

Domestic Violence Claimed 89 Lives in Wisconsin in 2011 & 2012



Wisconsin Domestic Violence Homicide Report

2011 & 2012

Published September 2013

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Continuing with the work launched in 2000 with publication of End Domestic Abuse Wisconsin's first Wisconsin Domestic Violence Homicide Report, this edition details domestic violence-related homicides in the calendar years 2011 and 2012.¹ This brief accounting in no way represents the victims' full lives. That would require a far more detailed inquiry, in-depth study of official case records, and conversations with family and friends left behind. Within the limitations of readily available public information, we have endeavored to construct as accurate a description as possible of key events and circumstances related to each homicide.²

In 2011, there were 31 domestic violence homicide incidents resulting in 37 deaths: 34 homicides and 3 perpetrator suicides. Two homicides were the result of legal intervention by responding law enforcement officers. Three multiple homicide incidents accounted for 6 of 32 homicides (excluding homicides as a result of legal intervention).

In 2012, there were 38 domestic violence homicide incidents resulting in 52 deaths: 48 homicides and 4 perpetrator suicides. None of the homicides were the result of legal intervention by responding law enforcement officers. Five multiple homicide incidents accounted for 12 of 48 homicides.

| 2011 & 2012 compared to 2010 ³ | 2010 | 2011 | 2012 |
|--|-----------|-----------|-----------|
| Incidents of domestic violence-related homicide | 39 | 31 | 38 |
| Victims of domestic violence homicide (excluding by legal intervention) | 45 | 32 | 48 |
| Homicides by legal intervention (responding law enforcement) | 6 | 2 | 0 |
| All domestic violence-related homicides | 51 | 34 | 48 |
| Perpetrator suicide (excluding by legal intervention) | 7 | 3 | 4 |
| Total deaths (victim and perpetrator) | 58 | 37 | 52 |

Other aspects of domestic violence-related homicide during 2011 and 2012 include:

- There was an average of over three domestic violence homicide deaths per month (3.3 deaths per month) in Wisconsin. This rate is a decrease compared to 2010 and 2009. Over that two-year period, there was almost an average of one additional domestic violence homicide each month, a rate of almost exactly one homicide per week in Wisconsin.
- Perpetrators of domestic violence homicide incidents were overwhelmingly male. In 2011, 72% of perpetrators were male. In 2012, 86% of perpetrators were male. These figures exclude homicides by legal intervention.

1. Homicides were considered "domestic" if the victims and perpetrators were spouses or partners, former spouses or former partners, adults with children in common, adults or teens who had been in a dating relationship, or adult family members (e.g., parents killed by an adult child). Homicides of children by parents are included if facts indicate the violence directed at the child was connected to on-going intimate partner violence. Homicides of others were also included if the circumstances of the murder included a perpetrator's attack on someone connected with a current or former partner, such as a new partner or friend or family member. The report also includes homicides of domestic violence perpetrators that occur as their victims acted in self-defense, as well as those that occurred as a result of legal intervention. See Methodology for additional information on definitions and criteria.

2. Primary sources include news media (print and internet editions) and Wisconsin Circuit Court Access records.

3. See the statewide maps and 2000 through 2012 comparison at the conclusion of this report.

- In 2012, a relatively high number of children were killed by their fathers or other adult male household members. This category accounts for close to one quarter of all domestic violence homicide victims. Homicides of current or former partners or of someone connected with a former partner (e.g., a new boyfriend) make up over 75% of the remaining homicides in 2012.
- In 2012, about half of the intimate partner-related homicide incidents (13 of 27) occurred after the relationship ended or when one person in the relationship was taking steps to leave the relationship.
- Victims reflected the span of life, from less than one year old to 84 years old.
- In 2011, homicides occurred in 12 separate counties. Twenty-one counties are represented in the 2012 homicide listing. Domestic violence homicides occurred across all regions of the state.
- In 2011 and 2012, there was a known prior history of domestic violence by the perpetrator against either the homicide victim or another person in about half of the homicide cases. Any history of domestic violence remains unknown in most of the other cases.
- Consistent with the findings throughout this report's history, firearms are still the most common weapon in domestic violence homicides. In at least eight domestic violence shooting deaths, the gunmen were legally prohibited from possessing firearms. See <http://wcadv.org/content/fifty-future> for more information on domestic violence homicides committed with guns by prohibited persons.
- Together, the 2011 and 2012 cases reflect the factors that research has found to be particularly associated with lethal violence and the risk of violence.⁴ These include, among other factors: stalking; strangulation; threats to kill the victim; threats to kill that the victim believes; threats to kill that are conveyed to others; serious injury to the victim; access to or use of weapons; violence outside the home; a victim who is attempting a permanent break; obsessive jealousy; and prior arrests, police calls and/or restraining orders. Active restraining orders were in place at the time of five of the homicide incidents.

While intimate partner homicide rates overall have declined nationally for all race and gender groups in the past 30 years, the decline has varied significantly for different populations. According to data compiled by the Bureau of Justice Statistics, between 1976 and 2005 “the number of black males killed by intimates dropped by 83%, white males by 61%, black females by 52%, and white females by 6%.” This downward trend has been attributed to increased awareness, services, and intervention. Nevertheless, of all female murder victims, the proportion killed by an intimate partner has been increasing, and for white women in the relationship of girlfriend, the intimate partner homicide rate is higher than it was in 1976. While the rate has declined for black women in the relationship of girlfriend, it remains higher for them than for any other group.⁵

4. For a summary of key factors, see the “Practitioners’ Guide to Risk and Danger in Domestic Violence Cases,” in *The Blueprint for Safety: An Interagency Response to Domestic Violence Crimes*, Praxis International, 2010; www.praxisinternational.org.

5. Bureau of Justice Statistics, *Homicide Trends in the U.S., Intimate Partner Homicide*, available at <http://www.ojp.usdoj.gov/bjs/homicide/intimates.htm>.

Several key themes that emerged across the 2011 and 2012 cases are addressed in detail in the report. These include: stalking as an indicator of increased risk; pregnancy and domestic violence homicides; homicides in veteran families; homicides at the workplace; and, homicides related to children and child custody. Many of these themes have been common since the report was first published in 2000. Other themes were more pronounced in the two years covered by this report, such as homicides involving veterans and homicides in the workplace.

Our intent with this report is to honor the victims of domestic violence homicide and help Wisconsin communities create opportunities for intervention and prevention. We want to expand the understanding of the dynamics of domestic violence among Coordinated Community Response Teams, Elder Abuse Interdisciplinary Teams and other critical systems where victims and perpetrators might seek help, assistance, support and treatment. We hope to inspire community members to get involved in efforts to prevent domestic violence.

Key Findings – 2011 and 2012

The following tables provide snapshots of the numbers and characteristics of victims and perpetrators, homicide methods and locations, and factors related to domestic violence homicide, such as prior histories of domestic violence and whether the victims tried to leave the relationships.

Overview

| | 2011 | 2012 |
|--|-----------|-----------|
| Domestic violence homicide incidents | 31 | 38 |
| Victims of domestic violence homicide (excluding by legal intervention) | 32 | 48 |
| Homicides by legal intervention (responding law enforcement) | 2 | 0 |
| All domestic violence-related homicides | 34 | 48 |
| Homicide incidents with perpetrator suicide | 3 | 4 |
| Total deaths (victim and perpetrator) | 37 | 52 |
| Homicide incidents with two or more victims | 3 | 5 |
| Female victims | 12 | 31 |
| Male victims | 22 | 17 |
| Female perpetrators | 8 | 5 |
| Male perpetrators | 21 | 35 |

- In 2011, the 3 multiple homicide incidents accounted for 6 of 32 homicides (excluding legal intervention). In 2012, the 5 multiple homicide incidents accounted for 12 of 48 homicides (excluding legal intervention).
- Most male victims were killed by a male perpetrator acting alone or by responding law enforcement. In 2011, of the 22 male victims, 11 were killed by a male perpetrator and 2 by responding law enforcement. In 2012, 12 of the 17 male victims were killed by a man.
- Perpetrator count (2011, 29; 2012, 40) includes multiple perpetrators and excludes responding law enforcement officers.

Age and gender of victims

2011

2012

| | Female | Male | Total by Age | Female | Male | Total by Age |
|--------------|-----------|-----------|--------------|-----------|-----------|--------------|
| Under 18 | 1 | 4 | 5 | 8 | 6 | 14 |
| 18-29 | 1 | 3 | 4 | 10 | 4 | 14 |
| 30-49 | 7 | 11 | 18 | 9 | 5 | 14 |
| 50-59 | 2 | 2 | 4 | 3 | 0 | 3 |
| 60 and older | 1 | 2 | 3 | 1 | 2 | 3 |
| Total | 12 | 22 | | 31 | 17 | |

• Includes homicides by legal intervention (2011, 2).

Age and gender of perpetrators

2011

2012

| | Female | Male | Total by Age | Female | Male | Total by Age |
|--------------|----------|-----------|--------------|----------|-----------|--------------|
| Under 18 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 2 | 2 |
| 18-29 | 3 | 8 | 11 | 1 | 15 | 16 |
| 30-49 | 4 | 10 | 14 | 3 | 15 | 18 |
| 50-59 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 1 | 2 | 3 |
| 60 and older | 0 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 1 |
| Total | 8 | 21 | | 5 | 35 | |

• Perpetrator count excludes homicide by legal intervention (2011, 2).

Race or ethnicity of victims and perpetrators

| | 2011 | | | | 2012 | | | |
|--------------------|---------|------|--------------|------|---------|------|--------------|------|
| | Victims | | Perpetrators | | Victims | | Perpetrators | |
| | Female | Male | Female | Male | Female | Male | Female | Male |
| Caucasian | 9 | 6 | 1 | 9 | 22 | 7 | 0 | 17 |
| African American | 3 | 14 | 6 | 11 | 2 | 6 | 3 | 6 |
| Multi-racial | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 1 |
| Asian | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 1 |
| Latino or Hispanic | 0 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 4 | 3 | 1 | 8 |
| Native American | 0 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 2 | 0 | 1 | 2 |
| Other or unknown | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- |

- Race and ethnicity listed according to identification in an official record or news report.
- Perpetrator count does not include responding law enforcement officers.

Methods of killing

A homicide often involved multiple methods of assault. The following figures reflect the primary method contributing to the victim's death.

| By number of victims killed by each method | 2011 | 2012 |
|--|------|------|
| Shot (other than legal intervention) | 14 | 15 |
| Stabbed | 11 | 12 |
| Beaten or assaulted by being punched, pushed, bludgeoned | 2 | 6 |
| Strangled or asphyxiated | 5 | 9 |
| Smoke Inhalation | 0 | 4 |
| Shot by responding law enforcement | 2 | 0 |
| Other | 0 | 2 |

Relationship of victim to male perpetrator

| When perpetrator was male, victim was: | 2012 |
|--|------|
| Current female partner | 17 |
| Former or estranged female partner | 4 |
| Perpetrator's child (<u>and</u> child of current or former female partner) | 11 |
| Female partner's child | 2 |
| New male partner or male otherwise known to the perpetrator's former or estranged female partner | 2 |
| Current boyfriend or a former female partner | 2 |
| Victim's co-worker | 2 |
| Father to perpetrator | 1 |
| Someone who had rebuffed perpetrator | 1 |
| Current female partner's son | 1 |

| When perpetrator was male, victim was: | 2011 |
|--|------|
| Current female partner | 7 |
| Father to perpetrator | 3 |
| Mother to perpetrator | 2 |
| Former or estranged female partner | 2 |
| Perpetrator's child (<u>and</u> child of current or former female partner) | 2 |
| Female partner's child | 2 |
| New male partner or male otherwise known to the perpetrator's former or estranged female partner | 1 |
| Roommate | 1 |
| Adult brother | 1 |
| Responding law enforcement officer | 1 |
| Female partner's brother | 1 |

- Perpetrator count does not include responding law enforcement officers.

Relationship of victim to female perpetrator

| When perpetrator was female, victim was: | 2011 | 2012 |
|--|------|------|
| Current male partner | 6 | 4 |
| Estranged male partner | 2 | 1 |
| Child | 1 | 0 |

Homicide-suicide

| | 2011 | 2012 |
|---|------|------|
| Homicide incidents with perpetrator suicide | 3 | 3 |
| Attempted homicides with perpetrator suicide | 0 | 1 |
| Number of victims in homicides with perpetrator suicide | 3 | 7 |
| Homicide-suicide incidents involving firearms | 3 | 3 |
| Male perpetrator/suicide | 3 | 3 |
| Female perpetrator/suicide | 0 | 0 |

- In 2012, two of the three homicide-suicide incidents were multiple homicides.
- Over the two-year period, all of the homicides-suicides were committed with firearms and were committed by men.

Multiple homicides

| | 2011 | 2012 |
|--|------|------|
| Multiple homicide incidents | 3 | 5 |
| Number of victims in multiple homicides | 6 | 15 |
| Multiple homicide incidents with perpetrator suicide | 0 | 2 |
| Multiple homicide incidents involving a firearm | 2 | 2 |
| Male perpetrators (by incident) | 2 | 5 |
| Female perpetrators (by incident) | 1 | 0 |

Impact on children

| | 2011 | 2012 |
|--|------|------|
| Children killed (under age 18) | 5 | 14 |
| Children at the scene of an adult homicide | 7 | 7 |
| Minor children orphaned | 0 | 0 |
| Minor children left motherless | 6 | 16 |
| Minor children left fatherless | 5 | 6 |

- The number of children killed is most likely an undercount, as are the numbers of children left orphaned or without a parent. See Methodology.
- The number of children killed includes unborn children.

Prior history of domestic violence

| By incident (intimate partner related) | 2011 | 2012 |
|--|------|------|
| Known prior history with homicide victim | 9 | 10 |
| Known prior history with other victim(s) | 12 | 10 |
| Prior history with this or any victim was unknown | 9 | 19 |
| Known history of domestic violence by suspect killed during legal intervention | 2 | N/A |

Ending an intimate partner or dating relationship

| By incident (intimate partner related) | 2011 | 2012 |
|--|------|------|
| Divorced, pending divorce, or separation | 2 | 6 |
| Unmarried and separated or ending/leaving the relationship | 5 | 7 |
| Unknown if action to end/leave the relationship | 10 | 14 |

- Ending the relationship means that the victim in the homicide or someone the victim was connected to, such as a new partner or family member, had taken some step to end the relationship, such as moving out temporarily or filing for divorce, or an action that was perceived by the perpetrator as ending the relationship.

Homicide location

| By incident | 2011 | 2012 |
|--|------|------|
| Victim's home or shared home with perpetrator | 21 | 26 |
| Public location (e.g., yard, street, park, motel, parking lot, medical facility) | 3 | 3 |
| Workplace | 0 | 3 |
| Hotel/Motel | 2 | 3 |
| Perpetrator's home | 0 | 3 |
| Home where officers were responding to a 911 call | 2 | 0 |
| Unknown (body found in woods) | 3 | 0 |

2011 AND 2012 HOMICIDES

...she was a person, she wasn't just a victim of a crime. [Her daughter] wasn't just some little girl that was killed. They were people. They were so much to so many people. They were people who had lives and people who cared for them.

All accounts and discussions of the homicides included in this report should be read with these words from surviving family members in mind. It is far too easy to reduce people's lives to either a sensational story or a dry statistic.

