

When Men Murder Women:

A Review of 25 Years of Female
Homicide Victimization in the
United States



Violence Policy Center

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The Violence Policy Center (VPC) is a national nonprofit educational organization that conducts research and public education on violence in America and provides information and analysis to policymakers, journalists, advocates, and the general public.

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For the past 25 years, the Violence Policy Center (VPC) has published its annual study *When Men Murder Women*.^a Released for Domestic Violence Awareness Month in October, the studies analyzed data from the Federal Bureau of Investigation's (FBI) Supplementary Homicide Reports (SHR) and ranked the states by their rates of females killed by males in single victim/single offender incidents. In addition to ranking the states by this homicide victimization rate, the studies also offered information on the age and race of these female homicide victims, victim to offender relationship, circumstance, and weapon type.

The most recent edition (released in 2022 and which analyzed 2020 SHR data), was the final report to be published by the VPC using SHR data. In January of 2021, the FBI changed the way crime data are collected and reported, which has impacted the reliability of subsequent data. That year, the FBI retired the SHR system and replaced it with the National Incident-Based Reporting System (NIBRS). While NIBRS will eventually provide much more comprehensive and robust crime data compared to the SHR, transitioning law enforcement agencies to the new data collection and reporting system has been slow and burdensome. Indeed, many law enforcement agencies did not transition to NIBRS by January of 2021, which has had a significant impact on the reliability of 2021 crime data. After a careful analysis of that year's crime data, the VPC has determined that current NIBRS data are not reliable for state-by-state gun violence research as required by *When Men Murder Women*.

As a result, for the time being the VPC is unable to continue researching and publishing *When Men Murder Women*, although we hope that we will be able to resume publication

a Prior editions of *When Men Murder Women* and related materials can be found at <https://vpc.org/revealing-the-impacts-of-gun-violence/female-homicide-victimization-by-males/>.

of the report in the future. Though other national data sources contain information about homicides, these data sources do not contain the detailed information that was collected and publicly reported by the SHR (for example, sex of offender, type of firearm, relationship, and circumstance).^b

Over its 25-year publication history, the findings of the report have: led to the passage of laws that protect women and children from domestic violence, including legislation focused specifically on removing guns from the hands of domestic violence offenders; resulted in statewide public education campaigns; spurred the establishment of domestic homicide review boards; and, been repeatedly cited in the support of legislation and policies that protect women and children, including the federal Violence Against Women Act (VAWA).

Future versions of *When Men Murder Women* will depend on the reliability of crime reporting in the coming years. It is the hope of the VPC, and numerous others, that the FBI will prioritize the transition from the SHR to NIBRS. For more information on this issue, please see the October 2023 VPC publication *The Negative Impact of the National Incident-Based Reporting System (NIBRS) Transition on Gun Violence Research*.^c

Lacking reliable crime data from 2021, this report will instead focus on trends revealed in previous editions of *When Men Murder Women* over the past 25 years. Previous years' reports described the age and race of victims, weapons used, the relationship between victim and offender, and circumstance. Prior reports also ranked the states by their rates of females killed by males. This study summarizes the findings of these reports and the patterns and characteristics of these homicides between 1996 and 2020.

b The National Violent Death Reporting System (NVDRS) is a state-based reporting system funded by the federal Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC) that captures comprehensive information about homicide, suicide, unintentional firearm, legal intervention, and undetermined intent deaths. While valuable details about the circumstances of these violent deaths are collected in the system, very limited information is available to the public. For example, information about the sex of homicide offenders is not publicly available. Another limitation of NVDRS data is the significant delay in making data publicly available. As of September 2023, NVDRS data from 2021 were not yet available. Additional information about NVDRS can be found at: https://www.cdc.gov/violenceprevention/pdf/nvdrs/NVDRS-Overview_factsheet.pdf. Mortality data are also available via other CDC databases, including Wide-ranging Online Data for Epidemiological Research (WONDER) and Web-based Injury Statistics Query and Reporting System (WISQARS). Though these systems provide relatively more timely data compared to NVDRS, the data are more limited as little information about the circumstances of death beyond victim demographics is available.

c This publication is available at: <https://www.vpc.org/studies/NIBRS.pdf>.

Among the key findings over the past two and a half decades of analysis are the following:

- A total of 45,817 females were murdered by males in single victim/single offender incidents between 1996 and 2020. Of these, 29,503 victims were white (64 percent), 14,038 were Black (31 percent), 1,216 were Asian or Pacific Islander (three percent), and 522 were American Indian/Alaska Native (one percent). Information about race was missing for 538 victims (one percent).
- National homicide rates of females killed by males decreased slightly between 1996 and 2014, and then began increasing in 2015.
- Rates increased more substantially among Black and American Indian/Alaska Native females compared to other races.
- The percentage of Black female victims killed with a gun has increased dramatically in the past decade, from 51 percent in 2011 to 72 percent in 2020.
- Most women killed by men know their killers. Among all homicides over the past 25 years, 92 percent of female victims knew their male killers.
- Among female victims who knew their male killers, 61 percent were murdered by an intimate partner.
- Fifty-three percent of female victims were killed with a firearm, the majority of which were handguns.

