Domestic Violence Claimed 80 Lives in Wisconsin in 2021

2021 Wisconsin Domestic Violence Homicide Report

Published in September 2022
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Foreword

The 2021 Wisconsin Domestic Violence Homicide Report is our 20th publication of this document. Our purpose in doing so is twofold: to honor the lives lost to domestic violence in our state each year, and to draw attention to the pervasiveness of domestic violence and the loss of loved ones that countless numbers of Wisconsinites have experienced. According to the data we have gathered since we began tracking this information in 2000, at least 955 individuals have been killed in domestic violence homicides in Wisconsin.

Similarities echo through many of the stories included in these reports, from those who turned to the criminal legal system for help, to those who had not confided in anyone about the abuse they were experiencing. Consistent with past years’ reports, our sources shared that many of these victims of intimate partner homicide were killed after the relationship ended or when one person in the relationship was taking steps to end the relationship. This demonstrates, once again, that leaving does not equate to safety.

No victim in Wisconsin should have to take the courageous step of leaving an abusive relationship without the safety and support offered by domestic violence victim advocates, without the benefits of a coordinated community response, and without social and economic structures that support survivors in accessing such critical needs as housing, reproductive healthcare, childcare, and economic security. We must do better at preventing these deaths by creating a society where interpersonal violence is unfathomable and our beloved community members have access to what they need to thrive in safety and abundance. Our continual reliance on solutions that have proven to be largely ineffective ignores the complexity of the issue that we are up against.

Because the epidemic of domestic violence continues to go largely unchecked by many of the systems that survivors are told will help keep them safe, End Abuse embraces a transformative justice framework in fulfilling our mission of ending domestic abuse. State violence does not end or prevent domestic violence and we must invest in strategies outside of the criminal legal system. These strategies require a focus on safety, healing, accountability, and repair for all. Our work continues to evolve, and we refuse to be limited in our imagining a future without domestic abuse.
Methodology

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

- The victims and perpetrators were spouses or partners, former spouses or former partners, adults with children in common, or adults or teens that had been in a dating relationship.

- It was a homicide of a person other than the intimate partner, and it occurred within the context of domestic violence. This encompasses cases where the circumstances of the murder included obsessive control of the perpetrator’s current or former partner that extended to their new partner. We also include the homicide of a bystander or someone who attempted to protect a domestic violence victim from future harm.

- The homicide was a child’s 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 to exact revenge on their partner, it is considered domestic violence related.

- A responding officer was in a position in which they needed to use deadly force against an individual to prevent the homicide or assault of another person. The count of domestic violence homicide victims occasionally includes perpetrators killed by responding law enforcement officers (also referred to as homicide by legal intervention).

- Beginning with the report for 2010, we include cases that involve a parent or grandparent killed by an adult child or grandchild, as well as adult stepchildren or step-grandchildren killing a stepparent or step-grandparent. 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. See the Limitations section on page 14 for an extended explanation of this criteria.

The report also accounts for overall deaths related to domestic violence homicide, including perpetrator deaths. Most perpetrator deaths are suicides. In each case of homicide-suicide, the heading lists the murdered person as the homicide victim.
We seek to be as consistent and accurate as possible year to year in determining which homicides to include in the report. Our summaries of domestic violence homicides 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.

We request Uniform Crime Report (UCR) data submitted to the Department of Justice, criminal complaints, and police reports obtained from the jurisdiction in which the homicide occurred. The UCR does not always include all homicides that we include in our report, and therefore we supplement with data from other sources. The sex, race, and ethnicity classifications of victims and perpetrators are obtained from the above listed sources that we use to compile our report.
Executive Summary

Since 2000, End Domestic Abuse Wisconsin has chronicled deaths due to domestic violence in our state. In **2021, 80 individuals died in Wisconsin due to domestic violence at a rate of approximately one death every 4.5 days.** The basic findings contained in this report are outlined below.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>2021 compared to 2020</th>
<th>2021</th>
<th>2020</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>All domestic violence-related homicide deaths*</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Incidents of domestic violence homicide</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Victims of domestic violence homicide (excluding by legal intervention)</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Homicides by legal intervention (responding law enforcement)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Perpetrator suicide after committing homicide</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attempted homicide incidents with perpetrator suicide</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total deaths (victim and perpetrator)</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>68</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Two female homicide victims were in the late stages of pregnancy and the fetus did not survive. We include these feticides in the total victim count but they are not included in other tables and statistics related to victim demographics contained elsewhere in this report.

Other findings in the **2021 Wisconsin Domestic Violence Homicide Report** include:

- Perpetrators of domestic violence homicide incidents were overwhelmingly male. In 2021, **84.5% of perpetrators were male.**

- **Fifty-two percent of the victims of domestic violence homicide were a current or former intimate partner of the perpetrator,** whereas 48% were not a current or former intimate partner of the perpetrator.

- The ages of victims in this report range from three months to 77 years old. Perpetrators’ ages ranged from 17 to 56 years old. **The average age for perpetrators was 35 years old, and the average age for victims was 37 years old.**

- Homicides occurred in **21 counties in Wisconsin.** Approximately 14 (26%) of the homicide incidents occurred in rural areas and 40 (74%) in urban areas, according to how both are defined in US Census data.
• Firearms remain the most common means of perpetrating domestic violence homicides. In 2021, **firearms were the weapons used in 67% of domestic violence homicide incidents.** At least 13 of the 36 perpetrators who used a firearm to commit a domestic violence homicide in 2021 were legally prohibited from having firearms.

• **There were 15 perpetrator suicides in 2021.** Perpetrator suicides in our report are connected to the homicide they committed or attempted to commit just prior to their suicide. This reflects the connection between homicidality and suicidality in domestic violence cases and should thus be considered when discussing domestic violence and homicide prevention.

• Many of the 2021 homicide cases reflect the risk factors that research has found to be associated with lethal violence. These include, among other factors: threats to use or actual use of a weapon, threats to kill, stalking, strangulation, obsessive jealousy, and sexual assault.
Historical, National, and Global Context

According to the Bureau of Justice Statistics, from 1980 to 2005, intimate partner homicides declined by 44% and homicides among other family members decreased by 26%. Similarly, nonfatal domestic violence decreased by about 63% from 1994 to 2010. Yet, the decline has varied significantly for different populations. The data indicate that 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.¹

In 2017, the Centers for Disease Control released an analysis on the prevalence and circumstances surrounding female homicide deaths in the United States. Their study analyzed the deaths of 10,018 women from 18 states between the years 2003 and 2014 by looking at data from the National Violent Death Reporting System. In addition to the finding that over half of female homicides in the US are intimate partner violence (IPV) related and perpetrated with a firearm, the study found that non-Hispanic Black and American Indian/Alaska Native women are killed at nearly three times the rate of non-Hispanic white women.² Despite the aforementioned downward trend in the number of homicides, disparities in the number of victims of certain racial and ethnic groups still persist.

On a global level, a systematic review published in The Lancet in 2013 reported that one in seven homicides overall are committed by an intimate partner.³ Though domestic violence homicide victims are both males and females, the latter experience higher risk and mortality. The United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime issued a report in 2019 titled, “Global Study on Homicide: Gender-related killing of women and girls”, which provides insights into the issue of femicide on a worldwide scale. They report that 58% of women who were killed intentionally in 2017 were killed by their intimate partner or a family member. This equals approximately 50,000 women globally who were victims of domestic violence homicide in 2017, which rose from 48,000 in 2012.⁴

⁴ UNODC, Global Study on Homicide 2019 (Vienna, 2019).
2021 Key Findings

Overview

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>2021</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Domestic violence homicide incidents</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Victims of domestic violence homicide*</td>
<td>65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Homicides by legal intervention (responding law enforcement)</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All domestic violence-related homicide deaths*</td>
<td>65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Homicide incidents with perpetrator suicides</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attempted homicide incidents with perpetrator suicide**</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Homicide incidents with two or more victims</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total deaths (victims and perpetrators)</td>
<td>80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female homicide victims</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male homicide victims</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female perpetrators</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male perpetrators</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Two female homicide victims were in the late stages of pregnancy and the fetus did not survive. We include these feticides in the total victim count but they are not included in other tables and statistics related to victim demographics contained elsewhere in this report.

**Attempted homicide perpetrator demographics are included in charts and graphs in this section, however, demographic information is not included for victims who survived these attacks.

Perpetrator suicide

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>2021</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Homicide incidents with perpetrator suicide</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Homicide-suicide incidents involving firearms*</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male perpetrators of homicide-suicide</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attempted homicide with perpetrator suicide</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female perpetrators of homicide-suicide</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* The method used in the other two homicide-suicide incidents is unknown
### Relationship of victim to female perpetrator

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>When the perpetrator was female, the victim was:</th>
<th>2021</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Current male intimate partner</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grandmother</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Relationship of victim to male perpetrator

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>When the perpetrator was male, the victim was:</th>
<th>2021</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Current female intimate partner</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parent or stepparent</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Former or estranged female intimate partner</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ex-boyfriend/boyfriend of perpetrator’s ex-girlfriend/girlfriend</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Child of perpetrator’s girlfriend/ex-girlfriend (non-biological child of perpetrator)</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Perpetrator’s child</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Girlfriend’s parent or stepparent</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boyfriend of girlfriend’s mother</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neighbor</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other male known to perpetrator</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brother-in-law</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Current male partner</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grandparent</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Co-worker of perpetrator and perpetrator’s girlfriend</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Friend of perpetrator’s ex-girlfriend</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stranger intervening in domestic violence</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Age & sex of victims*

*Attempted homicide perpetrator demographics are included in charts and graphs in this section, however, demographic information is not included for victims who survived these attacks.
Method of homicide

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Method</th>
<th>Number*</th>
<th>Percentage (out of 54 incidents)*</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Firearm</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>67%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stabbing or Cutting</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>18%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blunt Force</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Strangulation, Suffocation, or Smothering</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Run over with vehicle</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*These numbers and percentages do not include attempted homicide-suicides

Regarding the role of firearms in domestic violence homicide incidents:

- Domestic violence assaults involving a gun are 12 times more likely to result in death than those involving other weapons or bodily force.¹
- Black women are twice as likely to be fatally shot by an intimate partner compared to white women.²
- In the United States, 4.5 million women have reported being threatened with a gun by an intimate partner.³
- Over one-third of the perpetrators in 2021 who used a gun to commit a domestic violence homicide in Wisconsin were legally prohibited from possessing a firearm. That figure would likely be higher if our process for producing this report included accessing records from outside of Wisconsin.

Location of 2021 homicide incidents

Race/ethnicity and sex of victims*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Race/Ethnicity</th>
<th>White</th>
<th>Black</th>
<th>Latinx</th>
<th>Native American</th>
<th>Asian</th>
<th>Unknown</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Race/ethnicity and sex of perpetrators*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Race/Ethnicity</th>
<th>White</th>
<th>Black</th>
<th>Latinx</th>
<th>Native American</th>
<th>Asian</th>
<th>Unknown</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Attempted homicide perpetrator demographics are included in charts and graphs included in this section, however, demographic information is not included for victims who survived these attacks.
Limitations

We have summarized limitations of the data we report annually in the paragraphs below. Consistency in how we define and therefore report data is important so that comparisons can be made from year to year and trends can be examined. We’ve outlined limitations to these definitions below.

