



Situational factors in male homicide victimisation: A mixed systematic review

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Research Report

Submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for
the Degree of Master of Arts in Clinical Psychology in the Department of Psychology,
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Declaration

I, Courtney Price Moor, student number 1620539, declare that the contents of this Research Report are entirely my own, original work. It is submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the Degree of Master of Arts in Clinical Psychology in the Department of Psychology, at the University of Witwatersrand. It has not been submitted before for any degree or examination at any other University.



Signature

21st October 2024

Date

Abstract

Background: Globally, the large majority of victims and perpetrators of homicide are male. Furthermore, while the distal risk factors for homicide are well documented, understandings of the situational factors associated with the actual homicidal event are limited.

Aim: The aim of the study was to identify, evaluate, and synthesise the findings of all relevant studies of situational factors in male homicide victimisation, globally, using a mixed systematic review.

Methodology: This review was conducted in accordance with PRISMA guidelines. Peer-reviewed studies published in English between 1970 and January 2024 were considered for inclusion. The articles were searched in multiple databases including Web of Science, PsycINFO, PubMed, EBSCO, Science Direct, and ProQuest Central. This yielded a total of 22 eligible studies: three qualitative, four mixed methods and fifteen quantitative papers. The Mixed Methods Appraisal Tool was used as a quality assessment criterion – the 22 included articles were of high quality and validity. The included studies were synthesised using thematic analysis.

Results: Six key themes were identified in the included studies: (1) Alcohol and Substance Use as Catalysts for Male Homicide, (2) Temporal and Spatial Factors, (3) Weapon Use and Methods of Killing, (4) Dynamics of Male Homicide, (5) Victim-Offender Relationship, and (6) Victim and Offender Characteristics.

Conclusion: This systematic review has provided a comprehensive synthesis of the situational factors associated with male homicide victimisation. The synthesis highlights the interaction between individual, relational, community, societal, and situational factors that contribute to male homicides globally. The integration of these insights into public health initiatives and legislative frameworks will be essential in addressing the global challenge of homicide and promoting safer communities for all. The underrepresentation of studies from

low- and middle-income countries, and gaps in the literature, including the role of mental illness in shaping violent behaviours, suggests a need for further research in these specific areas.

Keywords: *Situational factors, homicide, male victims, male homicide, event characteristics, male honour, victim precipitation, victim characteristics, offender characteristics, victim-offender relationship.*

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Chapter 1: Introduction

According to the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC, 2023, the majority (56%) of victims of intimate partner and family-related homicide are females. However, those most often involved in homicide overall, are males who account for more than 80% of homicide victims and perpetrators worldwide (UNODC, 2023). More specifically, males make up 81% of homicide victims and 90% of perpetrators (UNODC, 2023).

Despite the complexities inherent in the primary prevention of violence and the international call for multisectoral action plans, global responses to legislation remain limited in scope (Schopper et al., 2006). These legislative responses have justifiably focused on females, children, and the disabled as victims. However, these efforts do not consider the disproportionate vulnerability of boys and men to fatal violence (van Niekerk et al., 2015; Matzopoulos et al., 2014). Given that most homicide is perpetrated by males on males, the relative neglect of risk and situational factors in this specific form of violence means that international understandings of violence are significantly limited (Schopper et al., 2006; Matzopoulos et al., 2023).

Public health contributions and primary prevention interventions must include men as an especially vulnerable population alongside other vulnerable groups (van Niekerk et al., 2015). However, there are substantial barriers to policy development focused on male victims specifically, including limited targeted research (Nzuki et al., 2013; Godfrey et al., 2010).

The purpose of this study is to systematically review existing literature and evidence on what is known about situational factors in male homicide victimisation globally. Such a systematic review will make the relevant research more accessible, contribute to the

formulation of policy, and “enable decisions that are maximally informed and minimally biased” (Sofaer & Strech, 2011, p. 2).

The focus of this study will therefore be on the situational factors involved in male homicide victimisation. “Male” is defined as belonging to the sex that has a Y chromosome, produces larger amounts of testosterone leading to the development of male reproductive organs, and thus does not give birth to babies (Lehtonen & Parker, 2014). This systematic review is concerned with the term “intentional homicide”, which is defined by the Global Study on Homicide as acts in which the offender unlawfully intends to cause death or serious injury (UNODC, 2023). Deaths related to wars, battles or conflicts, or caused by recklessness or negligence are excluded, as well as killings justified by law enforcement agents in self-defence or in the line of duty (UNODC, 2023). The concepts of murder, homicide, and killing will be used interchangeably throughout this study and will refer specifically to the killing of another being *intentional*.

1.1 Rationale

The most robust understandings of violence are derived from homicide studies. However, very few review studies have focused specifically on males. In fact, most systematic reviews have been focused on femicide and intimate partner violence. Furthermore, the vast majority of homicide studies have neglected the importance of situational factors. Of those studies on situational contexts, most have focused on female victims. This poses a fundamental challenge to fully understanding homicide as a whole because males make up the majority of homicide victims and perpetrators (UNODC, 2023). A systematic review on the situational factors in male homicide is therefore needed to provide a more robust understanding of homicide overall. This review will include a synthesis of what is known about situational factors in male homicide, which is where the evidence is currently most limited. Furthermore, the review will yield an unbiased summary

of evidence on situational factors in male homicide and will also allow for an analytical synthesis of the data in the field, thereby documenting connections, incongruities, methodological flaws, and research gaps to direct future research and shed light on potential interventions for policymakers and decision-making (Siddaway et al., 2019; Laher & Hassem, 2020).

1.2 Research Question

What are the situational factors associated with male homicide victimisation?

1.3 Research Aim

The aim of the study was to identify, evaluate, and summarise the findings of all relevant studies of situational factors in male homicide victimisation using the systematic review method. I aimed to identify studies on both male and female perpetrators of male victims of homicide, in order to produce a comprehensive understanding of the literature pertaining to situational factors in male homicide.

1.4 Outline of the Report

This research report has five chapters in total. Chapter 2 defines the various risk and situational factors associated with male homicide and provides an outline of existing literature in the field of homicide studies. Thereafter, Chapter 3 describes the methodology, procedures and strategies that guided the systematic review process. Chapter 4 presents the findings of this systematic review, that being the major themes identified throughout the included research papers. In Chapter 5, I carefully consider and discuss the findings with the context of other existing literature in the field. Finally, in Chapter 6, I present the implications for practice, the strengths and limitations of the review, recommendations for future research, and a brief conclusion.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

2.1 Introduction

Homicide is a significant public health issue worldwide, with men being at a higher risk of victimisation than women. In order to provide a thorough introduction to the various reasons why some individuals or communities are more violent than others, I will be discussing the risk factors for homicide – that is, the complex interaction of social, community, relationship, and individual factors that have been shown to predispose communities and individuals to violence and homicide (Butchart & Engstrom, 1996).

However, while the overall causes of violence are often researched, the immediate contributing effects, factors or influences of the actual homicidal event are ignored (APA, 1996). In accordance with recent research in the area of male homicide victimisation, there has been a discernible move towards better understanding the contextual or situational determinants of homicide, as there is currently limited available data on situational factors (Bowman et al., 2018). The situational perspective is concerned with homicide at the incident level, focussing on the immediate variables or processes related to the context of the event associated with a violent or fatal interaction. According to Parker and Mckinley (2018), the situational perspective diverts attention to the event itself rather than only focusing on the offender's subjective motives, and constructs a holistic understanding of why the homicide may have occurred, incorporating situational factors and the victim-offender interaction. The main difference between situational factors and risk factors is that situational factors focus more on the circumstances of the event itself, rather than who may have predispositions of becoming a victim or offender (Pizarro, 2008). I will conclude the literature review with an overview of the available literature on situational factors.

2.2 Incidence Rate

According to the UNODC, the total number of homicides globally in 2021 was estimated to be 458,000. 38.43% of those homicides occurred in Africa, 33.62% in the Americas, 24% in Asia, 3.71% in Europe and 0.22% in Oceania (UNODC, 2023). The rates of homicide in Africa and the Americas are more than double the global average of 5.8 per 100,000 - while in Asia, Europe and Oceania it is half the global average (UNODC, 2023). The rate of homicide has decreased in many countries since 1995, mainly in Asia, Europe and Northern America, yet it has increased in Central America and the Caribbean to nearly the point of crisis (UNODC, 2023). Furthermore, although the number of intentional homicides was highest in Africa in 2021, there was a greater risk of being murdered in the Americas as the homicide rate was 15 per 100,000 population compared to 12.7 in Africa (UNODC, 2023).

Moreover, according to the Centre for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC) males account for 79% of homicide victims in the United States (CDC, 2022). In the States alone, between the years 2001 and 2020, there have been 3,447 homicides of male infants younger than one year old, and 283,192 male homicide victims between the ages of 1 and 85+ years old (OCD, 2021). In South Africa, 87% of homicide victims in 2017 were males, with seven male deaths for every female (Matzopoulos et al., 2023)

Societies with greater proportions of young males tend to have a higher incident rate of homicide. According to the World Health Organisation (WHO) (2019), political regime shifts may also be linked to a higher rate of homicide, for example, dictatorship in Brazil, Apartheid in South Africa, and in Eastern Europe related to the collapse of Communism. The rate of homicide tends to be lower in regions with law legitimacy and low levels of corruption (van Niekerk, 2015), whereas poverty, economic inequality, and access to guns, drugs and alcohol are additional risk factors for homicide (Moore et al., 2021).

Discussing risk factors provides a foundational understanding of the various influences that contribute to homicide. By examining these factors through the socio-ecological framework, one can explore how individual behaviours, relationships, community conditions, and societal norms interact to create environments where homicide occurs (CDC, 2014). Introducing these broader categories of risk factors sets the stage for a more focused discussion on situational factors. Situational factors, such as the immediate physical environment, presence of weapons, or victim-offender relationships, can be better understood within the broader context of these established risk levels.

2.3 Socio-Ecological View of Risk Factors

The socio-ecological model derived from Bronfenbrenner's (1977) framework is useful for understanding the risk factors for homicide, as it considers the multiple levels of influence that contribute to homicide, particularly the intricate interactions between individual, relationship, community, and societal factors (Curtin & Kennelly, 2018). The CDC and WHO also utilise this model to gain a deeper understanding of violence and to assess the impact of potential prevention strategies (CDC, 2024; WHO, 2023). As previously mentioned, the model's overlapping rings illustrate how factors at each level interact with one another, thus providing a more comprehensive understanding of how specific situational factors contribute to the risk of homicide. See figure 2 below.

Figure 2

Socio-ecological model



(CDC, 2014)

2.3.1 Societal Factors

There are certain social factors that predispose individuals to homicide. However, these are predominantly useful for identifying significant interactions, rather than direct causes. Societal-level factors encompass the broader cultural, political and social factors that have an effect on male homicide. From a cultural standpoint, the emphasis on traditional notions of masculinity or femininity and stereotypical gender roles in society, especially aggressive and dominant behavioural patterns, may contribute towards homicide (Slegh et al., 2021). This includes threats to individuals' identities as a source of conflict, such as seeming in control of others, egocentrism, manhood or feminism, impression formation, self-esteem and self-perception (Wilkinson & Hamerschlag, 2005; Cahn, 1996).

Further, certain social norms, such as the normalisation of violence within gang culture, are another contributing factor (Di Marco, 2023). Systemic inequalities, such as discrimination, poverty and racism, may contribute to the likelihood of violent behaviour as an outlet for resentment, and as a plea of despair (Matzopoulos et al., 2023). Races that experience a higher risk of homicide in the States include Black and Hispanic men, attributable to issues such as marginalisation, poverty, and exposure to violence in certain neighbourhoods (Ulmer, Harris, & Steffensmeier, 2012). Furthermore, males are socialised to cope by acting out their emotions in ways like anger, impatience, violence against partners, acquaintances and others, and increased risk-taking (Martin et al., 2013). This, combined with the lived experiences of high levels of violence, results in a persistent cycle of violence that is frequently intergenerational (Slegh et al., 2021). It is possible that many of these factors have to do with the way in which males are typically viewed as the protectors in society's gender norms (Jordan et al., 2022).

When boys or men defend their honour and establish their superiority or dominance over other men, they can be more resistant to standing down in encounters or times of

conflict, thus increasing the risk of fatal perpetration and victimisation. Considering the nature of the interaction between victim and offender, a study by Bowman et al., (2022) showed that during robberies, males were much more likely to be a victim of homicide.

Furthermore, interestingly, studies by Wood et al., (1991) and Centerwall (1992), found that media culture is a way in which violent or homicidal images, norms and values are exposed to children and adolescents, who are at impressionable ages. The studies indicated that television, video games and the internet increased opportunities for exposure and were linked to increases in the level of severe forms of violence.

2.3.2 Community Factors

The first of the community-level risk factors is local poverty; men who live within highly impoverished communities with high levels of unemployment experience higher levels of homicide victimisation (Dahlberg & Mercy, 2006). Neighbourhood characteristics are also associated with the rate of male homicide, including higher rates of crime, unrest, social disorganisation and disruption within communities, all of which contribute to increased rates of male homicide (Wikström & Loeber, 2000). Studies conducted in Great Britain, North America, and Nigeria indicated that, overall, men living in urban districts have a higher chance of being involved in more severe forms of violent behaviour than individuals living in rural areas (Farrington, 1998; Thornberry, Huizinga & Loeber, 1995). In these urban areas, neighbourhoods considered to have higher levels of violent crime are more likely to influence male residents to be involved in violent behaviour (Farrington, 1998).

Moreover, easy access to weapons, particularly firearms, within one's community has a significant impact on rates of homicide among men (Khubchandani & Price, 2018). With these weapons, the likelihood of fatality from confrontation increases, and minor disputes may more readily escalate into deadly ones (Hemmingway & Miller, 2019). South Africa has high rates of illegal firearm ownership (Matzopoulos et al., 2023), and the USA has easy

access to firearms due to their relatively permissive gun laws, which is an example of interpersonal and institutional violence (Chadha et al., 2020).

2.3.3 Relationship Factors

Interpersonal relations with one's family, friends, intimate partners, and colleagues can also influence one's victimisation and perpetration of aggressive and violent behaviours as well as shape personality traits (Dawson & Piscitelli, 2017). Usually, families have the greatest influence during childhood, and friends, peers and colleagues have an effect during adolescence and adulthood (Dahlberg, 1998; McCord, 1979). For instance, interacting on a daily basis or living with an abusive intimate partner or abusive guardian may increase the opportunity for violent encounters (Eron et al., 1991).

Owing to individuals often being bound together by familial bonds, the likelihood and severity of abuse increases (Reiss & Roth, 1993; Resnick et al., 2004). Research shows that the risk for homicide perpetration is increased when violent behaviours are approved or encouraged by friends or family members (Dawson & Piscitelli, 2017). Furthermore, Douglas and Bell (2011) found that violence during adolescence and adulthood is strongly predicted by parents' inadequate monitoring and supervision of their children as well as their use of severe, physical punishment as discipline. Similarly, McCord (1979) found that severe punishment and negligence by parents in children before the age of 10 years, strongly amplified the risk of convictions for severe forms of violence up to the age of 45 years.

Parental conflict and poor attachment to parents during early childhood are also strongly linked to severe forms of violence, such as homicide, in adolescence and adulthood (Farrington, 1998). Furthermore, parental absence has an impact on children globally, for instance, millions of children have lost their parents to AIDS and have been orphaned as a result (Butchart & Engstrom, 1996). Many communities do not have the capacity for traditional orphanages or guardianship and can no longer care for millions of youths, thus the

epidemic has had serious negative effects on violence among the youth, especially in Africa, where the prevalence is already very high (UNAIDS, 2022).

Research also illustrates that men who are close with or associate with individuals involved in criminal activities or gangs are at a much higher risk of male homicide victimisation and perpetration, due to the increased risk of violent encounters, retaliation and self-defence (McDaniel 2012).

2.3.4 Individual Factors

Individual-level factors refer to personal characteristics and behaviours that increase the probability of being a perpetrator or victim of homicide. Matzopoulos et al., (2023), found that males aged 15-44, are at the highest risk of homicide victimisation. This is due to factors such age, occupation, drug and alcohol use, access to guns, gang involvement and relationship status (Curtin & Kennelly, 2018; Pridemore, 2004; Dahlberg & Mercy, 2009).

The abuse of drugs and alcohol is another individual-level risk and situational factor for male homicide as it impairs an individual's judgement and increases impulsivity, thereby making them more likely to engage in violent behaviour and associate with individuals involved in criminal activities (Hemenway & Miller, 2019).

Another contributing risk for homicide is an individual's relationship status, with single men having a higher prevalence of violent or fatal crimes, as well as men working in particular occupations, for instance, transportation, retail, and the service industry (Dahlberg & Butchart, 2005). This is related to factors such as exposure to violence in the workplace, working alone or at night, and handling cash (Kposowa, 2006). Careers that involve engagement with the public or high-stress levels may also increase the chance of homicide victimisation or perpetration.

Interestingly, biological factors, such as low heart rates, are linked to stimulation-seeking and risk-taking, which has been shown to specifically predispose young males to

violence and aggression, in an attempt to increase their stimulation levels (Raine, 1993; Kagan, 1989; Wadsworth, 1976; Farrington, 1997). Furthermore, multiple studies have shown that with regards to a male's psychological and behavioural characteristics, hyperactivity, impulsiveness, difficulty paying attention and poor behavioural control as a child, are predictions of being involved in severe forms of violence going forward into early adulthood (Farrington, 1998; Lipsey & Derzon, 1998; Seguin et al., 1995). Moreover, impulsiveness and attention problems may be associated with deficiencies in the frontal lobes, thus an individual's executive functioning of the brain are hindered (Moffit & Henry, 1991).

2.4 Situational Factors

Despite the range and possible permutations of risk factors described above, not all individuals who are exposed to these risk factors perpetrate homicide, and many people who are not exposed to these sorts of risks may still commit homicide (Hamby, 2011; Spencer & Smith, 2018). In recognising that risk factors are important determinants of homicide, but cannot account for the full course of a homicide event, a number of researchers have turned their attention to better understanding how the situation shapes different homicide potentials and outcomes. The term "situation" in the context of a homicidal event refers to the immediate setting in which behaviours occur (Stebbins, 1972). An accurate definition of the situation is challenging as there is a need to include the perpetrator's or third party's subjective account of the setting, as well as to consider the objective causal complexity prompted by "many different things... happening simultaneously... and terminating dissynchronously" (Goffman, 1974).

The significance of understanding incident-level characteristics is highlighted by various situational theories. Examples of these characteristics are; the time of day, day of the week, type of weapon used, modus operandi, and location (Clarke, 1997). Therefore, it is not

always about why individuals commit crimes, but rather where, when, and what produces opportunities for homicide to occur (Pizarro, 2008). Furthermore, Stones and Tilley (2022) state, “Crime, in a situational analysis, does not occur at random but rather is... facilitated by particular sets of circumstance and situational factors which produce crime opportunities, increasing the chances of a crime event” (p. 404). Crime facilitators (alcohol, drugs, guns, absence of surveillance), the physical environment (space layout, housing, access to the space), and the temporal variables (time/day), all have an impact on a perpetrator’s decision to commit homicide or the vulnerability of victimisation (Pizarro, 2008).

The forerunner for contemporary criminological research of homicide was Wolfgang (1958). Between 1948 and 1952, he studied almost 600 homicide cases in Philadelphia, which established the typical themes present in homicidal events generally (Pizarro, 2008). Further situational factors of homicide have been revealed by other researchers who have followed Wolfgang’s research efforts (Pizarro, 2008).

According to a study by Wilkinson (2003), a situational factor, somewhat related to interpersonal risk factors, is the role of bystanders or an audience during an altercation, as their reaction has a powerful impact on the perpetrators of the violence. During disputes, the associations and identities of third parties can affect the thoughts and behaviours of the perpetrators. Oftentimes, when members of the same sex are having an argument, the presence of observers increases the chance of a verbal dispute becoming extremely violent (Felson & Messner, 2000).

Similarly, Luckenbill’s (1977) research, based on the content analysis of 70 homicides from numerous official documents, examined the dynamic interchange between offenders, victims and bystanders. He found that homicide events oftentimes occur in circumstances where the audience instigates the altercation, either by validating the status of the offender or providing an excuse for their actions by verifying the victim’s disrespect, for

example. Luckenbill's (1977) study concurs with elements of the Rational Choice Theory, which suggests that homicide is an outcome of the perpetrator pursuing needs of status, sex, money or thrill (Clarke, 1997). Furthermore, the Rational Choice Theory postulates that various situations ease the perpetrator's decision-making and can reduce the effort needed when committing a crime (Clarke, 1997).

However, the Rational Choice Theory has not been fully adapted to account for the high emotional arousal and impulse that precede the act of homicide. Therefore, it is important to consider the element of one's cognition, affect and immediate emotional response in a situation. For example, a confrontation whereby an employee has just been fired may illicit intense anger, which could overwhelm cognitive processing and influence his decision-making in the situation (Loewenstein & Lerner, 2003). Therefore, rationality is abandoned and this intense anger and possible feelings of betrayal lead him to kill his employer instantly (Wortley, 2014). Similarly, a study by Frijda and Mesquita (1994) also suggests that certain emotions influence specific 'action tendencies' - anger and fear trigger aggression. However, according to Cooke et al. (2008, p. 1067), although one's temperament is a contributing factor, "the high-risk individual can be compared to the first corn to pop once a pan is heated; that is, such a person is less likely to "pop" if not stimulated by circumstances around him".

Furthermore, communication and argumentativeness, combined with intense anger, are further factors contributing to a violent situation. Physical violence may be a conflict negotiation approach that is chosen and acted out when verbal communication has failed and the argument has spiralled out of control (Wilkinson & Hamerschlag, 2005).

An individual's perception of their opponent as well as the presence of a gun also contributes to the risk for a homicidal outcome. Stretesky and Progrebin (2014) interviewed inmates convicted of gun violence and found that their fear of dangerous opponents,

combined with a wish to exhibit power, highly influenced their will to use their weapons in an encounter. This highlights the cost-benefit analysis, whereby some individuals believe it is riskier to *not* carry a gun (even though carrying one increases the likelihood of their own victimisation) than being discovered with a gun by law enforcement (Brookman, 2015). The perception of one's opponent's intentions influences one's emotional and behavioural response – the more aggressive or dangerous the opponent is perceived to be, the higher the likelihood of a decision to kill before being killed (Bowman et al., 2022; Brookman, 2015).

Additionally, the victim-perpetrator relationship is another situational determinant of homicide, which involves a stranger or non-stranger dynamic. A suitable theoretical framework that explains the victim-perpetrator relationship is the Routine Activities Theory – whereby three factors must converge for a crime to occur, those factors being a “potential offender, a suitable target, and the absence of a capable guardian” (Bottoms & Wiles, 1997, p. 320). The victims of homicide may have often known their perpetrators, as during their daily lives they are exposed to them (Cohen & Felson, 1979). The risk of homicide differs based on the relationship between the victim and offender, examples of different relationships are stranger, colleague, acquaintance, intimate partner, or relative (Wiebe, 2003). Male homicides committed by a stranger are influenced by economic and cultural factors, similarly, an acquaintance committing the murder will be driven by cultural factors, and a homicide committed by a relative is most often influenced by socioeconomic factors (Cao et al., 2008; Wiebe, 2003). Furthermore, males have a higher likelihood of becoming the victim of homicide by the perpetration of a stranger or acquaintance (Parker, 1989; Cao et al., 2008; Matzopoulos et al., 2023).

Early research found that women engage in intimate partner violence at rates similar to men, and self-defence was often found as the reason for their violent behaviour (Dobash, 2004). In cases where women commit domestic homicides, they often do so in an attempt to

stop a batterer who they believe may kill them or their children (Browne, 2008). Moreover, regardless of the individual's relationship with the woman, self-defence is a common reason for a woman to kill a man (Messner, 2006).

2.5 Conclusion

In conclusion, the socio-ecological view of risk factors is a useful framework for understanding the complex interaction of social, community, relationship and individual factors that contribute to homicide. It highlights the importance of considering multiple levels of influence to explain why some individuals or communities are more violent than others, and why some individuals are more at risk for homicide than others. However, while risk factors are important, they cannot account for the full course of a homicide event. Therefore, exploring situational factors is a critical aspect in fully understanding the various patterns of interaction between individuals and situations in the pathways of actions that result in homicide (Birkbeck & LaFree, 1993).

Chapter 3: Methodology

3.1 Study Design and Procedure

The research utilised a systematic review, which systematically searches, synthesises and critically appraises the literature (Gopalakrishnan & Ganeshkumar, 2013). More specifically, a systematic review is a type of research method used to summarise and critically evaluate existing research on a particular topic in a systematic, transparent, and reproducible way (Moher et al., 2015). The aim is to provide a comprehensive overview of all relevant studies on a specific research question, assess their quality, and synthesise their findings to draw evidence-based conclusions (Laher & Hassem, 2020). This process has reduced bias and error, and has allowed for the generalisability and replicability of the results found (Gopalakrishnan & Ganeshkumar, 2013).

The process of this review has followed the Preferred Reporting Items for Systematic Reviews and Meta-Analyses (PRISMA) guidelines, which has assisted in improving the reporting of systematic reviews (Liberati et al., 2009; Moher et al., 2015). PRISMA includes a 27-item checklist (Appendix A) of items considered important for transparent reporting, and a four-phase flow diagram (Appendix B) which demonstrates the flow of literature through the phases of identification, screening, eligibility and inclusion of the primary research (Selçuk, 2019).

3.2 Search Strategy, Data Collection Process and Study Selection

The study has followed the 8 stages of a systematic review proposed by Uman (2011). The 8 stages include, (1) formulating the review question, (2) defining the inclusion and exclusion criteria, (3) developing a search strategy for the studies, (4) selecting the studies, (5) extracting the data, (6) assessing the study's quality, (7) analysing and interpreting the results, and (8) disseminating the findings.

Stage 1: Formulate the Review Questions

The first stage includes the formulation of a research question which captures what the systematic review is addressing. The study aims to identify the situational factors associated with male homicide victimisation. Therefore, the research question to which this study aims to respond is: what situational factors are associated with male homicide victimisation?

Stage 2: Define Inclusion and Exclusion Criteria

The research question guides the second stage, which includes criteria with a structured checklist of the expected sample of the study. The following tables demonstrate the inclusion and exclusion criteria chosen as well as the reasons for the decisions.

Table 1-A

Inclusion Criteria

Inclusion	Reason for Inclusion
All geographical areas and countries.	Including all geographical areas and countries ensures a comprehensive understanding of male homicide across different cultural, social, and economic contexts. This broad scope allows for the identification of universal as well as region-specific situational factors, enhancing the generalisability of the findings.
The act of homicide must be clearly defined as intentional.	Focusing on intentional homicides ensures clarity and consistency in the type of violence being studied. It differentiates between premeditated acts of violence and other forms of death, such as accidental or negligent homicide, which may have different situational factors and motivations.
Perpetrators are classified as male or female.	Including both male and female perpetrators provides a more comprehensive understanding of the dynamics of male homicide. It allows the study to explore how the gender of the perpetrator influences the situational factors and outcomes of the homicide. It provides a comparison between male and female perpetrators.
Any race.	Including victims and perpetrators of any race ensures that the study captures the diversity of experiences and situational factors related to homicide. This inclusion is crucial for identifying racial or ethnic disparities and understanding the role of race in homicide dynamics.
Victims and perpetrators must be over the age of 12 years old.	Setting a minimum age limit of 12 years helps focus the study on adolescent and adult homicides, where situational factors may be very different to child homicides. It ensures that the cases included have comparable developmental and social contexts.
Articles must be peer-reviewed published	Using peer-reviewed articles ensures that the study is based on high-quality, credible research. The timeframe from 1970 to 2023

journals from 1970 to 2023.	allows for a historical perspective, capturing changes and trends in male homicide over time while including the most recent findings.
Can be a qualitative, quantitative or mixed methods approach.	Including studies with qualitative, quantitative, or mixed methods approaches ensures a comprehensive analysis of situational factors. Each methodology provides unique insights: qualitative studies offer in-depth understanding, quantitative studies provide statistical analysis, and mixed methods combine both strengths.
Published in the English language.	Restricting to English-language publications ensures that the researcher can accurately interpret the findings without language barriers. It also facilitates the inclusion of studies from a wide range of international journals and sources, given the prevalence of English in academic publishing.