SECTION ONE: NATIONAL DATA, 1996 to 2020

More than 45,000 females were killed by males from 1996 to 2020.

During this period, the rate of females killed by males ranged from a high of 1.6 per 100,000 in 1996 to a low of 1.1 per 100,000 in 2014.

The national rate of females killed by males has remained relatively stable over the past 25 years with rates decreasing slightly between 1996 and 2014 and rising since then (Figure 1). The race of the victim was identified in 45,279 out of 45,817 homicides. Of these, 29,503 victims were white (64 percent), 14,038 were Black (31 percent), 1,216 were Asian or Pacific Islander (three percent), and 522 were American Indian/Alaska Native (one percent). Information about race was missing for 538 victims (one percent).

Figure 2 shows the national rate of females killed by males broken out by victim race. Over the past 25 years, the rate among Black victims has remained substantially higher than that of all other races. Beginning in 2015, the rate among American Indian/Alaska Native victims has also surpassed the national average, as well as rates among white victims.

See Appendix One for a table of number of victims and rates by race from 1996 to 2020.

National rates of female homicide victimization

Figure 1. National rates of females killed by males in single victim/single offender incidents, 1996 — 2020

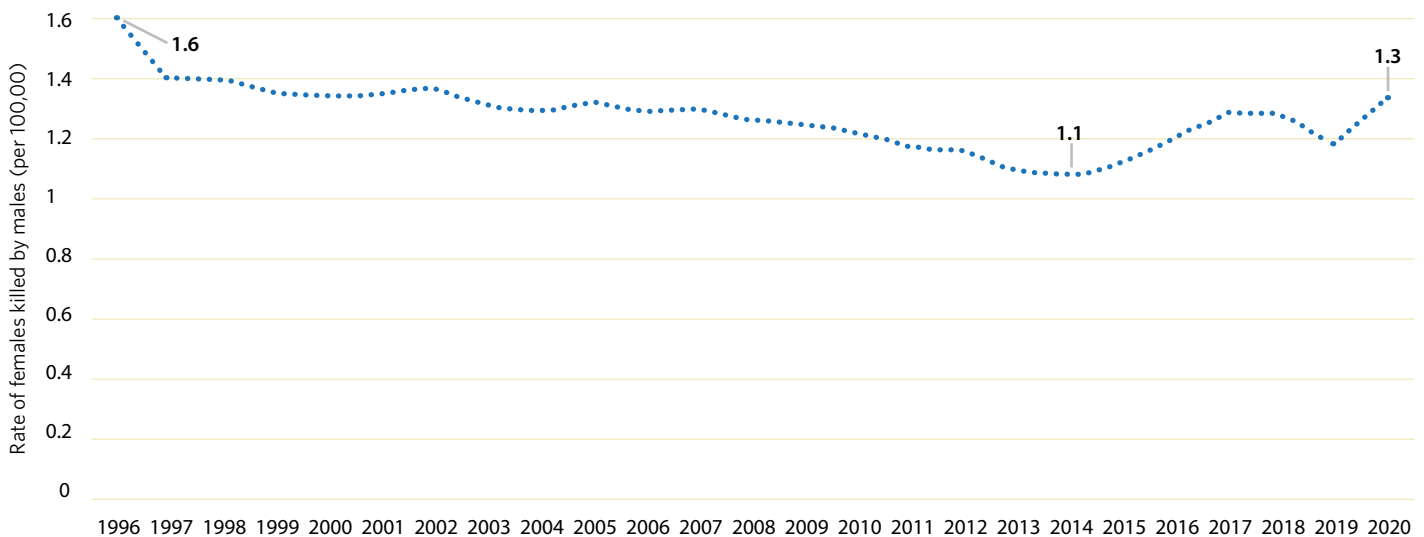
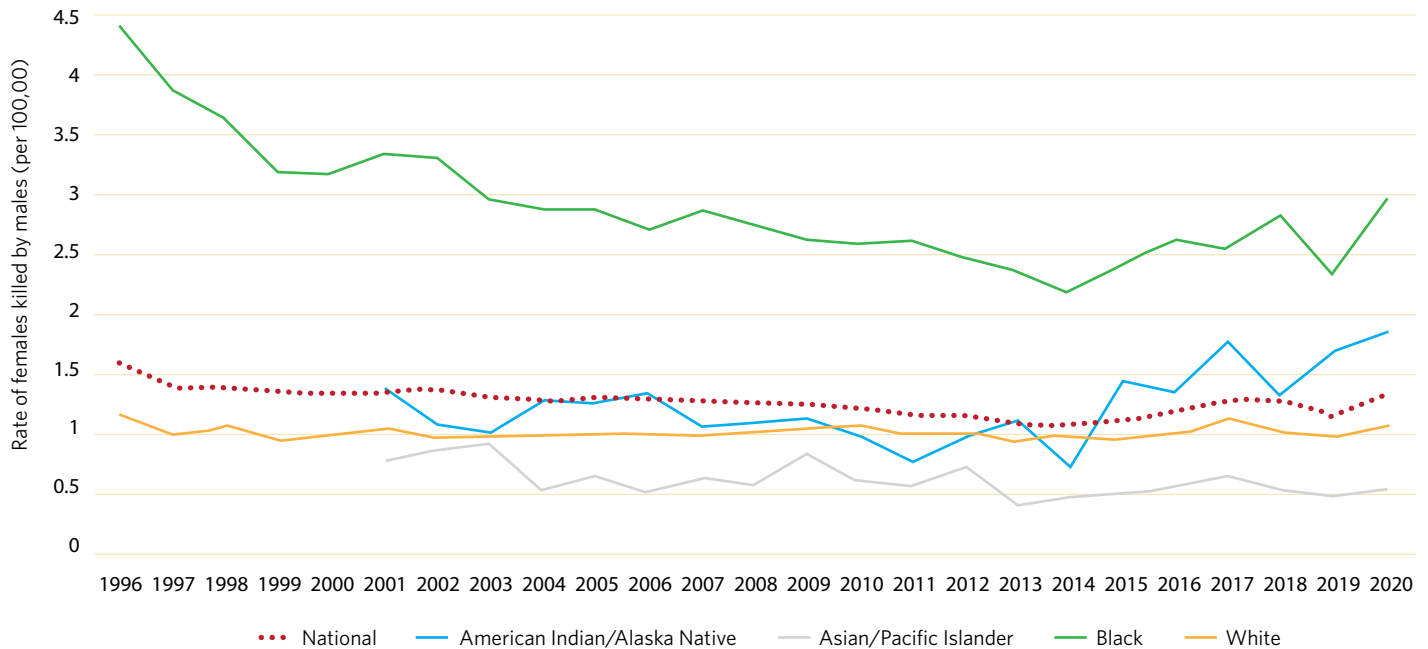