**Wisconsin Residents Killed Outside of Wisconsin**

Our homicide report details domestic violence homicides that occur in the state of Wisconsin almost exclusively. Exceptions in past reports have been made to include deaths of Wisconsin residents that occur within hours or minutes of leaving Wisconsin. Often domestic violence-related deaths of Wisconsin residents who are killed outside of our state do not end up on our radar. There are undoubtedly homicides that fit this definition that our limited research for producing this report would not have captured. We know that domestic violence is not confined by state lines.

Most states produce reports similar to ours; however, the methodology and criteria for inclusion in such reports vary widely from state to state. Homicide incidents involving Wisconsin residents, but occurring in other states, are relatively rare, however we do know of one case that happened in 2021.

Family members say that a 53-year-old Milwaukee woman, AD, was visiting her longtime abusive partner near Chicago, 59-year-old AH. Earlier in the month, AD put AH out of their Milwaukee home, and he allegedly lured her to Illinois on October 29, 2021. As AD slept, AH poured a pan of boiling cooking oil on her, causing extensive burns. AD succumbed to these injuries on January 1, 2022.

**Expanded 2010 Definition**

As noted on page 6, beginning with the report for 2010, we include cases that involve a parent or grandparent killed by an adult child or grandchild, as well as adult stepchildren or step-grandchildren killing a stepparent or step-grandparent. We began including these cases in 2010 at the advising of advocates for victims of elder abuse at the National Clearinghouse on Abuse in Later Life, which is an initiative of End Domestic Abuse Wisconsin. We included these cases in our report because the preceding dynamics of violence in families in which adult parents or grandparents are killed by their adult children or grandchildren often exhibit similar characteristics of power and control. The perpetrator’s ongoing abuse frequently relies on tactics of coercion, intimidation, and unique vulnerabilities inherent in a close familial relationship.
Because our original motivation to include these cases stemmed from an acknowledgement that intentional use of power and control tactics is a pattern in family abuse outside of intimate partner relationships, we excluded cases in which there was a clear indicator that mental health issues were a predominant factor in the homicide. Therefore, we have excluded cases in which the defendant was found not guilty by reason of mental illness or lacked the capacity to stand trial. One case is not included in the 2021 report for this reason.

In making these distinctions, we are aware that our effort to categorize homicides is imperfect and may exclude cases that could illuminate potentially significant aspects of violence that happens in families. For instance, our definition does not include situations in which an adult parent or stepparent causes the death of an adult child or stepchild, nor cases where the perpetrator was a minor child who killed a parent or stepparent, or grandparent or step-grandparent. These homicides appear to be rare and thus difficult to generalize; however, we would be challenged to give a satisfying reason as to why one type of case is included, and another is not. Our exclusion of patricide and matricide cases that seem closely related to mental illness reflects our belief that the analogous cases of intimate partner homicide—that is, intimate partner violence homicides primarily caused by mental illness—are relatively rare. We know from research and experience that mental illness alone rarely explains why an abusive person kills their partner; yet we acknowledge that these efforts to conceptually cordon off cases that are closely linked to mental illness from those that are not may prevent us from attending to the complex etiologies of domestic violence homicide.

**Child Homicides**

We include child killings that occurred as an extension of or in response to ongoing abuse between adult intimate partners against others as domestic violence homicides. For example, when a partner or estranged partner killed their children or their partner’s children in order to exact revenge on their partner, it is considered domestic violence related.

We believe our limited ability to recognize these cases likely results in an undercount of these homicides. Homicide of a child is often viewed as an isolated incident of child abuse. An investigation of a child homicide can often overlook domestic violence, or 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. These cases are not included because we lack the information necessary to link the killings to intimate partner violence (and thus to the report’s definition of domestic violence homicide).
**Cold Cases**
In our years of gathering domestic violence homicide information, we have learned that not every homicide case is initially recognized as such. Some domestic violence homicides are ruled suicides or inconclusive, turning cold and forgotten. The perpetrator faces no consequences and is often treated as a victim who lost a loved one, perhaps receiving a life insurance check for the life they ended. Recently, due to developments in technology and evidence processing, these crimes have renewed hope of being solved. We honor the lives of those included in this report, and the lives of those lost in years in which our data included homicides that we have not yet been able to attribute to domestic violence.

Please see the 2017 Wisconsin Domestic Violence Homicide Report, page 41, for additional information on cold cases.

**Availability and Accuracy of Data Obtained**
We rely on gathering information from publicly available sources and acknowledge we may have missed cases in 2021 that would meet our report’s criteria. In fact, for this report, we were made aware of nine additional DV-related homicide deaths in Milwaukee just two weeks prior to publication. The homicide victims were all Black men, and we acknowledge that it is not a coincidence that these cases were sparsely covered in the media.

**A Note about the 2021 Waukesha Thanksgiving Parade Deaths**
On November 21st, 2021, in Waukesha, six people were killed and more than 60 others injured in an incident that has clear ties to domestic violence. However, those deaths are not counted in our total victim count in this report, as this case does not neatly align with this report’s criteria. Nonetheless, we do acknowledge that the lack of their inclusion may contribute to an incomplete picture of the insidiousness of domestic violence.

Waukesha police say they believe the parade driver had been involved in a domestic violence incident in Waukesha before he smashed through a barricade and into the parade route. Additionally, he had a long history of domestic violence; earlier that month, he punched his child's mother before running her over with a vehicle.
2021 Domestic Violence Homicides

Our 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 or suicide has on surviving family members, friends, neighbors, co-workers, communities, and those responding and attempting to help during the immediate event or in the time preceding it.

A compelling aspect of this report is that we include the stories behind the statistics. Many of the cases below were reported in the media, which made public the names of both victim and perpetrator. We have chosen, unlike previous Homicide Reports, not to include this information, despite it being publicly available. We chose not to out of respect for the homicide victims and their surviving family members, and others mentioned in the case narratives.

Notated in **bold text** throughout the case narratives connected to intimate partner violence are the *known* lethality risk factors\(^1\) present prior to the homicide, and/or any known history of domestic abuse that we discovered during our research into the cases. While not noted with bold text, each intimate partner homicide case involving a firearm inherently had lethality risk present, due to the accessibility and availability of the firearm coupled with violence in the home.

**NOTE:** Case status reflects information available at the time of publication of this report. The status of an open case can be found via Wisconsin Circuit Court Access at: [http://wcca.wicourts.gov](http://wcca.wicourts.gov). Individuals’ ages are listed as of the date of the homicide.

\(^1\)From the lethality screen utilized in the Lethality Assessment Program, which is implemented in 38 Wisconsin counties. Due to our limited ability to gather information, this is not a comprehensive illustration of all lethality risks present in the 2021 WI domestic violence homicide cases. For an extensive discussion about lethality risk factors, see the 2014 Wisconsin Domestic Violence Homicide Report, starting on page page 27: [https://edaw-webinars.s3.us-east-2.amazonaws.com/wp-content/uploads/2019/01/07163234/2014_Wisconsin_Domestic_Violence_Homicide_Report_print1qYBBFw.pdf](https://edaw-webinars.s3.us-east-2.amazonaws.com/wp-content/uploads/2019/01/07163234/2014_Wisconsin_Domestic_Violence_Homicide_Report_print1qYBBFw.pdf)
October 21 | Green Bay
*Attempted homicide-suicide*

Media coverage of this incident indicates that police responded to a duplex in Green Bay to find a man dead and a woman suffering from a gunshot wound, with her young children trying to save her life. The 35-year-old woman survived but the 55-year-old man succumbed to his self-inflicted gunshot wound. According to police, the two had recently separated but were living near one another. There does not appear to be a recorded criminal history of violence and no record of previous calls to the residence.

October 21 | Ashwaubenon
*KP, 27-year-old female*

According to media coverage, concern for the welfare of 27-year-old KP after she did not arrive for work on October 21 prompted police to respond to her residence. Several hours after approaching the home and hearing a scuffle and gunshots, police made entrance and found the bodies of KP and her boyfriend, 26-year-old BM. The investigation revealed BM fatally shot KP before turning the gun on himself. Having been convicted of three child abuse felony charges with domestic abuse modifiers in 2015, BM was legally prohibited from possessing a firearm at the time of this incident.

January 24 | Village of Nelson
*JM, 38-year-old female*

Per the criminal complaint and local reportage, on January 24th thirty-eight-year-old JPM called police to report that he had shot his wife JM twice with a shotgun. When emergency responders arrived, they found JM dead in the bedroom and indicated that JPM smelled of intoxicants. According to the
criminal complaint, JPM stated that JM had been screaming at him and so he grabbed the shotgun. JPM pled guilty to First-Degree Reckless Homicide in June 2021 and was sentenced to thirty years in prison.

### County

#### COLUMBIA

**February 14 | Wisconsin Dells**  
**KE, 41-year-old female**

Per the criminal complaint and local reportage, on February 14th law enforcement responded to a Wisconsin Dells hotel when an employee reported concerns about one of their guests. Officers found JM, 34, alive in a room, where on the bathroom floor they also discovered the body of KE, dead from a gunshot. Although he would at first claim that the gun accidentally went off, JM would later state that he intentionally shot KE to defend himself. **Five days before JM murdered KE, JM had been charged with felony Strangulation/Suffocation** including Domestic Abuse modifiers and prohibited from contact with KE as per a bail/bond condition. As a convicted felon, JM was also prohibited from possession of a firearm. JM has been charged with First-Degree Intentional Homicide with a Domestic Abuse modifier; a jury trial is scheduled for November 2022.

### County

#### DANE

**May 6 | Sun Prairie**  
**JH, 37-year-old female**

Per local reportage, law enforcement was called to a welfare check at a Sun Prairie home, where they found 37-year-old JH and 35-year-old CR dead by gunshot in an apparent murder-suicide committed by CR. Dane County Medical Examiner's reports found CR's wounds to be self-inflicted. **Per court records, JH had a child from a previous relationship, a known lethality factor.**
JH’s father offered further details regarding the circumstances leading up to his daughter’s death. According to her father, JH met CR during her contentious divorce, and CR financially supported her through that process. Then JH started complaining about CR, the medication he was taking, and how he never worked anymore, slept all day, and was depressed. Further, JH was working from home due to COVID-19, and her father alluded to that isolation as a contributing factor, stating on social media, “if only she had gotten out of that home.”

See page 66 for tributes from JH’s father, re-printed with his permission.

July 1 | Village of Windsor
BH, 50-year-old male
KH, 53-year-old female

On July 7, 2021, 23-year-old CH filed a missing person’s report with police regarding his parents, BH and KH, who had not returned from a weekend at their cabin in Langlade County. During their investigation, police uncovered inconsistencies in CH’s story. The body of BH was found on the property of CH’s girlfriend’s family on July 8th, and KH’s body was found along a remote highway in Dane County on July 14th. CH was charged with First-Degree Intentional Homicide, Providing False Information on Kidnapped/Missing Persons, Mutilating a Corpse, and Hiding a Corpse – two counts of each charge to account for both deaths. He was found guilty at a jury trial and sentenced to life in prison without the possibility of parole.