The accounts of the domestic violence homicides included in this report, as in past reports, are compiled from information that is readily available via public sources and limited follow-up inquiries. The amount of attention such sources pay to one domestic violence-related homicide in comparison to another varies greatly. Hence, the detail available to address each homicide varies greatly. Clearly, these brief descriptions in no way reflect the complexity and circumstances of each person's death. They certainly do not capture the complexities and fullness of their lives and the impact that each homicide and suicide has on surviving family members, friends, neighbors, coworkers, communities, and those responding and attempting to help, during the immediate event or in the time preceding it.

NOTE: Perpetrators and defendants are identified according to news accounts and public records, including persons charged with a crime where the case remains open. Case status reflects information available at the time of publication of this report. The current status of an open case can be found via Wisconsin Circuit Court Access, the defendant's name at: <http://wcca.wicourts.gov/index.xml>. Individuals' ages are listed as of the dates of the homicides.

2011

County

In the death of...

Ashland

Michael Pies, 36, Ashland – November 30, 2011
James Omara, 43

Angelina Omara, 38, shot and killed her ex-husband, James Omara, in Sauk Rapids, Minnesota on November 29, 2011. The next day, she shot and killed her current boyfriend, Michael Pies, in Ashland, Wisconsin. Angelina says she was staying with Omara because Pies recently assaulted her. She was found guilty of first-degree murder in Minnesota and first-degree intentional homicide in Wisconsin. Both convictions carried life sentences.

County**In the death of...****Dane*****Luis Vasquez, 3, Madison – July 3, 2011***

Maria Castillo-Domiguez, 22, killed her son, Luis Vasquez, by inflicting significant trauma to the boy's head. Castillo-Domiguez admitted to throwing Luis against a wall and hitting him across the face. Castillo-Domiguez and her boyfriend, Juan Ramirez, later took Luis to the hospital after he exhibited signs of serious illness. Luis died from his injuries four days later. Neighbors reported ongoing violence between Castillo-Domiguez and Ramirez prior to the homicide. Ramirez was charged with domestic abuse for an incident that occurred in December 2010. Castillo-Domiguez was convicted of first-degree reckless homicide and sentenced to spend 13 years in prison.

Kevin McArthur III, 4, Madison – July 5, 2011***Kemaury McArthur, 3***

After committing an escalating series of violent assaults and threats against his girlfriend, David Hoem, 28, kidnapped and strangled her two young sons. The boys were staying with their biological father so their mother, Denise McGee, could seek help from the police. Hoem picked the kids up from the father. The mother reported the boys missing when Hoem did not bring them to her home. They were found dead in Hoem's car very early the next morning. Hoem was convicted of two counts of first-degree intentional homicide, false imprisonment and strangulation and suffocation. He received life sentences for the homicide convictions and additional time for the other charges.

Fond du Lac***Craig Birkholz, 28, Fond du Lac – March 20, 2011***

Craig Birkholz, a Fond du Lac police officer, was shot and killed in the line of duty. He was responding to an emergency request from fellow officers who were engaged in a standoff with a domestic abuser.

In the early morning hours, James Cruckson's girlfriend drove to the police station. She told officers that Cruckson sexually assaulted her after she refused his advances and that she believed her 6-year-old daughter was still in the home. Cruckson threatened her, saying he would kill her, her daughter and himself if she reported the rape to the police. Out of concern for the child's safety, three officers immediately went to the residence and entered from the basement. They were pinned down by gunfire before they could make contact with Cruckson. One officer was shot

County

In the death of...

Fond du Lac

twice. Birkholz was the second officer to respond to the call for backup. Birkholz knew Cruckson was engaged in active shooting, but he did not know Cruckson's location. Birkholz ran with his rifle along a stretch that gave Cruckson a clear shot. Birkholz was hit twice, both below and above his bullet-proof vest. Cruckson later killed himself.

Cruckson had been violent to his girlfriend in the past. In 2009, he was charged in two domestic violence incidents. Police had been to his home for domestic violence complaints in the past.

Nicole Anderson, 33, Fond du Lac – November 8, 2011

Jason Anderson, 35, shot and killed his wife, Nicole Anderson. Family members said there was no history of domestic violence, but one report indicates Jason previously threatened his wife with a gun. Jason was a convicted felon due to a drug conviction and, therefore, was prohibited from owning a gun. He was sentenced to a life term of imprisonment for a conviction of first-degree intentional homicide.

Forest

Kevin Wagnitz, 48, Mole Lake – January 24, 2011

Dillon Wagnitz, 19, killed his father, Kevin Wagnitz, by shooting him in the chest. Dillon suffered a non-fatal gunshot wound from an apparent suicide attempt.

Marinette

Ralph Slattery, 82, Beaver – June 8, 2011

Sheriff's deputies responded to a call about a domestic dispute at the home of Ralph Slattery from his 80-year-old wife. Deputies could not make contact with Slattery. Eventually his wife escaped, and Slattery exited the home with a shotgun. He cocked the gun and pointed it at officers. Slattery was killed when deputies were forced to shoot. Slattery's wife reported that there had been problems at the home in the past.

County

In the death of...

Milwaukee

Dedrie Kelly-Baldwin, 39, Milwaukee – January 20, 2011

Stanley Bullock, 45, called 911, saying he had been stabbed. Emergency officials arrived to find Bullock in a bedroom with several cuts that appeared old and self-inflicted. As the emergency officials began to treat Bullock, they noticed the body of Dedrie Kelly-Baldwin on the floor next to the bed, partially covered, and they believed her to be dead for several hours. Bullock later told the police that two or three masked men had entered the apartment from the upstairs porch and proceeded to attack the sleeping couple. Bullock said he suspected Kelly-Baldwin's ex-boyfriend had sent the men to attack them because they were involved in an intimate relationship. Police found no evidence of anyone entering through the porch. A bloody knife was found in the apartment that tested positive for Bullock's DNA. Bullock was convicted of first-degree intentional homicide and sentenced to 20 years in prison.

Raytrice Roundtree, 38, Milwaukee – February 3, 2011

Shanell Smith, 35, fatally stabbed her boyfriend, Raytrice Roundtree. Prosecutors determined that Smith's actions were taken in self-defense. Reports indicate a history of abuse directed at Smith, including an incident two weeks prior to the homicide in which Smith suffered a broken nose.

Kewonda Boyd, 30, Milwaukee – February 7, 2011

Gregory Thompson, 36, waited for his ex-girlfriend, Kewonda Boyd, outside of her house as she left for work in the morning. Boyd's two young children reported hearing their mother scream and yell at Thompson after she left the house. Neighbors heard the commotion and saw Thompson on top of Boyd. She was pronounced dead at the scene from stab wounds. Approximately three months earlier, an unnamed petitioner sought a harassment injunction against Thompson, but the action was dismissed when the petitioner did not show up for the hearing.

Lee McTiller, 31, Milwaukee – May 23, 2011

Patrick Weeks, 33, shot and killed his brother, Lee McTiller. Weeks was living in Lee's basement at the time. He reportedly was drunk and arguing with Lee. Weeks said he had no reason to live and put a gun to his head. Lee attempted to get the weapon from his brother. In the ensuing struggle, the gun fired once. Then, Weeks managed to push his brother away and shot him several times. Weeks turned himself in and pled guilty to first-degree intentional homicide. He was sentenced to 20 years in prison.

County

In the death of...

Milwaukee

Vincent Rath, 46, Milwaukee – June 8, 2011

Regina Rath, 45, shot and killed her husband, Vincent Rath, during an argument. Regina claimed the gun went off accidentally and that she was acting in self-defense. News reports indicate the couple had a history of domestic violence. Regina was sentenced to 10 years in prison for first-degree reckless homicide.

Shelton Atterberry, 36, Milwaukee – June 16, 2011

Bobbie Moore, 28, stabbed her boyfriend, Shelton Atterberry, during an argument. The couple's relationship was deteriorating at the time of the homicide. The day before, Moore told Shelton to move out of the duplex the two shared. Moore claims that Shelton was destroying her property and hitting her immediately before she stabbed him. She was convicted of second-degree reckless homicide and sentenced to 10 years in prison.

Latare Nixon, 37, Milwaukee – June 26, 2011

Latare Nixon broke into the house of his ex-girlfriend at approximately 5:30 a.m. on June 26, 2011. She called the police, and when officers arrived, Nixon began shooting at them. Officers returned fire, killing Nixon. Nixon reportedly had a history of engaging in domestic abuse.

Rebecca Manzke, 34, Milwaukee – June 29, 2011

Benedict Savage, 37, stabbed Rebecca Manzke to death after an argument at the door of her apartment. Rebecca and Savage met through an on-line dating site. Rebecca had recently ended the relationship. Savage was found guilty of first-degree intentional homicide with use of a dangerous weapon and sentenced to a term of life imprisonment.

Ashantia Lindsey, 19, Milwaukee – July 10, 2011

In a response to an allegation posted on Facebook that he had molested his ex-girlfriend's daughter, Derek Farrow, 23, broke into his ex-girlfriend's apartment. Farrow claims he saw three men in the apartment and shot at them. Officers later found Ashantia Lindsey dead in the stairway of the apartment building from four gunshot wounds. Farrow was convicted of first-degree reckless homicide and sentenced to 35 years in state prison. Court records shows he had a previous history of domestic violence.

County**In the death of...****Milwaukee*****Carmen Santana, 30, Milwaukee – July 13, 2011***

Darrick Bennett, 40, killed his live-in girlfriend by beating and strangling her in their apartment. Carmen Santana told a neighbor that if she was ever found dead to tell the police it was Bennett who killed her. Santana also confided in a woman at the apartment that Bennett was “beating her a lot lately.” An unnamed petitioner sought a domestic abuse temporary restraining order against Bennett, but the injunction was not issued because neither the petitioner nor Bennett appeared at the hearing. Bennett will serve 35 years in prison for a conviction of first-degree reckless homicide.

Terry Jordan, 53, Milwaukee – July 30, 2011

Dora Simmons, 53, fatally stabbed her boyfriend, Terry Jordan, on July 30, 2011 around 11:30 p.m. Immediately before the homicide, Jordan and Simmons were arguing. Simmons said that Jordan was “poking her in her head” and she became angry and found a knife in the kitchen with which she stabbed him. Jordan was alive and speaking at the time police arrived, reportedly 45 minutes after the 911 call. He later died at the hospital. Simmons was charged with homicide by use of a dangerous weapon and was sentenced to five years in prison.

Rickie Blaeske, 57, Milwaukee – August 22, 2011

Wallace Doman, 57, killed his roommate, Rickie Blaeske, stabbing him multiple times. A man who overheard the incident reported the two were fighting over flowers that Blaeske brought into the apartment and that Doman was calling Blaeske a sexually demeaning name. He was convicted of second-degree reckless homicide and was sentenced to 18 years in prison.

Millie Smith, 11 months, Milwaukee – September 25, 2011

On September 24, 2011, Littleton Emmett Jackson, 29, and Sherona Smith, his girlfriend and mother of Millie Smith, were involved in an argument at their shared apartment. Jackson spent that night at his mother’s house. The next day, Sherona went to pick Jackson up. When the couple returned to their apartment, Sherona realized they had left the baby’s formula at the mother’s house. Sherona left Jackson and Millie to retrieve it. When Sherona returned, she found Jackson distraught with blood around his neck. Millie was visibly beaten and non-responsive. Jackson was found guilty of first-degree intentional homicide and sentenced to a term of life in prison. Courts records show Jackson had a history of abusing Sherona.

County**In the death of...****Milwaukee*****Jarvis Nash, 29, Milwaukee – September 25, 2011***

Who killed Jarvis Nash is not clear. Jarvis and his girlfriend, Aleta Black, were engaged in an argument about Jarvis spending time with his family. The argument continued for some time. At one point, Jarvis allegedly slapped Black on the face and began collecting his things to move out. Black attempted to get her car keys from Jarvis, and she soon called her brother, Antonio Gill, 23. As he had done in the past when the couple fought, Gill came over to the residence. Black claims that as she tried to get her keys from Jarvis again, Gill pulled out a concealed gun. At that point, she says she left the room out of concern for her children and that she then heard gunshots. Gill was tried for first-degree intentional homicide. At trial, his attorney claimed that Black actually killed Jarvis and that she framed Gill. The jury acquitted Gill. Another of Black's brothers testified that she had a propensity for violence and owned guns. The police never recovered the murder weapon. Black has never been charged with wrongdoing in connection with Jarvis's death.

Aaron Allen Jr., 1, Milwaukee – October 10, 2011

Aaron Allen Sr., 19, suffocated his one-year-old son Aaron Allen Jr. with a sock. At the time of the murder, Allen Sr. was in bed with the baby and his girlfriend, who was the baby's mother. Aaron Allen Sr. told police that he sometimes "got rough" with his son when he would argue with his girlfriend. He will serve a life term in prison for first-degree intentional homicide.

Darryl Ramsey, 34, Milwaukee – November 18, 2011

Natisha Goodman, 19, and her boyfriend of eight months, Darryl Ramsey, were drinking and arguing in a home the two shared. At one point, Ramsey grabbed Goodman by the throat, which prompted Goodman to reach for a steak knife she had placed nearby. Goodman stabbed Darryl in the heart as he was "choke slamming" her. Goodman was convicted of homicide by use of a dangerous weapon and sentenced to two years in prison.

County**In the death of...****Milwaukee*****Jiyto Cox, 36, Milwaukee – November 24, 2011***

Linden Luckett, 43, killed Jiyto Cox, the man with whom she lived. Luckett and Jiyto fought frequently. On Thanksgiving night, Luckett was having dinner with a downstairs neighbor. The neighbor invited Jiyto to have dinner also, which upset Luckett. Later, Luckett told Jiyto to pack up his belongings and leave. The downstairs neighbor reported hearing loud noises and that then Luckett returned holding a bloody knife. Luckett said that Jiyto swung a candlestick at her. She said she used a knife to scare Jiyto on prior occasions, even drawing blood in the past. She was convicted of homicide by use of a dangerous weapon and sentenced to two and a half years in prison.

Thomas Person, 76, Racine – December 5, 2011

Trevor Rogers, 38, stabbed his father, Thomas Person, to death during an argument about where to move items from an upstairs room in which Rodgers was staying. He is charged with first-degree intentional homicide.

Rock***Kristin Miller, 33, Brodhead – January 1, 2011***

Keith Abbott, 47, is believed to have stabbed to death Kristin Miller. Miller was the wife of Abbot's stepson. Abbot claimed to be having an affair with Miller. He had been charged in the death but was found not competent to stand trial. He is now being charged with several counts of possession of child pornography, which was discovered in the course of the murder investigation.

Outagamie***Kathleen Rempter, 52, Buchanan – July 22, 2011***

Randal Rosenthal Jr., 34, shot and killed his mother, Kathleen Rempter, while the two were fishing on the Fox River. Authorities believe Rosenthal sought to collect on a life insurance policy. He was found guilty of first-degree intentional homicide through a jury trial and sentenced to one life term in state prison. He is first eligible for parole on July 23, 2061.

Ozaukee***Larissa Markov, 39, Mequon – May 23, 2011******Victor Markov, 45***

Dennis Markov, 20, shot and killed his father, Victor Markov, and his mother, Larissa Markov, in the home where the three lived. Dennis reportedly got into an argument with his father over gas money. He used a rifle he had bought the month before to shoot Victor. He killed his mother as soon as she returned home later that evening. Victor was charged and convicted of first-degree intentional homicide for each murder and was sentenced to two life terms of imprisonment.