Figure 2. National rates of females killed by males in single victim/single offender incidents by race, 1996 — 2020*



*Race data for American Indian/Alaska Native and Asian/Pacific Islander populations were not reported in VPC's annual *When Men Murder Women* reports until 2001. Ethnicity data is unavailable on a national level due to the inadequacy of data collection and reporting.

Among homicides where information about victim age was available, eight percent of victims killed between 1996 to 2020 were younger than 18 years old and 10 percent of victims were age 65 or older. The median age of victims was 39 years old.

VICTIM-OFFENDER RELATIONSHIP AND HOMICIDE CIRCUMSTANCE

Ninety-two percent of the female victims knew their male killers.

Of these, 61 percent were killed by an intimate partner.

Compared to a man, a woman is far more likely to be killed by her spouse, an intimate acquaintance, or a family member than by a stranger.¹⁻² Recent studies suggest that at least half of female homicides are perpetrated by a current or former intimate partner.¹⁻³

Information about the relationship between victim and offender was available in 42,493 homicides. Of all victims over the past 25 years, 92 percent knew their killers (39,164 out of 42,493). Nearly 12 times as many females were murdered by a male they knew (39,164) than

were killed by male strangers (3,329). Among those who knew their murderer, 61 percent were murdered by the victim's husband, common-law husband, ex-husband, or boyfriend (24,083 out of 39,164). (Ex-boyfriends were not identified as there is no separate relationship category for ex-boyfriend or ex-girlfriend in the FBI SHR.) This percentage remained relatively consistent throughout the 25 years.

Information about the circumstance of the homicide was available in 36,421 incidents. Of these, 86 percent (31,339 out of 36,421) were not related to the commission of any other felony crime. Of the homicides not related to the commission of another felony, 62 percent (19,524 out of 31,339) involved arguments between the female victim and male offender. Fifty-two percent (10,231 out of 19,524) of the homicides stemming from an argument were committed with guns. Between 1996 and 2020, a total of 7,663 women were shot and killed by their husbands or intimate acquaintances in single victim/single offender incidents during an argument.