July 4 | Madison
KF, 31-year-old female

KF, 31, was fatally shot by her 51-year-old ex-boyfriend, TS, while sitting in a vehicle with her fiancé. One of KF’s children told police that TS showed up at their residence wanting to talk with KF, but KF did not want to speak with him. When
questioned by police and shown a photograph of KF, TS replied “That’s the one that sent me to jail.” TS’s probation agent told police that less than a week before KF’s death, she had called to report that TS attempted to break into her apartment to retrieve a television that allegedly belonged to him. KF’s son told police that TS had been stalking his mother. Online court records show that KF was charged with a domestic-related misdemeanor in 2019, with TS listed as the victim. For the death of KF, TS was charged with First-Degree Intentional Homicide and found guilty at a jury trial. He is scheduled for sentencing in December 2022. Online court records indicate that TS was convicted of a felony charge in 2019 and was therefore prohibited from possessing a firearm at the time he killed KF.

July 22 | Madison

PM, 55-year-old female

PM’s daughter requested police conduct a welfare check on September 16, 2021, after she had not heard from her mother in a couple of months and discovering that her phone appeared to be disconnected. When police arrived at her residence, they found that PM had been deceased for some time. The medical examiner’s office determined that she died from blunt force trauma and strangulation injuries. Police were able to determine based on witness interviews and video evidence that 56-year-old GR, a man who was romantically involved with PM, was purportedly the last person to see her alive. During their investigation, when officials reviewed recorded jail calls between GR and another woman he was involved with romantically, SA, they uncovered a scheme that the two had developed to utilize PM’s food share benefits and rob her home of other property that didn’t belong to them after her death. GR was charged with First-Degree Reckless Homicide and being a Possession of a Firearm-Convicted of a Felony. Both GR and SA were charged with Unauthorized Use of Food Stamps. GR maintains that he had nothing to do with PM’s death, however. The case is currently set for jury trial in early 2023. Online court records indicate GR has a history of violence,
with several misdemeanor and felony convictions in Wisconsin dating back to 2004.

November 8 | Village of Oregon
Attempted homicide-suicide

On November 8, police responded to a call for service from a 29-year-old woman reporting she had been shot. When police approached, they heard additional shots and entered the apartment to find the woman and a 28-year-old male suffering from gunshot wounds. Both were transported to the hospital, where she was treated and released, and he succumbed to his injuries several days later. A dog was also found to have been shot to death at the residence. An affidavit says that the wounded woman initially told officers she had accidentally shot herself, but that officers later heard her tell her mother the man had shot her, the dog, and then himself.

Media coverage indicates that less than 48 hours before this attempted murder-suicide, Oregon police officers responded to a call from the couple’s neighbor who reported there was yelling coming from the apartment. When police responded, the only person identified in the affidavit was the male party, who told officers, “There was no disturbance.”

December 2 | Middleton
SW, 77-year-old female

TW, 27, told police that he and his grandmother, SW, 77, were arguing at her place of employment about whether he should see a doctor for his mental health issues. TW said he pushed papers from a desk out of frustration and went out to the parking lot to leave. SW followed him and the two continued to argue. TW told police SW was at the driver’s side of the car and he put the car in gear but did not realize it was in reverse, and he accelerated, striking his grandmother to the ground with the car door. SW suffered a
TW was initially charged with First-Degree Recklessly Endangering Safety, but the state moved to dismiss those charges in February 2022, stating that they “no longer believe we can prove [TW] engaged in criminal conduct that resulted in the death of [SW].”

**County**

**DODGE**

April 16 | Watertown
HT, 16-year-old male

Per local reportage, law enforcement was called to a welfare check at the Watertown home of former police officer 52-year-old DT. When he did not respond, they entered the home and found both DT and his 16-year-old son HT dead from gunshots in an apparent murder-suicide committed by DT. Surviving loved ones of HT have since advocated for the passage of red flag gun control measures that they believe could have prevented his murder.

**County**

**IOWA**

May 10 | Avoca
SP, 54-year-old female

21-year-old SP called 911 on May 10 to report that his mother and dog were deceased. When police arrived, they found 54-year-old SP and the dog had been stabbed and beaten. SP initially made up a story that his mother’s boyfriend was responsible for the killings, but later admitted that he was hearing evil voices in his head that were telling him to kill his mother and the dog in order to find peace. SP was charged with First-Degree Intentional Homicide and Mistreatment of Animals and was found guilty of both charges at a jury trial. At the time of publishing this report, SP has yet to be sentenced.
**JACKSON**

**September 8 | Town of Brockway**

*TB, 53-year-old male*

52-year-old KS stabbed her boyfriend of 11 years, TB, age 53, before attempting to die by suicide. TB succumbed to his stab wounds hours later. **KS told police that TB had been physically abusive to her in the past when he consumes alcohol, and that it had been getting worse recently.** During a recorded jail call, KS could be overheard saying “I never meant for him to die, he said he was gonna set me on fire and I didn’t know what else to do.” **A nephew of KS told police that KS had stabbed a boyfriend previously, and that the couple would drink and argue daily.** KS was charged with First-Degree Intentional Homicide, and the case has not concluded.

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**JEFFERSON**

**June 7 | Fort Atkinson**

*CD, 72-year-old female*

36-year-old ED fatally smothered her grandmother CD, age 72, and stayed in the home with her body for several days before setting the house on fire. ED told police that her grandmother suffered from numerous health issues and had confided in her that she did not want to live any longer. ED’s teenage daughter told police that her mother shared with her that she wanted to put CD “out of her misery,” and detailed a hypothetical scenario of how this might play out, which included plans to smother CD and set the home on fire before killing herself and her 2-year-old daughter. For the death of her grandmother, ED was charged with First-Degree Intentional Homicide, Strangulation and Suffocation, Mutilating a Corpse, and Arson. The case has not concluded.
JUNEAU

March 13 | Lyndon Township
TD, 42-year-old female
DM, 33-year-old male

Per local reportage, on March 15th local law enforcement responded to a welfare check at a Lyndon Township home and found TD and DM dead. According to a criminal complaint, an altercation between TD, TD's 23-year-old daughter MD, MD's 24-year-old boyfriend FRM, and TD's boyfriend DM occurred at their shared home, during which FRM beat TD and DM with a baseball bat. A pathologist found both victims had multiple skull fractures. MD made statements to third parties that indicated her mother TD had been planning to evict MD and FRM from their home, and that TD had called police to turn MD in on an open warrant. MD has been charged with Theft from a Person/Corpse as a Party to a Crime with a Domestic Abuse modifier. FRM has also been charged with two counts of First-Degree Intentional Homicide with Domestic Abuse modifiers. A jury trial has been scheduled for June 2023.

KENOSHA

January 6 | Kenosha
JM Jr., 49-year-old male
LMM, 36-year-old female

Per the criminal complaint and local reportage, on the night of January 4th, 24-year-old JM III attempted to strangle and sexually assault a minor family member in their home, armed with a machete he later admitted to wielding in case someone attempted to stop him. When his father JM Jr. and his stepmother LMM awoke to the sounds of a struggle, they attempted to stop JM III. He first stabbed his father and then his stepmother with the machete. Police found JM Jr. and LMM dead at the residence when the minor victim and two other children in the home were able to escape to a neighbor's home to call for help. JM III fled the scene and
was apprehended later that night at another family member's residence. Though he attempted to complete suicide by police shooting, JM III was ultimately arrested. He has been found competent to stand trial and has pleaded not guilty by reason of insanity to four charges, including two charges of First-Degree Intentional Homicide and Attempted First-Degree Sexual Assault, both with Use of a Dangerous Weapon. Court records indicate a report on JM III's mental health is currently being prepared. No trial date has been set.

January 25 | Kenosha
GM, 39-year-old female

Per the criminal complaint and local reportage, on January 26th 39-year-old GM was reported missing by her daughter KB, who indicated that GM was not answering her phone. KB also indicated the last person likely to have seen her mother was 39-year-old RS, GM's live-in boyfriend. On February 13th, law enforcement conducted a follow-up missing person's investigation at the victim's home, whereupon they discovered the remains of a person in a dumpster nearby, later determined to be GM. Officers indicated they found RS in the home, which smelled strongly of decomposition and cleaning products. Although RS initially lied to law enforcement about what had happened with GM on the night of January 25th, investigation would ultimately reveal that RS shot GM in the back out of anger during an argument. GM's family had been concerned for her wellbeing in the weeks before her murder because she had revealed that RS had physically assaulted her. RS had previous domestic violence convictions as well as felony convictions, and was thereby prohibited from possessing a firearm at the time he killed GM. According to the Wisconsin Circuit Court Access system, RS pled guilty to First-Degree Intentional Homicide with a Domestic Abuse modifier, however, he a week before the scheduled sentencing hearing, he made a statement to the court that he felt coerced by his attorney and wished to withdraw his plea. The case has not concluded.
March 8 | Kenosha
CB, 26-year-old female

Per the criminal complaint and local reportage, on the evening of March 8th law enforcement responded to a Kenosha home, after CB called 911 for help. According to transcribed portions of the 911 call in the criminal complaint, CB told dispatch that 51-year-old RB was trying to kill her, that he had stabbed her, and that RB had a gun. She could be heard screaming, again saying that RB was killing her, after which there was a period of silence. The transcription describes further noises; another voice yelling statements indicative of extreme jealousy; and the sound of a gunshot. Per the criminal complaint, RB surrendered to responding law enforcement, and CB was found unresponsive near the side exit of the home. An autopsy report indicates she died of both sharp force (stab) wounds and a gunshot. RB admitted to having stabbed and shot CB; although he claimed to have been defending himself against CB, he did not have defensive wounds. CB was the mother of four children living in the home who were not RB’s biological children, a known lethality risk factor. Recovered text messages between CB and RB from the weekend before her murder indicate that CB had ended their relationship, and that RB accused her of cheating and made death threats against her. RB had a previous felony conviction and was legally prohibited from possessing a firearm. RB has been charged with First-Degree Intentional Homicide with a Use of a Dangerous Weapon modifier; a jury trial is scheduled for December 2022.

September 7 | Kenosha
JS, 35-year-old female

Officers discovered the body of 35-year-old JS dead in her home after being called there for a welfare check by her employer, concerned that she did not show up for work that day. An investigation into JS’ death led police to 51-year-old RA, a man whom her family describes as someone
who began to stalk JS after being introduced at a bar by friends. Statements by acquaintances describe the two being involved in a relationship. RA was found by police days later at an Illinois hotel, dead from a self-inflicted gunshot wound. Several friends and family members of JS indicated that she was fearful of RA, and JS mentioned to them that if anything should happen to her, to tell the police to investigate RA. RA was a convicted felon, and therefore prohibited from possessing a firearm at the time he shot and killed JS.

