

The Relationship Between Non-Lethal and Lethal Violence

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Homicide Research Working Group

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Editors

M. Dwayne Smith
University of South Florida

Paul H. Blackman
National Rifle Association

PREFACE

In a number of ways, 2002 and 2003 represent transition years for the Homicide Research Working Group (HRWG), its annual meetings, variously referred to as symposia or workshops, and the *Proceedings* of those meetings. One major change, both in terms of the meetings and the *Proceedings*, deals with sponsorship.

Traditionally, the HRWG's annual meetings have been hosted by some institution, be it a university or group affiliated with a university, or a government agency devoted at least in part to the collection and/or analysis of data regarding homicides or other facets of homicide research. Prior to 2002, this generally meant at least two things: that the meetings would take place at the facilities of the hosting agency, and that attendees would be treated to something beyond ordinary panels related to the host agency. For example, in recent years, the FBI Academy provided an afternoon with tours of some of its facilities, Loyola University in Chicago arranged a field trip to the Medical Examiners' office and a major hospital trauma center, and the University of Central Florida arranged a demonstration of forensic anthropology. More recently, however, the host has merely arranged for hotel facilities and meeting centers, and some of the panels, particularly the opening session. This has had the benefit of adding variety to the persons attracted to present at our symposia, but at the risk that they are unfamiliar with our traditional approach to preparing papers for the meetings and the *Proceedings*.

The second form of sponsorship from which the HRWG benefited dealt with the publication of the *Proceedings* of our annual workshops. From the inaugural workshop in June 1992 through the 2001 symposium, the *Proceedings* of those meetings have been published by a federal agency with staff members who have been active in HRWG. For several years, we were very fortunate to have the U.S. Department of Justice's National Institute of Justice publish the *Proceedings*, and then, for 3 years, the Federal Bureau of Investigation. With the maturity and financial security of the organization has come the obligation to publish the *Proceedings* ourselves, a practice that begins with these *2002 Proceedings* of the HRWG meeting held in St. Louis, Missouri.

Another major transition, demonstrated in this volume of the *Proceedings* and becoming more evident in subsequent volumes, has to do with the responsibilities of those persons who deliver presentations at the meetings. In the past, persons wishing to deliver papers at the annual workshops had a number of obligations. These included being members of the HRWG, sending in advance of the meetings a summary to the Program Committee for inclusion in the program sent to registrants, and importantly, providing editors with a polished version of their papers to be published in a subsequent *Proceedings* of the meetings. Often, this afforded presenters the opportunity to incorporate revisions that derived from discussions of their presentations at the meetings. At other times, the title and some of the authorship has changed between the printing of the Program and submission to the *Proceedings*.

For a variety of reasons, the sense of obligation among presenters for contributing to the *Proceedings* has changed. To some extent, the HRWG has been the victim of its own success. Instead of many papers being presented in preliminary stages, some are practically ready to be submitted for possible publication by scholarly journals. While Sage, the publisher of HRWG's

journal, *Homicide Studies*, has generally agreed that publication of papers in our *Proceedings* does not preclude submission of the paper for review and possible publication, it is not clear that other journals necessarily share that approach. A number of HRWG presenters have therefore been reluctant to provide final versions of their papers out of concern this would prevent consideration by peer-reviewed academic journals. Other presenters, especially those with less tenure in and familiarity with the HRWG and its traditions, have simply taken to treating the HRWG meetings like other academic conventions where the word “papers” means oral presentation, perhaps with slides, overheads, or PowerPoint, but without any formal papers prepared or even planned.

With this volume, we attempted to accommodate this change by a willingness to publish less polished papers, even to the point of allowing summaries to serve as substitutes. We believed this to be important so that the discussions that concluded each session would make sense to readers. However, we experienced only limited success with this approach, finding that a number of presenters failed to submit any of the requested materials. Consequently, we have, in a number of cases, utilized the only material available, namely the abstract submitted by the presenter(s) prior to the meetings. Unfortunately, some presenters had not even submitted an abstract prior to the meeting, so their work appears in name only.

Taking note of the difficulties in acquiring follow-up materials from presenters, a decision was made at the 2003 HRWG meetings, held in Sacramento, California, to modify the preparation of future *Proceedings*. Henceforth, presenters will not be encouraged to revise their presentations prior to publication nor to adopt a standardized format of presentation. It is expected that adopting this strategy will allow for a more timely publication of the *Proceedings* following each year’s meeting, as well as creating a less challenging task for future editors. Thus, unless the policy is changed again, the *2002 Proceedings* will be the last volume that attempts to conform to a rigorously specified format.

As a final note, we have recognized that the HRWG is an international organization by retaining the linguistic differences found in papers from British Commonwealth countries. Those differences include some slight variation in spelling, different placements of end-quotes, and lesser use of hyphens, than are common in the United States. As a reminder, academic standards require that writers, if quoting from British-style papers, should observe those grammatical and spelling differences, a practice also incumbent on non-U.S. writers when quoting from an American publication.

Our gratitude to the persons whose work is included here is, of course, proportional to the extent to which they conformed to the expectations with which we commenced this project. However, we are unequivocal in our praise for the work of Victoria Gojmerac and Melissa Harrison, both of the University of South Florida, in providing the editorial and technical assistance that facilitated production of these *2002 Proceedings*. We wish subsequent editors of the *Proceedings* much success in producing a volume of work that reflects the dedication of researchers who seek to better understand the sources of lethal violence.

M. Dwayne Smith
Paul H. Blackman
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OPENING PRESENTATION

**THE PROSPECTIVE PREDICTION OF HOMICIDE
IN TWO COMMUNITY SAMPLES**

THE PROSPECTIVE PREDICTION OF HOMICIDE IN TWO COMMUNITY SAMPLES

Rolf Loeber

Western Psychiatric Institute and Clinic, University of Pittsburgh
3811 O'Hara Street, Pittsburgh, PA 15210

Past studies on homicide by young men have been largely retrospective and, therefore, have not permitted the prospective prediction of homicide. The present paper reports on the prediction of homicide by 24 young men in two samples of the Pittsburgh Youth Study, a prospective longitudinal study from childhood to early adulthood. A step-wise prediction procedure is applied, first, the prediction of violence (including homicide), and second, the prediction of homicide among those males known for their violence. The results are discussed in the light of preventive measures for violence and homicide.

RESPONSE TO LOEBER

Finn-Aage Esbensen

Department of Criminology and Criminal Justice, University of Missouri-St. Louis
330 Lucas Hall, 8001 Natural Bridge Road, St. Louis, MO 63121

First, I would like to say that I was honored when Rick Rosenfeld asked me to serve as a discussant on this panel. A year or so ago, Rolf had mentioned to me that he had noticed a relatively large number of murderers in the Pittsburgh Youth Study (PYS) so I was eager to hear what Rolf had to say. Also, I thought that Rick might have asked me because of my familiarity with prospective studies, having worked on the National Youth Survey (NYS) as well as on the Denver Youth Survey (DYS) one of the Causes and Correlates Project. Given this misplaced belief on my part, my subsequent remarks will focus on some of the methodological aspects of Rolf's talk. What I didn't realize at the time that Rick asked me to serve as a discussant was that this was a deceptive ploy on his part to increase the meeting attendance and the organization's membership! Once I was listed on the program, I received a timely notice from my former colleague, Candi Batton, that I needed to pay my registration fee and that a membership fee was also required to attend the annual meeting. So, the bottom line is that I'm out \$120 for agreeing to serve as a discussant this evening! It's a good thing that Rolf's comments leave me with a feeling that this was money well spent.

Let me start with just a few comments on prospective panel research. This line of work is exceedingly time consuming and requires tenacity, persistence, and a considerable amount of creativity, especially in tracking respondents. Rolf and the staff of the PYS are to be congratulated for their successful field efforts that produced participation rates of more than 80% of respondents at each data collection point, in fact, more than 90% during the earlier phases. It is important to collect temporally correct data and to obtain relatively frequent behavioral reports to control for several respondent factors, such as memory loss and telescoping, but also to limit

the possibility of confounding chronological events. Many prospective studies have used one-year data collection intervals. But think about the difficulty of addressing the question of temporal ordering of gang joining and initiation into drug sales. That is, does joining a gang lead to involvement in drug sales or does involvement in drug sales lead to gang joining? If neither of these behaviors was reported in year 1 and both were reported in year 2, these are recorded as co-occurring and we are left with the inability to answer the question. Rolf and his PYS staff opted to conduct 6-month interviews and increase the prospect of being able to disentangle such issues. As a consequence, there were wrapping up one field effort while starting the next. So, again, they are to be complemented for their efforts and successes.

I would like to highlight the role of prospective studies in allowing examination of theory testing -- the NYS, for example, has been widely used for testing a wide range of theoretical perspectives. Similarly, the PYS has served as the source for numerous exploration of developmental criminology. To date, however, there has been a tendency to downplay the utility of these prospective studies in examination of low prevalence events, such as serious violent offending (SVO), and homicides. This perspective is reflected in the comments of my good friend, Cheryl Maxson (1999, p. 240), who wrote that "interviews with representative samples of youth are not useful in investigating the characteristics of homicide because, fortunately, homicide is a rare outcome among all potentially lethal encounters." It appears that self-report (SRD) studies, such as the PYS, may be poised to supplement law enforcement data on the relatively low frequency behavior of homicide. One avenue of this research is the examination of precursors, risk factors and temporal relationships that are simply difficult, if not impossible, to explore with police or retrospective data.

As an example of how prospective studies have addressed low prevalence events, I call your attention to three studies (the Denver Youth Survey, the Rochester Youth Development Study, and the Seattle Social Development Study) that have contributed substantively to the gang literature during the past decade. One important finding, for instance, has been documentation of the relative instability of gang membership, while at the same time highlighting the facilitation of delinquency that occurs during gang membership. Another important outcome of these studies has been documentation of a sizable number of girls belonging to gangs (ranging from 20% to almost 50% in some samples). Findings from these three studies, and others, have contributed not only to descriptive accounts of gangs, but also to theoretical development and policy recommendation. It would appear that Rolf has provided us with the first of what may become many insights into the understanding of homicide.

One of Rolf's suggestions for future directions is to replicate these analyses with other Causes and Correlates projects. Last week I spoke with Dave Huizinga about the DYS study, one of the two companion projects in the OJJDP Program of Research on the Causes and Correlates of Delinquency (funded by OJJDP since 1987), about this possibility. From a numerical standpoint, that may be a possibility. In that study of approximately 1530 youth residing in high risk Denver neighborhoods, there have been 14 cases of respondents charged with homicide, 3 attempted homicides, and 1 manslaughter. Of these, 5 were convicted for murder 1, 8 were convicted for murder 2, 1 for manslaughter, and 2 each for 1st and 2nd degree assault. At the current time, just over 2% of the males in the original sample are in prison for murder (David Huizinga, personal correspondence, May 27, 2002).

However, several methodological issues arise in the study of homicide using self-report techniques. Clearly, information on victims is difficult to obtain. It is difficult to obtain self-reported victimization data from homicide victims! Thus, there is the probability of under-reporting of homicide victims in such studies (PYS reports 29 victims, DYS has 2 or 3 victims, the RYDS knows of 18 deaths -- 9 homicides, 3 suicides, 1 overdose, 2 accidents, 2 illnesses, and 1 unknown -- Thornberry, personal correspondence May 22, 2002). These figures suggest a geographical effect or a data collection artifact related to project emphasis.

Information about homicide offenders is also difficult to collect since an item measuring homicide is not included in most SRD inventories. As a general rule, these studies do not include a question asking "how many times in the past 12 months have you killed someone?" While we often approach the study of crime with the expectation that offending is relatively common, more "serious" offenses such as aggravated assault are relatively infrequent occurrences. In the NYS, for instance, the annual prevalence for aggravated assault hovered around 5% during the first 5 years of that study. Given the cumulative prevalence rates of homicide reported by Rolf and those evidenced in the DYS, we might expect annual prevalence rates of 0.2 or 0.3% in these studies. Thus, it is only over time that a large enough subsample of offenders is identified for meaningful analyses.

So, given these data collection issues, how does a prospective, self-report researcher discover cases of homicide? One source is when a respondent is located in prison during field efforts. Relying upon this source, however, places the researcher at the mercy of the criminal justice system and its ability to clear homicide cases. While clearance rates are relatively high for homicide cases, the rates are nonetheless lower than 100%, with rates approaching just over 50% in some jurisdictions. Thus, even if the researcher is aware of all study respondents who are in prison for homicide, this may still be an undercount of the number of murderers in the sample -- resulting in a "control" group that may well be contaminated. This may well be a factor affecting the high rate of false positives reported in Rolf's prediction table (i.e., 82.2%).

Another source of information about homicides (both victims and offenders) comes from staff. In several instances, DYS research assistants recognized the names of study participants in news stories. This speaks to the importance of staff stability in such projects. It is quite beneficial when staff members become so familiar with respondents' names that they recognize them in news accounts.

Law enforcement data provide an aggregate-level perspective on homicide, from what we have heard this evening, prospective data focus on the micro-level and emphasize a life-course or developmental perspective, to which Rolf has been a major contributor. This may not sit well with those in the audience who espouse macro-level explanations, but we must acknowledge that not all similarly situated persons respond similarly to same stimuli. Additional measures on routine activities, as Rolf suggests, may be advisable.

This emphasis on micro-level factors may well be a laudable direction for researchers to pursue with these data, but I still want to caution Rolf and others who use these data to heed the words of Mac Klein in reference to his gang research and associated policy recommendations. "We had affected them but not their communities. The lesson is obvious and important. Gangs

are a product of their communities. They cannot long be controlled by attacks on symptom alone; the community structure and capacity must also be targeted” (Klein, 1995, p. 147).

Having paid my compliments, I now have a few comments/questions for Rolf, who was kind enough to share his overheads with me so I could give some advance thought to his presentation tonight:

- What about the girls?
- It would have been nice to have information on gang status. Given that gang studies have documented that gang members commit a disproportionate amount of violence and in 2000 accounted for 55% of all homicides in L.A. County and 18% in Chicago. In the PYS, it appears that 12% of the homicides were gang-related.
- What role does context play in the homicides represented in your sample?

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Maxson, C. L. (1999). Gang homicide: A review and extension of the literature. In M. D. Smith & M. A. Zahn (Eds.), *Homicide: A sourcebook of social research* (pp. 239-254). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

DISCUSSION

Chris Dunn: For a given level of predictive efficiency (i.e., relative improvement over chance) with low base rates, you will always have false positives. I find the low rate of false negatives remarkable. The question is: what do you do with the individuals you predict will become homicide offenders? Were these youths known to the social service system earlier in their careers? According to Bradley Hertell, due to marginal constraints, false positives are statistical artifacts.

Chris Rasche: In this predictive exercise, you are only looking at one kind of homicide (i.e., youth homicide). You have not included women, and I notice that you don't have partner violence as one of the indicated motive categories.

Derral Cheatwood: Are homicide offenders better shooters? You could check the prior history of shooting violence among this sample.

Michael Maltz: Given Rob Sampson's work on collective efficacy in neighborhoods, I wonder about the effects of neighborhood on homicide incidence.

Rolf Loeber: We are interested in looking at the effects of living in a poor neighborhood. There is a concentration of homicides in poor neighborhoods. We are following up on this in our interviews.

Becky Block: In our sample of lethal and nonlethal domestic violence incidents, we were interested in identifying those victims that "could have been dead."

CHAPTER ONE

**TARGETING VIOLENCE IN THE COMMUNITY:
EVALUATION AND PREVENTION ISSUES**

**STRATEGIC APPROACHES TO COMMUNITY SAFETY INITIATIVE:
PARTNERING RESEARCHERS WITH PRACTITIONERS TO
REDUCE VIOLENT CRIME AND FATALITIES IN 10 U.S. CITIES**

James R. “Chip” Coldren, Jr.
John Howard Association
300 West Adams Street, Chicago IL 60606

Sandra K. Costello
Center for Research in Law and Justice, University of Illinois at Chicago
921 West Van Buren Street, Chicago, IL 60607

David R. Forde
University of Memphis, Department of Criminology and Criminal Justice
405 Mitchell Hall, Memphis, TN 38152

Janice Roehl
Justice Research Center
591 Lighthouse Avenue, Pacific Grove, CA 93950

Dennis P. Rosenbaum
Center for Research in Law and Justice, University of Illinois at Chicago
921 West Van Buren Street, Chicago, IL 60607

ABSTRACT

The Strategic Approaches to Community Safety Initiative (SACSI) is similar to other comprehensive approaches to community safety and revitalization like Weed and Seed, and the Comprehensive Communities Initiative. Its chief unique characteristic is the direct funding and integration of research partners into problem-solving teams comprised of law enforcement, criminal justice, local government, community advocates, and others. The funding of research partners presents several challenges for researchers and other participants such as overcoming organizational culture barriers to effective collaboration between academics and researchers, and placing evaluators in the delicate position of assessing programs they help create and whose success they have an investment in. This paper discusses research findings to date regarding SACSI, touching on integration of researchers into problem-solving projects, and emphasizes the study of collaborative problem-solving partnerships.

INTRODUCTION

This paper presents research on local crime problem-solving collaborations conducted under the Strategic Approaches to Community Safety Initiative (SACSI) (Dalton, 2002; Groff, 2001). The U.S. Department of Justice (DOJ) developed and supported the SACSI model in 10 U.S. cities for the past few years. Its chief features include multi-agency collaboration, data-driven problem-solving according to a strategic planning model, and integration of researchers

into the collaboration and problem-solving processes. SACSI program development occurred in two phases. In the first phase (1998-2000), five cities implemented SACSI with DOJ financial and technical assistance support. These cities included Indianapolis, Memphis, New Haven, Portland, and Winston-Salem. Phase II implementation of SACSI (which began early in 2001) includes the following cities: Albuquerque, Atlanta, Detroit, Rochester, and St. Louis.¹ This report primarily presents information pertaining to the first five SACSI sites (Phase I).

Soon after the establishment of the SACSI Phase I sites, the National Institute of Justice (NIJ) funded the National Assessment of SACSI through a competitive national solicitation. NIJ awarded the SACSI national assessment project to a research team headed by the Center for Research in Law and Justice at the University of Illinois at Chicago.² The SACSI National Assessment methodology focuses on process evaluation research (interviews, site visits, observations, analysis of documents) aimed at studying the SACSI implementation, collaboration, planning, leadership, and decision-making processes in each of the SACSI sites. To date, the NAT has completed its research on the first five SACSI sites and will conclude its research on the five Phase II sites in the Fall of 2002.³

SACSI represents an extension of several related developments within DOJ over the past decade. Since the late 1980s DOJ has funded and supported in other ways such initiatives as multi-jurisdictional narcotics task forces (Coldren, 1993), the Community Partnership Program and Weed and Seed (Cook & Roehl, 1993; Cook, Roehl, Oros, & Trudeau, 1994; Dunworth, Mills, Cordner, & Greene, 1999), Law Enforcement Partnerships with Researchers (McEwen, 1999), and community-oriented policing (Rosenbaum, 1994, in press; Roth et al., 2000). Like many other criminal justice system initiatives, these efforts have partnership and collaboration between multiple individuals and agencies (at multiple levels) as a pre-requisite, yet little research has been conducted to determine the extent to which collaboration and “partnership” occur or their quality. Most of the extant research in the area of criminal justice partnerships and collaboration is qualitative and anecdotal. Worse, often in criminal justice program evaluation and policy analysis, collaboration and partnership are taken for granted; their existence, breadth, depth, and quality are not treated as empirical (observable) phenomena. Recognizing the need for focus on the conceptualization and measurement of partnerships in the criminal justice arena, the SACSI NAT focused a portion of its research in the SACSI sites on these very issues.

¹Other U.S. cities have adopted the SACSI model, or SACSI-like approaches to crime reduction and prevention. They have not, however, received DOJ funding under the SACSI program and thus are not included in this list.

²During a significant portion of the Phase I assessment research, the National Assessment Team (NAT) involved a collaboration between UIC and the State University of New York at Albany. In addition, the NAT hired local research assistants in four of the five Phase I SACSI sites, to conduct on-going monitoring of partnership team activities and submit regular field reports.

³The SACSI National Assessment research design includes a separate assessment of DOJ and NIJ implementation, administration, and support of SACSI. In the spirit of SACSI researcher/practitioner collaboration, the NAT provided assistance and advice to local site teams on implementation, programmatic, and local site evaluation issues, in addition to conducting its own evaluation research.

This paper reports on three key issues pertaining to the measurement and assessment of partnerships during the Phase I implementation of SACSI -- conceptualization of problem-solving partnerships in the SACSI model, partnerships formation and development (with a focus on integration of research partners), and the conditions and practices that support well-functioning partnerships.

THE SACSI PROBLEM-SOLVING MODEL

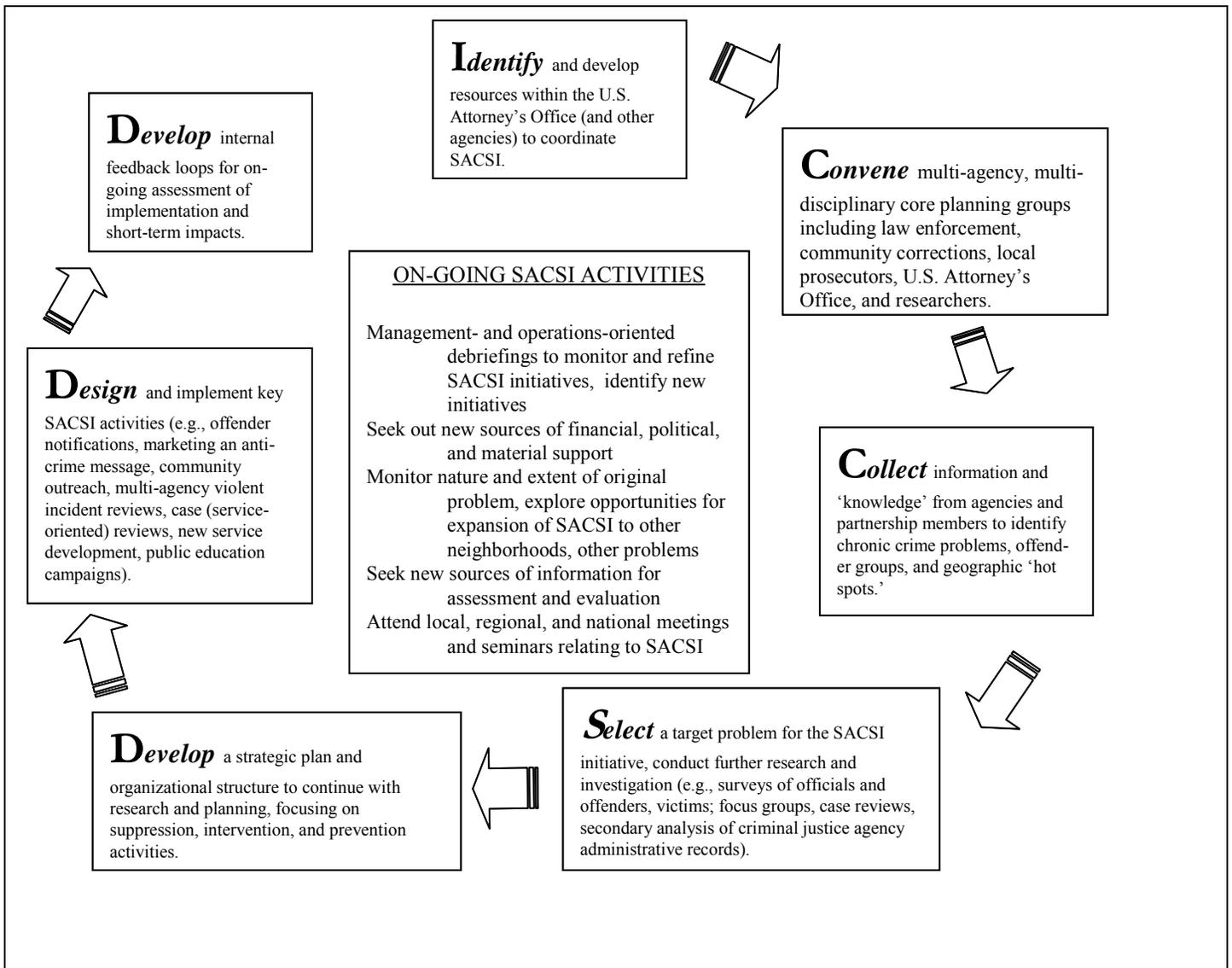
The figure below depicts the SACSI problem-solving process developed by NIJ, which serves as the generic problem-solving process model recommended to new SACSI sites. This problem-solving model represents the merging of several sources of creative development within DOJ or from NIJ-funded research. Several key streams of thought that led to the development of this model include:

- Publication of research on the implementation and early successes of the Boston Ceasefire project, which involved several strategic and collaborative efforts, including a productive researcher-practitioner collaboration between the Boston Police Department, the Harvard University Kennedy School of Government, and several service- and community-based organizations in Boston (Kennedy, 1997).
- Internal initiatives within NIJ in support of police-research partnerships which seemed to be working well (McEwen, 1999).
- Internal initiatives within the DOJ Criminal Division to develop strategic planning capabilities within U.S. Attorneys' offices.

With a firm understanding that the Boston Ceasefire project should not be baldly replicated in other U.S. cities with significant violent crime problems, DOJ officials felt that a planning process that incorporated key strategic and integrative elements observed in Boston could serve as the foundation for successful focused crime reduction efforts in other cities. DOJ supported the planning process in several ways, by:

- providing funding for research partners to work collaboratively with the SACSI problem-solving teams;
- providing funding for a project coordinator position in the U.S. Attorney's Office;
- providing several types of technical assistance including expert consultation by representatives from the Boston Ceasefire initiative, from collaborative teams in other U.S. cities, crime mapping experts, and evaluation research experts; and
- convening regular (approximately quarterly) meetings for all participating sites to promote information and experience sharing.

FIGURE 1. SACSI Model Overview



OVERVIEW OF THE PHASE I SACSI SITES⁴

Tables 1 and 2 below summarize several basic characteristics of the Phase I SACSI sites. With the exception of Memphis, the other four sites identified problems relating to youth, guns, or violence (or in combination). Indianapolis, for example, selected homicide as the key

⁴It is important to note here that, while we present SACSI data and information in this report in a "cross-site" manner suggestive of comparisons, we do not promote the ranking of SACSI sites along any particular variable or phenomenon. In our view, this cross-site analysis presents data from multiple sites (n = 5) in a way that helps readers view the data and explore for themselves the relationships between different variables.

problem, focusing on several neighborhoods within the city based on geographic crime and trend analysis. New Haven, Portland, and Winston-Salem selected youth violence-related problems with slightly different characteristics. Memphis selected sexual assaults with a focus on statutory rape and younger victims, in a unique departure from its counterparts in the Phase I SACSI initiative.

The Phase I SACSI sites comprise a group of diverse and distinct U.S. Cities (Table 1). In size, they ranked from 12th (Indianapolis) to 129th (New Haven) in the country. The percentage of non-white residents in each city ranged from a low of 23% (Portland) to a high of 57% (New Haven). The violent crime index for the year 2000 in the Phase I SACSI cities ranged from a low of 891/100,000 (Indianapolis) to a high of 1,528 (Memphis), compared with the national violent crime index of 506 (see Table 3 for a 1990 vs. 2000 comparison of violent crime rates for the Phase I SACSI sites).

The Phase I SACSI cities participate in other federally supported comprehensive approaches to crime and public safety, also to varying degrees. Indianapolis, for example, has nine Weed and Seed sites and has participated in that initiative for almost a decade, whereas Winston-Salem and Memphis recently received Weed and Seed awards (in connection with the SACSI initiative). Other sites have participated in Weed and Seed for several years. Since the inception of the Community Oriented Policing Services (COPS) initiative, the five Phase I sites have received over \$50 million in COPS funding, which supported approximately 800 community policing officers. Indianapolis and Portland received the most funding support from COPS (\$22.8 million for 286 officers and \$14.4 million for 257 officers, respectively), Memphis received \$11.9 million for 185 officers, while New Haven and Winston-Salem received the least (\$6.7 million for 52 officers and \$1.2 million for 23 officers, respectively).⁵

⁵These data help explain the context within which SACSI is implemented in different sites. We do not recommend a direct comparison across sites on these contextual indicators, as key variables such as local cost of living, population size, orientation to community policing, and availability of COPS funds for purposes other than hiring of officers all contribute to vastly different interpretations and render crude comparisons unwarranted.

