

Received: 16.06. 2001.
UDK: 343.9

STUDENTS PAPER

VIOLENCE AND MURDER BETWEEN THE INTIMATE PARTNERS

Sandra Balić
Deniza Divanović
Neven Ricijaš

SUMMARY

The goal of this paper is to provide review of the basic characteristics of violence and murder among the marital partners, as well as the relation of this type of violent offences with the criminality in general. The basic statement about the increase of number of the violent offences and more and more severe phenomenology is being discussed. The paper also presents some basic theoretical approaches that offer explanations of the causes of violence.

The paper compares the results of various researches made in Croatia as well as other European countries and USA. The authors stress the fact that violence in intimate relationships often emerges even before the marriage, in heterosexual as well as homosexual relationships, in which case the protection of the victim is even bigger problem.

The violence in love relationships culminates in murder of the intimate partner, and victimological data show that between 30-50% of female murder victims were murdered by their husbands. The authors list some of the risk factors that could influence the occurrence of this type of crime, and as the conclusion they review the basic preventive measures with the purpose of reducing this phenomena in the society.

Key words: violence, murder, intimate partner, aggression, delict, criminal deed

1. INTRODUCTION

Violence is present in many contemporary relationships. Due to the modern way of life, our attention for the development of quality relationships is decreasing, and because of that, violence is often the quickest way of conflict solution.

In this paper we will try to show the ratio of the violent offenses vs. criminality in general; we will pay special attention to the violence among the intimate partners. All violent offenses are destructive in nature, and therefore deserve special attention.

Statistically, the number of violent offenses in Croatia is not very high, but one should bear on mind that every such offense, because of the physical and psychical suffering it causes, and its (often long-term) consequences, represents a most severe attack on the social order and personal security (Horvatić, 1998:71).

There is a substantial number of authors today who examine gender differences in the violent offenses among the intimate partners, and according to them, the frequency of the violent behavior is equally distributed among the genders, although there are some significant differences in the structure of the offenses.

All the data that is shown in this paper is based on the reported violent offenses and the data gathered through questionnaires; it represents the foundation for the conclusion of numerous authors that the hidden number of these offenses is enormous. Dujmović (1997) notices that the hidden area of criminality contains such offenses where there are no formal victims (like drug and firearms traffic), or where the victim is not willing to report the offense, which includes violent offenses, sexual offenses, lesser property offenses, or such offenses where the victim is afraid of the offender's vengeance.

As the result of the insufficient research of this issue in Croatia, a problem of inaccessibility of literature is present; therefore the majority of the results shown in this paper is based on the researches conducted in USA, Great Britain, Canada, etc.

2. VIOLENCE

The violent offenses represent severe problem and they have an important place in criminology literature. The victims of these offenses often suffer physical injuries or are threatened with such injuries, they may lose their lives, and very often such offenses are followed by psychical traumas which may last for years after the physical traumas have gone (Sheley, 1991:143). All of the sources of our data that deal with violent offenses also stress previous relationship and intimacy between the offender and the victim; therefore such offenses are numbered among the expressive offenses. This means that the issue of such offenses is not interest, but the emotional relationship between the offender and the victim (Conklin, 1992:437-439).

Horvatić (1998:71) brings out the information that in the total of all criminal deeds in the Republic of Croatia, the violent offenses participate with 6.2%, and regarding the violent offenses in the world in general, the basic conclusion is that the number of such offenses is constantly increasing and that the manifestations of such offenses are getting more severe. In the total increase of criminality in the world, violent offenses lead the way, whether we look to the absolute numbers or to the ratio of such offenses and the number of citizens (Horvatić, 1998:72). The same author gives the example of Germany, where the general rate of criminality increases annually about 15%, while the rate of violent offenses shows the increase of as much as 25%; in the USA, the number of all offenses per 100 000 citizens duplicates every 10 years, while the number of murders and killings in the same period increases 4 times, and the number of robberies and raping increases 3 times.

Singer (1995) cites 11 different types of offenses that are numbered among the violent offenses. These are: murder, murder in affect, infanticide, severe physical injuries, participation in a fight, rape, robberies, robbing thefts, thwarting the public servant in performing his/her duty, assault on the public servant while he/she performs security duties, and violent behavior.

In his research, Singer (1995) has found that the violence is, in the first place, an offense typical for younger people; with the increase of age the relative part among the violent offenders decreases. He has also found high percent of recidivism (22.7%) among the persons suspected for some violent offense.

In connection with the violence, the concept of force is often used as an important feature of numerous legal descriptions of the criminal deeds (Cajner and Kovčo, 1992). On the international conference in Dubrovnik in 1988, violence was defined as the use of force through act or omission against other person (Šeparović, 1988; according to Kovčo, 1996). While some tend to use the concept of force in connection with the injury of victim's physical integrity (Krey, 1974; according to Singer, 1996:367), other consider such concept of force as primitive and mechanical, because it does not take into account the psychical violence. Criminal laws also have no typologies of the criminal offenses according to the criteria of the used force; rather, it is present in the different types of criminal deeds (criminal deeds against life and limb, against dignity, personality and morale, against property and public order). The important fact is that the concept of criminal violence, i.e. violent offenses was defined by science – criminology – and not by the legislature.

Cajner and Kovčo (1992) argue that in the criminological researches, but also in the criminal policy, exists the need for special examination of the offenses that were carried out with the use of force or a serious threat for life or limb of the victim. The manner of execution of these offenses indicates their increased social danger; therefore the authors agree with the attention that criminology and criminal policy are paying to such offenses. According to them, the interest for the issue of violence is visible also through the discussions of supporters of various theories about aggressive behavior.

Singer (1996:368-370) presents three basic theoretical approaches that will be concisely described here. These are: 1) psychoanalytical, 2) ethological and 3) behavioral approach.

Father of psychoanalysis, S. Freud, argued that the aggression has biological foundation, and he developed his theory of aggression on the thesis about destructive instinct that is inherent in all living creatures. Aggression is a way of release whose goal is to decrease the tension of the organism. This theory has few followers today. Later, Freud's successor Fromm (1974) was of opinion that there are two essentially different types of aggression: benign (defensive) and cruel (destructive). He deemed that the benign type would dissolve by itself in the degree in which people consider themselves endangered in the society. The destructive type is typical only for human beings and, according to Fromm, it could be reduced by the change of social-economical macro factors of social development.

Ethological theory states the thesis that the aggression is one of the basic features of human beings. Lorentz, the most important representative of ethological approach, pointed to the importance

of aggressive behavior in animals and in the history of mankind. In his opinion, aggression originates from endogenic instinct, so he considers the aggression to be inherent and spontaneous. The main objection to this theory is the manner of making conclusions that was used in its creation, i.e. projection of the patterns of animal behavior to human beings.

The psychological theories, especially those that have their roots in behaviorism, explain the aggressive behavior in quite different way. One of the most famous is Dollard's theory (1971), where he explains aggression as the reaction to the obstacles that stand on the way of fulfillment of certain goals or wishes. Berkovitz, also a behaviorist, argues that all aggressive behaviors are not necessarily a result of frustration; rather it could be learned, like any other behavior.

