLOGETIC CALM BELLIGERENT ANGRY
 THREATENING NERVOUS CONFUSED
 SUSPECT NOT AT SCENE SUSPECT DECEASED
 OTHER (describe): _____

VISIBLE SUSPECT INJURIES DUE TO INCIDENT? ... YES NO
WAS PHOTO TAKEN OF SUSPECT'S INJURIES? YES NO
DID SUSPECT SAY ANYTHING? YES NO
IF YES, WHAT WAS SAID? _____

B: DESCRIPTIVE STATISTICS: CASE CHARACTERISTICS

Variable	N	% or Mean	(SD)	Min	Max
A. Victim-related (unique victims = 408)					
Female	408	100.0		0	1
Age at time of incident report, <i>M</i> (<i>SD</i>)	408	59.2	9.1	50	91
Victim ethnic/racial background					
White	407	88.9		0	1
Black	407	6.4		0	1
Black Hispanic	407	3.2		0	1
White Hispanic	407	0.5		0	1
Asian	407	0.5		0	1
Native American	407	0.5		0	1
Relationship to victim					
Non-married relative	185	45.3		0	1
Spouse	108	26.6		0	1
Intimate partner	55	13.5		0	1
Former intimate partner	26	6.4		0	1
Cohabitant	16	3.9		0	1
Formerly married	10	2.5		0	1
Dating	8	2.0		0	1
Minor children live in the home	408	17.6		0	1
Dwelling in...					
Victim's name	365	62.5		0	1
Suspect's name	365	12.3		0	1
Victim's and suspect's name	365	13.4		0	1
Other	365	11.8		0	1
Victim/suspect living together at time of incident	408	64.2		0	1
Victim reported prior assaults by suspect	408	34.8		0	1
Police responded to involved parties before	407	30.7		0	1
Victim obtained Protective Order prior to incident	408	14.2		0	1
Victim gave written statement	407	42.5		0	1
Victim pointed out who hurt her	407	43.5		0	1
Victim unwilling to mark responses	407	12.8		0	1
B. Suspect-related (unique suspects = 411)					
Age at time of incident report, <i>M</i> (<i>SD</i>)	401	44.9	15.3	18	88
Suspect male	411	83.2		0	1
Suspect ethnic/racial background					
White	409	88.0		0	1
Black	409	6.8		0	1
Black Hispanic	409	4.2		0	1
White Hispanic	409	0.5		0	1
Asian	409	0.2		0	1
Native American	409	0.2		0	1
Any prior court cases					
Number of prior court cases	197	4.5	4.0	1	26
Any prior court cases for DV/SA					
Number of prior court cases for DV/SA	108	2.1	1.7	1	8
Any prior court cases for crimes against persons/not					
	403	14.1		0	1

Variable	N	% or Mean	(SD)	Min	Max
DV/SA					
Number of prior court cases for crimes against persons/not DV/SA	57	1.8	1.1	1	5
Any prior court cases for alcohol/drugs	403	21.6		0	1
# of prior court cases for alcohol/drugs	87	1.6	0.9	1	5
Ever been on probation prior to incident	403	36.0		0	1
# of times on probation prior to incident	145	2.6	1.8	1	10
Ever been in jail/prison prior to incident	403	15.6		0	1
# of times in jail/prison prior to incident	63	2.4	1.7	1	7
Suspect on probation at time of incident	411	8.8		0	1
C. Incident-related (unique incidents = 411)					
Who contacted police to report incident...					
Victim	394	65.0		0	1
Family member	394	14.2		0	1
Neighbor	394	8.4		0	1
Friend	394	2.5		0	1
Suspect	394	2.5		0	1
Hospital	394	0.3		0	1
Other	394	7.1		0	1
Victim was assaulted	411	44.0		0	1
Victim visibly injured at time of incident	411	21.7		0	1
Victim required medical care	411	8.3		0	1
Verbal threats were made to victim	411	26.8		0	1
Verbal threats were made to others	411	5.6		0	1
Multiple suspects involved in study incident	408	0.7		0	1
Suspect possess weapons	411	9.0		0	1
Someone else was assaulted by suspect	411	6.6		0	1
Property damaged or stolen during incident	411	29.0		0	1
Suspect injured at time of incident	411	6.3		0	1
D. Criminal Justice Response (unique incidents = 411)					
--Police					
Witnesses present during the incident	411	32.8		0	1
Photos were taken of victim	411	14.1		0	1
Photos taken of suspect's injuries	411	2.4		0	1
Photos were taken of crime scene	411	19.7		0	1
Other physical evidence was collected	411	10.9		0	1
Weapons confiscated	37	75.7		0	1
Suspect said something to police	411	21.7		0	1
Victim was given rights/safety pamphlet	411	64.2		0	1
If victim was 60+, DEA was notified	134	25.4		0	1
Arrest was made within 24 hours	410	63.2		0	1
Warrant issues	410	3.7		0	1
Under investigation	410	1.0		0	1
At time of incident, DV offense categorized by police as...					
Simple assault	411	33.8		0	1
Disorderly	410	20.0		0	1
Violation/protective order	411	6.1		0	1
Maliciousness/damage	410	12.7		0	1