Table 1-B

Exclusion Criteria

Exclusion	Reason for Exclusion
Reviews, conference papers, chapters in handbooks, editorials, theoretical studies and encyclopaedias.	Excluding these types of documents ensures that the study focuses on original, primary research data. Peer-reviewed journal articles typically undergo a rigorous review process, ensuring the quality and reliability of the data. Conference papers and other formats may not have the same level of scrutiny. Chapters in handbooks and encyclopaedias provide broad overviews rather than specific data relevant to the situational factors of male homicide. Editorials and theoretical studies often present opinions or conceptual discussions without empirical evidence.
Papers only on females as victims of homicide.	The primary aim of the study is to understand the situational factors specific to male homicide victims. Including studies that only focus on female victims would shift the focus away from the specific dynamics and factors relevant to male homicides.
Articles only on child homicide victimisation or perpetration (younger than 12 years old), neonaticide, infanticide and filicide.	The study aims to examine homicides involving male victims aged 12 and older to ensure that the situational factors analysed are relevant and comparable. Including child homicides would introduce variability that could obscure the specific factors relevant to older victims. Furthermore, the situational factors and dynamics of homicides involving children under 12 years old, including neonaticide, infanticide, and filicide, are distinct from those involving adolescents and adults. These cases often involve different psychological, social, and familial contexts.
Papers that focus only on offenders and do not include any data on victims.	The study aims to examine homicides involving male victims. Therefore, if an article does not address the identity of the victim, the situational factors analysed may be irrelevant and incomparable. Thus, diluting the findings of the review.

Stage 3: Search Strategy

Search terms and phrases that were used to identify eligible studies are: “situational factors for male homicide”, “situational factors for male killing”, “situational factors for murder”, “situational factors for killing”, “situational constituents for male homicide”, “situational constituents for male killing”, “situational constituents for murder”, “situational constituents for killing”, “situational elements for male homicide”, “situational elements for male killing”, “situational elements for murder”, “homicide event characteristics”, “murder event characteristics”, “male homicide”, “male murder”, “male victims of murder”, “male victims of homicide”, “young male adult murder”, “young male adult killing”, “young male adult homicide”, “brother murder”, “brother homicide”, “brother killing”, “husband homicide”, “husband killing”, “victim-perpetrator relationship”, “family homicide”, “familicide”, “male-male murder”, “male/male murder”, “male/male killing”, “male on male homicide”, “female on male killing”, “female on male murder”, “female on male homicide”, “female-male murder”, “female-male killing”, “female-male homicide”.

Furthermore, I used the Boolean search with operators (AND, OR) and a wild card (*) which added efficiency, specificity and sensitivity to the search (Boland et al., 2017). Cite-searching was also used, whereby the reference lists of included studies and resources were explored. The terms were searched in the following databases: Web of Science, PsycINFO, PubMed, EBSCO, Science Direct, Africa-Wide, Sabinet, Global Health, Google Scholar, ProQuest Central, and SpringerLink – all of which are accessible on the online WITS Library website.

Table 2

Databases Used and Reasons for Selection

Database	Reason for Selection	Date Last Consulted
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Web of Science	Provides access to databases containing journals in the field of sciences, social sciences, and arts and humanities	04/01/2024
PsycInfo	Provides access to relevant research in the field of mental health and behaviour	07/01/2024
PubMed	Provides access to relevant research in field of general health and mental health	06/01/2024
EBSCO	Provides a broad multidisciplinary search of scholarly literature globally	28/12/2023
Science Direct	Provides a broad multidisciplinary search of scholarly literature globally	05/01/2024
Africa-Wide	Provides access to interdisciplinary publications which are relevant to Africa	03/01/2024
Sabinet	Provides access to literature from African electronic journals as well as African Digital Repository (includes theses & dissertations)	02/01/2024
Global Health	The database covers all aspects of public health at both international and community levels	02/01/2024
Google Scholar	Provides a broad multidisciplinary search of global scholarly literature	06/01/2024
ProQuest Central	Provides access to databases across all major subject areas, including health and medical, social sciences, arts, humanities, and science	23/12/2024
SpringerLink	Provides access to millions of research articles and chapters from the fields of science, technology, medicine, humanities, and social sciences	19/12/2024

Stage 4: Study Selection

In the search for key terms and literature that meet the criteria, the titles and abstracts were reviewed first and relevant literature was downloaded using Zotero, which assists in the data management process (Ahmed & Al Dhubaib, 2011). Once all articles that were deemed relevant and downloaded onto Zotero, I removed the duplicates. Thereafter, I thoroughly reviewed the literature again by reading the full text of each article – the irrelevant articles that did not meet the full inclusion criteria were excluded. Lastly, the final set of articles that

were included underwent a comprehensive quality check. Appendix B, the four-phase PRISMA flow chart, provides an illustration of the literature screening process.

Stage 5: Data Extraction

The process of data extraction is thorough in order to ensure accuracy in data entry, therefore, the study includes three tables to capture the essential information of each article (Uman, 2011). The first table includes general information, such as the author, title, date, journal and context (place). The second table includes the methodological information of each paper, such as the research aims, research designs, participants, sampling, data collection and data analyses. The third table summarises the results of the studies, including the findings, recommendations and possible limitations.

Traditionally, PICO (Population, Intervention, Comparison and Outcome) is the format used for systematic reviews of effect, which does not suit systematic reviews of aetiology (Moola et al., 2015). Therefore, the process of this study will follow the approach outlined by The Joanna Briggs Institute, which includes the aspects of population, exposure of interest (independent variable: situational factors), outcome (dependent variable: male homicide) and study type (Moola et al., 2015). This approach considers the factors related to the problem of interest in a population exposed to it, thus in this approach, when reviewing the situational factors, the research question will regularly refer to the exposure rather than an intervention (Moola et al., 2015).

Data from included articles were extracted and stored on a Microsoft Excel spreadsheet. In the case of a study having a section (subtheme) on situational factors for homicide, while not the main research area of the study, the article was still included. However, only data from the relevant section was extracted and included in the findings (Methley et al., 2014). This process was completed by myself, and reviewed by my research supervisor.

Stage 6: Quality Assessment

Following the full-text screening process, eligible studies underwent a quality assessment in order to reduce biases in the primary research (Hannes, Lockwood, & Pearson, 2010; Thomas & Harden, 2008). The MMAT (Mixed Methods Appraisal Tool) was used as a quality assessment criterion to assess the qualitative, quantitative, and mixed methods studies (see Appendix C). This process is conducted to analyse each article to ensure its quality and validity.

The document includes a checklist (Part I) and an explanation of criteria (Part II). The first step is to answer two screening questions, as answering 'No' or 'Can't tell' may indicate the study is not an empirical study and cannot be appraised using MMAT (Hong et al., 2018). Next, the appropriate category of studies must be chosen, and the criteria of that category must be rated. The 'Can't tell' response category should be used when the paper does not report appropriate information or when information is unclear. The tool includes indicators for some criteria, but not all are necessary. It is recommended to provide a comprehensive presentation of the ratings of each criterion rather than calculating an overall score, and excluding studies with low methodological quality is discouraged (Hong et al., 2018). It is at this point that a final decision of the included studies was made.

Stage 7: Analysis and Interpretation of the Results

The collected data was analysed using thematic analysis, an approach of extracting concepts and meanings from data. Thematic analysis entails identifying, examining and documenting theme patterns from data collected through the systematic review (Javadi & Zarea, 2016). Howitt and Cramer (2017) state that this requires the researcher to identify a small number of themes that appropriately reflect the data in order to reflect and clarify reality (Javadi & Zarea, 2016). Thematic analysis can be considered as suitable for this study as it is conceptualised as a flexible method of data analysis (Clark & Braun, 2016; Braun &

Clarke, 2022; Howitt & Cramer, 2017). The specific technique that was used to analyse the data is an inductive approach. An inductive approach in thematic analysis is a method of analysing qualitative data where themes are derived directly from the data itself, without imposing preconceived theories or frameworks. This approach is data-driven, allowing patterns, themes, and categories to emerge organically from the data through close examination and coding (Braun & Clarke, 2006). I pointed to the frequency of terms using content analysis where appropriate, however, the overall method of analysis was thematic analysis.

Overall, the included articles were read multiple times to gain a thorough understanding of the data, which ensured that I could systematically identify dominant themes across the papers. Statements containing key themes or issues were then categorised to compile a list of codes from the data. Using Microsoft Excel, I analysed every potential theme separately and constantly revisited articles to find similarities and differences. The identified descriptive themes can be found in the Results section.

Stage 8: Dissemination of Findings

The findings of my research are part of the requirement to complete a research report which is in partial fulfilment for the completion of my Masters of Arts – Clinical Psychology. Furthermore, the findings may potentially be published as a journal article, a policy document or presented at a conference.

3.3 Reflexivity

Considering that a systematic review can potentially be a policy-defining mechanism or have an impact on political agendas, it was essential that in this research study, I consider reflexivity and investigator bias (Laher & Hassem, 2020). Investigator bias would occur if my own background and experience influence the content of the findings, especially as I have had an active role in the study selection process and the synthesis of findings (Anney, 2014).

Therefore, I attempted to bracket my own preconceived notions and biases during the study selection and synthesis stages (Tufford & Newman, 2012). I aimed to achieve bracketing and reflexivity by keeping a reflexive journal, and I approached my supervisor and a specialist librarian who assisted me in conducting systematic searches (Laher & Hassem, 2020).

3.4 Ethical Consideration

I have obtained an Ethics Waiver from the Human Research Ethics Committee (Department of Psychology) at the University of the Witwatersrand. The research study will not involve human subjects; therefore, special ethical clearance was not required before conducting the study. The Ethics Waiver protocol number is “MClin/23/06W”.

3.5 Conclusion

In this chapter, I discussed the study design and procedure, as well as the search strategy, data collection process and study selection. More specifically, I described the 8 stages that this systematic review followed – the formulation of my research question, the outline of the inclusion criteria, my search strategy and databases used, the selection of studies, data extraction using Microsoft Excel, the quality assessment using the Mixed Methods Appraisal Tool, analysis and interpretation by means of a thematic analysis approach, and lastly, the dissemination of the findings.

Moreover, I briefly discussed my ethical considerations and reflected on my role as the researcher, including how I ensured the validity of the study and reduced bias in the research process. In the following section, the findings and results of the review process are presented, including the themes I identified in the included studies.

Chapter 4: Results

4.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the findings derived from the systematic review of situational factors in male homicide victimisation. The chapter is divided into three sections. Firstly, in the Process Results section, I discuss the steps taken to select the included articles. I also briefly discuss the quality appraisal of the articles, as well as present a table of the appraisal results and refer to the tool used. Secondly, in the Sample Characteristics section, I present discussions and tables summarising the general description, methodological appraisal, findings, recommendations and limitations of each included study. Finally, in the Thematic Analysis section, the key themes and subthemes are presented.

4.2 Process Results

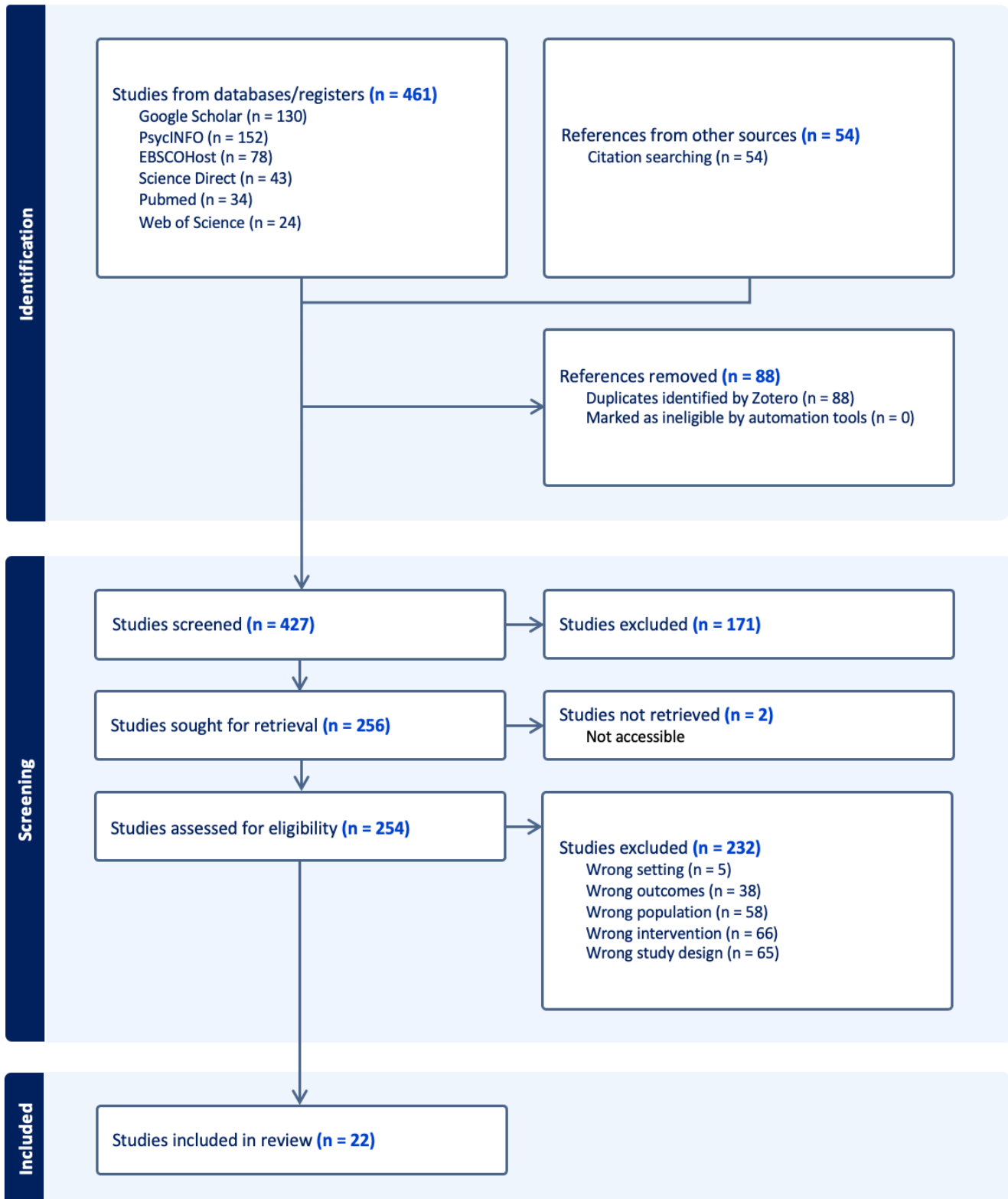
4.2.1 Study Selection

A comprehensive search of the databases produced a total of 515 sources. Identification of studies in this initial search was based on relevant keywords mainly in the title of each article, and were downloaded onto Zotero. After the automatic removal of duplicates, the total number of articles was reduced to 427. I then screened the abstract of each article – the main reasons for exclusion at this stage were that, despite a title that appeared relevant, the abstracts did not indicate a relevance to the study, did not contain any primary research or was the wrong population.

There is a possibility that some articles would have been relevant, but articles with abstracts that did not accurately represent their content were excluded. After reviewing the titles and abstracts, I read the full-text of 256 articles to determine their suitability for the review. A total of 171 articles were excluded mainly because they did not focus on males as victims or, they did not specifically address homicide as the crime committed, they did not adequately address situational factors of the homicidal event, or they discussed killings

committed by law enforcement in the line of duty. Although many of these articles adequately and sufficiently discussed situational factors, they tended to bias these factors to the offender, and not to the victim, nor specify the gender of the victim. This does not allow an accurate review of situational factors for male victims of homicide, thus, these articles were excluded. Figure 4-A below illustrates a representation of the results of the review process, specifying reasons for exclusion, and indicating that a final sum of 22 articles were included in the review (PRISMA Flowchart). Thereafter is a discussion on the quality assessment process.

Figure 4-A. Flowchart of Review Process Results



4.2.2 Quality Assessment of Sample

I analysed the quality and validity of the studies using the MMAT (Mixed Methods Appraisal Tool). Table 4-B below summarises the outcome of the quality assessment for each study. All 22 studies were found to be of high validity and quality, therefore, I included all 22 studies in the systematic review.

I will briefly discuss some of the justifications for a “no” response to the assessment. Regarding whether the 'participants' were representative of the target population, factors such as a limited geographic location or demographic representation would lead to a 'no' response. Similarly, concerning the question “Are there complete outcome data?”, factors such as missing or limited data in the study would result in a “no” response. However, as previously mentioned, the MMAT discourages the exclusion of studies on the basis of methodological quality, as long as the above-mentioned factors do not affect or skew the study’s results overall (Hong et al., 2018), which is subject to the overall assessment of the evaluator.

Table 4-B***Performance of Included Articles on the MMAT****(Y=Yes; N= No, CT=Can't tell)*

Qualitative Sources							
Article	S1. Are there clear research questions?	S2. Do the collected data allow to address the research questions?	1.1. Is the qualitative approach appropriate to answer the research question?	1.2. Are the qualitative data collection methods adequate to address the research question?	1.3. Are the findings adequately derived from the data?	1.4. Is the interpretation of results sufficiently substantiated by data?	1.5. Is there coherence between qualitative data sources, collection, analysis and interpretation?
Luckenbill (1997)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Enander et al. (2022)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Lindegaard (2017)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Quantitative Non-Randomised Sources							
Article	S1. Are there clear research questions?	S2. Do the collected data allow to address the research questions?	3.1. Are the participants representative of the target population?	3.2. Are measurements appropriate regarding both the outcome and intervention (or exposure)?	3.3. Are there complete outcome data?	3.4. Are the confounders accounted for in the design and analysis?	3.5. During the study period, is the intervention administered (or exposure occurred) as intended?
Varano et al. (2004)	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y

Felson & Steadman (1983)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Langevin et al. (1982)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Swatt & He (2006)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Ganpat et al. (2017)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Swart et al. (2018)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Brookman (2003)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Suonpää & Savolainen (2019)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Pizarro (2008)	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
Felson & Messner (1998)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Swart et al. (2015)	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
Suffla & Seedat (2020)	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
Quantitative Descriptive Sources							
Article	S1. Are there clear research questions?	S2. Do the collected data allow to address	4.1. Is the sampling strategy relevant to address	4.2. Is the sample representative of the target population?	4.3. Are the measurements appropriate?	4.4. Is the risk of nonresponse bias low?	4.5. Is the statistical analysis appropriate to answer the

		the research questions?	the research question?				research question?
Goodman et al. (1986)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Eckhardt & Pridemore (2009)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Wilson et al. (2022)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Mixed Methods Sources							
Article	S1. Are there clear research questions?	S2. Do the collected data allow to address the research questions?	5.1. Is there an adequate rationale for using a mixed methods design to address the research question?	5.2. Are the different components of the study effectively integrated to answer the research question?	5.3. Are the outputs of the integration of qualitative and quantitative components adequately interpreted?	5.4. Are divergences and inconsistencies between quantitative and qualitative results adequately addressed?	5.5. Do the different components of the study adhere to the quality criteria of each tradition of the methods involved?
Tomsen (2002)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Outwater et al., (2008)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Petrosky et al. (2021)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Rizo (2021)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y

4.3 Sample Characteristics

Each discussion of the respective finding will be followed by a corresponding table. The first table is labelled “General Description”, which comprises of the author, date published, title of the study, the journal, and the place in which the study was conducted. The second table is labelled “Methodological Appraisal” which illustrates each study’s research aims, research design, participants, sampling, data collection and data analyses. Third, is the “Results and Recommendations” section, which consists of the results of the studies, including the findings, conclusions, recommendations and possible limitations. Due to the extensive nature of the table associated with this section, it can be found in Appendix D.

4.3.1 General Description

The publishing dates of the included articles ranged from 1977 to 2022, and the majority of studies ($n=16$) were published between 2000 and 2022. Countries where the studies were conducted are: Australia ($n=1$) (Tomsen, 2002); Canada ($n=1$) (Langevin et al., 1982); Finland ($n=1$) (Suonpää & Savolainen, 2019); Netherlands ($n=1$) (Ganpat et al., 2017); Russia ($n=1$); Sweden ($n=1$) (Enander et al., 2022); Tanzania ($n=1$) (Outwater et al., 2008); South Africa ($n=4$) (Lindegaard, 2017; Suffla & Seedat, 2020; Swart et al., 2015; Swart et al., 2018); UK ($n=1$) (Brookman, 2003); USA ($n=10$) (Felson & Messner, 1998; Felson & Steadman, 1983; Goodman et al., 1986; Luckenbill, 1977; Petrosky et al., 2021; Pizarro, 2008; Rizo et al., 2021; Swatt & He, 2006; Varano et al., 2004; Wilson et al., 2022). Conjoining all the included sources, a sum of ten different countries were investigated.

The earliest published article was in 1977 – this article is by Luckenbill whose work was eventually taught in crime studies (e.g., Chapter 5 in Hough & McCorkle, 2017, “*American Homicide*” SAGE Publications Inc.). The most recent article was published in 2022 by Enander et al., titled, “*The Killing and Thereafter: Intimate Partner Homicides in a*

Process Perspective, Part II'. Eight articles were published in journals not readily associated with crime, justice, homicide, legal issues, and victims. These are Social Problems, Acta Psychiatrica Scandinavica, American Journal of Public Health, Society for the Study of Addiction, South African Medical Journal, and two CDC publications: Surveillance Summaries, and Morbidity and Mortality Weekly Report.

Table 4-C***General Description of Included Studies***

Author	Date	Title	Journal	Context
Brookman	2003	Confrontational and revenge homicides among men in England and Wales	The Australian and New Zealand Journal of Criminology	UK
Eckhardt & Pridemore	2009	Differences in female and male involvement in lethal violence in Russia	Journal of Criminal Justice	Russia
Enander et al.	2022	The killing and thereafter: Intimate partner homicides in a process perspective, part II	Journal of Gender-Based Violence	Sweden
Felson & Messner	1998	Disentangling the effects of gender and intimacy on victim precipitation in homicide	Criminology	United States
Felson & Steadman	1983	Situational factors in disputes leading to criminal violence	Criminology	United States
Ganpat et al.	2017	The relationship between a person's criminal history, immediate situational factors, and lethal versus non-lethal events	Journal of Interpersonal Violence	Netherlands
Goodman et al.	1986	Alcohol use and interpersonal violence: Alcohol detected in homicide victims	American Journal of Public Health	United States
Langevin et al.	1982	The role of alcohol, drugs, suicide attempts and situational strains in homicide committed by offenders seen for psychiatric assessment	Acta Psychiatrica Scandinavica	Canada
Lindegaard	2017	Homicide in South Africa: Offender perspectives on dispute-related killings of men	Wiley Handbooks in Criminology and Criminal Justice: The Handbook of Homicide	South Africa
Luckenbill	1977	Criminal homicide as a situated transaction	Social Problems	United States
Outwater et al.	2008	Risk and protective factors for homicide death in Dar Es Salaam, Tanzania 2005	Proquest	Tanzania

Petrosky et al.	2021	Homicides of American Indians/Alaska Natives - National Violent Death Reporting System, United States, 2003-2018	Centers for Disease Control and Prevention - Morbidity and Mortality Weekly Report	United States
Pizarro	2008	Reassessing the situational covariates of homicides: Is there a need to disaggregate?	Homicide Studies	United States
Rizo et al.	2021	Characteristics and factors associated with intimate partner violence-related homicide post-release from jail or prison	Journal of Interpersonal Violence	United States
Suffla & Seedat	2020	Risk factors for female and male homicidal strangulation in Johannesburg, South Africa	South African Medical Journal	South Africa
Suonpää & Savolainen	2019	When a woman kills her man: Gender and victim precipitation in homicide	Journal of Interpersonal Violence	Finland
Swart et al.	2018	The situational context of adolescent homicide victimisation in Johannesburg, South Africa	Journal of Interpersonal Violence	South Africa
Swart et al.	2015	Alcohol consumption in adolescent homicide victims in the city of Johannesburg, South Africa	Society for the Study of Addiction	South Africa
Swatt & He	2006	Exploring the difference between male and female intimate partner homicides: Revisiting the concept of situated transactions	Homicide Studies	United States
Tomsen	2002	Victims, perpetrators and fatal scenarios: A research note on anti-homosexual male homicides	International Review of Victimology	Australia
Varano et al.	2004	Exploring the drugs-homicide connection	Journal of Contemporary Criminal Justice	United States
Wilson et al.	2022	Surveillance for Violent Deaths - National Violent Death Reporting System, 42 States, the District of Columbia, and Puerto Rico, 2019	Centers for Disease Control and Prevention - Surveillance Summaries	United States

4.3.2 Methodological Appraisal

Table 4-D summarises the research aims, research design, participants, sampling method, data collection procedure and the method of data analysis of each included article. Data used was collected from as early as 1963 to as recently as 2021 and was primarily collected from official entities or parties, or have as part of their responsibilities any data on non-natural deaths. A lot of these are state-run or are part of ongoing national-level monitoring and surveillance work. The sources are primarily police records, including case files and homicide reports, reports or information generated by the coroner and or medical examiner, files and proceedings from court cases, hearings, minutes, depositions, witness accounts, and other documentation produced in judicial processes.

There are three qualitative papers used for this review. The first qualitative paper explored how transactions of murder are organised and how they develop, specifically the stages of conflict leading to homicide. The second qualitative paper explored a 3-stage process for intimate partner violence – the main focus was on steps two and three; namely the moment the perpetrator chooses to kill, and what they say and do in the wake of killing at the scene, after the killing and in courtroom. The last qualitative paper identified exploratory narratives used by perpetrators to make sense of their crimes, based on a larger ethnographic investigation of offending and victimisation patterns. Four other studies used a mixed methods approach and the remaining fifteen studies were quantitative in nature.

The majority of the included studies used primarily retrospective exploratory designs. One was a case study of types of homicide perpetrators in Cape Town, presented in a decidedly qualitative manner (Lindegard, 2017). One study explored homicide prevalence using a mixed methods design, published by the CDC (Petrosky et al., 2021). The study in Tanzania described itself as using a cross sectional survey-based mixed methods design

(Outwater et al., 2008). Though not the only study that used qualitative and quantitative approaches, this study actively combined its data in its analyses.

The primary population in each study was predominantly male victims of homicide, with either female or male offenders. In some studies, they included data on female victims in addition to their findings on male victims. At times, this will be referred to in this review but will only serve as a comparison to findings on the situational factors of male homicide victimisation. Lastly, purposive sampling was used in all of the studies. One study in particular used purposive convenience sampling, whereby offenders were referred by the courts or offender's lawyer (self-selected).