TABLE 1. Summary of the Goals and Key Activities of the Phase I SACSI Sites

SITE	GOALS/TARGETS	ACTIVITIES, TACTICS & INTERVENTIONS
Indianapolis:	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Reduce rates of homicide and serious violence in several “hot spot” neighborhoods • Focus on street-level violence related to drugs and chronic offenders 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Homicide and violent incident reviews, offender notification • Focused law enforcement suppression activities • Disrupt illegal firearms market • Communicate anti-violence message to offenders and community • Community-based prevention, clergy involvement • Strategic prosecution at local and federal levels
Memphis:	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Reduce rape, statutory rape, and sexual assaults in Memphis • Focus on victims aged 13-17 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Special sexual assault review team in the DA’s Office • Analysis of sexual assault case flow in the CJ system • 24-hour Police Department response to sexual assault cases • Restructure physical space in the Sex Crimes Unit • School-based education/prevention program • Multi-agency incident reviews • Coordinated efforts to reach sexual assault offenders in target neighborhoods
New Haven:	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Reduce gun violence and gun possession, particularly among youth and young adults • Improve public’s perception of safety 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Gun and ammunition tracing, focus on straw purchasers • Publicize project to deter gun possession • Joint police and probation/parole surveillance of probationers • Strategic prosecution at local and federal levels • Local fear of crime surveys
Portland:	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Reduce youth violence in hot spots • Disrupt flow of illegal guns to youth 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Aggressive gun interdiction, saturation patrols, hotspot enforcement • Offender notification, joint police -- probation supervision and support of offenders • Outreach initiatives and support programs to hasten community reintegration • Examination of over-representation of minorities in the criminal justice system
Winston-Salem:	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Reduce youth violent crime in hot spot neighborhoods 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Focus on youth offenders and older offenders who recruit youth • Offender notification, violent incident reviews • Coordinated case management for support services • Police-clergy-probation outreach to youth • School-based programs • Youth street worker program

TABLE 2. Summary of Phase I SACSI Site Characteristics

SITE	Demographics ¹	Weed and Seed ²	Community Policing ³
Indianapolis:	1990 pop: 741,952 2000 pop: 791,926 % change: +6.7% 2000 rank: 29 2000 non-white: 31%	Number of sites: 1 Length of time: 9 yrs. Key initiatives: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Community center • After school prog. 	COPS funds: \$22.8* # grants: 17 # officers: 286
Memphis	1990 pop: 610,337 2000 pop: 650,100 % change: +6.5% 2000 rank: 18 2000 non-white: 56%	Number of sites: 1 Length of time: 2 yrs. Key initiatives: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Tutoring • Boys & Girls clubs • Job Training • Mentoring • Victims Assist. 	COPS funds: \$11.9 # grants: 11 # officers: 185
New Haven	1990 pop: 130,474 2000 pop: 123,626 % change: -5.2% 2000 rank: 129 2000 non-white: 57%	No Weed and Seed sites listed for New Haven	COPS funds: \$ 6.7 # grants: 11 # officers: 52
Portland	1990 pop: 437,319 2000 pop: 529,121 % change: +3.0% 2000 rank: 23 2000 non-white: 23%	Number of sites: 2 Length of time: 3 yrs. Key initiatives: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Tutoring • Anti-drug ed. • Anti-gang ed. • Health screening • Job training • Mentoring 	COPS funds: \$14.4 # grants: 12 # officers: 257
Winston-Salem	1990 pop: 143,485 2000 pop: 185,776 % change: +29.5% 2000 rank: 109 2000 non-white: 45%	Number of sites: 1 Length of time: 1 yr. Key initiatives: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Summer youth acad. • Improve city services • Faith-based crime prevention 	COPS funds: \$1.2 # grants: 5 # officers: 23

SOURCES:

¹Census 2000 PHT C T 3 Ranking Tables for Metropolitan Areas: 1990 and 2000 Table 3 Metropolitan Areas Ranked by Population: 2000 / US Census Bureau / US Department of Commerce, and Census of Population and Housing / Profiles of General Characteristics -- <http://www.census.gov/population>

²Executive Office of Weed and Seed, Weed and Seed Data Center, <http://www.weedandseeddatacenter.org/index.html>

³Office of Community Oriented Policing Services, Grantee Listing, http://www.usdoj.gov/cops/foia/foia_err.htm ; these data refer to COPS grants awarded to local jurisdictions for hiring police officers, not for technology or other training and technical assistance purposes.

*in millions

TABLE 3. Comparison of 1990 and 2000 Violent Crime Rates for the Phase I SACSI Sites

Violent Crime Rate	Indianapolis	Memphis	New Haven	Portland	Winston-Salem
1990	1,287	1,488	3,059	1,792	1,550
2000	891	1,528	1,338	1,097	1,304
% change 1990 to 2000	-31%	+3%	-56%	-39%	-16%

Source: *Crime in the United States 2000 Uniform Crime Reports*, Table 8: Offenses Known to Law Enforcement by city 10,000 and over in Population 2000 Federal Bureau of Investigation / US Department of Justice. Violent crimes include: murder and non-negligent manslaughter, forcible rape, robbery, and aggravated assault.

SACSI was initially implemented in urban cities with significant non-white populations and with significant violent crime problems. All sites except one (New Haven) experienced population growth between the 1990 and 2000 censuses, with Winston-Salem experiencing the most (+29.5%). All sites benefited from other similar national crime prevention, crime reduction, and community improvement programs. With the exception of Memphis, the Phase I SACSI sites witnessed marked declines in their violent crime rates from 1990 to 2000, ranging from a reduction of 16% to a reduction of 56%.⁶

Each of the Phase I SACSI sites engaged in an intense series of local, planning, outreach, collaboration, and educational activities, as well as in a series of multi-site facilitated workshops (sponsored by DOJ), to launch the local SACSI initiatives. Subsequently, for several years (and in some instances to the present day), SACSI activities continued through additional analyses, problem-solving, local intervention, and other activities, all with the aim of achieving significant reductions in the targeted problems.⁷ On the following pages, we present brief descriptions of SACSI implementation in each of the Phase I sites. In the following sections, we focus on three key characteristics of the SACSI initiative -- partnership development, problem-solving implementation, and integration of research into the partnership and problem-solving dimensions of SACSI, drawing from extensive field research conducted by the national assessment team, as well as from a survey sent to SACSI participants in each site (once early in the implementation process, and again approximately one year later).

⁶No claim is made, at this juncture, to link SACSI independently to these reductions in reported crimes.

⁷These efforts will be documented through a series of case studies prepared by the national assessment team, as well as through local research reports prepared by the SACSI local research teams.

THE SACSI NATIONAL ASSESSMENT

Designing the SACSI national assessment required that several key premises and assumptions underlying the SACSI process be articulated and investigated. The most important assumptions of the SACSI model include:

- Local understanding of and adherence to the SACSI process, or at least of a general problem-solving model,
- Delivery of support from DOJ in a timely and efficient manner,
- Existence of support within the U.S. Attorney's Office for a unique project like SACSI,
- Local issues and constraints would influence each implementation of SACSI in unique ways,
- Identification and integration of experienced and resourceful research partners, and ongoing feedback from research partners to the problem-solving team, and
- Flexibility on the parts of the key SACSI partners, and willingness to work in collaboration.

Research Goals and Methods

The SACSI national assessment methodology blends process and implementation research, intermediate impact measurement, assessment of local logic models, and related outcome evaluation issues. Since one anticipated role for local research partners under the SACSI model is the measurement of local impact on targeted crime problems, the goals of the national assessment of SACSI were articulated as follows:

1. Document the implementation of SACSI in the five sites, focusing on partnership formation, change, and sustainability; implementation of strategic planning and problem-solving; and integration of research partners into the core planning groups;
2. Assess how, and the extent to which, the SACSI partnership teams utilize data, research, information systems, and evaluation findings to inform decision-making;
3. Study how interventions are designed and implemented;
4. Determine the measurement strategies and the logic of local impact designs; and
5. Assess prospects for longevity of the SACSI partnerships.

The SACSI national assessment utilizes several key quantitative and qualitative research methodologies:

- Surveys⁸ -- members of the problem-solving teams complete a partnership survey (via mail) twice during their project's implementation (once in the early stages and again after about a year's time), which covers such issues as participation in the process, satisfaction with the team's work and collaboration, attitudes regarding effectiveness of the effort, and future plans. For the research reported here, the completion rate for the mail surveys (both Wave 1 and Wave 2) averaged approximately 55% (with at least two follow-up phone calls and, where necessary, one additional mailing).
- Interviews -- members of the NAT visit each SACSI site four times (at 4- to 5-month intervals) to conduct interviews with key partnership team members, service providers, street-workers, and other important informants.
- Observations -- members of the NAT attend SACSI meetings and events during the site visits, making observations on key partnership, problem-solving, and implementation issues. In addition, local research assistants conduct similar research activities on a more frequent basis (weekly or bi-weekly) and prepare field notes which are provided the NAT.⁹ The NAT also attended most of the periodic multi-site meetings as participants and observers.¹⁰
- Review of documents -- NIJ and the local SACSI teams provided extensive written documentation to the NAT (e.g., proposals, research reports, media reports, meeting agenda and minutes, project updates, descriptions of planned interventions, local research instruments and protocols) for review and analysis.

Defining Key Partnership Characteristics

Partnership represents an aspect of many criminal justice system policies and interventions that is a key to success, often assumed to exist, difficult to achieve, yet rarely studied and even less often evaluated. Thus, the partnership aspects of SACSI formed the core of the national assessment research task. NIJ and the NAT desired to learn in detail, and with more depth than had been achieved in earlier efforts to examine partnerships, how the SACSI partnerships formed, how they changed over time, how team relationships and decision-making processes developed, and generally what the collaborative process was like in each site. As noted above, the integration of research partners into the SACSI problem-solving teams represents a

⁸The partnership survey methodology allowed local SACSI directors some input into the list of partnership survey respondents. Thus, the number of participants varied by SACSI site, as did the response rates. In addition, changes in partnership participants over time introduced changes in sample sizes at Wave 2. Overall, multiple responses were received from participants in key organizations (U.S. Attorney's Office, local police, research partners, parole and probation offices, non-criminal justice partners) in each site. When group composition changed, the overall representation of key organizations did not.

⁹The SACSI national assessment project employed local research assistants during the evaluation of the Phase I SACSI sites, but not during Phase II.

¹⁰The NAT took on unique roles as both evaluators and advisors to NIJ and the local SACSI sites, reflecting the "new roles for researchers" theme found in DOJ's perspective on SACSI.

unique aspect of the SACSI model, and the impact of this on the partnership structure, was of particular interest. On the following pages, we describe several key partnership characteristics, and then discuss what was learned about the SACSI partnerships through the national assessment process.

Membership

Group composition is one of the most basic aspects of research into partnerships, and studying it involves more than simply asking, “Who is a member of the partnership?” Included in this question are the related issues regarding timing of inclusion (some members join or are invited earlier in the problem-solving process, and some join later; these may be matters of happenstance or they may be strategic decisions by the early partnership group), how people get in (they may be invited, they may nominate themselves, they may be recommended by funders or contributors), how large or small the group should be, and how important it is to include non-traditional partners (e.g., individuals or community stakeholders who are not normally included in crime reduction projects, individuals who are normally at odds with law enforcement or the public sector).

Change in Membership

Group composition is rarely stable; it changes for many reasons, including turnover (as individuals change roles in the organizations they represent, others take their places in the group, or changes may result from elections and the subsequent reappointment of individuals to various positions), growth (as the problem-solving process advances, and as the number of tasks grow in number and complexity, new group members are often sought out and recruited for membership to core teams or sub-committees and working groups). In addition, if the group and its problem-solving process become more publicly known (through media coverage, for example), others may seek opportunities to join. Conversely, some members may cease their involvement in the group for various reasons (e.g., dissatisfaction, loss of interest as group priorities change, diversion to other matters).

Participation

In addition to membership in a group, how members participate in group processes and activities represents a critical partnership phenomenon. Participation refers to the roles people play, group structure (and how structure determines or facilitates roles), leadership, different reasons for participating, and changes in these aspects of group participation.

Satisfaction

A well-functioning group will exhibit satisfaction in its efforts and progress, which in turn produces confidence, risk taking, and often a future orientation, which is important for the group’s prospects for longevity. The SACSI national assessment addresses several areas of group satisfaction -- targets and focus of problem-solving efforts, progress with problem-solving efforts, leadership, communication, decision-making, resources, and various aspects of researcher integration.

OBSERVATIONS ON KEY SACSI PARTNERSHIP CHARACTERISTICS

The National Assessment Team studied several key characteristics of the SACSI partnerships through surveys, interviews, and field observations. This section discusses research findings relating to several key partnership characteristics, including membership and participation, leadership and decision-making, group sentiments regarding effectiveness of SACSI, and organizational barriers to partnerships.

Membership and Participation

The Phase I SACSI problem-solving partnership teams exhibited variation in their respective memberships, as well as significant membership changes over time. At the outset of the SACSI program, active participation ranged from a team consisting of a small core of law enforcement and criminal justice system officials (and a research team, see below), with social service and community participation absent (e.g., New Haven), to a large team comprised of officials and leaders from law enforcement, criminal justice, social service, and community-based organizations (as in Portland). In the other sites (Winston-Salem, Memphis, and Indianapolis) the original teams consisted primarily of law enforcement, probation, social service, faith-based, and advocacy organizations. Each of the sites included a research partner (typically, a research team) as part of the original partnership team.¹¹

Over the course of approximately 2 years, several interesting partnership changes occurred. The partnership teams expanded. In some instances, this was due to maturation and growth in the activities of the SACSI projects, with a commensurate increase in complexity in group structure and functions. For example, it was typical for a SACSI core group to create one or more working groups, and to include middle- to street-level personnel from partner agencies to carry out the tasks of the working groups. Thus, while the number of different partner organizations did not change dramatically, the number of individuals participating in the planning and implementation of SACSI initiatives grew. Often, some of the work group participants joined the core group, either as permanent or occasional participants.

In other instances, the core partnership teams broadened and expanded the number of different participating agencies. This, too, reflects the growth and maturation of the SACSI initiatives. As the SACSI initiatives, which typically began with enforcement- and suppression-oriented activities, “filled out” to include outreach activities, service interventions, and prevention-oriented activities, new member organizations joined the effort or were recruited for involvement and contributions. For example, while some SACSI groups anticipated involving street workers in their programs, it was not until significant progress was made (e.g., initial analysis completed; problems and, sometimes, neighborhoods selected for the focus of their efforts; outreach activities underway) that these groups were brought into the partnership team.

¹¹Note that a key feature of SACSI is the funding of research partners by NIJ. Materials and instructions provided to the site teams by the Department of Justice included recommendations for core group (and “secondary”) members, which the SACSI sites followed to varying degrees. In addition, the SACSI sites had the benefit of advice and documentation from the Ceasefire project in Boston, which served as one of the precursor models for SACSI.

In some instances, turnover and reduction in participating organizations occurred. Several SACSI sites made efforts to involve community-based or advocate organizations in their planning and programs, only to find that the relationships, or the particular mix of organizations, did not work well. In other instances representatives of organizations that once felt closely connected to the SACSI effort (or a need to be closely connected with actual direct involvement) either left the positions in their own organizations (promotions, new employment) that warranted their connection to the SACSI program, or ceased their involvement for other reasons (e.g., SACSI did not directly address their constituency or area of responsibility, other priorities interfered).

Despite these various changes, over time the membership in SACSI partnership teams began to look more similar rather than different across the five sites. While important distinctions in the five Phase I SACSI partnership teams remained at the end of 2 years, each site team contained new (sometimes unexpected, or “non-traditional”) partners, such as representatives from faith-based organizations, local government, youth and victim advocacy groups, the business community, schools, and others. Table 4 lists the key members of each of the partnership teams in the five sites, illustrating partnership team membership changes over time.¹²

Participation in SACSI

Fox and Faver (1984) discussed several motivations and costs of research collaboration, and while their research focused on academic research collaboration, there are parallels in the case of the SACSI partnerships. They identify three advantages of research collaboration -- joining of resources and division of labor, alleviate academic isolation, and enhanced productivity due to commitments to others. Each of these motivations can be said to apply to the SACSI partnerships. Each of the Phase I SACSI sites pooled human and other resources and distributed tasks among the members of the working groups. In fact, most key participants in the SACSI partnerships valued the collaboration as the most important reason for staying involved. They saw the working groups as better than most partnerships they have been involved in prior to SACSI, and regardless of the outcome of the SACSI effort, they felt the collaboration was important. Most researchers valued the contact and involvement outside of the university setting that working with SACSI entailed, and there was an obvious group accountability that went along with the distribution of tasks.

¹²This table shows key members (not necessarily the most active) of each of the five partnership teams after about one year of work. Some members originally listed as team members may have been omitted. Conversely, some members have been added who were not on the original list of partners, but who became active as the projects progressed.

TABLE 4. Key Participants in Phase I SACSI Partnership Teams

INDIANAPOLIS	MEMPHIS	NEW HAVEN	PORTLAND	WINSTON-SALEM
Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms	Airway/Lamar Business Association	Adult Probation	Adult Community Justice	Administrative Office of the Courts
City of Indianapolis	Board of Probation and Parole	Bail Commission	Adult Community Justice	Center Point
Hudson Institute	Center for Research on Women	Board of Parole	Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms	Department of Community Corrections
Internal Revenue Service	Child Advocacy Center	Brodie Group (Pub. Relations)	Citizens Crime Commission	Department of Social Services
Criminal Probation Department	Christian Brothers University	City of New Haven	City of Portland	Emmanuel Baptist Church
Department of Corrections	City of Memphis, Division of Public Services	Connecticut State Police	Community Faith "We Care"	Forsyth County District Attorney's Office
Department of Public Safety	District Attorney General's Office	Court Support Services	Department of Juvenile Community Justice	Forsyth County Sheriff's Department
Drug Enforcement Administration	Exchange Club Family Center	Department of Corrections	Department of Juvenile Justice	Winston-Salem Probation and Parole Department
Federal Bureau of Investigation	Memphis City Council	Hew Haven Housing Authority	Healthcare, Human Services and Labor	Forsyth Futures
Immigration and Naturalization Service	Memphis City Schools	Juvenile Probation	Multnomah County Board of Commissioners	Juvenile Court Services
Indiana State Police	Memphis Police Department	New Haven Department of Police Services	Multnomah County Community Justice	Juvenile Justice Council
Indiana University	Memphis/Shelby County Juvenile Court	New Haven State's Attorney's Office	Multnomah County District Attorney's Office	LEAP Academy
Indianapolis 10 Point Coalition	Memphis-Shelby County Crime Commission	Spectrum Associates Market Research	Multnomah County Public Health Office	St. Andrews United Methodist
Marion County Prosecutor's Office	Memphis/Shelby County Community Service	U.S. Attorney's Office	Multnomah County Sheriff's Office	U.S. Attorney's Office
Marion County Sheriff's Department	Pretrial Services	United States Department of Housing and Urban Development	Northeast Coalition of Neighborhoods	Urban League
Marion County Superior Court	Memphis Sexual Assault Resource Center	U.S. Marshals Service	Oregon Council for Hispanic Advancement	Visionswork
Marion Superior Court-Probation Department	Shelby County Corrections	Yale School of Medicine	Oregon Youth Authority	Winston-Salem /Forsyth County Schools
U.S. Attorney's Office	Shelby County District Attorney's Office	Yale Childhood Development Center	Parole/Probation-Oregon Youth Authority	Winston-Salem Police Department
U.S. Marshals Service	Shelby County Sheriff's Office		Portland Police Bureau	
United States Customs Service Inspection	Tennessee Department of Children Services		Portland State University	
United States Postal Inspection Service	U.S. Attorney's Office		Reed College	
United States Secret Service	University of Memphis		U.S. Attorney's Office	

Our interviews and observations revealed other motivations for staying involved with SACSI over time. Two primary and interrelated reasons for remaining involved in the SACSI partnerships were the seriousness of the crime problems selected (e.g., youth homicide, youth violence, sexual assault) and the long-term orientation of most participants. Most SACSI participants would at least fulfill the two-year commitment to SACSI (which was linked to the DOJ funding), and most understood that the selected problems would require concentrated

efforts over a longer time period. Other motivations for remaining involved in the SACSI partnerships were perhaps more subtle. In some sites, the SACSI meetings typically involved key civic and justice system leaders, and typically involved discussions of key issues of the day, so it was advantageous to attend SACSI meetings and events to be involved, to be seen as being involved, and to keep up with the pace of events. To the extent that SACSI efforts succeeded in achieving public visibility, SACSI events and meetings were viewed as important. From another perspective, it was important to keep involved in SACSI to keep an eye on the progress and activities. For some participants, SACSI represented an example of something they had contemplated or would like to initiate (or represented a challenge to their way of doing things).¹³ For these individuals, it was important to stay involved with SACSI to keep track of activities, progress, fundraising, and other activities.

The most important decisions made by the SACSI partnership teams regarding membership and recruitment or inclusion of new members centered around timing issues (when to include new members), and whether (or how) to include community representatives.¹⁴ These decisions were closely linked to a key, and inescapable, tension in the SACSI programs -- the need for quick action, quick “wins” (successful visible crime reduction efforts), and measurable success within a short time frame, and the equally pressing need for better, more comprehensive, long-term solutions to problems that had been vexing communities for many years.¹⁵ Several of the SACSI sites adopted (or settled into) a gradual growth strategy, beginning with a small core of key criminal justice system partners (and one or two non-traditional partners, including the research partner) to begin analysis and early strategy planning, and adding other social service and community partners as new prevention and intervention activities got under way. One site (New Haven) began with a small core of key justice system partners and a research partner, attempted to broaden its membership to include community representatives, and eventually returned to its original small group. In a radically different approach, Portland began with a large group with a broad base of justice, government, and community representation, and with minor adjustments, kept the broad base of involvement intact throughout.

¹³For example, a SACSI project that supported diversion of youthful offenders to community-based programs may have been viewed as a challenge to an administrator in the justice system who was seeking to increase staff resources for other (non-diversionary) programs.

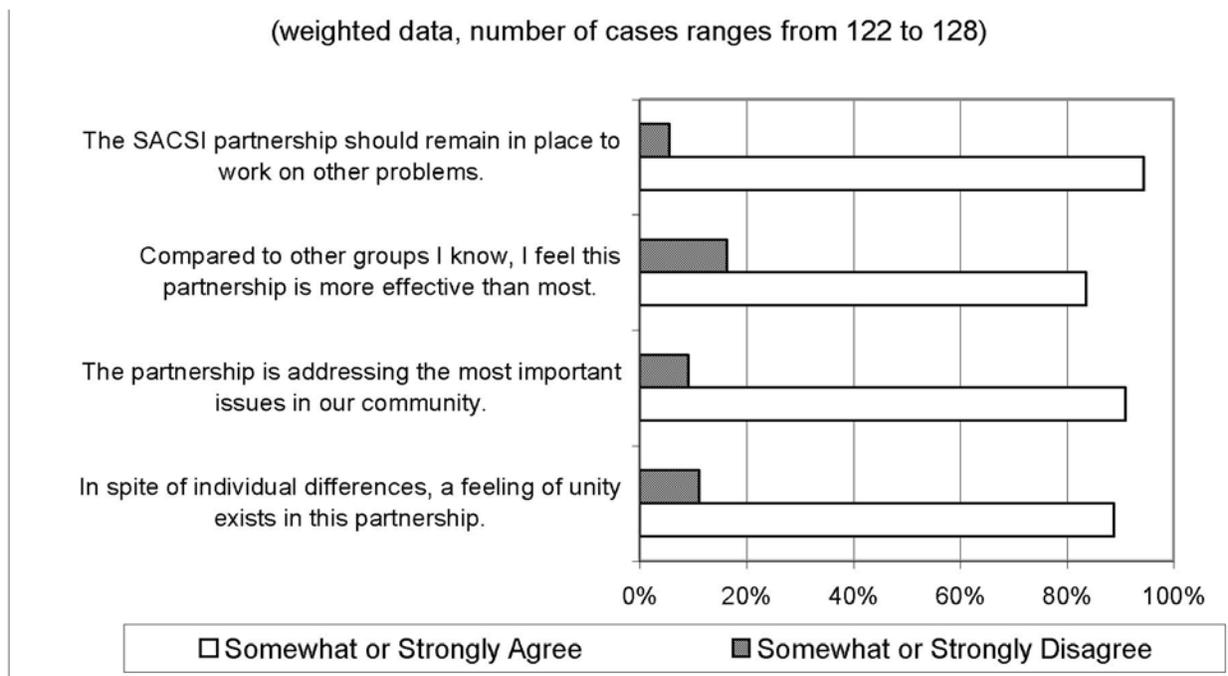
¹⁴As is the case with many public safety collaborative initiatives, the dilemma of defining what “the community” means and who best represents a community’s interest in a partnership effort, was not resolved definitively by any SACSI group. Typically, the term “community” becomes a catchword for non-criminal justice and non-government representation in problem-solving teams. Thus, school representatives, business representatives, clergy and faith-based representatives, and other non-traditional public safety partners are often referred to as [representatives of] “the community.”

¹⁵The need for “quick wins” was heard, and stressed, uniformly across each of the Phase I SACSI sites. The source of this pressure came from multiple offices within the Department of Justice, as quick impact was stressed as a desired and expected outcome of the SACSI projects. It was also self-imposed. Each of the SACSI core groups felt strongly that short term successes or victories would be key to sustaining interest and participation by key group members, and also to attracting new members as the projects continued.

Perceived Effectiveness of SACSI

The SACSI partnership survey¹⁶ addressed several topics related to participants attitudes about SACSI’s effectiveness. When asked if they thought a feeling of unity exists in the SACSI partnership, in spite of individual differences, over 88% of respondents from the Phase I SACSI sites agreed or strongly agreed with the statement. Similarly, over 80%t agreed or strongly agreed that the SACSI partnership is more effective compared to other partnership groups. Eighty-five percent of respondents thought the SACSI program had targeted the most pressing crime problem facing the community and, when asked how effective they felt SACSI was in attacking the problem chosen, 94% of respondents across the five sites responded “somewhat effective” or “very effective.” Over 94% of respondents somewhat or strongly agreed with a statement suggesting that the SACSI partnership should remain in place to address other problems (see Chart 1).

CHART 1. Partnership Assessment in the Phase I SACSI Sites

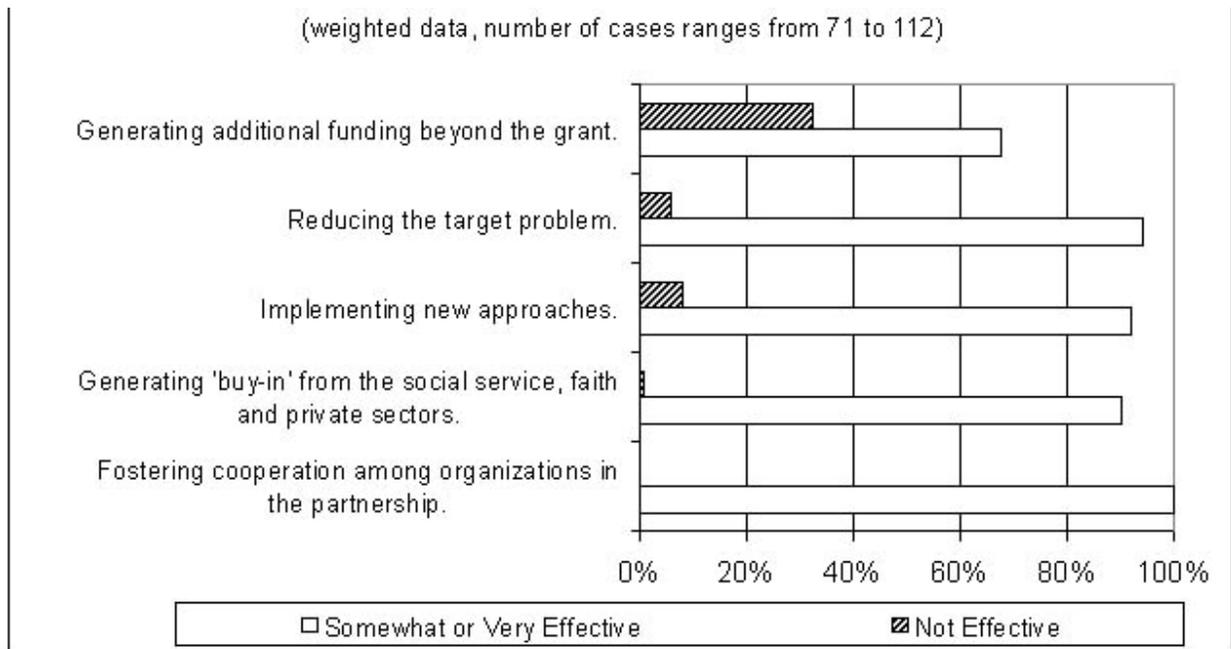


SACSI strategy was somewhat or very effective in attracting non-law enforcement groups to the partnership. Over 90% expressed similar opinions about SACSI’s effectiveness in implementing new approaches to solving crime problems, and about SACSI’s effectiveness in reducing the targeted problem. Approximately 68% of respondents felt SACSI was somewhat or very effective in generating additional funding beyond the DOJ grant. Chart 2 below summarizes these responses.