Variable	N	% or Mean	(SD)	Min	Max
Felony assault	411	7.3		0	1
Failure to relinquish phone	410	4.9		0	1
Threatening/harassing phone call	410	3.7		0	1
Breaking and entering	411	1.5		0	1
Stalking	410	0.2		0	1
Other					
Any charge noted on DV/SA form	411	66.9		0	1
--Prosecution					
Charged at all in 2002	403	53.3		0	1
Charged in 2002 with assault	215	61.4		0	1
Charged in 2002 with felony	215	19.5		0	1
Successfully prosecuted in 2002—probation/prison	403	35.2		0	1
Probation for study incident	403	30.3		0	1
Prison for study incident	403	5.0		0	1
E. Re-victimization and Re-abuse					
--Re-victimization					
Victim had subsequent DV/SA reports	408	22.3		0	1
# of times re-victimized	90	1.6	1.1	1	5
Same suspect as study incident	90	84.4		0	1
All different suspects	90	12.2		0	1
Same and different suspects	90	3.3		0	1
Multiple abuse incidents in study year	90	47.8		0	1
--Re-abuse					
In court for subsequent DV arrest	403	28.8		0	1
# of times in court for subsequent DV arrest	116	2.0	1.4	1	8

C: BIVARIATE RELATIONSHIPS AND REVICTIMIZATION/ REABUSE (% or mean (SD))

	DV1: Victim Reported Subsequent Abuse				DV2: Suspect in Court for Subsequent Domestic Violence Charge					
	Yes (n=91)		No (n=317)		Yes (n=116)		No (n=287)		X ² or t	
A. Victim-related										
Age at time of incident report, <i>M (SD)</i>	59.9	(10.8)	59.0	(8.6)	-.832	60.4	(10.0)	58.8	(8.8)	-1.543
Victim white	87.9		89.2		.127	87.0		90.9		.233
Current/former intimate partner	58.0		51.3		1.207	61.6		42.9		11.143***
Minor children live in the home	17.6		17.7		.000	17.2		18.1		.043
Dwelling in victim's name	66.3		61.4		.626	73.1		57.5		7.908**
Victim/suspect living together at time of incident	59.3		65.6		1.211	62.9		65.5		.624
Victim reported prior assaults by suspect	38.5		33.8		.691	36.2		34.1		.155
Police responded to involved parties before	29.7		31.0		.060	25.9		32.5		1.721
Victim obtained Protective Order prior to incident	25.3		11.0		11.746***	21.6		10.8		7.979**
Victim gave written statement	25.3		47.5		14.240***	38.8		44.8		1.197
Victim pointed out who hurt her	35.2		45.9		3.305+	38.8		45.5		1.490
Victim unwilling to mark responses	16.5		11.7		1.445	14.7		12.2		.428
B. Suspect-related										
Age at time of incident report, <i>M (SD)</i>	46.7	(14.4)	44.4	(15.5)	-1.266	40.9	(13.3)	46.5	(15.8)	3.349***
Suspect male	83.5		83.3		.003	81.9		83.6		.675
Suspect white	85.7		88.6		.543	87.0		89.2		.531
Any prior court cases	61.1		45.5		6.816**	72.4		39.4		36.093***
Number of prior court cases	2.9	(3.9)	2.0	(3.5)	-2.189*	3.8	(4.1)	1.5	(3.1)	-5.962***
Any prior court cases for DV/SA	36.7		24.2		5.506*	36.7		24.2		5.506*
Number of prior court cases for DV/SA	0.9	(1.7)	0.5	(1.1)	-2.923**	1.1	(1.8)	0.4	(1.0)	-5.449***
Any prior court cases for crimes against persons/not DV/SA	20.0		12.6		3.142+	25.9		9.4		18.419***
Number of prior court cases for crimes against persons/not DV/SA	0.3	(0.8)	0.2	(0.7)	-1.343	0.5	(0.9)	0.2	(0.6)	-3.475**
Any prior court cases for alcohol/drugs	30.0		19.4		4.644*	35.3		16.0		18.210***
# of prior court cases for alcohol/drugs	0.5	(0.8)	0.3	(0.8)	-1.448	0.6	(1.0)	0.3	(0.7)	-3.660***
Ever been on probation prior to incident	45.6		33.5		4.351*	59.5		26.5		39.060***
# of times on probation prior to incident	1.29	(1.8)	0.8	(1.6)	-2.270*	1.2	(1.9)	0.6	(1.4)	-5.793***
Ever been in jail/prison prior to incident	20.0		14.4		1.676	31.0		9.4		29.296***