WEAPON USED

More than half of females murdered by males were killed with a firearm.

Of these, nearly three quarters were killed with a handgun.

Guns can easily escalate domestic violence to domestic homicide. Indeed, access to a firearm is a well-known risk factor for intimate partner homicide, increasing a woman's risk of being a victim by five times.⁴ Multiple studies have shown that female intimate partners are more likely to be murdered with a firearm than other weapons,⁵⁻⁸ demonstrating "the importance of reducing access to firearms in households affected by IPV [intimate partner violence]."⁵

Information about the weapon used was available for 41,677 homicides. More than half of the female victims were murdered with a firearm (53 percent or 22,279 out of 41,677). Among those, the majority were shot with a handgun (72 percent or 15,935 out of 22,279). Among females murdered with a firearm, 61 percent were killed by an intimate partner (13,683 out of 22,279). See Appendix Two for a table showing for all victims, as well as Black victims, the number and percentage killed with a gun as well as the percentage of gun homicide victims that were killed by an intimate partner from 1996 to 2020.

SECTION TWO: BLACK FEMALES KILLED BY MALES, 1996 to 2020

For the past 25 years, Black females have consistently been murdered by males at higher rates compared to all other races (as seen in Figure 2). In 2020 (the last year for which SHR data were available), 31 percent of the females killed by males in single victim/single offender incidents where the race of the victim was known were Black, though Black females only accounted for 14 percent of the female population in the United States that year.^d Black females were murdered by males at a rate (3.0 per 100,000) nearly three times that of white females (1.1 per 100,000) in 2020. This finding is consistent with CDC mortality data which show Black females in the United States experience the highest rates of homicide among women, regardless of the sex of the offender.⁹ Furthermore, the rates of both homicide and firearm homicide specifically appear to be increasing more quickly among Black females in the U.S. compared to females of other races.¹⁰ According to CDC mortality data (which does not include information about offender sex and is not limited to single victim/single offender incidents), between 2019 and 2021 the homicide rate among Black females increased from 6.0 to 9.0 per 100,000 and the firearm homicide rate increased from 4.0 to 7.1 per 100,000.^e CDC mortality data offer further evidence of the disproportionate impact violence continues to have against Black women and girls.

Though homicide rates were, and continue to be, higher among Black female victims killed by males, other victim characteristics were similar to victims of all races. Among Black female victims, 10 percent of victims were younger than 18 years of age and five percent were age 65 or older. The median age of Black victims was 34.

Similar to all victims, the majority of Black females knew their killers (91 percent or 10,106 out of 11,051). Among those who knew their killers, 58 percent were murdered by an intimate partner (5,818 out of 10,106). See Appendix Three for a breakdown of percentages of victims who knew their killer and were killed by an intimate partner for all victims and Black victims from 1996 to 2020.

Findings about the circumstance of the homicide were also similar between all victims and Black victims. The majority of homicides involving Black victims were not related to the commission of any other felony crime (87 percent or 8,439 out of 9,665). Of the homicides

d 2020 Population data came from CDC's Web-based Injury Statistics Query and Reporting System (WISQARS), available at: <https://www.cdc.gov/injury/wisqars/index.html>.