County**In the death of...****Vernon*****Anita Satterlee, 53, Hillsboro – August 2, 2011***

Joseph Satterlee, 55, shot and killed his estranged wife, Anita Satterlee, after she filed for divorce and obtained a domestic abuse restraining order. Joseph tracked Anita down, rammed his car into her vehicle, stormed the vehicle and shot Anita seven times. He then committed suicide. Less than a month before the homicide-suicide, Joseph pushed Anita down the stairs and said he was going to shoot her and himself. He was arrested for disorderly conduct. About two weeks later, Anita obtained a domestic abuse injunction, which contained a firearms surrender requirement. Joseph surrendered several guns, but kept the murder weapon, a .357 revolver that he had owned for over 30 years.

Washington***Julia Alioto, 82, West Bend – May 24, 2011***

Charles Alioto, 81, fatally shot his wife, Julia Alioto, at Samaritan Health Center where she was suffering from Alzheimer's disease. He then killed himself. The shooting took place when the couple was alone. Workers at the health center report that Charles visited Julia every day, often multiple times a day, and say he was a devoted husband.

Waupaca***Amelia Schmitz, 18 – August 18, 2011***

Kevin Lombard, 23, strangled his girlfriend, Amelia Schmitz, to death at a motel where the couple was staying. That night, Lombard told Schmitz that he had not been faithful to her. According to Lombard, Schmitz became upset and he put her in a "headlock." Court records show that Lombard had a history of domestic violence. In the killing of Schmitz, he was convicted of first-degree reckless homicide and sentenced to 30 years in prison.

County**In the death of...****Adams*****Big Flats – June 11, 2012***

The lone fatality in this case was the death of the perpetrator by suicide. In the early morning hours of June 11, Mark Schaetzka, 38, attempted to kill his ex-girlfriend, Chari Dayton, 28, by shooting her through her bedroom window while she slept. Dayton was shot in the shoulder and sustained a serious but non-fatal wound. Schaetzka then turned the gun on himself and died of a self-inflicted wound. A few hours earlier, Schaetzka had been arrested and released on charges of disorderly conduct and battery stemming from an incident on June 10. Schaetzka showed up at Dayton's farm and attempted to convince her to take him back. During the incident, Schaetzka bruised Dayton's arm, picked her up and slammed her to the floor. Dayton reported that Schaetzka had a history of stalking behavior. He would do such things as send her a picture of a soda and cigarettes and then leave the items in Dayton's truck while she was away. On one occasion he said to her that he would shoot her, her dog, her animals and then shoot himself.

Brown***Michelle Bay, 44, De Pere – February 3, 2012******Andrea Bay, 14******Daniel Bay, 10***

Michelle Bay and her two children, Andrea and Daniel, were shot and killed by her husband and their father, Denis Bay, 46, who also killed himself. Reports indicate there was a history of domestic abuse to Michelle and of child abuse directed at the children. Michelle recently wanted Denis to move out. Michelle's sister expressed concerns that he would become violent when told to leave, and as a result, Michelle attempted to hide Denis's guns and ammunition.

Derrick House, 35, Green Bay – May 6, 2012

Lois Pilar Velasquez, 47, stabbed her boyfriend, Derrick House, to death after an argument about infidelity. A 15-year-old relative was at the scene and immediately called police after the stabbing. Velasquez has been charged with first-degree intentional homicide.

County**In the death of...****Brown*****Wendy Garcia, 26, Green Bay – June 30, 2012***

Richard Gardipee, 32, stabbed his girlfriend, Wendy Garcia, 26, to death. Gardipee claims that immediately before the killing he was involved in a physical fight with Gracia that started because of an argument over Gardipee's use of prescription pain killers. Gracia's 4-year-old son was in the house at the time, and Gardipee made attempts to quickly hide Gracia's body and clean up the blood so that the boy would not see his deceased mother. In 2005, Gardipee had a domestic abuse restraining order filed against him by another victim. Gardipee was found guilty of first-degree intentional homicide and sentenced to life in prison.

Dane***Craig O'Donnell, 24, Madison – June 30, 2012***

Matthew O'Dell, 25, killed Craig O'Donnell by repeatedly stabbing him. On the night of June 30, O'Dell entered his ex-girlfriend's house without permission. O'Donnell was sitting with the ex-girlfriend on the couch. O'Dell immediately started a fight with O'Donnell. The ex-girlfriend ran outside to get better cell phone reception and to call 911. After calling police, the ex-girlfriend looked back into the home and saw O'Dell wielding a knife and stabbing O'Donnell. O'Dell had a previous conviction for domestic abuse against the ex-girlfriend. O'Dell pled guilty to second-degree intentional homicide. He has yet to be sentenced.

Yandel Castillo-Castillo, 2, Fitchburg – June 7, 2012

Yandel Castillo-Castillo was killed by his father, Jesus A. Castillo-Dimas, 30, when Castillo-Dimas ran over the boy with his car. Castillo-Dimas also attempted to run over Castillo-Castillo's mother. He then backed up to run over the child again. Castillo-Dimas was upset that the mother had gotten a new boyfriend and said he was going to get her back. The sequence of events started when Castillo-Dimas was following the mother and her new boyfriend. After Castillo-Castillo was killed by the car, the boyfriend exited his vehicle and restrained Castillo-Dimas until police arrived. Castillo-Dimas is being charged with first-degree intentional homicide and two counts of attempted homicide.

Willie Taylor, 39, Fitchburg – September 8, 2012

Dominique Hale, 25, broke into his ex-girlfriend's apartment and stabbed Willie Taylor to death. Taylor was a friend of Hale's ex-girlfriend. The ex-girlfriend made her desire to end the relationship clear, but Hale exhibited obsessive and controlling behavior. Court records show Hale had an extensive history of violence. He was found guilty of first-degree intentional homicide, burglary-armed with dangerous weapon and battery. He was sentenced to 30 years in prison and 10 years of extended supervision.

County**In the death of...****Door*****Alisha Bromfield, 21, Sturgeon Bay – August 19, 2012***
Unborn child

Brian Cooper, 35, strangled Alisha Bromfield with whom he had a dating relationship. Cooper and Bromfield traveled to Door County from Plainfield, Illinois for a wedding. After the wedding had ended and they went back to their hotel room, Bromfield told Cooper she did not want to see him romantically anymore. Bromfield then fell asleep. Cooper woke up between 2:00 a.m. and 3:00 a.m., got on top of Bromfield and strangled her to death. He made several suicide attempts before calling police. Cooper was tried for the homicide in June 2012. A verdict was not returned, reportedly because one juror would not participate in the deliberations. Prosecutors plan to retry Cooper.

Jefferson***Zoey Krueger, 22, Jefferson – November 5, 2012***

Carl Avery, 25, shot and killed his girlfriend, Zoey Krueger, at the Hilltop Motel in Jefferson. Police believe Krueger may have been attempting to leave Avery. Avery had a documented history of violence. He was charged with strangulation and suffocation against Krueger and disorderly conduct for an incident that occurred in late January of 2012. At the time of the homicide, Avery was also subject to a domestic abuse injunction that was sought by a previous partner. Avery repeatedly violated this injunction. Because of the active injunction, Avery was prohibited from possessing firearms at the time of the shooting.

Juneau***Samantha Funk, 24, Mauston – April 12, 2012***

Andrew Hayes, 23, has been charged with committing homicide against his girlfriend, Samantha Funk, by the delivery of a controlled substance. Hayes has a history of violence, including a battery charge for domestic abuse against Samantha.

Kenosha***Christine Saucier, 52, Kenosha – May 21, 2012***

Johnny Young, 57, stabbed Christine Saucier to death at her apartment. The two had an intimate relationship. Young's heavy use of crack cocaine appears to have been a factor in the killing. He was convicted of first-degree intentional homicide and sentenced to life in prison.

Mariah Mohr, newborn infant, Pleasant Prairie – June 22, 2012

On June 22, 2012, Peter Mohr, 19, pushed his girlfriend, Brittany Mika, 18, into the bathroom, causing Mika's hip to hit the toilet. Mika was five months pregnant with Mariah. Mohr then picked up Mika by the throat

County

In the death of...

Kenosha

in the kitchen and threw her onto the hardwood floor. He choked her for 10 seconds, causing her to have trouble breathing. Mohr then left the residence. Mika called her parents to tell them what happened, and Mika's father called the police. When officers arrived, Mika's neck was swollen and red, and she also had blood on her face. Mika had 43 bruises on her body, and this violence caused her to have Mariah four months prematurely. Mariah's body was covered in bruises, and she died shortly after being born. Mohr was found guilty of strangulation and suffocation and was sentenced to two years of probation.

Shelia Quillin, 50, Kenosha – September 13, 2012

Shelia Quillin died on September 13, 2012 from head injuries that were caused by blunt force trauma inflicted by her boyfriend, Michael Murphy, 44. Quillin died at the hospital four days later. Murphy's probation from a previous child abuse charge was revoked, and he was sentenced to two years in prison. He is awaiting trial on charges related to Quillin's death.

Lafayette

Allen Wand, 7, Argyle – September 7, 2012

Jeffery Wand, 5

Joseph Wand, 3

Dorothy Marie, unborn child

Armin Wand, 33, and his brother, Jeremy Wand, 18, set fire to the Wand family house. Inside the home were Armin's pregnant wife, Sharon, and the couple's four young children, Allen, Jeffery, Joseph and Jessica, 2. Sharon was able to escape with Jessica and was outside the burning house with Armin. As the fire continued, Sharon handed Jessica to Armin who attempted to put the girl back into the burning building. Neighbors prevented Armin from doing so. Allen, Jeffery and Joseph perished in the fire. Sharon sustained serious burns to most of her body, was in a coma for over two months and miscarried her child as a result of her injuries. Armin later said he set the fire because he wanted to collect on life insurance policies. He previously told Sharon that he would "get rid of" her unborn child one way or another. At Armin's sentencing hearing, Sharon recounted in a prepared statement that Armin was a controlling husband and father. She said Armin wanted her to be dependent on him for every aspect of her life and that he would tell his young children that he brought them into the world and that he could take them out of it. Armin previously had a child abuse restraining order issued against him in 2003 and was convicted of battery in 2008. Armin was sentenced to three consecutive life sentences on three counts of first-degree intentional homicide. Jeremy Wand pled guilty to three counts of first-degree intentional homicide and was sentenced to life in prison, with eligibility for parole in 35 years.

County

In the death of...

Marathon

Lee Xiong, 20, Weston – October 13, 2012

Richie Vue, 21, shot and killed his girlfriend, Lee Xiong, after an argument. Vue is being charged with first-degree intentional homicide and other charges. He was previously convicted of a felony, and therefore, he was legally prohibited from owning a firearm.

Marinette

Ann Schueller, 51, Wausaukee – August 26, 2012

Richard Heyer, 55, shot and killed his ex-girlfriend, Ann Schueller, at the gas station where she worked. Schueller moved out of their shared residence at the end of 2011. She reported stalking behavior and harassing text messages to police in the months leading up to the homicide. Schueller had also sought a domestic abuse injunction, but it was denied, reportedly because the petition did not meet the burden of proof. After shooting Schueller, Heyer shot himself once in the chest, but he survived. Heyer was convicted of first-degree intentional homicide and is awaiting sentencing. He was previously convicted of a felony and, therefore, illegally possessed the rifle he used to kill Schueller.

Milwaukee

Dayana Garcia, 24, Milwaukee – January 3, 2012

On the morning of January 3, 2012, Jose Luis Discua-Bados stalked his estranged wife, Dayana Garcia, outside of her home. As Garcia left for work, Discua-Bados confronted her and began beating her with a two-by-four. Garcia's grandmother heard the attack and called the police. Discua-Bados then used a knife to stab Garcia repeatedly in the head, back and neck. When the police arrived, Discua-Bados fled the scene. Garcia's autopsy indicated that she had been stabbed at least a dozen times, and subsequently bled to death. At the time of this writing, Discua-Bados is still at large and there is a warrant out for his arrest. Police have been investigating rumors that he could be in Oklahoma, Honduras, El Salvador, Mexico or Milwaukee. Discua-Bados has a prior documented history of abuse against Garcia. Garcia and Discua-Bados had a two-year-old son at the time of the homicide.

Quionton Degeffered, 68, Milwaukee – January 15, 2012

Degeffered was shot by his girlfriend Marilyn Hawkins, 56, during an argument. Although it is unclear how the altercation started, at one point, Hawkins called 911 because she and Degeffered were involved in a physical fight. According to the criminal complaint, the 911 operator said, "This is 911. How can I help you?" Hawkins told the operator, "You can't help because you always take his side." Hawkins shot Degeffered in the back of the neck shortly after hanging up with 911. It was some time before emergency responders arrived as both Degeffered and Hawkins

County

In the death of...

Milwaukee

made calls to Degeffered's two daughters after the shooting. It appears emergency responders were not dispatched immediately after the original 911 call and that family members who came to the residence later called 911 for paramedics. Degeffered died later at a hospital. Hawkins was found guilty of second-degree reckless homicide and was sentenced to four years in prison and four years extended supervision.

Elideo Jiminez, 34, Milwaukee – April 13, 2012

Juan Ramos, 18, and Erik Rosales, 16, stabbed to death the boyfriend of Ramos's mother as the mother and boyfriend slept. Ramos believed the deceased, Elideo Jiminez, had inappropriately touched another relative. Rosales was Ramos's friend and fellow gang member. The mother was beaten and cut during the attack. Both Ramos and Rosales pled guilty to first-degree reckless homicide and first-degree reckless injury. Both were sentenced to 15 years in prison on the first count and 10 years, consecutive, on the second count.

Stephanie Romero, 15, Milwaukee – April 20, 2012

Eduardo Ivanez, 17, strangled and stabbed to death Stephanie Romero, after she refused his sexual advances. It is believed that the two were only acquaintances at the time of the killing. Ivanez was sentenced to one life term in state prison for first-degree intentional homicide. He was also sentenced to four years in state prison and four years of extended supervision for hiding a corpse.

Luis Perez, 21, Milwaukee – April 24, 2012

Julian Rosario, 20, accompanied Alyssa Baumeister while she moved out of the home of her ex-boyfriend, Luis Perez. Perez confronted Baumeister while she was outside the home and allegedly pointed and fired a gun at her. The gun did not fire. Rosario, who was in a car with another man, ran towards Perez and shot him with a .40 caliber handgun. Perez fell down and attempted to run away, but Rosario shot him repeatedly. Rosario was found guilty of second-degree reckless homicide and will spend 10 years in state prison and 8 years on extended supervision.

Roderick Williams, 26, Milwaukee – April 28, 2012

Roderick Williams and his girlfriend, Seymone Triplett, 22, were having an argument, reportedly because Triplett did not want to perform oral sex on Williams. Triplett claims Williams lunged toward her, causing her to stab him in the chest. She was found guilty of second-degree reckless homicide and was sentenced to 15 years in state prison and 10 years of extended supervision.

County

In the death of...

Milwaukee

Margaret Litwicki, 37, Greenfield – July 14, 2012

Christopher Gish, 38, stabbed his girlfriend, Margaret Litwicki, to death while their two small children were in the house. Gish said he committed the murder because he was worried Litwicki would leave and take the children. Upon being interviewed by police, Gish said he did not feel badly about killing his children's mother and that his only regret was that he could not get a hold of the man he suspected was in a relationship with Litwicki. Court records appear to indicate Gish had a history of being violent. He was convicted of first-degree reckless homicide for killing Litwicki and will serve 40 years in prison.