¹⁶Here we report on responses to the second wave of the SACSI partnership survey, conducted in the Fall of 2000. Reported results reflect weighted survey responses to adjust for unequal samples from the Phase I SACSI sites. A comparison of the Wave 2 results with the Wave 1 responses reveals minor, non-significant, percentage differences.

The SACSI partnership survey¹⁷ asked respondents to indicate their views on the effectiveness of various aspects of SACSI such as fostering cooperation, attracting participation from social service agencies, the faith community, and others in the private sector; and developing new approaches. All respondents across all Phase I SACSI sites felt the SACSI strategy was somewhat or very effective in fostering cooperation among different organizations (no one responded “not effective” to this statement). Ninety percent of the respondents felt SACSI was somewhat or very effective in generating additional funding beyond the DOJ grant. Chart 2 below summarizes these responses.

CHART 2. Effectiveness of Problem-Solving Implementation in the Phase 1 SACSI Sites



Leadership and Decision Making

Perhaps the most important aspect of participation in the SACSI programs is that of leadership. Since SACSI partnership teams consist primarily of individuals who are leaders in their respective organizations (e.g. police chiefs, deputy chiefs, district attorneys, senior probation officials, agency directors, deputy mayors), there is a strong potential for conflict over

¹⁷Here we report on responses to the Wave 2 SACSI partnership survey. When the Wave 2 responses were compared to the Wave 1 responses for the items relating to SACSI effectiveness, minor (and non-significant) percentage differences were found between the two surveys on most items. Wave 1 respondents provided a slightly more negative assessment of SACSI’s effectiveness in reducing the targeted problem, most likely due to the fact that significant problem-solving progress had not been made at the time of the Wave 1 survey. Conversely, the Wave 2 respondents provided a more negative assessment of SACSI’s effectiveness at generating additional funding in Wave 2.

leadership.¹⁸ Those selected or acknowledged as leaders typically avoid leadership conflicts when there is a shared sense of vision and goals for the project, agreement on group structure and decision-making, recognition of special knowledge or abilities in those who act as leaders, as well as sufficient display of leadership qualities. Our observations of the SACSI partnership teams in action, coupled with interviews and review of other project documentation, indicate that leadership is fluid and dynamic in the SACSI partnerships. To be sure, a certain measure of leadership centers in the Office of the U.S. Attorney, where the SACSI Project Coordinator usually resides. As the senior Federal law enforcement authority in the region, the U.S. Attorney (and, by extension, Assistant U.S. Attorneys and Project Coordinators in the U.S. Attorney's Office) typically possesses a measure of authority and rank compared to other law enforcement and government officials, and this was certainly evident to a certain degree in each of the Phase I SACSI sites. Still, when leadership is viewed as the commanding of respect, the ability to command the agenda for an important meeting and guide group participation, or be in possession of knowledge that other group members do not have, yet recognize the need to benefit from that knowledge, then leadership in SACSI, as a key element of group participation, takes on a different character.

There are times when leadership lies directly in the realm of the U.S. Attorney's Office. There are other times -- for example, when the SACSI research partner convenes a group to discuss lessons learned from research and data gathering, or when a community group leader paves the way for key business and corporate contributions to the SACSI effort -- when leadership comes from other partners. This is often referred to as "stepping up," when a group member rises to the occasion when his or her leadership is required for group progress. In collaborative efforts like SACSI, this fluid type of leadership is often evident. It requires conscious decisions on the part of the leaders and the led. When the U.S. Attorney is a key leader in a SACSI effort, he or she must step back when the research partner assumes a leadership role, out of respect for the research partner and to avoid a clash of leadership authority; then perhaps step back in at another juncture. This give-and-take in group leadership requires mutual trust and respect between SACSI partners, often developed over a long time (in some cases, years). In some cases, it did not exist among community and government leaders prior to the SACSI initiative. In some cases, it is situational, that is, the leadership will be shared in the context (and in the confines) of the SACSI effort, but it may not be shared in other settings in the same community and in the same time frame.

Decision making in the SACSI partnerships reflected this fluid form of leadership; it took place most often by consensus. Key decisions (e.g., decisions regarding action priorities, scheduling of events, allocation of resources) rarely came to a vote or required a mandate from the group leaders(s).

¹⁸In our research, we defined leadership generally as possessing the qualities or authority (granted formally or informally by the core partnership team) for the convening of core group meetings, handling conflict between group members, agenda and priority setting, facilitation of meetings, and making decisions that affected the partnership. Leadership also involved expressions of respect by partnership members.

The Strength of Organizational Culture

As the findings presented here indicate, the SACSI partnerships were successful at establishing effective, multi-agency problem-solving groups. According to the SACSI participants, the partnerships selected and addressed appropriate crime and community problems, most hoped the SACSI teams would remain in place to tackle other problems, and most participants felt the SACSI strategies were effective in several ways. These sentiments and attitudes held up over time and, with minor exceptions, across the SACSI sites and across respondent types. Still, our observations suggest that several obstacles impinge on the ability of the SACSI partnerships to attain full implementation of the SACSI model. Organizational culture is perhaps the most prominent and challenging among the barriers to full implementation. Organizational culture, while difficult to define precisely, refers to beliefs, traditions, norms, formal and informal practices, interactions with external environments found in individual organizations or organization “sets” (Coldren, 1992; Eldridge & Crombie, 1975; Frost, 1985; Martin, 1992). Social scientists apply these concepts in organizational research in much the same way they do in social or anthropological research -- in an attempt to understand how individuals (in this case, organization members) come to understand and view the world (or their working world) collectively and individually.

In essence, SACSI is an attempt to change organizational cultures so that agencies and organizations covering law enforcement, criminal justice, social services, community advocacy, and other social institutions (e.g., health, education) work in new and different ways to solve problems of mutual concern, problems that they normally and historically tended to solve more in isolation or without the benefits of collaboration promoted by SACSI. The SACSI sites were successful to varying degrees in changing local organizational cultures, if even for selected organizations, limited time periods, or limited to the problems identified.

We observed the power of organizational culture to both enhance and impinge on the ability of SACSI partnerships to accomplish problem-solving objectives. To the extent that an organization’s culture (e.g., the culture of the municipal police department, or of the U.S. Attorney’s Office) supports innovation and experimentation (one hallmark of community policing in some police departments), that organization is more likely to participate in SACSI more fully and effectively. Enterprising individuals who work in organizations that do not value innovation (e.g., the community policing “convert” who works in a tradition-bound, calls-for-service-driven police agency) will be less likely to participate fully or bring the organization’s resources to bear on the chosen problem.

The organizational cultural divide between operational and academic organizations represents the most visible and potentially debilitating barrier to SACSI’s effectiveness. This tension is best explained through the following examples or occurrences observed during our field visits and interviews:

- Frustration on the part of non-university participants over seeming delays in the delivery of research results;

- Similar frustration over the delivery of results that did not move the partnership far enough into new research findings that would lead to specific new interventions;
- Frustration on the part of researchers who were asked to provide analysis too soon -- before enough tests or comparisons were made, or before enough cases were examined to constitute a reasonably large sample of observations;
- Frustration on the part of researchers who found themselves spending greater than anticipated amounts of time cleaning or reformatting data retrieved from agency data systems, so they could be used with statistical software and mapping packages; and
- Frustration on the part of junior faculty, who needed to respond to demands for publication of research papers but who also felt a need to respond to periodic requests for special analyses or new data as the problem-solving teams forged ahead.

While significant strides were made in most SACSI sites in reaching new levels of understanding, and patience, so that these issues could be resolved, or at least lessened enough to permit work to go forward, we observed several instances in which the participating organizations simply could not resolve the clash between academic and practitioner organizational cultures. In one instance, the research team severed its relationship with the SACSI partnership (but continued to support it in other ways); in another instance, the research team was somewhat marginalized, never fully participating as an integrated partner.

Integration of Researchers into SACSI Partnerships

A principle defining characteristic of SACSI -- the element that differentiates SACSI from other federally supported collaborative crime control efforts (such as multi-jurisdictional drug control task forces, comprehensive communities initiatives, or Weed and Seed) -- is the inclusion (or infusion) of a research partner in the collaborative problem-solving team. Thus, our research placed significant emphasis on the inclusion, or integration, of the DOJ-funded research teams into the problem-solving processes at the local sites. Like the concept of “partnership,” it is important to specify the conceptualization of “integration” of research partners. Integration of a research partner into a problem-solving team (comprised of mostly criminal justice practitioners) relates to the fact of inclusion as well as to the timing of inclusion (at what juncture is the researcher brought onto the team?), and leadership (does the researcher or research team exhibit leadership qualities and are they given an opportunity to assume a leadership role?). Additionally, it is important to observe whether the inclusion of researchers provides “add-on value” to the collaborative and problem-solving processes, and whether constraints exist on researcher involvement. The NAT assessed these phenomena in several different ways (interviews, observations, surveys).

Timing of Inclusion

The Phase I SACSI sites varied in the timing of researcher inclusion in the problem-solving process. In one site, the research team was involved in a SACSI-like manner before the funding of SACSI. At the other extreme, in another site, the research team did not become

involved until almost one year into the collaborative problem-solving process.¹⁹ Our observation, while admittedly based on only five Phase I cases, is that successful integration of the research time depends on early inclusion -- when inclusion of researchers is delayed, opportunities for data-driven decision-making and realization of the “add-on” value of having researchers on board suffer, and are lost.²⁰

Leadership

When provided the opportunity (or in some cases, when they seized the opportunity), local researchers assumed leadership roles. Often the problem-solving team turned to the research team for leadership, particularly in the needs assessment and evaluation phases of the SACSI process. In other instances, the research team assumed a leadership role (by actively requesting the leadership role or, again, stepping in when asked) when they felt that a pending decision needed research input. In several sites, the lead researcher was essentially viewed as a Co-Project Coordinator, presiding at nearly all core group meetings alongside the Project Coordinator, rendering advice and opinions at will. In other sites, the research team was more removed from leadership and decision-making opportunities, perhaps not attending all meetings, sending junior researchers to the meetings, or attending the meetings as observers (not co-leaders or co-facilitators). In sum, across the five sites, and across the numerous opportunities available for local researchers to assume leadership roles, the local researchers did assume leadership roles, and the other SACSI participants strongly supported the researchers in leadership roles.²¹

“Add-On” Value of Researcher Involvement

As noted above, the local researchers in SACSI sites serve several key functions such as providing data and analysis for needs assessment, refining existing analyses, performing monitoring and feedback to the core group, and evaluating problem-solving initiatives. We found that research teams (most often the lead local researcher) played significant non-research roles and made significant contributions beyond the roles envisioned for them. For example, researchers would often refer to other research (research conducted in other jurisdictions that they were aware of) during core group deliberations about specific interventions. Some researchers possess group facilitation skills, or have experience in conference preparation, and would serve in these capacities. In other instances, researchers with many years of experience

¹⁹For a variety of reasons, DOJ funding of the SACSI research partners did not occur simultaneously. As a result, the opportunity for integration of researchers varied by site. The differential timing of research funding for SACSI can be traced back to difficulties presented by local research proposals as well as to DOJ delays. The NAT will report on an assessment of DOJ’s role in the SACSI project separately.

²⁰Other factors come into play regarding the inclusion (or lack of inclusion) of research partners, such as the inability to break down the academic vs. practitioner culture barrier (see above).

²¹It is important to note that blind acceptance of researchers as group leaders is not consistent with the SACSI model. SACSI assumes that researchers will serve leadership roles (and exhibit leadership qualities) just as other justice system and community participants will in the collaborative process, not that they will always serve in leadership positions.

working in their jurisdiction would sometimes find themselves in the position of negotiator or mediator, working with various core group participants to resolve a particularly difficult impasse. Finally, as leaders and stakeholders in their own right, research partners often participated in the collaborative process on the same level, and with the same commitment, as other justice system or community leaders, thus providing additional information, energy, and options for the group to consider.

Constraints on Researcher Involvement

Despite the numerous ways in which researchers contributed to the SACSI collaborative and problem-solving processes, they still encountered obstacles to full and complete integration in some instances.²² The academic promotional (tenure) process, and the requirement to publish research articles in refereed academic journals served as a hindrance to some junior faculty members who served on SACSI research teams. This was especially the case when unavoidable delays in the SACSI process prohibited them from conducting research or writing research findings to meet the demands of their academic schedule. Some junior researchers withdrew (completely or temporarily) due to this conflict. In a similar vein, to the extent that the administration or colleagues at the university failed to see the value in researcher practitioner collaborations, or failed to see the value in applied research, researchers sometimes felt reluctant to become fully, or consistently, engaged in SACSI.

On a more practical level, when the role of the researcher in SACSI was not clearly defined, and when expectations for researcher involvement and researcher products (“deliverables”) were not clearly articulated, researcher integration suffered. In such situations, there was not always a clear understanding nor a well-defined process for local researchers to the collaborative process; not that they will always serve in leadership positions. Make contributions to the analysis and problem-solving process. In some instances this produced frustrations on both sides (researcher and practitioner), and thus increased rather than lessened the distance between researchers and practitioners. Note also that the original agreements and conditions under which researchers became involved in SACSI project sometimes changed mid-stream due to the emergent nature of the problem-solving process. When these situations were not anticipated or not closely monitored and resolved, tensions and frustrations developed, again serving to alienate rather than integrate the researchers.

In addition to interviews and observations, the partnership survey asked SACSI participants in all five Phase I sites to respond to a series of nine statements about local researcher effectiveness, with the following response options: not effective (0), somewhat effective (1), or very effective (2). Table 5 and Chart 3 summarize the responses to these

²²It is also important to note that full and complete integration is difficult to achieve and maintain on a continuous basis for most partners in a SACSI collaborative. Other problems may pull someone away for a certain amount of time, turnover in key positions (e.g., mayor, police chief, sub-committee leader) may occur, personal business or other emergencies may require that a participant step back for a time. This research is concerned mostly with researcher integration, and this discussion pertains to situations or contingencies that affect researcher integration more than other partners.

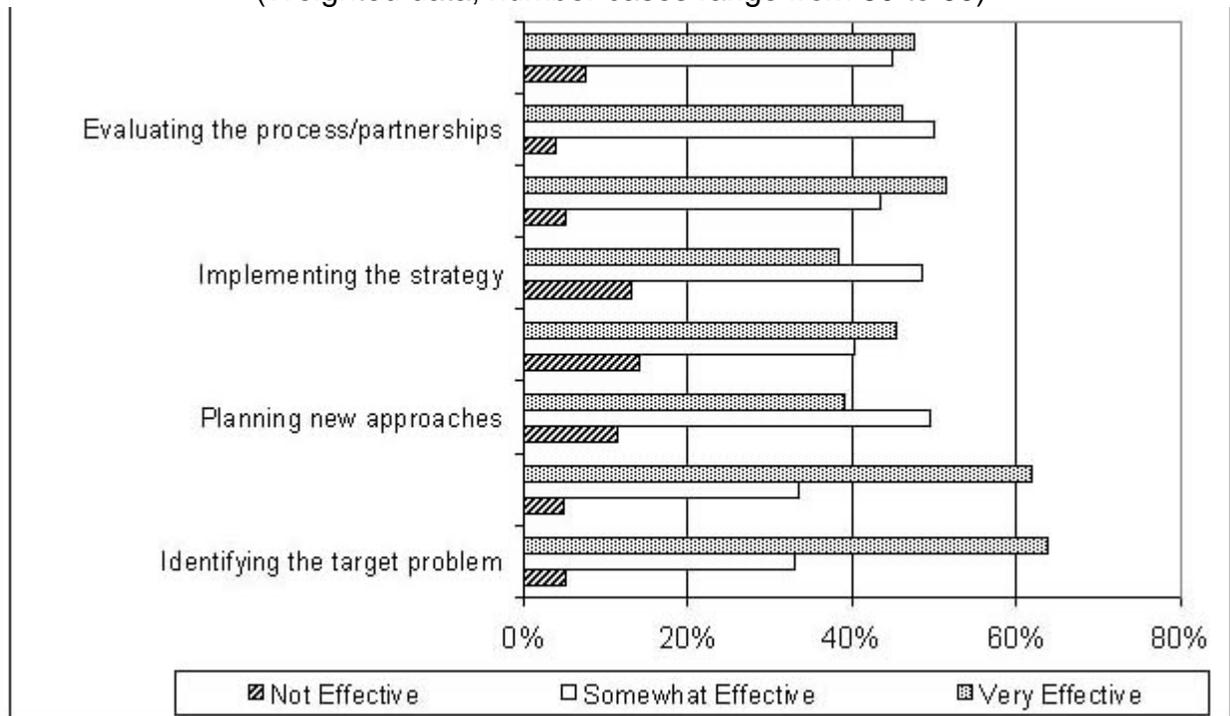
statements across all five Phase I sites (using weighted data from the Wave 2 partnership survey).

TABLE 5. Summary of SACSI Participant Assessment of the Effectiveness of Local Researchers

Please indicate how effective the local researcher(s) has been in producing information that is useful for . . .	N of cases	Missing	Mode	Mean	St. Dev
Identifying the target problem.	108	29	2	1.59	.59
Defining the target problem.	106	31	2	1.57	.59
Planning new approaches.	94	43	1	1.28	.66
Building partnerships.	98	40	2	1.31	.71
Implementing the strategy.	95	43	1	1.25	.67
Developing and implementing evaluative measures.	84	53	2	1.46	.59
Evaluating the process/partnerships.	79	59	1	1.42	.57
Assessing impact.	80	58	2	1.40	.63

CHART 3. Effectiveness of Research Integration in the Phase I SACSI Sites

(Weighted data, number cases range from 80 to 99)



Partnership survey respondents generally felt that the local researchers were somewhat or very effective in all areas. Over 85% of respondents rated the researchers as somewhat or very effective in all categories, with identifying and targeting the target problem receiving the greatest percentage of “very effective” responses.²³ While not directly addressing the integration phenomenon, taken as a whole, these responses to statements about researcher effectiveness suggest that the research teams were valued and respected in the SACSI collaborations -- key ingredients to successful integration.

ISSUES FOR THE FUTURE

Research on SACSI from the national perspective continues. The NAT will soon complete research on the five Phase I sites, and has already begun research on the five Phase II sites. The ongoing research of the NAT will produce 10 case studies of SACSI implementation and will provide a strong base of information from which many other jurisdictions can draw as they contemplate and implement new crime control and crime prevention initiatives.²⁴ At this juncture, it is important to take stock of what has been learned (through systematic research as well as through anecdotal experiences with SACSI), especially pertaining to the conceptualization and study of collaborative crime and public safety problem-solving partnerships. Lessons learned from this research touch on the issues of evaluation research planning (the use of logic models and the need for a theory base at the local level), decisions regarding inclusion (of researchers and others in the partnerships), decision making and leadership, and, finally, the ongoing tension between researchers and practitioners.²⁵

Process Logic and the Need for Local Theory

Our research findings suggest that successful implementation of projects like SACSI require more than shared vision among group members. When a diverse group of professionals convenes over a lengthy time period to solve a problem, more in the way of guidelines (or

²³A comparison of responses to these items in the Wave 1 partnership survey reveals similar responses across the categories. A cross-tabulation of responses by site produced several significant Chi Square statistics, suggesting that these ratings may differ significantly by site. However, each table contained a large percentage of cells with low cell frequencies, rendering the Chi Square statistic unreliable.

²⁴Local SACSI researchers will undoubtedly produce research reports based on their work. It is also important to keep in mind that other cities (e.g., Newark; Baltimore, Omaha) have implemented SACSI-like initiatives (modeled after SACSI but without DOJ SACSI funding), and research reports will likely result from those efforts as well. The NAT, in addition to producing case studies, will prepare a “cross-site analysis” for DOJ, covering SACSI implementation in all sites.

²⁵The choice of the word “tension” here is not meant to imply conflict or difficulty. It refers to the fact that individuals from different working cultures bring different perspectives to the tasks at hand. While collaborative work can help reduce the obstacles that different organizational cultures produce, the cultures themselves are not likely to go away; hence the tension (or the “give and take”) in meetings and working sessions and in the ongoing collaboration is not likely to go away.

roadmaps) is needed to keep members focused on the ultimate goal (crime and problem reduction) and the path(s) chosen to get there. In addition, local researchers need to understand the program theory or logic behind SACSI initiatives. Our early observations of the SACSI partnership teams revealed that in most instances these planning resources or documents did not exist. If they did exist, they were not universally shared and understood among all group members. The NAT looked for ways to promote the development of local program theory, and settled on the “logic model” concept.

Logic models appear frequently in evaluation and applied research literature. They generally refer to the specification of goals, objectives, activities, outputs, and, especially, the logical connections between these phenomena (Patton, 1997). Patton cites logic models as one of many ways to focus an evaluation (1997, p. 193). Yin, Kaftarian, & Jacobs (1996), refer to logic models as “a coherent framework . . . showing how a partnership might theoretically produce the desired . . . outcomes and impacts” (p. 198). When developed in a collaborative way, Yin et al. argue, the development of a logic model is an empowering exercise, providing a customized framework for the partnership program.

In our work with the Phase I SACSI sites, we stressed an additional component to logic models -- specification of the assumptions underlying specific SACSI suppression or intervention initiatives (Coldren, Castello, Forde, Roehl, & Rosenbaum, 2000). As an illustrative example, consider the deterrence-oriented practice of “offender notification sessions.”²⁶ Notification sessions typically involve the identification of at-risk individuals who attend special information dissemination sessions (typically as part of their probation conditions) at which representatives from the law enforcement, criminal justice, faith, social service, and other community organizations deliver a strongly worded dual message -- stop the shooting and violence, and take advantage of opportunities offered to steer away from criminal activity; otherwise, they will respond to the next instance of lawbreaking behavior with federal prosecution and with a tougher prison sentence than would otherwise be threatened. Using this example, specification of a logic model for notification sessions should include the following: goals and objectives, preparations (e.g., identification of offenders, insuring offenders attend, room set-up, materials required), specific activities (e.g., introductions, delivery of messages, distribution of information, follow-up activities), logical links between activities, and assumptions underlying specific activities. Assumptions that might be specified for notification sessions include:

- The identified individuals show up in sufficient numbers;
- SACSI representatives deliver the appropriate messages clearly and consistently;
- The identified individuals understand the messages, and convey them to their peers following the session;

²⁶This strategy was modeled primarily after initiatives documented in the Boston Ceasefire project. They took on various formats at the Phase I SACSI sites; here we provide a generic description for illustrative purposes.

- Threatened sanctions are real (that is, they are followed-up); and
- Legitimate opportunities are in fact available and meet the needs of the individuals.

When problem-solving teams develop complete logic models such as this in conjunction with research partners, monitoring, assessment, and evaluation activities (and, thus, useful feedback loops) follow with relative ease. They provide a program evaluation framework characterized by consensus and ownership on the part of practitioners.

Inclusion Issues

As noted above, the fact of inclusion in the SACSI core group may be considered separate from the timing of inclusion, or the nature (formality) of inclusion. In the Phase I sites, law enforcement, justice system, and government agencies comprised most of the early members of the SACSI core groups. As time went on, SACSI leaders were more likely to invite participation from non-law enforcement and non-governmental agencies.²⁷ Different SACSI sites exhibited different preferences regarding issues of inclusion. In several sites, even though law enforcement agencies dominated the core group, there were clear, ongoing efforts to include non-law enforcement and community-based or advocacy groups in SACSI (with varying degrees of success). In other sites, initial efforts to broaden SACSI participation beyond justice agencies proved difficult, or if successful they resulted in lengthy group discussions and deliberations that were eventually deemed counter-productive. SACSI leaders often expressed the opinion that new members should not be encouraged unless there were specific roles for them to play.

The SACSI sites varied regarding the formality of inclusion. In some cases, certain core group members (e.g., clergy, representatives from social service organizations) were heavily recruited and formally invited to join the SACSI core group. Other times, new involvement occurred in a less formal manner, driven by the newcomers' interest in participating, or in the core group's desire to allow new participants to join SACSI activities in the manners they were most comfortable with.

Ongoing Discussion Regarding Research Roles in SACSI

Researchers participating in SACSI find themselves on the horns of a dilemma -- how to participate as core partners in SACSI planning and implementation, while at the same time assuming responsibility for objective process and outcome evaluation research. While it is not uncommon for researchers to assume multiple (and perhaps) conflicting roles in evaluation research (Patton, 1997), the SACSI model makes the conflicting demands on researchers

²⁷Questions regarding which members to include in SACSI core groups factored heavily into DOJ planning for SACSI prior to funding of the initiative, and there was considerable debate regarding the role of community (non-law enforcement) groups within DOJ. SACSI documentation provided by DOJ to the first SACSI sites clearly suggested the formation of two-tiered core groups, with the core (primary) group consisting almost exclusively of federal, state, and local law enforcement agencies. Thus, the composition of the SACSI core groups reflected the information and suggestions provided by DOJ.

glaringly evident, sometimes to the distress of the research team and others. Simply put, the scientific enterprise demands objectivity. Since SACSI requires active participation and support by researchers in the formative stages of project implementation, the objectivity of researchers may be called into question (typically by the researchers themselves, more so than by practitioners). In addition, due to the demand for rapid response, SACSI researchers often find themselves pressed to provide information (or “findings”) to the core group before adequate time has passed for data cleaning, data reduction, or before a sufficient sample of cases has been collected. While these demands, too, are not uncommon for applied evaluation research, SACSI researchers often find themselves under continuous (often visible) pressure to produce results early, even when problems with existing data sources, cross agency data system incompatibilities, and incomplete data sharing agreements work against their efforts.

There are no easy answers and no immediate solutions to these dilemmas. Our experience with the SACSI sites reveals two things about this matter: (a) it is possible to compromise on certain matters regarding analysis and release of findings (e.g., preliminary findings can be reported to the group with appropriate caveats and explanations of limitations), and (b) the ongoing dialogue and debate within the SACSI partnerships about data analysis and practical applications to problem-solving facilitate the development of shared understandings about problem-solving and help break down the barriers that organizational cultures build up. The process can be long, and can involve intense debate. The worst outcome occurs when one (or more) partners leave the group over these issues, but even that is not insurmountable.

CONCLUSION AND LESSONS LEARNED

The national assessment project studied the implementation of local SACSI initiatives extensively. This research has produced a better understanding of collaborative problem-solving processes, especially regarding their implementation in diverse urban areas through multi-agency work groups with a strategic, research-based orientation. Implementation of such strategic approaches is best viewed as an emergent process -- a logical series of steps with multiple internal and external influences, and a process in which decisions and actions taken at early stages affect outcomes at later stages. SACSI initiatives are dynamic and strongly locally driven processes that typically achieve success on several fronts. A number of factors influenced the dynamics and effectiveness of the SACSI partnerships. These are discussed below along with considerations for the development of future partnerships of this nature:

- Every SACSI project experienced *turnover in key positions*, an inevitability in any two-year multi-agency effort, which forces change on the partnerships and their activities. In several sites, personnel changes in member agencies led to changes in representatives on both core and working groups, often with little loss of institutional memory or activity. Turnover cannot be avoided, but its effects may be mitigated by the following: continuity within the core group, the involvement of agency heads with other agency representatives in the core group, leadership invested in more than a single individual, and a clearly articulated, written, strategic plan.
- *Other changes in partnerships are inevitable and require adaptation.* In SACSI, structural change in working groups also takes place. Most sites experience expansion of the core

group over time and the addition of focused working groups to develop, implement, and monitor specific interventions. This is a natural development of partnerships as new activities are considered and taken on -- often, without a diminution of other activities underway. As the organization matures, however, so must its management and oversight, and SACSI sites often find themselves formalizing policies and procedures that began as informal working relationships, including such formal documents as memoranda of understanding and signed (negotiated) information sharing agreements.