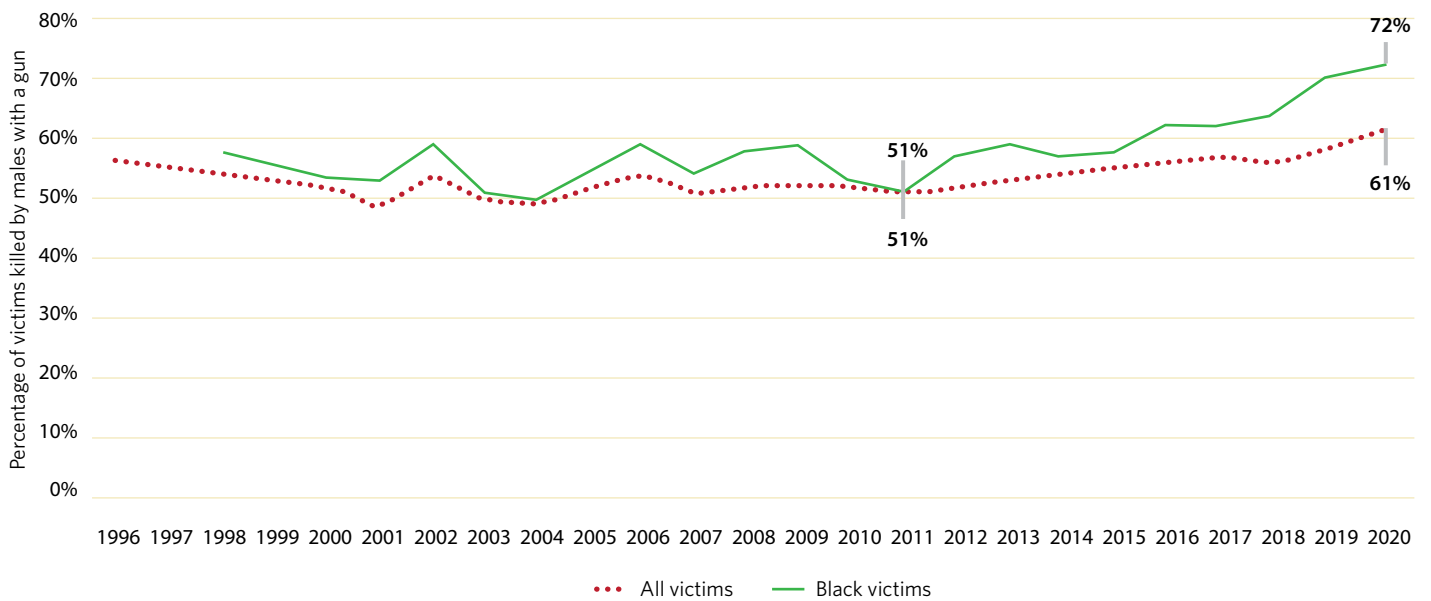
e Homicide rates differ between SHR data and CDC mortality data as each is an independent dataset collected by different methods for different purposes. As such, results from each dataset are not directly comparable, though general patterns and trends found in one dataset may support results derived from the other.

not related to the commission of another felony, 66 percent (5,530 out of 8,439) involved arguments between the female victim and male offender. Fifty-six percent (3,102 out of 5,530) of the homicides stemming from an argument were committed with guns.

More than half of Black females were murdered with a firearm (58 percent or 6,633 out of 11,499). Among those, three quarters were shot with a handgun (76 percent or 5,040 out of 6,633). Black females were less likely to be shot by an intimate partner compared to all female victims — 50 percent of Black females who were killed with a firearm were killed by an intimate partner (3,307 out of 6,633).

Over the last decade, the number of homicides committed by males with firearms against female victims has increased. This increase is much more dramatic among Black victims, where the percentage increased from 51 percent in 2011 to 72 percent in 2020 (see Figure 3). This is consistent with other studies showing Black women are killed with guns more frequently than women of other races.³ This finding underscores the need for targeted prevention efforts to curb the deadly firearm violence faced by Black women and girls.

Figure 3. Percentage of all victims and Black victims killed with a gun, 1996 — 2020*



*This information was not reported for Black victims in VPC's annual *When Men Murder Women* reports until 1998

SECTION THREE: STATE RANKINGS, 1996 to 2020

During the years of the study's publication, 33 states had rates of females killed by males that placed them among the jurisdictions with the 10 highest rates for that given year. For each year, the 10 states with the highest rates were highlighted in individual state profiles. Appendix Four as of this study lists these states alphabetically and their ranking for each year.

Over the 25-year publication history of *When Men Murder Women*:

- Eight states ranked in the top 10 in more than half of the past 25 years: **Alaska, Arkansas, Louisiana, Nevada, New Mexico, Oklahoma, South Carolina, and Tennessee**. Notably, virtually all of these states are southern or southwestern states and the majority of these states have higher rates of household firearm ownership.
- **Alaska** was in the top 10 states for 18 out of the last 25 years and has consistently ranked number one or two among states with the highest rates in the last decade. It should be noted that **Alaska** has one of the highest rates of household firearm ownership in the nation.¹¹⁻¹²
- **Arkansas** was in the top 10 states for 14 out of the last 25 years and has the sixth-highest rate of household firearm ownership in the U.S.¹¹
- **Louisiana** was in the top 10 states every year with the exception of 2008 and ranks 13th in the nation in terms of household firearm ownership rates.
- **Nevada** was in the top 10 states for 23 out of the past 25 years and ranks 21st in the nation in terms of household firearm ownership rates.
- **New Mexico** was in the top 10 states for 13 out of the past 25 years and ranks 25th in the nation in terms of household firearm ownership rates.
- **Oklahoma** was in the top 10 states for 15 out of the past 25 years and ranks 11th in the nation in terms of household firearm ownership rates.
- **South Carolina** was in the top 10 states for 23 out of the past 25 years and ranks 17th in the nation in terms of household firearm ownership rates.
- **Tennessee** was in the top 10 states for 20 out of the past 25 years and ranks 14th in the nation in terms of household firearm ownership rates.