Horvatić (1998) presents a wide range of theories that are trying to explain aggressive behavior and the criminality in general. Special interest exists for chromosome aberrations, especially for extra Y chromosome. Dr. Patricia Jacobs (Horvatić, 1998:183) has examined 315 delinquents in the Scottish maximal security hospital, and as much as 9 of them had an extra Y chromosome (3%), which represents 20 times larger percent than the normal population, where such disorder exists in just 0.15% of people. Atkinson et al. (1983:55) added further that recent studies examine the direct relation between the existence of an extra Y chromosome and the aggression. It was noticed that men with XYY aberration in the general population are not significantly more aggressive than men with normal chromosome structure, but "XYY" men are more often found in psychiatric hospitals and penitential institutions. It is still not known why this happens, because for now there is too little knowledge about the effect of XYY aberration on behavior and personality.

Horvatić (1998: 182-185) presents several more theories, which seek the cause of the criminality in the personality of the offender. These are: theory of biological inferiority, theory of inherent tendency, endocrinological theories etc. All these theories can provide us with a partial answer about the causes of violence and criminality; their exclusiveness would lead us to neglect social and psychological causes that sometimes play crucial role in the act of criminal deed.

2.1. Violence in the non-marital relationships

It is known that the expression of violence in love relationships often starts before the marriage, and it is considered that, on the base of some behaviors in the pre-marital relationship, the occurrence of marital violence could be predicted (Murphy and O'Leary, 1989). Statistics show that 28% of

high school and university students are victim of intimate partner's violent behavior (Brustin, 1995). Billingham and Sach (1986; according to Pečnik and Žužul, 1994) have found in their research that 32% of the respondents were involved in the relationships in which violence was used as a conflict-resolving tactic. In Murphy's research (1988; according to Pečnik and Žužul, 1994) of the random sample of unwed students, as much as 40% of the respondents confirmed their involvement in a relationship in which physical and sexual violence existed.

In the researches that were conducted, the concept of violence in non-marital relationships related to enforced sexual behavior, verbal aggression, and physical and psychical abuse of the intimate partner. According to Burnett (1999), the forms of physical violence include pushing, slapping, hitting or kicking, strangling, attacking with weapons etc., while the psychological abuse includes threats with physical violence toward the partner or other person, intimidation, enforcement, humiliation, false accusations etc. It could also be related to physical or social isolation and deprivation. The victims of violence in the non-marital relationships cited the following forms of abuse: insults, humiliation, following of the victim, isolating the victim from friends and family, suicide threats, threats for family or property and physical and sexual violence (Brustin, 1995).

Before the further consideration of this issue, we should point to the fact that the larger part of the researches deals with violence in relationships in general, and that because of the current interest for this issue in the last ten years there is a lot of literature on the market which does not satisfy scientific criteria, but partially and exclusively shows the violence of men or women (i.e. various feminist books etc). It also should be noted that the results of the research are mostly obtained through the use of "Conflict-resolution tactic scale" (CTS) which is the most widely used instrument in the researches of frequency and dissemination of aggressive behavior, especially violence in male-female love relationships (Pečnik and Žužul, 1994). CTS consist of the list of behaviors that could be expressed during the interpersonal conflict. It is, in fact, method of self-expression, and there are numerous shortcomings of this method, like ignorance of one's own typical behavior, selectivity of perception and memory, non-uniformity of items and various "styles of responding", and intentional or non-intentional distortion of responses because of socially undesirable nature of behavior that is being examined (Pečnik and Žužul, 1994). Further critics of CTS were made regarding the identification of female-male and male-female violence (Bogarde, 1990, Kurz, 1993; according to Carrado et

al., 1996), which should not be compared in any way.

According to Kiggs, Murphy and O'Leary (1985), the students are more ready to report that they were victims of violence than they themselves were violent toward their partner. An opinion exists that the existence of certain traditional gender stereotypes can influence the CTS responds. Such stereotypes say that the violent behavior of men in love relationship is considered as normal; therefore it is possible that the girls do not consider some of their partner's behavior deviant (or young men their own behavior), and do not report about this on CTS. There is even bigger probability that both genders will see the violent behavior of a girl as unusual and deviant; they will remember it much better and report about this on CTS (Pečnik and Žužul, 1994).

There is also difference in offenses of girls and young men. In a British research of the aggression in heterosexual relationships (Carrado et al., 1996) it is reported that the "slapping" is the most frequent expression of violent behavior. Furthermore, larger number of women reported that their partner pushed or grabbed them; while significantly larger number of men reported that their partner "slapped" them. Some are of opinion that the lesser attacks of women against men could be equalized with female verbal aggression (Stets, 1990; according to Carrado et al., 1996). Opposite to this, Straus et al. (1980) and White and Cross (1986; according to White and Humphrey, 1994) have found in their researches that the female aggression is not significantly different from male aggression.

Gelles (1980; according to Pečnik and Žužul, 1994) in his study of violence in love relationships of young men and women cites the role of various factors for understanding the origins and preservation of aggressive behavior among the partners in love relationship. There are three significant levels of factors – intra-individual, socio-psychological and socio-cultural.

On the intra-individual level, the violence is explained through the personality features of the offender and the victim. On the socio-psychological level, the determinants of the violence are considered to be the interactions of an individual with his social settings. The factors of the socio-cultural level relate to the norms and values that encourage the violence among the love partners. Still, the most popular explanation of the violence in marital and pre-marital relationships is theory of social learning (Spatz-Widom, 1989; according to Pečnik and Žužul, 1994). Representatives of this theory argue that the aggression is, in largest part, learned and originated from the experience with aggressive behavior (Vasta et al., 1998:550). Their researches

show that the sexual differences in the manifestations of aggression could be explained by the fact that the boys expect less disapproval for such behaviors, and that they are not concerned about the possible reproaches (Boldizar, Perry and Perry, 1989; Perry, Perry and Weiss, 1987; according to Vasta et al., 1998:550).

In the research of aggression in the British heterosexual relationships it is stressed that the women, as the most common cause of their partner's violent behavior, chose this reason: "He tried to make me do something he wanted me to do"; but there also were frequent answers "He was under the influence of alcohol" or "It is in his character". Men have also chosen the reason "She tried to make me do something she wanted me to do", but with equal frequency, "She was trying to reach to me", or "She reacted to threats" (Carrado et al., 1996). The victims also claim that the partners blamed them for the attack or that he/she used jealousy as the excuse (Brustin, 1995). 25-30% of the adolescent offenders claimed that they have used violence to intimidate other person or to make her/him to "give them something" (Brustin, 1995).

Makepeace (1986; according to White and Humphrey, 1994) cites that, for the men, goal of their use of violence in non-marital relationships is intimidation, while women consider their violent behavior to be self-defense. The feeling of isolation as the result of previous experiences with the violence could cause the higher level of awareness of the threat related to the partner's acts of intimidation, which results in the need for self-defense. Matthews (1984; according to White and Humphrey, 1994) also argues that it is more possible that the violence of women is, in fact, self-defense. In a research of aggression in heterosexual relationships (Carrado et al., 1996), as well as in a Canadian research (Sommer, 1994; according to Carrado et al., 1996), the results show that the majority of women do not consider their violent behavior to be self-defense.

In a small research of connection of selected socio-economical risk factors and injuries of intimate partners (in both marital and non-marital relationships), women reported that the strongest predictor for the most severe injuries was the partner's drunkenness (Burnett, 1999). Roughly half of the victims reported that their partner was drunk during the attack.

Murphy and O'Leary (1989) claim that the physical aggression in relationships is a way of reaction to conflict, i.e. conflict-resolving tactic, and not general dissatisfaction with the relationship. Straus and Geller (1988; according to Pečnik and Žužul, 1994) have found that the couples that use verbal aggression in the conflict-solving process

are more likely to have their conflict end in violence than the couples that use "intellectual approach".