Table 4-D

Methodological Appraisal of Included Studies

Author	Research Aims	Research Design	Participants	Sampling	Data Collection	Data Analysis
Brookman, 2003	To contribute to discussions on maleness & violence. Identifies 2 predominant & distinct forms of masculine homicide identified in England & Wales.	Quantitative, retrospective	Population is known & reported murders of males in England & Wales; sample is 3 police force areas, 1994-1996.	Purposive sampling of known male killings from the respective police force areas reported/investigated over a span of 2 years. Final count of 54 cases.	Collecting information about the killings and the circumstances of their deaths	Exploratory emergent with scenarios refines throughout analysis process. Categorisation of information including 'gender mix' of offender & victim; details leading up to homicide, details of actual killing, situational factors. Essentially full details of history, chain of events & the homicide.
Eckhardt & Pridemore, 2009	To compare homicide victim, offender & event characteristics by sex of victim & separately by sex of offender.	Quantitative, retrospective	Homicide cases resulting in conviction in the stated time periods in Urdmurt, Russia.	Purposive: homicide court verdicts in Urdmurt, from 1989-1991 (101 cases) & 1998 (124 cases). Narratives of homicide event from cases resulting in	Narratives in case files originally created as part of UN Development Programme-sponsored project undertaken to examine Russian mortality crisis of the 1990s.	In order to examine similarities and differences on these characteristics between women & men, logistic regression was employed to estimate crude odds ratios.

				conviction. Had info on alcohol use, victim-offender relationship, motive, location, situational context & type of weapon.		
Enander et al., 2022	To explore stage 2 & 3 of IPH process - 'changing the project' and 'the aftermath'. Focus is on moment perpetrator chooses to kill victim, & what they do/say in wake of the killing: (at scene, following killing, in courtroom).	Qualitative	All IPH cases perpetrated in the Västra Götaland Region in western Sweden during 2000–2016	Purposive: IPH cases identified from police records. Sample of 59 cases.	In 8 cases, male perpetrators committed suicide before trial. Remaining records; obtained district court records: 51 victims, & 50 perpetrators (40 men, 10 women). One male same-sex couple. Used district court records of details of events preceding, during & following IPH, motivational factors described by perpetrators & witnesses, & verdicts/sentences.	Thematic analysis of district court records.
Felson & Messner, 1998	Examines additive & multiplicative effects of offender & victim gender, their relationship, &	Quantitative, retrospective, using pre-existing data from their older study.	Data from prosecutors' files in sample of 33 counties (75 most populated	Purposive: Case selected if one or more defendants was charged with murder or non-negligent homicide,	Limit selection to 1 victim 1 offender cases - 2,058 cases. Variations in missing data indicated with n value for relevant stats.	Variables coded; logistic regression to estimate effects of predictor variables.

	victim on victim precipitation. Research proposes a framework for untangling effects of intimacy, & victim/offender gender.		counties in US), in 1988. Detailed info on victim precipitation.	adjudicated in 1988.		
Felson & Steadman, 1983	To describe statistically what occurs in incidents involving criminal violence, & examine the role of retaliation in these incidents.	Quantitative, retrospective	Population: males incarcerated in New York State correctional facilities (1977, 1978); convicted of felonious assault, manslaughter, or murder. Incl., 84 adult male perpetrators & 75 male youth (16-20 years old) perpetrators.	Purposive: 159 victims (incidents) with detailed description of offense & sample.	Examined case files (n=500), looking for detailed descriptions of offense - sample comprised of 159 incidents. Details obtained from presenting reports (police, eyewitness, offender, victims). Data then coded.	Developed a classificatory system (provided by Luckenbill [1977] & Wolfgang [1958]). Categories for analysis: physical attack, influence attempts, noncompliance, explicit identity attacks, threats, evasive actions, mediation, instigation (or actions that incited other participants). Analysis compares homicides & assaults (i.e., characteristics b/w offender & victim), frequencies of actions & ID of perpetrator. Log-linear analyses to investigate why retaliation happens. Correlations presented among frequencies of action types. Order of events examined.

Ganpat et al., 2017	Investigates the influence of offenders' and victims' criminal history & immediate situational factors on the chances that violent events will be lethal.	Quantitative , retrospective	Dutch violent crimes that require a lethal intention (cases of violence that are categorised as attempted & completed homicide).	Purposive: Dutch court files & criminal records of homicide (n=126) & nonlethal attempted homicide (n=141). Case registered in court district of The Hague/Rotterdam, offender convicted of murder, or attempted murder, single offender, single victim, victim & offender at least 12yrs old at incident.	Inspection of court files from which detailed info was collected of ~400 situational variables. 8 research assistants used scoring instrument with detailed instructions. Victim-offender criminal records (court appearances) requested & merged with data. Data from Criminal Record Register provided covers all prosecuted persons age 12+.	Analysed history, event characteristics, actor's behaviour, background characteristics, victim-offender relationship, subtypes of conflicts as arguments.
Goodman et al., 1986	To characterise r=ship between alcohol use & homicide victimisation	Quantitative, retrospective	4,950 criminal homicides occurring in Los Angeles b/w 1970-1979.	Purposive: criminal homicides from police files - death due to injuries illegally inflicted by another person with intent to injure or kill by any means.	Data collected from police files (race, situational characteristics, location, day, nature of circumstances of homicide, relationships b/w persons involved, actual method/weapon used). Toxicologic analyses performed	Analysis of frequencies and percentages of blood alcohol level (BAL) and other variables.

					during autopsies abstracted from LA Medical Examiner-Coroner & linked to data from police files.	
Langevin et al., 1982	To review the role of alcohol, drugs, suicide & situational strains in homicide, & compared in 109 killers and 38 nonviolent offenders seen for psychiatric assessment	Quantitative, retrospective	All available cases of homicide assessed by the Forensic Service of the Clark Institute from 1969 to 1979 were examined.	Purposive convenience sampling: individuals referred by the courts or offender's lawyer (self-selected). 109 killers compared to 38 nonviolent offenders from the same service in same time period.	Past history scrutinised to ensure participants had not been referred for frequent fights or other violent, aggressive acts. Existing medical records read by 2 raters & each variable scored to check interrater reliability. Info retrieved: age, sex, marital status, physical & mental health of offender, circumstances of offense, & background variables of offender.	All data analysed by the DEC 2020 computer of the institute. 'SPSS' & 'BMD' were the main packages used for statistical analysis .
Lindegaard, 2017	Study is based on a larger ethnographic investigation of offending & victimisation patterns among young males in Cape Town (2005–2009). The study aimed to understand the	Qualitative: case study of specific sample of homicide perpetrators.	48 young males in Cape Town, 14 who committed male-on-male homicide in context of public dispute.	Purposive: The participants were selected from a total of 48 individuals involved in the broader ethnographic study conducted in Cape Town between 2005 and 2009.	Qualitative interviews with 14 male offenders who committed homicides in public disputes.	Qualitative thematic analysis

	offenders' perspectives & the cultural context in which these homicides occurred.					
Luckenbill, 1977	To explain how transactions of murder are organised and how they develop.	Qualitative, retrospective	Homicides in a California county	Purposive: Multi-stage sampling: All cases gathered from 1963-1972 - searched for those fitting research definition for homicide from coroner's reports. Sample of 71 deaths.	Official documents secured from relevant parties, police reports & coroner's reports. Character of the larger occasion & organisation/development of fatal transaction reconstructed from content analysis of police, probation, psychiatric & witness reports, offender interviews, grand jury & court testimony.	Content Analysis: police, probation, psychiatric & witness reports, offender interviews, grand jury & court testimony. Reconstruction of transaction: found all documents pertaining to step-by-step development of transaction, summary account constructed, with individual accounts as resources. Discrepancies around participant dialogue. Accounts usually consistent re: structure & development of event.
Outwater et al., 2008	To describe the homicide rate in Dar es Salaam, the individuals who were murdered and the contextual circumstances.	Cross-sectional mortuary-based survey using mixed methods.	Data collected at Muhimbili mortuary. Interviewed witnesses, relatives & pathologist. 88.7% of	Purposive	Discussions with the pathologists, mortuary attendants, & police assigned to the cases; post mortem reports; interviews with friends & relatives of deceased; and participant observations at the Mortuary which	Epilinfo program for data entry and quantitative data, inductive analysis, thematic analysis and coding for qualitative data.

			victims were adult males. All, except four, were native Tanzanians.		included visual autopsies, i.e., external examinations or visual inspection of the body without the taking of a blood sample.	
Petrosky et al., 2021	Summary of data from NVDRS on American Indian/Alaska Native homicides.	Mixed methods, retrospective exploratory	American Indian/Alaska Native homicides 2003-2018	Purposive: Collected NVDRS data on AI/AN homicides from 34 states & District of Columbia.	States participating in NVDRS collect data on non-natural deaths through their relevant law, policing, corrections & post-mortem examinations officials. Combines info for each death from official documentation. All data entered by trained abstractors into web-based system.	Homicide rates calculated using intercensal & postcensal bridged-race population estimates by CDC's National centre for health statistics & age-adjusted for 2010 US population. Areas classified as metro or non-metro. Descriptive data analysis of victim/suspect sociodemographic characteristics, mechanisms to inflict fatal injuries, incident characteristics.
Pizarro, 2008	To explore the several covariates of different homicide types to determine whether future studies should disaggregate homicide into more specific typologies.	Quantitative, retrospective exploratory	Homicides in Newark, New Jersey 1997-2005. Homicides of known suspect and motive.	Purposive: Homicides from dataset with identified suspect and known motive.	Data collected by and retrieved from Greater Newark Safer Cities Initiative. This study uses 484 cases with identified suspect & known motive. Data collection tool used by researchers, with intercoder reliability checked.	Logistic & multinomial regression models. Logistic models highlight what variable statistically makes each homicide type unique compared to other incidents. The multinomial models ascertain what variables statistically distinguish each homicide type from another.

Rizo et al., 2021	To determine the characteristics of IPV-related homicides committed against individuals recently released from jail/prison.	Mixed methods, retrospective exploratory	$n=126$ homicides. 109 non-IPV homicides & 17 IPV homicides (2003-2015); only data from 27 states eligible due to study time period.	Purposive: cases where victim was killed after release from jail/prison	Data on characteristics and circumstances associated with violent deaths captured by NVDRS from a) death certificates; b) coroner/medical examiner records, toxicology; c) law enforcement reports; d) data abstractor input.	Quantitative data analysis: included calculating univariate & bivariate statistics. Qualitative data analysis: content analysis was used to analyse narrative data for all IPV-related homicides.
Suffla & Seedat, 2020	To investigate individual risk factors for female & male homicidal strangulation in South Africa.	Quantitative, retrospective	National Injury Mortality Surveillance System (NIMSS) of valid homicidal strangulation cases for JHB 2001-2010	Purposive: homicide by strangulation occurring in JHB	NIMSS provides info on deaths from external causes, collated with investigative procedures at forensic pathology & chemistry labs. Data included: mechanism of homicide, sociodemographic profile of each strangulation victim, spatial & temporal descriptions of each case.	Female & male homicidal strangulation coded separately as DV for the 2 analyses. Logistic regression conducted to examine independent associations b/w predictor variables & homicidal strangulation in males & females in relation to all other homicides.
Suonpää & Savolainen, 2019	To unravel independent & joint effects of victim gender, offender gender, & victim-offender relationship on	Quantitative, retrospective	Data on homicides in Finland from July 2002 to December 2017 ($n = 1494$).	Purposive: from victim-based data file. Excluded victims & offenders under 18, and same-sex couples due to	Data collected by the Finnish Homicide Monitor which collects all homicide incidents in Finland. Recorded by chief investigating officer of the criminal	Logistic regression - models of binary outcome; VP count examined using negative binomial regression, Poisson-based model for over-dispersed outcomes. Tested effect of 6

	IPH. Replication of Felson & Messner (1998) who found no support for hypothesis: female-male IPH are more likely to be victim precipitated (VP).			their small number.	case, info includes sociodemographic info of victims and offenders, their behaviour at crime scene, and motive as determined by investigating officer.	homicide types on VP. Hypothesis of negative coefficients of other homicide types. Interpretation through average marginal effects measuring change in VP probability for each homicide category vis-à-vis the reference at observed values.
Swart et al., 2015	Aim to describe blood alcohol concentration (BAC) of adolescent homicide victims in JHB, SA, & to ID victim characteristics assoc. with positive BAC at death.	Quantitative, retrospective exploratory	Adolescent homicide victims in Johannesburg in study period	Purposive: Data collected by NIMSS on homicides in RSA. Study retrieved data on adolescents 15-19y.o. killed in Johannesburg 2001-2009. Study data used 323 (54.7%) of cases with BAC results.	Data on BAC, demographics, weapons and methods used to kill, crime scene, time of death retrieved from NIMSS data	Each victim & event characteristic treated as single IV, analysed with respect to outcome variable using binary logistic regression to estimate crude odds ratios and 95% confidence intervals. Multiple logistic regression done to provide adjusted odds ratios for each characteristic, controlling for victim and event. Only main effects for IV analysed.
Swart et al., 2018	Aimed to describe victim, offender, event characteristics of adolescent homicide and to	Quantitative, retrospective	Homicides of 15-19 year olds occurring in Johannesburg, captured by	Purposive: data from NIMSS collates info on injury deaths based on medico-forensic	NIMSS collects data captured in forms by medical examiners & forensic officers: info on police station & case number, victim	Cluster analysis to classify adolescent homicide cases into categories based on offender, victim, & offense attributes.

	generate a typology based on the particular types of situational contexts associated with adolescent homicide in South Africa		National Injury Mortality Surveillance System (NIMSS). 195 cases analysed.	investigative procedures at state medico-legal labs.	demographics, time & place of injury, external cause. Data captured digitally & sent to Medical Research Council UNISA Violence, Injury, and Peace Research Unit at year end; all data cleaned & merged. Data incl., retrieval of demographics (sex & race), weapon used, scene, police case number & station name.	
Swatt & He, 2006	To examine the role of situational factors differentiating b/w male- and female-perpetrated IPH	Quantitative, retrospective exploratory	Chicago Women's Health Risk Study "lethal sample" of homicide events - to assess women's issues resulting from domestic violence.	Purposive: 85 cases of heterosexual intimate homicides that occurred in Chicago between 1995 and 1996. 57 male & 28 female homicide offenders.	Chicago Women's Health Risk Study lethal sample consisting 85 heterosexual intimate homicide incidents.	Logistic regression analysis: dependant variable is offender's gender; independent variables are extent of pre-homicide injury, drug or alcohol use, offender attempted suicide after incident or not, homicide occurred at home or not, time of homicide & type of weapon used - gun or knife.
Tomsen, 2002	To uncover details about victims, perpetrators &	Mixed methods, retrospective	Homosexual male victims where the victim's	Purposive: searched specifically for 'anti-homosexual'	Data initially collected from New South Wales Police Service's records of 31 'gay-hate' killings	Frequencies of killings, demographic info., count per year, age at death, cause of death, employment,

	social aspects of murders of homosexual males. Research to critically assess notion that these killings are understood as hate crimes.		sexuality could be reasonably judged as having an important relationship with the fatal incident.	fatal homicides, not including fatal domestic violence b/w homosexual couples & conflicts where homosexuality was coincidental to victimisation.	with male victims. Press records also searched for anti-homosexual crimes. 74 anti-homosexual killings. Sample also includes the 37 gay-hate killings considered in the AIC comparative study & relevant findings. Info about perpetrators' understanding of actions, arrest interviews, records of criminal trials.	socioeconomic status, history/background, substance use, locations & scenarios, victim-offender relationship.
Varano et al., 2004	(1) To disaggregate the concept of drug-related homicide by providing event classification scheme that conceptualises diverse roles drugs play in events. (2) To examine importance of situational/contextual characteristics of homicide events in understanding	Quantitative, retrospective	Entire population of homicides from 1 of Detroit's 13 precincts ($n = 129$) & a subsequent random sample of citywide cases ($n = 46$) that occurred during January 1999 & December 2002.	Purposive: Sampling frame was a list of all homicides maintained by the Detroit Police Department.	Larger case set coded as part of firearm-violence reduction program sponsored by US Attorney's Office. All 'nonjustified' homicides occurring in target precinct during 4 year period was coded. Also randomly selected and coded additional 46 cases occurring in other areas of Detroit in the same time period.	Multinomial logistical analysis to determine extent to which individual, situational & contextual factors discriminate b/w different drug-homicide events. Homicide coding - demographic data, criminal history of victim & offender, temporal & spatial characteristics of event, also situational characteristics i.e., gang involvement, motive & level of drug involvement.

	different drug-related events.					
Wilson et al., 2022	To summarise CDC's National Violent Death Reporting System (NVDRS) on violent deaths occurring in 42 states, the District of Columbia, and Puerto Rico.	Quantitative, prevalence study	Any violent deaths recorded in the areas included by NVDRS	Purposive: Case met NVDRS criteria for violent death data as reported by relevant parties; from participating states; at least 50% of cases from each state had circumstance info collected from coroner examiner/law enforcement report.	Collected from 39 states, Puerto Rico and District of Columbia. Info for each violent death was collated and related deaths linked into a single incident. Abstractors link source documents, links death within each incident, code data elements & write brief narratives of incident.	Numbers, percentages, crude rates presented in aggregate for all deaths by abstractor-assigned manner of death. Rates not calculable for some variables because denominators were unknown. Bridged-race 2019 population estimates used as denominators in crude rate calculations (used method similar to NCHS)

4.3.3 Findings, Recommendations and Limitations

Findings. See [Table 4-E](#) in Appendix D for a summary of the key findings, recommendations, and limitations identified in the included studies. Common, and less common, themes emerged from the studies' findings, which I will discuss briefly.

Firstly, some of the studies discussed intimate partner homicide (IPH), which often involved disagreements, arguments and confrontations between partners in a romantic relationship. The studies focused on heterosexual intimate partner homicides and in cases where the female was the offender, findings suggest that the woman was either in immediate danger during a conflict and acted in self-defence, or they were subject to injury or abuse for long periods of time prior to the homicide, which caused them to “snap” while not necessarily in immediate danger (Felson & Messner, 1998; Enander et al., 2022; Suonpää & Savolainen, 2019; Rizo et al., 2021). However, though unusual, if neither of these circumstances occurred in a female-perpetrated IPH, this was elaborated upon in some of the studies. For instance, the female perpetrator may have had a mental disorder, been intoxicated, part of a gang, or even experienced feelings of extreme jealousy, which resulted in murder (Petrosky et al., 2021; Swatt & He, 2006; Wilson et al., 2022).

Revenge and retaliation as motives for homicide was also a recurring theme in some of the studies (Brookman, 2003; Swart et al., 2018). Revenge or retaliation crimes were often motivated by grudges or perceived wrongdoings, and if the offender was challenged in public by the victim. These motives were often closely associated with the drug market, robbery, burglary, and within gangs. Turf wars involved revenge and retaliation, whereby if there was a perceived violation of mutual turf rules, gangs would retaliate and commit murder (Lindegaard, 2017; Goodman et al., 1986).

Furthermore, revenge crimes involve ‘male honour’ which refers to a male standing his ground or doing what he thinks is right to uphold what he deems as moral or to uphold a

level of respect for himself – the insulted or offended individual tends to retaliate to save face, leading to escalation. It is also seen in situations where he would like to impress bystanders, for romantic or other social gains (Luckenbill, 1977; Lindegaard, 2017; Tomsen, 2002; Brookman, 2003). Many of the studies also explored male homicide victimisation through the lens of victim precipitation, where a victim's actions may have contributed to the homicide (Luckenbill, 1997; Felson & Steadman, 1983; Felson & Messner, 1998; Brookman, 2003; Ganpat et al., 2017; Suonpää & Savolainen, 2019). Examples include prolonged emotional or physical abuse by the victim, or the victim initiating a fight.

Location and temporal factors are key findings in most of the included studies. Findings describe the prevalence of homicides committed during a particular time of the day, day of the week, month or season, as well as the prevalence in public, in homes, in places with alcohol and disinhibition, and the street (Eckhardt & Pridemore, 2009; Goodman et al., 1986; Brookman, 2003; Felson & Messner, 1998; Luckenbill, 1977; Petrosky et al., 2021; Swart et al., 2018). Modus operandi is another significant discussion in most of the included studies – which involves guns, hands and feet, fire, strangulation, beating individuals with objects, or stabbing with knives or sharp instruments. Moreover, the use of alcohol and drugs as a situational factor is considered, and their presence in the victim and/or offender's system. Mental illness, although not a common theme across the articles, is also one of the discussion points in some of the findings. Additionally, some studies discussed the various stages of a homicide, typically encompassing the initial conflict, retaliation/aggravation or mediation, the attack, and the aftermath (Luckenbill, 1977; Felson & Steadman, 1983; Enander et al., 2022; Brookman, 2003).

As previously discussed, while risk factors are not the intended focus of this systematic review, ignoring their presence and importance in any examination of homicides is very difficult. Risk factors were one of the common themes found in the papers, as they

also appear to be, in some ways, embedded in the situations. For example, individuals of a younger age may frequent bars and clubs more regularly, which is a risk factor, and alcohol intoxication late at night, in dark spaces, is a situational factor. Therefore, risk factors will be presented below only in cases where they are relevant or directly relate to a particular situational factor. The relevant and most important findings are organised into key themes and presented in further detail in the thematic analysis section (section 4.4).

Recommendations. The most common recommendations throughout the included studies emphasised the importance of understanding and addressing the social and situational factors that contribute to violence and homicide. A common recommendation was to further focus on situational factors, for example, programmes should target situations that can escalate to violence, like the absence of a third party to intervene - public awareness campaigns can encourage bystanders to intervene and offer tools for de-escalation (Pizarro, 2008; Luckenbill, 1977; Ganpat et al., 2017; Rizo et al., 2021). Reducing access to firearms and drugs was another recommendation, with the hope that by limiting youth access to firearms and drugs, it will significantly decrease the risk of violence (Outwater et al., 2008; Varano et al., 2004; Langevin et al., 1982). Moreover, programmes should aim to address and challenge harmful social norms around violence, for example, life skills education for adolescents can teach them conflict resolution and anger management (Swart et al., 2018; Ganpat et al., 2017). Some studies also recommended the improvement of public safety, such as police strategies targeting street crimes that could potentially deter violence and improve community relations, as well as enhanced lighting and surveillance in high-risk areas to discourage night-time violence (Swart et al., 2018; Outwater et al., 2008). Overall, more targeted interventions were suggested; including a focus on specific areas like same-sex intimate partner violence and the role of cultural factors, substance abuse programmes, and support for victims of domestic violence to address underlying issues that lead to violence.

Limitations. Very nearly all authors reported limitations to available and viable methods for collecting homicide data. There is a wide span of data sources that in reality will only ever be able to record homicides that have already been committed. Reports and dockets from the police are filtered through the perceptions of an investigator dealing with a crime, not primarily concerned with how the data could possibly be used. Documents and records of legal proceedings are filtered through a system's judicial process. By definition, the victim's statement is of course unobtainable. So all that is left to understand what happened will come from the perpetrator, witnesses, and any evidence collected.

Data on homicides was collected by pre-existing or purpose-built systems. Those named in the study were the CDC's NVDRS (Petrosky et al., 2021; Rizo et al., 2021; Wilson et al., 2022), and South Africa's NIMSS (Swart et al., 2015). They rely on information being submitted on time (or at all), and in detail to allow for data comparison and analysis. The system relies on data from the police, medical examiners and coroners, and court documents, on the assumption that all the information provided reflects facts and all occurrences, and that the data is consistent and accurate. These systems can only work with what is available to them. Additionally, the uniformity required in capturing this data is susceptible to human error (Petrosky et al., 2021; Rizo et al., 2021; Wilson et al., 2022). For the NVDRS, abstractors are trained to capture and code the received information into the categories on the web-based system. Similarly, in Rizo et al., (2021), abstractors also built a brief narrative of the cases from the documents received. While there are training procedures and reliability and consistency checks, there is always the chance of information being ignored, coded or captured differently across abstractors, if captured at all. Moreover, in Petrosky et al., (2021), they found that information from coroner's and medical examiner's reports had not recorded some victims as Native or First Nation - they hypothesise that in these particular cases, homicide victims did not have a 'typically' Native surname, and were thus described as a

different race. Circumstances like this may lead to an inaccurate depiction of certain demographic details of victims and offenders. Lastly, the papers were not intervention studies. Therefore, more definitive evidence should be derived from studies or systematic reviews that rigourously assess the effectiveness of different interventions and policies.

4.4 Thematic Analysis

Thematic analysis is a versatile approach that allows one to use existing themes one might already have in mind, or develop new themes as one analyses the data. This means a single quote or passage can connect to and illustrate multiple themes, rather than being pressed into just one category. Moreover, themes can overlap with each other (Braun & Clarke, 2022).

In order to combine the extracted data, a data-based convergent synthesis approach was used (Hong et al., 2017). This entails collecting and analysing the quantitative and qualitative data during the same phase of the research process in a complementary manner. Because all included studies are analysed using the same synthesis method, data transformation was undertaken, whereby the quantitative data was interpreted and then transformed into qualitative data (Pluye & Hong, 2014). Thereafter the data was integrated using thematic analysis. For example, the study by Suonpää and Savolainen (2019) involved a quantitative design. Therefore, in circumstances where the quantitative data was not already discussed qualitatively by the researchers, I interpreted the meanings of the data and analysed it using thematic analysis.

In this systematic review, six themes and seven subthemes were identified in the included studies. The themes identified were: (1) Alcohol and Substance Use as Catalysts for Male Homicide, (2) Temporal and Spatial Factors, (3) Weapon Use and Methods of Killing, (4) Dynamics of Male Homicide, (5) Victim-Offender Relationship, and (6) Victim and

Offender Characteristics. Table 4-F below provides a map of themes and subthemes that will be presented in this section.

Table 4-F

Map of Themes and Subthemes

Theme	Subthemes
1. Alcohol and Substance Use as Catalysts for Male Homicide	
2. Temporal and Spatial Factors	
3. Weapon Use and Method of Killing	
4. Dynamics of Male Homicide	1) Social and Cultural Expectations: Masculinity, Violence and Male Honour 2) Victim Precipitation 3) Stages, Triggers and Motives of Male Homicide
5. Victim-Offender Relationship	1) Strangers, Acquaintances and Family Members 2) Intimate Partner Homicides Involving Male Victims
6. Victim and Offender Characteristics	1) Criminal Background, Lifestyle Factors and Conduct 2) Age, Race and Sex 3) Occupation and Education 4) Mental Health

Theme 1: Alcohol and Substance Use as Catalysts for Male Homicides

The first theme identified is that of alcohol and substance use, which are key situational factors that frequently contribute to male homicides. This theme sets the stage for understanding how immediate situational impairments like alcohol and drugs can lead to violent outcomes. Multiple studies, including Goodman et al. (1986), Swart et al. (2015) and

Felson and Steadman (1983), demonstrate that a significant proportion of male homicide victims were under the influence of alcohol at the time of their death, and that male victims were almost twice as likely to have detectable alcohol compared to females. Goodman et al. (1986) found that nearly half of the male homicide victims in their study had detectable blood alcohol levels, with a substantial number exceeding the legal limit for intoxication. Moreover, Felson and Messner (1998) state that many homicides involving male victims in the USA occur under the influence of substances, which impair judgement and escalate conflicts. They further emphasise that substance abuse not only lowers inhibitions but also increases the likelihood of aggressive responses to perceived slights or provocations (Felson & Messner, 1998).