SECTION FOUR: LAWS THAT HELP PROTECT WOMEN FROM ABUSERS

Over the past three decades, numerous federal and state laws designed to protect women from abusers have been enacted. In 2022, Congress reauthorized the Violence Against Women Act (VAWA). The law funds critical domestic violence prevention programs and services, including new provisions to help survivors from historically marginalized communities access the services and support they need.

In the 1990s, two major provisions were added to federal law to prevent domestic abusers from obtaining firearms. In 1993, the late Senator Paul Wellstone (D-MN) attached an amendment to the Violent Crime Control and Law Enforcement Act to prohibit individuals who are the subject of a protective order involving domestic violence from buying or possessing firearms. The Wellstone amendment became law in 1994.^{13, f} In 1996, the late Senator Frank Lautenberg (D-NJ) sponsored a provision prohibiting individuals with misdemeanor domestic violence convictions from purchasing or possessing firearms (those with felony domestic violence convictions are already precluded from firearms possession under a general provision prohibiting firearms possession by felons).¹³

These laws are enforced in part by the Brady Law background checks performed on firearm transactions conducted through Federal Firearms License holders (FFLs). From November 30, 1998 to August 31, 2023, these two domestic violence prohibited categories accounted for 12 percent of rejected federal firearm transfers.¹⁴ In addition, the most recently enacted version of VAWA included the National Instant Criminal Background Check System (NICS) Denial Notification Act to help state law enforcement investigate and prosecute cases against individuals legally prohibited from purchasing firearms who try to do so.¹⁵

Many states have additional laws prohibiting gun possession by persons with a history of domestic violence. For example, largely in response to South Carolina's consistent ranking in the top five in *When Men Murder Women*, in 2015 its legislature enacted a law that generally prohibits the possession of firearms or ammunition by someone who has been convicted of criminal domestic violence. Across the nation, 28 states and the District of Columbia have enacted laws that facilitate the removal of firearms and/or ammunition from persons subject to domestic violence-related protective orders.¹⁶ These are just two examples of the increasing number of state-level laws being enacted that recognize the role played by firearms in lethal domestic violence incidents.

f A case is pending in the United States Supreme Court challenging on Second Amendment grounds the validity of the ban on possession of firearms by persons subject to domestic violence restraining orders, *United States of America v. Rahimi*, <https://www.scotusblog.com/case-files/cases/united-states-v-rahimi/>.

Studies examining the impact of such laws on intimate partner homicides have found that these laws are effective at reducing intimate partner homicide rates, specifically homicides perpetrated with a firearm.¹⁷⁻¹⁹ One study found that laws prohibiting persons subject to intimate partner violence-related restraining orders from possessing firearms and requiring these individuals to relinquish their firearms were associated with 10 percent lower total intimate partner homicide rates and 14 percent lower rates of intimate partner homicide perpetrated with a firearm.¹⁷

CONCLUSION

Violence against women is a significant public health issue with concerning upward trends in recent homicide rates. Findings from the past 25 years of *When Men Murder Women* have consistently shown that women are most at risk from men they know. These men are often a spouse or other intimate acquaintance armed with a gun. Females from minority populations, specifically Black and American Indian/Alaska Native, are killed by males at higher rates compared to white females. Gun use in homicides against females by males, and especially Black females, is increasing. Policies designed to reduce violence against women, and in particular homicide, must be guided by reliable data and effective strategies that reflect the reality of domestic homicide and include a focus on reducing access to firearms. The picture that has become clearer every year, for the past 25 years, is that for women in America, guns are not used to save lives, but rather to take them.