October 19 | Kenosha

SP-A, 17-year-old male
MP, 18-year-old female

SP-A, 17, and his pregnant girlfriend, MP, 18, were shot and killed by the boyfriend of MP’s mother, 24-year-old JG-P. MP’s mother and 14-year-old brother were also shot in this incident but survived. They all shared a home together, and MP and the 14-year-old boy were not JG-P’s biological children, a known lethality risk factor.

A Kenosha News article indicates that Kenosha Police had been called to the home once before in December 2020 when JG-P broke out the window of their car because he was angry about his license being taken away when he was pulled over for a traffic violation earlier in the day. The article quotes the police report from this incident, wherein an officer describes seeing JG-P sitting on the steps with a handgun next to him along with a .380 magazine and one loose round. “[He] reached for the handgun. I felt fear for my safety and was uncertain what [his] intentions were.” Ultimately JG-P complied with police and was ordered out of the house. Police determined that JG-P was a legal concealed carry holder, so the gun he was handling was left in his possession.
**County**

**LANGLADE**

**October 31 | Antigo**  
**SR, 63-year-old female**

Responding to a home for a welfare check on November 1, police discovered 63-year-old SR dead with a knife wound to her torso and an apparent defensive wound on her hand. According to the criminal complaint, surveillance video from a neighbor’s residence showed SR’s son, 38-year-old DG, leaving the residence the day prior with a child. That same child, DG’s five-year-old son, was found by police wandering around alone in a hotel in Waukesha. The child told police that SR tried to kill DG, then DG told the child to hide, and stabbed SR. DG is charged with First Degree Intentional Homicide, First-Degree Reckless Homicide, First-Degree Reckless Injury, and First-Degree Recklessly Endangering Safety. The case has not concluded.

**County**

**MARATHON**

**January 14 | Wausau**  
**RDL III, three-month-old male**

Per the criminal complaint and local reportage, on January 9th, 39-year-old RL Jr. and CW brought their three-month-old son RDL III to a local hospital with severe injuries, including a brain injury, a skull fracture, bruises, and retinal hemorrhage. Police interviewed RDL III’s mother CW and four other minor children who resided in the home, including two of CW’s children who were not RL Jr.’s biological children - a known lethality risk factor. CW indicated to police that she had left RL Jr. to care for a healthy RDL III while she went grocery shopping, but when she returned home approximately forty-five minutes later, the baby was limp and moaning in his crib. Though a local hospital placed the baby on life support, he was pronounced brain dead on January 14th, when he died from injuries that pediatric specialists ruled abusive, intentional blunt force trauma. At the time of RDL III’s death, there was also an open misdemeanor case against RL Jr. for domestic
violence battery in October 2020, wherein there was a no-contact bail/bond protection for victim CW. A Marathon Co. judge also issued a ten-year Domestic Abuse Injunction against RL Jr. in March 2021, though the petitioner remains unidentified as per Wisconsin statutory protections for victims. For the murder of three-month-old RDL III, RL Jr. has been charged with First-Degree Intentional Homicide; a jury trial is scheduled for January 2023.

March 21 | Wausau
MV, 30-year-old female

Per the criminal complaint and local reportage, in the early morning hours of March 21st, Wausau law enforcement responded to a home after receiving a call from a concerned family member, who indicated that his brother, 24-year-old UL, had shot and killed UL's wife MV. When law enforcement arrived, they ordered UL to exit the residence, and found MV's body in a bedroom, dead from a gunshot wound to the head. In the room with her were two small children, who were physically unharmed. The family member indicated that UL had accused MV of cheating on him; while in custody at the scene, UL repeatedly made statements admitting guilt. Prior to MV's murder, UL had two previous misdemeanor domestic violence convictions for violence against her, which may have prohibited him from possessing a firearm under federal policy. He also had five open cases of numerous felony domestic violence repeater charges with no-contact provisions between himself and MV, including charges of strangulation and suffocation. MV was the mother of four children, two of whom were not UL's — a known lethality risk factor. UL has been charged with First-Degree Intentional Homicide, including modifiers for Domestic Abuse Repeater and Use of a Dangerous Weapon. No trial date has been set.
April 23 | Village of Weston  
*RCH, 52-year-old female*

Per the criminal complaint and local reportage, Everest Metro law enforcement officers were dispatched to a Weston home around 3:30am when they received a call for help from RCH regarding her live-in partner DM. When they arrived, 43-year-old DM told officers through the door that they were not needed and refused to allow the officers to enter the residence. RCH told officers that DM was blocking her ability to leave the apartment, and then began to scream. Officers broke down the door and found RCH on the ground with multiple stab wounds. DM escaped the apartment with a chef’s knife and threatened to stab other law enforcement, until he was shot and detained. A pathologist’s report found RCH died from 38 sharp force wounds. DM, who had previously been convicted of felony Armed Robbery by Use of Force, has been charged with False Imprisonment and First-Degree Intentional Homicide, including modifiers for Use of a Dangerous Weapon and Domestic Abuse Repeater. A jury trial is scheduled for late November 2022.

**County**  

**MILWAUKEE**  

January 9 | Milwaukee  
*JB, 41-year-old male*

JB was fatally shot by his girlfriend’s uncle, 54-year-old TH. There is little available in the media regarding this case, but according to police records and local advocates, JB’s girlfriend called her uncle TH over to help after JB beat her. For JB’s death, TH was charged with First-Degree Intentional Homicide-Use of a Dangerous Weapon and was found guilty at a jury trial. He was sentenced to life in prison with eligibility for extended supervision after serving 25 years.
**January 16 | Milwaukee**

**TJJ, 26-year-old male**

Per the criminal complaint, on January 16th Milwaukee law enforcement responded to the home of TJJ and TC. TJJ was found unresponsive and bleeding from his chest. Emergency responders unsuccessfully attempted life-saving measures, and TJJ died of what a Milwaukee medical examiner later determined to be a stab wound. TC was also in the home at the time law enforcement arrived and gave a statement to the police indicating that she and TJJ had been in an argument in the kitchen of their home. She stated that TJJ had grabbed her, and in order to "scare" him off, she reached for a knife from the dishrack and stabbed him once. TC and TJJ shared two children. TC has been charged with Second-Degree Reckless Homicide with the Use of a Dangerous Weapon; the case has not concluded.

**March 1 | Milwaukee**

**KC, 24-year-old male**

According to media coverage referencing the criminal complaint in this case, on March 1, 2021, 38-year-old CH approached an outdoor altercation in Milwaukee involving 24-year-old KC and other people. CH was identified through the police investigation as the boyfriend of KC’s child’s mother.

Multiple witnesses said CH shot KC multiple times; one witness said the shots were fired at point-blank range. A 19-year-old told police he heard gunshots and turned to see CH standing over KC. The 19-year-old ran, and CH began shooting toward him and chasing him. The 19-year-old was shot and critically injured but survived.

CH was charged with First-Degree Intentional Homicide, Attempted First-Degree Intentional Homicide, and Possession of a Firearm-Convicted of a Felony. CH was prohibited from possessing a firearm at the time he shot and killed KC. The case has not concluded.
March 1 | Milwaukee  
**AL, 41-year-old male**

According to police records of this incident, 41-year-old AL was killed by 53-year-old TS when TS intervened in domestic violence occurring between AL and his girlfriend, RG. Online court records do not appear to indicate that charges have been filed against TS for AL’s death.

AL had domestic abuse related charges pending against him at the time of his death. TS was convicted of a felony burglary charge in 1996 and therefore prohibited from possessing a firearm at the time he shot and killed AL.

March 31 | Milwaukee  
**DM, 35-year-old male**

Very little is publicly available about this incident, however, the DOJ uniform crime report identified, and local advocates confirmed, that in this case, 29-year-old BC shot and killed 35-year-old DM, a man with whom she shared a child. BC was charged with Second-Degree Reckless Homicide to which she pleaded guilty. BC was sentenced to five years in prison plus five years of extended supervision.

April 15 | Milwaukee  
**VT-M, 28-year-old male**

VT-M, 28, who lived with a cognitive disability, was strangled to death on April 15, 2021, inside a home on Milwaukee’s west side. Three people who all knew VT-M were in the home when it happened. AH, 32, is charged in the death, and police documents indicate that AH and VT-M were in an intimate relationship. One of the witnesses said AH told her beforehand that she wanted to kill VT-M for being disrespectful. AH was charged with First-Degree Intentional Homicide; a jury trial is set for January 2023.
May 18 | Milwaukee

**EJ, 22-year-old male**

A criminal complaint in this case indicates that 22-year-old EJ was shot and killed by his girlfriend, 21-year-old TC. Surveillance footage from inside the apartment building shows TC and EJ moving items from the building before TC allegedly shoots at the victim from the top of a stairwell, striking EJ in the back at the bottom of the stairs. TC admitted to the shooting, initially saying the gun was supposed to "be safe" and "went off," a complaint read. TC then said she shot at him to "scare him while aiming at the glass window next to him." Court records show a domestic abuse modifier. For EJ's death, TC is charged with First-Degree Intentional Homicide, Use of a Dangerous Weapon with a Domestic Abuse modifier. The case has not concluded.

June 12 | Milwaukee

**Attempted homicide-suicide**

Per local reportage, law enforcement in Milwaukee were called to a reported shooting on the night of June 12th, where they found 25-year-old RF dead from a self-inflicted gunshot wound and 21-year-old JLM in critical condition in the street nearby. Witness reports indicate RF shot JLM first and then shot himself. **Per court records, RF had a previous misdemeanor conviction for domestic abuse-related violence and was prohibited from possessing a firearm.**

June 13 | Milwaukee

**BM, 23-year-old female**

23-year-old BM was shot and killed by her boyfriend, 27-year-old DM, with whom she shared a child. **Online court records show that DM was charged in November of 2020 with Strangulation and Suffocation, Battery, and Disorderly Conduct with Domestic Abuse modifiers,** and as a condition of his bond in this case, he was to have no contact with BM. A domestic abuse temporary restraining order was filed the day prior to these charges; however, the matter was
dismissed when BM did not appear for the injunction hearing. With several felony convictions dating back to 2011, DM was prohibited from possessing a firearm at the time of this incident. DM was charged with First-Degree Intentional Homicide, Possession of a Firearm as a Convicted Felon, and three counts of Bail Jumping with Domestic Abuse modifiers. The case is currently set for a jury trial at the January 2023.

June 21 | Milwaukee
**TH, 34-year-old male**
**CW, 49-year-old male**

Very little is publicly available regarding this double homicide stemming from an argument between 34-year-old TH and his child’s mother. According to Milwaukee Police, TH’s brother-in-law, 49-year-old CW intervened, at which point TH and CW both fatally shot each other. Convicted of a felony drug charge in 2005, CW was prohibited from possessing a firearm at the time of this incident.