	DV1: Victim Reported Subsequent Abuse			DV2: Suspect in Court for Subsequent Domestic Violence Charge		
	Yes (n=91)	No (n=317)	X ² or t	Yes (n=116)	No (n=287)	X ² or t
# of times in jail/prison prior to incident	0.5 (1.2)	0.4 (1.1)	-1.321	0.8 (1.4)	0.2 (0.9)	-4.613***
Suspect on probation at time of incident	11.0	8.2	.683	13.8	7.0	4.729*
C. Incident-related						
Who contacted police to report incident...						
Victim	72.4	63.2	2.555	67.5	63.2	.651
Family member	12.6	14.8	.257	15.8	14.0	.214
Neighbor	9.2	7.9	.152	7.0	9.2	.485
Friend	0.0	3.3	2.937+	0.9	2.9	1.503
Suspect	1.1	3.0	.890	0.9	3.3	1.882
Hospital	0.0	0.3		0.0	0.4	.420
Other	4.6	7.6		7.9	7.0	.099
Victim was assaulted	38.5	45.7	1.520	40.5	46.3	1.134
Victim was sexually assaulted						
Victim visibly injured at time of incident	24.2	21.1	.383	21.4	22.9	.100
Victim required medical care	8.8	7.9	.078	6.9	9.1	.500
Verbal threats were made to victim	24.2	27.8	.461	24.1	26.8	.311
Verbal threats were made to others	4.4	6.0	.339	6.9	4.5	.937
Multiple suspects involved in study incident	0.9	0.0	.868	0.9	1.7	.509
Suspect possess weapons	8.8	8.8	9.5	9.5	9.1	.018
Someone else was assaulted by suspect	4.4	6.9	.767	9.5	5.6	2.018
Property damaged or stolen during incident	17.6	31.9	7.048**	31.0	28.6	.242
Suspect injured at time of incident	4.4	6.9	.767	3.4	7.7	2.434
D. Criminal Justice Response						
<i>--Police</i>						
Witnesses present during the incident	36.3	31.9	.621	39.7	30.3	3.260+
Photos were taken of victim	13.2	14.5	.102	12.1	15.3	.713
Photos taken of suspect's injuries	2.2	2.5	.031	2.6	2.4	.007
Photos were taken of crime scene	12.1	21.5	3.970*	19.8	20.2	.007
Other physical evidence was collected	8.8	11.7	.598	12.1	10.8	.134
Weapons confiscated (n=36)	75.0	75.0	73.1	73.1	81.8	.321
Suspect said something to police	20.9	21.8	.033	20.7	22.6	.184
Victim was given rights/safety pamphlet	65.9	63.7	.151	64.7	64.1	.011
If victim was 60+, DEA was notified (n=133)	25.8	25.5	.001	16.5	5.6	12.210***