Furthermore, Coleman and Straus (1986; according to Carrado et al., 1996) have found that in the relationships in which one partner, man or woman, dominates the other, there is more mutual aggression present than in the relationships where partners are more equal.

Malamuth (1986; according to White and Humphrey, 1994) claims that the persons who have more intimate partners are more likely to be involved in the interpersonal violence. Research of Carrado et al. (1996) showed that the persons who experienced any kind of violence in previous relationships have also experienced violence in their current relationship. Furthermore, it was found that a person who was victim of severe violent offense has previously experienced lighter forms of violence. For example, persons who claimed that they were victims of stabbing, in 90-100% of cases were also "slapped", pushed, hit and kicked. This could lead us to a conclusion that the violence in the love relationships starts with lighter offenses, and often gets worse.

Many researches have found a large portion of pregnant women among the victims of violence; their prevalence varies from 3.9% to 8.9%. However, Burnett (1999) cites the researches of Salber and Taliaferro from 1996, which have found that 17% of all pregnant women were victims of violence, and the research of Sebastian from 1996, where the number is 37%.

Some 23% of sexually abused teenage girls got pregnant with the offenders (Burnett, 1999). Data shows that the prevalence of violence during the teenage pregnancy is round 22% (Burnett, 1999). Brustin (1995) reports that 26% of pregnant teenage girls claim that their partners have physically abused them. He also cites that roughly half of them claim that the abuse started or got worse when their partner has found out about the pregnancy. It is possible that the violence gets more frequent after the birth of child (Burnett, 1999). Ross (1992; according to Burnett, 1999) reports that 13% of women have their first experience with violence during their pregnancy, while Salber and Taliaferro (1996; according to Burnett, 1999) claim that as much as 40% of abuse start during the first pregnancy. 21-29% of women report the increase of abuse during the pregnancy, while it decreases just for few of pregnant women.

Other factors related to violence in marital or non-marital relationship according to Burnett (1999) include the history of violence in the family, drug or alcohol consumption (by victim, offender or both), psychiatric treatment in anamnesis and suicidal tendencies.

In a research of female aggression in heterosexual conflicts (White and Humphrey, 1994), the predictors for verbal and physical aggression of female students toward their intimate partner were examined. The following categories of predictors were used: parental aggression in childhood, acceptance of aggression in the process of conflict solving, aggressive/impulsive personality traits, psychopathology, previous use of aggression and previous victimization. The results have shown that 27.2% of women have experienced some kind of aggression from their parents, and 8.5% of them witnessed to violence between their parents. Furthermore, 49.6% of women experienced some kind of sexual assault in adolescence (which were usually committed by some acquaintance during a date or a party); 12.4% experienced unwanted sexual contact; 16.3% were forced to sexual intercourse; 8.1% were victims of rape attempt, and 12.8% were raped (according to the legal definition of the offense). 88.3% claimed that they have at least once during the puberty used verbal aggression in a relationship, and 51.3% used physical aggression; 85.8% of them were targets of verbal aggression, and 47.6% were victims of physical aggression. So, the results point to the fact that the girls who indulged in verbal and physical aggression reported higher level of sexual or non-sexual victimization during the puberty. Sexual victimization during the adolescence and involvement in conflict-ridden relationships in general (as the victim or as the offender) are predictors of later verbal aggression, while the experiences of family violence and acts of physical aggression in the romantic relationships predict later physical aggression. It also showed that the girls who indulged in verbal or physical aggression have had worse scores on the scales of emotional relationships. The results showed significant correlation between poor emotional relationships and all forms of victimization.

Seghorn et al. (1987) and Straus et al. (1980) claim that it is not unusual that the child who was victim of violence later become violent offender himself/herself (White and Humphrey, 1994). White and Kross (1991; according to White and Humphrey, 1994) also argue that it is more likely that the women who were victims of violence use violence as an answer to conflicts. According to Burnett (1999), persons who were victims of violence as children in 50.4% report abuse in their adult years.

It is thought that the previous experiences with aggression could have special importance for women (White and Humphrey, 1994), because cultural expectations about female role do not give such social support for female aggression like the support that exists for male aggression. From numerous sources men receive feedbacks that encour-

age the expression of power, dominance and aggression. It is also more likely that men will learn to recognize situations in which aggression is deemed appropriate (Malone et al., 1989; according to White and Humphrey, 1994). Considering the fact that it is not the same with the women, any feedback that would encourage female aggression has to be strong enough to counter different feedbacks from other sources. Such explanation supports the theory of social learning.

There is a prevalent opinion in the society that in the manifestations of violence in the relationships, women are victims, and men are the bullies. Although the data regarding this issue gives us contradictory picture, the majority of researches show that the prevalence of males and females as violent offenders is not significantly different. Lomer and Thompson (1982; according to White and Humphrey, 1994) report that the males are more often the offenders, and females are more often victims, while Plass and Gessner (1983; according to White and Humphrey, 1994) claim the opposite. Arias, Samios and O'Leary (1987; according to Pečnik and Žužul, 1994) have found that 32% of girls and 30% of young men reports that they used violence in the solving of a conflict with their partner. In the 1986, the magazine "Social Work" published an article about violence in adolescent relationships, where it is reported that girls behave violently more often than young men (Gross, 1998). We must stress the fact that different authors define violence in different way, and also we point to the previously mentioned differences in male-female and female-male violent offenses.

One of the possible explanations for substantial percentage of female offenders is that, in historical perspectives, they have been limited in their expressions of the aggression. However, recent social changes could now provide them more opportunity for aggression (White and Humphrey, 1994). George et al. (1992; according to White and Humphrey, 1994) claim that such circumstances increase the risk of violence over females; therefore it is not unreasonable to presuppose that the risk of expression of aggression by females also increases.

Research made by Carrado et al. (1996) shows that the violence over females by their male partners is more frequent with younger and unwed women, while the violence over men by their female partners is more frequent with married men.

In a British research of aggression in heterosexual relationships made on the sample of 1978 respondents aged 15 or more, it is reported that the percentage of violence, caused by partner or inflicted on partner, was the largest among the youngest respondents, and it decreased with increase of age (Carrado et al., 1996).

Females aged 19 to 29 report more violence from their intimate partner than any other age group. The slightest probability for the violence from the intimate partner exists for women aged over 46 years (Bureau of Justice, 1995). Burnett (1999) also reports that there is greater probability that females aged 19 to 29 would become victims of violence of their intimate partners, while 20-30% of female students reports about violence during a date.

In a study of approach banning, age of the offenders varied between 17 to 70 years, and two thirds of the stalkers were aged between 24 and 40 (Buzawa and Buzawa, 1996).

2.1. Violence in homosexual relationships

Violence between homosexual partners occurs with equal frequency as in the heterosexual relationships. According to Barnes (1998), prevalence of violence in the homosexual relationships is between 25-33%. Violent offenders in homosexual relationships use similar forms of abuse as do the offenders in heterosexual relationships, but they often make threats about revealing the relationship to their partner's family, friends, employer etc. (Lundy, 1993). Every year, between 50.000 and 100.000 of lesbians and around 500.000 of gays are being abused (Murphy, 1995). In the research of a psychologist Valerie Coleman, made on the sample of 80 lesbians, it was found that 46% of them experienced frequent violence (Garcia, 1991; according to Gross, 1998). The researches for USA report that the violence in the homosexual relationships presents a big problem because it is identical to heterosexual violence by the type and prevalence, but its victim receive unsatisfactory protection (Barnes, 1998). In seven USA states, violence among partners is defined in such way that it excludes victims of the same gender. 21 states have laws of sodomy, according to which the victims of the same gender have to first admit their crime, so they can prove they are abused in the intimate relationship (Barnes, 1998). Murphy (1995) reports that until 1994 there were 1500 safe houses and centers for abused women, and most of them refused to help the victims of violence in homosexual relationships.