Savante Cooper, 33, Milwaukee – July 30, 2012

Marrisa Flores, 31, shot and killed her estranged husband, Savante Cooper. The couple was reportedly fighting about their relationship at the time of the homicide. Flores claims she only meant to scare Cooper after he threatened to hit her. She pled guilty to first-degree reckless homicide and was sentenced to eight years in prison.

Jayden Banda-Goodman, 5, Milwaukee – October 22, 2012

Marcos Colin, 24, killed Jayden Banda-Goodman, his girlfriend's 5-year-old son through inflicting blunt force trauma. Two months prior, Colin was charged with domestic abuse against Jayden's mother, Alyssa Banda, and he also reportedly threatened to kill her in June of 2012.

Jennifer Sebena, 30, Wauwatosa – December 24, 2012

Benjamin Sebena, 30, stalked and fatally shot his wife while she was on duty as a Wauwatosa police officer during the early morning hours of Christmas Eve. Benjamin stalked Jennifer for several days prior to the murder. Reports indicate that Benjamin exhibited intense jealousy with respect to Sebena's relationships with other men and that during one incident he put a gun to her head. Benjamin is a former Marine. When evaluated to determine whether Benjamin was not guilty by reason of mental defect, both the prosecution and defense experts said Benjamin suffered from post-traumatic stress disorder, but both experts agreed that Benjamin was criminally responsible for his conduct. He has pled guilty to first-degree intentional homicide and received a life sentence. He is eligible for parole in 35 years.

County**In the death of...****Outgamie*****Derrick Whitlow, 41, Grand Chute – February 21, 2012***

Mastella Jackson, 34, stabbed her ex-husband, Derrick Whitlow, 25 times in the neck and chest. Whitlow recently moved out of the couple's shared home and had been living at the motel where the stabbing occurred. Jackson reportedly brought the knife to the motel and argued with Whitlow. Jackson claims Whitlow was destroying family pictures when she killed him. She is charged with first-degree intentional homicide. Reports indicate the couple had two children.

Pierce***Dylan Barry, 22, River Falls – July 6, 2012***

Dylan Barry was killed after he attempted to break into the apartment of his ex-girlfriend's brother, Codi Walztoni, with William Sangster. Walztoni stabbed both Barry and Sangster with a kitchen knife; Barry's wounds were fatal. Barry came to the apartment to look for Walztoni's sister. Police reports show that Barry was a suspect in a domestic battery incident that occurred earlier in the morning. The District Attorney found that Walztoni acted lawfully and in self-defense.

Amara Schaffhausen, 11, River Falls – July 11, 2012***Sophie Schaffhausen, 8******Cecilia Schaffhausen, 2***

Aaron Schaffhausen, 35, killed his three daughters by cutting each of their throats. Schaffhausen is believed to have murdered his children to harm their mother, his ex-wife. Schaffhausen moved to North Dakota for work in 2011. Since that time, he reportedly had little interest in communicating with or seeing the children. Yet, he would call his ex-wife up to 30 times in a day with harassing phone calls. He also had made threats against his wife and the children in the past. The day of the murders, Schaffhausen texted his ex-wife and asked to see the children. His ex-wife

Polk

Kari Roberts, 47, Milltown – December 1, 2012

Serial abuser, Scott Youngmark, 45, beat his fiancé, Kari Roberts, to death. Roberts was 47 years old. She died as a result of wounds sustained from Youngmark's fists, shoes, a television remote, a knife, a curtain rod, and a hammer. Police found Roberts' body after receiving an anonymous call that originated from Youngmark's mother's house. When police interviewed Youngmark's mother, she mentioned that Youngmark came to her apartment and told her that he thought he killed Roberts. Reportedly, he said he could not believe he could hurt her. Youngmark has one of longest criminal records seen in the history of this report (see the special section on page 46). In 2011, he was charged with second-degree endangering safety, injury by negligent use of a weapon and other charges. Although he had pled guilty in this case, he was free while awaiting sentencing at the time of the murder. The court was waiting for the state and defense to resolve additional bail-jumping charges before sentencing Youngmark for the underlying crime. In 2009, WATCH, a court monitoring organization in Minnesota, featured Youngmark's staggering criminal history in its newsletter. The newsletter documented 39 cases of abuse committed by Youngmark to that date. The opening paragraph to the article is as follows:

Scott Allen Youngmark, 41, has a history of criminal violence going back 23 years. Besides assaulting and threatening five intimate partners, two of their family members, and three acquaintances, he has victimized eight members of his own family, including his parents, grandmother, a cousin, an aunt, and three of his uncles. Police reports and criminal complaints for these incidents repeatedly describe the terror and helplessness his victims felt in the face of his violence.

Youngmark pled guilty to second-degree intentional homicide and was sentenced to 40 years in prison. He also received a 5-year sentence for the reckless endangerment charge that was pending at the time of the murder. When sentencing Youngmark, the judge said, "You are the oncoming locomotive and nothing has stopped you. Not until today. You've finally hit a wall."

Racine

Gwynevere Wright, 27, Racine – February 8, 2012

Iryin Vaughn, 25, stabbed his girlfriend, Gwynevere Wright, to death after engaging in a heated argument with her. Wright's 12-year-old son heard his mother yell, "Do it! Go ahead and kill me!" and then screams. Vaughn then abducted the two-year-old son he had with Wright, believing the 12-year-old was asleep. After Vaughn left, the 12-year-old found his mother brutally murdered. Reports show Vaughn had a history of abusing Wright.

County

In the death of...

Racine

Bianca Vite, 21, Racine – December 22, 2012

During an argument with his 21-year-old wife, Bianca Vite, Joseph Guerrero, 36, strangled her to death. After three days with her body in the house, Guerrero says he attempted to set himself on fire. The fire grew out of control and Guerrero left the home. Police determined that Vite died before the fire was set and arrested Guerrero for her murder. He is charged with first-degree intentional homicide, arson and mutilating a corpse.

Rock

Lisa Schaefer, 49, Janesville – January 7, 2012

Michael Paul, 36, has been convicted of first-degree reckless homicide in the beating death of his girlfriend, Lisa Schaefer. Paul claims the altercation started when Lisa confronted Paul about suspected cocaine use. An autopsy revealed that Schaefer's injuries included cuts and bruises to her face, broken teeth, swollen-shut eyes, broken facial bones and ribs, and that she died of a hemorrhaged artery located in her neck caused by blunt trauma. After Paul killed Schaefer, he called a friend who told him to call 911, which Paul did not do. He proceeded to hide her body under the basement steps, have a beer and go to bed. Schaefer's adult daughter called the police the next day to report her mother missing. The daughter told police Schaefer was having trouble with Paul recently. After obtaining a search warrant, officers found Lisa's body and arrested Paul. Paul was convicted of first-degree reckless homicide and sentenced to 28 years in prison and 12 years of extended supervision.

Traci Moyer, 46, Janesville – December 8, 2012

Krystofer Carlisle, 54, killed his estranged wife, Traci Moyer, by suffocating her. Traci had recently filed for divorce and moved out of the couple's shared home. Carlisle was found guilty of first-degree intentional homicide and will serve a life term in prison.

Rusk

Darlene Lazar, 65, Hawkins – December 30, 2012

During an argument, Donald Lazar, 65, grabbed his wife, Darlene Lazar, by the throat and shoved her into another room. Darlene called the police, and while she was on the phone, Donald retrieved his .22 caliber rifle. Donald pointed the gun at her and shot her once in the side. Darlene told the emergency operator, who was on the phone, that her husband just shot her. Donald took the phone from her and hung it up while reloading his gun. He shot Darlene a second time in the head, and she fell to the floor. Donald had a history of domestic abuse charges for crimes against Darlene, with the most recent charge occurring earlier in 2012. He is currently charged with first-degree intentional homicide.

County**In the death of...****Sauk*****Cheyenne Fiddler, 23, Reedsburg – July 30, 2012***

The bodies of George Snake and Cheyenne Fiddler were found on the evening of July 30 by a friend who dropped by their house. Police believe that the two were involved in an argument earlier that morning and that Snake shot Cheyenne before turning the gun on himself.

Waukesha***Zina Daniel, 42, Brookfield – October 21, 2012******Maelyn Lind, 38******Cary Robuck, 35***

Radcliffe Haughton, 45, shot and killed his wife, Zina (Daniel) Haughton, at her place of work, the Azana Spa. Haughton killed Maelyn Lind as she tried to intervene. Cary Robuck, a fellow employee, was also fatally shot. Four other women were injured during the shooting spree. Zina's 22-year-old daughter, who worked at the spa as well, was present and escaped to call for help from a nearby mall. As police arrived, Haughton attempted to set fire to building and then killed himself with a shot to his head. Haughton had a long history of abusing Zina (see the special section on page 46). Recently, the pattern had escalated as Zina attempted to leave the relationship. She had filed for a divorce and obtained a domestic abuse restraining order a few days earlier based on prior stalking, threats to kill and other abuse. Because of the restraining order, Haughton was not legally allowed to purchase a gun, but he obtained one through a private sale arranged on the internet.

Washington***Jerome Musial, 76, Richfield – December 21, 2012***

Beau Musial, 37, beat his father and sliced his neck with a knife. Jerome Musial died as a result. An argument about the purchase of a tractor-trailer reportedly preceded the attack.

Wood***Maisie McCullough, 18, Marshfield – September 7, 2012***

The evening of September 7, Michelle Lang found her son's ex-girlfriend and mother of her grandson, Maisie McCullough, in Lang's bathtub. McCullough was dead from multiple stab wounds. Days earlier, McCullough broke up with Lang's son, Gabriel Campos, 22, and moved out of the house where they lived with Lang. Early in the morning of September 8, Campos called police and turned himself in, saying he did not want to cause stress for the couple's one-year-old son. Upon being arrested, Campos expressed his regret and sorrow for killing Maisie; however, he was later charged with solicitation of homicide for offering money, a gun and a car to another inmate to murder a man he believed McCullough previously dated. This charge was dismissed, but will be considered by the judge when Campos is sentenced for the first-degree intentional homicide of McCullough.

DOMESTIC VIOLENCE HOMICIDES IN 2011 AND 2012: RISK, DANGER AND LOSS

In each report, we attempt to sift through the individual facts and circumstances of each homicide and identify particularly noteworthy themes or commonalities. Several key themes emerged across the 2011 and 2012 cases and are addressed below. These include: stalking as an indicator of increased risk; pregnancy and domestic violence homicide; homicide in veteran families; homicides at the workplace; homicides related to children and child custody; and, gun violence. Many of these themes have been common since the report was first published in 2000. Other themes were more pronounced in the two-year period covered by the report, such as homicides involving veterans and homicides in the workplace. We also use this report to acknowledge and briefly discuss the differential impact that domestic violence and homicides have in particular on the diverse communities, identities and individuals in Wisconsin each year. Because of space limitations, we can only scratch the surface of these important issues, but we hope the report serves as an opening for greater conversation, awareness and activism to make Wisconsin a safer, more peaceful state.

HOMICIDE PREVENTION

The process of writing this report over many years pushed us to look for even more direct ways to put the insights of the report into practice in order to prevent domestic violence homicides. As we have preached many times in the pages of this report, preventing domestic violence requires the engagement of the whole community. Therefore, starting in 2012, we sought to engage Coordinated Community Response (CCR) teams in a joint effort to utilize the insights of our homicide reports to improve practice on the local level.

CCR teams are multidisciplinary work groups that bring key players in various community systems together to improve their response to domestic violence victims and to hold perpetrators accountable. By virtue of their composition, CCR teams possess an invaluable set of expertise and representation from the many systems and individuals that victims and perpetrators may encounter prior to the occurrence of a homicide. The highly motivated CCR teams of Jefferson and Outagamie counties were selected for the opportunity to receive extensive technical assistance regarding homicide prevention strategies from End Domestic Abuse Wisconsin. Teams were allowed flexibility in their project design by selecting a theme from our 2010 homicide report and developing an 18-month work plan to address it in their respective communities.

The Outagamie County CCR team selected gun violence, specifically the issue of firearm surrender through the restraining order process, as its focus. The team started by more closely reviewing past homicides that have occurred in Outagamie County. The team is also examining the ability of victims to participate in the protection order process by analyzing circumstances surrounding the granting or dismissal of an injunction, including whether or not legal advocacy services were used and the high potential for victim intimidation throughout the process.

The Jefferson County CCR team selected stalking and strangulation as its focus and is finalizing a protocol for reviewing cases involving stalking, strangulation or both in their community. CCR members plan to review cases referred to them through multiple systems in their community, such as healthcare, law enforcement and advocacy services. The team will then develop recommendations based on their findings. The team will also draw on the input of stalking and strangulation survivors. Both teams will share their accomplishments and lessons learned with other CCR teams in the state and demonstrate how we can come together to save the lives of Wisconsinites and further promote victim safety and the accountability of perpetrators.

The homicide prevention topics that Jefferson and Outagamie counties are currently seeking to address are not surprisingly also very relevant to many of the cases included in this report. Therefore, we will begin the discussion of the 2011 and 2012 common themes with stalking and gun violence.

STALKING

Stalking has a lengthy legal definition under Wisconsin law.⁶ To paraphrase, it is a pattern of unwanted conduct that carries an implied or explicit threat, causing fear in the person who is the target of the behavior. It can include the “following me” and “checking up on me,” behaviors battered women often describe. It can include repeated calls and e-mails, appearing at someone’s place of work or leaving a bouquet of flowers on a doorstep. Changes in technology—such as global positioning tracking devices, text messaging, and the proliferations of databases with personal identifying information—have expanded the ways in which stalking can occur.

While the most talked about stalking cases involve celebrities being stalked, it is estimated that 70% to 80% of stalking cases occur in the context of intimate partner relationships.⁷ This type of stalking can be especially menacing because stalkers usually know their victims’ patterns of movement and unique vulnerabilities. Stalking typically occurs and escalates after the woman has ended or attempted to end the relationship. Therefore, intimate partner stalking points to some of the ways in which the typical questions (e.g. “Why didn’t she leave?”) are off the mark. Many victims are subjected to stalking and the elevated fear and danger it entails after the relationship has ended. One study estimates that 76% of women killed by their abusers are stalked prior to their murders.⁸ Of the cases detailed in this report, we have identified seven in which the homicide or homicides were clearly the culmination of stalking behavior.

6. Wisconsin Statutes section 940.32.

7. Lemon, Nancy K.D. *Domestic Violence & Stalking: A7 Comment on the Model Anti-Stalking Code Proposed by the National Institute of Justice*. Battered Women’s Justice Project, 1994, available at <http://www.mincava.umn.edu/documents/bwjp/stalking/stalking.html>.

8. McFarlane, Judith M., Jacquelyn C. Campbell, Susan Wilt, Carolyn J. Sachs, Yvonne Ulrich, and Xiao Xu. “Stalking and Intimate.” *HOMICIDE STUDIES* (Sage Publications) 3, no. 4 (November 1999): 300-16, available at http://www.margolishealy.com/files/resources/stalking_and_intimate_partner_femicide.pdf.

However, stalking is rarely recognized and discussed in the public reports. We expect that with more information the vast majority of homicides included in this report would be shown to involve some level of stalking.