	DV1: Victim Reported Subsequent Abuse			DV2: Suspect in Court for Subsequent Domestic Violence Charge		
	Yes (n=91)	No (n=317)	X ² or t	Yes (n=116)	No (n=287)	X ² or t
Arrest was made within 24 hours	64.8	62.7	.144	65.5	62.6	.305
Warrant issues	1.1	4.4	2.174	2.6	3.5	.219
Under investigation	1.1	0.9	.018	2.6	0.3	4.191*
At time of incident, DV offense categorized by police as...						
Simple assault	28.6	35.3	1.443	29.3	36.6	1.935
Disorderly	14.3	21.8	2.464	16.4	22.0	1.582
Violation/protective order	14.3	3.8	13.552***	9.5	4.9	3.010+
Maliciousness/damage	12.1	12.9	.045	15.5	11.8	.990
Felony assault	7.7	7.3	.020	9.5	6.6	.982
Failure to relinquish phone	4.4	5.0	.064	2.6	5.9	1.951
Threatening/harassing phone call	4.4	3.5	.171	3.4	3.8	.034
Breaking and entering	2.2	1.3	.427	0.9	1.7	.436
Stalking	1.1	0.0	3.492	0.9	0.0	2.480
Other	7.7	6.9	.061	6.0	7.7	.329
Any charge noted on DV/SA form	68.1	66.9	.050	63.8	70.0	1.485
--Prosecution						
Charged at all in 2002	60.0	51.9	1.825	67.2	47.7	12.630***
Charged in 2002 with assault (n=215)	42.6	37.3	.484	44.9	35.0	2.029
Charged in 2002 with felony (n=215)	14.3	9.1	2.107	18.1	7.3	10.295**
Successfully prosecuted in 2002— probation/prison	68.5	65.2	.197	45.7	31.0	7.800**
Probation for study incident	32.2	30.0	.162	36.2	27.9	2.717+
Prison for study incident	14.8	7.5	2.597+	9.5	3.1	7.056**

+ $p < .10$; * $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$

D: COMPARISON OF CASES OF VICTIMS AGED 50-59 AND 60 AND OVER

	Victim Age (% or mean (SD))		X^2 or t
	50-59 years (<i>n</i> =273)	60+ years (<i>n</i> =135)	
A. Victim-related			
Victim white	86.4	94.0	5.256*
Current/former intimate partner	62.4	34.3	27.893***
Minor children live in the home	18.3	16.3	.253
Dwelling in victim's name	64.6	58.2	1.424
Victim/suspect living together at time of incident	63.7	65.2	.083
Victim reported prior assaults by suspect	38.8	26.7	5.888**
Police responded to involved parties before	33.5	25.2	2.900+
Victim obtained Protective Order prior to incident	48.6	56.5	.351
Victim gave written statement	42.3	43.0	.017
Victim pointed out who hurt her	44.9	40.7	.621
Victim unwilling to mark responses	13.2	11.9	.155
B. Suspect-related			
Age at time of incident report, <i>M</i> (<i>SD</i>)	43.4 (13.7)	47.9 (17.7)	-2.838**
Suspect male	87.5	74.8	10.541***
Suspect white	85.0	94.0	6.831**
Any prior court cases	47.7	51.5	.501
Number of prior court cases	2.2 (3.7)	2.2 (3.4)	.000
Any prior court cases for DV/SA	26.3	28.4	.189
Number of prior court cases for DV/SA	0.6 (1.3)	0.6 (1.3)	-.060
Any prior court cases for crimes against persons/not DV/SA	13.2	16.4	.775
Number of prior court cases for crimes against persons/not DV/SA	0.2 (0.7)	0.3 (0.9)	-.990
Any prior court cases for alcohol/drugs	22.2	20.9	.086
Number of prior court cases for alcohol/drugs	0.4 (0.8)	0.3 (0.8)	.301
Ever been on probation prior to incident	35.0	38.8	.570
Number of times on probation prior to incident	0.9 (1.7)	1.0 (1.6)	-.496
Ever been in jail/prison prior to incident	15.0	17.2	.304
Number of times in jail/prison prior to incident	0.4 (1.2)	0.4 (1.0)	.469
Suspect on probation at time of incident	9.2	8.1	.114
C. Incident-related			
Who contacted police to report incident...			
Victim	67.6	60.5	1.917
Family member	12.2	18.6	2.877+
Neighbor	8.0	8.5	.030
Friend	2.7	2.3	.042
Suspect	3.4	0.8	2.454
Hospital	0.0	0.8	2.036
Other	6.1	8.5	.788
Victim was assaulted	45.1	42.2	.294
Victim visibly injured at time of incident	23.1	19.3	.772
Victim required medical care at time of incident	8.1	8.1	.001
Verbal threats were made to victim	28.2	24.4	.649
Verbal threats were made to others	6.2	4.4	.540