2.3. Violence in marriage

The idealized vision of nuclear family that consists of two biological parents and their legitimate children, in which they all live together in one household, more and more often becomes an oasis of violence, an excuse for brutal abuse over someone weaker, over victims. Traditionally repressive family meant a classical, authoritarian, patriarchal family, in which the objects of repression were

child and wife, mother. During the last hundred years, in the industrial societies the family has changed in lots of aspects. (Šeparović, 1985:187-188).

The most important changes are following: the families in the broad sense are separating and isolating into nuclear families; number of children is decreasing, and the number of divorces is increasing. However, despite all these facts, there are no signs of disintegration of the nuclear family. The relations between authorities are changing, but not without violence over the helpless. In the widespread marriage crisis, the children also get hurt, out of many reasons. They are often instrumental in the strategies of their parents' struggles. The institution of marriage continues to lose its economic and material conditioning and becomes emotional-instinctual, psychosocial human community (Šeparović, 1985:187-189).

The term "violence in marriage" signifies the victimization of the person with whom the offender had or still has marital relationship (Burnett, 1999). This definition encompasses violence over males and females. The violence in marriage is not anything new, or anything unusual. There still exist data about English traditional law, which allowed husbands to flog their wives, providing that the cane that husband used is not wider than his thumb (Burnett, 1999). According to some authors (Gross, 1998), men were also abused through the history, and when it became known, the community ignored or mocked them.

The violence in marriage describes set of behaviors, which a person uses to gain or hold the power or control over the marital partner. Such behaviors might happen only once, they might be happening during the longer period of time, i.e. continuously, separately or in combination.

Beside the previously mentioned physical, psychical and sexual abuse, prohibition or disruption of the contacts with friends and relatives, and deprivation, i.e. refusing to help sick or injured marital partner, along with the prohibition of approach to money or other essential daily needs, are some other examples of different forms of marital violence (Burnett, 1999).

On the other hand, the importance of the cultural support in the violence over women can be seen in the study of Mohammed Ayat (according to Adler et al., 1991:236), which was made on 160 abused women in Morocco. He discovered that 25% females think that the man is bewitched if he does not beat his wife. 8% believe that such man has a weak personality or is afraid of her, 2% would deem him abnormal, while another 2% would think that he does not love her or that he does not have interest for her.

There are many indicators that there are numerous, severe, long-lasting and extremely cruel violent offenses in the marital context, which often remain unreported, because of the intimacy and closeness of the family circle. In most cases this violence takes place in larger urbane environments. It is important to consider the fact that the rural environment is more conservative, isolated and patriarchal, and it is more likely that the violence will be covered up there. It is also often thought that the degree of tolerance for violence is higher in the rural environments. One of the features of the marital violence is its length. The victims have weak and unwilling contact with the outer world, police and other bodies of formal social control (Šeparović, 1985:189-190).

Another important feature of almost all "violent" families is so-called "circle of violence", which is, in fact, description of the model of violence. This model consists of three parts: 1) accumulation of the tension (before the act of violence), 2) the act of violence, 3) absence of tension (the reconciliation stage, i.e. honeymoon) (Burnett, 1999).

In the first stage, accumulation of the tension, the potential victim complies with the demands of the aggressive partner, trying to please him/her and lead him/her to give up the violent act. The bully, completely unaware of the victim's attempts, becomes more aggressive. The victim is aware of what will happen to him/her, so, paradoxically, he/she often does something that will quicken the outbursts of violence, just to "get over with it". After the act of violence, the bully behaves extremely humble toward the victim, with expressions of love and promises how it would never happen again (Burnett, 1999). However, during the next 6 months, 32% of victimized women experience marital violence again (Bureau of Justice, 1986).

According to Burnett (1999), between these three stages, it is least likely that the victim will ask for help or denounce his/her violent partner during the last one. As the reasons for that, they mention love (mostly victim's love for the bully), hope that the violent act will not happen again, emotional or economic dependency, especially if they have children, and the fear that the next outburst of aggression will be even worse. The attempt to leave the bully is often the most dangerous time for the victim (female). According to some data, women who leave their husbands are facing three times greater danger from them than the divorced women, and 20 times greater danger than the married women.

47% of violent men beat their wives at least three times a year (AMA Diagnostic and treatment guidelines on domestic violence, 1994).

Almost 75% of husbands attack their wives when they are leaving them, and murder is in many

cases the end result of their violence (Burnett, 1999).

It is the general opinion that the crime is, in the first place, "male phenomena", i.e. phenomena typical for men. Such opinion is not only the result of the prejudices related to the roles of men and women in the society, but it is also based on the fact that the men, in all ages of history, in all countries of the world, have done much more criminal deeds than women, especially violent criminal deeds (Konstantinović-Vilić, 1986).

However, the same author argues that women today are leaving their "second" place and entering the area of so-called "men crimes", the area of violence and aggression. Other authors are of similar opinion. Sewell and Sewell (1997) claim that the women are the ones who in most of the cases start the conflict between the spouses, that they abuse children more often, that they hit their male children harder and more frequently, and that they commit more murders of their children than their husbands do. They also claim that 82% of individuals experience their first violent act from the hand of a woman. However, they did not specify what kind of behavior they consider as violent act. The same authors explain such behavior of women with the fact that they view their home as their territory, and, like many other species, regardless to the size and strength, they will rise to the defense of their territory if they feel endangered.

Similar data is mentioned in Fiebert's article (1998), in which he claims that the women act violently in their families with equal frequency, if not even more frequently, than men. He argues that women will use weapons three times more often than men in marital conflicts. He stresses that women initiate the greatest part of marital violence, and that they commit the major part of children abuse. Fiebert (1998) also claims that the public does not know the real truth about marital violence because husbands, in most cases, do not denounce their violent wives to the police, while women are encouraged to do so. The same author is of opinion that many women denounce their husbands because they are afraid of a slightest incident; other women denounce their husbands falsely, trying to accomplish some material gain from it. Fiebert (1998) concludes that the violence is biologically inherent in women, based on the data that states that the women are more aggressive than their partners in almost all cultures, and that every 14 seconds one man becomes the victim of marital violence. Farrell (1994) stresses that in the physical conflicts between spouses women usually hit their husbands first, and do it more frequently than their husbands (according to Fiebert, 1998).

Archer and Roy (1989; according to Fiebert, 1998) agree that, in heterosexual relationships,

women will behave more aggressively, i.e. to the disadvantage of their marital partner. Other two authors, Brinkerhoff and Lupri (1988), argue that the violence is more present between the young partners and in the marriages without children (according to Fiebert, 1998).

Fiebert and Gonzales (1997; according to Fiebert, 1998) are of opinion that the women are most aggressive in their twenties, and that the aggression decreases with age. Farrell (1994; according to Fiebert, 1998) claims that, because man's punches are stronger and could have severe consequences, women use more dangerous methods (spilling boiling water on the husband, hitting him on the head with pots).

It is also important to mention the fact that women use weapons against their partners in 82% of cases, while men use weapons against their partners in just 25% of cases (Farrell, 1994; according to Fiebert, 1998).