July 4 | Milwaukee
**NS, 18-year-old female**

RH, age 20, shot and killed 18-year-old NS, a woman with whom he lived and shared a child, following an argument with her and her family members about missing drugs and other property. After killing NS on July 4, 2021, RH took their one-year-old to a relative’s home, dropped the child off, and continued to flee. He was not arrested until April 2022. At the time of this report’s publication, RH is facing twelve felony charges related to this incident. **Media coverage indicates that NS was attempting to distance herself from RH at the time she was killed.** Adjudicated of a felony charge as a juvenile, RH was prohibited from possessing a firearm at the time he killed NS.
July 30 | Milwaukee
LS, 23-year-old male

20-year-old AG told police that she and her 23-year-old boyfriend, LS were arguing while driving in Milwaukee, and at one point LS stopped the car, was punching AG, and pushed her out of the car. She was able to get back in the car, and saw that LS had a gun. AG was able to get the gun away from him and throw it out the window, but he stopped the car and retrieved it and the two continued fighting. AG told police she warned LS to get back and does not remember how she ended up with the gun, but it went off, fatally wounding LS. AG was charged with First-Degree Reckless Homicide, to which she pleaded guilty. AG was sentenced to 16 years in prison plus eight years of extended supervision.

August 26 | Milwaukee
MH, 19-year-old female

MH was fatally shot by 21-year-old RR-G, the ex-boyfriend of her friend EY, who was also shot but survived. The incident took place following an act of retaliation towards RR-G, where EY and her friends, including MH and three others, had broken the windows of RR-G's car. EY told police that the month prior, RR-G had damaged her vehicle. One of EY's friends told police that when they saw RR-G driving they chased him, which prompted him to shoot towards the vehicle that the women were in, hitting both MH and EY. First-Degree Reckless Homicide and First-Degree Reckless Injury charges were filed; however, RR-G has not yet been located or arrested.

September 5 | Milwaukee
CC, 21-year-old female

According to the criminal complaint, On September 5, 2021, police responded to a report of a possible suicide attempt in an apartment. Upon entering that apartment, police found
the victim, a woman, 21-year-old CC, lying on the floor, suffering from a gunshot wound to her head. CC was transported to a hospital, where she was later pronounced dead. The medical examiner concluded that the cause of death was inconsistent with suicide and ruled the death a homicide.

Police obtained phone records for the 911 caller and found it to be associated with 23-year-old MD. Police traced the gun found in CC's hand and found MD had purchased it. During the investigation, a witness outside the building reported seeing MD, who the witness recognized as the father of CC's child, enter the building. Minutes later, the witness reported hearing gunshots before seeing CC's child's father in the rear alley walking away briskly. For CC's death, MD is charged with First-Degree Intentional Homicide and Use of a Dangerous Weapon. The case has not concluded.

October 9 | Milwaukee

**MM, 24-year-old female**

**MH, three-year-old male**

Per local reportage, on October 14th, the body of 24-year-old MM was found dead from a gunshot wound to the head in the backyard of the Milwaukee home of 20-year-old JC, where they had both been living for a few weeks. Police reports indicate that medical examiners determined she had been killed days prior (October 9th) and then left in the yard. MM's three-year-old son MH (who was not JC's child – a known lethality risk factor) was missing when her body was found, although an Amber Alert for his whereabouts was not issued until October 16th. After an investigation led to the identification of JC as the main suspect in MM's death, on October 17th law enforcement tracked him to the home of a relative, where he completed suicide by firearm. The body of three-year-old MH was later found in a storage container, dead from a gunshot to the head. Medical examiners believe MH was killed at the same time as his mother.
October 17 | Milwaukee
MD, 18-year-old male

Very little is publicly available about this fatal incident involving 16-year-old AW-D stabbing her boyfriend, 18-year-old MD, during an argument. The Wisconsin Department of Justice Uniform Crime Report data and local advocates have verified that the two were in a dating relationship. Media coverage indicates AW-D was arrested, but no charges are pending according to an online search of court records.

October 20 | Village of Brown Deer
DZ, 37-year-old male

Per the criminal complaint and local reportage, police were called to a shooting at the home of DZ, his mother JZ, and DZ's daughter, who was in a relationship with 22-year-old KB. KB had been staying in a back bedroom with DZ's daughter, who in recent months had been seen with red marks and bruises. DZ and JZ were concerned that KB was behaving abusively toward DZ's daughter, though she denied anything had happened. According to the criminal complaint, when DZ went to confront KB and ask him to leave, KB shot him three times and fled the residence. DZ died at the scene. KB has been charged with First-Degree Intentional Homicide with the Use of a Dangerous Weapon modifier; a jury trial is scheduled for October 2022.

November 6 | Milwaukee
NB, 37-year-old male

On November 21, 2021, 37-year-old NB was fatally shot by 27-year-old BB, the new boyfriend of his ex-girlfriend. Online court records show that NB was facing several domestic violence-related charges stemming from a July 2021 incident. As a condition of his bond in this case, he was ordered to have no contact with his ex-girlfriend and BB. No criminal charges are pending against BB in this case, according to an online search of court records.
November 18 | Milwaukee

AC, 43-year-old male

43-year-old AC was fatally shot by a man with whom his girlfriend shares a child, 49-year-old TM. According to police, there was a reported domestic violence history between TM and AC’s girlfriend. As a convicted felon, TM was prohibited from possessing a firearm at the time he killed AC. TM is charged with First-Degree Reckless Homicide and Possession of a Firearm-Convicted of a Felony. The case is scheduled for a jury trial in November 2022.

November 21 | Oak Creek

AVV, 37-year-old male

An incident at a hotel in Oak Creek resulted in the stabbing of both 25-year-old BH and AVV, with whom she shared a child. When police responded to the hotel and entered AVV’s room, they found him deceased and BH with multiple stab wounds. BH survived the attack. The investigation into this incident is ongoing, and at the time of publishing this report, no charges have been filed. Online court records show a paternity action was filed in Waukesha County involving BH and AVV the month prior to this incident.

December 6 | Milwaukee

JS, 28-year-old male

JS was fatally shot after intervening in a verbal dispute between a woman and her boyfriend at the hotel where he worked as a security guard. The boyfriend, 36-year-old AA, was a convicted felon, and therefore prohibited from possessing a firearm at the time he killed JS. AA is charged with First-Degree Intentional Homicide, Attempted First-Degree Intentional Homicide, and Possession of a Firearm-Convicted of a Felony, however, at the time of this report’s publication, he has yet to be apprehended.
December 8 | Milwaukee

*JW, 54-year-old female*
*JW, 42-year-old male*
*KBW, 7-year-old male*

According to media reports, 49-year-old FH died by suicide after shooting and killing 54-year-old JW, 42-year-old JW, and 7-year-old KBW. The autopsy reports say FH and 54-year-old JW lived together in one duplex unit; JW's family told media that the pair were engaged. 42-year-old JW and BW lived in the other unit. The bodies of the three homicide victims were all found in 42-year-old JW's unit. Online court records do not seem to indicate that FH had a record of violence.

December 23 | West Allis

*LS, 27-year-old female*

According to media reports, 41-year-old DH shot and killed 27-year-old LS on her birthday before committing suicide. The family informed media that **LS was trying to leave the relationship with DH**, and when LS didn't pick up her young daughter, they called the police to do a welfare check. **A few days prior, on December 20th, DH had been arrested, with court records showing charges of misdemeanor offenses of Criminal Damage to Property, Disorderly Conduct, and Dissuading Victim from Reporting, each with a Domestic Abuse modifier.** LS’s sister explained that DH and LS had had a good relationship for a couple of years before it recently soured, and LS had called her a couple of days prior to say that she was going to leave with her daughter.

December 27 | Milwaukee

*AD, 43-year-old female*

The criminal complaint for this case indicates that police were dispatched to a gas station regarding a robbery complaint. Upon arrival, officers located DK, who stated that he and his girlfriend, AD, had been robbed and physically
assaulted at his residence. DK claimed that his girlfriend, AD, began fighting the intruder and told him to run and save himself. Officers reported that DK’s story was inconsistent and, upon returning to his residence, found AD dead in the bathroom, lying in a large pool of blood. The autopsy determined that AD had suffered numerous blunt force injuries to the head and that the manner of death was homicide.

According to police reports of a domestic violence dispute from May 2021, **AD told police that she never previously called the police on DK because she feared he would kill her.** CCAP records show that DK was charged with the felony offense of Felon in Possession of a Firearm, Battery, and Disorderly Conduct with Domestic Abuse assessments. DK was released with a condition of bail that he commit no new crimes and have no contact with AD. For AD’s death, DK is charged with First-Degree Intentional homicide and bail jumping. The case has not concluded.

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**ONEIDA**

**June 30 | Town of Pelican**

**HM, 26-year-old female**

According to the criminal complaint for this case, CA is accused of shooting and killing his ex-girlfriend and mother of his child, 26-year-old HM. **CA and HM had recently separated** after 4 years together, and CA had moved out of their shared apartment.

According to court documents, witnesses of this incident told police they had been driving to Rhinelander when they realized they forgot something at home. On the way back home, they saw a man and woman talking on the side of the road next to a small white SUV. When they drove back 15 minutes later, the man and the SUV were gone, but the couple found HM lying in the ditch. The Oneida County Sheriff’s Office said sometime between 10:45 and 11:00
a.m. someone who lives near the area told police they had heard two to four gunshots.

HM's mother reported to police that CA did not have parental rights and that **HM expressed concern for her safety and feared CA**. Friends of HM indicated there was a **history of domestic violence perpetrated by CA against HM**; friends presented photographic evidence of injuries reported to have been sustained from CA. **Court documents show there was a history of domestic violence between the two.** The latest incident happened earlier that month when the victim told police that CA borrowed a vehicle and had not returned it; when making this report, HM revealed to police that **she was afraid CA was going to kill her**. For HM's death, CA is charged with First-Degree Intentional Homicide. The case has not concluded.

**OUTAGAMIE**

**January 31 | Appleton**

**JF, 19-year-old male**

Per the criminal complaint and local reportage, 17-year-old DE shot 19-year-old JF during an altercation at an Outagamie County mall on January 31st. Testimony from other teenagers known to both parties indicate that an initial conflict started involving KH, a girl who had previously been in a talking/dating relationship with both DE and JF at different times. During the confrontation, DE threatened "to shoot this place up, I will kill [JF]," at which point DE revealed he had a firearm. The group of teenagers ran in fear, and witnesses claim DE chased and shot JF, who was unarmed. Emergency responders attempted life-saving measures, but JF was pronounced dead at the scene. After pleading guilty-no contest to Second-Degree Intentional Homicide and First-Degree Recklessly Endangering Safety, 18-year-old DE was sentenced to 40 years initial confinement and 25 years of extended supervision in February of 2022.
January 15 | Racine
Attempted homicide-suicide

Per local reportage, on January 15th Racine police responded to a reported shooting at an apartment complex, where they found 49-year-old DC dead and 52-year-old SA suffering from a life-threatening gunshot wound. An initial investigation from Racine police found that DC had shot SA and then shot himself. SA was transported to a local hospital, where she remained in critical condition for an unknown length of time. DC had a previous misdemeanor conviction for domestic violence and may have been prohibited from possessing a firearm if Wisconsin state law were in alignment with federal policy.

January 22 | Town of Rochester
TV, 65-year-old male
DM, 62-year-old female

Per local reportage, on January 22nd Racine County sheriffs' deputies were called to a welfare check on three adult residents at their Rochester home – 30-year-old MV, and his parents TV and DM. After hearing a gunshot, law enforcement entered the home, wherein they found the bodies of TV and DM "deceased for some time" and concealed in the garage. Soon after, law enforcement found the body of MV in the basement, dead from a recently self-inflicted gunshot.