Similarly, Ganpat et al. (2017) noted that alcohol use by victims in the Netherlands significantly increased the likelihood of a lethal outcome, however, offender drinking showed a decrease in such outcomes. On the other hand, Tomsen (2009) stated that in Australia, high alcohol consumption and illicit drug use was often noted in both victims and offenders, particularly in homicides of a frenzied or aggravated nature. Correspondingly, Langevin et al. (1982), found that 54% of the killers in their study based in Canada, were drinking at the time of the offense. Tomsen (2009) also found that the offenders' drinking was linked to masculine identity performance, particularly in group settings. The issue of masculine identity and the role of groups and bystanders will be elaborated on in due course. In Russia, Eckhardt and Pridemore's (2009) study revealed that female victims were less likely to be drinking at the time of the homicidal event than male victims.

The correlation between alcohol consumption and male homicides was particularly strong in cases where the incident occurred in social settings such as bars and restaurants (75.1%), parties, or other gatherings (Goodman et al., 1986). Goodman et al. (1986), Swart et al. (2015) and Ganpat et al. (2017) also found that male victims were more likely to be

intoxicated during late-night and weekend incidents, which are peak times for social drinking. This finding highlights the link between leisure time, alcohol consumption, and homicide among males.

Furthermore, Goodman et al. (1986) found that in the USA, alcohol presence was highest in victims killed with cutting instruments (58.6%) compared to strangulation (28.7%). Swart et al. (2015) expand on these findings by showing that homicides involving sharp instruments are strongly associated with high levels of alcohol consumption among victims in South Africa.

Interestingly, Pizarro (2008) highlighted four different types of homicides, namely, drug homicides, robbery homicides, interpersonal homicides, and domestic homicides. Drug homicides refer to those that were involved in the trading of illicit substances. Robbery homicides involve the offender's attempt to forcibly take possessions from the victim. Interpersonal dispute homicides are unrelated to the previous two, and either resulted from an argument, physical altercation, or either party wanting to seek justice for a past experience. The domestic homicide category includes disputes between parents and children, siblings or partners. Pizarro (2008) emphasised that interpersonal dispute-related homicides were over 3.5 times more likely to involve parties under the influence of substances or alcohol compared to the other types of homicides. More specifically, her results suggested that drug homicide parties were less likely to have consumed alcohol or drugs at the time of the homicide, and those in dispute-related homicides were more likely to involve alcohol and substances than domestic homicides.

Additionally, Goodman et al. (1986) noted that alcohol consumption may increase a person's risk of becoming a victim, regardless of intoxicating effects, because individuals are more likely to be in a high-risk place or situation - thus connecting to the next theme, temporal and spatial factors.

Theme 2: Temporal and Spatial Factors

This second theme considers public versus private settings, and the timing of homicidal incidents. Studies by Brookman (2003), Petrosky et al. (2021) and Eckhardt and Pridemore (2009) reveal that male homicides are more likely to occur in public spaces, such as streets, parks, and bars - these settings are prone to spontaneous altercations, where disputes that begin as minor verbal exchanges can quickly turn fatal. Brookman (2003) categorises these incidents as ‘confrontational homicides,’ which often occur in the context of ‘honour contests’ where both the victim and offender are vying for social status. The presence of bystanders in these public settings can further escalate the situation, as both parties may feel compelled to act aggressively to avoid appearing weak (Brookman, 2003). Both the concept of male honour and the role of bystanders will be presented in more detail below.

Swart et al. (2018) also found that adolescent homicides in Johannesburg, South Africa frequently occurred in public spaces during evening hours. Luckenbill (1977) identified that in the USA, most homicides occurred between 18:00 and 02:00, especially on weekends, with a significant proportion taking place in informal settings like homes (over half), streets (15%), or bars (15%), where social interactions frequently transform into violence. Informal settings allow a wide range of activities, contrasting with more formal settings like funerals or weddings (Luckenbill, 1977). Correspondingly, Wilson et al. (2022) reported that public space homicides were more prevalent among male victims than female victims in 42 states in America and in the District of Columbia. In Puerto Rico, a higher likelihood of homicides occur on streets and highways particularly in metropolitan areas where the risk of confrontation is elevated.

Similarly, Felson and Messner (1998) and Ganpat et al. (2017) highlighted that homicides in public places were more common among male victims, who are often involved

in disputes or confrontations in streets, bars, or other public areas. These environments, coupled with reduced visibility and a lack of social control at night, create situational opportunities for lethal violence (Felson & Messner, 1998). While less common, daytime homicides involving male victims are often linked to business disputes or spontaneous conflicts that arise in workplaces or other daily interactions (Felson & Messner, 1998). Petrosky et al. (2021) also note that public homicides are more likely to involve firearms, particularly in high-risk urban areas.

In contrast, Langevin et al. (1982) examined the role of alcohol, drugs, and situational strains in homicides committed by offenders undergoing psychiatric assessment, and found that in terms of location and timing, 80% of the homicides occurred indoors, either in the homes of the offender, victim, or a shared residence, with 74% specifically occurring in a joint home. Killings were more frequent between 14:00 and 02:00, peaking at around 01:00 and 18:00. Sundays and Mondays had the highest rates of homicide (22% and 20%, respectively), while March and July saw the fewest incidents (3% and 4%). This temporal distribution challenges the thermic law, which suggests homicides against persons are more common in hotter seasons (Langevin et al., 1982). Although male homicides committed in a private setting are rare, Swatt and He (2006) found this to be the case in their study. They studied the difference between male and female intimate partner homicides by focusing on situated transactions. They found that 89.3% of homicides committed by female offenders occurred at home, and 53.6% of the homicides occurred at night.

Regarding anti-homosexual homicides involving male victims, Tomsen (2002) found that in Australia, the majority of homicides occurred in the inner-city, especially in Sydney, with hotspots like Darlinghurst known for gay subculture and violence. Killings happened in both public cruising locations and private homes, suggesting danger from both public spaces and personal relationships (Tomsen 2002). Cruising refers to the act of seeking casual sexual

encounters in public places, typically by homosexual men (Tomsen 2002). Some victims were killed in areas close to bars, nightclubs, and restaurants that were popular among the homosexual community. However, victims appeared to be most at risk when attacked at well-known cruising spots. A second common place involves personal disputes between two men in private settings, leading to fatal violence. In this situation, assailants frequently claimed that the deceased had made a sexual advance (Tomsen 2002).

Theme 3: Weapon Use and Method of Killing

The type of weapon used in homicides involving male victims is closely linked to the setting and nature of the conflict. The large majority of the included studies presented findings of weapon use and the method of homicide. Research by Wilson et al. (2022) and Swart et al. (2015) highlights that firearms are the most commonly used weapons in male homicides in the USA and South Africa respectively, especially in public spaces where quick and decisive action is valued. Firearms significantly increase the lethality of these disputes, making it more likely that a confrontation will end in death rather than injury (Wilson et al., 2022; Swart et al., 2015). Wilson et al., (2022) found that in Puerto Rico a firearm was used in 92.6% of male victims of homicide. In 42 states in America and the district of Columbia, the most common weapon to kill male victims was also a firearm, at 78.6% of homicides. Similarly, Petrosky et al. (2021) found that in the USA, firearms were the most common weapon used during male homicide, at 51.5%. Following that, sharp instruments were used 21% of the time, blunt instruments at 6.1%, personal weapons (hands, feet, fists) at 6.1%, and hanging/strangulation/suffocation at 2.3% (Petrosky et al., 2021). In the Netherlands, Ganpat et al. (2017) found that an offender displaying or using a firearm was the strongest predictor of a lethal outcome.

Pizarro (2008) emphasised that firearms were notably more prevalent in drug-related homicides, where the presence of guns serves both as a tool for protection and a means to

assert control or dominance during conflicts. Whereas in domestic homicide, means other than a firearm would be used. This finding correlates with those of the study by Varano et al. (2004), who state that events with guns used for homicides were associated with an increased likelihood of peripheral and drug-related homicides when contrasted with non-drug events.

According to Felson and Messner (1998), firearms were more commonly used in public space homicides, whereas knives and blunt objects were used more in private settings. Likewise, Swart et al. (2015) found that when sharp instruments like knives are used, the killings are more likely to occur in private settings and involve closer relationships, such as disputes between acquaintances or family members. In South Africa, the choice of weapon is also influenced by the availability of firearms in certain communities. In areas where guns are easily accessible, they are more likely to be used in homicides further increasing the risk of lethal violence (Swart et al., 2015). Further, Swart et al. (2015) found that firearm victims in South Africa were less likely to have a positive blood alcohol content. However, Swart et al. (2015) also found that homicides with sharp instruments are significantly linked to alcohol consumption at the time of death; contrasted with victims killed by strangulation, burns and poisoning, who were significantly less likely to be drinking at the time. Furthermore, in Johannesburg, South Africa, Suffla and Seedat (2020) found that the risk of daytime strangulation is higher in males than in females, and males are almost twice as likely to be strangled during the week than on the weekends relative to all other types of male homicides.

With regards to intimate partner homicides in the USA, as stated by Swatt and He (2006), gun use by female offenders was 17.9% lower than male offenders. Knife use by female offenders was significantly higher at 78.6%. This aligns with a study by Rizo et al. (2021), which indicated that intimate partner homicides did not involve firearms and instead the use of sharp or blunt objects, and strangulation was more common. However, in homicides other than IPH, weapons often included firearms (Rizo et al., 2021).

Lastly, Tomsen (2002) found that the most common methods of anti-homosexual homicide included beating, stabbing, and drowning, with all drowned victims being attacked before drowning. The attacks were often brutal and frenzied, with instances of extreme sadism like multiple stabbings and torture. Firearm use was rare in homosexual homicides.

Theme 4: Dynamics of Male Homicide

Subtheme 1: Social and Cultural Expectations: Masculinity, Violence and Male Honour

The influence of societal norms, issues of male honour and the dynamics of confrontational masculinity are prominent situational factors in homicides involving male victims, particularly in disputes that arise from perceived slights or challenges to status.

Research by Luckenbill (1977) offers a foundational perspective on how homicides, particularly among males, frequently arise from what he terms "character contests." These contests involve confrontations where both the offender and victim contribute to the escalation of a conflict in order to protect their honour, often driven by perceived slights or public insults. The escalation of these conflicts is largely due to societal expectations that men should not back down from challenges, particularly in public settings where their reputation is at stake (Luckenbill, 1977).

Luckenbill (1977) describes these conflicts and interactions as "situated transactions" that involve a series of escalating actions and reactions. In these situations, once an offense has been perceived—whether it's an insult, a challenge, or a refusal to comply—the interaction becomes a cycle of escalation, where each party's actions are dictated by the need to defend their honour. These confrontations are often ritualistic, with both the victim and offender locked into a script that leads to violence.

This theme is reinforced by Lindegaard (2017), who explores how young men involved in street culture and criminal activities in South Africa, are pressured to prove their autonomy and dominance. In such environments, violence becomes a key tool for asserting

status, with many homicides occurring because the offender or victim felt compelled to "save face" in front of peers. The introduction of weapons, whether they were already at hand or were found at the scene, can quickly transform what might have been a non-lethal fight into a deadly one (Lindegard, 2017). These confrontations are further complicated by the presence of an audience, which can push both parties to act violently to avoid public humiliation. Lindegard (2017) spoke of an individual who killed another man in a bar for challenging his status in front of a woman he wanted to impress. Lindegard (2017) further provided a quote from one of the participants in her study which highlights the need to prove dominance and control:

I didn't think before. I just started stabbing him. I must show them when they kick me. I must show them now. I must show them that they must leave me now. I must make an example. I must stay focused. You must fight now because you're afraid that they'll kill you so you must fight now. (p. 9)

Similarly, Brookman (2003) described confrontational homicides in the UK as often resulting from trivial disagreements that escalate due to the need for men to uphold their honour, leading to impulsive and violent responses. Brookman (2003) found that these honour contests were just as likely to occur amongst strangers as they were amongst friends or acquaintances. Of note, Brookman (2003) stated that 12 out of 19 of the cases in her study had involved either the offender or victim having consumed alcohol at the time of the homicide, and in six of the cases, both victim and offender had consumed alcohol at the time of the homicide. Thus, alcohol use may influence the probability of a confrontational homicide.

Further supporting this theme, Tomsen (2002) highlights how homophobia and societal pressures surrounding masculinity contribute to anti-homosexual hate crimes. In these cases, the need to assert dominant masculinity often manifests in brutal violence, where

the perpetrator feels that their status is threatened and their masculinity is challenged, by what they perceive as homosexual advances (Tomsen, 2002).

Subtheme 2: Victim Precipitation

Victim-precipitated (VP) homicides are another significant theme that emerges in the data. VP is defined by Wolfgang (1957) as:

Those criminal homicides in which the victim is a direct, positive precipitator in the crime... his having been the first in the homicide drama to use physical force directed against his subsequent slayer ... in short, the first to commence the interplay of resort to physical violence (p. 252).

Essentially, VP refers to incidents where it is predominantly the victim that initiates or provokes the confrontation (Suonpää & Savolainen, 2019), rather than a situated transaction where both parties provoke the confrontation, as discussed in the previous subtheme. Studies by Luckenbill (1997), Felson and Steadman (1983), Felson and Messner (1998), Brookman (2003), Ganpat et al. (2017), and Suonpää and Savolainen (2019) reveal that many homicides involve situations where the victim plays an active role in escalating the conflict. Felson and Steadman (1983) further explore this dynamic by examining the stages of escalation in violent encounters - they found that in many cases, the homicide victim displayed aggressive behaviour, and also used or threatened to use a weapon, which in turn provoked a lethal response from the offender.

Correspondingly, both Ganpat et al. (2017) and Brookman (2003) found that VP significantly increased the likelihood of a lethal outcome. Brookman's (2003) study indicated that VP was a characteristic unique to the 'confrontational homicides' in her study, where the "original instigator of violence became the ultimate victim" (p. 39). Brookman (2003) included a case in her study to demonstrate a victim-precipitated scenario:

At around 10.00 p.m., for no clear reason, Howard attacked Simon, who was sat on the floor, punching and kicking him about the head and body. Simon at this stage made no attempt to retaliate although words were exchanged. Simon left the room for a short time and on his return began to call Howard a “dickhead”. Howard responded by throwing a hi-fi at Simon and again physically attacking him. Simon again did not physically retaliate but began to cry. Howard began to tease Simon, making fun of his crying... Simon got up and approached Howard lashing out with his fists... saying, “let’s see how you like it”... In doing so, Simon stabbed Howard in the chest with a cutlery knife which he had been holding in his hand. When arrested, Simon said to the officers, “I don’t deserve it, I’ve killed my best friend” (p. 40).

Similarly, Felson and Messner (1998) identified VP as a common factor specifically in female-perpetrated homicide, where female or male victims' aggressive actions or provocations lead to retaliatory violence from the offender. In more than half of the incidents included in their study that involved a female perpetrator and male victim, Felson and Messner (1998) found that the homicide was precipitated by the male’s attack or aggression. Moreover, Felson and Messner's (1998) study disentangles the effects of gender and intimacy on violent interactions, focusing broadly on the relationship between VP, gender, and the intimacy of the victim-offender relationship. Their analysis generally supports the gender differences hypothesis, which posits that women are less likely to engage in serious violence and that the gender of the offender and victim, rather than the intimacy of their relationship, is the primary predictor of VP and self-defence scenarios (Felson & Messner, 1998). They argue that the tendency for women to kill male partners in response to provocation reflects broader gender norms, rather than specific dynamics of intimate relationships. They found no special dynamics associated with intimate homicides that differentiate them significantly from other homicide types (Felson & Messner, 1998).

Ultimately, Felson and Messner (1998) suggest that women who kill male partners are no more likely to kill in self-defence or due to immediate provocation than when they kill other individuals. This contrasts with Suonpää and Savolainen's (2017) finding that VP is more prevalent in female-perpetrated intimate partner homicides than when women kill other non-intimate males. Furthermore, their results contradict the conclusions drawn by Felson and Messner (1998) by showing that female-perpetrated killings of non-intimate partners were no more likely to involve VP than homicides committed by males. This challenges the broader applicability of the gender differences hypothesis, suggesting instead that the dynamics of VP are more specific to female-perpetrated intimate partner homicides rather than a general characteristic of female violence (Suonpää & Savolainen, 2017). Overall, while both studies explore the intersection of gender and violence in homicides, they diverge in their interpretation of how VP plays into these dynamics, particularly concerning the role of intimacy and the specific circumstances under which women kill male partners. Intimate partner homicide involving male victims will be further elaborated upon in the next theme.

Subtheme 3: The Stages, Triggers, and Motives of Male Homicide

In this subtheme, the terms 'stages', 'triggers', and 'motives' may be used interchangeably. The progression from initial conflict to homicide is driven by triggers such as insults, perceived threats, or challenges to status, which escalate through stages like verbal disputes and physical altercations. Furthermore, defending one's reputation or resolving personal disputes can act as both triggers and motives, making it challenging to distinctly separate these elements. This overlap perhaps illustrates how stages, triggers, and motives merge, and do not function in isolation but collectively influence the trajectory of violent encounters.

Luckenbill's (1977) study of the organisation and development of 70 'transactions' ending in homicide found that in all of the cases included in his study, homicide was the

result of an interchange between a perpetrator and victim, in a 'character contest' type of confrontation, whereby the "opponents attempt to establish or maintain face at the other's expense by remaining steady in the face of adversity" (Luckenbill, 1977, p. 177).

Luckenbill (1977) describe a typical transaction, which unfolds sequentially through six key stages. Firstly, the victim's opening move which involves the victim performing an action that the offender subsequently interprets as offensive or insulting, disrupting the social order of the occasion. This could be a direct verbal insult, a refusal to cooperate, or an action deemed offensive based on previous interactions. This stage may also link to victim precipitation as discussed earlier. Secondly, the offender interprets the victim's action as intentionally offensive, either through direct inquiry, bystander statements, or based on previous interactions. Thirdly, the offender attempts to restore face and reaffirm character by retaliating with a verbal or physical challenge to the victim. This signals to the victim that violence is a suitable means for settling the "character contest." In the fourth stage, the victim typically responds by either complying with the offender's demands, physically retaliating, or issuing a counter-challenge. This signifies the victim's acceptance that violence is an appropriate means of resolving the situation. Next, in the fifth stage, with a "working agreement" that violence is suitable, the offender and victim engage in a physical battle, often with the use of readily available weapons. Lastly, after the victim is killed, the offender's manner of exiting the scene is shaped by their relationship to the victim and the reactions of bystanders, who may either assist the offender or try to apprehend them (Luckenbill, 1977).

Comparably, Felson and Steadman (1983) determined three stages in an act of homicide. The first stage entails verbal conflict whereby identities are attacked and attempts to influence an antagonist fail. At the second stage, threats and evasive action are involved. If mediation occurs in a particular incident, it usually occurs at this stage. When the victim, offender, or third party instigate a conflict, it tends to ensue at either stage one or two. Lastly,

in the third stage, the physical attack transpires and one of the opponents are killed (Felson & Steadman, 1983).

Interestingly, Felson and Steadman (1983) also found that aggressive victims and victims who displayed a weapon were more likely to be killed. There was also some evidence that victims who were both aggressive and used a weapon, as a combination, had an even higher likelihood of being killed. This indicates that offenders may kill in part as a strategic orientation to self-defence. However, the decision to kill did not typically involve using a more lethal weapon or delivering more blows; there was no significant difference between homicides and assaults in terms of the weapon's lethality or the number of blows (Felson & Steadman, 1983). Instead, offenders who intend to kill may aim for vital organs or strike with greater force. The study also highlights the importance of identity concerns, as indicated by the moderately strong link between identity attacks and identity counterattacks. This relationship suggests that when a person is cast into a negative social identity through a physical or verbal attack, they are likely to retaliate in an attempt to restore a positive self-identity, as seen in the first stage above.

At large, Luckenbill's (1977) stages are similar to Felson and Steadman's (1983) stages, with three exceptions. Luckenbill (1977) includes cognitive stages, that being stage two and five, whereby the offender interprets an action as personally offensive, and a working agreement is forged, respectively. On the other hand, Felson and Steadman's (1983) stages are "strictly behavioural" (p. 70). Furthermore, Luckenbill (1977) includes an aftermath to the homicide, whereas Felson and Steadman (1983) do not. Moreover, Felson and Steadman's (1983) stages include mediating and evasive actions during the initial stages of an altercation, whereas Luckenbill (1977) does not. According to Felson and Steadman (1983), the occurrence of these evasive actions in their findings "cast doubt on" Luckenbill's (1977) main finding that there is a working agreement between opponents that violence is an

appropriate decision (p. 70). However, despite this, many of Felson and Steadman's (1983) findings resonate with those of Luckenbill's (1977).

With regards to IPH, a study by Enander et al. (2022) also found that the IPH process includes three stages. Firstly, the build-up before the killing, then "changing the project" (the moment the offender decides to kill), and lastly, the aftermath to the killing (p. 501). Enander et al. (2022) asserted that common triggers occur in the first two stages, but a final trigger seems to precede the homicide. In majority of the cases included in their study, Enander et al. (2022) stated that the offender claimed that an argument preceded the homicide. The various triggers that corresponded with changing the project include "feeling rejected, feeling provoked, hallucinating, being at the end of the road, acting in self-defence" (p. 514). However, the final trigger for changing the project involved differing situational factors between male perpetrated and female perpetrated homicide. For male perpetrators, feelings of rejection and jealousy were more common, while self-defence in response to IPV was more common among female perpetrators. None of the female offenders displayed possessiveness (Enander et al., 2022).

Enander et al. (2022) further elaborated on the aftermath, whereby majority of the offenders, regardless of gender, contacted someone and confessed to killing their partners. Only a few female offenders denied culpability and even fewer attempted to hide evidence. However, in the courtroom, the offenders' narratives were presented in a way to minimise their responsibility. A few offenders made claims of self-defence, which were more credible for female perpetrators acting in the context of prior IPV victimisation. The results highlight the gendered nature of the IPH process, with differences in the situational factors that serve as final triggers for male versus female perpetrators (Enander et al., 2022).

Moreover, Brookman (2003) also found in her study that there are two distinct types of male-male homicide in England and Wales, confrontational homicide and revenge

homicide - these types of homicides differ in their motives and stages. Confrontational homicides were characterised by face-to-face "honour contests" that arose spontaneously, often triggered by trivial matters. Brookman (2003) asserted that these homicides involved the active engagement of both the offender and victim, who mutually escalated the confrontation, as previously discussed. The violence tended to occur in public settings with an audience present, and alcohol was a common factor. Additionally, the most common modus operandi would involve physical altercations occasionally escalating to weapons such as knives or baseball bats.

In contrast, revenge homicides exhibited a more deliberate and planned nature (Brookman, 2003). These killings were motivated by the offender's desire to avenge a perceived wrongdoing against themselves or a third party. The offenders in these cases sought out the victim, giving them little chance to resist the lethal attack (Brookman, 2003). This differs from Luckenbill's (1977) finding that a working agreement between the offender and victim is often involved. Furthermore, based on its premeditated nature, revenge homicides are not the main focus of this review, as the situational factors for a premeditated homicide generally differ from homicides that are influenced by more immediate situational factors. However, it highlights emotions and a desire for a vengeance as situational factors.

In a study exploring adolescent homicide victimisation in Johannesburg, South Africa, Swart et al. (2018) also identified two types of homicides involving male victims. First, male victims killed by strangers during crime-related events, and second, male victims killed by friends or acquaintances during arguments. Swart et al. (2018) found that the most common causes of adolescent homicides in Johannesburg, South Africa, were arguments (33%), followed by revenge (11%), robbery (11%), and acts of vigilantism or retribution for a crime (8%).

Petrosky et al. (2021) presented data from CDC's National Violent Death Reporting System (NVDRS) to highlight the circumstances surrounding American Indians/Alaska Natives (AI/AN) homicides and to better understand the contextual factors that place these individuals at risk for homicide. In terms of precipitating circumstances, an argument or conflict preceded 50.3% of homicides, with this being more common among males victims than female victims. 24.6% of homicides occurred as a result of another crime, and the crime was in progress during majority of these homicides. Petrosky et al. (2021) found that the most common type of crimes that precipitated homicides of males was assault or homicide (35.3%), robbery (32.4%), burglary (16.5%), and drug trade (15.3%). Another frequent circumstance included a physical fight between two individuals which precipitated more homicides of males than females (Petrosky et al., 2021).

In a study conducted in Tanzania, Outwater et al., (2008) showed that approximately 90% of male victims of homicide died in incidents related to resources, legally or illegally, as thieves (69%), victims of armed robbery (13%), bystanders (4%), and arguments about payment (4%). The majority of homicides (57%) were committed by community-level mob justice, whereby the community polices against petty thieves or even those going against any other shared community values (Outwater et al., 2008). The findings of this study also found that urbanisation and unemployment was a risk factor for male homicide, as these factors would influence individuals to steal or engage in other illegal activities in order to sustain a livelihood, which was a situational factor for male homicide (Outwater et al., 2008).

Theme 5: Victim-Offender Relationship

Subtheme 1: Strangers, Acquaintances and Family Members

In examining the victim-offender relationship in male homicides, studies reveal diverse patterns in how victims and offenders are connected. Tomsen (2002) found that in Australia, one-third of homosexual male victims of homicide were killed by strangers, and in

cases of private dwelling homicides, half of the incidents involved known offenders, including acquaintances or individuals met shortly before the crime. This pattern is particularly pronounced in homicides involving homosexual victims, who often had minimal familiarity with their killers, indicating a heightened risk from strangers compared to other homicides (Tomsen, 2002).

Swatt and He (2006) further emphasised that homicides in the USA resulting from disputes between known individuals, such as friends or acquaintances, tend to lead to lethal outcomes more frequently than those involving strangers. This increased risk is attributed to the proximity and frequency of interactions between the victim and offender, which can escalate the probability of conflicts. Eckhardt and Pridemore (2009) provided statistical insights into the victim-offender relationships in male homicides in Russia, noting that 42.4% of victims were killed by acquaintances, while 32.5% were killed by strangers. Their findings also suggested that while male offenders were somewhat less likely to victimise females compared to males, the difference was not statistically significant.

Pizarro (2008) examined the dynamics in dispute-related and robbery homicides also in the USA, finding that personal disputes with strangers are less likely to result in violence compared to those involving family, intimates, or friends. In robbery homicides, the victim-offender relationship significantly affects the likelihood of violence, with family members, intimate partners, friends and acquaintances being less commonly involved, as robbers tend to target strangers (Pizarro, 2008). Similarly, Petrosky et al. (2021) explored the victim-suspect relationships among American Indian and Alaska Native male homicide victims, noting that 22.3% were killed by an acquaintance or friend, 11.5% by a current or former intimate partner, and 6.6% by a non-intimate family member. Strangers accounted for 10.5% of the offenders, while 9.9% of homicides involved a person known to the offender but with an unclear relationship, and in 36.1% of cases, the relationship was unknown.

Wilson et al. (2022) reported that in 37.4% of male homicides in the USA, the offender was known to the victim. More specifically, acquaintances or friends as offenders accounted for 33.8% of cases, and 7.3% involved relatives. Additionally, 19.7% of homicides involved offenders with an unclear relationship, 7.2% involved current or former intimate partners, 5.4% involved a child as the perpetrator, and 4.9% of cases involved a parent as the perpetrator. Lastly, strangers, rival gang members and “other” relationships accounted for 17.3%, 2.1% and 2.4%, respectively. In Puerto Rico, Wilson et al. (2022) also found that 38.4% of male homicide cases had a known victim-suspect relationship, with 53% of these involving suspects who were known to the victim but had an unclear relationship.

These findings collectively underscore the complexity and variability of victim-offender relationships in male homicides, highlighting the significant roles that acquaintances, strangers, and familial connections play in the context of lethal violence.