Abuse in the childhood is mentioned as one of the good predictors of possible marital violence (Marshall, 1987; according to Fiebert, 1998). It is generally considered that the women are more sensitive to the violence experienced in the childhood, and they will behave according to this within their own families (Malone, Tyree and O'Leary, 1989; according to Fiebert, 1998).

According to the researches of Strauss and Gelles from 1986 (Gross, 1998), the violence over women in marriage has decreased, from 12.1% to 11.3%, while the violence over men within family increased from 11.6% to 12.1%. The violence of women is often disputed, because it is not in accordance with the stereotype that describes women as passive and helpless.

Despite the fact that the violence over men becomes more and more the object of current interest, the violence over women still represents a big problem and produces great interest; the following data is the proof for that:

- Every year, at least two million women are victimized by their husbands, but it is suspected that the hidden number is twice as large (Burnett, 1999)
- One woman out of three experiences physical attack from her partner at least once in life (American Psychological Association, 1996).
- 28% of total annual violence over women is committed by their intimate partners (Bureau of Justice, 1994). The same source claims that only 5% of total violence over men is done by their partners.
- 90-95% of the victims of violence in the marital relationships are women (Bureau of Justice, 1994).

- The majority of the violent acts done by women are in fact done in self-defense, and all such acts result in less severe injuries than the ones done by men (Chalk and Kings, 1998)
- Women are in ten times greater danger of being victimized by their partners than men (Bureau of Justice, 1995).

When we talk about marital violence according to Burnett (1999), it is important to mention the existence of so-called risk group that is consisted of:

- Men and women with special needs who are dependent upon their caretakers
- Women with higher education, i.e. better jobs are in greater risk than the women who do not differ from their husbands in regards of the level of education.

It is important to mention several factors that are often present in violent marriages. These are drugs and alcohol (these are equally typical for the victims as for the bullies), and the history of violence in the family (Burnett, 1999).

To be able to have serious approach to the problem of marital violence, it is essential to have valid data that is not biased by personal opinion or attitudes, and whose single goal will be discovering the truth with purpose of better detection and prevention of marital violence. We should bear on mind that the violence over husbands should not be viewed as the opposite of the violence over wives. Both types of violence are problem, because the issue here is the violence of one person over another (Langley and Levy, 1997; according to Gross, 1998).

3. MURDER OF THE INTIMATE PARTNER

In Croatia, there were only a few researches which deal with this issue, and one of the most detailed and most substantial is the research of Kovčo (1996); she used the sample of 102 persons who were sentenced to prison in the period 1974-1994 because of the murder of intimate partner. We will try to show and compare the basic characteristics of this kind of murder in Croatia with the data accumulated through the researches in other countries.

Murder of the intimate partner is often just the climax of the history of violent acts within a community. Kovčo (1996) notices that the murders of the intimate partner are not unusual phenomena, and that there is strong interest present for this issue, especially for the gender differences in the "predispositions" and frequency of such murders. She also stresses that the murder is not, contrary to the general opinion, one-sided and mechanical ac-

tivity in which the offender simply expresses his/her aggressive disposition, but it is rather the result of complex dynamics of violent relations. It is not unusual that the victim becomes the offender in the pivotal moment.

The researches in USA showed that almost half of the victims were in some way related to, or acquitted with their murderers, and the most often type of relation is marital (Ewing, 1997). Because of the data such as these we are of opinion that we should pay more attention to this issue.

All researches showed large differences in the frequency of murder between males and females, and most of the authors explain that this problem is more present in the male population, like the criminality in general. However, in Kovčo's research, in the sample of 102 respondents who were serving their sentences in CI Lepoglava and CI Gradiška because of this criminal offense, 53.9% of the offenders were women. This finding she explains in the context of previous studies of the women who committed murder – the homicidal behavior of women is usually directed to the family members. American researches imply that the high percentage of women in the total number of murder of the intimate partners shows when the system of social protection does not affect their continuous imperilment from their intimate partners (Wilson and Daly, 1992; according to Block and Christakos, 1995).

According to the victimology data, in the period 1967-1971, 58% of murdered women (over 16 years of age) in Great Britain were victims of their husbands or lovers (Gibson, 1975; according to Šeparović, 1985:191).

According to FBI data (2000) from 1982, 30% of women who were victims of the murder were killed by their marital partners.

In regards to type of murder and the gender, there are significant statistical differences in Croatia. The most frequent type of murder that men commit (93.6%) is "common" murder, while just 6.4% of these murders are qualified. The women in this sample are characterized by high percentage (18.2%) of impulsive murder (Kovčo, 1996). Although almost all murders were motivated by intention to directly harm the other person, 25 out of 2.371 murders in Chicago in the period 1965-1990 have had additional motive. There were 19 cases in which the motive was instrumental (direct and primary goal was money or some kind of property), 1 case had sexual abuse as the motive, and 5 murders were committed out of the mercy for the victim (Block and Chistakos, 1995).

Dobash and Dobash (1995), Dutton and Browning (1988), Mason and Blankenship (1987), and Wilson and Daly (1987) (according to Kovčo, 1996), on the base of their researches argue that the

basic motive for the violence in intimate relationship could be man's attempts to prove his power and to control woman. In a Chicago study, sexual jealousy is also one aspect of the control, when the offender blames the victim for drawing attention to herself, regardless of the existence of objective indicators for this. 7% of the victims were murdered in situations of jealousy (Block and Christakos, 1995).

In Croatia, the most frequent motives for this offense are marital conflicts (56.9% and jealousy (18.6%). Other motives are very rare, and in 4.9% the motive is not known (Kovčo, 1996). In her research Kovčo has found just one case of murder because of greed, in which the offender was woman, and two cases of revenge, in which both offenders were men.

Wilson, Daly and Daniele (1995), who conducted research about murder within the family community, argue that the murder of a wife is strongly connected with her age. There is unusually high percentage of young wives murdered by their husbands in Canada, USA, Great Britain and Australia. The data about the age of victims of this offense in Croatia show that the victims are mostly aged 51 to 60 (35.3%), and 41 to 50 (23.5%) (Kovčo, 1996), a fact which differs from the findings typical for the previously mentioned countries.

The age of the offenders in this crime is slightly different from the age of the victims, so it could be concluded that the offenders commit this crime in their later years (Kovčo, 1996).

| Age of the offenders | 18-21 | 22-25 | 26-30 | 31-40 | 41-50 | 51-60 | 60 or more |
|----------------------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|------------|
| Percentage | 2.0% | 2.9% | 22.5% | 20.6% | 28.4% | 11.6% | 11.6% |

If we compare the age of the victim and the offender, we can perceive a certain difference in the age of the offender – the offenders murder partners slightly older than themselves.

Mužinić-Masle (1998) from the psychiatric institution "Vrapče" conducted research about women as committers of murder and attempted murder in the period 1993-1996, but she included only patients hospitalized in "Vrapče". The victimological review shows that 80% of the victims of the mentioned crimes were intimate partners. Although the variable differences prevent us from precise comparison, there is great similarity with the researches conducted by Kovčo that is visible in the manner of execution of the crime. Both researches have shown high frequency of use of the side arms and tools.

| MEANS | CI GRADIŠKA | PSYCH. INS. "VRAPČE" |
|-----------|-------------|----------------------|
| SIDE ARMS | 54.5% | 50% |
| TOOLS | 20% | 15% |

The only significant difference is visible in the use of firearms, which the patients of psychiatric institution "Vrapče" used more than twice as often (35%) than the women who are serving their sentences in the penitential institution (16.4%). This high percentage of firearms that the patients used is more similar to the frequency of men's use of firearms.