October 8 | Racine
VA, 31-year-old female

On October 8, Racine police responded to a call from a landlord who reported that he found his tenant deceased. When police arrived, they found the body of 31-year-old VA, who was nine months pregnant and eight days from her scheduled C-section, dead from both blunt force injuries and stab wounds.
During their investigation, police spoke with an individual who stated that 42-year-old WB had asked to borrow a crowbar, saying he needed it to break into VA’s home to kill her and “take care of the situation” or his wife would leave him. A postmortem DNA test confirmed that WB was the father of VA’s unborn child.

WB was not charged until eight months after VA’s death. He faces charges of First-Degree Intentional Homicide and First-Degree Intentional Homicide of an Unborn Child. The case has not concluded.

### RICHLAND

**July 31 | Forest Township**

**BB, 33-year-old male**

Media coverage of this fatal incident illustrates how an argument over money and drug use led to a physical altercation in which 43-year-old LM shot her boyfriend, 33-year-old BB. LM was arrested and facing a Second-Degree Reckless Homicide charge initially; however, an online search of Wisconsin circuit court records indicates the prosecutor’s office ultimately did not pursue charges against LM, and news articles allude to the possibility that LM killed BB in self-defense.

### ROCK

**May 20 | Janesville**

**CCP, 27-year-old male**

According to media reports, police officers responded to multiple calls at a mobile home park to find 43-year-old PT and 27-year-old CCP dead at the scene with gunshot wounds. A 28-year-old woman was present and witnessed the deaths. PT and the unnamed woman were in a relationship, living together with a child in common. CCP had dated the woman in 2019. According to police, PT arrived early for his shift at work and found that the CCP, who was supposed to be working the shift before, was not
at work. Based on prior conversations, PT, believing CCP might be with the woman in Janesville, left work and retrieved a 9mm handgun from home. Police said PT and the woman "may have been having some trouble in their relationship," and the woman's relationship with CCP had recently rekindled. PT went to CCP's home, and the two had a brief confrontation outside before PT shot CCP several times using the 9mm handgun and then apparently turned the gun on himself. There are no known prior domestic violence incidents with any of the three people involving Janesville or Madison police.

County
SAWYER

April 2 | Town of Sand Lake
CE, 42-year-old female

According to media coverage of this incident, the estranged husband of 42-year-old CE was concerned over not seeing CE for few days, so he and his friend went to her home where they discovered her body. After CE’s death, a local newspaper interviewed a friend who said CE had sent text messages saying she was scared and “... gave out names of people if something should happen and those names have been passed on to investigators.” Another friend said that in November 2020, CE had told her that she was in a relationship with a new boyfriend, and the friend said of the relationship that “... just something about it was off.” Initially, CE’s estranged husband was arrested for CE’s death, but further investigation cleared him as a person of interest and led to the arrest of 28-year-old MM in May 2022. At the time of this report’s publication, however, online court records indicate that charges have not yet been filed against MM in this case.
Waukesha County

May 19 | Menomonee Falls
unknown initials, 29-year-old female

According to media reports, 33-year-old PM, a Washington county corrections officer, shot and killed a 29-year-old woman known to him before killing himself using the same weapon. Both were found dead inside his apartment after a concerned family member called the police for a welfare check. According to the Washington County Sheriff’s Office news release, corrections officers do not use firearms as part of their employment.

Winnebago County

July 25 | Village of Fox Crossing
LM, 30-year-old female

Officers responded to a 911 call to find 26-year-old PD frantic, stating that someone had broken into his apartment and killed his girlfriend, 30-year-old LM. Upon entering they found LM deceased. PD stated that he left the apartment to take a short walk and have a cigarette and that when he returned, he walked in on an unknown man stabbing LM. PD told police he tried to stop the attack but was injured himself as he tried to get the knife away from the intruder. When questioned further about the circumstances leading up to the event, PD told officers that he was in a relationship with LM up until recently, and that LM had broken up with him when she found out he was chatting with and visited a female friend of his. PD further shared with police that he knew LM was out the night before this incident with another guy. LM’s friends told police that PD was controlling and possessive throughout their relationship, and that LM was working on finding an alternate place to live with her child after ending her relationship with PD the week prior. PD is not the father of LM’s child, which is a known lethality factor. An autopsy found dozens of knife wounds on LM’s body. PD was
charged with First-Degree Intentional Homicide and the case has not concluded.
Spotlight: Rock County Conducts In-Depth Analysis of 2021 DV Homicide

This excerpt from Rock County’s October 2021 “Domestic Violence Case and System Review Report to the Rock County Criminal Justice Coordinating Council” is re-printed with permission from Dr. Kendra Schiffman, one of the report’s authors. For the full report, visit the Rock County Criminal Justice Coordinating Council’s website.

On March 18, 2021, Janesville Police Chief David Moore requested that the Rock County Criminal Justice Coordinating Council (CJCC) approve a review of a domestic violence case that ended in the death of a Janesville woman. On April 15, 2021, the CJCC officially approved the request.

The review process began with an examination of official documents related to the specific domestic violence case and discussions with Janesville and Beloit domestic violence professionals. This was followed by a detailed analysis of the Rock County justice system response to domestic violence and victim safety during the pre-trial phase.

In this specific domestic violence case, the alleged homicide occurred in another Wisconsin county (Columbia County) while the defendant was in the pre-trial phase of his case in Rock County (related to an alleged domestic violence incident with the homicide victim). The purpose of this case and system review was fourfold:

• To conduct a review of the [JM/KE] domestic violence case more specifically,
• To provide a broader system review of how Rock County’s justice system responds to domestic/intimate partner violence cases in the pretrial phase,
• To use the information gathered to identify areas for system improvement and inform recommendations for stakeholders for system improvement,
• To provide information that is accessible to educate all stakeholders and the public and identify other educational opportunities.

Pretrial assessment
The Pretrial phase is the earliest phase in the criminal court process and includes 3 key justice system decision points, which include:

• Law enforcement response to domestic/intimate partner violence
• Initial court appearance and pretrial status decisions in domestic/intimate partner violence cases
• Pretrial release and supervision in domestic/intimate partner violence cases
This early phase in the criminal justice system response is also a period of high risk for victims of domestic/intimate partner violence due to the presumption of release for the defendant and the risk of escalation of violence (as retaliation against the victim) when law enforcement and courts become involved. In light of this, we thoroughly examine the pretrial phase in terms of clear homicide risk factors in domestic/intimate partner violence and options for victims’ safety when legal limitations prevent pretrial confinement.

Chief Moore’s review request was accompanied by key questions that were prompted by the specific case, which have also provided some guidelines for our case and system review. Our report provides information that answers these questions (listed below) as well as other questions that arose in the evaluation process:

- Is the information contained in police reports and police response adequate?
- What information is used in pretrial risk assessments and how does that inform the court’s decisions about pretrial supervision level in cases of domestic/intimate partner violence?
- What kind of follow-up occurs when defendants are released under pre-trial supervision in cases of domestic/intimate partner violence?
- How does a previous violation of a no-contact order affect the court’s decision-making in domestic/intimate partner violence cases?
- How does federal probation and the related rules work in harmony with local law enforcement and other members of local criminal justice systems?
- What criminal justice system options are available to provide safety for the victim when domestic/intimate partner violence occurs and the justice system becomes involved?

The study made the following recommendations to improve Rock County’s response to domestic violence, to provide greater safety and support for victims and expand domestic violence prevention efforts.

| Overall Conclusions and Recommendations from Criminal Justice System Review |
|-----------------------------|-----------------|---------------------------------|
| **Area**                    | **Strengths**   | **Recommendations**             |
| Community-Based Advocacy    | 2 Strong **DV advocacy organizations** with extensive services and links to other community service providers | **Create institutionalized connections to Family Court** through information provided to individuals with domestic violence in relationship history. |
| Organizations               | Strong connections to Law Enforcement through LAP | **Create institutionalized connections to Clerk of Courts** through information provided to individuals applying for Domestic |
|                             | Strong Connections to Victim Witness through sharing information, referrals, waiver request process | |

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*Wisconsin Domestic Violence Homicide Report | 2021*
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>Court-Based Domestic Violence Victim Support</strong></th>
<th>• Accessible and welcoming services meeting needs of diverse individuals</th>
<th>Abusive TROs and Injunctions.</th>
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<tr>
<td>• <strong>Victim Witness Program</strong> supports domestic violence victims and connects them to advocates (through information or referrals)</td>
<td>• <strong>Evaluate the possibility of follow-up contact after providing the pamphlet information</strong> (in similar way as officers in DVI unit follow-up after incident contact); pamphlet information not enough to connect victims to services at the initial contact.</td>
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<td>• Strong working relationships with community advocates</td>
<td>• One Victim Witness Specialist focused on domestic violence cases</td>
<td>• Process to connect with advocates in-person when victims ask to waive no contact orders</td>
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<td>• Process to connect with advocates in-person when victims ask to waive no contact orders</td>
<td>• <strong>Create consistent and coordinated response to no contact order violations</strong> with criminal court based on evaluation of lethality risks.</td>
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<td>• <strong>Create consistent and coordinated response to no contact order violations</strong> with criminal court based on evaluation of lethality risks.</td>
<td>• <strong>Create an MOU across jurisdictions to review high risk DV cases</strong>—and develop high risk DVI teams.</td>
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<td>• Recent retraining efforts between Defy Domestic Abuse and Beloit PD</td>
<td>• When individuals are arrested for new DV offense while on federal probation, ensure that probation officer contacted.</td>
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<td></td>
<td>• Expansion of LAP and DVI Team to entire county</td>
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<td>• When individuals are arrested for new DV offense while on federal probation, ensure that probation officer contacted.</td>
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<td>• <strong>Adopt effective assessment of DV Recidivism or Lethality Risks</strong> in domestic violence cases.</td>
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<td></td>
<td>• <strong>Evaluate success rate</strong> (court appearance, violations of no-contact orders) of individuals with DV offenses who have already been ordered to pretrial supervision.</td>
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<td></td>
<td>• <strong>Use specialized domestic violence case management techniques.</strong></td>
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### Criminal Court Response to Domestic Violence

- **Domestic Violence Intervention Program (DVIP)** provides longer-term program attached to court accountability and incentives.
- Court education and training on assessment of lethality risks.
- Implement **lethality risk assessment practices at all decision points** of criminal court process for DV cases.
- Complete program evaluation of DVIP and better outcomes tracking.
- Expand DVIP access to more court-ordered offenders.
- Consider dedicated DV Court docket.