- *Breadth in working group representation*, often talked about as inclusion of non-law enforcement partners in the SACSI core groups or working groups, can be a positive influence on the development of SACSI strategies. When non-traditional crime prevention partners -- typically social service agencies, clergy, community organizations, private businesses, schools, and others -- become involved, SACSI activities are more likely to emphasize prevention and intervention strategies rather than just enforcement and suppression-oriented strategies. In core groups and law enforcement-oriented working groups, law enforcement representatives sometimes advocated excluding non-law enforcement participants, as sensitive investigative and intelligence information were often discussed. In addition, the lack of community involvement in SACSI resulted from a focus on the “stick” (versus the “carrot”) approach of the deterrent model, particularly in the activities implemented early on. Who you invite to participate in the beginning matters at later stages (the emergent process), and it will be more difficult to include non-traditional members later, after major project decisions are made.
- *Tension developed between partner members in the SACSI projects, and can be addressed in several ways*. Typically, tensions resulted from the different organizational perspectives of representatives. Tension and turf battles between police and probation officers, between federal and local prosecutors, between researchers and non-researchers, and between the community and criminal justice system representatives were present in all sites at different times. Improved communication, better knowledge of each other’s organizational culture, commitment to a shared vision, strong leadership, and project successes each help to alleviate, but not eliminate, this tension.
- *Leadership* provided by U.S. Attorney’s offices and the Project Coordinators counted among the most important elements of SACSI. The U.S. Attorneys and their key Assistant U.S. Attorneys lent authority, stature, and power to the effort. They were able to attract individuals and organizations with diverse representatives to the partnerships, convince them to devote resources to SACSI activities, and to remain involved in this time-consuming effort. In addition, they provided the necessary coordination function for these large and broad reaching efforts. The talented individuals in these positions kept people involved, coordinated central activities, and provided strong direction. We recommend dedication of a full-time project coordinator to SACSI, especially when the breadth of the partnerships and the interventions reach beyond several key, large, organizations and continue for several years.
- *SACSI works best when leadership is shared*. While it is important, for the sake of continuity and progress, for leadership to be centered in few individuals or offices, the SACSI

partnerships recognized that the power, energy, and creativity needed to support SACSI over a long time must come from a variety of sources. Thus, leadership tends to be shared, or distributed, in the SACSI partnerships. For example, depending on the stage of the SACSI process the working group is engaged in (e.g., problem identification and definition, or strategic planning), the research partners may play different leadership roles -- playing a strong part in decision making during problem identification and a lesser role during plan development); and then the researchers may increase their leadership during feedback and monitoring processes. Likewise, the social service sector, or clergy, may play greater or lesser leadership roles at different stages of the process.

- *There is a need to capitalize on a history of prior partnerships.* When police and prosecutors have been involved in drug or gang task forces, diverse public safety partnerships, community-police problem-solving efforts, and other collaborative efforts, and when SACSI initiatives tap into this local culture, it appears to help jurisdictions in getting key players to the table and working together.
- *Personal relationships between key partners are also helpful -- when they are productive!* Yet there is also some evidence that prior partnerships may inhibit “working outside the box” and really listening to and then applying the research results. Several sites followed the Boston Ceasefire model without thorough consideration of other tactics, and the emphasis on targeting specific high crime areas and individuals appeared to lead to a tendency to apply traditional interventions (e.g., sweeps, gun tracing, buy-busts, hotspot enforcement, etc.) to these traditional problems. As with other elements of SACSI, the key is finding a balance between what is traditional and what is a new, tried and true method versus experimentation. Attaining balance is aided by a clear articulation of SACSI’s data-driven approach, technical assistance to the core group early on, and the development of strategic plans.
- Strong research participation appeared to be positively influenced by *prior relationships between the research team and the law enforcement/criminal justice representatives*, mutual trust, an understanding by the practitioners of the research culture and pace, an understanding by the researcher of the need for fast and atypical information, and the speed and usability of information produced. In the future, both parties would benefit from a clear understanding of each other’s expectations, working styles, and skills. Practitioners recruiting researchers should look for researchers with expertise in criminal justice research methods, substantive knowledge of the myriad issues and interventions tackled by the SACSI projects, a solid understanding of the SACSI model, the time to work on the SACSI project when the practitioners need research help the most, experience in accessing and interpreting both traditional and non-traditional criminal justice data, and non-combative personalities that enable them to get along with diverse groups and individuals. The team will benefit if researchers contribute more than methodological and collaborative skills. Expert knowledge of relevant criminological theory, research, and “best practices” in crime control and prevention are very important to help the partnership avoid “reinventing the wheel.”
- *Coordinated community outreach and education* represent key SACSI elements that increase the likelihood of success and long-term viability. While the need for community participation in working groups has been touched on, this point refers to community outreach and

education as planned, coordinated activities. In several SACSI sites, after particular offenses, offenders, and neighborhoods had been selected as the focus of SACSI, working group representatives implemented coordinated efforts to educate several different constituencies (e.g., local government officials, the clergy, homeowners and parents, the press, and other criminal justice practitioners) about the SACSI plans and key initiatives. In a more focused approach, several sites developed coordinated evening visits to the neighborhoods and homes of SACSI at risk offenders to deliver the “stop the violence” and “we want to help you” messages directly, while at the same time, learning more about the at risk individuals, having a public presence, and communicating other important messages about SACSI.

- Street-level information is an invaluable resource. In several SACSI sites the working groups incorporated street workers into their outreach efforts. Typically, this entails employing community organizers, community development specialists, or outreach workers involved in neighborhoods where high risk individuals live in on-going SACSI efforts -- outreach to community members, at risk individuals, and their families, community education, offender meetings and notification sessions, violent incident review sessions, and even in on-going investigations. When such efforts are undertaken, two key benefits result. First, a different, grounded, and valuable perspective (that of the street workers) is added to the SACSI deliberations, and second, more information becomes available for planning, monitoring, and local assessment purposes.

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REDUCING FIREARM VIOLENCE AND HOMICIDE IN ST. LOUIS: THE ROLE OF RESEARCH IN A MULTI-AGENCY PROBLEM-SOLVING INITIATIVE

Scott H. Decker and Shannon Catalano

Department of Criminology and Criminal Justice, University of Missouri-St. Louis
330 Lucas Hall, 8001 Natural Bridge Road, St. Louis, MO 63121

This presentation examines the integration of research into a multi-agency problem-solving initiative. St. Louis was selected as a participant in the Strategic Approach to community safety initiative (SACSI) in October 2000. St. Louis is a city with high rates of firearm crime, particularly homicide. Despite this, there has been a dearth of data-driven initiatives in the city. Thus, the SACSI initiative presented a significant challenge to the research partners. Despite a considerable wealth of research regarding violence in St. Louis, previous partnerships between researchers and practitioners, and attempts to develop research-based initiatives, few of these ventures have had an impact of actual practice, policy, or programmatic interventions.

USING EVALUATION TO ENHANCE VIOLENCE PREVENTION EFFORTS IN CHICAGO: THE CHICAGO PROJECT FOR VIOLENCE PREVENTION

Elena Quintana and Cody Stephens

Chicago Project for Violence Prevention
1603 W. Taylor Street (m/c 923), Chicago, IL 60612

The Chicago Project for Violence Prevention works to accelerate community-based and citywide violence prevention, intervention, education, treatment, and advocacy initiatives. The project incorporates the violence prevention efforts by clergy, residents, law enforcement, youth outreach workers, social service, and job development agencies. The project is focused on stopping the killings and shootings in eight Chicago neighborhoods via an intervention in Boston called "CeaseFire." The Chicago Project for Violence Prevention adapted the Boston model and added public health strategies. The program components include: youth outreach, collaboration with law enforcement, clergy outreach and collaboration, public education messaging, and community mobilization. Each of these components is critical and necessary to change norms and behavior within the target population.

DISCUSSION

Lois Mock: To put this session into context, SASCI started after the Boston Ceasefire project. Several other cities, on their own, started projects, then the government initiated a more systematic approach that we called SASCI. Now this has evolved into Project Safe Neighborhoods which was based on Boston Ceasefire and Project Exile. You may want to check with your local United States Attorney for more details on these initiatives.

Becky Block: Scott, your idea is that you are going to look at the undocumented people, kids who are injured, and who are known to trauma units but not known elsewhere, and your thought that they may be related to subsequent violence. Also, about matching data sets, do you plan to do this?

Scott Decker: Correct.

Becky Block: Have you thought to talk to people in the trauma unit about other kinds of injuries they have dealt with?

Scott Decker: Well, the IRB issue is an interesting one. It is easier to cut people open than to ask them questions. Once they are victims of gun shot wounds their records become open to researchers in a way that is different than if they are victims of knife wounds. The non-firearm injuries are protected in much stricter ways. But, yes, we have done the kinds of interviews like that in the past:

Terry Miethe: This is a question for Chip Coldren. What concerns me a bit is when folks emphasize effectiveness of programs and but not the ineffectiveness of programs. If you buy into the scheme, there is so much social desirability involved in answering the survey that you have problems in evaluating the programs you wish to. It would be better to ask them how ineffective the program is and what are the problems.

Chip Coldren: There is not one set of respondents that are always feeling negatively about the programs, so this approach does take into account a lot of perspectives. The things that aren't working well have a lot to do with local politics, and elected District Attorneys. In most of the sites we work with they have been most ineffective. Historical and organizational barriers are also a problem. Determining what the correct role of researchers is also a potential problem in these collaborations.

Terry Miethe: It might be that when federal money shows up then arguments over money bog them down.

Chip Coldren: Our experience is just the opposite. Money helps move the process along.

Roland Chilton: Elena and Cody, what is your understanding of what you're trying to do? Are you trying to just change attitudes or is there something more?

Elena Quintana: Yes, changing attitudes is part of the goal. But the outcomes are very much multi-modal. We want to provide direct service but also affect larger community public education efforts. The project is designed to use every possible path to address problems.

Cheryl Maxson: All of you address challenges of multi-agency collaborations. Can you talk about the costs and benefits of this? Over the long run, is this a worthwhile investment of effort?

Scott Decker: Dave Curry and I are about to publish a paper on costs and benefits of multiagency collaborations. In a sense it is easier to change the behavior of offenders than it is to change the behavior of the system. I think the outcomes will be more on institutions and processes over the long haul than on the reduction of violence in the short run. But some institutional change in the short run is observable. Our police department shares information across subunits and other agencies that they didn't before. There has been a huge change in the level of cooperation. I think it would be better to concentrate on systems change rather than evaluating specific outcomes over the long run.

Chip Coldren: The more you do collaboration the more it will cost. Cost will be a big factor in the long run. They aren't always tangible, but the costs are very large. I'm also with Scott. There is more than instrumental outcomes to be concerned with here. There are also knowledge building outcomes and other evaluation outcomes that are important.

Rick Rosenfeld: One of the distinctive features of the Boston project was the aspect of "in your face" deterrence. In the three talks, I heard very little about the deterrence aspects of the interventions. Was the "pulling levers" strategy going on here?

Lois Mock: It certainly is. Police, prosecutors, and community are all involved in this. Incident reviews are also a part of this. There are multi-agency reviews to pick up patterns of these events.

Chip Coldren: Indianapolis was the best example of this. I urge you to read Ed McGarrell's work to find out how this was done in Indianapolis.

Christine Rasche: Scott, I heard you say that knife wounds are not a mandatory reporting event? Is that right?

Scott Decker: Yes. Only 11 states have reporting mandatory for knife wounds. The rest do not.

Christine Rasche: Can you use your partnership to lobby for mandatory reporting of knife wound cases?

Scott Decker: We have talked about various options, but the legislative approach is not one we can rely on. We are very interested in the possibility of repeat victimizations of knife wounds and studying these victims and events, so we will continue to focus on this.

Cynthia Lum: I would like revisit Roland Chilton's question. How do you expect the subculture will change through these interventions?

Elena Quintana: Some people expect a high rate of violence in their neighborhoods. We are looking to make violence a less acceptable means of behavior in problem solving. Thus multimodal approaches emphasizing public education are the medium for effecting these changes.

Rick Rosenfeld: Possibly collective efficacy implications are also important.

Kathleen Heide: Are any of your partners media people? Do you get cooperation from them?

Chip Coldren: Half of the cities I studied do have media participation, so the answer is yes.

Elena Quintana: We have lots of media coverage, too. We get something out there at least once a month. This helps further the strategy.

Chip Coldren: The effectiveness of the media role has not been tested well yet, so this is important to do.

Becky Block: About neighborhood data. You have census data, right? For example, what about the CAPS survey. Are you using any of that information to evaluate?

Elena Quintana: Yes we are. We have many data sources that we are integrating for use in evaluation, including the CAPS survey.

Lois Mock: Thank you all for your attention.

CHAPTER TWO
VIOLENCE RESEARCH, THEORY, AND POLICY

RESEARCH FOR THE COP ON THE BEAT: WHAT WE CAN DO TO HELP POLICE

Barrie J. Ritter
United States International University
673 Malarin Avenue, Santa Clara, CA 95050

ABSTRACT

Petee and Jarvis's (2000) literature review of serial violence describes high profile murders of the 1970s with the earliest research in the mid-1980s. Still, knowledge remains so limited that no one has answered such basic questions as, what patterns exist, and can that knowledge be used to aid police investigations? This paper addresses both patterns and procedures, based on submissions by the author to Law Enforcement Assistance Administration/ National Institute of Justice (LEAA/NIJ) in 1979-1980. Included are report forms for serial and single homicides, developed in concert with San Diego's Integrated Criminal Apprehension Program (ICAP) the program upon which the Violent Criminal Apprehension Program (VICAP) was based. To assist police, stand-alone guidelines were developed to identify salient features and data to collect on victims, choice of victim types rarely deviated, and, with a computerized tracking system, the patterns or Modus Operandi (MO) and situational factors and sources of potential evidence (e.g., living witnesses, souvenirs) in cases where there are few clues. For early detection of serial murder, police need to recognize the possibility of links among isolated cases of "overkill" and subtle "calling cards." A structured and standardized network of communication among local areas was suggested to preclude killers from increasing the frequency and brutality of murders to attract attention.

INTRODUCTION

In a special edition of *Homicide Studies*, "Analyzing Serial Violence," Petee and Jarvis (2000, pp. 211-212, 215) review the serial murder research, begun in the mid-1980s, and find that little progress has been made to date. Undoubtedly, there have been few recent advances.

AUTHOR'S NOTE: The research reported here was conducted during my doctoral candidacy. In chronological order the relevant works I have authored are:

(1) *Perspectives and Procedures for Serial Murders*. (1979). Submission, #01-99, to R. W. Burkhart, Director, Office of Research Programs, Law Enforcement Assistance Administration (LEAA/NIJ). My thanks to Mr. Burkhart, and Alex Vargo, Senior Systems Analyst, Crime Analysis Unit, San Diego Police Department (ICAP). For permission to cite, contact the author.

(2) *Perspectives and Procedures for Multiple Murderers*. (1980.) Community Congress of San Diego Submission #129. Thanks to John Wedemeyer, Executive Director.

(3) *Multiple Murderers: The Characteristics of the Persons and the Nature of the Crimes* (1988). United States International University. *Dissertation Abstract International*. 49 (01) A-1970. (University Microfilms No. AA18819738.) For further information or permission to cite, please contact the author, Barrie J. Ritter, Ph.D., at barrie@you2peru.com

More debatable is the contention that no research has been completed that would aid police and prosecutors more than profiling or other outside assistance (e.g., task force management and automation). There is, in fact, widespread criticism of the researchers, profilers, and other so-called experts who may create more confusion than understanding (e.g., the “DC Sniper” case). Serial murder has become a *field* that has generated great interest “but surprisingly poor research” (Lester, 1995, p. 187).

The important issue is whether the lack of progress is inherent to the topic of serial murder or due to the quality of the research. Unfortunately, no one doing serial murder research, including these critics, has offered viable alternatives for serial murder research, theories, or homicide investigation. It must be noted that assent, indifference, and satisfaction with the status quo in research lends itself to profiling and other tools requiring *outside consultants*. These same experts, who claimed that little was known, are now blaming those who most need assistance. For instance, aspersions are cast upon the police for not cooperating (“linkage blindness”), on victims for being “high risk,” and on the public for their fascination with the topic. Consequently, this paper is not a review of the debate among present-day experts. Instead, it follows the line of thinking about serial murder and the range of applied approaches we find in *Homicide Studies*, critiquing the ideas, and their practical policy implications. The review is followed by a description of the author’s research, completed in the 1970s and submitted to LEAA as grant proposals entitled “Perspectives and Procedures for Serial Murders” and “Perspectives and Procedures for Multiple Murderers” (see the Author’s Note). These works demonstrate what was known about serial murder patterns at that early date, and point the way to improving homicide investigations, when the particular researcher involved (with the support of police, university personnel, and social service agencies) has an authentic interest in reducing murder.

Petee and Jarvis (2000, pp. 211-212 215) seem to hold little hope that serial murder research will progress further. This is due largely to the failure of many academic researchers and professors to state a clear purpose for conducting their studies, and setting that purpose in the context of an existing need *external to themselves* (or the “literature” of like-minded researchers). The set of problems the editors discuss are the same ones that serial murder researchers face. There is little indication that serial murder *per se* poses a problem for law enforcement or the public. It seems, rather, to have entertainment value: “Society has long been fascinated with serial murderers,” Mott claims (1999, p. 241). But the three cases Mott cites cover three European nations over a 500-year period. This is hardly evidence of society’s fascination. On the contrary, for 5 centuries, nations like France considered their cases so horrific they were recorded, but not disseminated, with grisly details. Such restraint was commonplace in Europe and the U.S. as late as the 1950s. Dickson (1958, p. 128) defended Germany’s discouragement (under Hitler) of publicity in the Haarman case, the details of which were so “ghastly” that British and American newspapers “were quite properly reticent in their reports of the case.” There was a need in Germany, a country “which holds the record for perversion, to avoid, if possible, [further] crimes of imitation, of which . . . Denke [another killer] may have been an example” (p. 128). Despite the restraint, lurid trial details from Germany were found in the possession of the American cannibal (Fish), and used by a British murderer for profit (Haigh) in developing his “ridiculous blood-drinking” insanity defense (Dickson, 1958, p. 128). The fact that there *is* an historical record for the 15th century case of Gilles de Rais indicates the

seriousness and the rarity of such crimes, with little of the purported confusion of serial murderers with vampires or demon possession that Hickey (1991) has claimed. From the 15th through the 20th century, there were few reports of serial murders and fewer still that contained graphic details of torture such as those written by professors for college-aged (or younger) students, and for the general public's, reading pleasure: "Most persons are simply fascinated and shocked with the innovative destructiveness of multiple murderers" (Hickey, 1991, p. 33).

According to Petee and Jarvis (2000, p. 212), research interest was stimulated by high profile cases of the 1970s, such as Ted Bundy's, which made it appear that serial murder was "the next 'major crime trend' facing law enforcement." The editors do not explain the gap in time between the period when research *could have been* conducted on high profile murders (the 1970s), and the mid-1980s, when the first studies appeared rather belatedly and *en masse*. In the interim, there was no indication that any other researcher, aside from the author, would become interested in serial murder -- there were too few cases to warrant such interest until the United States Senate hearing on serial murderers (U.S. Congress, 1984) made the topic "officially" acceptable. While a number of authors are cited for advances made during the early period of research (e.g., Holmes & DeBurger, 1988; Levin & Fox, 1985), we do not learn what these researchers found. Rather, reasons are given that seem to justify the lack of progress, raising no expectations of subsequent success. While limited in scope, the early studies still remain the foundation for what is known today. Yet the body of knowledge that does exist is useless in the face of claims that truth is myth, and that reporters misinform us.

Petee and Jarvis (2000, p. 212, citing Egger, 1998) apparently believe that academic interest in serial murder has been declining. By the late 1980s, researchers realized that offenses were more complex and varied than anticipated. Instead of describing the variations, or documenting the divergence between what was anticipated and what was found, researchers expanded their focus to include other, equally complex, serial crimes (e.g., arson and rape). There was more interest in the attributes of offenders and in the (assumed) relationship between offenders and their crimes. Not surprisingly, a disparity now exists among American researchers as to the precise nature of serial murder. For example, how many victims are required to qualify as a series? What is the time span between offenses? Petee and Jarvis (2000, pp. 214-215) also believe that the lack of progress in the state of knowledge about all serial crimes stems from the lack of "reliable" data. That is, the commonly used government-generated data in criminology is not collected for sequential offenses. Data are collected for single offenses (i.e., for convenience). "In fact, most of the existing studies on serial offending are based on information collected from secondary sources on serial offending and compiled by the researchers themselves" (Petee & Jarvis, 2000, p. 212). If arrest statistics are the only reliable primary data sources, this would negate the purported advances of early serial murder research, ignore the relative success of Germany in maintaining a high clearance rate despite an increase in serial murder, and eliminate the justification the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) used to expand its jurisdiction. Even Wolfgang (1958) considered unsolved homicides an important problem that researchers should track. Declining clearance rates may well reflect upon police performance and investigations. Yet the primary sources of homicide data, the supplemental homicide reports "do not provide detailed information on the nature of the offense or, . . . the investigation. The existing research literature. . . establishes that national data" are not of use in "understanding clearance" (Wellford & Cronin, 2000, p. 6). Furthermore, the important point Jenkins (1988, pp.

2-3) noted in his study of serial murder in England was that the state of knowledge was rudimentary “even when our access to . . . facts about offenders and victims . . . is extensive,” and can be confirmed with multiple sources and reference works. Fortunately, this comprehensive coverage of murder in England (and other countries) was sufficient for Jenkins to compile a list of all serial murder cases, to find comparable offenders to those in the U.S., and to describe the justice system response to serial murderers over the past 100 years. Available materials allow the researcher to “explore the nature of the data and the subjects, to get an insight into the total situation” (Kerlinger, 1973, p. 522); they can also be used for drawing samples of representative cases for Europe and America (1873-1983), and to test hypotheses (Ritter, 1988).

Rather than developing a clear definition of serial murder, the four articles in this Special Issue (West, 2000; Salfati, 2000; Safarik, Jarvis & Nussbaum, 2000; and Muller, 2000, respectively, in Petee & Jarvis, 2000) discuss an applied solution. *Profiling*, or crime scene analysis, is being applied in Liverpool, England, and in the U.S., for wildly varying reasons. These include using crime scene information, together with psychotherapy, when assessing risk of murderers and pedophiles in Ashworth hospital; profiling of single-victim, solved murders in Liverpool; and American profiling of serial murders of elderly White women by Black males. Muller’s article offers a mild rebuke. He suggests that profiling might be useful for the many countries now experiencing serial murder, if it were based on testable premises. Since the premises of profiling (which lead to techniques to link offenses) may be used in courts of law and murder investigations, scientists should test -- or falsify -- their hypotheses before they hire out as experts. Even this is lacking, according to Muller, for the FBI produces profiles for most of the western world without even *developing* testable hypotheses, testing them, or publishing their results.

All these approaches to profiling are deemed questionable (Petee & Jarvis, 2000). All assume a consistency of behavior patterns that goes beyond the theoretical limits of research. These include the presumption, by clinicians (e.g., West, 2000), that using crime scene “behaviors” will lead to a better understanding of the motives of their patients, of the role of the victim in a rape-murder, of the meaning of the act, of the risk of reoffending, and of the mitigating explanations given by “offender/patients.” Crime scenes are believed to reveal an expressive or instrumental theme that differentiates offenders’ personality types, background, and interaction with the victim. Another belief is that offenders compulsively leave a “calling card” (or “signature”) that experts can now use to explain the killer’s motivations and to link isolated murders in a series. Unfortunately, these assumptions are severely weakened by the literature reviewed in a Home Office study on linking offenses (Grubin, Kelly, & Brunson, 2001), which reported crime scene information inadequate for offender typologies or for profiling. There is also a lack of research on two fundamental questions that should have been addressed before assumptions were made: “(a) What kind of patterns exist in regard to the commission of violent serial offending? and (b) Can knowledge of these patterns be used to aid law enforcement in the investigation of serial crime?” (Petee & Jarvis, 2000, p. 215).

There is so great a gap in the knowledge base that it raises serious questions about the purpose of serial murder research. Why do questions about the problem go unanswered while profiling has become the major “solution”? Do we really believe that scientific studies of serial

murder cannot be conducted, or that we must expand the role of “experts,” and the range of acceptable solutions?

Now, there are two widely held, yet competing, views of social science. One view restricts inquiry into new problems while greatly expanding the role of “experts” and the range of acceptable policies and solutions. In the other view, it is the aim of science to develop theories and to “discover new and useful information that can be verified by others who find the same results (Hilgard & Atkinson, 1967, p. 9).

The first view is reminiscent of positivism. In 1958, Vold warned criminologists of the harm that had been done by positivists whose views of people as innately different and uncorrectable lent themselves to the extremes of a totalitarian government. The “core idea” centered on scientific experts who conduct studies, decide who commits crime, and prescribe treatments “without concern for public knowledge and without consent from the person so diagnosed” (p. 310). Research can never go any further than an underlying theory that predetermines the problem and “the range of any ‘new’ information possible to discover.” In a recent text on criminological theory, Williams and McShane (1999, p. 46) blandly acknowledge and that all theories of crime, past and present, have had policy implications that have lent themselves to such extremes of social reform as extermination, for example, Hitler’s genocide programs.

In criminological positivism, a consensus view is maintained by unquestioned faith in the (middle class) value system. Faith is sufficient to make policy decisions on group deviance, without regard to legality or proportionality, “even when ‘exterminating’ groups of people designated as socially harmful” (Williams & McShane, 1999, p. 39). Deterministic, deductive theories are focused downward, from the criminologist to the downtrodden criminal, whose deficiencies are based on purported biological, sociological, or psychological causes. Facts about cases are received inductively, without being incorporated.

Criminals are considered deviant or abnormal, and should be treated or corrected. But if abnormality were the norm, serial murderers would not appear nearly as sane, ordinary, White, or middle-class as they do now, whether to the public via the media, to interviewers (including the FBI’s Ressler, Burgess, & Douglas, 1988), or to researchers (e.g., Hickey, 1991; Levin & Fox, 1985; Leyton, 1986). Researchers who have documented the incidence of serial murder, both in the U.S. and abroad, seem to feel no obligation to report their findings, so there is no need to account for the rise *and* fall of serial murder, in *waves*, brought under control in other nations. Nor is there any impetus to improve homicide investigations if clearance rates are high and if “murder in general is not susceptible to control, and random murder even more problematic” (Egger, 1985, p. 4). This may be the reason criminologists *expect not to find* that serial murder has increased, and, here, researchers deliver! Indeed, how could profilers help police without studying which police procedures are employed, or trying to determine how they could be improved, let alone offering methods to improve homicide clearance rates? After all, police must investigate those problematic cases that profilers do not study. Rarely do police seek expertise for the cases they solve with ease, even if this is the focus of most homicide research!

There *are* alternative ways of practicing science. In the (other) behavioral sciences, there are structured approaches for alternative hypothesis testing, diverse methods, and an accumulated knowledge base about normal human beings who may or may not commit violence. Generally, empirical psychologists, for example, conduct studies to test a theory, or to describe behavior among primate, or human, groups. While different academic disciplines use different techniques, there is, “in general a single scientific method based on three assumptions: (1) that reality is ‘out there’ to be discovered; (2) that direct observation is the way to discover it; and (3) that material explanations for observable phenomena are always sufficient, and that metaphysical explanations are never needed” (Lastrucci, in Bernard, 1995, pp. 3-4).

Studies by anthropologists (e.g., Bernard, 1995) and by psychologists are not implemented into policy -- they cannot even be conducted without oversight. Further, to make a contribution to the literature in these fields, research must be original, not duplicative or piecemeal, and results must be published without omissions or modifications. As noted in the American Psychological Association’s *Publication Manual* (2001, p. 348), the purpose of reporting research results is “to ensure the accuracy of . . . scientific knowledge” and “to protect intellectual property rights.”

For the present purposes, the most relevant and fundamental principle of science is this: “If one wants to solve a problem, one must generally know what the problem is A large part of the solution lies in knowing what it is one is trying to do. Another part lies in knowing what a problem, and especially a scientific problem is” (Kerlinger, 1973, p. 17). Discovering and clarifying the nature of the problem may take a scientist years. The emphasis, however, is on discovery and imagination, on conceptual leaps, tempered by training. On the basis of a heuristic hunch, the scientist takes a risky leap. According to Kerlinger (1973), “. . . it is the plunge by which we gain a foothold at another shore of reality. On such plunges the scientist has to stake bit by bit his entire professional life” (p. 8).

DEVELOPING A STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

Serial Murder and VICAP

Returning to the mid-1970s era, there were too few unsolved, ongoing serial murder cases to attract academic attention. There had been no pressing need to find the perfect definition of serial murder, or to determine how “mass” and “serial” murderers might be different. Psychiatrist Donald Lunde (1976) sums up the state of knowledge at the time. According to Lunde, the terms “mass” and “serial” were occasionally distinguished in the literature of psychiatry and law, where mass murder refers to single-episode killings. Serial murder refers to “a number of murders by a single person over a period of months -- or, occasionally, years. Each killing is a discrete episode, but there is usually a common motive, method, and/or type of victim” (p. 47). But Lunde was not persuaded that this was a meaningful distinction. In the early 1970s, he testified for the defense in three back-to-back Santa Cruz, California, trials involving a “motiveless” mass murderer (Frazier) and two serial murderers (Kemper and Mullin). Only Kemper was a sexual sadist. Lunde testified that all were psychotic. Lunde used the term “mass murder” to refer to both multiple-victim murders with no apparent motive, as well as to killings “for an apparent but perverse (often sexual) reason.” What is noteworthy about Lunde’s (1976, p.