Many of the tactics that stalkers use to carry out their crimes are often considered non-criminal when seen in isolation. As an advocate or other intervener in cases of stalking, it is important to look at the behaviors and tactics used to stalk in the context of the relationship (past, present or perceived) in which they are occurring. In addition, it is important when working with victims to sensitively ask about their experiences of stalking in detail. This information can inform a more effective and individualized safety plan, as well as identify the lethality risk that intimate partner stalking poses.

GUN VIOLENCE

As is perennially the case, guns were the most commonly used weapon in domestic violence homicides in 2011 and 2012. In late 2012, the nation’s attention to the issue of gun violence took a dramatic leap forward under unfathomably tragic circumstances. The massacre of 26 people (mostly young school children) at Sandy Hook Elementary School in Newtown, Connecticut galvanized a public outcry and political movement for sensible gun safety measures, which have been historically and continue to be opposed by special interests. Advocates for gun violence prevention have pushed for the implementation of universal background checks on all gun sales to keep firearms out of the hands of individuals who are prohibited from possessing them, people like convicted felons or batterers with misdemeanor domestic violence convictions or active restraining orders.

Requiring background checks on gun sales is a tangible policy that would make this report shorter

in future years. Of the cases included in this report, we have identified eight homicides that were committed by a perpetrator who was legally prohibited from owning the gun he used to murder the victim. The murders of Zina Daniel, Maelyn Lind and Cary Robuck committed by Radcliffe Haughton, which are included in this report, show exactly how background checks would lower the likelihood of domestic violence homicides in volatile situations. On Thursday, October 18, 2012, Zina, Radcliffe's wife, obtained a domestic abuse restraining order against her husband after years of violence and abuse. Radcliffe was ordered to not possess firearms. Knowing he, therefore, could not pass a background check, Radcliffe sought a gun on the internet on Saturday, October 20, presumably with the intent of killing Zina. He arranged for a private sale—no background check required. On Sunday, October 21, Radcliffe went on a shooting spree at the salon killing the three women, injuring four others and then killing himself. Since the homicide, Zina's family has made especially compelling contributions to the plea for background checks by lobbying Congress and appearing in a national television ad, among other activities.

End Abuse is committed to advocating for background checks on gun sales. In 2012, we created a section on our website that draws from our many years of homicide reporting. The Fifty for the Future project lists the over 50 victims in Wisconsin who were killed by a domestic abuser who illegally possessed the gun that was used to kill.

PREGNANCY

In 2012, three incidents of domestic violence homicide took place while the victim was pregnant. In two cases, the mothers survived the attack, while the fetus did not, and in one case, the fatal assault of the mother also caused the death

of the fetus she was carrying. Research confirms that during the time of pregnancy and shortly after giving birth women are highly vulnerable to domestic violence.⁹ Homicide is the second most common cause of injury-related death for pregnant women (31%), second only to car accidents.¹⁰ In a study conducted by domestic violence homicide expert Jackie Campbell, women were asked why they thought they were abused during their pregnancies. The answers primarily fell into four categories: jealousy towards the unborn child; anger towards the unborn child; pregnancy-specific violence not directed toward the child; and "business as usual."¹¹ Medical professionals consider experiencing ongoing violence during pregnancy high-risk due to the greater potential of adverse health consequences for both the mother and fetus. Violence during pregnancy has been associated with miscarriage, late prenatal care, stillbirth, preterm birth, fetal injury (including bruising, broken and fractured bones and stab wounds) and low birth weight and death.¹²

Related to the risk of homicide and increased battering during pregnancy is the strong correlation between domestic violence and reproductive coercion. Reproductive coercion, or the act of impeding one's reproductive choice, may involve using tactics such as: intentionally exposing a partner to sexually transmitted infections (STIs); attempting to impregnate a woman against her will; intentionally interfering with the agreed upon birth control method; or threatening or acting violently if a partner does not comply with the perpetrator's wishes regarding contraception or the decision whether to terminate or continue a pregnancy.¹³ Domestic abuse coupled with reproductive coercion can increase a woman's likelihood of becoming pregnant and having more children than she intended. Whereas previously it was thought that having many children and the

9. Johnson, J.K. "The prevalence of domestic violence in pregnant women." *BJOG: An International Journal of Obstetrics & Gynecology* 110, no. 3 (2003): 272-75.

10. Parker, B., J. McFarlane, and K. Soeken. "Abuse During Pregnancy: Association with Maternal Health and Infant Birthweight." *Nursing Research*, No. 45, pg. 32-37 (1996);

11. Campbell, Jacquelyn C., C. Oliver, and L. Bullock. "Why battering during pregnancy." *AWHONN's clinical issues in perinatal and women's health nursing* 4, no. 3 (1993): 343.

12. Mezey, Gillian C., and Susan Bewley. "Domestic violence and pregnancy." *BJOG: An International Journal of Obstetrics and Gynecology* 104, no. 5 (1997): 528-31.

13. Futures Without Violence. "The Facts on Reproductive Health and Partner Abuse." <http://www.knowmoresaymore.org/>. July 2008. <http://www.knowmoresaymore.org/wp-content/uploads/2008/07/The-Facts-on-Reproductive-Health-and-Partner-Abuse.pdf> (accessed September 11, 2013).

subsequent stress of having a large family increased the likelihood of domestic violence, it has now been shown that the violence often precedes the births.¹⁴

For many years, domestic violence advocates and health care providers have been collaborating to ensure screening for domestic violence is considered a universal best practice in primary care settings. In 2012, the Affordable Care Act required for the first time that most insurance plans cover intimate partner violence screening for women without a co-pay or deductible. Further promoting these existing recommendations, especially in specialty areas of medicine such as Obstetrics, may help break the silence for those experiencing reproductive coercion and violence during pregnancy.

In this homicide report, the following cases included an element of violence during pregnancy:

- An expectant father beat and strangled the expectant mother so badly it caused her to deliver their daughter four months early. The mother survived, but the newborn did not.
- A woman was killed, along with the child she was carrying, after the man she was seeing strangled her while visiting Door County, Wisconsin for a wedding.
- A mother who lost three of her children to a fire started by her husband and his brother also lost the daughter she was carrying.

VETERANS

When domestic violence occurs among military families, safety and protection becomes more complex for victims and those who assist them. In 2012, there were nearly 400,000 veterans living in Wisconsin, which is roughly 7% of the state's entire population.¹⁵ As more troops are scheduled to return home from recent deployments overseas, we anticipate that this number will increase. Victim service providers and other systems must be prepared for an influx of people affected by violence related to military involvement, bringing with them a variety of personal complexities and traumatic experiences.

The intersection of domestic violence and the military is a sensitive and timely subject to broach in this homicide report. While most information regarding military involvement is not public, we know from media reports and anecdotal information that at least three homicide incidents in 2012 were perpetrated by veterans; and, so far in 2013, this trend continues. Though we note this as a theme in this report, we do not suggest that veterans are generally more violent than civilians. According to the Military Advocacy Program of the Battered Women's Justice Project, "there is no answer" to the question "does having been in combat cause [intimate partner violence]?"¹⁶ Most men and women who serve in the military will never be violent when they return home. Yet, because domestic violence knows no bounds, any large segment of the population—like the veteran and military service personnel population—is necessarily going to include a percentage of batterers.

There is also a growing body of information that suggests certain aspects of military and combat experience may exacerbate the dynamics of domestic violence. Additionally, health conditions such as post-traumatic stress disorder and traumatic brain injury, which are seen among individuals who have been in combat, may independently explain some

14. Krug, Etienne G., Linda L. Dahlberg, James A. Mercy, Anthony B. Zwi, and Rafael Lozano. *World Report on Violence and Health*. Geneva: World Health Organization, 2002, 102.

15. Wisconsin Department of Veterans Affairs. *Veterans Data & Populations*. 2013. <http://dva.state.wi.us/PA-VeteransData.asp> (accessed September 11, 2013).

16. Beals, Judith, and Patricia Erwin. *Understanding the Military Response to Domestic Violence: Tools for Civilian Advocates*. Battered Women's Justice Project, 2003, available at http://www.bwjp.org/files/bwjp/articles/BWJP_Military_Part1.pdf.

violent behavior. The relationship between military service and domestic violence is multifaceted and varies from cases to case. It is important for advocates and other interveners to inquire about the experience of violence both before and after military service or exposure to combat in order to develop a safety plan that will best serve the survivor's needs.

For more information on domestic violence and the military, see the April 2013 issue of End Abuse's publication, *Coalition Chronicles*: <http://bit.ly/vetsDV>.

WORKPLACE

Domestic violence permeates nearly all aspects of victims' and perpetrators' lives and does not get put on hold when they go to work. According to the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, domestic violence victims collectively lose a total of nearly 8 million days of paid work annually, the equivalent of more than 32,000 full-time jobs, as a result of violence. In addition, the annual cost of lost productivity due to domestic violence is estimated as \$727.8 million.¹⁷ One study calls intimate partner homicide the second leading cause of death on the job for women (33%), exceeded only by homicides committed in relation to crimes (39%), i.e., robbing a store.¹⁸

Intimate partners are often able to use their victims' workplaces as a means to exercise power and control. Abusers are often familiar with the victims' workplaces, their scheduled breaks and routines. The abuser may be well known and highly regarded by some of the victim's co-workers. Employers and risk managers commonly consider the danger of unknown attackers to employees who work alone or deal with the public. They should also consider the factors that increase employee vulnerability to attack in domestic violence situations. In 2012 in Wisconsin, there were five victims of homicides related to domestic violence that

happened at the victim's workplace or during a work shift. All were perpetrated by a firearm.

- A woman was fatally shot by her ex-boyfriend at the Citgo convenience center where she was employed.
- Three women were killed and four others were injured when an abusive husband went on a rampage at the salon where his estranged wife worked.
- A police officer was stalked and shot by her husband while she was on duty.

Employers can play an important role by providing clear guidelines and implementing model practices and policies that address domestic violence. Employers should affirm that a victim of domestic violence is not responsible for the abuse and be aware that their response to an employee who has been abusive to an intimate partner may have unintended consequences for the victim. Therefore, we encourage employers to draw on the expertise of domestic violence advocates in their community when crafting their policies regarding domestic violence.

17. Centers for Disease Control and Prevention. *Costs of Intimate Partner Violence Against Women in the United States*. National Center for Injury Prevention and Control, Department of Health and Human Services, Atlanta: Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, 2003.

18. Corporate Alliance to End Partner Violence. *Workplace Statistics*. http://www.caepv.org/getinfo/facts_stats.php?factsec=3 (accessed September 11, 2013).

DIVERSITY OF COMMUNITIES AND INDIVIDUALS AFFECTED BY DOMESTIC VIOLENCE HOMICIDE

While no one person is entirely immune from the possibility of abuse, oppression, social standing and life circumstances have a great deal to do with one's options for safety and the availability and impact of interventions. Identities are complex, multi-layered, and intersect in ways that can make people vulnerable to bias in different ways. People's unique cultures and identities can both strengthen and impede safety from abuse and violence—sometimes simultaneously—both on the level of individual experience and in the response of the institutions that they encounter. Forms of oppression related to identity—including gender identity, race, ethnicity, sexual orientation, ability, class—interrelate to create systemic social inequality that impacts the safety and well-being of individuals facing domestic violence, as well as entire groups of people and communities.

This attention to “intersectionality” offers a path to better understand the complexities of people's lives, analyze social justice problems more completely and shape more effective interventions. The term was “initially conceived as a way to present a simple reality that seemed to be hidden by conventional thinking about discrimination and exclusion. This simple reality is that disadvantage or exclusion can be based on the interaction of multiple factors rather than just one. Yet conventional approaches to social problems are often organized as though these risk factors are mutually exclusive and separable. As a consequence, many interventions and policies fail to capture the interactive effects of race, gender, sexuality, class, etc. and marginalize the needs of those who are multiply affected by them.”¹⁹

LATER LIFE

Since this report was first published in 2000, it has paid specific attention to homicides of persons age 50 and older, which have comprised 17% of homicides from 2000 to 2010.²⁰ In 2011 and 2012, there were 13 victims who were over the age of 49. This comprises about 16% of all victims over the two-year period.

- In 2011 and 2012, in 7 of the 12 cases (58%) where the victim was age 50 or older, the perpetrator was also 50 or older. This is a similar percentage compared to recent years.
- Shooting was the prevailing method of killing when the victim was age 50 or older. During the two-year period, 6 of the 12 older victims (50%) were shot to death. When both the victim and the perpetrator were 50 or older, a firearm was the murder weapon in every case except two.
- When the victim and perpetrator were over the age of 50, the chances of perpetrator suicide have tended to be greater. Between 2005 and 2009, perpetrators committed suicide in 11 of the 17 homicides (65%) in which the victim and perpetrator were age fifty or older. In 2012 and 2011, a smaller percentage of perpetrators committed suicide, 2 of the 7 cases (28%).
- During the two-year period, all the victims of perpetrators over the age 50 were all also 50 or older.

19. “Intersectionality” was coined by Kimberle Crenshaw, with the African American Policy Forum. Download a copy of the Intersectionality Primer at http://aapf.org/tool_to_speak_out/intersectionality-primer/.

20. See the 2009 report for an analysis of data between 2005 and 2009.

- Men are perpetrators in the majority of later-life homicides, 83% in 2011 and 2012 (10 of 12). This proportion is typical.
- In 2011 and in previous years, domestic violence homicides that have been characterized as “mercy killings” or “acts of love” have been included in the report. See the methodology section for more information. Inclusion in the report is neither meant to imply a judgment on the intentions of the perpetrator nor the wishes of the victims.

Relatively little research has been conducted into what is increasingly becoming known as eldercide, including the subset of eldercide related to intimate partner violence. What is emerging, however, largely through the work of Donna Cohen, is recognition of the high rate of homicide-suicide in older adult couples. Older persons have homicide-suicide rates that are twice as high as younger adults, and 83% of those homicide-suicides are the “spousal/consortial type.” Cohen describes three subtypes of homicide-suicide in older persons, including what she terms “aggressive homicide-suicide,” “dependent/protective homicide-suicide,” and “symbiotic homicide-suicide.” She also notes common features across all subtypes, among them: (a) intense attachment of the perpetrator to the victim and a desire to maintain the relationship when threatened with separation or dissolution; (b) older men are almost always the perpetrators; (c) guns are the overwhelming method of choice; (d) homicide-suicides are not acts of love or altruism, but acts of desperation and depression; and (e) the older perpetrator has thought about and planned the act for months or longer and the wife or lover is not a willing participant.²¹

Any homicide-suicide has a devastating and profound impact on surviving family members,

neighbors, friends, and care providers. That impact can be magnified for survivors of later-life homicide-suicides who may have observed some of the risk markers that are increasingly being identified, but did not recognize their significance or know where to turn for help. For example, as Cohen notes, and as was characteristic of one of the later-life homicide-suicides in the report: “Homicide-suicide is a very high risk in situations where an older man is caring for a sick wife, the two have been married for a long time, the health of one or both is changing, and the wife is hospitalized or institutionalization is imminent,” and guns are in the house or readily available.²²

CHILDREN

Annually, we include in this report children who were killed as a direct result of a domestic violence incident, such as children killed along with their mother. Because of the pervasive use and abuse of children as a tactic of battering, we have also included children killed when there are indications that one parent has abused the other. Even when adult abuse is not identified, the odds are high that ongoing adult abuse is a factor when a child is killed by a parent or family member. Research estimates the overlap between adult domestic violence and child maltreatment at 30% to 60%.²³ Because of the strong intersection, a convincing argument could be made to include all child homicides by a family member or parent’s intimate partner as part of the wide, deep, lifelong reach of violence within relationships and families.