### Overall Criminal Justice System Recommendations

- **Expand and utilize existing collaborative groups for better system coordination of response and services** so that there is communication across all police departments and service organizations, knowledge of what resources are available and who to contact.
- **Extend DV risk assessment training and coordinated risk assessment practices for DV cases to both family and criminal courts.**
- System-wide communication **informing victims about community-based advocacy resources at every point of contact.**
- **Consistent and coordinated response** between law enforcement and courts (including pretrial supervision) **to no contact order violations based on evaluation of lethality risks**; evaluate how previous violations of no contact orders are considered in court decisions to inform and develop guidelines—Battered Women’s Justice Project provides a “Model Policy for Prosecutors and Judges on Imposing, Modifying, and Lifting Criminal No Contact Orders.”
- Accessible and welcoming system and services that **meet/understand diverse needs and communities and bring survivors’ perspectives**—and what they feel are appropriate and helpful responses—**as an integral voice to decision-making and improvement efforts.**
<table>
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<th>System-Wide Plus Community Recommendations</th>
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<tr>
<td>• <strong>Formalize a Domestic Violence Review Team that includes representatives from all involved agencies as well as community members and DV survivors.</strong></td>
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<td>• Begin by examining more past cases that are not pending and evaluate justice system response beyond pretrial phase in terms of case processing and conviction outcomes.</td>
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<td>• Regularly review DV response and provide improvement recommendations on an annual basis.</td>
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<td>• Victims concerns about involving the justice system point to the need for intermediate interventions (for both survivors and offenders), outside of the justice system, that prioritize victims’ safety and their preferences for safety planning; for example, expand DVIP curriculum and treatment to an earlier point of intervention before court-involved.</td>
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<tr>
<td>• <strong>Expand community education</strong> about domestic violence lethality risks, dynamics of domestic violence, advocacy resources, and the vital importance of victim support without judgment, shame, and marginalization.</td>
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<td>• <strong>Community commitment to early prevention education for young people.</strong></td>
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Mass Violence and Intimate Partner Violence

By Jenna Gormal, Co-Director of Prevention and Engagement, End Abuse

According to the Gun Violence Archive, there have been 402 mass shootings in the US in 2022 alone\(^1\). There is no uniform definition of a mass shooting in the United States; however, the most common is a shooting in which four or more people are shot and killed or shot and injured, excluding the shooter. The absence of a uniform definition affects our understanding of the connection between Intimate partner violence (IPV), intimate partner homicide (IPH), and mass shootings. End Abuse believes that a definition of mass shootings should include fatalities and injuries and not be limited by location or circumstances. Just as we recognize that there is more than one type of gun violence, we should not be surprised to find that there is more than one type of mass shooting. Despite this reporting challenge, evidence indicates a profound association between IPV, IPH, and mass shootings\(^2\).

In the public imagination, mass shootings involve lone shooters opening fire randomly in public spaces. However, a 2018 Everytown for Gun Safety report noted that in at least 54% of mass shootings, the perpetrator also shot a current or former partner. In their analysis of mass shootings between 2009 and 2018, Everytown concluded that "domestic violence was a part of most mass shootings," meaning that mass shootings, more often than not, involve individuals who are known to the shooter\(^3\). Moreover, mass shootings that involve IPV have a higher number of injuries and fatalities\(^4\,\(^5\).

Indeed, research shows that abusers with guns often kill their partners and take the lives of family, friends, coworkers, and responding law enforcement officers. The additional victims of IPH with multiple fatalities are often children: between 2005 and 2014, about 20 percent of all child homicides were IPV-related. Moreover, nearly 3 in 4 children and teens killed in mass shootings died in an incident connected to domestic violence. Police report that IPV incidents are the most dangerous calls to take due mainly to the use of guns by abusers\(^6\).

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\(^1\) [https://www.gunviolencearchive.org/](https://www.gunviolencearchive.org/)
\(^3\) [https://everytownresearch.org/maps/mass-shootings-in-america/](https://everytownresearch.org/maps/mass-shootings-in-america/)
\(^4\) [https://rdcu.be/cTg4b](https://rdcu.be/cTg4b)
Sixty-one percent of mass shootings occurred entirely in the home. Thirty percent occurred entirely in public spaces like schools, malls, or bars. Of these public mass shootings, the majority (59 percent) occurred partially in a place of business such as a restaurant or retail store, and 11 percent occurred in a school. An intimate partner kills about a third of women murdered at work.¹ This public health crisis underscores that IPV is a community issue, not a private matter.

The link between IPV and mass shootings extends to mass violence generally. We saw this on November 21st, 2021, in Waukesha, when Darrell Brooks drove a vehicle into the Christmas parade, killing six people and injuring more than 60 others. Brooks had a long history of IPV perpetration; earlier that month, he punched his child's mother before running her over with a vehicle. This is a clear, horrifying, local example of when IPV spills over into mass violence in the community. Despite the scale of this tragedy, it was underreported. Despite Brooks' long history of IPV, the criminal legal system failed to prevent future violence. Despite the predictable precipitating factor of IPV, policymakers identified the 'issue' as bail reform.

The current cash bail system preys on BIPOC communities by over-criminalizing 'offenders' and survivors alike. For every case like Brooks, hundreds of thousands of people are stuck in pretrial detention who are no threat to anybody but can't afford the cost of their freedom. Many end up serving the equivalent of jail terms because they can't afford the cost.

Even what might seem like a relatively modest fee for a middle-class person can be prohibitively high for a lower-income person. Many people plead guilty to avoid sentencing; they can't afford to lose their jobs, have family commitments, etc. This creates a criminal record that has long-term detrimental effects.

Community safety is not centered with a cash bail system: those who cannot pay sit in jail, while others with the same charge and risk level pay and are released. Your ability to pay bail should not trump the danger or threat you may pose to your community.

The cash bail system is wealth-based discrimination. That is an issue to eliminate, not a problem to exacerbate. We can keep our communities safe without using bail as a mechanism to punish people without ever convicting them.

¹ https://everytownresearch.org/maps/mass-shootings-in-america/
Community violence and high rates of IPV are inextricably linked

Poverty and income inequality are potent predictors of homicide and violent crime, with a large body of research directly connecting neighborhood socioeconomic disadvantage with gun violence.12

IPV affects every community regardless of age, economic status, sexual orientation, gender, race, religion, or ethnicity; however, it is more prevalent and severe in the context of economic distress, with economic circumstances signifying lethality risk.

This is nowhere more evident than in Milwaukee, which remains the nation's most segregated metropolitan area. The income of the median Black household in Milwaukee is only 42 percent that of a White household, the most significant racial disparity in the country. The Black poverty rate in Milwaukee—33.4 percent—is the highest Black poverty rate among the nation's largest metropolitan areas and almost five times that of the White rate.3 The alarming spike in gun violence in Milwaukee is a product of decades of racially targeted policies that create concentrated poverty and income inequality. Anyone may experience IPV, but the burden of relationship violence, including with firearms, disproportionately affects Black and Indigenous women from communities with histories of racial discrimination and higher poverty rates. The structural disadvantages in these neighborhoods mean inadequate access to protective services that reduce the risk of lethal violence, such as social services, schools, housing, and healthcare. Moreover, Black and Indigenous survivors have less trust in the criminal legal system and are less likely to report abuse.

Growing up witnessing violence of any kind becomes cyclical, as a child can normalize abuse and increase the chances that they will experience or inflict violence in their adolescent and adult relationships. This cyclical nature affects and is reinforced by the community conditions at a macro-level.

The criminal legal system is used as a catch-all to address the symptoms of poverty and IPV among many other social problems, yet the research is clear that the system actually perpetuates poverty. Moreover, harsh punishments, police brutality, and a system-wide failure to believe survivors has meant that survivors are less likely to reach out for help.

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1 https://doi.org/10.1016/S0277-9536(98)00097-5
Predictable is preventable
Twenty years of data collection in Wisconsin reveal predictable patterns and precipitating factors that lead to intimate partner homicide, and our findings reflect national trends.

Preventing those with a history of DV from accessing a firearm has proven effective in reducing rates of DV homicide. Our homicide reports routinely find that the perpetrator had access to a gun despite being legally prohibited. Moreover, 1 in 3 mass shootings involved a shooter legally prohibited from possessing a firearm at the time of the shooting.¹ This indicates that existing legislation created to prevent perpetrators from owning weapons is not enough and that we need more robust, multifaceted solutions:

- Introduce universal background checks for firearm sales and close dangerous loopholes allowing misdemeanor domestic violence offenders to own guns.
- Reinstate a 48-hour waiting period on all firearm sales.
- Create buy-back programs to incentivize handing in guns for meaningful financial compensation.
- Those routinely engaged with cases involving intimate partner violence (court practitioners, healthcare professionals, etc.) must recognize access to firearms as a considerable danger to the life of the individual and those known to the individual, and act accordingly by implementing relevant strategies to prevent harm without doing further harm.
- Given the risk of multiple victimizations in intimate partner homicide situations and research showing that other family members are common additional victims, policymakers must also consider procedural issues related to firearm removal laws. A growing number of states have enacted "red flag" laws; this procedure allows family members and law enforcement to petition to temporarily prevent an individual from possessing a firearm when that person is at risk of harming themselves or others.

¹ https://everytownresearch.org/maps/mass-shootings-in-america/
Advocating for firearm safety legislation is essential, and it is not enough
The debate on restricting firearm access has focused on individual responsibility and behavior. However, to solve the gun violence epidemic, we must transform the social conditions that allow these harms to happen in the first place. We do this by implementing policies that alleviate poverty and income inequality by funding housing, healthcare, community violence intervention programs, DV/SA organizations, schools, financial aid, harm-doer treatment, and other prevention initiatives.

Select instances of mass violence, especially in the public realm, gain considerable media attention and drive political discourse; we begin to fear being outside, at the grocery store, in places of worship, and at concerts. That fear is compounded for those who fear being in their own home. A uniform definition of mass violence, which accounts for injuries and fatalities, regardless of location, will aid research efforts and the creation of relevant interventions for perpetrators and survivors.

If we fail to implement the strategies outlined above, community violence will increase, and survivors, absent the support they need to free themselves from violence, will die.
The Risk to Pets – The Link Between Family Violence and Pet Abuse

Companion animals are an integral part of many families’ lives. A recent national pet owners’ survey estimates that 70% of households in the United States have one or more companion animal living there.\(^1\) Bonds that humans form with their pets are often familial in nature, and for some, stronger than familial. Unfortunately, this means that in homes where domestic violence is occurring, household pets often become targets of abuse as well.

The link between family violence and violence towards pets in the home is well researched and documented, painting a disturbing picture of the extent to which this co-occurs. In one study, 89% of women who had companion animals during an abusive relationship reported their animals were threatened, harmed, or killed by their abuser.\(^2\) In the context of domestic violence, animals are often used as pawns to demonstrate to the humans in the home that they are not beyond harm. It is also a troublingly effective method, forcing many survivors to remain in abusive situations out of concern for the safety of their animals. In one study of homes where domestic violence had occurred, 50% of children reported that the abuser threatened to harm or kill an animal family member to instill fear and maintain control over their human victims.\(^3\)

When compiling this report each year, the collateral damage left in the wake of these homicide incidents—those who were also injured but survived, those who witnessed the homicide or found their loved one deceased—have been innumerable. However, until now we had not yet formally honored the companion animals that were tragically lost during domestic violence homicide incidents. In 2021, at least two dogs were killed in the context of domestic violence homicide or attempted homicide incidents in Wisconsin.\(^4\) That’s undoubtedly only a portion of the animals that were killed in domestic violence incidents in 2021, and a small fraction of those killed since we began compiling the report.