APPENDIX ONE

Victim counts of females murdered by males and rates by victim race, 1996 — 2020

	White		Black		American Indian/Alaska Native		Asian/Pacific Islander		Total**	
	Count	Rate	Count	Rate	Count	Rate	Count	Rate	Count	Rate
1996	1,278	1.1	777	4.4	11	*	47	*	2,129	1.6
1997	1,140	1.0	693	3.9	17	*	51	*	1,920	1.4
1998	1,204	1.1	659	3.6	21	*	30	*	1,932	1.4
1999	1,098	1.0	582	3.2	16	*	45	*	1,750	1.4
2000	1,120	1.0	608	3.2	16	*	47	*	1,805	1.3
2001	1,207	1.1	619	3.3	17	1.4	46	0.8	1,899	1.4
2002	1,159	1.0	636	3.3	15	1.1	53	0.9	1,880	1.4
2003	1,157	1.0	572	3.0	14	1.0	59	0.9	1,817	1.3
2004	1,178	1.0	566	2.9	18	1.3	35	0.6	1,807	1.3
2005	1,204	1.0	574	2.9	18	1.3	44	0.7	1,858	1.3
2006	1,208	1.0	551	2.7	21	1.3	38	0.5	1,836	1.3
2007	1,197	1.0	579	2.9	16	1.1	44	0.6	1,865	1.3
2008	1,193	1.0	542	2.7	18	1.1	45	0.6	1,817	1.3
2009	1,228	1.1	497	2.6	17	1.1	59	0.8	1,818	1.3
2010	1,218	1.1	499	2.6	18	1.0	46	0.6	1,800	1.2
2011	1,126	1.0	492	2.6	14	0.8	47	0.6	1,707	1.2
2012	1,139	1.0	468	2.5	18	1.0	63	0.7	1,706	1.2
2013	1,086	1.0	453	2.4	21	1.1	36	0.4	1,615	1.1
2014	1,116	1.0	424	2.2	14	0.7	44	0.5	1,613	1.1
2015	1,110	1.0	476	2.4	28	1.5	48	0.5	1,686	1.1
2016	1,188	1.0	517	2.6	26	1.3	55	0.6	1,809	1.2
2017	1,309	1.1	507	2.6	35	1.8	65	0.7	1,948	1.3
2018	1,215	1.0	605	2.9	30	1.3	56	0.5	1,946	1.3
2019	1,166	1.0	501	2.3	39	1.7	53	0.5	1,795	1.2
2020	1,259	1.1	641	3.0	44	1.9	60	0.5	2,059	1.3
Total	29,503		14,038		522		1,216		45,817	

* Race data for American Indian/Alaska Native and Asian/Pacific Islander populations were not collected in VPC's annual *When Men Murder Women* reports until 2001.

**The total count and rate include victims for whom race information was unavailable.

APPENDIX TWO

Victim counts of females murdered by males and percentages of victims killed with a gun by an intimate partner for all victims and Black victims, 1996 — 2020

	All victims				Black victims			
	Count of victims killed with a gun	Percent of victims killed with a gun	Count of victims killed by an intimate partner with a gun	Percent of gun victims killed by an intimate partner*	Count of victims killed with a gun	Percent of victims killed with a gun	Count of victims killed by an intimate partner with a gun	Percent of gun victims killed by an intimate partner*
1996	1,139	56%	669	59%	**	**	**	**
1997	1,000	55%	594	59%	**	**	**	**
1998	978	54%	611	62%	365	58%	198	54%
1999	865	53%	546	63%	300	55%	159	53%
2000	879	52%	557	63%	302	53%	150	50%
2001	846	49%	534	63%	287	53%	157	55%
2002	928	54%	550	59%	345	59%	179	52%
2003	835	50%	533	64%	272	51%	139	51%
2004	811	49%	505	62%	267	50%	130	49%
2005	887	52%	556	63%	290	54%	149	51%
2006	907	54%	539	59%	305	59%	132	43%
2007	847	51%	545	64%	281	54%	152	54%
2008	858	52%	534	62%	283	58%	158	56%
2009	861	52%	550	64%	264	59%	140	53%
2010	849	52%	574	68%	237	53%	136	57%
2011	798	51%	489	61%	230	51%	106	46%
2012	801	52%	487	61%	245	57%	111	45%
2013	777	53%	474	61%	243	59%	121	50%
2014	783	54%	496	63%	218	57%	106	49%
2015	840	55%	538	64%	249	58%	127	51%
2016	897	56%	552	62%	291	62%	137	47%
2017	977	57%	583	60%	286	62%	142	50%
2018	949	56%	568	60%	348	64%	162	47%
2019	910	58%	537	59%	314	70%	150	48%
2020	1,057	61%	562	53%	411	72%	166	40%
Total***	22,279	53%	13,683	61%	6,633	58%	3,307	50%

* This percentage is calculated out of all victims killed with a gun.

** This information was not collected in VPC's annual *When Men Murder Women* reports until 1998.

*** The 'Total' row indicates total victim counts and the average percent over the past 25 years.

APPENDIX THREE

Percentages of female victims murdered by males who knew their killer for all victims and Black victims, 1996 — 2020

	All races		Black victims	
	Percentage of victims who knew their killer	Percentage of victims who were killed by an intimate partner*	Percentage of victims who knew their killer	Percentage of victims who were killed by an intimate partner*
1996	93%	56%	**	**
1997	92%	57%	**	**
1998	92%	60%	95%	54%
1999	92%	60%	93%	53%
2000	92%	62%	91%	54%
2001	90%	61%	88%	59%
2002	90%	61%	89%	59%
2003	92%	62%	91%	58%
2004	92%	62%	92%	56%
2005	92%	62%	90%	60%
2006	92%	60%	90%	54%
2007	91%	62%	88%	58%
2008	92%	64%	92%	62%
2009	93%	63%	92%	54%
2010	94%	65%	94%	64%
2011	94%	61%	94%	52%
2012	93%	62%	92%	56%
2013	94%	62%	92%	56%
2014	93%	63%	91%	57%
2015	93%	64%	93%	58%
2016	93%	63%	91%	58%
2017	92%	62%	91%	60%
2018	92%	63%	91%	61%
2019	91%	62%	91%	60%
2020	89%	60%	90%	56%
Average	92%	61%	91%	58%

* This percentage is calculated out of all victims who knew their killer.