Almost a quarter of the homicide victims in this report were below the age of 18 (19 of 80). Child victims ranged in age from before birth to 15 years. The perpetrators of child homicides are overwhelmingly male; of the 19 children killed, 18 were killed by a man.

21. Cohen, Donna. “An Update on Homicide-Suicide in Older Persons: 1995-2000.” *Journal of Mental Health and Aging* 6, no. 3 (2000): 195-99.

22. *Ibid.* p. 195.

23. U.S. Department of Health & Human Services. Domestic Violence and the Child Welfare System. 2009. https://www.childwelfare.gov/pubs/factsheets/domestic_violence/ (accessed September 13, 2013).

- Two boys were abducted by their mother's boyfriend (not their biological father) the day after he assaulted her. He strangled and suffocated both boys, and they were found dead in the back of his car.
- An abusive boyfriend killed his girlfriend's daughter when the child was left in his care for a brief period of time.
- A father killed his one-year-old son by suffocation. He admitted to getting "rough" with his son whenever he fought with the boy's mother.
- A man shot and killed his wife and two children. There was a documented history of both domestic abuse and child abuse.
- A man tried to kill his ex-girlfriend and the mother of his child by attempting to run over her with a car. Instead, he ran over, crushed and killed his young son.
- A man killed his three sons and attempted to kill his pregnant wife by setting their home on fire. His wife survived but lost their unborn child.
- A man killed his girlfriend's five-year-old son. Two months earlier, he had been charged with domestic violence towards the child's mother, his girlfriend.
- A man killed his three daughters, aged 11, 8 and 2, by cutting each of their throats. He had made threats of violence in the past against both the mother (his ex-wife) and the children. It is believed he killed the children as a way to hurt their mother.

- A 15-year-old girl was killed by a male acquaintance after she did not want to have an intimate relationship with him.

The percentage of child victims in this report is relatively high because of the high number of homicides in which a father killed two or more of his children. These crimes are generally classified as familicide. Familicide refers to the deliberate killing within a relatively short period of time of a current or former spouse or intimate partner and one or more of their children, sometimes followed by the suicide of the perpetrator.²⁴

In his book *Familicidal Hearts: The Emotional Styles of 211 Killers*, Neil Websdale, a professor at Northern Arizona University and director of the National Domestic Violence Fatality Review Initiative, paints a complex yet coherent and convincing picture of "family annihilators."²⁵ Websdale argues that perpetrators of familicide, who are overwhelmingly male, share one common trait: feelings of shame that they have fallen short of societal ideals of manhood.

Websdale's account complicates but also builds off the traditional feminist understanding that domestic violence is an expression of male power and control to subordinate women in intimate partner relationships. He believes men who kill their families generally have a conscious or unconscious need to control their female partners. However, Websdale's research shows these men feel a deep sense of powerlessness or lack of control in their own lives. Many of the men lack significant social attachments beyond their intimate relationships and have an inability to positively express themselves within these relationships. Their identity and sense of self-worth, therefore, tends to be bound up in relationships that are prone to instability and discontentment.

24. Websdale, Neil. *Familicidal Hearts: The Emotional Styles of 211 Killers*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2010.

25. Ibid.

Based on these insights, Websdale calls us to go beyond the fact intimate partner violence is an expression of power and control. Rather, when we take seriously the notion that family killers share a sense of extreme powerlessness, we can sharpen our focus on the warped belief systems, emotional deficiencies and pathological aspects of men's socialization that drive both these feelings of powerlessness and some men resorting to otherwise unthinkable violence. Ultimately, Websdale's writing suggests that men's emotional development and ability to participate in egalitarian relationships is as essential to ending violence against women as any particular improvement to the social, political or economic status of women. This analysis dovetails with the movement to end violence against women's growing emphasis on primary prevention and the promotion of more positive and rewarding models of masculinity.

Even when children are not the direct victims of violence, living with domestic violence has a profound effect on children, particularly when it leads to homicide. Some children see a parent murdered or commit suicide. Some try to protect a parent during the assault. Surviving children not only face the aftermath of losing a parent, but the added trauma of having seen or heard the killing—often a killing at the hands of their other parent or a stepparent. Homicides that occur in a public setting may be witnessed by children who live next door, pass on the street or play in the park.

Along with the children who were killed, at least 14 minor children, ranging in age from one to seventeen, were at the scene of homicides over the last two years. Because most reports do mention children at the scene, the actual figure is likely much higher. Domestic violence homicide also means that many children lose one or both parents through homicide, a related suicide or both. While the tally cannot be precise and is most certainly an undercount, during 2011 and 2012 at least 22 children lost their mothers and 12 became fatherless because of domestic violence.

Children can also be harmed when batterers use children to coerce and control their mothers, including threatening to abduct or kill the children, particularly if a woman tries to leave the relationship.²⁶ News media reporting at times refers to a "custody battle," without any closer examination of how killing a child might have been an attempt to harm and bring revenge upon the child's non-abusive parent. When one parent has been abusive toward the other, decisions related to custody and visitation occur at a volatile and dangerous time. Because this critical issue is often not thoroughly examined after a domestic violence homicide, we cannot accurately say how often domestic violence homicides are related to custody decisions. The percentage is likely higher than commonly believed. We know about half of the homicides that were intimate-partner-related involved a relationship that had ended or was ending, and based on estimates from the National Crime Victimization Survey, among households with a female intimate partner victim, 38% had children under age 12 living in the home.

One case in 2012, in the perpetrator's own words, had a very close relationship to child custody matters. Christopher Gish, 38, stabbed his girlfriend, Margaret Litwicki, to death while their two small children were in the house. Gish said he committed the murder because he was worried Litwicki would leave and take the children. Upon being interviewed by police, Gish said he did not feel bad about killing his children's mother and that his only regret was that he could not get a hold of the man he suspected was in a relationship with Margaret. Court records appear to indicate Gish had a history of being violent.

26. See Adams, David. *Why Do They Kill? Men Who Murder Their Intimate Partners*. Nashville: Vanderbilt University Press, 2007. See also Bancroft, Lundy, and Jay G. Silverman. *The Batterer as Parent: Addressing the Impact of Domestic Violence on Family Dynamics*. 2002: Sage Publications, Los Angeles.

AFRICAN AMERICANS

2011 and 2012 continued a disturbing pattern of the disproportionate impact of domestic violence on African Americans in Wisconsin. In 2011 and 2012, African Americans made up 30% of the domestic violence homicide victims, while only accounting for between 6% to 7% of the state's population.

The idea of intersectionality, discussed above, helps us recognize the “double bind” that African Americans face when confronting domestic violence—in meeting what they perceive as the greater good of the community before their own well-being—and the “triple jeopardy” of intersecting factors of poverty, substance abuse, and battering,²⁷ as well as the impact of historic and ongoing racism. African American women, in particular, are acutely aware of the ways in which criminal justice and law enforcement systems—and the impact of the “war on drugs,” in particular—have helped to produce what Michele Alexander describes as the “new Jim Crow,” where often relatively minor offenses that occur with little notice on college campuses or in middle class suburban communities mean felony convictions for young African American men. A felony conviction ushers in a “parallel social universe” in which they can be denied the right to vote, automatically excluded from juries, and legally discriminated against in housing, employment and education in ways that are reminiscent of the Jim Crow era.²⁸

Bent-Goodley and Williams characterize the complexity of risk and safety related to domestic violence in this way: “many African Americans forego reporting abuse in an attempt to protect their intimate partner from abuse by police or loss of income through imprisonment or incarceration. The result is that the woman and her child(ren)

are at an increased risk for violence and often do not report violence until the lethality of the abuse cannot be withstood.”²⁹ That lethality is beyond epidemic proportions in Wisconsin.

LATIN@

The single heading of “Latin@ communities” is inadequate for the many countries, cultures, and experiences that it represents. While there is a common connection of language for many people, language, too, is diverse, with people using distinct forms of Spanish and indigenous languages, and many using primarily English in their daily lives. Community members might be long-time U.S. citizens or recent immigrants, documented or undocumented. The experiences of domestic violence victims in Latin@ communities will be affected by these diverse qualities, as well as certain shared values, beliefs and experiences.

Between 2000 and 2010, we found relatively few domestic violence homicide victims identified as Latin@ in the research conducted to compile the homicide report: 10 total. That is about 2% of all homicide victims (For comparison, according to census data, Hispanic residents are over 6% of the state's population.) That trend continued in 2011. In that year one Latino boy was killed by his Latina mother. However, in 2012 an unusually high number of Latin@s were involved in domestic violence homicides when compared to data we have previously collected. Seven Latina women and one girl were murdered. Two Latino men and one boy were victims. Of the eight Latin@ perpetrators, seven were men and one was a woman.

While one year of data is not sufficient to identify a trend, we do know Latin@ victims of domestic violence continue to face unique barriers when

27. Bent-Goodley, Tricia B., and Oliver J. Williams. *Community Insights on Domestic Violence among African Americans: Conversations About Domestic Violence and Other Issues Affecting Their Community*. St. Paul: Institute on Domestic Violence in the African American Community, 2004. The Institute on Domestic Violence in the African American Community (IDVAAC) has convened discussion groups in nine U. S. cities to expand knowledge about community perceptions of and responses to domestic violence. This report and others are available at <http://www.dvinstitute.org/>. See also Williams Campbell, Doris, Phyllis W. Sharps, Faye Gary, Jacquelyn C. Campbell, and Loretta M. Lopez. “Intimate Partner Violence in African American Women.” *The Online Journal of Issues in Nursing* 7, no. 1 (2002).

28. Alexander, Michelle. *The New Jim Crow: Mass Incarceration in the Age of Colorblindness*. New York: The New Press, 2010. See an interview with Michelle Alexander and Bryan Stevenson, founder of the Equal Justice Initiative, online: <http://www.pbs.org/moyers/journal/04022010/profile.html>.

29. Bent-Goodley and Williams, *Community Insights*, p. 5.

suffering from domestic violence. Victims describe strong social pressure to keep their families together and keep violence hidden. Latin@ victims are often given erroneous information from the legal systems about their rights if they are undocumented. There is limited access to Spanish-language and culturally-specific crisis services, advocacy and support. These and other issues can leave some victims very isolated and vulnerable to ongoing coercion and violence.

In Wisconsin, efforts to address that isolation and extend help and resources include the longstanding work of UNIDOS Against Domestic Violence and the UMOs Latina Resource Center.³⁰

HMONG AND LAO

Domestic violence homicide takes a particularly high toll on small, culturally distinct communities. There are strong connections among individuals, families, and neighborhoods. Hmong and Lao communities have faced several domestic violence homicides since their move to Wisconsin, often with the combination of homicide and suicide. Between 2000 and 2012, this report has identified and included 17 domestic violence-related deaths in Hmong and Lao communities: the homicides of 10 adult women, 1 fetal death, and 1 man killed by a woman's former husband (according to the charges filed in the case) and 5 perpetrator suicides. All of the deaths occurred between 2005 and 2012. All of the perpetrators have been men. This report contains one case of domestic violence homicide in the Hmong community, the murder of Lee Xiong by Richie Vue, who was her boyfriend.

While aspects of cultural identity can help strengthen safety, they can also be used as a tactic of battering and can present significant barriers to a woman trying to end or escape violence. Hmong

women must navigate the danger and attempt to build safety within their cultural identity, traditions and language. Hmong women have organized and mobilized statewide gatherings, summits and retreats. They emphasize the need to take into account the distinctiveness of the clan structure, the significant role of elders and in-laws in women's lives, and how shame and gossip in the community can be powerful controls over a woman's willingness to report domestic violence and seek help.

Leaving can present the wrenching decision of choosing safety over losing an entire community. It can mean cutting off her connections, her place in her culture, and her only source of social, familial, cultural, and spiritual support. It can mean losing a language, food, traditions, holidays and a shared understanding of what it is like to be in the world. She can be violence free, but at a tremendous cost. As one advocate observed, leaving means that "she gets up in the morning and goes to bed at night without another voice that she can communicate with."³¹

Domestic violence homicide and its devastation has become a catalyst for change in the Hmong community. Hmong women, advocates, survivors and victims have worked to organize culturally appropriate protocols and action plans that are anchored in and not imposed on their communities.

TRIBAL COMMUNITIES

There are 11 federally-recognized Tribes with land holdings in Wisconsin and large Native American urban communities in Milwaukee, Green Bay, and Madison.³² Victims of domestic violence living on Tribal lands in rural areas of the state face many of the barriers to safety common to rural areas. Beyond the trauma of the violence and crises they are experiencing, Native women face multiple,

30. UNIDOS Against Domestic Violence: <http://www.unidosagainstdv.org>. UMOs Latina Resource Center: <http://www.umos.org>.

31. "Tsim Txom: Domestic Violence in Hmong Society," a Wisconsin radio documentary available at the Public Radio Exchange, <http://www.prx.org>.

32. Bad River Band of Lake Superior Chippewa, Forest County Potawatomi Community, Ho-Chunk Nation, Lac Courte Oreilles Band of Lake Superior Chippewa, Lad du Flambeau Band of Lake Superior Chippewa, Menominee Nation, Mohican Nation – Stockbridge Munsee Band, Oneida Tribe of Wisconsin, Red Cliff Band of Lake Superior Chippewa, St. Croix Band of Chippewa, and Sokaogon Chippewa Community.

distinct issues related in part to sovereignty, jurisdiction, and the relationships between Tribal and non-Tribal governments and communities, and to the legacy of colonialism.³³ These can include the involvement of Indian Child Welfare, losing their children when they report abuse against themselves, the under- or over-involvement of the U.S. legal system in their lives, and lack of emotional and financial support from their community and families. Native American and Alaska Native women experience the highest rates of sexual violence, which is often intertwined with intimate partner violence. Amnesty International has called this disparity a violation of fundamental human rights.³⁴

The recent reauthorization of the Violence Against Women Act (VAWA) at the federal level contains a historic provision to affirm Tribal sovereignty and address barriers to effective law enforcement protection of Native women who live on Tribal land. Under the 2013 reauthorization of VAWA, Tribes will have the ability to prosecute and hold accountable non-Native offenders when they batterer Tribal members.

Between 2000 and 2012, this report has identified nine homicides where the victims have been identified as Native American. At least two of them were Native men who were killed by non-Native men as they were trying to protect a sister or other woman who was a domestic violence victim. This 2011 and 2012 report includes two domestic violence homicides involving Native Americans. In both cases, the perpetrators and victims were both Native Americans.

The day-to-day reality of domestic violence in Native American women's lives is clear from the experiences of women who have shared their stories in focus group conversations over the past decade. Increased advocacy, shelter and legal services have been established in response.

Tribal advocates across Wisconsin have joined across boundaries to create American Indians Against Abuse and to build a network of support and services that addresses domestic violence in ways that honor traditional customs, values, and teachings.³⁵

LBGTQ COMMUNITIES

It is likely that we undercount domestic violence homicides that occur in lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender (LGBT) relationships in this report. Due to the stigma that is placed on LGBT communities, relationships can be hidden and the nature of a relationship might not be accurately identified in the public record of a homicide. An LGBT relationship might be coded as "friend," "roommate" or "other known to victim." Where the victim was reported as single and there was no apparent forced entry to the home or scene, the homicide may go unrecognized as related to LGBT intimate partner violence.