61) work were his conclusions that homicide offenders were not responsible for all other crimes or members of a subgroup, and his inclusion of “collective crimes” among the mass murders he discussed. The perpetrators of these crimes range from the Manson “family” to those who planned and carried out the Nazi policy of genocide, and were not found to be insane. Lunde believed that “at least one characteristic of collective crimes resembles the phenomenon seen in sexual sadist murderers -- that is, the dehumanization of the victims or perception of them as objects” (p. 61). The perception of victims as “life-size dolls,” or “enemies of the state,” greatly facilitates the act of killing by providing moral and ideological justifications for murder. Re-defined murders are then internalized as reasons or rationalizations.

Put another way, fantasy alone is insufficient for action, as Wertham (1966) has written. What is required to incite or promote violence is a “legitimization,” or reason, for taking life. This is what occurs, for instance, when the military provides normally socialized people with the reasons for killing the “enemy,” and the techniques for skilled combat, often in classroom settings. In addition, “social practices that divide people into in-group and out-group members [are] conducive to dehumanization” (Bandura, 1973, p. 213). And one of the best documented rationalizations for mass killing is the vilification of the victim (Wertham, 1966), particularly when based on race or religion. While Lunde (1976, p. 1) described murder as increasing and emphasized the diversity among murderers and the types of murders committed, he did not foresee any change or increase in mass or serial murderers. In the psychiatric view, rare and psychotic serial sex killers do not vary over time or space.

Yet the biographical evidence on each of the so-called sex killers Lunde (1976) cites conflicts with his conclusions. They had *not* been found to be insane, showed no signs of mental disorder, had no psychiatric history, could avoid detection, were likely to repeat their murders, and were unlikely to benefit from treatment. What Lunde failed to see is that the same cultural values and social conditions under which murder increases apply even more to the murderer who chooses any dehumanized victims.

All this presents a problem for current research. While a psychiatrist such as Lunde (1976) or Wertham (1966) did not believe in expanding the use of psychiatry, such renowned non-psychiatrists as Hickey (1991) view frustration as a psychopathological condition and Ressler et al. (1988) want to see law enforcement work with the mental health community on treatment. This is a major contradiction from findings originally reported: Those who murder repeatedly were consistently found to be sane and “not only judged sane by legal standards, but indistinguishable from nonoffenders as they move within our communities” (Hickey, 1991, p. 65). They are intelligent and largely middle-class. They were rarely minorities and they suffered none of the disadvantages associated with oppression and inequality. They showed signs of promise and no signs of brain damage or physical stigmata. Neither Ressler et al. nor Hickey found more than anecdotal evidence to support the (recent) beliefs that serial murderers suffer physical or sexual abuse in childhood (these issues were tested with biographical information amassed on a sample of 27 cases from 4 nations in Ritter, 1988). The available data on females is even more striking. They showed no more trauma than noncriminals, and their motives were similar to men -- financial benefits, “revenge, enjoyment and sexual stimulation” (Hickey, 1991, p. 122). Hickey reported that the increasing number of serial murders included a sharp rise in females who killed strangers, almost all of whom were White and middle-to-upper class. Yet in

a *Homicide Studies* review of the literature by Cluff, Hunter, and Hinch (1997), both genders of serial murderers were described as *feeling* powerless and frustrated over their socio-economic status; they were categorized as similar to the conventional murderers found in Wolfgang (1958).

Further, in contrast to both England and Germany, each of which have had two serial murder waves, and still maintained a high clearance rate, there has been an increase in serial murder in the U.S. since the mid-1970s that has not crested. The number of cases (187 cases) has increased eightfold (Jenkins, in Lester, 1995), tenfold since 1970 “in comparison to the previous 174 years,” according to Hickey (1991, p. 75). Since deterministic theories cannot account for an increase in sane, middle-class murderers, the facts are ignored and changes are minimized. This is accomplished by averaging out change over longer periods of time, or giving an incidence rate that makes serial murder insignificant. The characteristics of serial murderers are also often altered, omitted, or muted, as in the above-noted review. Other problems with this research include the lack of honesty about the current state of the art on motives and social learning theories in empirical psychology. Particular psychologists such as Bandura (in Hickey, 1991) and Heusmann, Eron, Lefrowity, and Walder (in Salfati, 2000)¹ and their research on the spread of violence via television (contagion) is inaccurately reported, making it appear as if television is cathartic or has no ill effects on normal middle-class children and adults. Neither Bandura nor Heusmann et al. believe personality is set in childhood or that murder or crime is learned primarily through direct interaction (in families or poor neighborhoods). The field is further limited by professors who assign their own or each others’ texts, while omitting or ignoring their students’ use of dissertations and other works without *any* citation. In other words, “in serial murder research, everyone wants to be the first to predict causation” (Hickey, 1991, p. 65), no matter what the cost, apparently.

Much of what now passes for original research on serial killers, particularly among students, is almost pure statistics, and is more psychodynamic than Lunde (1976) was, and considerably less practical than what was introduced in 1983 in the U. S. Congressional hearing serial murders (U.S. Congress, 1984). As most researchers in the field seem to be more interested in serial killers *per se* than in their apprehension and conviction, they are unable to state, let alone utilize, the concept of serial murder as having emerged as a subset of the more general category of multiple-victim homicide. Consequently, few researchers today have any direct working knowledge of why or when they recognized the emergence of serial murder patterns that could be studied solely for the benefit of law enforcement.

¹Contrary to the focus on the victim and a presumed victim-offender relationship, psychologists have found that aggression is a social behavior that requires no reciprocity or willingness for its success. “One can injure and destroy to self advantage regardless of whether the victim likes it or not” (Bandura, 1973, p. 2). Motivation is now viewed as arousal and *abundancy*. Deficit motives are inconsistent with aggression, as they are limited to survival and safety needs -- food and escape from danger. Sex is not essential to individual survival. So few psychologists consider aggression to serve only one function that there is little support for a distinction between instrumental or expressive motives.

A concept such as serial murder is useful only to the extent that it is independent of the researcher, and is a naturally occurring, observable, phenomenon. No one has cited research conducted long before the 1983 Senate hearing on *Serial Murder*, but that event played a pivotal role in identifying serial murder as a law enforcement problem and as an impetus for research. It also created several problems and a state of ever-increasing confusion over the years. One result of the Senate hearing was to award, and keep rewarding any expert or officer who claimed to have an association with a famous serial murder case -- regardless of how, or if, the case was solved, or solved by another individual or jurisdiction. Holmes and DeBurger (1988, p. 116) describe cases such as Bundy's as if they were *career opportunities* and *vehicles for profit* and political power. (They cite Robert Keppel's use of Bundy as an example.) Financial benefits accrued to a detective who took the credit, for he could then sit back and bask in "glory for the rest of his career. Resulting promotions within the department may be rapid and frequent. Employment opportunities outside the department may be readily available and lucrative."²

The same unquestioned faith has been granted to an expert who claims to coin words such as "serial" or "signature," that are poorly explained ideas -- untested assertions offered without an empirical basis. For instance, it was believed that serial murderers' patterns and choice of victim types rarely deviated, and, with a computerized tracking system, the patterns or Modus Operandi (MO) would "literally leap" out of the computer (Rule, 1984). The Violent Criminal Apprehension Program (VICAP) was presented as an automated solution for the problems local police faced in dealing with multiple jurisdictional killers. It would eliminate an old and chronic problem of "critically important information being missed, overlooked, or delayed" by police in "widely dispersed areas" (Brooks, in U.S. Congress, 1984, pp. 39, 36). How would police learn what information is important to collect at the crime scene from a national tracking system that has never tried to assist police (to, e.g., identify specific data, elements within a series that should be collected and maintained during investigations of violent crimes such as murder [see Ritter, 1979])?

VICAP is "reported to have been the brainchild of Pierce Brooks" (Egger, 1985, p. 68; Keppel, 1995 p. 136), a former homicide detective-turned management consultant for a Multi-Agency Investigative Team [MAIT]. Brooks was a "mentor" and "super cop" for former detective Robert Keppel. He is credited with having thought up the idea of a national computerized system. He once went to the public library to see if there were similar crimes in neighboring areas, but that was in the 1950s. Yet, at the time VICAP was still in discussion stage, Brooks had to turn to Keppel to obtain a link to a multi-jurisdictional killer, head-line grabbing Ted Bundy. "A project associated with Ted Bundy's name would assist in convincing

²Keppel's current status is based on his own easily refuted claims of technological know-how with Bundy and Green River. His claims notwithstanding, he used a computer to match up "Ted" and reported to Utah authorities "but nothing came of it" (Winn & Merrill, 1980, p. 86). What should have mattered more was that he had been given the name: "We had several anonymous tips on a guy named Ted Bundy and worked a little on him, but he seems clean -- a degree in psych a good family." He dismissed Ted Bundy as a possible suspect. Further, he did not think there were good suspects in Green River, despite Gary Ridgeway's living witnesses, DNA, and the Homicide Information Tracking System.

the politicians in charge of the purse strings that the program was indispensable” (Keppel, 1995, p. 138). Indeed, at the Senate hearing, John Walsh told Senators Specter and Hawkins how frustrated Brooks was -- he had even spent some of his own money “trying to get this system going.” Brooks and colleagues were “close to giving up.” Senator Hawkins responded: “It is a lot of money [but] if it could solve one murder, it is worth it. The least we can do is to say that we will get you the \$1 million.”³

So little was known about the patterns, history, or diversity of serial murderers’ lives or crimes over time and space before VICAP was developed that misguided, untested, assumptions were built into the system and such state-level counterparts as Keppel’s Homicide Information Tracking System (HITS) in Washington. Further, the emphasis was on automation, coupled with management and control of task force investigations. If no one had studied the patterns to help police investigating serial murders, it is hardly surprising that an automated tracking system like VICAP or HITS would fail. Indeed, Keppel summarized what he had learned from the Bundy and Green River cases: “I’ve been involved in over 50 different serial killer investigations with well over 1000 victims but I haven’t been able to help [police] get through, either” the trauma of an investigation of a serial killer, “or to figure out how to proceed to catch him.” Because of his extended interviews with Bundy, “people started to believe that I really knew what I was talking about,” Keppel said. He went on to admit that ultimately he had little faith in what killers relayed in interviews. And although he thought “we do need to study these people” he doesn’t know “how you do it. We do not know anything about [them]” (Bellamy, 2003).

And, in fact, VICAP offered little help to local police and few of the necessary conceptual and procedural tools that might have been useful to solve their own cases. VICAP used the last of the LEAA funds intended to improve investigation and enhance the role of the “cop on the beat” in criminal investigations. VICAP was based on the Integrated Criminal Apprehension Program or ICAP. But ICAP was one of many programs that would have moved the locus of control from detectives and given more to patrol officers. ICAP was developed in the aftermath of studies (e.g., by Rand Corporation and LEAA’s Crime Analysis System Support [CASS] project) indicating that detectives contributed little to investigations. If the offender was not caught at the scene, there was little chance of apprehension at the detective level. LEAA also recommended that crime analysis functions and record-keeping systems be implemented manually, not just designed, before requesting funds for equipment. ICAP structured resource allocation -- it had nothing whatsoever to do with solving murders. ICAP seems to have become, or branched off into, two directions -- serial murder and VICAP, *and*, the “three strikes” for “serious habitual offender and drug involved program” (Heck, Pindur, & Wells, 1986).

Information on VICAP submitted by Pierce Brooks describes a computerized crime analysis system, that, when operational, will be designed to “collect, collate, and analyze all

³Keppel wrote (1995, pp. 368) that “It all began with Ted Bundy’s advise that police agencies develop a violent crime tracking system on computer. That eventually became reality with the FBI’s VICAP program” Bundy “was indirectly responsible for the development of the program because his cases, spread out across hundreds of miles, were the types of crimes VICAP trackers and profilers were trying to investigate.”

aspects of the investigation of similar pattern multiple murders . . .” (U.S. Congress, 1984, p. 27). The Washington State Attorney General’s Office developed computerized programs, namely HITS and the Computer Aided Tracking and Characterization of Homicides (CATCH), to meet the needs identified in such cases as Ted Bundy and the Green River Killer. They, too, were designed to “collect, collate and analyze the salient characteristics of all murders” (Keppel, 1995). Unfortunately, no one had asked the many police departments involved in ICAP, crime analysis, or murder investigations, what *they* wanted, or believed was needed. Detectives were simply asked to fill out and turn in what Brooks gave them -- a 68-page form for each murder! No one had even studied these most famous cases, Keppel (1995) admitted, to find out *how police solved them*. At best, VICAP might have coordinated information to and from police who needed help to determine whether unsolved murders could be *linked*. But it could never aid police in solving murder without apparent motives. The entire apparatus for crime fighting has become a search for habitual offenders or for killers’ motives.

Commenting on the lack of systematic work on serial killing, Egger reported there was no research, adding Brooks’ statement: “Serial murder is a phenomenon about which little is known” (1985, pp. 3). The “Hillside Strangler,” Ted Bundy, and the “Boston Strangler” had become familiar to the public through the media and the public was putting pressure on police to solve the cases earlier in the series. Egger emphasized (1985, pp. 3-4) that victims were selected at *random* which meant “that potentially *everyone is at risk*” (my emphasis). The “phenomenon touches a strongly held social value in our society: the value of human life.” A consensus had developed: “The public demands that serial murder be controlled and stopped. To cross the path of a serial murderer is not a situation which the American public can or will tolerate” (1985, p. 4). No one suggested any new methods for early detection of a serial murderer or for apprehension. There were no established “procedures or policies” and “no body of knowledge” for police to use to improve investigation of serial homicides. That is what police needed for they were “not adept at identifying or apprehending the murderer who sequentially kills strangers [across] jurisdictions and state lines” (Egger, 1985, p. 5). But Egger calls this problem “linkage blindness” for which he holds police responsible! The inability to see a pattern is due to a refusal to share information necessary to solve serial murder. More “horizontal networking” (detectives talking to each other), the continued focus on definitions, automation, management, and, later, targeting victim networks, have been Egger’s main contribution to serial murder and the law enforcement response for the past 20 years.⁴

We *can* move beyond the issue of definitions by using events -- those high profile “task force” cases of the 1970s that *were* the basis for the author’s research. These cases offer lessons about the killer(s), the evolution of the crimes, the police (press and public) response, as well as the working assumptions of law enforcement. The main element that we can (potentially) modify

⁴Definitions seem something of a “red herring.” First, if experts cannot decide what is meant by a term, they should learn or stop claiming expertise. Second, definitions are traditionally limited to doctoral dissertations which are intended to clarify issues (e.g., definitions), and make them explicit. In a topic such as multiple murders, a dissertation can establish a data base for future scholars. This occurs where the universe of cases is described and clarified through explicit sampling procedures and a representative sample of cases.

is the police (and “experts”) response, so it is important to assess the adequacy of conceptualizations of the killer, and the crimes, in order to eliminate impediments to solution. It is also important to identify which of a combination of interactions between killer and police affect the outcome. For instance: for the purpose of early detection it is necessary to know when victim linkage can first be detected and by whom -- the media or the police? And, ultimately, we need to translate findings about those patterns into knowledge that *can* be used to help “law enforcement in the investigation of serial crime” (Petee & Jarvis, 1999, p. 211). This *is* a statement of the problem.

Serial Murder and ICAP

Even a modest contribution to serial homicide solutions requires our knowing what the problem is and where our research may be useful. Like most homicide researchers, the author’s aim was to discover a way to reduce the loss of life by murder. We bring to this endeavor, diverse fields, training, and worldviews that vary with the times and places where we live and move. The concerns of great professors may set a path and stimulate us. Because academic fields and geographic regions do change, researchers also need an education that is broad and sufficient to give rise to burning questions about the human condition. Is aggression an instinct or a drive caused by frustration? Is it inevitable? Is it directed up or directed down? Does murder occur at a constant rate or does it vary in form and rates across cultures and over time?

At the New School for Social Research, in New York City (1971-1973), the central concern for students and professors of social psychology was prejudice, and its reduction. Even in classes in abnormal psychology, we were challenged to undo the damage done by psychoanalysts such as Bruno Bettelheim,⁵ in particular, to develop an explanation for the Holocaust that did not blame the victims. I continued this line of inquiry after graduating, and initiated a research project on it after moving to San Diego in 1974. It was a time of change in the nature of violence, and in the use of criminal justice resources. The intention was to find a method of analysis, and an explanation, for crimes that ranged from genocide to multiple murder, without blaming the victim, offering justification for the crime, or having empathy that absolves the killer(s).

During the 1970s, before Southern California became associated with serial murder, it was a region particularly hard hit by new and unusual types of violence. While there was no research *per se* on multiple-victim homicides, what could be studied were the unexplained cases. These included multiple murders by juveniles, e.g., teenaged girls (sniper Brenda Spencer), boys, who killed their families, and youth who set hotels or sleeping men on fire for kicks, the pointless brutality of Lawrence Singleton (a rapist who cut the forearms off a teenaged girl) and other sex offenders who, when “treated” and released, went on to kill repeatedly. This was the period when Jim Jones killed with Kool Aid, Dan White used the “Twinkie Defense,” Charles

⁵Bettelheim (1960) used his experience in the camps to psychoanalyze the defense mechanisms of his fellow inmates. This typical view of the Holocaust focuses on its victims. The Home Office Research Study 176, *The Perpetrators of Racial Harassment and Racial Violence* (Sibbitt, 1976), found that media and researchers, who focus on the victims, rather than the perpetrators, allow the latter to remain hidden. The same passive style and focus on the victims was noted about accounts of the Holocaust.

Manson follower Leslie Van Houton was being retried for the third time, and the Hillside Strangler was an ongoing crime. In short, there were so many versions of “spectacular cases” that were left unexplained perhaps because they were so lacking in apparent motives, and so often tied to failed and *hidden* policies. In essence, these were cases that made *all* murders seem both real *and* pointless tragedies. They were among the crimes that needed to be monitored to understand future trends such as the current decline in clearance rates.

Among the advantages of beginning research where one resides at a time when new crimes are emerging, is that it makes it easier to track events and determine first-hand, from ongoing investigations and attending trial proceedings, what type(s) of research practitioners needed. It also becomes possible to gather evidence on cases that seem to shed light on broader trends. Because this research began before, and apart from, any notable increase in serial murder, more attention was given to a broader spectrum of cases that posed problems for all segments of the criminal justice system. It is this spectrum that illuminates changes in the nature of violence, in part by demonstrating the innumerable departures of actual crimes from the restrictive crime classifications that police use. Details about crimes and offenders seemed to be increasingly inconsistent with traditional conceptualizations of either. It soon became apparent that these changes needed to be documented in an ongoing referencing system. Consequently, I developed a data base for the purpose of storing, analyzing, and monitoring ongoing or complex cases, emerging crime trends, and crime-related information culled from journals and mass media sources. This information, when filled in with and cross-referenced to historical precedents, cross cultural patterns, related cases, and relevant trends, covers a wide spectrum of cases, in addition to serial murder. In contrast, the criminologist or clinician who is interested in serial murder rarely considers broader problems such as homicide clearance. They only compare the demographics and incidence of serial murder(ers) to persons arrested in easily solved cases. And, of course, they find the former to be fewer. But this misses the point. Homicides increasingly fall somewhere along a spectrum, with serial and traditional cases at either end. Murder *is* more than demographics and mental status.

There has been a decline in the most easily solved cases and a rise in crimes with unknown motives and unknown relationships. Law enforcement’s ability to make arrests for homicides has consequently been greatly diminished because of these changes in the nature of homicide. The fact that we know little about those changes is “the result of limitations with the national data on homicides The literature does not help law enforcement agencies develop policies and procedures” that have any hope of increasing homicide clearance (Wellford & Cronin, 1999, p. 6).⁶

The “literature,” in fact, conforms to the pessimistic view that murder is a crime that police cannot control or counteract. The conclusion, therefore, has been that altering police practices to increase homicide clearance would be a waste of resources. To affect clearance rates,

⁶The problem has been blamed on minorities and their communities for not cooperating with police when they could do so. However, the cases found by the researchers to be *most* likely to be solved involve minority victims -- African Americans and Hispanics, with eyewitnesses (friends, family or neighbors) who provide police with detailed, valuable information such as the location and identity of a suspect.

we focus our resources on the minor crime, or the assault, presumed to precede a (felony or argument) homicide. Yet, we *could* do a better job without locking up petty offenders. Policies and procedures *can* be combined to produce higher *homicide* clearance rates. Researchers Wellford and Cronin (1999) found that most *homicides can be solved by the actions of police* and sufficient manpower. The same actions were effective whether the city in question had high or low homicide rates. Conversely, cities had lower clearance rates without these actions, regardless of their rates of homicide. What leads to higher clearance rates are as fundamental as the initial officer securing the crime scene; notifying the homicide unit, medical examiner, and crime lab; and locating any witnesses. At least 3-4, preferably 11, detectives work a murder case; they interview witnesses. The detectives describe the crime scene, using measurements.

If such basic police practices as these are so widely neglected, most American communities are left unprotected. On the other hand, Wellford and Cronin's (2000) findings, reported in a federally funded (NIJ) study, could lead to renewed efforts to improve investigations at the local level. That was the direction taken almost 30 years ago when LEAA funded a number of studies and programs to help improve the effectiveness of police work. This research, including the Rand Corporation's studies (see Greenwood, Chaiken, Petersilla, & Prusoff, 1975), found that the once-glorified detective had little effect on crime, arrests, or clearance rates, regardless of training or workload. Detectives produced little new or useful information in felony investigations. Offenders were either caught at the scene by the responding officer -- or not at all. Most crimes received no follow-up investigation. The issue is not that homicides cannot be controlled by police. Rather, there were problems in investigations with regard to conceptualizing important variables for solution, especially when no relevant material is obtained from the crime scene. Although rarely mentioned today, these studies created turbulence, and opportunities for better policing in police departments throughout Canada and the United States. But experiments were underway to develop and manage new, alternative, investigative strategies. Greater emphasis was placed on interdepartmental (and police-prosecutor) cooperation. Apprehension required recognition that investigative and patrol functions were inseparable. Case solutions hinged on documenting relevant crime scene information. For investigations to be improved, there had to be a better understanding of the information that can be gathered and analyzed by any police department. By 1979, automation alone had already proven to be a disappointment, producing vast amounts of information with no means of using or even understanding it. LEAA's Crime Analysis System Support (CASS) found that most police departments expressed a need for a report formatting system that could be used by any department with data base files. The Rand study reported that the great diversity in crime report forms was indicative of basic differences among police departments in terms of their understanding what types of information can or should be collected in a crime report for purposes of investigation and prosecution: "Documentation of relevant crime scene information by patrol heavily influences case solution . . ." (Greenberg, Elliot, Kraft, & Proctor, 1977). Thus, knowing more about an unknown offender requires knowing more about the salient features of a complex crime.

There was a need for research in the 1970s, and more so today, with nations worldwide having problems with serial offenses, to explain how behaviors might be tied to certain offenders, or how to identify crimes with high link potential, the extent of behavioral consistency, and what is meant by "signature" or "calling cards" (Grubin, Kelly, & Brunson,

2001). There is a need in particular for formatting system using a small number of variables that have been shown to be important for investigations. The Home Office study on linking found VICAP, HITS, and even Canada's Violent Crime Linkage Analysis System (VICLAS) to be lacking in terms of knowing what information to collect, and thus collecting and accumulating too much information to know what they have (Grubin et al., 2001). The authors further found that while VICLAS was the most superior automated system and had linked unusually high numbers of serial offenses, it was little more than a static data base. It stores rather than analyzes information, and too much information at that. The authors recommended that England adopt a single incident report form to ensure that the most important information was collected systematically.

Unfortunately, there is little research on investigations, other than solubility factors, which often indicate that a murder will not be solved. What good is such information; except to tell police they should give up? Following Robert Keppel, we should never have caught the Green River Killer even though he was repeatedly "caught" and released. It would be far more helpful to know such as information as why no one questioned a claim that there was no timely suspect data, especially when DNA was obtained from the *first victims*. Or, were there living witnesses (i.e., attempts to kill a victim) who reported the crime and led police to the suspect and/or families who did the same? Even more compelling, were there any individuals entered into HITS who were also identified by name because they came to tell the task force about his problems with prostitutes or his knowledge of given victims? With such evidence, what accounts for the lack of clarity about "calling cards" or "signatures" is that the terms, like VICAP, have been explained with the same words "collect, collate," etc., by super cops, none of whom has any research to support their claims of expertise. Furthermore, no one seems to actually be doing investigations. Keppel and former FBI agents such as John Douglas enter the process *after* there is a suspect, but little evidence. They are using terms they never explain at trial for purposes of *conviction*. This is a profound misreading of the author's or someone else's work. A "calling card" refers to a subtle link that can be found at the crime scene or in a detailed MO; it is not a compulsion. It is a clue for early detection during an investigation. Famed detectives have changed the nature of the American justice by failing to investigate and by testifying in cases that could not otherwise be linked.

RESEARCH THAT ADDRESSES PROBLEMS AND SOLUTIONS

Much can be determined about a killer's patterns by analyzing the crimes of solved and unsolved cases, and by using apprehended killers as the basis for conclusions and guides to modify (deductive) theories. Press reports about the crimes supply the best, and sometimes only, source of information with which to link crimes earlier in the series. This includes when and where the victim were obtained, the dates and locations, and the time spans between incidents, along with any specific (noticeable and undisputed) behaviors such as burials on hillsides or repeated use of a .44 caliber gun held in an unusual "Wild West" fashion, leaving a high number of wounded victims who are living witnesses and ballistic evidence. Accepting these acts as facts, supplemented with historical and comparable cases, recent, relevant trends, and previously apprehended killers, provide the critical first step in developing a useful "profile" or conception of what can be done to improve investigations. Using previously solved cases, without regard to type of crime, we have a better idea of the types of problems such cases posed for investigators.

By 1979, it was possible to draw lessons from task force cases requiring extensive investigations, and referred to as the “largest manhunts in history.” Such cases as Los Angeles’s “Hillside Strangler” and New York’s “.44 caliber” (Son of Sam) killer, disclose the gap between facts and psychodynamic concepts of the so-called “sex killer,” between the projected psychological profiles and the apprehended suspects (e.g., Bianchi, Berkowitz, and Bundy). The task force case offers clues to the working assumptions (implicit theories) of law enforcement. For instance, investigating each victim in an unsolved crime as a distinct, isolated incident often impedes early detection of a series, whereas investigating all cases involving “overkill” without apparent motive or known offenders as potential warning signs may help guide police in gathering important information routinely. A method was needed to prevent a killer from having to prove the linkage by increasing the frequency and brutality of the crimes.

The research intended for the “cop on the beat” began with the recognition that complex cases often have clues that can be used and/or good police work, but that the two were not consistently or often combined in a structured framework that could be replicated by others.

To structure the data collection, the salient crime scene features must be documented by the responding officer(s). Because no one knows what they will find, because there is such difficulty in conceptualizing important information at the crime scene, because police are sometimes sued for failure to actively investigate murders or are charged of planting evidence, and because there are claims of “signatures” that may convict someone, the idea developed to have police become a witness in cases where there are none. In thinking about how to approach a crime scene, from reading the patrol and crime analysis studies, and from working with a crime analysis unit, it became apparent that the age of technology could aid investigation.

Table 1 provides a brief form and space for training and use for any incident, and the suggestions that could make each crime scene private, secure, and wholly open to scrutiny at any time. How? By beginning each investigation wholly hooked up to videotaping and recording equipment, with images transmitted back to the station and preserved. The responding officers would approach the crime scene, secure the premises, be assured their own observations were checked against that of others, and have complete support, via video transmission to and from the precinct. By videotaping and gaining advice, fewer people would be needed for onsite investigation, but more material would be available at any later date for those who follow up the investigation and for those who prosecute the case.

The table and notes indicate how the need for new sources of information can be put to use by police witnesses. This is an idea for insuring that relevant and necessary information is not lost at the crime scene. As indicated by the above, detectives, working together, and with their partners and departments, would act as witnesses, supervising each other and being supervised, in cases where only potential evidence exists.

The Incident Report Guidelines shown in Table 2 were the subject of two grant proposals supported by the San Diego Police Department’s Crime Analysis Unit (ICAP) and will be discussed in subsequent papers. Like the crime analysis unit, less attention was given to the victim’s personality and character and more to the crime scene and sources of potential evidence.