Subtheme 2: Intimate Partner Homicides Involving Male Victims

Although less common than female victimisation, intimate partner homicides involving male victims present unique dynamics that differ from other types of male homicides. Felson and Messner (1998), Enander et al. (2022) and Suonpää and Savolainen (2019) show that when men are killed by intimate partners, it is often a result of a defensive response from female perpetrators. These cases typically involve long-term patterns of abuse, where the female partner eventually retaliates after enduring sustained violence. Furthermore, Swatt and He (2006) identified that in the USA, female offenders of IPHs are more likely to commit the homicide at home, often at night, and a notable proportion of female offenders experience prehomicide injuries. Moreover, male victims of IPH are more likely to be killed by a knife than a gun (Swatt & He, 2006). The studies highlight that male victims in such cases are more likely to have a history of aggression, either as perpetrators of intimate partner

violence (IPV) or through other aggressive behaviours. This is consistent with the notion that their violence translates to violent provocation in the IPV incident (Felson & Messner, 1998).

Also highlighted in the subtheme of Victim Precipitation, Suonpää and Savolainen's (2019) findings contradict the gender differences hypothesis. This hypothesis suggests that, regardless of the gender of the victim, all female-perpetrated homicides are more likely to involve VP, as females are generally less violent than males, and so necessitate more provocation to resort to homicide (Suonpää & Savolainen, 2019). Their results suggest instead that there is less VP in female-female homicides, than there are in female-male homicides. Furthermore, the gender interactions hypothesis suggests that female perpetrated homicides with male victims are more likely to involve VP, regardless of the intimacy between them. This hypothesis was contradicted by Suonpää and Savolainen's (2019) study as they found that VP is more prevalent in situations where females kill male intimate partners than when they kill non-intimate men (that being a 21% point lower probability of VP being involved). To reiterate, Felson and Messner's (1998) study supports the gender differences hypothesis.

Enander et al. (2022) describe how intimate partner homicides occur when the perpetrator decides to "change the project". This "changing of the project" is the moment the perpetrator decides to kill, and can be a deliberate, planned decision or a more impulsive act. Regarding the final triggers for changing the project, as mentioned earlier, the situational factors appear to differ between male and female perpetrators of IPH. For female perpetrators, half of the female-perpetrated IPHs were cases of violent resistance in response to prior intimate partner violence (Enander et al., 2022).

A study by Rizo et al. (2021) examined the circumstances surrounding IPV-related homicides among individuals recently released from jail or prison. The study found that 8.5% of post-release male victims of homicide were related to IPV, and most perpetrators of these

homicides were female. Verbal and physical aggression between partners was found to be the most common situational factor occurring before the homicide, and self-defence was the most frequent motive stated by female offenders. Furthermore, Rizo et al. (2021) found that the intimate relationships varied, with some female offenders being wives, girlfriends or ex-partners. The study by Rizo et al. (2021) also revealed that there were instances where the male was the primary perpetrator of prior IPV, but there were also cases where the male victim had previously experienced IPV, underscoring the bidirectional nature of abuse in some relationships.

Petrosky et al. (2021) examined 167 IPV-related homicides of AI/AN males, in 34 states in the USA. IPV contributed to 12.1% of male homicides, significantly lower than the 45% observed in female homicides. A notable proportion of male victims (51.5%) were corollary victims, meaning they were killed during an IPV-related incident but were not the intimate partner themselves. The offenders in male IPV-related homicide cases were the intimate partners in only 43% of cases - more male victims than female victims were killed by acquaintances or friends (21.8% versus 3.3%), persons known but with unclear relationships (11.5% versus 3.3%), or other non-intimate partners (18.2% versus 4.3%) (Petrosky et al., 2021). Interestingly, in contrast to other studies signifying self-defence as a motive for IPH involving male victims, Petrosky et al. (2021) found that jealousy over actual or perceived relationships was a more frequent precipitating factor in IPV-related homicides of AI/AN male victims than female victims (30.5% versus 13.7%). Jealousy was particularly common in cases where the suspect killed a non-intimate partner (corollary victim), especially for male victims (Petrosky et al., 2021).

Theme 6: Victim and Offender Characteristics

Subtheme 1: Criminal Background, Lifestyle Factors and Conduct

Male homicide victims often have lifestyles that increase their exposure to violent situations. Studies by Varano et al. (2004) and Felson and Messner (1998) demonstrate that a significant number of male victims are involved in high-risk activities such as going to bars, drug trafficking, gang membership, or other criminal enterprises. These environments are inherently violent, with conflicts frequently being resolved through force (Felson & Messner, 1998). Varano et al. (2004) found that even peripheral involvement in the drug trade significantly raises the likelihood of becoming a homicide victim, as these activities often attract violence due to territorial disputes, debts, and competition. Felson and Messner (1998) also discuss that being present or part of these types of activities increases one's exposure to offenders and confrontations.

Tomsen (2002) found that offenders of homosexual homicide were often young males with histories of petty delinquency, substance abuse, came from broken homes or experienced social marginalisation. Regarding the relationship between an offender's criminal background and their ultimate involvement in homicide, Brookman (2003) highlighted the difficulty of making definitive statements. However, she does state that previous convictions related to violence were not limited to the offenders in her study, as 13 of the victims of homicide in her study also had a criminal background of violence, with many of them being severe crimes (Brookman, 2003). This finding is not entirely surprising, as discussed earlier, many of the studies highlight the reciprocal nature of a violent interchange between victim and offender. Similarly, Langevin et al. (1982) found that 10% of victims received previous threats from the killer, and 41% of victims threatened the killer.

Interestingly, Ganpat et al. (2017) claim that the existence of a prior criminal record related to violence in both victims and offenders significantly decreased the likelihood of a

lethal outcome. They suggested that those with a prior violent record may have gained experience and skills in coping with and managing dangerous or violent situations, making them more capable of restraining themselves and preventing a lethal conflict, and that rather, “situational factors exert a stronger influence on violent outcomes than criminal history factors” (Ganpat et al., 2017, p. 2558). Essentially, a victim or an offender who do not have a propensity for violence are more likely to be involved in a lethal event. This unexpected finding challenges the common assumption that individuals with a history of violence are more likely to be involved in lethal events. Felson and Messner (1998) interpret this finding by stating the following:

It requires much more provocation to motivate a non-violent person to kill than it does a violent person. Those offenders who have killed in response to a significant provocation should therefore be less likely to have a violent history than offenders who kill in response to minor or no provocation. (p. 407)

Thus, in terms of situational factors, the focus is more on levels of provocation and individuals’ general demeanour or character, than it is on one’s criminal background history. Additionally, Felson and Messner (1998) also found that specifically regarding IPH, offenders were no more likely to have a previous criminal record than those who kill others, and victims of IPH were no more likely to have a prior record than those killed by others.

Subtheme 2: Age, Race and Sex

In terms of factors such as age, Tomsen (2002) found that the male homosexual victims of homicide included in his study were generally older than other male homicide victims in Australia. Most victims were between the ages of 30 and 60 years, and were often targeted due to perceived vulnerability and social isolation (Tomsen, 2002). In the USA, Pizarro (2008) found that victim and offender ages differed between two of the main types of homicides she identified. In domestic homicides, victims are more likely to be younger than

victims in other types of homicides, whereas offenders are more likely to be older than offenders in other types of homicides. In robbery homicides, victims were more likely to be older than victims in non-robbery homicides.

In the UK, Brookman (2003) found that 76% of the offenders involved in these male-male homicides were below the age of 35 years. Of this 76%, almost half of the offenders in the study were 25 years old or younger, and an additional 30% were between the ages of 26 and 34. The average age of offenders was 27 years old. This correlates with a finding by Felson and Steadman (1983), that indicates the mean age of victims in their study was 27.5 years old. Brookman (2003) also identified that 62% of victims were below the age of 35 years, and were on average older than the offenders. The average age of victims was 33 years old (Brookman, 2003). In a slightly different population, Langevin et al. (1982) found that the age difference between offenders seen for psychiatric assessments, and victims, was 0.93 years. When compared to the general population, there were fewer homicides involving offenders older than 45 years old, and more between 15 and 24 years old - the average age of offenders was 32 years old. Langevin et al. (1982) asserted that homicide is associated with youth, since 66% of their sample were aged between 15 and 35 years.

With regards to race, in the UK, Brookman (2003) found that 76% of offenders and 78% of victims were White, while in the USA, the racial composition of victims in the study by Goodman et al. (1986) indicated 36 White male victims, 7 Black victims (15%), and 3 of Asian/Indian origin (6%). In a more recent study conducted in the USA, Rizo et al. (2021) identified that in IPV-related cases, victims were predominantly Black (41.2%) as well as in non-IPV homicides (61.5%). Similarly, Pizarro (2008) also stated that victims of dispute homicides are more likely to be African American than those in nondispute homicides. In South Africa, Swart et al. (2015) and Swart et al. (2018) indicate that in both studies, the large majority of victims were Black. In Tanzania, the study by Outwater (2008) indicated

that all male victims of homicide were Black. Moreover, in the study by Suffla and Seedat (2020), it was found that Indian and White males were at the highest risk of fatal strangulation, compared to Black people in relation to all other male homicides. Lindegaard (2017) also found that in the Western Cape, South Africa, the majority of offenders and victims were coloured (a South African ethnic group of mixed European, African or Asian ancestry). Many of the other studies conducted in countries such as Sweden, Netherlands, Russia and Finland did not discuss the race of the male victims.

In almost all of the included studies, the majority of offenders and victims of homicide were male. For example, Langevin et al. (1982) identified that 84% of the violent offenders were male, and even the nonviolent offenders were majority male. Langevin et al. (1982) postulate that this suggests that men generally engage in more crimes than women. Additionally, Swart et al. (2018) stated that in their study, out of 195 homicides, 81% of the victims were male, and 90% of the offenders were male. Felson and Steadman (1983) also found that 86.2% of the victims in their study were male. Wilson et al. (2022) found that homicide was higher among males in the USA, and the number of victims aged between 20 and 24 years old was 5.5 times higher than female victims of the same age group. In Puerto Rico, there were 591 male victims of homicide, and 41 females (Wilson et al., 2022).

Subtheme 3: Occupation and Education

Langevin et al. (1982) observed a trend suggesting that killers were somewhat less educated than nonviolent offenders. Rizo et al. (2021) found that most IPV victims had at least a high school diploma or GED, while in non-IPV-related post-release homicides, the majority of victims had less than a high school education. According to Tomsen (2002), male victims of homosexual homicides came from diverse occupational backgrounds, including unemployed, blue-collar workers, small business clerical roles, hospitality, management positions, and professionals. With most victims being middle-class men, this indicates that

higher social status did not protect them from attacks based on perceived sexuality.

Brookman (2003) found a notable prevalence of unemployment among men involved in lethal encounters, with 70% of victims being unemployed at the time of their death, and at least 30 offenders known to be unemployed, although the actual figure is likely higher. When employed, both victims and offenders typically worked in manual and semi-skilled occupations, with no instances of professional or skilled workers involved in such homicides.

Subtheme 4: Mental Health

Tomsen (2002) noted that only six out of 65 offenders were classified in court records as having a serious mental disturbance, such as psychosis or borderline personality disorder, related to their acts of killing. The majority of offenders, however, were characterised by serious social deprivation and marginality rather than a mental disorder. Petrosky et al. (2021) reported that 4.3% of homicide victims were currently diagnosed with a mental health problem, 1.2% had a current depressed mood at the time of death, and 1.8% were receiving mental health treatment. According to Langevin et al. (2021), 11% of offenders attempted suicide after committing homicide, highlighting the significant psychological distress associated with these incidents. Swatt and He (2006) found that 3.6% of female offenders attempted suicide after committing homicide, with drug or alcohol use and suicide attempts being less common among female offenders of IPH. Wilson et al. (2022) further noted that 2.5% of homicides were perpetrated by offenders with a mental health problem, including conditions such as schizophrenia, other psychoses, depression, or PTSD. Enander et al. (2022) found that deteriorating mental health and suicide plans were observed only in male perpetrators.

4.5 Conclusion

In this chapter, I presented the results attained from the systematic review of situational factors in male homicide victimisation. Firstly, the results of the review process

were discussed, which incorporated a flow diagram to demonstrate how the included studies were identified and chosen. Secondly, a quality assessment of the included articles was presented, in the form of a table and a summary. Furthermore, an overview of the sample characteristics was provided, this included various tables to highlight the general description of each study, a methodological appraisal of the studies, and the main findings, recommendations and limitations of the studies. Finally, in the thematic analysis section, the identified themes and subthemes were presented. Six main themes were identified: (1) Alcohol and substance use as catalysts for male homicides, (2) temporal and spatial factors, (3) weapon use and method of killing, (4) dynamics of male homicide, (5) victim-offender relationship, and (6) victim and offender characteristics.

In the next section is a discussion of the findings of this systematic review. The results will be compared to existing literature in the field of male homicide, and the strengths and limitations of the review, as well as recommendations for future research, will be discussed in the concluding chapter.

Chapter 5: Discussion

5.1 Introduction

The aim of the study was to identify, evaluate, and summarise the findings of all relevant studies of situational factors for male homicide victimisation using a systematic review method. Furthermore, this study aimed to identify studies on both male and female perpetrators of male victims of homicide, in order to produce a comprehensive understanding of the literature pertaining to situational risk factors for male homicide. The systematic review identified several key themes related to male homicides, emphasising the role of alcohol and substance use, temporal and spatial factors, weapon use, dynamics of homicide, victim-offender relationships, and characteristics of both victims and offenders. In this chapter, I integrate these themes with other available literature with the intention of contributing useful insights into the field of male homicide.

5.2 Comparison with Existing Literature

Substance Use

The findings align with much of the existing literature that highlights alcohol and substance use as significant situational factors for violent outcomes. Alcohol and substance use were found to be catalysts in male homicides, often leading to confrontational or dispute-related homicides driven by impaired judgment and decision-making, disinhibition and heightened aggression (Goodman et al., 1986; Felson & Messner, 1998; Ganpat et al., 2017; Wilson et al., 2022). This occurs particularly in public settings such as bars or during social occasions, where drinking is prevalent among male victims. However, the studies also highlight that, overall, alcohol-related homicides are not limited to bars, clubs or taverns but can occur in any context where heavy drinking is present or generally socially acceptable.

From a criminological standpoint, the literature suggests that alcohol plays a role in violent incidents due to its disinhibiting effects and the resulting loss of emotional control, which heightens the risk of physical assaults and ultimately homicide (Mottershead et al., 2024; Sontate et al., 2021). Furthermore, even moderate levels of alcohol in the bloodstream can lead to impairments in cognitive, perceptual, verbal, and motor functions, along with a diminished ability to control one's actions (Pinel & Barnes, 2018). This factor is also prevalent among offenders and victims of homicide with mental illness (Sontate et al., 2021; Erkiran et al., 2006). Alcohol can escalate conflicts and heighten the likelihood of violent actions among both drinkers and those around them (Wahlsten et al., 2007).

According to Meneses-Reyes and Quintana-Navarrete (2017), expressive homicides was defined by Miethe and Regoeczi (2004) as impulsive or spontaneous actions perpetrated “in the heat of the moment” due to a physical or verbal confrontation between at least two parties, as an expression of rage, revenge, or frustration (p. 101-102). Sontate et al. (2021) stated that in cases of expressive homicides, higher levels of alcohol intoxication are linked to increased severity and brutality of the attacks, as the alcohol contributes to disinhibition and a loss of emotional control. A study by Felson and Staff (2010) involving 16,698 inmates, revealed that alcohol plays a more significant role in violent crimes like homicide, physical assaults, and sexual assaults than in non-violent crimes such as burglary and robbery. Most of the inmates in the study reported being under the influence of substances like alcohol when committing the homicide (Felson & Staff, 2010).

Temporal and Spatial Factors

Furthermore, it is not surprising that many of the studies included in the review discussed temporal and spatial factors, as the setting can affect the types of interactions that lead to homicide. For example, disputes that escalate in a crowded bar might be fuelled by alcohol and peer dynamics, while homicides in secluded areas might be more planned and

less influenced by external social pressures. Additionally, certain areas might have specific cultural or social norms that influence the likelihood of homicide, such as areas known for gang activity, drug trade, or particular social tensions.

The studies show that in contrast to female homicides, which predominantly occur in private settings, male homicides are more frequently associated with locations where social interactions are less regulated, and the opportunity for spontaneous violence is greater. These public spaces often serve as arenas for disputes over status, territory, or respect, where minor provocations can result in lethal outcomes, particularly at night and on weekends. These findings correspond with a study by Matzopoulos et al. (2024), who found that in South Africa, the most common locations for male homicide were public spaces like roads, parks and shops, as well as recreational settings including bars. The study also indicates that homicides occur mostly during the festive periods and on the weekends, which accompany high levels of alcohol consumption (Matzopoulos et al., 2024).

Weapon Use and Methods of Killing

The findings on weapon use and methods of killing in male homicides indicate a strong link between the type of weapon used and the setting or context of the conflict. Firearms are the most commonly used weapons in male homicides, especially in public spaces in countries such as the USA, South Africa, and Puerto Rico, significantly increasing the lethality of disputes and making death more likely than injury (Wilson et al., 2022; Swart et al., 2015; Petrosky et al., 2021). Firearms are particularly prevalent in drug-related homicides as tools for protection and dominance. This finding aligns with early research, which indicates that drug dealers often carry guns to defend themselves against robberies and protect their territory from intrusions (Blumstein, 1995). Furthermore, the studies show that in urban areas with high levels of gang activity, the prevalence of firearms contributes to a culture where violence is seen as the most effective means of resolving disputes. The aspect

of weapon use can be further highlighted by Stretesky and Progrebin (2014) who interviewed inmates convicted of gun violence. The study showed that the offender's decision to use a firearm during a conflict was highly influenced by their fear of dangerous adversaries and a wish to display power and control (Stretesky & Progrebin, 2014).

Additionally, the included studies demonstrate that the choice of weapon is also influenced by local availability, with firearms more commonly used in communities where they are easily accessible, further increasing the risk of lethal violence (Swart et al., 2015). The presence of firearms not only increases the likelihood that a conflict will become lethal but also shapes the nature of the violence, leading to quicker, more decisive outcomes (Bowman et al., 2023). This may further indicate the need for stricter gun policies world-wide.

The studies also demonstrated that, overall, knives and blunt objects are more frequently used in private settings and involve closer relationships, such as disputes among acquaintances or family members (Felson and Messner, 1998; Swart et al., 2015). Furthermore, alcohol consumption is linked to the use of sharp instruments in homicides. IPHs in the USA show a different pattern, with female offenders using knives, and sharp or blunt objects more frequently than firearms. (Swatt & He, 2006; Rizo et al., 2021). The substantial use of sharp objects or personal weapons (e.g., hands and feet), combined with the use of alcohol or illicit substances, may indicate that many homicides are more spontaneous than premeditated (Petrosky et al., 2021). This finding resonates with the notion of expressive homicides as mentioned above, which also complements the discussion of male honour, societal expectations of masculinity, and the dynamics of male homicide.

Social and Cultural Influences, and Male Honour

Homicide is evident in public disputes where social standing or reputation is at stake. The studies indicate a recurring pattern - male homicides are frequently the outcome of

disputes where both parties are influenced by societal norms that valorise aggressive responses and in some instances, discourage de-escalation. These dynamics are especially prevalent in environments that emphasise hypermasculinity, such as street gangs, where violence is a primary means of maintaining social order and achieving respect. Studies that had similar findings are those by Polk (1999), Duque and Montoya (2013), and Soo (2011), which discuss how an overemphasis of honour and masculinity contribute to homicide. The concept of male honour is thus a situational factor that drives male victims and offenders alike into confrontations that escalate to lethal violence, particularly in social settings.

Expressive and Instrumental Homicides

However, male honour as well as motives, triggers and stages of male homicide can be further illuminated by the concept of expressive homicides which is discussed in other literature. Expressive homicides are characterised by aggressive behaviour as a “reaction to frustration or ego threats and with the primary goal of harming the victim” (Meneses-Reyes & Quintana-Navarrete, 2017, p. 362). Mottershead et al. (2024) interviewed prisoners in the UK who were convicted of a serious violent crime - they found that many of the offenders attacked the victim based on perceived disrespect or reputational damage that “appeared to cause moral injury, which could not be tolerated” (p. 549). One of the participants in their study stated, “I was just sick of it all and people were just laughing at me like I was an idiot” (Mottershead et al., 2024, p. 549). In fact, they found that for some of the offenders, acts of violence reduced negative emotions such as humiliation, in response to the event (Mottershead et al., 2024).

In contrast, instrumental homicides involve aggressive behaviour that arises when the perpetrator aims to achieve a goal or secondary gain, usually taking something from the victim – therefore taking place because of or during another crime (Miethe & Regoeczi, 2004). Furthermore, the literature suggests that expressions of violence, often ending in

homicide, may also comprise of a combination of both expressive and instrumental aggression (Thijssen & de Ruiter, 2011; Meneses-Reyes & Quintana-Navarrete, 2017). For example, some of the studies included in this review discussed various forms of organised or gang violence which, in some instances, took place to gain territory or uphold honour, power, and respect through both expressive and instrumental homicides (Lindegaard, 2017; Wilson et al., 2022; Felson & Messner, 1998).

Interestingly, according to Cao et al. (2008) and Wiebe (2003), homicides committed by a stranger are influenced by economic and cultural factors, similarly, an acquaintance committing the murder will be driven by cultural factors, and a homicide committed by a relative is most often influenced by socioeconomic factors. Overall, the cyclical nature of these kinds of interactions means that once a conflict begins, it is difficult to de-escalate without one party conceding, which is often seen as an unacceptable loss of face. As stated by Fiske and Rai (2015), going into battle and dying is seen as more honourable than refusing to fight and surviving.

Victim Precipitation

In terms of victim precipitation, this concept challenges the traditional notion of victims as passive and highlights the complexity of interactions that lead to lethal violence. A few of the included studies found that the victim of homicide tends to also display aggressive or threatening behaviour, which in turn provokes a lethal response from the homicide perpetrator (Suonpää & Savolainen, 2019; Luckenbill, 1997; Felson & Steadman, 1983; Felson and Messner, 1998; Brookman, 2003; Ganpat et al., 2017). The current literature (Petherick, 2017; Dobash & Dobash, 2020) as well as literature from decades ago (Wolfgang, 1957; Wolfgang, 2002) asserts that this pattern of reciprocal aggression is common in male-on-male homicides, where neither party is willing to back down. The presence of an audience

can intensify these interactions, as the victim and offender feel pressured to assert their dominance, leading to a fatal outcome (Wilkinson, 2003).

In these studies, it becomes clear that the behaviour of the victim can significantly influence the course of events. Victims who actively engage in confrontations or escalate conflicts are more likely to be involved in homicides, particularly in contexts where social dynamics emphasise the importance of reputation and honour (Mottershead et al., 2024; Polk, 1999). Overall, male homicides can be understood through the interplay of sequential stages, immediate triggers, and broader motives, with violence often rooted in conflicts over respect, personal disputes, or resource acquisition. These dynamics are shaped by the interaction between offender and victim, the presence of weapons, and the broader social context.

Victim-Offender Relationships

Victim-offender relationships varied widely. The data from most of the included studies indicate that homicide offenders are more often acquaintances or friends of the victims, compared to strangers or family members, and an even smaller proportion involving intimate partners (Swatt & He, 2006; Pridemore, 2009; Pizarro, 2008; Petrosky et al, 2021; Wilson et al., 2022). Studies from various regions, such as the USA and Russia, highlight that these type of victim-offender relationship combination are frequently implicated in male homicide victimisation. While a notable percentage of homicides do involve strangers, this is generally less common compared to cases involving acquaintances or friends. For instance, in Australia, a third of male homicide victims were killed by strangers (Tomsen, 2002), and offenders of robbery homicides naturally tend to be strangers (Pizarro, 2008), but this rate is usually lower in other contexts. Homicides involving family members, including intimate partners, parents, or children, occur but are less prevalent than those involving acquaintances or friends. According to some of the findings of the included studies, this increased risk is attributed to the proximity and frequency of interactions between the victim and offender,

which can escalate the probability of conflicts (Swatt & He, 2006; Petrosky et al, 2021; Wilson et al., 2022).

The Routine Activities Theory provides insight into this phenomenon. This theory suggests that homicides occur when a motivated offender, a suitable target, and the absence of a capable guardian converge in time and space (Cohen & Felson, 1979). Current literature indicates that acquaintances, colleagues and friends frequently interact in everyday settings, thereby increasing the likelihood of potential conflicts or disputes that can escalate into lethal violence (Stones & Tilley, 2022; Wilcox, 2015). The theory emphasises the role of routine activities, and explains that people are most often victimised by those they see regularly because their routines overlap, creating more opportunities for crime.

Intimate Partner Homicides

When considering the role of the victim-offender relationship in male homicides, it would also be prudent to discuss IPHs involving male victims. The studies show that this kind of IPH presents with distinct characteristics that set it apart from other male homicides and those involving female victims. Research by Felson and Messner (1998), Enander et al. (2022), and Suonpää and Savolainen (2019) indicates that these homicides often result from defensive actions by female perpetrators in response to long-term abuse. A significant portion of these incidents involves male victims with a history of aggression or prior perpetration of intimate partner violence, suggesting a violent provocation element. Suonpää and Savolainen's (2019) findings challenge the gender differences hypothesis by showing less victim precipitation in female-female homicides compared to female-male homicides. The dynamics of these homicides are further complicated by the nature of the intimate relationships and the history of violence within them. For example, Rizo et al. (2021) found a notable prevalence of bidirectional violence in IPV-related homicides involving male victims recently released from incarceration, highlighting both defensive and aggressive roles among

male victims. Early studies indicate that women engage in intimate partner violence at rates similar to men, with self-defence frequently cited as a motive for their violent actions (Dobash, 2004). When women commit domestic homicides, it is often in an effort to stop an abuser whom they believe poses a lethal threat to them or their children (Browne, 2008). However, Messner (2006) found that self-defence is a common reason for women to kill men, regardless of their specific relationship with the victim. Matzopoulos et al., (2024) found that in South Africa, male victims account for approximately 17% of all heterosexual IPHs.

Characteristics of Victims and Offenders

Characteristics of victims and offenders played a role in the context of male homicides. The findings on sex, age, and race in male homicides reveal several patterns across different regions and types of homicides. In almost all of the included studies, the majority of offenders and victims of homicide were male. In terms of age, the studies show that male homicide victims and offenders often fall within younger age groups, particularly between 15 and 35 years of age. For example, Brookman (2003) found that in the UK, 76% of the offenders in male-male homicides were under 35 years old, with an average offender age of 27 years. Similarly, Langevin et al. (1982) noted that majority of their sample of offenders were between 15 and 35 years old, emphasising that homicide is strongly associated with youth. As mentioned, the studies indicate that victims of male homicides also tend to be relatively young, with Brookman (2003), Lindegaard (2017) and others identifying that the majority of victims were below 35 years. These findings are consistent with a study by Fahlgren et al. (2017), which asserted that the percentage of males who engage in violent acts tend to decrease as they age.

Additionally, it appears that the ages between victim and offender vary by the type of homicide - Tomsen (2002) noted that homosexual homicide victims in Australia were

generally older, between 30 and 60 years, often targeted due to perceived vulnerability and social isolation. Pizarro (2008) also found that in the USA, domestic homicide victims were generally younger than in other homicides, while offenders in these cases were older compared to offenders in other homicide types. This may be due to children being included as victims in the sample of domestic homicides. However, many of the studies indicate that victims are generally older than offenders (Brookman, 2003; Felson & Steadman, 1983; Langevin et al., 1982)

The findings of a recent study by Kivivuori et al. (2024) may offer better insight into the general pattern of young victims and offenders of homicide. Their findings suggest that there may be a link between most male homicides occurring in public places, and more young males (compared to older males), hanging out in public places (Kivivuori et al., 2024). And as highlighted by Felson and Messner (1998), male victims' presence and engagement in public spaces, such as bars or other high-risk areas, increases their exposure to violent confrontations. Therefore, there is perhaps a link between age, lifestyle choices, the Routine Activities Theory, and homicide.