** This information was not reported in VPC's annual *When Men Murder Women* reports until 1998.

APPENDIX FOUR

States with the 10 highest rates of females killed by males, 1996 — 2020

Numbers represent a given state's ranking in the top 10 for that year. If a state does not have a ranking from 1 to 10 for a given year, it means that the state's ranking was lower than 10.

	'96	'97	'98	'99	'00	'01	'02	'03	'04	'05	'06	'07
Alabama	7	7	9	--	--	2	10	--	--	8	3	6
Alaska	--	10	--	2	--	6	1	1	1	2	--	2
Arizona	--	--	--	4	2	8	--	7	--	--	9	10
Arkansas	--	3	3	--	7	7	--	--	--	6	8	4
Colorado	--	--	10	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
Delaware	2	--	--	--	--	--	8	--	--	--	--	--
Georgia	8	--	--	--	10	9	--	8	7 (tie)	--	--	--
Hawaii	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
Idaho	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
Kansas	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
Kentucky	9	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	9	--	--	--
Louisiana	4	1	2	3	5	4	2	3 (tie)	4	3	5	1
Maine	--	--	6	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
Maryland	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
Michigan	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
Mississippi	--	--	--	--	1	--	--	9	--	5	--	--
Missouri	--	--	--	9	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
Montana	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
Nevada	1	2	8	1	9	3	4	2	5	1	1	5
New Hampshire	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
New Mexico	--	--	--	--	8	--	3	3 (tie)	2 (tie)	4	--	7
North Carolina	5	6	4	10	6	--	9	--	--	--	--	--
North Dakota	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
Oklahoma	--	5	7	8	--	10	--	--	7 (tie)	10	4	9
South Carolina	3	4	1	5	3	1	6	6	6	7	2	8
South Dakota	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
Tennessee	--	--	--	7	4	5	7	5	10	9	10	--
Texas	10	--	--	--	--	--	--	10	--	--	7	--
Vermont	--	--	--	6	--	--	--	--	--	--	6	--
Virginia	6	8	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
West Virginia	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
Wisconsin	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
Wyoming	--	9	5	--	--	--	5	--	2 (tie)	--	--	3

APPENDIX FOUR

	'08	'09	'10	'11	'12	'13	'14	'15	'16	'17	'18	'19	'20
Alabama	3	2	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
Alaska	--	--	--	2	1	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Arizona	--	4	8 (tie)	5	8	--	--	--	--	7	--	--	--
Arkansas	7 (tie)	--	--	--	--	--	--	6	4	3	6	9	4
Colorado	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
Delaware	--	--	--	4	--	--	--	--	8	--	--	--	--
Georgia	10	6	10	--	9	--	8	--	--	10	--	--	--
Hawaii	--	8 (tie)	8 (tie)	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
Idaho	--	--	--	7	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
Kansas	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	7	--	--	--	--	--
Kentucky	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	8	9	--	--	--	10
Louisiana	--	3	4	9	4	4	2	3	2	2	5	5	5
Maine	--	--	--	--	--	9	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
Maryland	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	10	--	--	--	--
Michigan	--	--	--	--	--	10	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
Mississippi	--	--	--	--	5	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
Missouri	7 (tie)	10	--	--	7	--	--	10 (tie)	7	--	2	7	6 (tie)
Montana	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	8	10	--	--
Nevada	1	1	1	--	6	5	3	2	3	4	7	3	--
New Hampshire	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	4	--
New Mexico	--	--	7	10	--	3	6	10 (tie)	--	--	4	2	--
North Carolina	4	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
North Dakota	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	8	--	6 (tie)
Oklahoma	--	--	--	3	3	6 (tie)	4	--	--	--	3	8	2
South Carolina	9	7	2	1	2	1	5	5	6	5 (tie)	--	6	--
South Dakota	--	8 (tie)	--	--	--	--	7	--	--	--	--	--	9
Tennessee	5	5	3	6	10	6 (tie)	9	4	5	5 (tie)	9	10	--
Texas	6	--	6	--	--	--	10	9	--	--	--	--	--
Vermont	2	--	--	--	--	8	--	--	--	9	--	--	--
Virginia	--	--	5	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
West Virginia	--	--	--	8	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
Wisconsin	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	8
Wyoming	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	3

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