According to Block and Christakos (1995), the data about murder of the intimate partner in Chicago show frequent use of knife. 52% of women who murdered their male partners, and 6 out of 8 women who murdered their female partners, used knife as the weapon of murder. At the same time, knife was the murdering weapon for 22% of males who murdered their female partners, and for 40% of males who murdered their male partners. In Croatia, men also often use side arms (44.7%), and after that firearms (29.8%). In comparison with women who use tools in 20% of cases, this percentage is extremely low with men, just 0.6% (Kovčo, 1996).

Viewed without the gender differentiation, the most frequent weapons used in the murder of intimate partners were guns and revolvers (35%) and knives (37%). In comparison with other criminal offenses against life and limb in this period, where knife was present in 80% of offenses, knife is considerably less present in these offenses. (Block and Christakos, 1996). The comparison of use of the physical strength as the means of commitment of this offense is also quite interesting. Almost equal percentage of men (6.4%) and women (5.5%) murdered his/her victim with the use of his/her physical strength, so the claims about physical inferiority of women come under question, at least in situation of struggle for one's life (Kovčo, 1996).

Typical murder of the intimate partner includes one offender who murders one victim. However, there are data available about the cooperation of others, which help us to discover the intensity of the purpose and the planning of the criminal deed.

According to the research of Block and Christakos (1995), the murders with more than one victim are considered to be almost exclusively male activity, because in just 3 out of 52 cases where there were more victims, the offender was a woman, and in one of those cases husband (78) and wife (63) murdered one another. The most frequent additional victims in 49 cases in Chicago could be divided in three categories:

- Children or stepchildren – 18 cases
- Men for whom the offenders (partner) believed to be the lovers of their wives – 14 cases
- People who helped the victim to leave the marriage/relationship and to get away from her/his partner, or those who were directly protecting her/him.

In several cases, persons were murdered who happened to find themselves in the place of murder, but were in no way related to the victim.

According to the available data, women commit this offense more often in cooperation. The research of Kovčo (1996) revealed that all men who committed this crime have done it alone, while 7 women (12.7%) committed the deed in cooperation with one person, and one woman did it with participation of three other persons.

The USA data show that in more than half of the cases (24 out of 40) in which there was some kind of cooperation involved, the offender was a woman (Block and Christakos, 1995). However, if we compare these data with the data gathered in Croatia (Kovčo, 1996), we can see that in the USA research there were many cases, in which man did this crime in cooperation with someone, while there was no such crime in Croatia. This could be explained through the scope of the USA research, which lasted 29 years and had the sample of 2556 persons.

In Kovčo's research (1996), the critical attitude of the offenders toward their criminal deed is equally distributed in both measured directions. There is almost equal number of those who have critical attitude toward the deed and those who do not have such attitude, regardless of their gender. The lack of the critical attitude is explained by the nature of the deed – the offenders could view the deed as the self-defense, or alternatively have the opinion that the victim “got what he/she deserved”.

The critical attitude toward this criminal deed is related to the inclination toward suicide after the commitment of the deed. Some psychoanalysts view the murder as a psychological equivalent to the suicide, which originates through the transformation of the impulse for self-punishment into the need for punishment of the others (Abrahamsen, 1960; according to Kovčo, 1996).

Wolfgang (1958; according to Singer, 1996: 292) examined the murder of the marital partner, and he has found very important participation of the victim in the genesis of the criminal deed. He came to the conclusion: wives who murder their husbands very rarely commit suicide, while husbands commit suicide very often, after murdering their wives.

Wilson, Daly and Daniele (1995) have found in their samples (Canada, England and Wales) the highest percentage of suicides. Although they researched murder within the family, where 50.9% of male offenders committed suicide, among them there were 25.3% of husbands who murdered their wives. We may ask how much suicide attempts were there, regarding the fact that these data mention only suicides that were actually committed.

In Chicago, 15% of males who murdered their female partners, and 5% of those who murdered their male partners have committed suicide; however, only 0.2% of women who murdered their male partners have committed suicide, and not one of the women who murdered their female partners did the same. (Block and Christakos, 1995).

Daly and Wilson (1988; according to Kovčo, 1996) offered two explanations for such gender distribution: the first one lies in the psychology of men, i.e. in their belief that they “own” the women who later will not be able to live without them, so they murder their wives first, and after they commit suicide. The second explanation lies in the feelings of guilt. On the other hand, women usually murder men out of self-defense, so they are not guilt-ridden. Although such hypotheses have been criticized, for now they seem the most acceptable for the purpose of the explanation of such distribution of suicides after the commitment of murder.

In Croatia, the data show that 10.8% of the persons who committed murder tried to commit suicide, and the gender differences are not so significant: 12.8% of men and 9.1% of women (Kovčo, 1996).

According to the results of the researches, the conclusion could be drawn that the suicide as the consequence of murder is typical for the murder of intimate partners and family members, because the data show that the suicide rate in other types of murder is somewhere around 2-3% (Wilson, Daly and Daniele, 1995).

After all the facts we mentioned, we should also review the data regarding the sentences that were pronounced to the murderers. Considering the fact that this variable was not examined in American, British or Canadian samples, we will present the findings of Kovčo in her research in CI Lepoglava and CI Gradiška.

In the majority of cases (31.4%), the sentence of 5-10 years of prison was pronounced, and there were fewest cases with the sentences of 3-5 years (18.6%). Significant differences in the variables regarding the gender could be noticed in the prison sentences up to 3 years, and 10 years and more. Here we find that 36.4% of women have got prison sentences up to 3 years, while the percentage of

men who were sentenced up to 3 years is just 12%. On the other hand, we have exactly the opposite data for the sentences of 10 years or more – such sentence was pronounced for 12.7% of women, and 38.3% of men.

We agree with Kovčo's opinion in which she explains that the bodies of justice are gentler toward the women in such types of murder, because the woman is mostly regarded as a victim in the situational role of the offender.

If we review this type of murder throughout this century, we will notice that, in the criminogenic population, the murder of intimate partner has always had prominent position.

Margaret A. Zahn (1989:221-229) made a historical review of all types of murder in USA during this century, and we will show here the data related to the offense of murder of intimate partner.

Boudouris has found in Detroit that, in the period 1926-1933, the largest percentage of murders was related to the police practice, and these are "justified" killings. Next to this type of murders, in the second place there were murders related to the family members (18.2%), murders of friends or acquaintances (18.2%), and criminal transactions (16.6%).

The analysis of 883 murders in Chicago in the period 1926-1927 showed similar results in all variables, except the one related to the murder within the family, where murder rate was "just" 8.3%.

Numerous studies of relation of the offender and the victim of murder were conducted in the period from 1930-ties until 1960-ties in the towns of northern and southern part of USA: Houston (Bullock, 1955), Birmingham (Harlan, 1950), Cleveland (Besing and Schoeger, 1970), Detroit (Boudouris, 1970) and Philadelphia (Wolfgang, 1958). All these studies stress the fact that the murder related to family and murder of the intimate partner have become very important categories in comparison with the earlier years.

The importance of this type of murder in Detroit was showed by Boudouris (1970), who presented the longitudinal data. In the 1920-ties, the portion of murder related to family in the criminal population was 21.9%, in the 1930-ties that percentage was 29.3%, in the 1940-ties 32.6%, while, in the 1950-ties, it rose to 38.4%. According to these data, friends and acquaintances are still on the second place.