	Victim Age (% or mean (SD))		<i>X</i> ² or <i>t</i>
	50-59 years (<i>n</i> =273)	60+ years (<i>n</i> =135)	
Multiple suspects involved in study incident	0.4	1.5	1.539
Suspect possess weapons	8.8	8.9	.001
Someone else was assaulted by suspect	5.1	8.9	2.141
Property damaged or stolen during incident	28.2	29.6	.090
Suspect injured at time of incident	7.0	5.2	.477
D. Criminal Justice Response			
--Police			
Witnesses present during the incident	32.2	34.1	.139
Photos were taken of victim	13.9	14.8	.059
Photos taken of suspect's injuries	2.6	2.2	.044
Photos were taken of crime scene	17.9	22.2	1.057
Other physical evidence was collected	10.3	12.6	.502
Weapons confiscated (<i>n</i> =36)	70.8	83.3	.667
Suspect said something to police	19.0	26.7	3.100+
Victim was given rights/safety pamphlet	65.2	62.2	.349
Arrest was made within 24 hours	60.7	68.1	2.173
At time of incident, DV offense categorized by police as...			
Simple assault	38.1	25.2	6.726*
Disorderly	17.9	24.4	2.373
Violation/protective order	4.4	9.6	4.302*
Maliciousness/damage	12.5	13.3	.063
Felony assault	4.0	14.1	13.379***
Failure to relinquish phone	4.0	6.7	1.348
Threatening/harassing phone call	4.0	3.0	.290
Breaking and entering	1.1	2.2	.787
Stalking	0.4	0.0	.496
Other	7.0	7.4	.027
Any charge noted on DV/SA form	66.7	68.1	.090
--Prosecution			
Charged at all in 2002	53.2	53.7	.009
Charged in 2002 with assault (<i>n</i> =215)	37.3	41.1	.289
Charged in 2002 with felony (<i>n</i> =215)	7.3	16.1	7.638**
Successfully prosecuted in 2002—probation/prison	68.3	61.6	.955
Probation for study incident	31.1	28.7	.248
Prison for study incident	9.9	8.2	.154
E. Re-victimization and Re-abuse			
--Re-victimization			
Victim had subsequent DV/SA reports	22.0	23.0	.051
Number of times re-victimized (<i>n</i> =90)	1.6 (1.2)	1.7 (1.1)	-.004
Multiple abuse incidents in study year (<i>n</i> =91)	48.3	45.2	.083
--Re-abuse			
In court for subsequent DV arrest	25.8	34.6	3.339+
Number of times in court for subsequent DV arrest	0.6 (1.2)	0.6 (1.2)	-.647