The studies indicate that the racial composition of victims and offenders varies by region. In the UK, the majority of both offenders and victims were White (Brookman, 2003). However, in the USA, the racial profile differs; in earlier studies, it was found that majority of the victims of homicide were White males (Goodman et al., 1986), while in more recent studies, it has been found that African Americans are overrepresented among victims, especially in dispute-related homicides and IPH cases (Rizo et al., 2021; Pizarro, 2008). This perhaps suggests a change or shift in the profile of victims in the USA. Moreover, research suggests that socio-economic disparities, systemic racism, and concentrated disadvantage in urban areas play a crucial role in this overrepresentation (Sharkey, 2018; Kubrin & Weitzer, 2003). In South Africa, the studies indicate that the majority of homicide victims and

offenders were people of colour (Swart et al., 2015; Swart et al., 2018; Lindegaard, 2017). Similarly, Outwater (2008) noted that all male homicide victims in Tanzania were Black. This aligns with broader findings that post-colonial societal structures and inequalities continue to influence violence dynamics in sub-Saharan Africa (Straus, 2012). Certain studies found specific racial groups at higher risk for particular methods of killing. For example, Suffla and Seedat (2020) found that Indian and White males were at a higher risk of fatal strangulation compared to Black males. These findings highlight how the intersection of race, geography, and socio-economic factors shapes homicide victimisation patterns globally, underscoring the need for localised policy interventions to address these disparities effectively.

Mental Health

The findings indicate that mental health issues play a relatively minor but notable role in homicides among both offenders and victims. Among male offenders, only a small percentage were classified as having mental disorders, such as schizophrenia, major depressive disorder, post-traumatic stress disorder, and borderline personality disorder (Tomsen, 2002; Wilson et al., 2022; Enander et al., 2022). Furthermore, a small percentage of male homicide victims had a diagnosed mental health problem, experiencing a current depressed mood at the time of death, or were receiving mental health treatment (Petrosky et al., 2021).

With regards to suicide attempts among homicide offenders, Langevin et al. (2021) found that 11% of offenders attempted suicide after committing homicide, reflecting significant psychological distress associated with these incidents. The studies also suggested that fewer female offenders attempt suicide after committing homicide (Swatt & He, 2006; Enander et al., 2022). As quoted by Langevin et al. (2021, p. 231), “Freud suggested that

suicide and homicide often co-occurred as an aggressive impulse directed to the self and others”.

Male victims of homicide-suicide are often involved in situations that extend beyond intimate partner violence, including conflicts with acquaintances, family disputes, or retaliation scenarios. These cases may involve rivalries, financial disputes, perceived betrayals or loss of respect (Liem, 2010). The offender in male victim homicide-suicides is often another male, and the relationship may involve close family members, friends, or business associates rather than intimate partners. This contrasts with the more common intimate partner dynamics seen in female victim homicide-suicides. Similar to other homicide-suicide cases, mental health issues such as depression, substance abuse, and suicidal ideation are prevalent among offenders (Bossarte et al., 2006).

Although less frequent, male victims do appear in intimate partner homicide-suicides, often in cases involving same-sex relationships. Research indicates that these cases may follow similar patterns of control, possessiveness, or jealousy seen in heterosexual intimate partner homicides (Caman et al., 2017). Male victims in such contexts are often perceived as vulnerable or less physically dominant, which can influence the offender’s perception of conflict resolution through lethal means. The incidence of male victim homicide-suicides varies by region and cultural context. For example, in the United States, male victims of homicide-suicide are often found in cases involving workplace violence or gang-related conflicts, where a perpetrator kills an acquaintance or rival before committing suicide (Logan et al., 2021). Studies have shown that male victims of homicide-suicide are more likely to occur in cases involving firearms, aligning with broader patterns of gun violence in male homicide (Eckhardt & Pridemore, 2009; Stretesky & Progrebin, 2014; Wilkinson, 2003; Brookman, 2015).

In this chapter, the discussion focused on synthesising the key themes with existing literature, offering a contextual understanding of situational factors in male homicide victimisation. These findings were also integrated with broader theoretical frameworks, which provides insight into the phenomena of male homicide through particular lenses. Next, is the concluding chapter.

Chapter 6: Conclusion

In this final concluding chapter, I discuss the implications for practice, with the aim of providing actionable insights for clinicians, policymakers, and other interested parties that are involved or interested in the field of homicide and the associated risks. Additionally, theoretical implications, the strengths and limitations of the review, as well as recommendations for future research, will be discussed, followed by a brief conclusion of the review.

6.1 Implications for Practice

The findings of this systematic review have important implications for clinicians, policymakers, and other interested parties. For clinicians, recognizing the role of substance use and mental health issues in male homicides can inform the development of integrated intervention strategies that address both substance abuse and mental health. Such interventions could be tailored to at-risk populations, particularly young males in urban settings, where violence and substance abuse are prevalent. For policymakers, the review highlights the need for targeted public safety measures, such as stricter regulations on firearm access and alcohol sales in high-risk areas. In addition, the identification of public spaces and late-night hours as common settings for male homicides highlights the need for increased law enforcement presence and surveillance.

Moreover, the insights into the role of societal expectations around masculinity also underscore the importance of a broader cultural approach, including education and community-based programmes, to challenge norms that associate male honour with violent responses. Specifically, educational initiatives aimed at deconstructing harmful stereotypes about masculinity could be implemented in schools and community centres to reduce aggression-driven homicides. Ideally, this may also have a positive impact on femicide.

6.2 Theoretical Implications

The findings of this systematic review have theoretical implications for the understanding of male homicide victimisation within criminological and sociological frameworks. By identifying and analysing the situational factors associated with male homicides, this review contributes to and expands existing theoretical models that explore the causes and contexts of violent behaviour. The review reinforces the socio-ecological model, which posits that a certain condition, phenomenon or circumstance is the result of interactions between individual, relational, community, and societal factors (Bronfenbrenner, 1977). The detailed examination of situational influences, such as alcohol and substance use, weapon accessibility, and social dynamics, provides a more nuanced understanding of how these factors operate within specific contexts, by highlighting the importance of situational triggers and immediate environments in the genesis of violent events, particularly homicides involving male victims.

The findings also underscore the relevance of the Situational Action Theory, which emphasises the interaction between one's immediate environment and one's moral context in shaping violent actions (Sattler et al., 2022). This review's focus on the physical and social settings of homicide incidents - such as the presence of bystanders, the influence of societal norms of masculinity, and the specific triggers that escalate conflicts - illustrates how situational dynamics can override personal dispositions and lead to lethal outcomes. By integrating these elements, the review enriches the theory's capacity to explain male homicide victimisation, suggesting that future theoretical developments could further explore the interaction between individual choices and situational opportunities for violence.

The review also provides critical insights into the role of masculinity in male homicides, emphasising how cultural and social expectations around male honour, dominance, and aggression can precipitate violent interactions. This supports and extends

theories of hegemonic masculinity, which argue that certain cultural scripts and social pressures drive men towards aggressive and risk-taking behaviours (Merdassa, 2024). By documenting how these gender norms influence male victimisation, the review encourages a re-evaluation of masculinity theories to incorporate situational contexts and immediate social dynamics, highlighting the need for a more intersectional and context-sensitive approach.

Furthermore, the results of this review align with and contribute to Routine Activities Theory, which posits that crime occurs when a motivated offender, a suitable target, and the absence of a capable guardian converge in time and space (Cohen & Felson, 1979). The review's identification of situational factors such as location, time of day, victim and offender characteristics, and the absence of intervention by bystanders or law enforcement provides support for this theory, particularly in the context of male homicides. It suggests that future theoretical developments could benefit from integrating more detailed situational analyses to better predict and prevent violent crimes.

Lastly, the review also touches upon Rational Choice Theory. Factors such as the perceived threat of the opponent, the availability of weapons, and the influence of substances like alcohol and drugs can alter the cost-benefit analysis that individuals perform, leading them to engage in violent acts despite potential consequences (Clarke, 1997). However, the theory has not been fully adapted to account for the high emotional arousal and impulse that precede the act of homicide. This suggests that Rational Choice Theory could account more explicitly for emotional and cognitive disruptions caused by situational factors, potentially refining the theory's application to impulsive, emotionally charged or expressive homicides. Overall, the review challenges researchers to move beyond static risk factors and consider the dynamic, context-dependent nature of violent interactions. The implications of these findings encourage a continued evolution of theories that are both contextually grounded and adaptable to the complex realities of homicide.

6.3 Strengths and Limitations

The limitations of this review include potential biases – such as, underrepresentation of studies from low- and middle-income countries, which may limit the generalisability of findings to those contexts. Furthermore, the review predominantly focused on retrospective data, which may not fully capture evolving trends in male homicide rates or new emerging factors. Gaps in the literature, including the role of digital and social media and the role that mental illness plays in shaping violent behaviours, suggest the need for further exploration. Moreover, systematic reviews and thematic analyses are typically conducted with multiple reviewers to ensure the most effective study identification and a comprehensive analysis of each theme. However, in this review, this was not feasible, raising the potential for researcher bias. To address this, the inclusion of a reflexivity section played a critical role. It allowed me to regularly reflect on and revisit any biases that may have influenced the screening and analysis of the articles, thus helping to mitigate the impact of personal perspectives on the findings. Consistent guidance from my research supervisor also mitigated these factors.

Despite the abovementioned limitations, to the best of my knowledge, this systematic review is the first to analyse and synthesise the available data on situational factors in male homicide. Furthermore, this review's strengths include its rigorous methodology, adhering to PRISMA guidelines, and the comprehensive nature of its data sources, which span multiple countries and decades. The systematic approach ensured that the findings are based on high-quality evidence, allowing for a thorough analysis of situational factors for male homicides across various contexts and populations. The use of both qualitative and quantitative data provided a holistic view of the issue, capturing the complexity of factors at individual, relational, community, and societal levels. In comparison to previous studies, which often focused on isolated variables, this review integrates multiple situational factors, demonstrating how they interact to influence the likelihood of lethal violence.

6.4 Recommendations for Future Research

Future research should explore the intersectionality of factors such as race, socioeconomic status, and mental health in male homicides, particularly in underrepresented regions. Longitudinal studies would be beneficial to observe changes over time and understand the evolving nature of male homicides and associated situational factors. Further investigation into the influence of digital and social media on male violence, as well as the impact of interventions aimed at changing societal norms about masculinity, could provide valuable insights. Additionally, there is a need for more studies focusing on the role of community-level interventions in reducing male homicides. Understanding how factors such as community support systems, neighbourhood safety initiatives, and public health policies affect male homicide rates could guide the development of more effective prevention strategies. Furthermore, investigating the role of mental health in more depth, especially in relation to offender motivations and victim vulnerabilities, could further inform preventive strategies.

Utilising new technologies as a method for data collection is imperative. The use of surveillance technologies, such as video recordings, can provide novel and innovative evidence and opportunities to closely analyse violent incidents (Bowman et al., 2018). Researchers are encouraged to use these technologies to study the situational dynamics of violence in a detailed and empirical manner. Using this kind of empirical evidence can also help identify commonalities and differences in the situational pathways to violence.

Finally, one of the key findings of the systematic review is concerned with the way in which various prominent risk factors (e.g., alcohol use, race, age, job, and relationship status) at distinct levels of the socio-ecological framework may be better conceptualised as being implicated in situational processes that shape the nature of violent outcomes. In this sense, such results provide additional empirical evidence for the way that the influence of so called

upstream or distal factors are simultaneously implied in violent interactions themselves (Whitehead et al., 2018). This difficulty in classifying the role and influence of risk factors on the social processes that define violent interactions is an important consideration for further refining theoretical explanations for fatal violence (Bowman et al., 2015).

6.5 Conclusion

More than twenty years ago, it was asserted by Polk (1999) that while it has always been well known that males make up majority of homicide offenders, it is less considered that a large majority of homicides are male-on-male, meaning that the majority of homicide victims are also male. This statement appears to still hold true twenty years later, as there is still limited research on male homicide victimisation world-wide. This systematic review has provided a comprehensive examination of the situational factors associated with male homicide victimisation. By synthesising these scattered findings across diverse studies, the review highlights the interaction between individual, relational, community, societal, and situational factors that contribute to male homicides globally. These factors not only illuminate the immediate circumstances leading to fatal violence but also reflect broader socio-cultural influences that shape male behaviour and victimisation patterns. The findings suggest that while public health and legislative efforts have made strides in addressing violence against women, there remains a critical need to extend these frameworks to include men as a vulnerable group.

In conclusion, by incorporating situational and contextual factors into prevention strategies, interested parties can develop more nuanced and effective approaches to reducing male homicides. This comprehensive view not only contributes to a deeper understanding of male victimisation but also offers a critical foundation for informed policy and practice aimed at mitigating fatal violence across all genders. The integration of these insights into public

health initiatives and legislative frameworks will be essential in addressing the global challenge of homicide and promoting safer communities for all.

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Appendix A: PRISMA Checklist

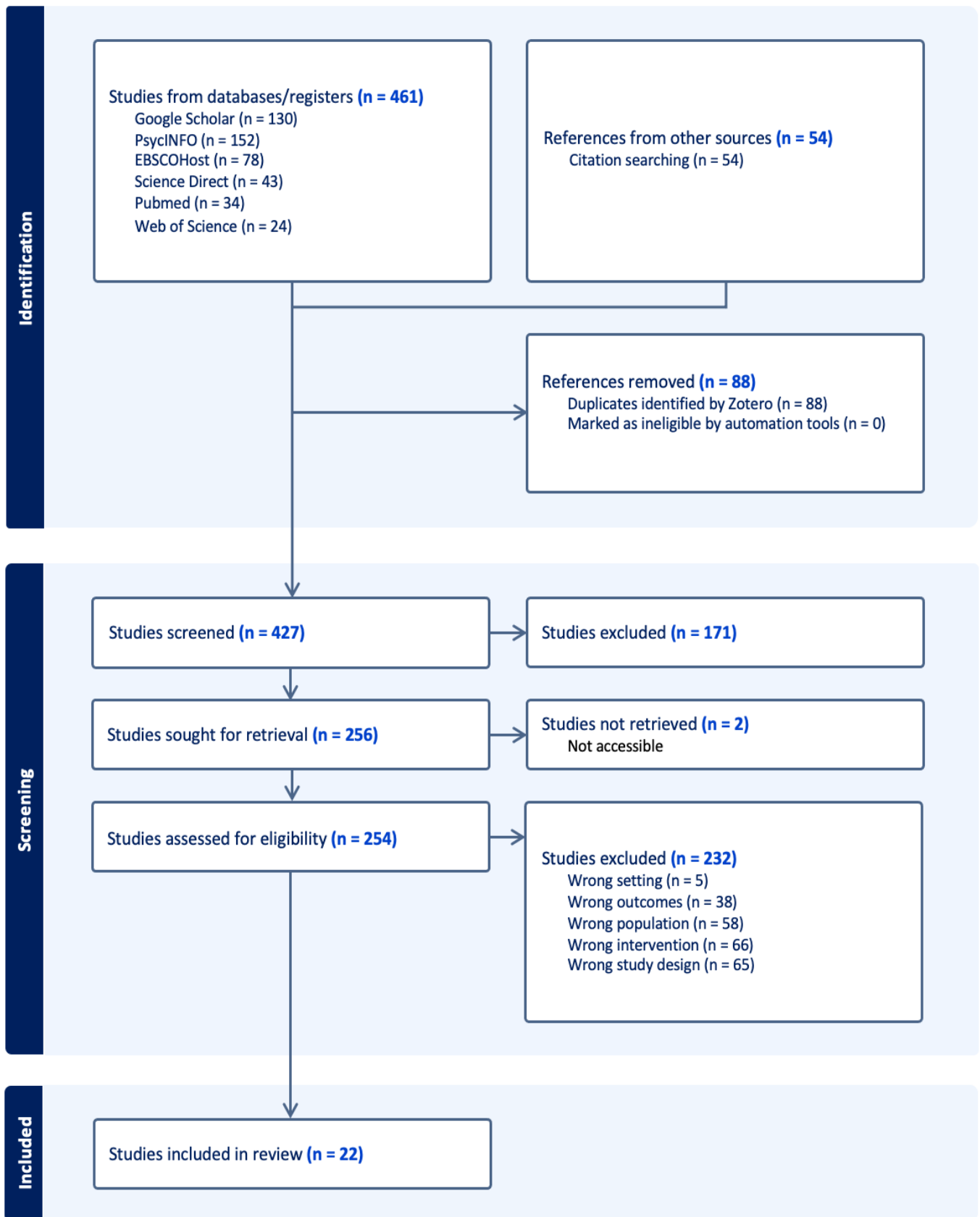
Section and Topic	Item #	Checklist item	Location where item is reported
TITLE			
Title	1	Identify the report as a systematic review.	i
ABSTRACT			
Abstract	2	See the PRISMA 2020 for Abstracts checklist.	iii
INTRODUCTION			
Rationale	3	Describe the rationale for the review in the context of existing knowledge.	2
Objectives	4	Provide an explicit statement of the objective(s) or question(s) the review addresses.	3
METHODS			
Eligibility criteria	5	Specify the inclusion and exclusion criteria for the review and how studies were grouped for the syntheses.	17
Information sources	6	Specify all databases, registers, websites, organisations, reference lists and other sources searched or consulted to identify studies. Specify the date when each source was last searched or consulted.	19, 20
Search strategy	7	Present the full search strategies for all databases, registers, and websites, including any filters and limits used.	19
Selection process	8	Specify the methods used to decide whether a study met the inclusion criteria of the review, including how many reviewers screened each record and each report retrieved, whether they worked independently, and if applicable, details of automation tools used in the process.	20
Data collection process	9	Specify the methods used to collect data from reports, including how many reviewers collected data from each report, whether they worked independently, any processes for obtaining or confirming data from study investigators, and if applicable, details of automation tools used in the process.	21
Data items	10a	List and define all outcomes for which data were sought. Specify whether all results that were compatible with each outcome domain in each study were sought (e.g., for all measures, time points, analyses), and if not, the methods used to decide which results to collect.	21
	10b	List and define all other variables for which data were sought (e.g., participant and intervention characteristics, funding sources). Describe any assumptions made about any missing or unclear information.	21
Study risk of bias assessment	11	Specify the methods used to assess risk of bias in the included studies, including details of the tool(s) used, how many reviewers assessed each study and whether they worked independently, and if applicable, details of automation tools	22

Section and Topic	Item #	Checklist item	Location where item is reported
		used in the process.	
Effect measures	12	Specify for each outcome the effect measure(s) (e.g., risk ratio, mean difference) used in the synthesis or presentation of results.	N/A
Synthesis methods	13a	Describe the processes used to decide which studies were eligible for each synthesis (e.g., tabulating the study intervention characteristics and comparing against the planned groups for each synthesis (item #5)).	22, 23
	13b	Describe any methods required to prepare the data for presentation or synthesis, such as handling of missing summary statistics, or data conversions.	21, 23
	13c	Describe any methods used to tabulate or visually display results of individual studies and syntheses.	21, 23
	13d	Describe any methods used to synthesise results and provide a rationale for the choice(s). If meta-analysis was performed, describe the model(s), method(s) to identify the presence and extent of statistical heterogeneity, and software package(s) used.	22, 23
	13e	Describe any methods used to explore possible causes of heterogeneity among study results (e.g., subgroup analysis, meta-regression).	N/A
	13f	Describe any sensitivity analyses conducted to assess robustness of the synthesised results.	N/A
Reporting bias assessment	14	Describe any methods used to assess risk of bias due to missing results in a synthesis (arising from reporting biases).	23
Certainty assessment	15	Describe any methods used to assess certainty (or confidence) in the body of evidence for an outcome.	N/A
RESULTS			
Study selection	16a	Describe the results of the search and selection process, from the number of records identified in the search to the number of studies included in the review, ideally using a flow diagram.	25, 26, 27
	16b	Cite studies that might appear to meet the inclusion criteria, but which were excluded, and explain why they were excluded.	26
Study characteristics	17	Cite each included study and present its characteristics.	32, 33, 34
Risk of bias in studies	18	Present assessments of risk of bias for each included study.	28
Results of individual studies	19	For all outcomes, present, for each study: (a) summary statistics for each group (where appropriate) and (b) an effect estimate and its precision (e.g. confidence/credible interval), ideally using structured tables or plots.	N/A
Results of syntheses	20a	For each synthesis, briefly summarise the characteristics and risk of bias among contributing studies.	54
	20b	Present results of all statistical syntheses conducted. If meta-analysis was done, present for each the summary estimate and	N/A

Section and Topic	Item #	Checklist item	Location where item is reported
		its precision (e.g. confidence/credible interval) and measures of statistical heterogeneity. If comparing groups, describe the direction of the effect.	
	20c	Present results of all investigations of possible causes of heterogeneity among study results.	N/A
	20d	Present results of all sensitivity analyses conducted to assess the robustness of the synthesised results.	N/A
Reporting biases	21	Present assessments of risk of bias due to missing results (arising from reporting biases) for each synthesis assessed.	N/A
Certainty of evidence	22	Present assessments of certainty (or confidence) in the body of evidence for each outcome assessed.	N/A
DISCUSSION			
Discussion	23a	Provide a general interpretation of the results in the context of other evidence.	82
	23b	Discuss any limitations of the evidence included in the review.	97
	23c	Discuss any limitations of the review processes used.	97
	23d	Discuss implications of the results for practice, policy, and future research.	94, 95, 96, 98
OTHER INFORMATION			
Registration and protocol	24a	Provide registration information for the review, including register name and registration number, or state that the review was not registered.	Not registered
	24b	Indicate where the review protocol can be accessed, or state that a protocol was not prepared.	Ethics Waiver protocol number: MCLin/23/06W
	24c	Describe and explain any amendments to information provided at registration or in the protocol.	N/A
Support	25	Describe sources of financial or non-financial support for the review, and the role of the funders or sponsors in the review.	N/A
Competing interests	26	Declare any competing interests of review authors.	N/A
Availability of data, code, and other materials	27	Report which of the following are publicly available and where they can be found: template data collection forms; data extracted from included studies; data used for all analyses; analytic code; any other materials used in the review.	N/A

From: Page MJ, McKenzie JE, Bossuyt PM, Boutron I, Hoffmann TC, Mulrow CD, et al. The PRISMA 2020 statement: an updated guideline for reporting systematic reviews. *BMJ* 2021;372:n71. doi: 10.1136/bmj.n71j

Appendix B: Four-Phase Flow Diagram



Appendix C: Mixed Methods Appraisal Tool (MMAT) Checklist

Category of study designs	Methodological quality criteria	Responses			
		Yes	No	Can't tell	Comments
Screening questions (for all types)	S1. Are there clear research questions?				
	S2. Do the collected data allow to address the research questions?				
	<i>Further appraisal may not be feasible or appropriate when the answer is 'No' or 'Can't tell' to one or both screening questions.</i>				
1. Qualitative	1.1. Is the qualitative approach appropriate to answer the research question?				
	1.2. Are the qualitative data collection methods adequate to address the research question?				
	1.3. Are the findings adequately derived from the data?				
	1.4. Is the interpretation of results sufficiently substantiated by data?				
	1.5. Is there coherence between qualitative data sources, collection, analysis and interpretation?				
2. Quantitative randomised controlled trials	2.1. Is randomization appropriately performed?				
	2.2. Are the groups comparable at baseline?				
	2.3. Are there complete outcome data?				
	2.4. Are outcome assessors blinded to the intervention provided?				
	2.5. Did the participants adhere to the assigned intervention?				
3. Quantitative non-randomised	3.1. Are the participants representative of the target population?				
	3.2. Are measurements appropriate regarding both the outcome and intervention (or exposure)?				
	3.3. Are there complete outcome data?				
	3.4. Are the confounders accounted for in the design and analysis?				
	3.5. During the study period, is the intervention administered (or exposure occurred) as intended?				
4. Quantitative descriptive	4.1. Is the sampling strategy relevant to address the research question?				
	4.2. Is the sample representative of the target population?				
	4.3. Are the measurements appropriate?				
	4.4. Is the risk of nonresponse bias low?				
	4.5. Is the statistical analysis appropriate to answer the research question?				
5. Mixed methods	5.1. Is there an adequate rationale for using a mixed methods design to address the research question?				

	5.2. Are the different components of the study effectively integrated to answer the research question?				
	5.3. Are the outputs of the integration of qualitative and quantitative components adequately interpreted?				
	5.4. Are divergences and inconsistencies between quantitative and qualitative results adequately addressed?				
	5.5. Do the different components of the study adhere to the quality criteria of each tradition of the methods involved?				