Bullock (1955) does not cite the percentages of family-related murders; she rather presents three most frequent types of murder:

1. Murder related to any kind of quarrel or argues
2. Love triangles or jealousy between friends
3. Marital quarrels

Wolfgang (1958) has found in Philadelphia that, in the relationship offender-victim, 25% of murders were related to family members, with additional 10% that include sexual partners who were not family members.

Zahn (1989) concludes that 1940-ties and 1950-ties were years with relatively low and constant rate of murders. Furthermore, during that time there were two types of murder prevalent: 1) related to family members (most frequently marital partners and lovers); 2) murder between two males who knew each other and argued in the time of murder.

During 60-ties and 70-ties, National Committee for Violence made the most extensive research of this issue, with later analysis by Lynn A. Courtis (1974). Regarding the offender-victim relationship, in 17 USA cities in 1967, murder of spouse participated with 15.8% in the total number of murders, murder of some other family member with 8.9%, while 9.0% included primary relationship like close friends and lovers. Using the police documentation, Block (1974, 1977) examined 7045 criminal murders in Chicago in the period 1965-1974. She has also found two most common types of murder: those related to family quarrels and argues between friends, and those related to robbery.

Riedel and Zahn (1985) have found that the percentage of murders related to family in the nation's total is 18.7%. Straus and Williams (1988) have compared male and female victims in the period 1980-1984, with conclusion that 17% of males were murdered by some family member, opposed to 42% of women. Luckenbill (1977) and Gelles (1972) agree that the murder of the spouse takes places inside the home, and in most cases it is the consequence of many previous violent offenses.

In the end, Zahn (1989) presents the review of increase and decrease of many types of murder, but he also concludes that the rate of family-related murders has not changed significantly during this century.

4. INFLUENCE OF VARIOUS FACTORS ON VIOLENCE AND MURDER BETWEEN INTIMATE PARTNERS

Many authors cite various factors that could, as the risk factors, influence the occurrence of violence and murder in the intimate relationships. Some of them occur independently, but they are often combined with some other factors.

INFLUENCE OF ALCOHOL AND DRUGS

Numerous researches were made that not only suggest, but also confirm the long suspected rela-

tion of alcohol and aggression (Kozarić-Kovačić, 1996:12), so the significance of influence of alcohol, on offender or on victim, was found in substantial number of researches (Wolfgang, 1958; Friebel et al., 1970; Pešić, 1972; Konstantinović-Vilić, 1986; Einsele, 1978; Puškarić, 1982; Kovčo, 1995; Kellerman et al., 1993; according to Kovčo, 1996).

In Canada (Johnson, 1995; according to Block and Christakos, 1995), 63% of severely abused and 38% of less severe abused woman claim that their abuser was mostly under influence of alcohol during the commitment of the violent offense. Brookoff et al., (1997; according to Burnett, 1999) also claimed that the alcohol in the violent relationships is often present in combination with cocaine.

On the other hand, Browne (1986; according to Block and Christakos, 1995) has found higher consummation of alcohol by the victims of violence and female murderers. According to Kovčo's data (1996), more than half of the murderers of intimate partner (52%) have a problem with alcohol, while the distribution regarding the gender show that males (61.7%) have somewhat more problems with alcohol than women (43.6%).

It is very often that both victim and the offender are under influence of alcohol during the commitment of the violent act that ended in murder (Block and Christakos, 1995). According to these authors, this phenomenon is more frequent with heterosexual couples (54%) than with homosexual couples (21%). According to the victimological records, in Croatia, almost half of the victims (61.7% of males and 41.8% of females) were under influence of alcohol (Kovčo, 1996).

In a research of women-alcoholics as the victims of criminal deeds against life and limb, Puškarić (1993) has found that as much as 58.8% of them were victims of their husbands.

Alcohol and alcoholism are one of the most widely researched criminogenic factors. Various forms of aggressive behavior often accompany consummation of alcohol (Kozarić-Kovačić, 1996:1), and this was also confirmed by Sila (1977; according to Kovčo, 1996), in a research of psychopathic features of murderers, where he notices that alcoholics-murderers were in significant percentage characterized by impulsivity and aggression.

From 1965-1993 the consummation of drugs is present in much lesser degree, and it covers only 1-3% of the murders of intimate partners in Chicago (Block and Christakos, 1995).

POSSESSION OF FIREARMS

Possession of firearms is, according to many authors, one of major risk factors (Burnett, 1999).

Authors often are of opinion that the possession of firearms is the "trigger" which leads to murder in a situation of violence, because the use of firearms brings the highest probability that death will occur. In Chicago, Block and Christakos (1995) have found that the use of non-automatic revolvers was most frequent, along with the use of knives. Although it should be stressed that, for this variable, distribution according to gender was significantly different; that is, males use revolvers more often, which is also confirmed in a research in Croatia, where it was found that 29.8% of males used guns, opposite to 16.4% of females (Kovčo, 1996).

PREVIOUS AGGRESSION

Burnett (1999) stresses that, out of the total number of abused children, 50.4% of them reported the presence of abuse also in their procreative families. It is also noticed that 73% of male abusers of the family members were themselves abused in their families, while they were children.

However, previous conviction for violent offenses is also a very common phenomenon with the offenders who committed murder within their families. Kovčo (1996) has found that 17.6% of all offenders who committed this crime in her research were convicted for some violent offenses after their 18th year; 31.9% of them were men, and 5.5% women, which is significant statistical difference.

The following data from Chicago confirms that the aggressive history of the offender is in high correlation with murders: 40% of males who murdered their female partners, and 44% of those who murdered their male partners, were previously arrested because of violent behavior. There is also data available in this research for violent history of the victims of murder; 34% of male victims who were murdered by their female partners were arrested because of violent behavior, and also 29% of males who were murdered in homosexual relationships. Percentage for women is slightly lower, but no less significant. 18% of females who murdered their partners have had record of violent offenses, opposite to 9% of female victims (Block and Christakos, 1995).

SUICIDAL BEHAVIOR

As we have mentioned before, suicidal behavior occurs in significant degree after the commitment of this type of murder. Because of that, some authors are prone to relate the tendency for suicide to risk of committing murder. Researches show that tendency for suicide in males is in high correlation with the risk that his children and partner become victims of murder (Block, 1987; Crittenden and Crain, 1990; Daly and Wilson, 1988; Johnson and

Chisholm, 1989; West, 1966; according to Block and Christakos, 1995). However, there exists interesting data, according to which the risk for the family members of the families where females are prone to suicide is not the same, because suicidal females do not endanger their partners, but themselves.

5. CONCLUSION

Violent offenses in the intimate relationships are widespread phenomenon in the contemporary societies, and its detection, because of the closed nature of family life and the need for privacy in the intimate relationship, often presents severe problem.

There is one question that is often repeated: why women, who live in violent relationships, do not leave such relationships. Truninger (according to Šeparović, 1988; according to Kovčo, 1996) offers seven reasons because of which women stay in violent relationships:

1. Lack of self-confidence
2. Financial problems
3. Belief that the husband will change
4. Dependency of the children on father's economic help
5. Hope of preserving the relationship
6. Belief that the divorce is stigmatized
7. The fact that self-supporting mothers have problems in finding jobs

In a research of the convictions for the crimes of murder, it was found that the offenders who murdered persons they knew are punished less severe than the offenders who murdered unknown persons, regardless of the severity of the crime (Simon, 1996).

Although this type of murder, as we have previously mentioned, has always had an important percentage in the criminogenic population, just a few of the violent relationships end in murder of one of the partners. However, it does not diminish the need for preventive programs with the purpose of reduction of this phenomenon.