+ *p* < .10; * *p* < .05; ** *p* < .01; *** *p* < .001

E: COMPARISON OF CASES INVOLVING INTIMATE AND NON-INTIMATE FAMILY MEMBERS

	Suspect/Victim Relationship (% or mean (SD))				<i>X</i> ² or t
	<i>Current/former Intimate Partner</i> (n=207)		<i>Other Relative</i> (n=188)		
A. Victim-related					
Age at time of incident report, <i>M</i> (<i>SD</i>)	56.9	(7.5)	62.1	(10.2)	-5.910***
Victim white	87.9		89.8		.364
Minor children live in the home	12.6		24.5		9.372**
Dwelling in victim's name	44.5		81.0		49.256***
Dwelling in suspect's name	17.6		6.0		11.190**
Dwelling in both suspect's and victim's name	25.8		1.2		44.030***
Victim/suspect living together at time of incident	68.1		58.0		4.358*
Victim reported prior assaults by suspect	47.3		23.4		24.520***
Police responded to involved parties before	32.0		29.3		.358
Victim obtained Protective Order prior to incident	16.4		12.2		1.401
Victim gave written statement	43.7		42.2		.093
Victim pointed out who hurt her	48.5		38.3		4.195*
Victim unwilling to mark responses	10.7		13.3		.641
B. Suspect-related					
Age at time of incident report, <i>M</i> (<i>SD</i>)	54.6	(11.9)	34.2	(11.3)	17.185***
Suspect male	98.6		66.0		74.308***
Suspect white	86.9		89.3		5.798
Any prior court cases	42.0		57.2		8.955*
Number of prior court cases (n=190)	4.5	(4.2)	4.7	(3.9)	-.382
Any prior court cases for DV/SA	23.5		30.5		2.397
Number of prior court cases for DV/SA (n=104)	2.4	(1.9)	2.0	(1.6)	1.162
Any prior court cases for crimes against persons/not DV/SA	10.0		19.8		7.369**
Number of prior court cases for crimes against persons/not DV/SA (n=57)	1.7	(1.0)	1.8	(1.1)	-.370
Any prior court cases for alcohol/drugs	18.0		27.3		4.768*
# of prior court cases for alcohol/drugs (n=87)	1.5	(0.8)	1.7	(1.0)	-.943
Ever been on probation prior to incident	29.0		44.9		10.544**
# of times on probation prior to incident (n=142)	2.6	(1.9)	2.7	(1.8)	-.316
Ever been in jail/prison prior to incident	13.0		19.3		2.807+
# of times in jail/prison prior to incident (n=62)	2.5	(1.7)	2.4	(1.8)	.124
Suspect on probation at time of incident	5.8		12.2		5.055*
C. Incident-related					
Who contacted police to report incident...					
Victim	71.4		57.1		.004
Family member	10.2		19.2		6.185*
Neighbor	7.1		9.9		.919
Friend	2.6		2.7		.014
Suspect	2.6		2.2		.051
Hospital	0.0		0.6		1.098
Other	6.1		7.8		.418
Victim was assaulted	49.8		39.4		4.306*
Victim visibly injured at time of incident	25.1		18.6		2.427
Victim required medical care at time of incident	8.7		8.5		.004

	Suspect/Victim Relationship (% or mean (SD))		<i>X</i> ² or <i>t</i>
	<i>Current/former Intimate Partner</i> (n=207)	<i>Other Relative</i> (n=188)	
Verbal threats were made to victim	31.4	23.9	2.732+
Verbal threats were made to others	4.3	7.4	1.725
Suspect injured at time of incident	7.7	4.8	1.439
Multiple suspects involved in study incident	0.0	1.6	3.383+
Suspect possess weapons	11.1	6.9	2.094
Someone else was assaulted by suspect	2.9	11.2	10.585**
Property damaged or stolen during incident	62.8	55.3	2.285
D. Criminal Justice Response			
<i>--Police</i>			
Witnesses present during the incident	22.7	45.2	22.431***
Photos were taken of victim	15.9	12.2	1.113
Photos taken of suspect's injuries	4.3	0.5	5.814*
Photos were taken of crime scene	15.9	25.5	5.558*
Other physical evidence was collected	9.7	12.2	.672
Weapons confiscated (n=36)	60.9	100.0	6.783**
Suspect said something to police	24.2	20.7	.656
Victim was given rights/safety pamphlet	71.5	57.4	8.528**
If victim was 60+, DEA was notified	13.3	31.8	5.346*
Arrest was made within 24 hours	60.7	66.5	1.431
At time of incident, DV offense categorized by police as...			
Simple assault	40.6	28.2	6.674**
Disorderly	19.9	20.2	.006
Violation/protective order	7.7	4.8	1.439
Maliciousness/damage	13.1	12.8	.010
Felony assault	5.3	10.1	3.224+
Failure to relinquish phone	5.3	4.8	.062
Threatening/harassing phone call	3.9	3.2	.137
Breaking and entering	1.0	2.1	.888
Stalking	0.0	0.5	1.099
Other	5.8	9.0	1.492
Any charge noted on DV/SA form	69.6	67.6	.181
<i>--Prosecution</i>			
Charged at all in 2002	56.5	52.4	.653
Charged in 2002 with assault (n=211)	28.3	50.0	10.431**
Charged in 2002 with felony (n=211)	9.7	11.7	.432
Successfully prosecuted in 2002—probation/prison	63.7	67.3	.306
Probation for study incident	30.0	32.1	.191
Prison for study incident	10.6	7.1	.774
E. Re-victimization and Re-abuse			
<i>--Re-victimization</i>			
Victim had subsequent DV/SA reports	24.6	19.7	1.398
# times revictimized (n=87)	1.9 (1.3)	1.2 (0.6)	2.791**
Multiple abuse incidents in study year (n=88)	54.9	37.8	2.503
<i>--Re-abuse</i>			
In court for subsequent DV arrest	21.5	36.9	11.143***
# times in court for subsequent DV arrest (n=112)	2.1 (1.3)	2.0 (1.5)	.468