Appendix D: Findings, Recommendations and Limitations of Included Studies

Table 4-E

Author	Findings	Conclusions	Recommendations	Limitations
Brookman , 2003	Types of Homicide: 1. Confrontational Homicide (19 cases): Victim-Offender Relationship: Acquaintance/Friend = 13 cases; Strangers = 4 cases; Family/Cohabitant = 2 cases Key Characteristics: Spontaneous altercations often stemming from trivial disagreements. Incidents frequ. honour contests, with face-to-face confrontations escalating into violence. Majority b/w 8 pm & 4 am, with a signif. number happening on weekends. Locations: 9 cases in pubs, 23 on streets/open spaces, 20 in homes. Alcohol Involvement: 52% of cases, with both parties drinking in 30%. Consumption = excessive. Weapon Use: mainly phys. altercations, occasionally escalating to weapons i.e., knives or baseball bats. Only one case involve. firearm. Victim & Offender Profiles: Mean age offenders = 27 years; Mean age victims = 33 years; 62% victims under 35 y.o.; Victims generally older than offenders.; 70% victims unemployed at time of death. Criminal History: 7 victims & 5 offenders had prior convictions for violence. Timing: 1/2 killings b/w Friday evening & Sunday evening. Audience Presence: Often occurred with audiences present, mainly public spaces. 2. Revenge Homicide (18 cases): Victim-Offender Relationship: Acquaintance/Friend = 14 cases; Strangers = 2 cases; Family/Cohabitant = 2 cases. Key Characteristics: Motivated by grudges/perceived wrongdoings, often involved planning. Typically people who knew each other (friends, relatives, neighbours). More frequent use of firearms compared to confrontational homicides. Locations: 9 cases at victims' homes/doorsteps, 3 in pubs, 5 on streets. Alcohol & Drug Involvement: Alcohol in 11 cases, with both parties drinking in 5. Drugs played a role in 8 cases (part of motive or influenced behaviour). Criminal History: 8 offenders & 5 victims had prev.	Confrontational homicides arise from honour contests in response to trivial disagreements, violence happens in public mostly & with males in audience, prevails where alcohol is a characteristic feature of social context. Spontaneous assaults rarely at outset intended to cause death. Revenge homicides show private deliberate affairs & less dependent on displays of masculine bravado, with alcohol less a feature of social context where violence happens. More purposeful and determined homicides, planned in advance, offender seeks victim out and gives least chance to resist lethal attack, firearms used more often than other homicides. Most significant factor is intent. This paper challenges pervasive view that typical homicides are assaults gone wrong - often represents active participation of offender and	Important to make distinction for theory progression & intervention strategies. Those concerned with developing prevention or reduction strategies would need to address different dynamics of homicides where there is a sustained determination to bring victim death from homicides where victim's death is an unforeseen outcome. Further refinement of distinctions b/w underlying goals & desires is merited.	None stated

	convictions for violence. Timing: Mainly occurred during weekends, in evening or early morning hours. 3. Robbery Homicide (7 cases): Victim-Offender Relationship: Acquaintance/Neighbour = 3 cases, Strangers = 4 case. 4. Prejudice Killings (2 cases): Both victims were killed by strangers. 5. Unknown Motive (6 cases): Victim-Offender Relationship: Acquaintance = 1 case, Strangers = 4, Unknown = 1 case. 6. Unsolved/Outstanding (2 cases): Cases without sufficient information to determine motive or circumstances. Race/Ethnicity: Offenders: 76% White, 13% Black, 10% Asian or mixed race. Victims: 78% White, 15% Black, 10% Asian or Indian origin.	victim in dynamic interchange of escalating violence; data allows recognition of certain types of homicide with strong purpose even rational elements to the act. Findings suggest death is often a desired outcome in revenge but not so much in confrontations. Young men, both victims & offenders, dominated the statistics, highlighting the vulnerability & risk within this age group.		
Eckhardt & Pridemore, 2009	Overall stats: Male offenders 94.3%; Male victims 59.7%; Female offenders 5.7%; Female victims 40.3%. Alcohol Use: Offender drinking: 64.3%; Victim drinking: 45.4% Weapon Use: Gun: 13.2%; Knife: 50.3%. Timing of Incident: 6:00 p.m. - 6:00 a.m.: 77.6%; Weekend: 36.1%; Winter: 44.5%. Relationship to Offender: Acquaintance: 42.4%; Stranger: 32.5%.; Male offenders = less likely to victimise females compared to males, but difference is not statistically signif. Alcohol Use: Offender drinking = similar rates for both male & female. Victim drinking = female victims were less likely to be drinking at time of event than male victims. Weapon Use: Use of guns & knives = less common when victim is female, but not significantly different. Use of bodily force is slightly more common with female victims. Timing of Incident: Incidents between 6:00 p.m. - 6:00 a.m. are more common for both genders. Relationship to Offender: Incidents involving family members/acquaintances = less common with male victims, more likely for males to be victimised by a stranger. Context of Homicide: Jealousy, rape, & acute arguments show no significant differences. Incidents involving profit are less common with female victims. Location of Incident: Home = more common with female victims. Public place = more common with male victims. Hide crime = more common with male victims.	Females (offender/victim) = homicide incidents more likely to occur b/w intimates at home. Male victim/offender more likely to occur in public places, alcohol-related, involve a firearm, involve victim-offender as acquaintances or strangers, & be victim-precipitated. Male-male incidents are very different to those involving at least one female in the dyad - more likely to involve acquaintances or strangers, arise in context of acute argument, victim-precipitated, in public, with firearm, alcohol-related, premeditated.	In order to examine similarities and differences on these characteristics between women & men, logistic regression was employed to estimate crude odds ratios.	Some characteristics have few data points so statistical analysis is not reliable (e.g. firearms used on women victims, male victim raped, male victims killed from jealousy). Homicide narratives extracted from court verdicts with convicted perpetrator, thus not representative of all homicides in the region - mafia-related homicides or homeless people or sex workers may be less likely to be reported. Research gives evidence that characteristics of these (unsolved) homicides may differ

				systematically from those getting to court & cleared/verdict reached.
Enander et al., 2022	Relevant info from previous article in series, an analysis of what builds up to IPH, with an emphasis on gender - findings indicate that the build-up phase of an IPH is complex & encompasses several different features, some clearly gendered. Results point to escalation during build-up: possessiveness & violent behaviour in male-to-female cases, alcohol/drug abuse, mental health problems and/or of fears for future, often connected to separation. Women often kill in context of their own victimisation. When perpetrator decides to kill, they call it 'changing the project' - in court recorded as deliberate/planned or out of the blue. Changing project more evident in some cases than others. Most perps stabbed or used blunt force on victims. Male perps also shot or strangled victims; women perps stabbed or used a blunt object and one woman poisoned her partner with what he thought was an alcoholic drink. Some males planned by bringing a knife/ firearm in approach, others used objects to hand. Majority cases had perp state that argument had preceded killing (no victim statement so perp statement warrants cautious interpretation). Triggers that coincide with changing the project: Feeling rejected; Feeling provoked; Hallucinating; Being at the end of the road; Acting in self-defence; Situational factors that trigger IPH differ from corresponding factors in male vs female perp IPH: for female perps, they were victims of IPV and perps of IPH, none of the female perps displayed possessiveness. Aftermath: Dealing with the body, drinking or taking drugs, contacting someone, escaping, getting rid of evidence.	Model of the IPH process contains 3 stages: the build-up, changing the project & the aftermath - this paper focuses on the last 2 stages. Difficult to discern when build-up stage turned into 'changing the project' but time point seemed to coincide with final triggers. Triggers emerged as final triggers following escalation during build-up, blurring boundaries b/w these stages. At scene & following killing, perps generally contacted someone & admitted to killing their partner. Few concealed crimes & denied knowledge of them, with males going to greater lengths. In court, perp narratives apparently constructed to minimise responsibility. Possibility that perp downplaying of responsibility may be justified, but some seem to have simply lied & denied obvious culpability.	Primary prevention of IPV - social services and healthcare sector's roles in observing early signs. Practitioners should also be (given tools to be) particularly attentive to escalation of known risk factors and identify triggers for IPH. Secondary prevention: important to target perp's minimising of responsibility. Future research should focus on deepening understanding of IPH process, applying a multi-method approach including interviews with family and friends bereaved by IPH.	Some ambiguous cases not included in dataset that could have been IPH. In court records, victim is dead thus their voice is no longer represented; risk that analysis colludes with perpetrator's worldview, which may in turn generate victim-blaming. There should be a critical eye applied when reading & writing about these accounts, & that analysis only reflects what the court has found of interest to register in order to establish guilt.
Felson & Messner, 1998	Women who kill partners = more motivated by self-defence than males who kill their partners (9.6% vs 0.5%). ~1/2 of incidents with female offender male victim = precipitated by physical attack (1/10 for male offenders). Female offenders/victims much less likely to have history of violence than male offender/victim. 61% female offender homicides are against male intimates. DVs: self-defence, victim physical attack, victim's violent record, offender's clean	Study illustrated a method for disentangling effects of gender & intimacy on characteristics of violent interactions - focus on victim precipitation in homicide. Analysis implies researchers much be careful in	Understanding these situational factors can help in developing targeted interventions aimed at reducing male victim homicides. E.g. increasing public space	Methodological limitations - excluded incidents that did not result in an arrest, so homicides without an offender not included; this implies there will

record. Gender Partner Interaction (GPI) model - female killing male partner more likely to involve self-defence & physical attack than other homicides. Males killed by females more likely to have history of violence, consistent with notion that their violence translates to violent provocation in homicide incident. Effects of gender on 4 DVs no different b/w intimates & other homicide types: not consistent with GPI. [significance changes on type of stat calculated]. Gender interaction proven contrary: males are no more likely to provoke females to kill them than other men to kill them. All equally provoked (or not). 3 way interaction in additive model (male victim - female offender - intimates). Effects for gender but not intimacy. Women more likely killing in self-defence than men; male victims more likely killed in self-defence than female victims. Self-defence nor physical attack no more likely to occur in intimate homicide vs other relationships (controlling for gender). Women most likely kill in response to physical provocation compared to men. Victim's physical attack more likely to be a precipitating factor when offenders kill males vs killing females. Victim's physical attack no more frequent among intimates vs other relationships. Gender predicts prior record, not relationship. Regarding homicide, killer type makes no difference in terms of prior record. Those killing partners = no more likely to have a prior record than those who kill others, & those killed by a partner are no more likely to have a prior record than those killed by others. Location of the crime: Public spaces (streets, bars, parks) are more likely venues for confrontations that escalate to lethal violence, mainly among male victims. Male victims in home enviro are often involved in conflicts that escalate. Night-time incidents: A signif. number of male victim homicides occur during night-time (reduced visibility & lower public presence provide cover for potential offenders). This situational factor underscores importance of temporal context in understanding homicide risks. Daytime Risks: While less common, daytime homicides involving male victims are often linked to business disputes or spontaneous conflicts that arise in workplaces or other daily interactions. Firearms more commonly used in public space homicides. Knives & blunt objects = more used in private settings. Routine Activities Theory: male victims' engagement in high-risk activities, such as frequenting bars or engaging in illicit trades, increases exposure to potential offenders	descriptions of women killing their intimate partners. E.g. potentially misleading assumption that wives are likely to kill their husbands in self-defence as it could refer to a range of possible contrasts: comparison b/w frequency of self-defence as a motive relative to other motives. Alternate comparative statements are that when women kill their husbands, the incidents = more likely to involve self-defence than when husbands kill their wives, or when women kill other men, or when women kill women. Researchers propose formal models of effects of gender & intimacy on homicide to avoid ambiguities. Evidence supports Gender Differences model over others. Women who kill male partners are just as likely to have a violent history as women who kill other people, & just as likely to kill in self-defence or in response to attack from victim as other female killers. The victim-offender relationship is irrelevant - no special dynamics associated with intimate homicides.	surveillance & providing better lighting in high-risk areas can deter night-time homicides. Addressing substance abuse through community programs can mitigate one of the critical situational factors leading to violent encounters. Enhancing conflict resolution & anger management programs, particularly for individuals with criminal backgrounds, can reduce the likelihood of revenge-driven homicides.	be an under sampling of violence among strangers (cases comparatively difficult to solve) & oversampling of homicide b/w intimates. Bias of researchers, police & prosecutors on interpretation of incidents as self-defence or victim precipitated. Ambiguous incidents more likely assumed as male victim precipitation & self-defence from females, given beliefs that males = more violent than females, & assumption that violence b/w intimates involves more victim precipitation & self-defence.
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	& violent confrontations. Many homicides involving male victims occur under influence of substances, which impair judgment & escalate conflicts. Substance abuse not only lowers inhibitions but also increases the likelihood of aggressive responses to perceived slights or provocations.			
Felson & Steadman, 1983	Found 3 stages in act of homicide: 1st stage involves verbal conflict (identities = attacked & attempts to influence antagonist fail). 2nd stage = threats & evasive action (mediation, if any, occurs here). 3rd stage involves physical attack. Comparison Between Homicides & Assaults: No significant differences in offender demographics or prior arrests. Situational factors were similar. Sample: 159 offenders (94 homicides & 65 assaults). Offender Statistics (homicides vs assaults): Mean prior arrests: H=0.9, A=1.2.; Mean age: H=26.6, A=26.0.; Mean education: H=10.7, A=12.3.; Percentage nonwhite: H=73.4%, A=83.1%.; Displayed/used gun: H=46.8%, A=44.6%.; Used alcohol/drugs: H=35.2%, A=28.8%.; Mean blows delivered: H=2.1, A=2.2. Victim Statistics: Male: H=86.2%, A=84.4%.; Mean age: H=27.5, A=27.0.; Displayed/used weapon: H=21%, A=9.4%.; Used alcohol/drugs: H=30.8%, A=11.7%.; Victim Characteristics: Similar age & sex for victims. Signif. differences in victim behaviour during incident. Homicide vs. Assault: Homicide victims more likely to display/use weapons (Z=1.98; p<.05). Homicide victims more likely intoxicated (Z=2.80; p<.05). Offenders more likely to kill intoxicated victims. Offenders more aggressive, victims more evasive. Offenders had more influence attempts; victims more noncompliance. Homicide victims more aggressive than assault victims. Offenders less likely to threaten in homicides. Mediation & Retaliation: 3rd party mediation ineffective (attempted in 10% of incidents). Victims more likely to be killed if aggressive, display a weapon, or were drinking. Weapon use & attack increased victim fatality rate: Weapon & attack: 87%., Attack without weapon: 63%., Non-aggressive victims: 51%. Other Factors: Intoxicated victims not more aggressive but had a higher likelihood of being killed due to other factors.	Evidence is consistent with an interactionist viewpoint that the victim's behaviour appears to have affected the offender's behaviour in these incidents.	Unit-act technique	Sample limitations: only incidents resulting in incarceration incl., so plea of self-defence not believed. Study underestimates aggression engaged in by victim. Study incl. only incidents where a lot of details, so incidents where there is no interaction immediately before physical attack (while rare) = likely excluded. Homicides with no 3rd parties may be underrepresented as investigators would not be able to reconstruct crime without a witness. Sample = small, but sufficient for statistical analysis.
Ganpat et al., 2017	Logistic regression models presented examine impact of various factors on the likelihood of lethal vs. non-lethal outcomes in violent events. Across all models, male victims had consistently lower likelihood of experiencing lethal outcomes compared to non-lethal	Victim & offender criminal history both important, but immediate situation (situational factors) has	Examine role of criminal history of both offenders & victims, comparing non-lethal & lethal	The sample of events possibly influenced results - maybe different results for

	outcomes. In Model V, the coefficient for male victims is significant, indicating that being male is associated with lower odds of a lethal outcome compared to being female. Age of both victims & offenders did not significantly affect the likelihood of lethal outcomes across all models. Location of incident (street/parking lot, cafe/bar/restaurant, other, morning) did not significantly impact the likelihood of a lethal outcome, except for "other" location in Model VI. The existence of a prior violent record in both victims and offenders significantly decreased the likelihood of a lethal outcome. Evening time signif. increased likelihood of a lethal outcome. Alcohol use by victim significantly increased likelihood of a lethal outcome. Alcohol use by offender significantly decreased likelihood of a lethal outcome. Presence of 3rd parties generally decreased likelihood of a lethal outcome. Victim precipitation (initiating confrontation) signif. increased likelihood of lethal outcome. Offender displaying/using firearm was strongest predictor of lethal outcome.	greater extent on outcome of events. Male victims are generally at a lower risk of lethal outcomes. Presence of third parties tends to reduce lethality, while a higher number of third parties can increase it. Alcohol use by victims increases lethality, while use by offenders decreases it. Victim precipitation & offender firearm use significantly heighten the risk of lethal outcomes.	situational characteristics. Strategies to reduce lethal violence should focus on preventive programs that address situational factors conducive to lethal outcomes, as these are easier to change than personality traits. For instance, the presence of a third party can reduce the likelihood of a lethal end. Possible actions include encouraging public responsibility to stop violence & spreading knowledge on how to intervene, giving public tools to use.	multiple offender/victim cases. Also have no direct measures of self-control theory or routine activities were available - measuring criminal propensity through history perhaps not enough. Also possible there are unrecorded crimes.
Goodman et al., 1986	Testing Overview: Blood alcohol level (BAL) testing was conducted in 4,092 out of 4,950 victims (82.7%). Testing proportions by year: 76.4% in 1970 and 83.6-87.4% from 1971-1979. Age variation in testing: 49.8% of victims under 15 years and 25.5% over 65 years were not tested. Only 11.9% of victims aged 15-64 years were not tested. Alcohol Detection: Alcohol was found in 1,883 victims (46% of those tested). BAL ranged from 1mg% to 870mg%. 15.9% had BAL $\leq$99mg%; 30% had BAL $\geq$100mg% (legal intoxication level). Male victims were almost twice as likely to have detectable alcohol compared to females. 51% of males had detectable alcohol vs. 25.8% of females. 34.1% of males had BAL $\geq$100mg% vs. 14.8% of females. Race/Ethnicity: Latino victims had the highest proportion of detectable alcohol (57%), followed by Black (47.7%) and White (34.6%) victims. BAL $\geq$100mg% in 38.2% of Latino, 31.8% of Black, and 20.5% of White victims. Age Groups: Approximately half of victims aged 25-65 showed evidence of alcohol use. Day of the Week: Higher detection rates on weekends: Friday 50.7%, Saturday 55.5%, Sunday 53.4%.	Results indicate that alcohol consumption was common in homicide victims from LA 1970-1979. Data from a defined, extended time period, culturally heterogeneous community. Lab tests for alcohol linked to homicide victim's data file. Victims killed in certain settings are consistent with patterns of alcohol consumption for those settings - more than 75% of persons killed in bars or restaurants had used alcohol. This alcohol consumption may increase risk of becoming a victim, regardless of intoxicating effects, because	High alcohol use among male Latino victims suggests a significant issue needing attention. Interpersonal aggression in bars is a function of aversive stimuli present in enviro - but this hypoth. needs BAC estimates from victims, offenders, & controls. Detectable BAC was higher in physical fights (52.5%) compared to crime-related situations (19.8%), supporting the hypothesis that alcohol promotes aggression and aversive interactions..	Results likely underestimated cases with alcohol due to lack of criteria for time between injury & death. Measuring blood alcohol levels in non-homicide control populations is necessary for accurate comparison. Study could not differentiate between chronic & short-term alcohol use, a common issue inferred indirectly through autopsy. Variations in alcohol effects & responses

	Lower rates midweek: Monday 41.7%, Tuesday 38.1%, Wednesday 36.1%, Thursday 37.2%. Monthly variations were minimal, with highest in September (51.6%). Location and Circumstances: Highest detection in bar/restaurant homicides (75.1%) vs. 38.6-50% at other sites. Specific situations: Alcohol detected in 67.9% of victims when physical fight ended in homicide, 55% in verbal arguments, 48.3% in gang-related homicides. Victim-offender relationship: Known offender: 38-53.1% of victims had detectable alcohol. Stranger offender: 37.1% of victims had detectable alcohol. Greatest intoxication of victim when offender was a friend/acquaintance (38.1%), and spouse (30.6%). Weapon Used: Alcohol presence was highest in victims killed with cutting instruments (58.6%) compared to strangulation (28.7%).	individuals are more likely to be in a high-risk place or situation.		(physiological & behavioural) complicate study.
Langevin et al., 1982	Offenders: 84% male. Nonviolent offenders had similar gender distribution - suggests males tend to engage in more crimes generally than females. Disproportionately larger number of males in sample (Statistics Canada, Ontario data). Killers & nonviolent offenders male=84% Female=16%. Compared to general population, there were fewer cases over 45y.o. & more in 15-24y.o. Killer average age=32. Homicide is associated with youth, 66.3% in age range 15-35 y.o. Education: trend that killers somewhat less educated than nonviolent offenders. Marital status - no significant differences b/w groups at time of offense although slightly fewer killers were single & twice as many married killers as controls (chi sq=4.42 p>0.05). Alcohol & drugs: 54% killers drinking at time of offense. 19% killers taking nonprescribed drugs at time of crime but only 6% considered excessive amounts, compared to 3% of nonviolent offenders. Drugs & alcohol unrelated to degree of force used in killing. Sample shows slightly higher incidence of alcohol use which argues against the hypothesis that killers seen for psych assessment are less likely to be drinking at time of offense than normal killers. Suicide after homicide - 11% attempted suicide after the offense. Victims: predominantly male & known to accused. Male-female ratio closely follows homicide patterns for Ontario (chi sq=0.08 p>0.05). In homicides, 36% were in a love relationship including spouses; family killings in 39% of cases. Stranger killing incidence 19% typical. Age difference b/w offender & victim was 0.93 yrs. 10% of victims had previous threats, 23% had previous violence. Victim-offender sexual relations in only	Psychiatric sample of killers in this project resembled general population of criminals in the province. Like nonviolent offenders, they were majority male, single, young, poorly educated & unemployed. Killers tended to have intimate relationships with their victim & killed in their home. These killers in psych assessment no different from normal homicide offenders. Intoxicants - while 54% of killers were stated as using drugs/drinking, exact consumption not available, & thus not possible to reliably determine extent to which alcohol was causal. Groups had similar patterns of situational strain, but killers had diverse frustrations more frequently. Help seeking non-existent. Groups were similar regarding attempting suicide,	Results overall suggest that the role of alcohol & drugs in homicide need further systematic investigation but that many other factors considered important failed to find support in this study. A combo of violent history & alcohol/drug disinhibition may be sufficient factors to explain homicide.	Like all retrospective studies, info on an item is a positive datum for examiner but absence is interpreted with less certainty. May be a negative finding or the original examiner failed to elicit or report the info.

	36% cases. 20% of victims drinking at time of offense, 32% tormented the killer, 41% made actual threats. Location & time of offense - 80% indoors either in home of offender, victim, or a joint home (74%). Time of offense only available in 61% cases. No statistical difference from chance expectation (chi sq=5.06 3df p>.05) for 4 quarters of the day. More killings occurred 14:00 to 02:00 with peaks at 01:00 & 18:00 each with 11.94% of cases (chance 4.16%). No killings 6 or 7am, 15:00 and midnight. Time of day NS. No significant difference for day of week of offense. Lows were Tues 9% and Fri 7%. Highs = Sun 22% and Mon 20%. Month of year = lows March 3%, July 4%, highs April 11%, May 15%, Sept 11%. Spring 35%, Winter 16%, Summer 19%, Fall 30% (contrary to thermic law, old theory that crimes against person more common in hotter seasons/climates, while crimes against property more common in colder seasons/climates).	but possibility that those who complete suicide are different from those who survive attempts.		
Lindegaard, 2017	Offenders prove themselves as autonomous - lifestyle involves doing crime, one must be willing to 'go all the way' when challenged in public - necessary to claim dominance (male honour). Autonomous in sense of being free of expectations of conventional society & expectations of gang-involved people inside & outside prison. Participant describes act of killing as aspirational, something they (with other killers/ peers) are interested in, different from conventional jobs. Crime gains social status; talking about it is street cred/capital. Gangs described as fostering dependence, but they do crime in order to avoid dependence. Gangs are seen as providing security but are actually work hierarchies (having a boss). Homicides described as consequence of involvement in crime that ensured money for themselves & families. Crime supported a life of excess that would be impossible with a regular job. Kenneth killed several people as calculated revenge & immediate manifestation of being publicly challenged. Kyle killed a challenger in front of a girl he wanted to impress. Crime funds alcohol, drugs, clothes. Action oriented - used descriptors like "talking type" & "acting type" for willingness to get violent when needed. Those afraid of violence = not street capable, talk their way out of trouble. Superiority from excessive violent reaction, "focus on one thing. Destroying your victim." Moment is in anger, but actually completing killing = challenge. Response of overwhelming fear needs focus to block it out. Fear restrains & anger facilitates.	Men tend to get killed in public; male homicides often done in context of arguments & revenge disputes, killed mostly by strangers (or barely known). Young men's motivations = similar to men who kill their intimate partners. Driven by a quest for dominance & control over male victim who challenged them in public. Homicides part of street-oriented lifestyle: 1) being autonomous from conventional society & from gang involvement; 2) proving can provide for self & family; 3) being action oriented (walk the talk). Dominance over victim is more tied to types of people engaging in street culture rather than as inherently related to dominant notions of	Future research must focus more on the diversity of cultural repertoires, incl. various street culture types, that men use to rationalize their violent behaviour. Greater understanding of how street culture increases young men's susceptibility to committing homicide & becoming victims of violent crime in general is required. Studies that offer step-by-step analysis of actions during homicides, comparing male & female offenders & examining how male offenders utilise different cultural repertoires, will advance homicide research.	Not stated.

		masculinity: lack conventional means for social status i.e., paid jobs & qualifications, concerned about improving lives in short-term capacity.		
Luckenbill, 1977	Social Occasions: Homicides often result from a "character contest" where both offender & victim escalate a confrontation to save face, with violence seen as appropriate. A "situated transaction" involves immediate interaction, while a "social occasion" encompasses multiple interactions forming, dissolving, & reforming within a broader social setting. Timing & Location: Most homicides occur between 6 pm & 2 am, especially on weekends. Over half occur at home, 15% at taverns, 15% on streets, & 12% while driving or in public places like hotels. Informal settings allow a wide range of activities, contrasting with more formal settings like funerals or weddings. Dynamics: About 75% involved pleasurable activities (e.g., drinking, drugs), with the rest involving serious concerns like relationships or integrity. 60% of victims were related to the offender by marriage, kinship, or friendship; the rest were enemies or acquaintances. Stages of Conflict Leading to Homicide: 1. Disrespectful Act: Offense perceived as a challenge (insult, denial of command, physical gesture). 2. Someone is Offended: Offended party decides to act based on previous interactions or audience feedback. 3. Response: Chance to clarify, apologise, possibly leave scene. Offended party tends to retaliate to save face (male honour), leading to escalation. 4. Tacit Agreement to Fight: Either party may misinterpret actions, leading to a tacit agreement to fight. 5. Parties Start to Fight: Weapons may be used, escalating conflict (either arrived armed expecting victim, or as daily routine, left to find one, or turned to object at hand). 6. Aftermath: 'winner' runs away, stays at scene, kept at scene by audience, or found & caught. Offender's actions depend on relationship with victim & audience reaction. Intimate partners usually stay for police, some wait long to report (to think), check on victim, make arrangements before arrest. Acquaintances & enemies usually flee or try to dispose of victim/clear scene.	Criminal homicide does not appear as a one-sided event with an unwitting victim assuming passive, non-contributory role. Rather, murder is outcome of dynamic interchange b/w offender, victim, & in many cases bystanders. Offender-victim develop lines of action shaped in part by actions of other & focused on saving face & reputation, demonstrating character. Parties develop working agreement, explicit/implicit, that violence is a useful tool to resolve questions of character. Generally these steps characterise homicide cases irrespective of age, sex, race, time & place, alcohol, & motive.	Not explicitly mentioned	This transaction is not the 'formula' for homicide from conflicts, nor how conflicts always play out, nor how homicide happens all the time. Describes a somewhat specific stream of events.