End Domestic Abuse Wisconsin and WCASA co-sponsor a statewide committee to give voice to people who are underrepresented, based on gender identity and sexual orientation, and whose lives have been affected by sexual and domestic violence. The committee looks to promote the availability of services, support and greater understanding so that victims do not face the compounded stigma of being victimized and being subjected to shame and homophobia.

33. See Smith, Andrea. *Conquest: Sexual Violence and American Indian Genocide*. Cambridge: South End Press, 2005. See also Peacock, Thomas, Lila George, Alex Wilson, Amy Bergstrom, and Ellen Pence. *Community-Based Analysis of the U.S. Legal*. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Justice, 2003.

34. See Amnesty International. *Maze of Injustice: the Failure to Protect Indigenous Women from Sexual Violence in the USA*. New York: Amnesty International, 2007.

35. American Indians Against Abuse: <http://aiaainc.org>.

OTHER ISSUES

MULTIPLE HOMICIDES

Multiple homicides, where a single perpetrator kills more than one person, immediately illustrate the wide-reaching harm caused by domestic violence. The circle of people directly touched by the attack and resulting deaths expands greatly and there is often much media attention to the event.³⁶ The overwhelming majority of multiple killings in domestic violence homicides are perpetrated by men, as are most homicide-suicides.³⁷ Between 2005 and 2012 in Wisconsin, the years for which data is most readily retrieved, 37 incidents of multiple domestic violence homicide resulted in the deaths of 97 people. All but three of the perpetrators were men. In 2011 and 2012, there were 8 incidents involving multiple domestic violence homicides, with a total of 18 victims.

GENDER DIFFERENCE

Domestic violence, like many other forms of violence, presents a stark pattern of gender differences. As noted above, the perpetrators of domestic violence homicide incidents were overwhelmingly male. In 2011, 72% of perpetrators were male. In 2012, 86% of perpetrators were male. These figures exclude homicides by legal intervention.

The types of behaviors exhibited by homicide victims and perpetrators also typically vary according to gender. Female perpetrators have rarely engaged in the patterns of prior stalking, strangulation, increased and more severe violence, forced sex, threats to kill, and other coercive behavior that have characterized the homicides committed by men. Many homicides committed by women were preceded by some kind of immediate or anticipated attack on the woman or a long history of abuse by the homicide victim. Of the 13 female perpetrators included in the report, we were able

to identify two perpetrators who appeared to use violence in immediate self-defense of their person. One woman was not criminally charged with the homicide for that reason. In several other cases, self-defense appears to be a factor and is possibly an explanation for the relatively less severe charges and sentences that some female perpetrators received. Self-defense does not appear to be a factor in any of the cases of a man killing a woman.

As in past years, in 2011 and 2012, there was a contrast in the level of brutality and methods of homicide between men and women as perpetrators. Where the method of homicide was beating or strangulation, all of the perpetrators were men, except in the one case of a mother's homicide of her son. The attacks often involved multiple injuries and severe trauma. Rather, the domestic violence homicides committed by women have typically involved a single stab wound or gunshot, although sometimes these attacks involve multiple shots or stabs wounds.

Related to gender differences, 2011 presented the unusual statistic that more men were victims of domestic violence homicides than women in that year. Looking at this anomaly in context reveals that most of the males killed were killed by a man, usually the victim's father, mother's boyfriend, son or current female partner's ex-boyfriend. These cases remind us of domestic violence homicide's wide reach. While abuse and battering are most often committed by a man against a woman, men and boys are not immune from being victims of domestic violence homicides. These homicides provide yet another reason why domestic violence cannot and should not be pigeonholed as a "women's issue." It is an issue which also adversely affects the health and safety of many men, and it is a social problem for which men bear significant responsibility.

36. This media attention is often highly sensational and lacking in its understanding of domestic violence. Past editions of the Wisconsin Domestic Violence Homicide Report have paid specific attention to media accounts of domestic violence homicides (e.g., see the 2004 and 2003 reports). They identified the following issues in media coverage of domestic violence homicides: (1) the homicides are rarely labeled as or placed in the broader context of domestic violence; (2) coverage provides an inaccurate view of domestic violence and reinforces myths; and, (3) sources that shape the stories are often limited or poorly chosen.

37. Buchter, Bernie. "Men Who Murder Their Families: What the Research Tells Us." *NIJ Journal*, no. 266 (June 2010).

Introduction

One of the goals of this report is to promote improved response to domestic violence cases that present indicators of lethality. While there are literally thousands of cases of battering in Wisconsin in a given year, many times it is only through the lens of individual cases of domestic violence homicide that the wider public gets a glimpse of the dynamics of domestic violence. In 2012, two cases stand out because, in different ways, law enforcement's responses to the perpetrators, Radcliffe Haughton and Scott Youngmark, were subjected to intense exposure. Because the Haughton and Youngmark cases have independently been given substantial review, we have the benefit of providing more robust case analysis in this report and can, through these cases, more vividly demonstrate the necessity that law enforcement officials consistently prioritize victim safety and ensure offender accountability.

However, as an important qualification, it bears pointing out that the amount of attention paid to law enforcement responses after homicides may not reflect the true extent to which any one system, constrained by resources and institutional limitations, can be expected to deal with a complex and multifaceted social problem like domestic violence. Because the records of previous interactions between police, the courts, victims and perpetrators are publically available, instances of criminal justice responses to victims and perpetrators are more likely to be the basis for media reports and analysis.

However, the media is not alone in focusing on the criminal justice system. Law enforcement has historically occupied a significant place in discourse and thinking about domestic violence. In the 1970's and 1980's, as understanding and perceptions of violence against women began to grow and shift, advocates for battered women devoted a large proportion of resources and energy

to improving the criminal justice response to domestic violence. Importantly, the extent to which the criminal justice system became a key locus of advocacy was not necessarily a reflection of the belief that the criminal justice system by itself would or could improve the lives of battered women in equal measure. Rather, the degree of attention devoted to improving the criminal justice system was inversely related to that system's deficits. In the eyes of many advocates, the criminal justice system's pattern of outrageously inadequate, counterproductive and many times hostile responses to domestic violence victims cried most loudly for change.

The circumstances that led up to the murders committed by Haughton and Youngmark also illuminate a moral imperative for improvement and change to the criminal justice system's response to domestic victims and perpetrators. Every case in this report, if given equal attention and scrutiny, would likely also yield compelling insights. Many of these insights would likely be related to the criminal justice system, but others would also likely suggest a range of action steps in the areas of social services, economic justice, batterers' intervention, victim services, the civil court system and health care services (just to name a few examples), if complete information were available. Therefore, while we should and will continue to advocate strongly that the criminal justice system uphold the values of victim safety and the offender accountability, we must also guard against the counterproductive perception that domestic violence is predominately a law enforcement issue. Rather, domestic violence is an issue that requires a community coordinated response, in which law enforcement must play a critical role.

Radcliffe Haughton

On October 21, 2012, Radcliffe Haughton went on a shooting spree at the Azana Spa in Brookfield, Wisconsin. The main target was Haughton's estranged wife, Zina Daniel. But, Haughton also clearly intended to harm others at the salon, most likely because Zina's co-workers were supporting her as she tried to escape from a long and violently abusive relationship with Haughton. Haughton killed Zina. He also murdered Cary Robuck and Maelyn Lind. Haughton then killed himself. Unlike many domestic violence homicides, the spa shooting was treated as major breaking news and registered a deep impact in the Milwaukee area, across Wisconsin and beyond.

After the basic facts of the shooting were established, attention turned to an investigation of Haughton's motivations and the history of abuse that culminated in the shooting. It quickly became evident that Zina and Radcliffe were separating and that Radcliffe had a history of severely abusing and threatening Zina. Just a few days before the killing, Zina sought and obtained a domestic abuse restraining order and was clearly afraid for her life. In the petition for protection, she said, "His threats terrorize my every waking moment."

In addition, investigation from the *Milwaukee Journal Sentinel* revealed a troubling pattern of police contact between Zina Daniel, Radcliffe Haughton and the Brown Deer Police Department. The couple resided in Brown Deer, a small suburb northwest of Milwaukee. In all, the newspaper uncovered over 20 police contacts, many related to domestic violence. None of the contacts resulted in arrest, and none resulted in criminal convictions.³⁸ The paper's reporting focused on two incidents in particular.

In January of 2011, Zina called police for help. She said she and her husband were fighting and asked police to "hurry up." When officers arrived,

they found clothes and personal belongings strewn across the lawn and driveway. They noticed someone had poured tomato juice on Zina's car. Zina was very upset. She told officers that she simply wanted to leave but couldn't because Radcliffe's van was blocking her car. Officers, however, noted that Zina could have likely left if she backed up onto the lawn. Given the circumstances, Zina's level of distress and her request that police "hurry up," officers realized that more was going on than a request to have a car moved. However, Zina said she did not fear for her safety, that she had not been physically assaulted, and that she did not want Radcliffe arrested. She also denied officers permission to enter the house to speak with Radcliffe. Soon after, Radcliffe was observed pointing a long-barreled object toward Zina, who was standing near officers. Upon seeing the object, officers immediately reacted as if it were a gun, taking cover and protecting Zina. Officers set up a tactical perimeter and used a bullhorn to tell Radcliffe he was under arrest. After about 90 minutes, officers left the home without arresting Haughton. They believed he was in the home alone and therefore not an immediate danger to others.

The Brown Deer Police Department referred two charges to the Milwaukee County District Attorney's office, disorderly conduct and failure to comply with an officer's attempt to take a person into custody. The District Attorney's office elected to only bring the disorderly conduct charge. However, even this charge was dismissed when a Brown Deer Police Officer and Zina did not appear at the jury trial.

In another incident that occurred shortly before the homicides, Zina fled abuse to a gas station in Brown Deer. She dialed 911, but hung up. When officers came to investigate the call, as was standard procedure, they found that Zina had physical injuries to her face. However, she denied that she had been in an altercation. Officers "tricked" Zina into a squad car and drove her back to the

38. Brown Deer Police Officers did arrest Haughton when the Brookfield Police Department requested an arrest after its officers determined Haughton had slashed Zina's tires. This occurred shortly before the murders.

Haughton residence so they could investigate the injuries. One officer attempted to speak with Radcliffe, but he did not come to the door. Eventually, officers left.

The Milwaukee County District Attorney's office reviewed the case less than twelve hours later. Prosecutors decided not to bring charges because they determined that Zina would not cooperate and because Radcliffe and Radcliffe's daughter provided a version of events that conflicted with Zina's.

All told, there were over 20 police contacts between Radcliffe Haughton and Zina Daniel and Brown Deer police from 2001 to the time of the shooting. Roughly half of these incidents either involved domestic violence or circumstances that should have suggested the possibility of domestic violence to officers.

As part of the external review of the Brown Deer Police Department's response, two domestic violence experts with extensive law enforcement experience carefully examined these previous interactions. The experts concluded that the records demonstrated, "a lack of training on the dynamics of domestic violence, domestic violence laws, [the] Brown Deer Police Department Policy on domestic violence investigations, best investigative practices and report writing." Moreover, the experts made 20 specific findings related to failure to adhere to best practice or, in some cases, minimal standards of practice. These findings centered on the lack of significant investigations by responding officers, including not making an attempt to determine who was the primary or predominant aggressor as required by statute, not building rapport or trust with Zina and not searching for corroborating evidence. In a number of cases, officers labeled the complaints as "verbal" and appear to not have inquired further as to whether Radcliffe made any threats that would form the basis for a domestic abuse arrest or a stalking case.

Scott Youngmark

Many victim advocates in Minnesota knew of Scott Youngmark before he killed Kari Roberts in Polk County, Wisconsin in 2012. To these advocates, it was no surprise that Youngmark would beat one of his girlfriends to death. In 2009, a Minnesota court watching group, WATCH, chronicled in a 10-page report Youngmark's history of brutal, unrelenting violence against family members and intimate partners.³⁹

The history is so extensive that it is both difficult to summarize and to believe. Beginning at age 19, Youngmark engaged in a pattern of physical and sexual violence against family members and intimate partners. During a seven-month period in 1990, there were at least eight separate cases of domestic violence reported to law enforcement. From 1997 to 2003, Youngmark's violence was nearly uninterrupted. There were approximately 25 separate cases that were investigated by police. This does not include the half-dozen civil restraining orders that were granted during this time. Youngmark routinely ignored the conditions imposed on him whether civilly, as condition of release, or as a condition of probation. He was rarely held accountable for these violations. Many of the cases were not prosecuted. Youngmark's victims were usually fully aware of his history of unchecked violence and threats and understandably feared for their lives if they cooperated with prosecutors. Youngmark sent a letter while he was in jail that said, "If I go to prison, I promise one thing, [the victim] will pay for every [expletive] day I suffer," and "they can't lock me up forever so I hope she keeps that in mind so you can relay her this message." Youngmark did go to prison on a 33-month sentence, and he did assault this particular victim, among others, upon his release.

In Wisconsin, Youngmark continued the violence. In 2006, a relative filed for a domestic abuse restraining order against him, but the court did not grant a permanent injunction. In 2007,

39. Coulter, Sarah. "Chronology of an Offender: Scott Allen Youngmark." *Watch Post*, Spring 2009: 4-13.

a criminal case against him was amended to a county ordinance violation, and he was found guilty when he failed to appear for court. Back in Minnesota, Youngmark was the subject of another civil restraining order case and criminal charges for third-degree assault.

In 2011, Youngmark faced felony charges in Wisconsin for putting a knife against a man's neck. In August of 2012, Youngmark pled guilty to a felony stemming from this incident. The state was seeking a sentence of up to one year in jail; however, Youngmark was not sentenced for this crime until after he killed Kari Roberts. Ironically, his sentencing was delayed because he kept committing new crimes. Later in August, he was charged with a count of felony bail-jumping for violating conditions of his release. Sentencing in the original case was first scheduled for October 8, 2012. Then, at another hearing in November, the prosecutor, defense attorney and judge agreed to put off sentencing until early the following year so the defense and state could work out a plea deal on the new charge. About a week later, Youngmark was charged with two more counts of felony bail-jumping and operating a vehicle with a prohibited alcohol content. At this point, the state requested and received a high bond, ten-thousand dollars. Later, on November 16, 2012, the court reduced Youngmark's bond to five hundred dollars.

Two weeks later, Youngmark's girlfriend was dead. Youngmark horrifically beat her to death. She died as a result of wounds sustained from Youngmark's fists, shoes, a television remote, a knife, a curtain rod, and a hammer. Police found Kari Robert's body after receiving an anonymous call from Youngmark's mother's house. When police interviewed Youngmark's mother, she mentioned that Youngmark came to her apartment and told her that he thought he killed Kari. Although Youngmark had been severely beating and threatening those close to him his entire adult life, he reportedly said he could not believe he could hurt Kari.

Analysis

In both the Houghton and Youngmark cases, perhaps the single biggest factor that hampered prosecutors was that the victims were often unwilling to testify. Prosecutors of domestic violence cases are keenly aware that in many domestic violence cases the victim's reluctance to fully cooperate with the prosecution is a major impediment to obtaining a conviction. However, this awareness should not be overinflated to create a sense of inevitability or a fatalism that holds that unless the victim is fully cooperative the system cannot do anything to hold the offender accountable.