TABLE 2. Guidelines for Completing Incidence Report

VICTIM CHARACTERISTICS	MO & SITUATIONAL CHARACTERISTICS	EVIDENCE
<p>1. Date, Name, Address, etc. A. Home address. B. Address last seen. C. Address where body found.</p> <p>2. Demographics</p> <p>3. Physical Description / Social Status A. Sex B. Age C. Hair color / style D. Occupation / SES E. Income Level F. Appearance / Attractiveness</p> <p>4. Psychological Description & / or Character Vignette: A. General: extrovert / introvert? B. Recent Conflicts and moods. C. Fear of crime? Of this series?</p> <p>5. Lifestyle A. Likely precautions taken.</p> <p>6. Activity When Last Seen</p> <p>7. Intended Destination</p>	<p>1. Length of time Missing When Found</p> <p>2. Cause of Death A. Types of Injuries 1. Qualitative (severity); overkill? 2. Quantitative (# of)</p> <p>3. Weapons: Type(s) and number.</p> <p>3. Position & Condition of Body Salient A. Features 1. Posture. 2. Mutilation. If so, before or after death? 1. Qualitative (e.g. bite marks) 2. Quantitative (e.g., dismemberment) 3. Sexual Molestation?</p> <p>4. Victim's Clothing & Personal Belongings A. Presence or lack of. B. Nature and condition of: C. Location of D. Condition of</p> <p>5. Disposal of Body A. Location B. Accessibility C. Risk factor involved in the disposal D. Time period between abduction and murder E. Time period between disappearance & time of death. F. Signs body moved from place of murder to place of disposal</p> <p>6. Sequential Relationships A. Distance from last victim B. Time period between victims</p>	<p>1. Time & Place of Abduction A. Was abduction/ seduction scene a public area such that abduction with brute force would have attracted attention? B. What is the likelihood that the victim and murderer were seen together? C. What is the risk factor involved in procuring victim from this location?</p> <p>2. Choice of & Relationship to Victim A. Random vs. specific victim– was it possible that killer could have stalked the victim? B. Were there other potential victims who came in contact with the killer but weren't killed? C. Previous relationship between killer and victim?</p> <p>3. Identification Factors A. Eye witnesses 1. Validity of eye witness information: lighting, distance, length of time seen, portion of body seen, awareness of crisis. 2. Eye witness accounts in trial testimony. 3. Eyewitness accounts in suspect apprehension</p> <p>4. Possible Suspects A. Likelihood that killer is within known offender population?</p> <p>5. Confession A. Multiple personality defense B. Accusations by co-conspirators</p>

The noted items of “victim characteristics” are those that have been found useful. The focus on the victim has been ineffective and dependence upon victim-offender relationships are not necessary. Potential impediments to solution (e.g., lack of ostensible motivation and dependence upon set types of crimes and restrictive crime categories, and victim-offender relationships) were omitted by structuring the data gathering process. There is a need to provide innovative ways of helping police. The Incident Report Guidelines offers investigators identifiable items of evidence from cases may be obtained. This abbreviated guide would be elaborated in training and has been tested be an effective means of linking cases, even when the only available data is based on news reports. For further information on “Perspectives and Procedures for Serial Murder” (Ritter, 1979), contact the author.

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**A PRAGMATIC MODEL TO BETTER INTEGRATE
THEORY AND POLICY ON HOMICIDE
(Theory in Progress)**

Derral Cheatwood
Department of Sociology, University of Texas at San Antonio
6900 N Loop 1604 West, San Antonio, TX 78249-0655

ABSTRACT

In an attempt to better integrate theory and policy, I propose a model that conceptualizes violence as a process whose outcome, lethal or non-lethal, remains undetermined until the last moment of the process. This model would enable us to involve existing theories at each level of scale, and suggests that pragmatic interventions are possible at every level and at any point in time. Key elements include a de-emphasis on the concept of cause, an emphasis on scale, and a focus on the dynamic evolution of violent acts. Eight propositions that structure the model are presented.

INTRODUCTION

Any given act of violence may result in either a lethal or a non-lethal outcome. However, it is not intent, level of violence, nor the agent of the violence that guarantees a lethal result. It is solely the outcome itself that is the distinction: in lethal violence someone ends up dead, and in non-lethal violence they do not. This is critical in emphasizing that the distinction between lethal and non-lethal violence is based solely upon the *outcome*; indeed, all violence is non-lethal until a victim dies.

It seems intuitively obvious that there is a significant relationship between lethal and non-lethal acts. If the violent act is the subject of our research, the metaphorical coin we study, then lethal or non-lethal outcomes are simply two sides of that same coin. But while our theories address the origin of the coin and the process of the coin toss, they really do not provide a model to consider why one side comes up rather than another. Our theories often explain correlates of violence, or attempt to explain how a violent act evolves. But few theories of behavior provide us with a model to understand how or why violence culminates in a lethal rather than a non-lethal outcome or, perhaps most importantly, to enable people to act to decrease the probability of a lethal outcome from an act of violence. There are some exceptions, weapon instrumentality being one of the most obvious. However, even these tend to be empirical findings or explanations for some empirical observation rather than independent theories.

The proposition that lethal and non-lethal violence are merely two possible outcomes following from the same act is not new. I think that this is the dominant belief among those who study murder. But, while we recognize this and accept the proposition that these are manifestations of the same basic act, we do not have a systematic model applicable to theory or policy as to how this occurs or what to do about it. The model I propose is not a theory, because it relies on other theories for explanation or understanding of activity at a number of levels.

Rather, it is a way of looking at the world which, hopefully, systematizes our approach, helps us organize our discussion of lethal and non-lethal violence, helps us understand the evolution of a lethal act, and provides a pragmatic, working model for practitioners at all levels who have the opportunity to reduce lethal violence.

The key elements of this model are:

1. A focus on the dynamic, continuous evolution of behavior leading to any given outcome;
2. An emphasis on the importance of understanding levels of scale;
3. A de-emphasis on the idea of cause, and a stress instead on the idea of contributory factors that influence the probability of a specific outcome.

The model is proposed in order to more tightly integrate theory and policy in the study of homicide. It proposes to do so by moving us away from theories which seek causes, to models which look at contributory factors, how they interact, and under what conditions. Based upon this model, we propose two questions. First, from the perspective of theory I ask: How did the interaction reach one particular outcome rather than another? Second, from the perspective of policy I ask: How can we intervene at each stage in that interaction to increase the probability of a non-lethal, rather than a lethal, outcome? The model consists of eight propositions that develop these ideas.

MODEL

The model is structured with the following eight propositions.

- 1. There are no causes for a homicide, and as a consequence a homicide is never the foreordained result of a situation.**

This model rests in a fundamentally indeterministic universe. As a consequence, it challenges the concept of cause itself. It is important to understand that this proposition is an ontological statement -- it envisions a universe in which indeterminism is a fact. Obviously, that goes against the grain of what most of us have learned "science" is. I suggest, however, that we need to reject that model of scientific cause for a number of reasons.

Pragmatically, for the development of working theories, "cause" implies that some real world answer exists, and that if we only knew the cause or the multiple causes underlying the phenomenon we would know the answer. This proposition of an indeterministic universe rejects that implication, arguing instead that no cause, nor any finite combination of causes, exists to explain or predict any outcome. Also, the concept of "cause" does not translate well to levels of scale. We tend to say we are looking for the cause of crime when, more commonly, we are actually looking for the "cause" of differing crime rates, differing types or levels of criminal situations, or for the "cause" of individual criminal behavior. Our problems with theory and explanation are in part due to the fact that we are usually unclear about this, and that "cause" does not allow us to move easily between levels of scale. As a consequence, "cause" does not allow us to do a particularly good job of explaining reality. When we suggest, for example, that poverty "causes" crime we more often actually mean that levels of poverty show correlations

with levels of crime rates. We then have difficulty in our theories bringing that explanation down to the street level of individuals committing crimes.

On a more philosophical level, a strictly deterministic universe locks us into an infinite regression, in which all current states are explained by prior states and conditions, and since those must have been explained themselves by prior states and conditions, we find ourselves regressing to the Big Bang. Of course, we find a number of explanations for how life is not really determined to that degree -- but if something (indeed if anything) is not strictly determined -- then we do indeed live in a universe that is indeterministic.

2. In any situation, and at any time during that situation, a homicide is merely one outcome from a number of possible outcomes.

Nature does not recognize the abstractions of cause and effect, nor of beginnings and ends, we place on it. By beginning with an outcome, as we currently do, and seeking determinants to explain that outcome we come to believe the outcome itself was pre-determined. If we begin our analysis with data that are drawn from homicides, we know that death is the ending in the situations we study. However, we need to constantly remember that up to the point of the victim's death, that lethal outcome was only one of an extremely large number of potential outcomes.

Consider a shooting between two male antagonists in a bar which results in the death of one -- a murder. All of us who study homicides have at least one case like that in our data. Yet at any stage in the interaction, even at any stage of the interaction in that bar, a number of outcomes remained possible. Friends could have pulled the two apart. One could have seen a woman friend that was of more interest than the argument he was beginning to get into. When the first antagonist pulled a gun and fired he might have missed, he might have wounded but not killed the second antagonist, and the list goes on and on.

Nature, in the broadest sense, does not impose any meanings. We decide that the death of one individual constitutes an end we call murder, and begin our study there. But that designation is, in itself, and abstraction of the process. Certainly for the individuals involved, for the police, for society, and for us it is an important distinction. But we need to remember that in nature -- which is the source of our subject matter -- there are no beginnings or ends, only changes.

3. Until the last instant, that outcome is not certain, and therefore can be changed.

As a consequence of the understandings outlined in the previous propositions, this model is fundamentally pragmatic. In a deterministic universe, that would not be the case. By rejecting strict causative models, and by recognizing the constant process that goes on in what we study, we open the possibility of influencing behavior at every instance during that process.

In the study of homicide and in society's reactions to homicides we have already seen this operate on a policy level of scale. The development of Emergency Medical Technicians and the concept of rapid triage at the scene rather than transfer to a hospital by an ambulance has brought about a change in the probability of a lethal outcome in trauma situations. Realize, then,

that as a result there are a number of cases of “homicide” that we would have had to explain in 1960 which, following this change in technology and policy, we no longer even see as cases of homicide since the victim lived. A number of scholars have looked at the impact of medical resources on homicide, but it is critical for our model of theory, and our attempt to integrate theory and policy at all levels, to understand that nothing is determined until the final instant, and until that last split second all things are changeable.

4. The probability of that specific outcome -- a homicide -- is conditioned by an infinite number of factors preceding the outcome.

This again suggests a fundamentally indeterministic universe. But now we are making an epistemological statement about that universe. From that perspective, even if the universe were deterministic, we could never establish cause because we can never eliminate all other possible causative variables. The Butterfly Effect, drawn from Chaos Theory, expresses this understanding. Everything happening everywhere can, in some way, have an impact on any other phenomenon over time. The fact is, then, that cause is always a theoretical construct, and not a description of the empirical world.

Rather than “cause,” I would propose the idea of contributory factors. All factors could have an impact or make some contribution to the probability of one given outcome occurring rather than another. However, it is obvious that some factors will have a much greater role or impact in the probability of a specific outcome. It is these “contributory factors,” existing in differing combinations across the levels of scale, that should be the focus of our study.

5. A finite set of these factors will have the largest contribution to increasing the probability of that lethal outcome rather than some other.

This is what makes science possible in an indeterministic world. This is what determines the goal for research -- the identification of the limited set of contributory factors that play the greatest role in bringing about the outcome with which we are concerned. It is the very nature of theory to try to identify these factors. We are trying to improve our odds in our ability to predict that some given outcome will occur given a set of prior variables, interactions, and conditions. It is also what makes the model relevant to policy. The better we are at understanding the evolution of those contributory factors, the better we can determine which factors are subject to intervention.

We also need to be aware that we have to make a distinction between the event itself and the outcome of the event. Factors that may be relevant in determining the probability of the event itself ever occurring may, or may not, be important in determining the probability of the outcome of the event. Consider a fight, for example. Whether a fight will or will not occur is dependent upon a number of factors. However, once the fight occurs, whether it will result in a lethal outcome or a non-lethal outcome is dependent upon another set of factors, and some of those factors may be the same, but some of them, perhaps all of them, may not be.

Or, consider the relationship and contribution of alcohol and guns to violence. We know that the presence of a gun conditions the probability of a lethal outcome in an altercation because

of the increased lethality of the weapon. We also know that alcohol increases the probability of an altercation -- but do we know whether the presence of alcohol increases the probability of that altercation turning lethal? One of the interesting clues coming from Loeber's presentation (see Opening Presentation) is the indication that there may be characteristics of the offenders that not only condition the probability of an altercation, but also affect the chances that that altercation will turn deadly.

6. These contributory factors exist at different levels of scale, and they can be influenced influenced at different levels of scale.

This means that we can influence and prevent many homicides by addressing the more significant contributory factors at each level of scale. A significant first task, then, is identifying the level of scale at which our data exist. Criminologists commonly look at one of three situations. First, we actually study crime rates. We ask variations on the questions: "How do crime rates differ across time and space (and, indirectly, why)?" To do this we look at factors existing at aggregate data levels, for this is the level of scale at which "rates" exist. Second, we actually study criminal situations. We ask variations on the question "What is characteristic of times and places in which criminal acts are more likely to occur." To examine this we look at combinations of individual and aggregate data, because "situations" exist at a level bridging the structure and the individual. And finally, we actually study criminal behavior. We ask variations on the question: "What factors are important in the evolution of criminal behavior in an individual?" To do this correctly, we must look at individual factors at micro-levels of scale to find answers.

These are very different questions existing at very different levels of scale, and requiring different understandings for both theory and policy. More importantly, the factors that have major contributory roles, and thus are central to our understanding, at any of the three levels of scale may not have such roles, and thus may not be important to our understanding, at either of the other levels of scale. Understanding how poverty influences homicide rates, for example, does not necessarily tell us how poverty influences individuals committing criminal acts.

7. These levels of scale are, in the real world, seamless; but they can be separated abstractly for theory and policy purposes.

At an initial abstract level we can identify at least three important levels of scale for both theory and policy purposes. They correspond roughly to the levels discussed above. First, there are macro-societal theories based upon aggregate data. At the level of policy, this is a province of broad legislative or political bodies. Any solution to high levels of poverty in large segments of the population, for example, will have to come from decisions made at those levels. Second, there are those mid-level theories that address individuals engaging in interactions in specific situations. These are relevant to lower level political structures, and to the administrative level of policy makers in social service, criminal justice, and other agencies. Finally, theories at the micro, interactional, or individual level are relevant for those practitioners who deal with street level policy and practice on a day-to-day basis. For any practitioners and policy makers, then, there are four questions to ask:

1. At what level of scale am I operating?
2. What are the most significant factors operative at this level?
3. On which of those factors can I have the greatest impact?
4. How can I most effectively influence those factors?

8. It is not just the existence of these factors, but how they interact, and under what conditions they exist and interact, that determines the probability of any given outcome.

Theory is a recipe for producing some outcome, and no recipe is just a list of ingredients. Instead, it specifies what the ingredients are, how they are to be combined, in what order they are to be combined, with what other ingredients, and under what conditions they are to be processed. Good theory does exactly the same thing if it is to be intellectually useful or to be effective at all levels of policy. If we are looking at the recipe for making a murder -- as ironic as that sounds -- we have to consider not just the factors which go into the final product, but how those factors interacted, what factors they interacted with, and under what conditions they interacted.

If we understand that, we can begin to consider how changing not just some of the factors themselves, but changing how they were allowed to interact with other factors or under what conditions they are allowed to interact, may enable us to change the outcome. A basic set of ingredients can produce a cake, cookies, or brownies, depending upon what is used and how. If a basic set of ingredients can produce anything from a chance encounter to a homicide, we need to understand how to intervene at every level to bring about one outcome rather than another.

CONCLUSION

It is critical, then, for both theory and policy to understand the fundamentally dynamic nature of homicide. It evolves in different scales of time and of space, and both theory and policy must address the question of homicide at those levels of scale in space and time. Homicide can never be absolutely nor perfectly predicted because no set of infinite factors "causes" a homicide. However, it can be understood and predicted (within limits) by theory from an understanding of a set of contributory factors operating at various levels of scale. And, while it can not be prevented with certainty anymore than it can be predicted with certainty, the probability of a homicide occurring surely can be significantly influenced by policy makers and practitioners at any number of different times and at any number of different levels of scale.

**PLACE, SPACE, AND CRIME REVISITED: TARGETS AND OFFENDERS
CONVERGE IN VIOLENT INDEX OFFENSES IN CHICAGO
(Research in Progress)**

Richard Block and Aneta Galary
Department of Sociology, Loyola University
6525 N. Sheridan Road, Chicago, IL 60626

This preliminary paper is designed to describe a method to study the relationship between routine activities, environment, and UCR Index Violent Crimes. Records of all index aggravated sexual assaults, robberies, and aggravated assaults recorded by the Chicago Police in 1998 are analyzed. Each incident, victim, and offender address was geo-coded and the incident was placed within a social and built environment. It is found that these distances varied by crime type and by the age of victim and offender and by the nature of the built environment. Distance is part of the scenario describing the occurrence of a violent crime. Domestic violence frequently occurs at the joint home of the victim and offender. Predatory violence often occurs far from home. Differences in distance and location type reflect the routine activities of victims and offender as they converge in a violent incident. The presentation is reflected in the slides to be shown.

DISCUSSION

Hugh Barlow: Derral, I've made copies of my own model from several years ago to pass around.

Derral Cheatwood: Yes, but the outcome of the homicide is still in the box, unlike my model.

Hugh Barlow: I feel the issue is not explained as a finite phenomenon, but as the outcome of violence, trinsic and intrinsic. My model is 12 years old, and I was thinking about violence outcomes, moving away from causes to how the variables come together. The difference between an aggravated assault and a homicide is a corpse.

Derral Cheatwood: It's how the factors came together to produce a different outcome than an aggravated assault.

Marc Riedel: I like Derral's model. I'm interested in the application of chaos theory to civilian justifiable homicide. It's radically changed from conventional homicide. There are elements in justification, like being in the house where the gun is for defense. Where the offense occurs causes a total change in the outcome from criminal to justifiable homicide.

Derral Cheatwood: Also regarding chaos, the intruder has changed the status. If he goes into a bar instead of a house, it changes the principle.

Dallas Drake: I'm reminded of the NIOSH [National Institute on Occupational Safety and Health] material on accidents, and the correlation of the frequency of facilitators. Running a red light doesn't necessarily cause a crash, but increase the numbers of such occurrences and it is like multiple shots; eventually, the facilitators all come together at the same time to achieve the outcome.

Derral Cheatwood: It still doesn't cause; it changes the problems. An old lady who has never handled a gun before may kill in self defense even though the odds of her success were negligible. Domestic homicide is sometimes a crap shoot.

Dallas Drake: All of the facilitators have different weights.

Terry Miethe: Don't lose sight that the world is not so complex as the model suggests. There are a more limited number of things that seem to be important as predisposing factors.

Derral Cheatwood: I agree. Being a poor young man in an urban area clearly increases the odds for a rare event to be not quite so rare.

Terry Miethe: There is a situational context and status issues; we need to consolidate.

Derral Cheatwood: The risk factors are important, but they do not cause a homicide.

Marc Riedel: The key theoretical question is integrating. With reference to the work of Luckenbill, not all persons in bars shoot. The key theoretical question is how to bring the question.

Derral Cheatwood: I agree.

Lois Mock: Even at the moment the body falls, it's not clear that it's a homicide. There are other determinants.

Derral Cheatwood: Yes. Emergency and hospital care may have an impact, and change the outcome.

Hugh Barlow: There are data in St. Louis on that. To understand how homicide occurs includes how it doesn't occur. Emergency medical systems and ER rooms have an impact. We found a 20-minute threshold in treatment that may determine life or death, homicide or assault: scoop-and-run prevents death.

Derral Cheatwood: There is also the question of homicide versus murder. Which is it? And the definition of that changes over time.

Chris Rasche: I like your model, Derral. I think it is terrific, especially in that it provides a handle for homicidal situations we don't understand. Gangs are clear. But in domestic disputes, it is less clear who dies. This provides a framework for figuring that out. What determined who dies, without information on the domestic triangle, involving three persons each of whom might be the homicide victim. This approach is good for such complex scenarios. This is wonderful.

Derral Cheatwood: In multiple offender, it often involves going out and getting a friend with a gun. So the issue is getting buddies to calm rather than aggravate the situation.

Becky Block: I agree with Chris. All of the points have been made before, but this forcefully changes the language. There are no causes. And language is important, as Chip [James Coldren] said this morning. We are trying to explain randomness -- chaos theory again, not my cause versus your cause.

John Jarvis: I think it is a useful model, especially because of its generality. You don't even need a homicide for this model to work; it works for other things as well.

Derral Cheatwood: Thanks.

Candi Batton: Barrie, how many cases were in your study?

Barrie Ritter: There were 27 cases in the study. Before that, I studied for 10 years ways to improve police procedures.

Marc Riedel: How do you respond that the apparent increase in serial killings and serial killers really just represents improved technology and communication in recording the killings?

Barrie Ritter: No. Take Jack the Ripper. After him, English serial killings stayed up until cracked down on. In Germany, the timing was different but with the same explanation possible. So we have three countries and several waves of serial murders. Even Hitler was able to stop them there with trials and punishment.

Kathleen Heide: Did you interview the killers?

Barrie Ritter: No, I'm scared to death of them. I used police and newspaper information, and worked with law enforcement. There was plenty of evidence.

Marc Riedel: Did you look at differences in media treatment in the different countries?

Barrie Ritter: I did. In England, there were caught and tried, and got at least mandatory life sentences. With current rights in Europe and here, they're more apt to get treatment instead. If we want the wave to end, we need punishment, and computerized VICAP/ICAP programs.

CHAPTER THREE

**CONTEXTUAL FEATURES OF NON-LETHAL AND LETHAL VIOLENCE:
RESULTS FROM AN NCOVR/NIJ PARTNERSHIP**

**ETHNIC DIFFERENCES IN FIREARM USE, INJURY,
AND LETHALITY IN ASSAULTIVE VIOLENCE**

Amie L. Nielson
Department of Sociology, University of Miami
P.O. Box 248162, Coral Gables, FL 33124

Ramiro Martinez, Jr.
School of Policy & Management, Florida International University
11200 SW 8th St., ECS Building 431, Miami, FL 33199

We examine the impact of ethnicity on firearm use in assaultive violence in a multiethnic city -- Miami, Florida. We extend prior research by focusing on Latinos, both as victims and offenders. Our specific objectives are to examine differences among Latinos, non-Latino Blacks, and non-Latino Whites in firearm use, bodily injury, and lethal outcomes in assaultive violence occurring in Miami. The analyses control for the sex and age of offenders and victims, and the victim-offender relationship (e.g., family, intimates, acquaintances, or strangers) while assessing ethnic similarities and differences in the role of firearms in violent encounters and outcomes.

**WEAPONRY, AGE, AND VIOLENCE: THE ROLE OF CONTEXTUAL
FACTORS ON USE OF WEAPONRY AMONG YOUTH**

Piyusha Singh
Carnegie Mellon University
Room 1506 Hamburg Hall, 5000 Forbes Avenue, Pittsburgh, PA 16217

Jacqueline Cohen
The Heinz School, Carnegie Mellon University
5000 Forbes Avenue, Pittsburgh, PA 15213

The research examines the effects of firearms on the dynamics of violent interactions in individual encounters. We examine lethal and non-lethal incidents to identify the effects of guns on severity of outcomes at different stages of violent interactions, whether these effects are different for youth and adults, and whether these effects have changed over time. In an important departure from prior research, this study will also explicitly model the mediating effects of situational and contextual factors, such as the presence of illegal drug markets and state gun regulations, in mediating the effect of firearms on lethal and non-lethal violence.

DISCUSSION

Chris Rasche: Ramiro, based upon your findings, why is it that Hispanics do not use firearms as often as either Whites or African-Americans?

Ramiro Martinez: I believe that is due in part to the fact that encounters between Hispanics are closer spatially.

Cynthia Lum: Could you clarify what you mean by spatial relationships?

Ramiro Martinez: By that I am referring to the places where people congregate, such as bars, restaurants. Keep in mind that we're usually talking about "low end" establishments.

Dick Block: Is it possible there are differences in population density or in terms of varying friendship patterns?

Ramiro Martinez: We have not yet taken population density into account.

Hugh Barlow: Is it possible there are differences in the types of weapons used? I think that detailed information pertaining to medical response would be beneficial as well.

Brian Wiersema: Do gun ownership rates differ between the three groups?

Ramiro Martinez: That is unknown.

Brian Wiersema: Were there differences in circumstances?

Ramiro Martinez: Our analyses were aggregate.

Rick Rosenfeld: Why is it that the presence of a weapon does not contribute to the lethality of incidents involving Whites?

Cheryl Maxson: Actually, my question is for Al Blumstein. Would you please comment on the impact of gangs on factors related to lethality of violence among youths?

Al Blumstein: As I have mentioned elsewhere, the increase in juvenile homicide during the late 1980s and early 1990s was associated with involvement of youths in the illegal drug trade, which included a number of gangs. (Recorders Note: Refer to the *1995 HRWG Proceedings* for the article by Blumstein and Heinz that elaborates this point.)

Terry Miethe: Jackie, how did the redesign of the NCVS influence the types of offenses that are included in your study?

Jackie Cohen: It allowed for more offenses to be included.

Michael Maltz: In some cases, it has been found that the younger siblings of victims tend to refrain from becoming involved in delinquent/criminal activity. Was that the case in this study?

Jackie Cohen: That issue was not addressed.

Derral Cheatwood: What about cases involving multiple offenders and/or victims? Were they included?

Jackie Cohen: Yes, they were included. However, remember this study focused on the incident level.

Michael Maltz: Dick, what was the percentage of cases where the address of the offender is known? A scattergram would be very interesting in illustrating these results.

Dick Block: That was not included here, but I am working on it.

Jackie Cohen: What is the size of a city block in Chicago?

Dick Block: Eight blocks per mile.

Terry Miethe: What about unusual cases, such as incidents occurring in the home that involve strangers and between acquaintances out of the home?

Dick Block: I have started looking at those types of situations, and I hope to follow up on that in future work.

Brian Wiersema: Why were homicides excluded?

Dick Block: Those data were not available.

Jackie Cohen: George Tita and I previously conducted a study looking at homicide in census tracts, and 50% occurred outside the tract of the victim's residence.

Becky Block: Did you look at the distance from the victim's home from other relatives, ex-spouses, etc., which may indicate the possibility of stalking?

Dick Block: Very few instances like that were coded as such in the data.

Cynthia Lum: It is possible that the spatial autocorrelations between elements of the triad are a preferable measure, as opposed to the distance between them.

Piyusha Singh: How does the notion that some predatory offenders typically go a "minimum distance" to commit a crime fit into your study?

Dick Block: Commercial robberies were excluded from this study.

Jenny Mouzos: This work has a lot of interesting potential for replication in other countries.

Rolf Loeber: Can the data be linked to repeat offenders, which would allow you to trace trends by individuals?

Dick Block: Yes, it is possible, and that is something I plan to do in later research.

CHAPTER FOUR
VIOLENCE AND SOCIAL CONTROL

MASS LEGAL EXECUTIONS IN THE UNITED STATES, 17th-20th CENTURIES: AN EXPLORATORY STUDY

Vance McLaughlin
Savannah Police Department
P.O. Box 8032, Savannah, GA 31412

Paul H. Blackman
NRA Institute for Legislative Action
11250 Waples Mill Road, Fairfax, VA 22030

ABSTRACT

Throughout recorded history, governments have executed their own citizens, sometimes in groups at the same time for the same offense. Fortunately, the U.S. has done less of it than most, either with or without due process; and our mass executions without due process during the past century, at least, have generally been limited to a few widely-publicized episodes. But while never numerous, this exploratory look at an unstudied aspect of both multiple homicide and capital punishment shows the occurrence of post-trial mass executions -- four or more persons at approximately the same time for the same incident -- interesting for what they tell us about the social climate of the eras in which they occurred. With some exceptions, they show changes in concerns from witches, to wartime desertion, minorities (slaves followed by Indians and “Jim Crow” era Blacks), labor unrest, and organized crime. One could argue that the demise of mass executions indicates a concern about capital punishment itself.

INTRODUCTION

Throughout recorded history, governments have executed their own citizens. In many instances, a group of citizens has been executed at the same time for the same offense. People have been executed because they have a specific trait (i.e. race, religion) and/or political beliefs that were believed to threaten the state. Mass executions were certainly imposed on Scots unsuccessfully rebelling against the British monarch in 1745 (Laurence, 1932/1960, p. 173), on suspected monarchists during the French Reign of Terror (Laurence, 1932/1960, p. 74), and, on a smaller scale, in 1820, to execute five members of the Cato Conspiracy, which had been planning to assassinate most of the British cabinet (Laurence, 1932/1960, pp. 198-209). Or an undesired trait may simply have increased the likelihood of execution for a real offense, as when 280 Jews were hanged for coin clipping in medieval England (Laurence, 1932/1960, pp. 5-6). Threats to the state may affect, too, the probability of execution of those charged with *malum in se* crimes, such as murder or rape.