	Audience Role: Audiences influence outcomes by supporting, remaining neutral, or opposing the offender, impacting their actions post-homicide.			
Outwater et al., 2008	The overall age standardized homicide rate of 12.95 per 100, 000 population is the lowest city level homicide rate recorded in Africa so far. The age standardized female rate of 2.65 per 100,000 is lower than world average. 94% of homicide deaths were males & their age standardized rate was 22.26 per 100,000. 90% of homicide deaths = unemployed, engaged in informal business, or buried as Unknowns. About 90% of murdered males died in incidents directly related to their attempts to acquire resources, legally or illegally: thieves & alleged thieves (69%), victims of armed robbery (13%), bystanders (4%) & quarrels around payment & sharing (4%). Majority of homicides (57%) were committed by community level mob violence. Urbanisation was a risk factor for homicide.	Low firearm violence & low risk for females are important components of a homicide rate in DSM that is low relative to estimates for Africa. High community participation & willingness to uphold common values, has led to most homicides being committed by community mobs policing against petty thieves. Unemployment puts males at high risk of homicide death in DSM.	Research & interventions to address underlying micro- & macro-economic factors of homicide death. To identify indigenous culturally appropriate ways of community participation that uphold universal human rights are urgent.	Little information was gathered on the 84 (24%) victims who died of homicide & were buried as Unknowns. The study's one-year time frame = not possible to gather a sample size of females sufficiently large for detailed quantitative or qualitative analysis.
Petrosky et al., 2021	Total Number: 1,1681 male victims in homicide cases involving American Indian/Alaska Native (AI/AN) populations. The majority of male victims were aged 25-34 years (27.5%), followed by the 35-44 age group (20.6%). Sex: 80.1% of suspects were male. Victim-Suspect Relationship: Acquaintance/Friend = 22.3% of male victims killed by acquaintance/friend. Intimate Partner = 11.5% of male victims killed by current/former intimate partner. Other Relative = 6.6% were killed by non-intimate fam member. Stranger: 10.5% of male victims were killed by stranger. 9.9% were killed by a person known to them but with an unclear relationship. 36.1% of cases had an unknown relationship between victim & suspect. Precipitating Circumstances: Argument/Conflict = leading precipitating circumstance in male homicides (54.7%). Crime-Related: 24.6% related to other serious crimes, with 66.6% of these occurring during a crime in progress. Type of Crimes: 35.3% male homicides precipitated by assault/another homicide; 32.4% robbery; 16.5% linked to burglary; 15.3% drug-related activities; 12.1% related to IPV, compared to 45% of female homicides. Physical Fight = 27.7% of male homicides vs 10.9% of female homicides. Substance/Alcohol Use = 27.8% of cases. Location: 48.7% of male victims lived in metropolitan areas, 52.7% were killed in metropolitan areas. 53.7%	NVDRS data can help characterise & monitor homicides (here AI/AN) & identify effective, early intervention strategies to prevent these deaths. IPV prominent in AI/AN homicides, mainly by male suspects. Firearms = most common weapon used in male homicides, indicating necessity for stricter gun control policies. Signif. use of sharp instruments & personal weapons suggests many homicides involve spontaneous/escalated conflicts rather than premeditated attacks. Homicides prevalent in metropolitan areas & public spaces for male victims. Over	Future studies - studies of unique risk factors in AI/AN population, changing trends & regional variations; integrated primary prevention & health promotion response co-ordinated across tribes, federal govt, public health & health service sectors, criminal justice system, & victim services - important to address violence in this population. Communities might need collective healing of historic & inter-generational traumas & resolution of structural inequalities. Violence prevention	Racial misclassification of AI/AN decedents leads to underestimation of homicides. NVDRS lacks tribal data, affecting reliability & generalisability of findings. Data not nationally representative, hindering regional disparity reporting. Tribes have inherent legal & political authority, self-governing, & might not interact with investigators & public health entities collecting this data.

	of male victims were killed in houses or apartments. 16.2% males killed on streets or highways. 5.4% of males killed in natural areas (fields/rivers). 29% males killed in own homes. Weapons used: Firearms = 51.5% of male homicide; Sharp Instruments = 21%; Blunt Instruments = 6.1%; Personal Weapons (hands, feet, fists) = 6.1%; Hanging/Strangulation/Suffocation = 2.3%; Other Methods = 1.4% involved other methods, & in 6.4% of cases, method unknown.	1/2 of male victims killed in metropolitan settings, & notable portion on streets/highways = indicates critical need for public safety measures in urban areas, includ. increased surveillance & community policing to address & prevent violent encounters.	should include community-developed, culturally relevant & evidence-based strategies; focus on mental health & substance use interventions.	NVDRS data not nationally representative - not all states participated at the same time.
Pizarro, 2008	Domestic homicides - most distinct type under study. No stranger category needed here. Significant effects from residence (most robust) 16 times more likely to occur in residence compared to non-domestics. Also less likely to involve guns. Victims more likely to be younger than non-domestics. Offender more likely older than non-domestic offenders. Victim-suspect gender have negative effect, meaning domestic homicides more likely to have females as victims & suspects than non-domestics. Drug homicides = all offenders in sample male. Positive effect of public housing - these homicides more than 2 x likely to happen in public housing complexes than non-drug homicides. Can be both situational & social factors: maybe because drug dealers proliferate from low 'policing' & residents not able to supervise area well, & poverty (pressed to deal drugs). More than 3 x likely done with guns than non-drug homicides, they carry for protection & territory intrusion. Less likely to involve actors under the influence of drugs/alcohol. Less likely to occur during weekend than non-drugs. Disaggregation shows homicides distributed evenly over week: Sat 19%, Mon 16%, Wed 15%, Tue 14%, Sun 13%, Fri 12%, Thur 11%. Dispute homicides: only subtype with event, temporal & demographic effects. Differentiated by alcohol/ drugs, victim-offender relationship, weekend, victim race. More than 3.5 x more likely to involve parties impaired by drugs/ alcohol at time of event - impaired judgement & disinhibition, small arguments turn violent. Victim-offender relationship has negative effect on dispute homicides - disputes with strangers less likely end in violence compared to family/intimates/friends. Dispute homicides more on weekends than non-disputes. Robbery homicides: victim-offender relationship & number of suspects have signif. effects in model.	Logistic regression shows that homicide types analysed have unique situational covariates dependent on the nature of the incidents. Multinomial findings suggest most distinct type is domestic followed by robbery. Crime facilitators available at certain locations (lack of capable guardian, victim accessibility) give opportunity for domestic & drug homicides. The study enhances understanding of homicide dynamics and preventive policies.	Implement targeted interventions based on situational covariates of homicide types. Enhance police investigation efforts by utilizing findings on homicide covariates. Develop specific preventive policies tailored to different types of homicides.	Exclusion of 175 cases may reduce statistical power & increase errors. Difficulty in untangling multiple motives may affect inferences.

	Family, intimates, friends/ acquaintances less likely to be involved in robbery homicides than other types. People tend to rob strangers. With more suspects, odds of incident being robbery increase; victims also more likely older. Homicide comparisons - model shows differences in terms of event, temporal, victim/suspect characteristics. Event differences - majority event differences due to domestic homicides: others are less likely to occur in either party's residence, more likely to use a gun & involve multiple suspects. Drug homicide parties less likely to have consumed alcohol/drugs at time of incident, & those in disputes more likely than domestics. Dispute homicides less likely to involve a gun than drug homicides. Robbery homicides more likely to involve multiple suspects than dispute & drug. Temporal differences - domestics & disputes more likely to occur during weekends than drug homicides. Robberies almost 3 x more likely in evening hours than disputes. Victim/suspect demographic differences - compared to domestics, victims of other homicide categories more likely to be older. Females more likely than males to be victims of domestics vs robbery or dispute.			
Rizo et al., 2021	The demographics of male victims in post-release homicides reveal that in IPV-related cases, victims were predominantly Black (41.2%). Majority had high school diploma/GED, & most not married at time of death. In non-IPV-related post-release homicides, majority of victims were Black (61.5%) most having less than high school, & most single. Circumstances surrounding homicides showed that IPV-related homicides mostly occurred at victim's home & did not involve firearms (instead using sharp/blunt objects, strangulation). Frequently preceded by arguments/conflicts (65%) & physical fights (41%), with alcohol consumption by victim suspected in 1/2 of cases. Non-IPV-related homicides = more varied in location, often involving firearms, & less frequently involved arguments or physical fights but higher instances of drug involvement & gang-related activities. Many male victims had histories of substance abuse (& signif portion consuming alcohol/drugs shortly before death), mental health issues, & involvement with criminal justice system. Many male victims had prior involvement in IPV (as perpetrators or victims). Most male victims killed by intimate partners (some cases involv. new or ex-partners of intimate partners). Relationships varied - some male	Individuals recently released from jail/prison = at increased risk of death by homicide compared to gen. population. While number of post-release IPV-related homicides was small, they exhibited distinct characteristics compared to non-IPV-related homicides, influencing pre-& post-release safety efforts for male victims. Findings highlight complex interplay of personal relationships, substance abuse, & situational factors in context of male victim homicides.	Research on post-release homicide time frames. (likelihood of homicide vs time post-release). Need to distinguish b/w prison & jail homicides. These correctional facilities have different policies & procedures, so recommendations need to consider each context. Research to explore severity & escalation of IPV, directionality over time, legal consequences & interventions, prior IPV-related help-seeking.	NVDRS data coding limitations may lead to misclassification of IPV-related homicides. Missing data hinders examination of perpetrator characteristics in post-release homicides. Study's small sample size limits statistical power & gender exploration.

	victims being killed by girlfriends, wives, or ex-partners. In non-IPV-related homicides, perpetrators were more likely to be strangers or acquaintances. Homicides often involved verbal & physical aggression b/w partners (some described as self-defence by female perpetrators against male victims who were primary aggressors in IPV situations). Bystanders (friends, family, neighbours, law enforcement, & parole officers) often aware of ongoing IPV or present during escalation of violence leading to homicide. Majority of non-IPV homicide victims = male, & signif. portion of IPV homicide victims = female. Only 8.5% of post-release male victims related to IPV, & most IPV homicide perpetrators = female, whereas non-IPV homicide perpetrators mainly male.			
Suffla & Seedat	Total strangulation homicides n=218 or 2.2% of 9,920 homicides, smallest proportion of all homicides. All male homicides (86.5% n=8,580), 1% n=88 strangulation homicides. All female homicides 13.5% n=1,340, strangled 9.7% n=130. All homicides = Males 0-14=108(1.3), 15-29=3621(42.2), 30-44=3537(41.2), 45-59=1016(11.8), >=60=298 (3.5). Time of day: Day F= 736(54.9) M=3709 (43.2); Night F=604(45.1) M=4871(56.8). Day of week: weekday F=755(56.3) M=4153 (48.4) Weekend F=585 (43.7) M=4427(51.6). Season Summer: F=316 (23.6) M=2086(24.3). Autumn F=326(24.3) M=2000 (23.3) Winter F= 368 (27.5) M=2256 (26.3) Spring F= 330 (24.6) M= 2238 (26.1). Scene: private F= 980(73.1) M= 4431 (51.6) Public F= 360(26.9) M= 4149(48.4). Model 1 - logistic regression significant- chi squ.=120.250 p=.000 7df. Males age groups: 15-29 7.25 times, 30-44 7 times and 45-49 5.2 times less likely to be strangled relative to all other male homicides. Compared to Black people, Indian people almost 3 times and Whites 2.5 times more at risk for fatal strangulation in relation to all other male homicides. Model 2 - overall logistic model significant chi sq=167.485 p=.000 13df. Probability of day strangulation, opposed to night, >3 times higher relative to other male homicides. Disaggregated by sex & relative to all other male & female homicides respectively, risk of daytime strangulation higher in males than females. Predictive effects for day of week significant, with males almost twice as likely strangled during the week relative to all other homicides. Seasons not significant, but decomposed results showed autumn as significant predictor of male	Study provides evidence on gender gradient in homicidal strangulation risk & underlines importance of undertaking sex-disaggregated & comparative approach to homicide research.	Follow-up studies using current data & larger case samples will clarify patterns suggested by this study, & raise public policy & research salience of analyses of fatal strangulation. Need to create programs for prevention sensitive to gender & age and strengthening of social protection systems to reduce homicide and strangulation risk. Screening for physical and psychological manifestations of strangulation in healthcare settings is indicated for recognition, management and prevention of fatal strangulation risk. This needs training for health professionals and	Missing data excluded cases, limiting logistic regression observations. Lack of perpetrator data restricts victim-perpetrator relationship analysis.

	strangulation. Compared to spring, strangulation death in autumn 2 x higher in relation to all other male homicides. Males 2 x more likely to be strangled in private than public.		developing risk assessment tools for lethality.	
Suonpää & Savolainen, 2019	M-M homicides 62.2%; M-F IPH 19%; F-F n=21, 1.4%. 1/3 of homicides evidenced some victim precipitation (VP). 68.5% did not feature VP, 44 homicides coded as having evidence of 4 indicators. 12% self-defence motivated; 13.2% desire to end ongoing violence situation; evidence of prior violence & threats to offender in 1/5 homicides. Victims on average 8 yrs. older than offender (46 vs 38 yrs.). For any VP, each estimate in model is negative & statistically significant, confidence intervals stay below zero. Pattern implies reference category F-M IPH is more likely to involve victim-precipitated killings than any other homicide type. E.g. when women kill males who are not intimate partners, there is a 21% point lower probability of VP than when women kill intimate partners (F-F = -0.27; M-F IPH=-0.27; M-F not IPH= -0.46; M-M= -0.22). Results support gender-partner interaction hypothesis predicting more VP within F-M IPH category. Gender differences hypothesis contradicted as we see VP is more prevalent when women kill male intimate partners than when they kill other men. Gender differences hypothesis is not supported in female-perpetrated homicides. This study also contradicts the gender-interaction hypothesis.	Replication research has been neglected to the detriment of theoretical progress. Study replicates the only prior study adjudicating b/w 3 perspectives on Victim Precipitation in homicide. Study found considerable support for widely held belief that the intimacy of victim-offender relationship and gender of offender and victim matter.	Literature would benefit from more research on same-sex IPH. Maybe merge data from Finland with other comparable data from other countries. Replicate studies on interpersonal violence to validate findings.	Homicide in Finland is a rare population event in a small country = small number of cases; too few same-sex IPH cases to do meaningful analysis. Indicators of VP in data based on judgement of police officers assigned to cases - though informed by training & experience, still possibility of gender bias - police might see more self-defence with male victim female offender. Difficult to overcome with administrative data, and 'dead men tell no tales.'
Swart et al., 2015	Of 323 homicide cases with tested BAC, 127 (39.3%) had positive BAC (mean = 0.12g/ml). Majority of tested cases (n=112 88.2%) met or exceeded SA legal intoxication levels at 0.05g/100ml - 70.1% >= 0.08g/ml; 60.6% >=0.10g/ml). Homicides with sharp instruments signif. linked to alcohol consumption at death; contrasted with victims killed by strangulation, burns & poisoning, who were signif less likely to be drinking at time. Firearms victims less likely to have +BAC. Victims killed in public signif. more likely to have +BAC while those killed in private homes less likely to have been drinking at time. Greater proportion of adolescent victims killed during weekend had +BAC than those killed during week. Those killed at night (6pm-6am) had higher probability of	Majority of +BAC homicides at 88.2% exceeded legal limit for intoxication at time of homicide (>0.05g/100ml). Consistent with patterns of heavy drinking on weekends among adolescents. Excessive alcohol intake associated with proportion of adolescent homicides in JHB, particularly in older male adolescent victims, over	Interventions to address alcohol use; community based approaches to educate residents on alcohol risks. Further research to examine offender characteristics: demographics, relationship to victim, motives & alcohol use at time to improve	Representativeness of sample - BAC testing not available for 45.3% of 590 adolescent homicides. Study limited to examination of victim & event characteristics associated with alcohol related homicides.

	+BAC, & those killed in daytime less likely to have been drinking at the time. Multivariate analysis: some variables not mutually exclusive (sharp instruments and other weapons used, public places and houses and day/night time) - only male victim, aged 18-19, Black, sharp instrument, public place, weekend, night-time in final model. Continued association with BAC were male victims, 18-19, with sharp instrument on weekend, at night. Public place not associated most strongly with +BAC followed by sharp instrument killing. Signif. higher proportion of + BACs found in male compared to female adolescent victims is consistent with international research.	weekends and evenings with sharp instruments. Weekend homicide most strongly connected with alcohol consumption among victims. Victim sex & age significantly related to BAC level at time of homicide. Male victims more likely to have positive BAC than females	understanding of adolescent alcohol-related homicides. NIMSS only provides BAC toxicology, & other substances are known to be used by adolescents & associated with homicide in other studies - investigate role of these to address adolescent homicide problem.	
Swart et al., 2018	Data on homicides among adolescents aged 15-19 in Johannesburg from 2001 to 2007 were collected from the National Injury Mortality Surveillance System (NIMSS) and police case records. Out of 195 cases analysed, 81% of the victims were male. The majority of offenders were also male (90%), including strangers (42%) and friends/acquaintances (37%). The most common causes of these homicides were arguments (33%), followed by revenge (11%), robbery (11%), and acts of vigilantism or retribution for a crime (8%). Cluster analysis revealed three distinct categories of adolescent homicides: 1) Male victims killed by strangers during crime-related events. 2) Male victims killed by friends or acquaintances during arguments. 3) Female victims killed by male offenders. These findings highlight the need for targeted and specific strategies to prevent adolescent homicides.	Majority of adolescent homicides were male on male 79%, committed by young offenders 53% 12-29 y.o., similar to USA research. Substantial proportion killed by strangers 42%, higher than previous research. Varied motives also found: arguments, revenge, robbery, vigilantism/ retribution for a crime, sexual assault, self-defence. Gang- & drug-related killings appear less frequently here, higher in other parts of country especially the Western Cape; results here similar to CSVr research on homicide circumstances in SA urban areas. Primary locations for homicides were in street & residential dwellings, often using firearms & sharp instruments.	Implement policing strategies targeting street crimes to protect adolescents & improve public-police relations. Reduce youth access to firearms. Introduce life-skills education in curricula to help adolescents manage anger, resolve conflicts, & avoid violence. Address norms around masculine behaviour & reduce alcohol availability. Intervene in IPV, focusing on adolescent women. Provide accessible spaces for victims to seek help. Implement programs at schools to address GBV, relationship skills.	Some homicide cases were excluded due to insufficient info in police dockets. Research suggests 'unknown' offender info often indicates homicides during another crime or by strangers, potentially underestimating these cases and affecting adolescent homicide analysis. Improved management of police dockets and better data integration with medico-legal processes are needed. Additionally, the role of alcohol & other contexts should be analysed.
Swatt & He, 2006	Offender's Gender: 33% of offenders were female. Prehomicide Injury: 53.6% of female offenders experienced this (males = 3.5%). Drug/Alcohol Use: 25% of female offenders were under	By conceptualising IP as 'situated transaction' it was possible to treat victim &	Concept of "patriarchal terrorism" can explore link between intimate	Maximum likelihood estimation requires more cases for reliable

	influence of drugs/alcohol at time of homicide ($\chi^2 = 0.04$, not significant). Offender Attempt Suicide: 3.6% of female offenders attempted suicide post-homicide. Location of Homicide: 89.3% of homicides committed by female offenders occurred at home. Time of Homicide: 53.6% of homicides by female offenders occurred at night. Weapon Used: Gun use by female offenders was 17.9%, lower compared to male offenders. Knife use by female offenders was significantly higher at 78.6%. Female offenders in intimate partner homicides = likely to commit crime at home, often at night. They are significantly more likely to use knives compared to guns. A notable proportion of female offenders experience prehomicide injuries. Drug or alcohol use & suicide attempts are less common among female offenders.	offender roles as amorphous as they emerged in course of interaction. For male-female partner dyad, implications of situational characteristics of event being helpful to determine which partner acquired role of offender during transaction. Presence of a prehomicide injury & whether offender used knife differentiate b/w male & female offenders. Results support theoretical notion that female intimate homicides = linked to defensive reactions resulting from prior abuse. Drug/alcohol use, offender suicide attempt, incident at home, late at night, and offender used a gun were all in hypothesised directions.	partner homicide (IPH) & domestic abuse. If female IPH is seen as an explosive reaction to chronic abuse, effects of immediate & persistent abuse should be studied. Research should assess impact of domestic violence intervention on future homicide risk at individual level. Examining female homicides alongside "sister offenses" i.e., intimate assaults is important, as focusing only on homicides may be misleading. Comparing fatal & non-fatal assaults for both genders could provide clearer insights.	results. Small sample size may cause unstable estimates. Bootstrapping techniques could help. Detecting medium to small effects may be difficult due to sample size. Offender & victim characteristics, i.e., criminal history, relationship type, employment, & age, are not incl. due to small sample size/lack of info. Interaction effects between factors predicting male vs. female homicide cannot be examined.
Tomsen, 2002	Frequency of Killings: 74 killings over 20 years, averaging 3.7 per year, peaking in 1989-1993. Age Range: Victims typically older than other male homicide victims, often targeted due to perceived vulnerability & social isolation. Assailants mostly young men; only 4 female accomplices, all romantic partners of male offenders. Females did not act alone & participated in roles from direct involvement to assisting with concealment. Occupation: Victims came from varied occupations, including unemployed, blue-collar workers, small business clerical, hospitality, management positions, & professionals. Many middle-class men, indicating higher social status did not protect against attacks based on perceived sexuality. Victim-Perpetrator Relationship: 1/3 of victims were killed by strangers, while 1/2 of private dwelling homicides involved known offenders, such as acquaintances or individuals met shortly before the incident. Many victims barely knew their killers, underscoring the danger from strangers more than in other homicides. Cause of	Anti-homosexual attacks are an important issue of legal equality & civil rights. These hate crimes are perpetrated by strangers for their assumed membership of a despised minority. Further, these acts are said to constitute intimidation of the entire group from which an individual may be targeted. Killings of men in anti-homosexual attacks has distinct features as a form of crime & some strong similarities to typical patterns	Not explicitly mentioned	Not explicitly stated but clear from detail that this study presents as exploration, small sample with uncertain data, also the crime being 'anti-gay' is a chosen narrative even if people might not have been gay.

	Death: Common methods included beating, stabbing, & drowning, with all drowned victims being attacked before drowning. Firearm use was rare. Attacks were often brutal & frenzied, with instances of extreme sadism like multiple stabbings & torture. Location & Setting: Majority of killings occurred in inner-city or suburban areas, especially in Sydney, with hotspots like Darlinghurst/Oxford Street known for gay subculture & violence. Killings happened in both public cruising locations & private homes, suggesting danger from both public spaces & personal relationships. Scenario of Killing: Killings were often spontaneous & frenzied rather than premeditated. Alcohol & Substance Use: High alcohol consumption was often noted in both victims & offenders, impairing cognitive judgment & escalating aggression. Offenders' drinking was linked to masculine identity performance, particularly in group settings. Perpetrator Profile: Often young, from broken families, with histories of petty delinquency, substance abuse, & social marginalisation. Motivated by homophobia, these acts were often attempts to assert dominant masculinity. Motives: Hate crime patterns were evident, especially in public gang attacks on gay men. Private homicides frequently involved disputes over alleged homosexual advances, reflecting issues of male honour among perpetrators. Overall Trends: Victimisation spanned various social statuses, indicating that higher social status did not protect against attacks motivated by perceived sexuality. Killings were rooted in societal homophobia & perpetrators' attempts to assert their masculinity.	of men killing men. Hate model accurately describes some elements of circumstances & motives behind fatal attacks carried out on homosexuals. This research indicates that this model should not discount the complexity of these motives, the significance of situational factors, & the links such criminal acts have to the achievement & protection of masculine status by violent means among young socially marginalised men & boys.		
Varano et al., 2004	Multinomial regression model - contrasts b/w non-drug events and peripheral & motivational drug involvement appear to be a matter of degree. Drug market location played no role in predicting if homicide had any relationship with drugs. Re. victim status, only youth was a significant predictor of drug-motivated homicide - 4 times more likely for drug-homicide. Re. victim characteristics, index of drug involvement significant in predicting peripheral & motivational aspects of homicides; variable captured prior association with dealers, abuse & arrest, one unit change increased likelihood of peripheral involvement 5.5 times, when compare to non-drug involved crimes. Odds ratio for contrast b/w non- and drug motivated crimes indicated that a one unit increase in the index increased the likelihood of a drug motivated homicide by	Drugs = closely connected to violence through 3 paths: 1. Psychopharmacological effects. 2. Need for money to buy drugs. 3. Systemic violence in drug trade. 1/2 of sample homicides did not involve drugs. Illegal drug abuse may correlate with violence at macro level but not at incident level. Role of drug markets in predicting homicide types is negligible.	Drug-related typology: important differences b/w peripheral compared to drug-motivated homicides, could have implications informing criminological theory & structuring interventions. Future research: adding offender-level data in analyses. In this sample, there was missing data and some cases still open	Neither victim race nor gender was a significant discriminator in drug-related homicide events. This could be due to limited variation within the sample, as the majority of victims were African American males. This homogeneity limits

	nearly 13 times. Fits with lifestyle argument - those involved even in periphery of drug trade are at risk for violence emanating from that illicit activity. Victim-offender relationship & gun use in homicide transaction yielded significant predictors of peripheral & drug-motivated homicides. Events with guns used for homicides were associated with an increased likelihood of peripheral & drug-related homicides when contrasted with non-drug events. Odds of drug motivation in the homicide event were nearly double the odds of peripheral drug involvement (also supports gun-nexus). Model testing if knowledge of IVs accurately predicts the DV value more efficiently than chance alone was statistically significant - IVs explain a high degree of variation in the DV. Overall, model shows that location of homicide & offender demographics have little bearing on type of drug involvement in sample homicides. Rather, victim lifestyle (prior drug involvement), offender's relationship with victim & firearm as weapon all show associations with homicide events, drug motivated & peripherally related. Separating models is important: peripheral involvement less strongly contrasted with non-drug events than drug-motivated crimes by the 3 independent predictors. Also, drug motivation generated statistically significant contrast for youthful victims, not peripheral involvement. Homicides with friends = 23 x more likely to be drug-motivated than with strangers. Closer social distance means more frequent interactions (people prefer drug transactions with known individuals).	People in drug areas are assumed more willing to use violence & likely to be armed, but no signif. r-ship was found. Stability in drug markets reduces violence as rules are well-known & fewer use violence to control trade. Similar to gang violence. Equal death opportunity for gender & race, possibly due to high proportion of African American male victims, supporting that violent drug crimes are a youth pursuit. Victim age & drug-motivated homicides differ due to lifestyle/business roles in drug markets. Victim drug lifestyle involves users, drug use history, dealing, & prior drug arrests. Firearms predict higher likelihoods of peripheral & drug-related homicides.	(no offender found), so variable was excluded for explanatory purposes. Larger samples in future; consider presence and stability of drug market (difficult to measure), and the gun market (firearms could affect level & type of violence). More research on whether drug involvement facilitates the confluence of guns, offenders, victims that result in lethal outcomes. Potential support for gun seizures.	the ability to generalize findings across different demographic groups. The exact role of victim age in different types of drug-homicide events remains unclear, indicating a limitation in fully understanding the age-related dynamics in these incidents.
Wilson et al., 2022	Homicides in 42 US states & District of Columbia; higher among males, & for age group 20-24y.o (5.5 x higher than females of same age group). Black persons 60.3% of male homicide victims. Method, location of injury & victim-suspect relationship - Firearm most common for male victims (78.6%). Males: sharp & blunt instruments, hanging, strangle, suffocate, personal weapons = all lower for men. More female homicides at home vs men (F=64.3%, M=39.5%), but street/highway higher for men (F=8.5%, M=25.1%). Relationships: offender was known in 37.4% of males homicides. Acquaintance/friend = 33.8%; relationship nature not clear = 19.7%; stranger = 17.3%; relative = 7.3%; current or former intimate partner 7.2%. Precipitating circumstances identified in 74.8% of homicides. IPV precipitating 8.3% of male homicides, victims of caregiver abuse or neglect = 2.9%;	NVDRS performing public health practice though surveillance of prevalence of violence-related fatal injuries, defining priorities & guiding violence prevention activities: essential parts of public health surveillance. Future goal of providing nationally representative data through funding received for nationwide expansion. This will make violent death info available for local	Simplification of the web-based surveillance system, e.g. removing fields for toxicology that were never used, expanding substance categories for precision. Goal is to include all 50 states and US territories.	NVDRS data unavailable from some states, so not nationally representative. Availability & timeliness of data depend on partnerships among health departments, coroners, & law enforcement personnel. Data sharing = challenging

	perpetrated by offender with mental health problem = 2.5% (schizophrenia/other psychosis, depression, or PTSD); preceding physical fight 16.7%; involved drugs = 12.7; gang related = 11.6; victim used weapons during incident = 8.5%. Homicides in Puerto Rico: 591 males, 41 females. Rate for males 39.0 per 100k (16.3 x rate for females). For males aged 18-29 rate was 100.3 per 100k, and for 30-44y.o. 73.9 per 100k. Firearm used in 92.6% of males victims. For males, street/highway most common 48.2%. Victim-suspect relationship known for 38.4% homicides. For the known, male victims' suspect was known but unclear 53%; Among males, 53.9% deaths involved illicit drugs, 40.4% gang related, 22.5% drive-by shootings. IPV contributing factor in 7.2% homicides overall. 4.6% of male homicides precipitated by IPV.	communities to develop prevention efforts and allow systems' capacity to measure need for and effects of violence prevention policies, programs and practices at national level.		with independent county coroner jurisdictions. Toxicology data not consistently collected for drugs & alcohol categories. Reports might not fully reflect all known info of incident. Challenging when deaths classified differently across documents. Mental health not often captured from medical records.
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