First, prosecutors can develop practices that create a greater likelihood that victims will feel more comfortable participating in the prosecution. The independent review of the Houghton case noted that Zina was made to go to charging conferences, and that "[c]harging conferences are not recommended in cases of domestic violence since many victims will request that cases not be pursued or will not show up because of threats by the perpetrator." Ordering the victim to a charging conference approximately twelve hours after she was assaulted (as happened with the October 3, 2012 Houghton incident) would, on the contrary, appear to minimize the chances for a "cooperative" witness. Structuring prosecutorial decision-making so the charging conference immediately after the assault is the crucial decision point creates a system that by its nature is out-of-sync with the dynamics of domestic abuse.

Second, in final analyses of the Houghton and Youngmark cases, the failure to hold the offenders accountable cannot be said to have been clearly caused by issues with the victims' willingness to cooperate. The 2011 standoff case was dismissed when neither the Brown Deer police officer nor Zina came to court. Evidently the officer was on vacation and there was a miscommunication between the police department and prosecutors about rescheduling. Theoretically, the officer's testimony could have established all of the re-

quired facts for the disorderly conduct charge. At the time of the Roberts killing, Youngmark was scheduled to be sentenced for a violent felony conviction. He was not incarcerated because the system prioritized values other than his accountability and the safety of those close to him. It appears the players in the case wanted to resolve all of his outstanding charges at once.

Stepping back from the specific facts of these cases and speaking generally, the victim's inability to cooperate should not be the end of the analysis for prosecutors. Indeed, under Wisconsin law, a District Attorney cannot base his or her decision solely on the victim's wishes.⁴⁰ The Wisconsin Prosecutor's Domestic Abuse Reference Book says, "...dismissal under manipulative circumstances actually encourages abusers to continue to intimidate their victims in the future. A dismissal may perpetuate abuse."⁴¹

The life of Scott Youngmark proves this statement true. Youngmark repeatedly abused, violated conditions of his release and court orders throughout his life. He faced minimal consequences for disregarding many of the boundaries that the courts set. When he felt the potential of accountability closing in on him, he knew exactly how to threaten his victims so that he would be free to continue his behavior. He was not held in check; rather the pattern of permissiveness likely emboldened him. Officials need to look for opportunities to communicate to all victims, but especially to so-called "uncooperative" victims, that their safety and protection are paramount concerns. When victims believe the criminal justice offers a viable path to safety, a virtuous circle is created because victims will be more willing to participate in that system.

Of course, the reality is that under-resourced prosecutors must consider the victim's willingness

to cooperate when assessing whether or not to proceed with a prosecution. However, cases that present high-risk should be strongly considered for special attention. While perhaps more time-intensive, advanced trial strategies make convictions possible even when victims deny or recant abuse. Certainly, after the 90-minute, guns-drawn standoff authorities had sufficient information to determine that Haughton was a high-risk defendant. Similarly, Youngmark's homicidal behavior was well documented. The identification of these high-risk cases requires the establishment of policies and practices that provide information sharing when key decisions are made. It also requires officers to do thorough and complete investigations even when they suspect the particular incident will not be prosecuted because the victim seems unwilling to proceed to trial. In short, officers and prosecutors must stretch themselves to think beyond this police report or that potential charge so they can see patterns of abuse, and when patterns of abuse are evident, officials need find ways to change the systemic and bureaucratic patterns that prevent them from protecting victims and ensuring offender accountability.

40. Wisconsin Statute section 968.075 (7)(a)2.

41. Wisconsin District Attorneys Association. Wisconsin Prosecutor's Domestic Abuse Reference Book. Madison: Wisconsin Office of Justice Assistance, 2012.

METHODOLOGY

Our definition of homicide is the killing of one human being by another. This encompasses criminal, justifiable, self-defense and reckless homicides. Homicides are considered domestic violence related if:

- The victims and perpetrators were spouses or partners, former spouses or former partners, adults with children in common, and adults or teens that had been in a dating relationship.
- Beginning with the report for 2010, we also include cases that involved other adult family members, such as a parent or grandparent killed by an adult child or grandchild. We do not include these cases, however, if the defendant was found not guilty by reason of mental illness or lacked the capacity to stand trial.
- It was a homicide of a person other than the intimate partner and it occurred within the context of domestic violence. This includes cases where the circumstances of the murder included obsessive control of the perpetrator's current or former partner that extended to her or his new partner; and the homicide of a bystander or someone who attempted to protect a domestic violence victim from future harm.
- The homicide was a child death that occurred as an extension of or in response to ongoing abuse between adult intimate partners. For example, when a partner or estranged partner killed their children in order to exact revenge on his partner.

The report also accounts for overall deaths related to domestic violence homicide, including perpetrator deaths. Most perpetrator deaths are suicides. The count of domestic violence homicide victims occasionally includes perpetrators killed by responding law enforcement officers (homicide by legal intervention) or killed by someone in defense of another person who was under attack. The victim count also includes law enforcement officers killed in the line of duty when responding to domestic violence.

In each case of homicide-suicide, we list the murdered person in our heading as the homicide victim. We seek to be as consistent and as accurate as possible year to year in the homicides included in the report.

The homicide report research begins with an ongoing search for news accounts of domestic violence-related homicides. End Domestic Abuse Wisconsin tracks daily media coverage of domestic violence homicides in major Wisconsin newspapers, which is supplemented with internet searches. In some cases, we contact one or more of the following sources for clarification of information obtained from news sources: local domestic violence programs, district attorneys' offices, adult protective services, law enforcement agencies, and coordinated community response coordinators in the counties where the homicides took place. We use the Wisconsin Circuit Court Access Program to research the criminal history of the homicide perpetrator and victims.

To further identify the domestic violence homicides that occur in Wisconsin in a given year, we examine the Uniform Crime Reports (UCR) submitted to the Wisconsin Department of Justice (DOJ) by local law enforcement agencies. UCR fields include: reporting agency; county; homicide date, type, and location; victim and offender demographics; weapon used; relationship between the perpetrator and victim; and, circumstance of the homicide. The UCR does not provide the name of the victim or the offender, however. We use the coding and details in the UCR reports to identify domestic violence-related homicides that might have been missed via monitoring news stories.

We seek to uniformly report the facts of the case for each incident. However, if additional information is unavailable, we report only the simple demographic and case information available via published accounts, CCAP records, and the UCR. Reporting on domestic violence-related homicides is complicated since we cannot know the exact characteristics of the relationship. Our knowledge is ultimately limited by the information reported to community systems and friends and family by the involved parties prior to the homicide, and by how much of that knowledge finds its way into the official record.⁴²

Due to confidentiality laws, End Domestic Abuse Wisconsin can only obtain records of public access; data such as death certificates are not available to us. We know this methodology is imperfect and can result in undercounts in at least three areas:

- ***Children killed by domestic violence abusers:***

We include children who were killed as a direct result of a domestic violence incident. We believe this count is low since a homicide of a child is often viewed as an isolated incident of child abuse. An investigation of a child homicide can often overlook past domestic violence or the domestic violence might not be included in the public record. While we believe that a larger number of child deaths are directly related to an ongoing pattern of domestic abuse, our current methods of tracking homicides do not allow us to consistently identify children killed by perpetrators of domestic violence.

- ***LGBT relationships:***

It is likely that we undercount domestic violence homicides that occur in lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender (LGBT) relationships. Due to the stigma that is placed on LGBT communities, relationships can be hidden and the nature of a relationship might not be accurately identified in the public record of a homicide. An LGBT relationship might be coded as “friend,” “roommate” or “other known to victim.” Where the victim was reported as single and there was no apparent forced entry to the home or scene, the homicide may go unrecognized as related to LGBT intimate partner violence.

- ***Homicides of American Indian and Alaska Native women:***

National rates of homicide victimization against American Indian and Alaska Native women are high and in some counties comprised primarily of tribal lands, murder rates are over ten times the national average, with Native women being most likely to be killed by their intimate partners.⁴³ Tribal communities are very diverse socially, culturally, and economically, with many women living in urban areas off of tribal lands. Intimate partner homicides—as well as homicides in general—may not receive attention from the dominant news media and therefore not come to our attention as we compile data for the homicide report.

42. Websdale, Neil. *Lethality Assessment Tools: A Critical Analysis*. Harrisburg: National Online Resource Center on Violence Against Women, 2000.

43. Bachman, Ronet, Heather Zaykowski, Rachel Kallmyer, Margarita Poteyeva, and Christina Lanier. *Violence Against American Indian and Alaska Native Women and the Criminal Justice Response: What is Known*. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Justice, 2008.

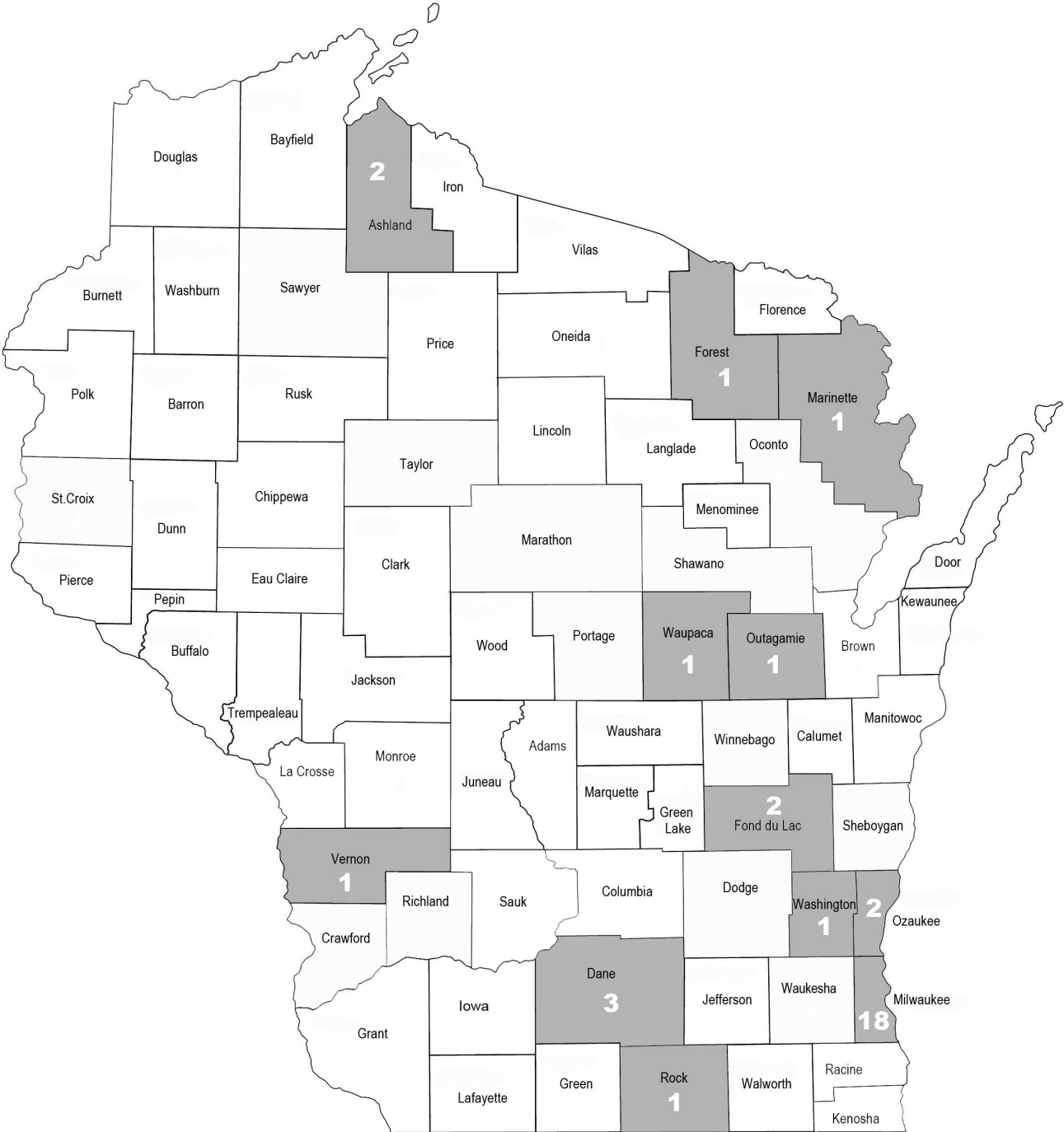
In compiling our summary data, we seek to include the total number of homicides committed in Wisconsin in a given year. We use information from the Uniform Crime Report data submitted to DOJ and, if available for the year in question, information from the Wisconsin Department of Health Services. Each agency compiles its data from various reporting methods including death certificates, police reports, coroner, medical examiner and hospital records. For example, BHI counts homicides of Wisconsin residents that occur in other states, as well as traffic fatalities from intoxicated driving; DOJ counts homicides in the Wisconsin county in which they occur and conforms to UCR standards that omit intoxicated driving deaths. DOJ does not include homicides by legal intervention. The BHI figure is therefore usually higher than the UCR-based count.

SPECIAL NOTES

- The homicide of Jarvis Nash presented a unique issue for this report. As is noted above, the accused perpetrator, Antonio Gill, was acquitted of the homicide. Gill was the brother of Nash's girlfriend, Aleta Black. Both Black and Gill accused each other of committing the homicide. Despite the uncertainty and acquittal, the homicide is clearly domestic violence-related. The homicide either was committed by one intimate partner against the other partner or by a relative who was intervening in a domestic dispute between intimate partners. We were, therefore, sure the homicide should be included in the report, but we were less sure who should be counted as the perpetrator for the purposes of statistics. Because authorities believed Gill committed the murder and Black has never been charged in connection with the homicide, we elected to consider Gill the perpetrator of the homicide in the various statistical tables included in the report.
- In September 2012, End Domestic Abuse Wisconsin released a summary of domestic violence homicides committed in 2011. The statistics pertaining to 2011 in this report vary slightly from those provided in the summary. The variance is due to updated information and the resolution of several criminal investigations and trials.

2011

WISCONSIN DOMESTIC VIOLENCE HOMICIDES



WISCONSIN DEATHS RELATED TO DOMESTIC VIOLENCE HOMICIDE

| Wisconsin Domestic Violence Homicides 2000-2012 | | | |
|---|-----------------|------------|------------|
| Year | Homicide Deaths | Suicides | Total |
| 2012 | 48 | 4 | 52 |
| 2011 | 34 | 3 | 37 |
| 2010 | 45 | 6 | 51 |
| 2009 | 50 | 15 | 65 |
| 2008 | 36 | 10 | 46 |
| 2007 | 41 | 10 | 51 |
| 2006 | 28 | 8 | 36 |
| 2005 | 40 | 6 | 46 |
| 2004 | 28 | 5 | 33 |
| 2003 | 45 | 16 | 61 |
| 2002 | 38 | 11 | 49 |
| 2001 | 33 | 9 | 42 |
| 2000 | 33 | 8 | 41 |
| Totals | 499 | 111 | 610 |

ABOUT END DOMESTIC ABUSE WISCONSIN

This is the first homicide report published under the Wisconsin Coalition Against Domestic Violence's new name: End Domestic Abuse Wisconsin. We changed our name to fuse our mission and our identity. Our vision is that one day we can publish a homicide report that says there were zero domestic violence homicides in Wisconsin.

At End Domestic Abuse Wisconsin, we strive to be the statewide voice for survivors of domestic violence.

- We educate shelter and program volunteers and advocates, law enforcement, legislators, and community members to provide safety and support to survivors.
- We strive to shift Wisconsin from the attitudes and beliefs that cause domestic violence to values of mutual respect and equality.
- We partner with communities in the effort to prevent and end domestic abuse.



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Finally, we want to acknowledge each and every individual life taken by domestic violence, and their surviving families and communities.



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