Currently, a mass legal execution would be extremely unlikely in the United States, since the execution of any convicted prisoner is rare. The cost to taxpayers in the prosecution, defense, and appeals process, coupled with the delaying tactics of attorneys defending death row inmates has made actual execution problematic. It is currently difficult to imagine more than two persons

actually being executed for the same crime in this country, even at times separated by different lengths and speeds of appeal. After all, with 10 members of an ethnic minority convicted of murdering six and injuring over a thousand in the 1993 World Trade Center bombing (Lane, 1997, pp. 317-318) -- in an apparent nearly-successful effort to bring down the building and kill 10-20,000 persons -- there were no initial sentences of death. That certainly suggests that the execution of four Blacks for a murder in Arkansas in 1960 was the last mass legal execution.

The questions that remain are how frequent were legal mass executions in the United States during its history from colonial times into the second half of the 20th century, and whether those executions might tell us more than general studies about capital punishment. The operating premise of this exploratory study is that such executions may reveal more clearly the greatest perceived criminal threats to the society, whether those threats were the crimes themselves or the persons committing them. If mass legal executions were infrequent, what factors existed to keep their frequency low? If frequent, why -- and how has it varied over time? Mass legal execution was given the following working definition for this project: the execution of four or more persons for the same criminal incident by government entities following some form of trial. Over time, of course, what constituted a trial varied, with fairness varying even within the same time periods and in the same colonies or states.

It has been suggested that the subjects of mass executions "have invariably been blacks or Indians" (Bowers, 1984, p. 145). Certainly with the definition of mass execution used here, that is not the case, although mass executions are more disproportionately of non-Whites than are executions over all. The "invariably" figure is accurate only if one ignores certain crimes (witchcraft) or jurisdictions (the Confederacy), and defines mass execution as being in excess of 12 persons. Otherwise, some of the fears were clearly of particular offenses, and not merely of particular types of offenders -- although greater punishment for Blacks than of Whites for the same offense indicates some concern about the offenders as well.

In addition to indicating popular fears or concerns, others factors also affected trends in the numbers of mass legal executions over time. What constituted a capital offense varied over time, and, within the same period, from place to place, or was dependent upon status. By the end of the 18th century, for example, the South had many more capital property offenses than the North, and felonies punishable with imprisonment of Whites were capital offenses when committed by Blacks, especially if they were slaves (Banner, 2002, pp. 6-9, 140-141). Even within a region, the time and place of executions for slave revolts indicated not simply general, but localized, fears of insurrection (Aptheker, 1943/1993, ch. 2). Similarly, the extent of adversarial process varied over time and circumstance, with substantially less of an adversarial process for all trials before the late 18th century, and then still less due process afforded Blacks and Indians than Whites, and with lower levels of due process for military trials than in civilian courts. Where there were more executions in general, mass legal executions would not have stood out, and, through the 18th and well into the 19th century, there was some tendency simply to execute a number of persons on the same day. If a group is going to die, that several were involved in the same offense is barely noticed.

There is one major sense in which mass legal executions will miss statistically finding the community's greatest social fears of group action. There were other ways in which extreme concerns could be expressed through the slayings of those feared. In the United States, from colonial times to the close of the frontier, there were extra-legal executions by the government seeking to establish communities in a hostile environment, with the distinctions between war and other homicide vague (Lane, 1997, pp. 38-39, 46-47, 74-76, 310). Examples would include not only wars and other interactions with the Indians, resulting in deaths of natives or colonials, but such efforts to undermine their perceived threats as germ warfare (d'Errico, 2001). Some slave revolts may have been suppressed by informal corrections, up to the point of death, as well as killing slaves resisting arrest (Aptheker, 1943/1993, pp. 13, 75-76). One response to the spread of Mormon was the occasional massacre, including the slaying of 18 at one time in Caldwell County, Missouri (Lane, 1997, p. 134). And there were several hundred executions in formal vigilante movements (Lane, 1997, p. 177), some of which would have involved multiple executions.

Later in the century and into the 20th, if public or private authorities -- law enforcement, the military, militia, company guards and hired agents (such as the Pinkertons) (Lane, 1997, pp. 181, 240) -- killed large numbers of persons without trial, even without arrest, but without fear of prosecution themselves, that could indicate social approval of the action and fear of those summarily executed. In some of those cases, however, the ability to kill a number of persons without fear of punishment might simply indicate the concerns of those with political power, rather than of society as a whole. In addition, such fears might be expressed by preempting lawful trial and execution with lynching without serious likelihood that the lynchers would be punished. Supplementing lynching were race riots, which killed hundreds over the decades but without the individualized selection of victims for supposed criminal activities found in mass legal executions and lynchings (O'Brien, 1989, pp. 233-235). In a sense, just as homicide provides the best, as most consistently reported, crime data, so mass legal executions may provide the best data on matters of supreme concern to society.

But this is an exploratory investigation, and further delving into all possible state-sanctioned mass executions has not yet been undertaken; it is an exploratory study of mass legal executions in the United States. This research will not postulate a finite number of how many legal mass executions have occurred, although some clear trends in numbers will be noted. It will examine some of the better known cases and ones that were lost to history. Similarities and differences will be discussed. Finally, some thoughts will be offered on why mass legal executions have been either a rare or common occurrence in the United States.

METHODS

At the outset, it has to be stated for several reasons that this is an incomplete record of mass legal executions in the United States. First, this has been an area that has not been researched by others. Specific instances may be famous and have been the focus of intense scholarship (e.g., Lincoln Assassination Trial, Molly Maguires), but this is the first attempt to begin to quantify and compare them. Second, many instances of mass execution may have been lost to history. And third, even defining mass legal execution is no simple task.

Mass legal execution, for this paper, is defined as the execution, by duly constituted authorities following some form of trial, of four or more persons for the same criminal incident, in what is now the United States (excluding territories). This definition was fashioned after a fairly common definition for mass murder (Levin & Fox, 1985) and constructed narrowly partly for the specific purpose of limiting the data. A cursory look at incidents in New York (Hearn, 1997) and generally (Espy & Smykla, 1994) suggest that reducing the number from four to three -- another popular number for mass-murder definitions (Petee, Padgett, & York, 1997) -- would increase the number of such executions across the various time frames but not change the sorts of crimes and criminals involved beyond moving the last mass legal execution of Whites from 1945 to at least 1955 (Hearn, 1997, p. 270). Executions by Indians of persons of European, African, or Asian descent are excluded regardless of whether tribal due process was observed.

As part of the literature review, books were used that examined capital punishment overall or just in the United States, including some focusing on various time periods, states, or types of killings or categories of offenders. In most of these books, mentions of mass executions were anecdotal and such executions seemed rare. The exception was noted in Aptheker (1943/1993), who looked at slave uprisings, and noted the punishments meted out when the uprisings were put down, with some effort to distinguish between those executed by the authorities and those simply killed either by private parties, or military or militia bodies, or patrols. It is not certain that he always made the distinction accurately.

After reviewing the literature, the next step was to examine Appendix A in Bowers' *Legal Homicide* (1984). This contained a listing of over 5,700 legal executions, generally under state authority, listed by state. This list compiled by M. Watt Espy, Jr., included the county of conviction and the date of execution, but excluded most homicides which occurred before states had centralized executions to (generally) one site. Espy's list for all legal executions from colonial times to the present currently includes almost 19,000 executions, three-fourths of it available on-line from the Inter-university Consortium for Political and Social Research (Espy & Smykla, 1994), but not always reliable because of coding errors (Banner, 2002, p. 313). For example, the slaves executed for a revolt in New York City in 1712 are all recorded as Caucasians. Also, the data are incomplete. Overall, sources differ in the numbers of persons executed, their ethnicity, the date of execution, and the offense for which persons were executed.¹ Espy's data are by no means definitive, and some data sources have different numbers of persons executed at the same time and place for the same offense. While most of the

¹In addition to ordinary problems, ideology affects some of the data. With slave owners fearing slave revolt, they may have seen activity as revolt where it had not actually occurred, but slave owners also thought it best to minimize incidents of possible revolt both to avoid inspiring additional revolts and to preserve the image of satisfied slaves. One result was to both perceive and punish possible revolt as simply murder. Aptheker (1943/1993), on the other hand, had his own ideological bias leading him to see uprising of the oppressed even where it may just have been murder. At the time of his initial research, the Communist Party, in which he was an active member, was tying itself to civil rights issues, and finding slave revolts both helped to show that Blacks were not so docile as southerners pretended, and encouraged the idea of nascent revolutionary activity against an oppressive capitalist system.

executions for the same incident occurred at the same time, the problem of finding separated mass executions, probably more common in the 20th than preceding centuries, remains. Nonetheless, the most productive way to find them among the same-day executions seemed to be to start with Espy's data, note every instance of four convicts from the same county being executed on the same date, and then try to determine whether the executions were for a single criminal incident.

There are two problems with the Espy data, in addition to inconsistencies and coding errors, making them suggestive but insufficient. Listings alone cannot tell whether an offense qualifies as a mass execution for two reasons: a listing by dates might suggest that executions on the same date are related when they may not be, and it would fail to call attention to executions of persons for the same criminal incident that are spread out over time. Especially in the earlier years of the republic and prior colonial times, there was a tendency for executions to be done in groups even if the individuals had nothing in common beyond the day they would die. A listing that four persons were executed for murder on a particular day in Philadelphia, for example, does not mean that they were involved in the same murder (Teeters, 1963, Part I, pp. 64-65). This tendency may not have existed to the same extent in southern dealings with Blacks; if four or more are executed at the same time for the same offense -- particularly if they were slaves owned by the same person and/or the crime was unusual (e.g., arson) -- it may be reasonable to infer a mass legal execution. But even in the 20th century, not all executions occurring on the same date from the same county of conviction are for the same criminal incident. For example, six Black males from Lexington County, South Carolina, were executed for murder, on February 27, 1931 (Bowers, 1984, pp. 498-499), but only five of them were executed for the same murder; the sixth had killed someone else ("Six Negroes," 1931).

The second problem, particularly for 20th-century executions, is that persons might be executed for the same murder but on different dates, with the common tie lacking in broad listings of executions (Bowers, 1984; Espy & Smykla, 1994). For example, four men -- three Black, one White -- from Pickaway County, Ohio, were executed in 1932 for the murder of John Kidney, but the executions occurred on three different dates (June 3, June 10, and July 22) ("Electrocutions in Ohio," n.d.), and the rarity of integrated gangs makes the slaying on its face seem less likely to be a mass legal execution (Bowers, 1984, p. 483). A single date alone would separate John Brown from most of the co-conspirators in his Harpers Ferry raid, who were executed two weeks later, with an additional pair executed 3 months later (Drimmer, 1990, p. 228; Espy & Smykla, 1994; "John Brown Articles," n.d.; "The Conspirators Biographies," n.d.).

Various military sources and books about America's wars on American soil were used to find military executions, which are not included in Espy's research (although he certainly lists some executions for desertion). And a variety of sources, especially Aptheker's study of slave uprisings, but also general books on capital punishment, the Internet, and other sources, have been used to attempt to find pre-Civil War era legal executions. Although the research is not complete, it would appear that, if there were almost 20,000 legal executions² in what is now the

²While 20,000 executions is generally perceived by criminologists as a huge number of executions, it is also slightly less than the average number of criminal homicides reported

United States from the 17th century to the present, approximately 8% of those executed were involved in mass legal executions as here defined (see appendix for tentative list of 160+ incidents of mass legal execution).

EXECUTIONS FROM 1661-1865

The vast majority of America's mass legal executions occurred during a span of just over 2 centuries, as the population grew from about a quarter-million to nearer 40 million persons. Only about one-eighth of the executions were for murder, by now the only crime for which persons are sentenced to death -- and even some of those executions may actually have been for perceived slave revolts. About 20% of the executions involved crimes related to war (treason, desertion, mutiny, espionage), with about 9% involving piracy. If Indian uprisings are added to slave revolts, mass executions of those minorities account for over half of the mass legal executions from those two centuries. Meanwhile, the most famous mass legal executions, resulting from the Salem witch trials, accounted for just 2% of the mass executions of the period from 1661-1865.

There were a number of reasons for more mass legal executions in the first centuries of European residency in America. Some crimes -- slave revolt and piracy, for example -- are group activities, inviting punishments of groups. In addition, the legal system made mass legal execution easier. There was no real adversarial criminal legal system. The government presented its case to a jury, which decided the matter; often the defense's first opportunity to respond came at the sentencing phase, but death was the mandatory sentence for some felonies (Banner, 2002, p. 16). In the South, trials might be before a justice of the peace rather than a jury, further minimizing due process for accused slaves (Banner, 2002, p. 9). As a result, convictions were easier to obtain, and appeals were almost nonexistent. Trials remained relatively rapid, with appeals relatively rare, throughout the 19th century (Lane, 1997, pp.193-197).

On the other hand, as perceptions of what offenses warranted execution changed in the second half of the 18th century, there was a greater tendency for jury nullification, especially with property crimes, where the only sentence for the guilty was death (Banner, 2002, pp. 90-91). In addition, convicts might seek commutation of the sentence, generally from the governor, and arguments for commutation might include legal as well as other arguments, and executive clemency prevented many executions from occurring (Banner, 2002, 54-56). In the northern colonies, and later states, there might be months between conviction and execution to allow the condemned to prepare his soul for God -- and to seek clemency on earth. In the southern colonies, and later states, particularly when dealing with Black defendants, there was apparently less concern with the condemned slaves' souls, and executions were conducted more promptly -- with speedy executions for Blacks continuing into the 20th century (Banner, 2002, pp. 16-18).

annually in the United States during the last two decades of the 20th century (FBI, 2000). Of course, only a small percentage of those homicides would be perceived as capital crimes even by the most enthusiastic of contemporary Texan prosecutors.

Piracy

Hanging pirates accounts for roughly 9% of the mass legal executions from 1661-1865, in 10 incidents beginning in 1661 with the last such mass execution occurring in 1835. Piracy was a crime for which mass legal execution seems particularly feasible: pirates, when caught, were often caught in a group. Pirate life was fairly democratic, with the captain first among equals, making it difficult for associates to claim either impressment or innocence (Gottschalk & Flanagan, 2000, pp. 6-10). On those few occasions when pirates were captured and tried in a group, they also hanged as a group. Although not all pirates were male, all those hanged in mass legal executions in America were, and, where ethnicity was noted, the only minority reported was a group of five Hispanics, the final group of pirates hanged (Espy & Smykla, 1994).

Witchcraft

The Salem witch trials led to perhaps the best known of mass legal executions in colonial America. The 20 men and women executed primarily on July 19, August 19, and September 22, 1692 -- the last male, refusing to plea, was pressed to death beginning on September 16 (Espy & Smykla, 1994) -- constituted the majority of alleged witches executed in America. There were others who died for witchcraft in Salem that year, but in prison.³ Once the governor decided to prohibit spectral and intangible evidence, all witchcraft trials ended in acquittal. During the 17th century, an additional 13 persons (mostly women) were hanged as witches in Connecticut and Massachusetts, and one woman in Maryland (Espy & Smykla, 1994; Drimmer, 1990, p. 204). Those selective hangings fail to indicate the same pervasive social fear as the Salem witch hunt.

It should be noted that, during the 17th century, it was not merely Salem that had a deadly fear of witches and witchcraft. In some ways, American witch hunts occurred later than in most of Europe. Since time frames vary, calculating rates would be pointless and misleading. But roughly during the time that fewer than three dozen witches were executed in the American colonies (about three-fourths women), at a time its population topped out at about 275,000, Scotland reportedly executed some 1,600 witches with a population about four times as great, England about 300-1,000, with roughly 30 times the colonies' population, and Europe as a whole executed 40-50,000, mostly women (Cross & Livingstone, 1997, p. 1757; Gardiner & Wenborn, 1997, p. 816).

Murder and Other Felonies

Only about one-sixth of the mass legal executions during this period dealt with ordinary murders or the other felonies (especially robbery and burglary) for which capital punishment was commonly the punishment, at least through most of the 18th century. A number of reasons probably exist for this. One is that most such crimes probably only included one or two culprits. Another is that gang activities might still escape such punishment since, particularly in the North, two legal responses limited such executions. First, since the mandatory sentence for conviction

³Extensive information on the Salem witch trials is available from the Salem witch trials 1692 (n.d.) and at <http://www.rci.rutgers.edu/~jup/witches/salem.html>.

of serious felonies was execution, juries occasionally simply acquitted those clearly guilty if they deemed death too severe a sentence (Banner, 2002, pp. 90-91). Second, similarly, executive clemency -- commutation of sentences by the governor (or, in a few colonies or states, other bodies with pardoning power) -- was fairly common, granted in one-quarter to one-half of death sentences (Banner, 2002, p. 54).⁴ By the 19th century, only the South retained capital punishment for large numbers of felonies less serious than murder, particularly for such crimes committed by slaves.

Even with murder and serious offenses, mass legal execution was most likely when there was some aggravating factor, such as homicide committed in the course of robbery and/or by gangs -- robbery-related murder being considered into the 19th century, as it had been for centuries, an especially heinous murder (Lane, 1997, p. 129) -- or by slaves, Indians, Hispanics, and the like. And, for the most part, the executions of White females was more lenient than was the case in 17th- and 18th-century England, on whose legal system the colonies' (with the exception of Louisiana) was based. For example, while English women convicted of slaying their husbands were deemed guilty of petit treason, and executed by burning, there were only two such executions of White women in colonial America, only one of whom is identified in Espy and Smykla (1994) as having been a housewife. In general, capital punishment was less cruel in America than in Great Britain during colonial days, with fewer offenses subject to capital punishment (Lane, 1997, pp. 55-56). Hanging, however, may have been less humanely conducted in America because of its relative rarity. In England, there were enough executions so that the hangman was a professional. In the United States, with hanging largely a county affair, and relatively few executions per county, the hangman was the sheriff or someone recruited by the sheriff, neither of whom was likely to be particularly experienced at the best methods for guaranteeing death by broken neck rather than strangulation (Banner, 2002, pp. 175-176).

War-Related Executions

Approximately one-fifth of the mass legal executions during the period were related to military activities, enhanced by Bacon's 17th-century rebellion and the fact that the two major wars of the 18th and 19th centuries were civil wars, where both sides were represented by American civilians. The number probably understates the actual figure. There were probably some summary military executions without use of courts martial. Also, there were likely some executions by British forces during the Revolutionary War that would not have been viewed as following due process by the existing authority.

A number of the war-related mass executions appear to be related to popular concerns about disloyalty among fellow citizens, and to concerns by military leaders about the relatively common problem of desertion and/or mutiny. A few of the mass legal executions seem related to more localized events such as two desertions in New York in May 1756, during the French and Indian War, and treason in Louisiana in 1769, where the hope was for French rather than Spanish rule (Hearn, 1997; Taylor, 1984, pp. 21-22).

⁴With extensive judicial involvement in determining when capital punishment is warranted, executive clemency fell to 1-2% in the 20th century (Banner, 2002, p. 291).

Desertion was a common problem in America's 18th and 19th century wars (Revolutionary War, War of 1812, Civil War), as were executions for desertion, with the number executed increasing partly as a means of frightening potential deserters from committing that offense; other means included rewards for capturing deserters and offers of pardons to deserters who returned fairly promptly to duty (Hickey, 1990, pp. 76, 222, 407). Mass legal executions for desertion were sometimes an effort to send a message, as by General Winfield Scott during the War of 1812 (Hearn, 1997, p. 33), where desertion may have been a more serious threat than in other wars (Hickey, 1990), and sometimes as a compromise. Mass execution was not, then, based on social or popular concerns but on fears by the military and political leaders. And it may be indicative of a greater problem with desertion by Confederate forces, especially later in the war, that led to more victims of mass legal execution for desertion in the Confederacy (Alotta, 1989; Collins, 1999; Foenander, 2000).

A complicating factor in some wars was determining who were deserting and who were merely fighting for the side other than the one for which they were expected to fight. The Confederacy executed for desertion 22 White males who had been fighting with Union forces, insisting the men were not Union soldiers, and thus prisoners of war, but Confederate deserters. The perceived execution of POWs led to formal protest -- and the threat of similar executions by Union forces of Confederate POWs should there be any repetition of the event (Collins, 1999). There were three instances of mass legal execution of Black Union soldiers, none for desertion, but for rape, murder, and mutiny, with all of the executions coming after General Lee's surrender at Appomattox. There were no mass legal executions recorded of White Union or Confederate soldiers for violent offenses, except for Confederate soldiers executed primarily for desertion, who had also murdered while resisting arrest for desertion.

Some of the military-related mass legal executions during America's two civil wars, for independence and preservation of the union, involved perceptions of treason; such executions of perceived enemies clearly indicated social fears along with strong popular views. In north Texas, where there was concern that relatively recent arrivals, non-slave-owners, might be sympathetic to the Union side, there were not only mass executions of a total of 36 men following a pretense of a trial, but the lynching of another 14 and informal shooting of three others, with no trial or prior to a verdict from the "citizen's court" (McCaslin, 2001). There were other incidents elsewhere without pretense of due process, such as the Battle of Nueces, where Union-sympathizing German immigrants fought with Confederates, who then summarily shot or hanged the survivors (Schulz, n.d.), Quantrill raider slayings of about 150 prisoners, and Confederate General N. B. Forrest's massacre particularly of surrendering Black Union soldiers at Fort Pillow (Lane, 1997, pp. 140-141).

Indian Uprisings

There were relatively few mass legal executions for Indian uprisings, presumably because most hostilities between European settlers and the native population did not involve even the pretense of judicial proceedings. The mass legal executions occurred primarily after settlements had been established, and trouble ensued as Indians reacted to what they perceived as mistreatment. The actual mass legal executions occurred only near the beginning and near the

end of the period in question. Massachusetts reportedly executed eight Indians in 1676. After that, the next two recorded mass legal executions of Indians occurred during the Civil War, although it is possible that mass legal executions of Indians for homicide in (Spanish) California in 1778, in Arkansas and Alabama in the 1830s, and in Oregon in 1850 were actually minor uprisings (Espy & Smykla, 1994). In Minnesota, the federal government, following a military tribunal, and review of the initial 300 death sentences, executed about 38 Dakota Sioux in response to a series of massacres resulting in the deaths of about 800 civilians (Drimmer, 1990, p. 175-178). And five Indians from the Nome Cult Reservation were executed in Mendocino County, California, following civilian complaints about "Indian outrages" (Nome Cult Trail, n.d.).

Slave Revolts

Almost half of the subjects of mass legal executions during the two centuries ending with the Civil War were involved in slave revolts, and almost all of those executed were Blacks, mostly slaves but a few free men. In addition, there were an undetermined number of killings without due process, although slave owners, in general, would rather let the courts deal with slaves' crimes since they could receive compensation for executed slaves.

Most slave revolts, as recorded by Aptheker (1943/1993), involved the apparently lawful execution of selected slaves rather than mere killing -- although the total number executed may have been matched or surpassed by the number slain without a trial. Most of the revolts resulted in relatively small numbers of slaves being executed, generally just the ringleaders rather than the more numerous followers, although there were some with a dozen or more executions. As a result, while Aptheker records over 100 slave revolts -- defined by him as involving more than merely killing an owner or overseer or attempting to escape, but an uprising against the system -- only about one-third of them resulted in mass legal executions. It was not that slave owners or the states were concerned about Black lives, but for two other reasons. To slave owners, slaves constituted valuable property, not lightly to be destroyed, if selective executions were sufficient to assure compliant behavior in the future. And to the states, executions of slaves were costly, since most state laws called for reimbursing slave owners for property essentially taken by the state.

In an effort to make the selective mass executions more effective as a future deterrent, as well, perhaps, as to indicate their disapproval of the revolts, some of the methods of execution were more traumatic than hanging, the standard method of execution until the late 19th century (except for the firing squad used for some military-style executions). These included beheading slaves after execution, with the heads displayed as a permanent reminder to slaves as to what might happen to them if they revolted; using the gibbet, thus exposing the entire body rather than burying it; and burning, considered a sort of "super-capital punishment" (Banner, 2002, p. 71). Burning had two advantages for the state/slave owner. First, it was a more painful death than hanging. Second, along with vengeance for the victims and the authorities, burning was thought to impede the resurrection of the body if not the salvation of the soul (Wyatt-Brown, 1982, p. 400).

The mass legal execution of slaves clearly demonstrated a social fear of a slave insurrection, although widespread reporting of most revolts and executions was limited. Southerners may have feared insurrection, but they also feared that reports of it might encourage more revolts, as well as that reports of revolts would undermine their claims that slaves were satisfied with their state. The most vicious punishments for convicted slaves, however, occurred outside the South during the first half of the 18th century.⁵ When four slaves killed their owner's family in New York in 1708, execution was reportedly by torture, with the Black female slowly burned (Hearn, 1997, pp. 5-6). The most vicious executions, however, were efforts to suppress revolts in New York City, first in 1712, and then, in the better known revolt of 1741 (Aptheker, 1943/1993, pp. 172-173; Hearn, 1997, pp. 6-7; Miller, 1979, pp. 42-43).

EXECUTIONS FROM 1866 TO 1960

With the end of slavery, the number of mass legal executions fell sharply, both in terms of the number of incidents and the number of persons executed. During the first two-thirds of the 19th century, there were about five-dozen incidents of mass legal execution, resulting in over 500 deaths. During the final third of the century, there were closer to a dozen incidents with fewer than five-dozen deaths. This decline does not reflect a similar decline in the overall number of executions, where the number in Espy & Smykla (1994) for the period from 1866 to 1899 exceeds the number from 1800-1865, with about 35 per year in the earlier period and 80 per year during the later period (even though the rate declined because of the burgeoning population).

With the end of the 19th century and the first decades of the 20th century, the trends for ordinary capital punishment and mass legal executions were more similar. Bowers (1984, pp. 50-54) has capital punishment growing from 1890-1930 and peaking in the 1930s, before beginning a period of decline.⁶ Both in terms of number of mass legal executions and the number so executed, there was a gradual increase again from the 1890s to 1920s, although the post-Civil War peak was really in the two decades from 1920-1940. The crimes involved in mass legal executions changed dramatically after the Civil War, with some changes in the sorts of persons executed. Almost all mass legal executions from 1866 until the last one, in 1960, were for murder. There were only four exceptions: two mass legal executions for rape, in one of which the defendants had also been convicted of murder; one mass legal execution related to an Indian uprising, where mutual killing resulted in a murder conviction and the execution of four Indians; and one mass legal execution for sabotage.

Blacks and Mass Legal Executions

⁵In addition, torture -- breaking on the wheel -- was used as the punishment for one or two slave revolts in Louisiana well before it had an English-speaking government (Aptheker, 1943/1993, pp. 181-182).

⁶Some of Bowers's data may be skewed since they represent not the number of executions but the number of centralized state executions, and the centralization process was also increasing as the 20th century progressed.

It would be necessary to omit the word “legal” to cover all of the mass executions of Blacks during this period. During the period from 1882 to 1930, there were only about seven reported incidents of mass legal execution involving at least some Blacks, with a total of 47 persons executed, but there were 39 reported incidents of mass lynchings including Black victims, with 179 persons lynched (Tolnay & Beck, 1995, p. 274).⁷ Including post-Civil War incidents before and after the main lynch-law era would bring the total of mass legal executions with some Black involvement to 14, with about 76 persons executed, all but 10 of them Black.

The threat of lynching may have assisted in achieving some legal executions. Mobs might be persuaded to abandon lynching plans to allow a trial, but with the threat of lynching used to encourage confessions (Wright, 1997, pp. 251-252). In one incident of mass legal execution, it is fairly clear that the Black suspects confessed to killing a prominent White man because the sheriff promised to protect them from lynching if they confessed (“Jail being guarded,” 1925). The convicts later renounced their confessions, but to no avail (“Negro murders,” 1926).

Even though lynchings would obviously have provided a basis for the mass legal execution of lynchers,⁸ there were only two mass legal executions as a result of mob action against violence. The 1917 Houston riot of Black soldiers in response to local violence, resulting in several White deaths, led to two executions totaling 19 Blacks (Haynes, 1976). The other mass legal execution as a result of mob action against violence occurred in Georgia in 1882. A Black mob, which killed an innocent man in response to the slaying of a Black man by a marshal and his deputy, led to the execution of five Blacks and life sentences of 17 others (“Four men,” 1882).

Blacks were also involved in the only non-wartime executions for any charges other than murder. A mixed group involving a Euchee Indian, two Creeks, and two part-Creek/part-Blacks, were executed after conviction for rape by Judge Isaac Parker; they were also convicted of murdering a Black deputy marshal prior to their execution for rape. And a group of seven Blacks, in groups of three and four, were executed in 1951 for the rape of a White woman in a Black neighborhood of Martinsville, Virginia (Rise, 1992).