We will list some of the better known preventive measures which are presented by Pečnik and Žužul (1994):

- Inform the public with the evidences about the existence of the non-written norms that allow violence in marriage
- Physical punishment as the method of upbringing should be reduced to minimum
- The acts of physical aggression among the children should not be allowed

- The parents and the children should be taught the techniques of confrontation and conflict solving
- The violence in the mass media should be reduced to minimum
- The genders should have fully equal rights.

School and church should also play important roles in prevention. Caldwell (1956; according to Singer, 1996:351) is also of opinion that the church should provide educational programs for preparation of the young people for marriage and family life and for help to the parents in solving the family problems. The same author also thinks that the church should stimulate the interest for prevention of crime in small towns and rural communities, and that young people should be encouraged in creation of their own preventive programs.

Some authors present interesting theories about the contribution that the state could provide on the general level for the decrease of violence and violent relationships. Englander (1997) thinks that Sweden makes a good example for this: the laws was passed that prohibited beating of the children, while until then most of parents believed in "beating" as a method of upbringing. A decade later, most of the parents changed their attitude, and now they disapproved physical punishment as the method of upbringing. Englander (1997) concludes that the Swedish law maybe has not regulated the moral, but rather directed it in another direction; therefore she thinks that stronger laws related to family violence could have similar effect.

We can conclude that the prevention of violence demands cooperation between social pedagogues, psychologists, psychiatrists, social workers, lawyers, and intervention should be made both on the global level and on the level of every individual.

LITERATURE:

- Adler, F., Mueller, G.O.W., Laufer, W.S. (1991): "Criminology", McGraw-Hill, Inc.
- AMA Diagnostic and treatment guidelines on domestic violence (1994): <http://www.abanet.org/domviol/stats.html> - The Commission on Domestic Violence
- American Psychological Association (1996): <http://www.abanet.org/domviol/stats.html> - The Commission on Domestic Violence
- Atkinson R.L., Atkinson R., Hilgard, E.R. (1983): "Introduction to Psychology", Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, Inc., New York, NY
- Barnes (1998): <http://www.abanet.org/domviol/stats.html> - The Commission on Domestic Violence
- Block, C. R., Christakos, A. (1995): "Intimate Partner Homicide in Chicago Over 29 Years": *Crime & Delinquency*, 41, 4, 426-526

- Brustin, S. (1995): <http://www.abanet.org/domviol/stats.html> - The Commission on Domestic Violence
- Bureau of Justice, Statistics Special Report (1986, 1994, 1995): <http://www.abanet.org/domviol/stats.html> - The Commission on Domestic Violence
- Burnett, L. B. (1999): <http://www.emedicine.com/emerg/topic.htm>
- Buzawa & Buzawa ed. (1996): <http://www.abanet.org/domviol/stats.html> - The Commission on Domestic Violence
- Cajner, I., Kovčo, I. (1992): "Delikti nasilja": *Policija i sigurnost*, 1, 5-6, 431-435
12. Carrado, M. et al. (1996): "Aggression in British Heterosexual Relationships: A Descriptive Analysis": *Aggressive Behavior*, 22, 401-415
- Chalck & King, eds. (1998): <http://www.abanet.org/domviol/stats.html> - The Commission on Domestic Violence
- Conklin, J.E. (1992): "Criminology", Fourth Edition, Macmillan Publishing Company, New York
- Dujmović, Z. (1997): "Opseg i kretanje kriminaliteta u Republici Hrvatskoj u razdoblju od 1992. do 1997. godine". *Kriminologija i socijalna integracija*, 5, 1-2, 31-43
- Englander, E.K. (1997): "Understanding Violence", Lewence Erlbaum Associates, Inc., Mahwah, New Jersey
- FBI (2000), Uniform Crime Reports: <http://www.fbi.gov/ucr.htm>
- Ewing, C.P. (1997): "Fatal Families: The Dynamics of Intrafamilial Homicide", Sage Publications, Inc., *book review*: <http://www.sagepub.co.uk/>
- Fiebert, M.S. (1998): <http://www.csulb.edu/~mfiebert/assault.htm>
- Gross, D.: <http://www.vix.com/pub/men/battery/commentary/dgross-hbat.html>
- Horvatić, Ž. (1998): "Osnove kriminologije", Ministarstvo unutarnjih poslova, Policijska akademija, Zagreb
- Kiggs, D.S., Murphy, C.M., O'Leary, K.D. (1989): "Intentional falsification in reports of interpartner aggression", *Journal of Interpersonal Violence*, 4, 220-232
- Konstantinović-Vilić, S. (1986): "Žene ubice", Gradina, Niš
- Kovčo, I. (1996): "Delikti nasilja": *Hrvatski ljetopis za kazneno pravo i praksu*, 3, 2, 396-413
- Kovčo, I. (1996): "Neke karakteristike ubojstava intimnih partnera u Hrvatskoj": *Hrvatski ljetopis za kazneno pravo i praksu*, 3, 1, 111-123
- Kozarić-Kovačić, D. (1996): "Alkoholičari, počinitelji kaznenih djela protiv života i tijela", Ministarstvo unutarnjih poslova Republike Hrvatske, Zagreb
- Lundy (1993): <http://www.abanet.org/domviol/stats.html> - The Commission on Domestic Violence
- Murphy (1995): <http://www.abanet.org/domviol/stats.html> - The Commission on Domestic Violence
- Murphy, C.M., O'Leary, K.D. (1989): "Psychological aggression predicts physical aggression in early marriage": *Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology*, 57, 5, 579-582
- Mužinić-Masle, L. (1998): "Žene kao počinitelji kaznenih djela ubojstva i pokušaja ubojstva": *Socijalna psihijatrija*, 26, 61-67
- Pečnik, N., Žužul, M. (1994): "Nasilje u ljubavnim vezama mladića i djevojaka": *Zbornik Pravnog fakulteta u Zagrebu*, 44, 1-2, 159-170
- Puškarčić, R. (1993): "Žene alkoholičarke kao žrtve krivičnih djela protiv života i tijela": *Socijalna psihijatrija*, 21, 137-142
- Sewell, S., Sewell, B. (1999): <http://www.vix.com/menmag/batsewel.htm>
- Sheley, J.F. (1991): "Criminology", A Division of Wadsworth, Inc., Belmont, CA
- Simon, L. M. J. (1996): "Legal Treatment of the Victim-Offender Relationship in Crimes of Violence": *Journal of Interpersonal Violence*, 11, 1, 94-106
- Singer, M. (1995). "Delikti nasilja", *Zbornik Pravnog fakulteta Sveučilišta u Rijeci*, 16,1, 139-152
- Singer, M. (1996): "Kriminologija", Nakladni zavod 'Globus', Zagreb
- Šeparović Z. (1985): "Viktinologija", Pravni fakultet, Zagreb
- Vasta, R., Haith, M.M., Miller, S.A. (1998): "Dječja psihologija", Naklada Slap, Jastrebarsko
- White, J. W., Humphrey, J.A. (1994): "Woman's Aggression in Heterosexual Conflicts": *Aggressive Behavior*, 20, 195-202
- Wilson, M., Daly, M., Daniele, A. (1995): "Femicide: The Killing of Spouse and Children": *Aggressive Behavior*, 21, 237-241
- Zahn, M. A. (1989): "Homicide in the Twentieth Century: Trends, Types and Causes", *Violence in America* (editor: Gurr, Ted), Sage Publications, Inc., Newbury Park, CA