Suspect/Victim Relationship (% or mean (SD))

Current/former Intimate Partner (n=207)

Other Relative (n=188)

X² or t

+ *p* < .10; * *p* < .05; ** *p* < .01; *** *p* < .001

F: Predictors of Re-Victimization

Predictor	Value (SE)	Wald's X ₂	<i>p</i>	OR	95% CI
<i>Constant</i>	-1.115 (.245)	20.620	.000	.328	NA
Protective order issued prior to the incident	.832 (.331)	6.332	.012	2.298	1.202, 4.392
Victim gave written statement	-1.205 (.289)	17.334	.000	.300	.170, .529
Property was damaged/stolen	-.991 (.371)	9.357	.002	.371	.197, .701
Police categorized charge as assault at time of incident	-.742 (.303)	5.992	.014	.476	.263, .862
Suspect had prior court cases	.575 (.271)	4.504	.034	1.776	1.045, 3.020
Suspect was charged for initial study incident	.697 (.312)	4.987	.026	2.007	1.089, 3.698
Test		X²	<i>p</i>		
Overall model evaluation					
Likelihood ratio test		48.788	.000		
Goodness-of-fit test					
Hosmer & Lemshow		9.210	.325		

Note: Cox and Snell R² = .114, Nagelkerke R² = .175, NA = not applicable.

G. Predictors of Re-Abuse

Predictor	Value (SE)	Wald's X ²	<i>p</i>	OR	95% CI
<i>Constant</i>	-.540 (.449)	1.448	.229	.583	NA
Suspect age (5 year increments)	-.116 (.044)	6.775	.009	.891	.816, .972
Protective order issued prior to the incident	.868 (.332)	6.812	.009	2.382	1.241, 4.569
Police noted any charge on the DV/form at time of incident	-.760 (.288)	6.967	.008	.468	.266, .822
Suspect had prior court cases	.948 (.278)	11.602	.001	2.580	1.495, 4.451
Suspect had served time in jail/prison	.700 (.327)	4.592	.032	2.013	1.062, 3.818
Suspect was charged for initial study incident	.631 (.284)	4.935	.026	1.879	1.077, 3.278
Test		X²	<i>p</i>		
Overall model evaluation					
Likelihood ratio test		66.328	.000		
Goodness-of-fit test					
Hosmer & Lemshow		10.593	.226		

Note: Cox and Snell R² = .153, Nagelkerke R² = .218, NA = not applicable.

Both models had significant Wald chi-squares, indicating adequacy of the model in explaining the dependent variable, and each model had insignificant Hosmer-Lemeshow tests indicating satisfactory goodness of fit of the variables included in each model.

H: The Observed and the Predicted Frequencies for Victims Reporting Subsequent Abuse by Logistic Regression with the Cutoff of 0.50

Observed	Predicted		% Correct
	Yes	No	
Yes	11	79	12.2
No	14	298	95.5
Overall % correct			76.9

Note. Sensitivity = $11/(11+79)\% = 12.2\%$. Specificity = $298/(14+298)\% = 95.5\%$. False positive = $14/(11+14)\% = 56\%$. False negative = $79/(79+298)\% = 21\%$.

I. The Observed and the Predicted Frequencies for Suspects in Court for Subsequent DV by Logistic Regression with the Cutoff of 0.50

Observed	Predicted		% Correct
	Yes	No	
Yes	38	78	32.8
No	23	261	91.9
Overall % correct			74.8

Note. Sensitivity = $38/(38+78)\% = 32.8\%$. Specificity = $261/(23+261)\% = 91.9\%$. False positive = $23/(23+38)\% = 38\%$. False negative = $78/(78+261)\% = 23\%$.