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\(^1\) [https://www.americanpetproducts.org/pubs_survey.asp](https://www.americanpetproducts.org/pubs_survey.asp)

\(^2\) Betty Jo Barrett et al., Animal Maltreatment as a Risk Marker of More Frequent and Severe Forms of Intimate Partner Violence, 26 J. Interpersonal Violence 5131 (2020).


\(^4\) Unless this is captured in the publicly available documents that we look at to produce this report, we would not necessarily be privy to this information.
Fortunately, after a landmark study released in 1997 made this human and animal abuse connection widely known, some progress has been made to address animal safety in homes where domestic violence is occurring. Many domestic violence programs in Wisconsin have added a kennel to their facility where animals can stay temporarily, or they freely allow pets into shelters when not prohibited by allergies. Some have developed relationships with humane societies or other animal fostering programs to have pets stay in safe foster homes while the survivor settles into a permanent, safe living situation. The Animal Welfare Institute website has a Safe Havens Mapping Project[^1] searchable by zip code to find the nearest agencies that assist with finding safe places for survivors and their pets.

Another protective effort for survivors and their pets that passed in 2016 was an amendment to Wisconsin Statutes 813.12, 813.122, and 813.123 pertaining to injunctions. Judges and court commissioners are now allowed to consider the safety of a petitioner’s pets when issuing domestic abuse, child abuse, or individual at-risk injunctions, and can order the respondent to refrain from removing, hiding, damaging, harming, or mistreating, or disposing of, a household pet.[^2]

**A Manual for Domestic Violence Attorneys and Advocates Helping Survivors Obtain Protection Orders[^3]** from the Animal Welfare Institute offers some sample questions for attorneys and advocates to consider asking those they represent who may be experiencing domestic violence:

- *Does an animal—a pet, service animal, or support animal—live in your home?*
- *Has your abuser ever harmed your pet or threatened to harm your pet?*
- *Where is your pet right now? Is your pet safe?*
- *Do you want to ask that the court grant you custody of your pet?*
- *Do you want to ask that the court order your abuser to stay away from your pet?*
- *Do you have anything that might help us prove that the abuser has threatened or hurt the animal, e.g., veterinary bills or records, photographs, or eyewitnesses?*

Routinely asking about the safety of pets in the home can be a valuable tool to illustrate the extent of the abuser’s violent behavior. Knowing whether a pet is being harmed may help not only the pet, but also the humans who are experiencing violence in the home, as often their risk and safety is interconnected.

[^1]: https://safehavensforpets.org/
[^3]: https://awionline.org/content/representing-domestic-violence-survivors-pets-wisconsin
New Directions: Interventions with those Who Cause Harm in their Intimate Relationships

Since its inception, the mainstream domestic violence field has focused largely on the development of victim services and embraced solutions available through the criminal legal system. Those who cause harm receive stigmatizing labels in these systems, such as “abuser,” “batterer,” “offender,” and “perpetrator.” These approaches are rooted in shame and punishment, reinforcing binary thinking that resolutely sorts parties into opposing categories without acknowledging that humans are never “good” or “bad” all the time.

In recent years, more attention has been drawn to the fact that the criminal justice system in which we are enmeshed often does not stop the violence and does nothing to transform the conditions that give rise to harm in relationships. Further, the criminal justice system disproportionately punishes people of color, increasing racial disparities and perpetuating racism. In short, it often responds to violence with more violence.

As we intentionally move towards a transformative justice approach and away from carceral responses to intimate partner violence, it makes sense to create deeper partnerships with those who provide services to domestic violence “abusers,” blending our respective areas of expertise as we explore promising new prevention and intervention strategies. Such strategies aim to heal individuals and families rather than punish or surveil them, to collectively resist systems of oppression rather than reinforce them. We must move together to ensure not only safety, justice, and accountability, but also investment of resources into communities to help prevent harm from happening in the first place, well before it escalates to a life-threatening situation. Many survivors indicate they do not want complex criminal justice interventions in their relationships, they just want the abuse to stop. We must listen to survivors and create alternatives that address the other half of the equation – those who use violence.

A new helpline is being developed in Wisconsin for those who harm their partners.¹ Those who staff this helpline will not validate excuses for using violence; rather, this service aims to offer those who harm their partners an opportunity to engage

in respectful dialogue about accountability, with people who are trained to have these delicate conversations. This approach has proven to be successful in Massachusetts\(^1\) and abroad. Despite the public perception that abusers do not want to change their behavior, these programs have found that harm-doers will seek out help if it is available and accessible to them.

It is past time that we ask ourselves: What will truly stop intimate partner violence? How can we break harmful patterns that do not work and create a healing abundance for all?

\(^1\) [https://10to10helpline.org/](https://10to10helpline.org/)
GRACE & the Outward Ripples of Domestic Violence Homicide

By Tegan Swanson, Systems Change Coordinator, End Abuse

Support groups exist for people grappling with many kinds of trauma, including survivors of domestic violence. Though the COVID-19 pandemic impacted survivors' ability to convene in-person, programs around the state continued to offer support via confidential online spaces. There are support groups for addiction, violence, and homicide; still, a heartbreaking gap existed in similar services for the loved ones experiencing the specific pain that comes when domestic violence becomes lethal. When domestic violence homicides occur, loved ones, community members, and advocates are left to grieve the victims; to grapple with uncertainty, anger, guilt, and confusion; to agonize over what they missed or could have done differently; to rage at systems that failed to keep their loved ones safe from often predictable harm; to care for other heartbroken, traumatized survivors or witnesses; to navigate the dehumanizing paperwork of death records, estates, debts; to demand explanations, justice, accountability from the one who engaged in such unthinkable violence and from the systems that perpetuated it.

In 2021, with hope of offering a space to support grieving loved ones as they navigate this unique and complex trauma, End Domestic Abuse Wisconsin (End Abuse) partnered with Nailah Johnson and Rosanne Northwood - two highly-skilled, trauma-informed facilitators - to conduct monthly spaces called GRACE - Growing Resilience Among the Circle of Empowerment. Cost-free, non-judgmental, and open to anyone 18-years-old and up, participants experience a peer-support model that cultivates memorial storytelling and increases personal healing via tangible coping strategies. GRACE offers a gentle space for the many facets of grief, and helps participants better understand how to navigate media and legal systems.

In mid-2022, End Abuse staff also initiated a similar space specifically for advocacy professionals across Wisconsin who have experienced the loss of a loved one, a community member, or a client in the course of their work. Many advocates come to this field for personal reasons, like the death of a family member or friend. Others are intricately engaged with their communities, where they might have witnessed the violent impacts of root causes like structural racism, economic inequity, misogyny and cis-heteronormative patriarchy, and generational trauma that ultimately culminated in homicide. Advocates also bear witness to the heartbreak, rage, and numbing failures of
systems alongside their colleagues, neighbors, and loved ones, and all are hurting. Whether speaking briefly with a victim on a crisis line or cultivating a close relationship with a client over the course of many years, advocates are personally impacted when someone who reached out for help is murdered because of the intimate and pernicious violence that we fight so hard to end.

As evidenced by the victim narratives in the last 20 years of reports, we know the criminal legal system often does not deter people who use domestic violence from becoming lethal; in many cases, it sometimes seems to exacerbate or escalate harm. A support group for loved ones of victims of homicidal violence is not appropriate for the loved ones of the one who committed the murder for many reasons. But what happens to loved ones left to grieve the loss of that person? It may seem they are forever gone, in metaphorical and sometimes literal ways - how they are seen by their communities may be irreversibly altered by their choice to take another life; their family, friends, or children are often severed from relationship with them by their violence and by systems of incarceration; their physical body may be gone too, if they died in an act of suicidal violence.

The trauma of domestic violence homicide ripples outward, unending. Cia Siab Vang, Advocacy Program Director at Black & Brown Womyn Power Coalition, Inc. says, "You can feel the trauma and pain it has on your community in your body and emotions. Personally and professionally, nothing is different. I embody the work I do...I challenge myself to create a world where womyn, girls, queer, trans, and intersex folx can be free from violence. But as an advocate, we know the work must continue and we can't freeze. We must teach ourselves to do better along with our family, friends, and community. For me this impacts the way I move in the work, making sure that I continue to create systems that work so that victims and survivors can come to us for help."

We need changes in all systems. The criminal legal system needs to believe survivors, and be more trauma-informed. They can’t continue to blame victims and imprison survivors of DV/SA. Educational systems need to be more invested so that young people can learn about healthy and healing relationships, instead of investing in police in schools. DV/SA organizations need more investment, especially BIPOC organizations. Overall we need to actively be working on dismantling patriarchy and white supremacy because those are the two large systems that allow men to continue to kill and hurt women, girls and QTI folx."

GRACE support groups were funded through a grant that will be ending in 2022. GRACE for Advocates continues to meet on a bimonthly basis. Please connect with Sara Krall, Olivia Osborne, or Tegan Swanson at End Abuse for more information.
From a Grieving Father

*Social media posts re-printed with permission from Jan Hyatt’s father

Jannie dreamed too big for this world. Her dreams couldn't be fulfilled here. She couldn't be convinced that her hopes and aspirations might just not happen. Like Christmas morning, every day she thought there might be a present to open.

But still it was very rare to see her without a smile on her face. When she came into a room you noticed her! And even more important, she noticed you!

Sammi was the joy of her life. In a way they were like sisters. Every day for them was about what to do today, what food to eat, or what clothes to wear, or what place to go to, or what people to go see.

If a plan didn't go her way, that just meant there had to be a newer better plan. Maybe she is in a better place, where she can rain down wishes upon us all, and she can guide her baby Sammi throughout her life.

Maybe she is in a place where perfection is possible, where there is no heartbreak. Maybe she will finally open a present and out will spill her every desire, and she will glow with happiness, and be showered with the answer to her every dream.

Yes I think that is where she is now...

Gather ye rosebuds while ye may, 
Old Time is still a-flying; 
And this same flower that smiles today 
Tomorrow will be dying.

Jan’s self-portrait
Topic Index to Previous Homicide Reports

Each year, the homicide report includes a discussion of a variety of topics. Below is an index of the topics that have been addressed. The report year is followed by the page number in parentheses. Each year’s report is available at http://www.endabusewi.org/homicide-reports.

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*See Methodology on page 6
Ten Years: 2012-2021

Number of Domestic Homicide Victims* and Perpetrator Suicides, Wisconsin, 2012-2021

*Does not include those killed by law enforcement

DV-Related Total Deaths, 2012-2021

*Includes homicide deaths, perpetrator suicides, and those killed by responding law enforcement
2021 DV Homicide Map

Domestic violence homicide victims by county, excluding those involving law enforcement intervention.
About End Domestic Abuse Wisconsin

For advocates, survivors, and allies, End Domestic Abuse Wisconsin is the only statewide coalition led by social policy advocates, attorneys, and experts working to support, connect, equip, empower, and lead organizations for social change to end domestic abuse, because everyone deserves dignity and safety.

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