Societal Outsiders and Mass Legal Execution

During the final century of mass legal executions, there may have been some discrimination against persons society saw as outsiders.⁹ In addition to Blacks, such outsiders

⁷Overall, about 7% of the recorded 2,805 southern lynching victims from 1882-1930 were at mass executions, involving four or more persons (Tolnay & Beck, 1995, pp. 271-72, 274).

⁸A substantial number of lynchings were prevented by the authorities (Griffin, Clark, & Sandberg, 1997, pp. 26-27, 35), but prosecutions were rare.

⁹The same was also true, in terms of ordinary capital punishment, prior to the Civil War, with outsiders including not merely immigrants, Blacks, and Indians, but those from out of state (Masur, 1989, p. 39).

included not just racial or ethnic minorities, like Hispanics, Asians, and Indians, but those perceived as more prone to crime or to troublemaking, including some Irish, labor organizers, mafiosi, and others. Unlike ordinary lawful executions, however, there is no way really to measure possible discrimination, since there would be no basis for comparison. There may be records on the number of homicides committed, with some data on the percentage involvement suspected of different ethnic groups; even there, however, the data would lack a breakdown as to the type of homicides most likely, over time, to be considered capital offenses. And there are no records on the number of homicides committed related to whether the perpetrators are labor organizers, anarchists, Italian; nor are there records on the number of homicides allowing the possibility for mass legal execution.

Aside from the well-known mass legal executions, however, and seemingly disproportionate mass legal executions of Blacks, it is not so clear to what extent bigotry against outsiders may have played a role in mass legal executions. There are more Italian and Irish names in the Northeast, and more Hispanic names in the Southwest, but those could readily be explained by the type of crime as by the ethnic background of the convicts executed.

Aggravated Homicide and Mass Legal Execution

Much more clearly a basis for mass legal executions from the Civil War to the last such execution, in 1960, are aggravating circumstances now generally required, post-*Furman*, for any legal execution. Simple murders rarely resulted in mass legal execution, even of Blacks. Most of the executions involved some aggravating factor. The most common was robbery, particularly by a gang of repeat offenders. Other aggravating factors were torture of a woman, law-enforcement officers (including wardens) as victims, bootlegging, insurance fraud, homosexual robbery gang, and killings by convicts. It has been suggested (Bowers, 1984, pp. 131-132) that the increase in capital punishment in the 1920s and 1930s might be due first to minority-group repression and then as a response to social dislocation and turmoil. It is certainly possible that those were similarly associated with the greater number of mass legal executions in the 1920s and 1930s.

War-Related Mass Legal Executions in America

Wartime, too, served as an aggravating factor, enhancing the likelihood of mass legal executions. In addition to wartime serving as the excuse for executing 19 Blacks following the Houston riot of 1917, World War II served as the basis for three mass legal executions of German nationals in the United States, even though two of them occurred after the war in Europe had ended.

Following the capture of "Nazi saboteurs" in 1942 -- a capture for which the Federal Bureau of Investigation claimed credit even though it occurred only because one saboteur quickly turned himself in to the authorities -- the government decided to try and to execute them quickly in order to discourage future similar actions by the Nazi regime. And in July and August of 1945, two groups of German POWs were executed; one group of five was executed following the end of the war in Europe, and a group of seven was executed after Japan, too, had surrendered. In both cases, groups of fanatical Nazi POWs held a kangaroo court in which another prisoner was convicted of being a "traitor" or "deserter"; the convicted POW was then

killed by the Nazis. The delay until war's end was to ensure that the German military could not retaliate against American POWs (Krammer, 1979, pp. 170-174).

CONCLUSION

Based on this exploratory study, there are a number of reasons why mass legal executions occurred in the past, and some hypotheses as to why they have ceased to take place in the United States. Part of the reason was the nature of the offenses. Piracy, and insurrections by Indians and Blacks, were crimes committed by groups so that, at a time when capital punishment was a common -- even mandatory -- sanction, group trials, sentences, and executions naturally occurred. Also, the fact that criminals had fewer rights at trials, and generally no appeals, made it likely that the sentences would be imposed at about the same time. In addition, certain crimes were feared by society, particularly slave revolts by southern society. In wartime, the leaders were particularly concerned about desertion, and ordinary folks were afraid of traitors and traitorous conduct.

Following the War Between the States, there were fewer crimes either naturally committed by groups or eliciting the same sorts of fears. There remained fear of Blacks and Black equality in the South, and of immigrants and labor unrest throughout the country. And gang-related robberies committed with loss of innocent life were a concern then as now. Various changes had occurred over the decades, however. Criminal suspects had greater rights both at trials and after, limiting the likelihood of a death sentence being imposed. There appears to have been a change in the way cooperative criminals were treated. In the 17th and 18th centuries, cooperation did not necessarily mean exemption from execution, although the hope for clemency was a motive for cooperation. In the 19th and 20th centuries, it was more common for those turning state's evidence to be assured lesser terms, if any punishment. And felony-murder convictions gradually led to fewer executions of those who, while involved in murderous activity, did not personally take another person's life. Also, diminished political support of capital punishment itself renders mass legal executions even less appealing, even to supporters of death penalties, who would rather not have the sorts of executions which would likely increase opposition to all capital punishment.

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LIST OF MASS LEGAL EXECUTIONS IN AMERICA¹

Date	State ²	Actual Offense ³	Manner of Execution ⁴	Number, Race, Sex of Executed	Sources,* Miscellaneous ⁵
1661	Mass.	Piracy	hanging	6 males	E
April 1671	Md.	Murder	hanging	3 White males, 1 Black male	E, M. White servants and a slave killed master ⁶
Sept. 1676	Mass.	Indian uprising	shooting	8 males (1 Black, 7 Indian)	E. T reports all as Indians ⁷
Nov. 1676-1677	Va.	Treason	hanging	23 White males	AA. Bacon's rebellion; 14 military, 9 civil trials
Jan. 1689	Mass.	Piracy	hanging	8 males	E
July-Sept. 1692	Mass.	Witchcraft	hanging pressing	14 White females 5 White males 1 White male	D, I. One mass execution each of 3 months
June 1704	Mass.	Piracy	hanging	6 White males	E. T has 7
Aug. 1706	Va.	Burglary	hanging	5 Black males	E, K. Slaves
Feb. 1708	N.Y.	Murder	torture ⁸	1 Indian male 3 Blacks (1 female)	H. Mass murder by slaves of owner's family

¹A "mass legal execution" is here defined as the execution by legally constitute authorities of four or more persons, following whatever was accepted as due process, for the same criminal incident at approximately the same time.

²"State" here refers to where the place of execution would currently be found, regardless of whether, at the time of the execution, it was a colony or territory, and regardless of whether the trial was by state, federal, or military authorities.

³All slave revolts are classified as slave insurrection regardless of whether the actual criminal offense was murder, arson, robbery, conspiracy, etc., and regardless of the involvement of slaves. On a smaller scale, killing a master might be tried as petit treason, but is here murder, as is robbery-murder. A mass murder or other violence by Indians against white settlers is categorized as an Indian uprising. And the Houston riot involving black soldiers is described as murder even if offenses charged included desertion, disobeying orders, etc. Desertions from the military are considered a single criminal incident if the deserters appear to have been arrested together, even if their desertions may have begun separately.

⁴Gibbet is hanging with the body not promptly removed; here gibbet or beheading indicate post-mortem actions to display (part of) the deceased as a possible deterrent. Torture involved such things as breaking on the wheel, roasting alive, and gibbeting alive.

⁵Includes additional information some of which may be potentially relevant to why they were executed.

⁶A fifth slave was acquitted of the crime, but was ordered to hang the four convicted (M, pp. 6-8).

⁷E reports the charge as rape for the black, and unknown for the others, but it is associated with what is described as Indian war, involving a series of arsons and killings, including the murder friendly Indians leading to the execution of a white man (T, pp. 18-22).

⁸H has the female slowly burned and the Indian by gibbet, with the others by unknown means. E has the males all hanged. Although gibbet and hanging are often synonymous, the gibbet can be used without quick strangulation.

April-June 1712	N.Y.	Slave revolt	hanging, torture	20 Blacks (2 females) ⁹	H, BB
Nov. 1717	Mass.	Piracy	hanging	6 White males	E
Nov.-Dec. 1718	S.C.	Piracy	hanging	23 White males	E, O, CC
1720	Va.	Piracy	gibbeting	4 White males	E
Summer 1720	S.C.	Slave revolt	hanging	14 Black males	A
July 1723	R.I.	Piracy	hanging	26 White males	E, CC
Sept. 1730	Va.	Slave revolt	hanging	5 Black males	A, E, K. A and E have 4
1730	La.	Slave revolt	broken on wheel hanging	8 Black males 1 Black female	A
1732	La.	Slave revolt	broken on wheel hanging	4 Black males 1 Black female	A. Some suspicion same plot as above but misdated
Nov. 1738	R.I.	Piracy	hanging	4 White males	E
June 1740	S.C.	Slave revolt	hanging	50+ Black males	A
May-July 1741	N.Y.	Slave revolt	17 hanging (3 gibbet) 15 burned	29 Black males; 3 Whites (2 female)	A, H, BB. The Whites were among those hanged, with the male gibbeted. E has 1 additional White male ¹⁰
May 1756	N.Y.	Desertion	shooting	10 White males	H
1767	Va.	Poisoning	hanging	4 slaves	E. Sex unspecified
Dec. 1767- Jan. 1768	Va.	Slave revolt	hanging and beheading	8 Black males	A
Oct. 1769	La.	Treason	shooting	6 White males	E. G says only 5, with a 6th dying in prison
Oct. 1769	N.C.	Felony	hanging	7 Black males	E. Slaves, with compensation
June 1771	N.C.	Treason	hanging	6 White males	E, F. Frontiersmen/ guerrillas upset with corrupt officials after losing battle

⁹One of the slaves involved -- who was roasted over a slow fire -- belonged to Nicholas Roosevelt, a former fur trader and Manhattan businessman, who was the last common Roosevelt ancestor of both the Oyster Bay (TR) and Hyde Park (FDR) branches of the family (BB, pp. 42-43).

¹⁰An additional 77 whites and blacks were banished. And Quack, a slave of another Roosevelt, John (Johannes, founder of what became the Oyster Bay/TR branch of the family), was executed for his alleged role in the 1741 slave revolt; he was burned, despite John's testimony providing an alibi (BB, pp. 50-53).

Oct. 1773	Md.	Murder	hanging	4 males	E. Identified as convicts
March 1776	Va.	Running away/ Theft	hanging	4 Black males	K, L. Slaves sentenced to hang, but actual execution uncertain
March 1777	N.C.	Murder	hanging	4 Black males	E. Unnamed slaves
April 1778	Calif.	Murder conspiracy	shooting	4 Indian males	E
June 1778	N.Y.	Treason	hanging	7 White males	H. Tory guerrillas E says robbery
Jan. 1779	Va.	Murder	hanging	4 Blacks (1 female)	E. Slaves
Jan./June 1779	N.Y.	Treason	hanging	7 White males	H. Tory marauders
March 1781	Pa.	Desertion	hanging	4 White males	I
Oct. 1784	Pa.	Robbery hanging		4 White males	T. Gang
Oct. 1789	Pa.	Murder	hanging	5 White males	T. Robbery gang
May 1792	Va.	Slave revolt	hanging	“considerable number” of Black males	A
1793	N.C.	Unknown	hanging	4 White males	E. Sailors
Spring 1795	La.	Slave revolt	gibbeting	22 Black males	A, E. Some Whites banished
Dec. 1799	Va.	Slave revolt	hanging	4-10 Black males	A, K
Sept.-Oct. 1800	Va.	Slave revolt	hanging	25+ Black males	A, K. Gabriel’s plot of about 1,000 slaves
1802	N.C.	Slave revolt	hanging	13 Black males	E
April-July 1802	Va.	Slave revolt	hanging	5+ Black males	E, K
1804	S.C.	Slave revolt	hanging and beheading	10-12 Black males	A
Aug.(?) 1805	N.C.	Slave revolt	hanging burning	3-4 Black males 1 Black female	A
April 1808	Md.	Murder	hanging	3 White males 1 Black male	E. Escaped convicts
July 1809	Va.	Murder	hanging	4 Black males	E. Slaves
Jan. 1811	La.	Slave revolt	hanging, shooting and beheading	16 Black males	A

Jan. 1813	Md.	Murder	hanging	4 Black males	E. Slaves
June 1814	N.Y.	Desertion	shooting	4 White males	H. Commanding general ordered upgrade of 3 lenient sentences
Oct. 1814	N.Y.	Desertion	shooting	6 White males	H. Worst of 25 so sentenced
Feb. 1815	Ala.	Desertion	shooting	6 White males	J. Leaders of mutiny/desertion of about 200 serving under Andrew Jackson
March 1816	Va.	Slave revolt	hanging	5 Black males	A, K
July 1816	S.C.	Slave revolt	hanging	6 Black males	A
Feb. 1819	Mass.	Piracy	hanging	4 White males	E
June-Aug. 1822	S.C.	Slave revolt	hanging	35 Black males	A, DD. Denmark Vesey revolt
March 1824	Ark.	Murder	shooting	7 Indian males	E
Nov. 1826	Ky.	Slave revolt	hanging	5 Black males	A. Coded as murder by E
April 1827	Va.	Murder	hanging	7 Black males	E, K. Slaves
Nov. 1829 May 1830	Ky.	Slave revolt	hanging hanging	5 Black males 1 Black female	A. Coded as murder by E Delayed due to pregnancy
Feb. 1830 Sept. 1831	S.C. N.C.	Murder Slave revolt	hanging hanging	4 Black males "many" Black males	E. Slaves A. Nat Turner-inspired revolt or fear of revolt
Aug.-Nov. 1831	Va.	Slave revolt	hanging	18-20 Blacks (1 female; 3 free)	A, K. Nat Turner rebellion of Aug. 1831; perhaps 200 killed without trial
Sept.-Oct. 1831	Va.	Slave revolt	hanging	4 Black males	A, K. Turner inspired revolt or fear of revolt
Oct. 1831	Ga.	Slave revolt	hanging	4 Black males	A. Ditto
Nov. 1831	Va.	Murder	hanging	5 Black males	E, L
June 1835 Sept. 1835	Mass.	Piracy	hanging	6 Hispanic males	E
Nov. 1836	Ala.	Murder	hanging	6 Indian males	E
Aug. 1837 March 1839	La. La.	Slave revolt ?	hanging hanging	12 Black males (3 free) 5 Black males	A, E E. Slaves with compensation

June 1840	Ga.	Murder	hanging	5 Black males	E. Slaves
Sept. 1840	La.	Slave revolt	hanging	21 Black males	A, E
Sept. 1840	La.	Slave revolt	hanging	9 Black males	A, E
Feb. 1843	Ala.	?	hanging	5 Black males	E. Slaves, with compensation
Dec. 1843	Tenn.	Murder	hanging	4 Black males	E. Slaves
Oct. 1846	Fla.	Aiding runaway slaves	hanging	4 White males	E
June 1850	Ore.	Indian uprising	hanging	5 Indian males	E, I ¹¹
Feb. 1852	Ala.	?	hanging	5 Black males	E. Slaves, with compensation
Oct. 1855	La.	Murder	hanging	4 Black males	E. And robbery by slaves
Dec. 1856	Tenn.	Slave revolt	hanging	4 Black males	A
Dec. 1857	Ala.	Murder	hanging	5 Black males	E. Slaves
Dec. 1859 March 1860	Va.	Treason	hanging	3 White males; 2 Black males	E, I. John Brown's raid; Brown hanged 2 weeks before 4 colleagues; final 2 Whites in March
Nov. 1860	Md.	Murder	hanging	4 Black males	E. Robbery as well
April 1861	S.C.	Slave revolt	hanging	7 Black males	A
June 1861	Miss.	Slave revolt	hanging	6 Black males	A
Oct. 1861	S.C.	Murder	hanging	4 Blacks (2 female)	E. Slaves
Early 1862	Va.	Slave revolt	hanging	17 Black males (some free)	A
June 1862	La.	Burglary	hanging	4 males	E. Race unspecified
June 1862	Ga.	Espionage	hanging	7 White males	E, X, Y. Ununiformed Union Army members ¹²
June 1862	La.	Housebreaking	hanging	4 males	E. Race unspecified

¹¹Officially, for murder by Cayuse Indians of Presbyterian missionary/physician for witchcraft (Indian medicine men, too, were subject to execution for bad magic), and of his wife and others, following a brief war between settlers and natives. The condemned Indians rejected Presbyterian rites opting instead for those of the Catholics.

¹²The incident, beginning with the theft of the Confederate locomotive, *The General*, served as the basis for two major motion pictures, *The General* (1926) and *The Great Locomotive Chase* (1956); the executions did not.

Oct. 1862	Tex.	Treason	hanging	36 White males	E, I. Executed as Union sympathizers (traitors) in four counties, in kangaroo vigilante courts; 17 others were lynched or shot. E only lists 5 as legal executions
Dec. 1862	Minn.	Indian uprising	hanging	38 Dakota Sioux males ¹³	D, F. Tried by military commission
May 1863	Va.	Murder	hanging	6 Blacks (3 female)	E, L. Slaves, with compensation
June 1863	Calif.	Indian uprising	hanging	5 Indian males	I. E has it in July
Aug. 1863	Va.	Desertion	shooting	5 White males	FF. Union soldiers; foreigners hired as substitutes
Aug. 1863	Va.	Murder	hanging	4 Black males	E, L. Slaves
Sept. 1863	Ky.	Desertion	shooting	5 White males	FF. Union soldiers
Sept. 1863	Va.	Desertion	shooting	4 White males	FF. Union soldiers
Sept. 1863	Va.	Desertion	shooting	11 White males	I. Confederate soldiers, also murder resisting arrest
1864	Ga.	Slave revolt	hanging	3 Black males, 1 White male	P

¹³Initially, over 300 were sentenced for massacres killing about 800 civilians (D, pp. 175-78). The 39 executed, per E, were convicted of murder, accessory to murder, or kidnapping.

Feb. 1864	N.C.	Desertion	hanging	22 White males ¹⁴	I. By Confederate army, but status (deserters vs. POWs) disputed by Union army
May 1864	Ga.	Desertion	shooting	14 White males	I. Confederate soldiers
July 1864	Ark.	Murder	shooting	4 White males	E. Guerillas
August 1864	Ga.	Slave revolt	hanging	1 White male, 3 Black males	A, Z
Dec. 1864	Va.	Desertion	shooting	4 White males	FF. Union soldiers
May 1865	N.C.	Rape	shooting	4 Black males	FF. Union soldiers
May 1865	Miss.	Murder	hanging	7 Black males	FF. Union soldiers
July 1865	D.C.	Assassination	hanging	3 White males, 1 White female ¹⁵	D, F. Lincoln assassination plot
Dec. 1865	Fla.	Mutiny	shooting	6 Black males	FF. Union soldiers
Jan. 1866	Tenn.	Murder	hanging	4 White males	E, N. Teenage government employees kill man in front of his family
Nov. 1866	Fla.	Murder	hanging	4 Black males	E, U. Killed a White city marshal who had previously shot at one of them
Nov. 1866	Md.	Murder	hanging	4 Black males	E, N
March 1869	Md.	Murder	hanging	4 Black males	E, N. Killed two on oyster sloop
Oct. 1873	Ore.	Indian uprising	hanging	4 Indian males	E, I ¹⁶
Mar.-Apr. 1877	S.C.	Murder	hanging	5 Black males	E, N. Robbery-murder followed by arson; also confessed to church burning, murder, etc.
June 1877	Pa.	Murder	hanging	10 White males	D, F, T. Molly Maguires ¹⁷

¹⁴There were also about 50 executions of white males by firing squad -- the less insulting punishment for desertion -- but it is not clear that all were for desertion or any other single criminal incident.

¹⁵Mary Surratt was probably innocent, and was executed in part due to presidential defiance of a last-minute writ of habeas corpus, in addition to earlier recommendations for leniency (D, pp. 265-272).

¹⁶E has it as murder, with execution in March. Actually, end of Modoc uprising with extensive loss of Indian and white life.

¹⁷Additionally, a pair was executed in 1879. In all, 20 Molly Maguires were executed (D, pp. 240-44).

Aug. 1878	La.	Murder	hanging	4 Black males	E, N. And robbery of White store clerk
Nov. 1879 & May 1880	Pa.	Murder	hanging	5 White males	E, T, N
Oct. 1882	Ga.	Murder	hanging	4 Black males 1 Black female	N. Mob response to slaying of a Black man by marshal and deputy; 17 others sentenced to life
June 1883	Ark.	Murder	hanging	4 White males	E, N. Train robbery
March 1884	Ariz.	Murder	hanging	5 White males	I. Robbery and 4 killings ¹⁸
Nov. 1887	Ill.	Murder	hanging	4 White males	D, F. Haymarket riot ¹⁹
Jan. 1893	Md.	Murder	hanging	4 Black males	E, N. Four spared death due to age
July 1896	Ark.	Rape	hanging	5 males (3 Indian, 2 part-Black)	C. Also convicted of murder, as listed by E
April 1897	N.Mex.	Murder	hanging	4 Hispanic males	E, N. Hispanic law enforcement officer killed in political dispute
June 1901	Ga.	Murder	hanging	5 Black males	N. "Black mafia" with alleged anti-White views
Nov. 1905	Nev.	Murder	hanging	4 White males	N
Oct. 1907	Pa.	Murder	hanging	5 White males	T. Conspiracy to rob fellow workers
Feb. 1912	Ill.	Murder	hanging	4 White males	E, N. Robbery
July-Aug. 1912	N.Y.	Murder	electrocution	6 White males	H. Torture of females involved

¹⁸The non-participating mastermind of what was to be a robbery of a store co-owned by Joe Goldwater (Barry's great-uncle) turned state's evidence, was convicted of second-degree murder and sentenced to life imprisonment, but was lynched in February 1884.

¹⁹A bomb resulted in a shootout killing eight police officers and four demonstrators; eight men were convicted in all, and pardoned, for the most part belatedly, by Gov. John Peter Altgeld in 1893 (D, pp. 249-253). F, pp. 162-164, has only three men executed, saying nothing about the fate of August Spies, whom he reports as having called for the meeting in Haymarket Square that became violent. E's data include Spies.

April 1914 July 1915	N.Y.	Murder	electrocution	5 White males	H ²⁰
Sept. 1915	S.C.	Murder	electrocution	4 Black males	E, N. Robbery-murder of aged Confederate veteran
June 1916	N.Mex.	Murder	hanging	6 Hispanic males	E, I. Mexican participants in a Pancho Villa raid
Dec. 1917 Sept. 1918	Texas	Murder	hanging	19 Black males	V. Houston riot involving Black soldiers, with 13 hanged in Dec. and 6 more in Sept.
Dec. 1920	N.Y.	Murder	electrocution	4 White males	H
June 1921	Pa.	Murder	electrocution	4 males (3 Black, 1 White)	E, N, O
March 1922	Tenn.	Murder	electrocution	4 White males	E, N, O. And robbery
July 1922 April 1923	N.Mex.	Murder	hanging	4 Hispanic males	E, I. Robbery-related. The 4 th 's appeal prevented his execution until April 1923
May 1924	La.	Murder	hanging	6 White males	E, Q. Robbery by outsiders born in Italy
Jan./March 1925	N.Y.	Murder	electrocution	4 White males	T. Robbery gang; 5th turned state's evidence
Feb. 1926	Ark.	Murder	hanging	4 Black males ²¹	N
Jan. 1927	N.Y.	Murder	electrocution	4 Black males	H
March 1927	Pa.	Murder	electrocution	4 White males	N. Bank robbers killed police officer
July 1927 October 1928	Ill.	Murder	hanging	4 White males (1 Hispanic)	E, I. Murder of an assistant warden ²²
Nov. 1927	N.J.	Murder	electrocution	4 White males	N. Gang robbery
June 1928	Ariz.	Murder	hanging	4 Asian males	I. Tong war-related; a 5th condemned man was not executed

²⁰One of the 5, a police officer, was not executed until July 1915. The killing and executions were mentioned in Fitzgerald, F. S. (1925/1953). *The great Gatsby*. New York: Charles Scribener's Sons, p. 65.

²¹Since the victim's son was under the impression that his father was murdered and a sister wounded by whites, it is possible that the men were innocent, despite confessions elicited by the fear of lynching. [Another murder mystery cleared up by confessions of suspects. (1925 July 17). *Camden (Ark.) News*, p. 1.]

²²Three were executed in July 1927. Five men were sentenced to die, but two escaped, one of whom was recaptured and hanged in October 1928.

Jan. 1930	Calif.	Murder	hanging	5 White males	E, N. Prison riot
July 1930	N.J.	Murder	electrocution	4 White males	N. Gang robbery
Feb. 1931	S.C.	Murder	electrocution	5 Black males	N. Gang robbery
August 1931	Pa.	Murder	electrocution	4 White males	T. Bootleg-liquor related
June 1932	La.	Murder	hanging	6 males (5 White)	E, N. Gang-related robberies; E has only 4 (1 Black)
June-July 1932	Ohio	Murder	electrocution	4 males (3 Black, 1 White)	I
June-July 1934	N.Y.	Murder	electrocution	4 White males	H
Jan. 1936	N.Y.	Murder	electrocution	4 White males	H. Homosexual robbery gang
May 1936	N.Y.	Murder	electrocution	4 White males	H. Robbery related
Dec. 1938	Calif.	Murder	lethal gas	5 White males	E, I. Murdered a warden
March 1939	S.C.	Murder	electrocution	6 White males	E, O. Mutinous conspiracy by convicts to escape
Feb. 1941	N.Y.	Murder	electrocution	4 White males	H. Murderous crime spree
March 1941	La.	Murder	hanging	4 White males	E, N. Escaped Ark. convicts who killed in La.
Aug. 1942	D.C.	Sabotage	electrocution	6 White males	B. Nazi saboteur case
July 1945	Kan.	Murder	hanging	5 White males	I, N, EE. German POWs for killing another POW
Aug. 1945	Kan.	Murder	hanging	7 White males	I, W, EE. German POWs for killing other POW ²³
Feb. 1951	Va.	Rape	electrocution	7 Black males	R
May 1960	Ark.	Murder	hanging	4 Black males	N

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At least one source is noted for each incident, keyed below. Where A (Aptheker) is the sole source, while one may be confident that there were executions for perceived slave conspiracies or revolts, less confidence may be warranted for the precise date and number executed, and regarding whether due process was observed.

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²³After helping Americans interrogate other German POWs, Americans sent the POW to the camp where those whom he had helped interrogate were also being imprisoned, and they killed -- from their perspective, executed -- him the day he arrived.

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- (March 1781) <<http://carlisle-www.army.mil/usamhi/Bibliographies/ReferenceBibliographies/law/execute.doc>>
<<http://www.trussel.com/hf/reply.htm>>
- (June 1850) <http://nscx.sccd.ctc.edu/~mnutti/pnw_main/html/content/gates_paper.html>
- (Dec. 1859) <<http://www.iath.virginia.edu/jbrown/master.html>>
<<http://valley.vcdh.virginia.edu/browser1/au.file.brown.html>>
- (Oct. 1862) <<http://www.tsha.utexas.edu/handbook/online/articles/view/GG/jig1.html>>
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EXPLAINING SPATIAL VARIATION IN SUPPORT FOR CAPITAL PUNISHMENT: A MULTILEVEL ANALYSIS

Eric P. Baumer

Department of Criminology and Criminal Justice, University of Missouri-St. Louis
8001 Natural Bridge Road, St. Louis, MO 63121

Steven F. Messner

Department of Sociology, University at Albany, SUNY
Albany, NY 12222

Richard Rosenfeld

Department of Criminology and Criminal Justice, University of Missouri-St. Louis
8001 Natural Bridge Road, St. Louis, MO 63121

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The United States is one of the few developed societies in the world that retains the death penalty. Various explanations for this aspect of “American exceptionalism” have been proposed, including distinctive features of American federalism and the populist nature of American politics (Hood, 1998; Radelet & Borg, 2000; Zimring & Hawkins, 1986). Whatever the merits of these accounts, capital punishment receives substantial public support in the United States. Recent national surveys indicate that about two-thirds of American adults support the death penalty for persons convicted of murder. However, the national figure conceals the substantial variation in death penalty support that exists across space *within* the United States. Some studies have demonstrated significant regional variation in levels of support (e.g., Bohm, 1991; Fox, Radelet, & Bonsteel 1991), and independently conducted state-level surveys indicate that the often-quoted national figures do not adequately describe public sentiment in all U.S. states. For example, in 1999, support for the death penalty was much lower in Kentucky (59%) than Missouri (78%) (Brinker, 1999; Death Penalty Information Center, 1999). But with the exception of this type of descriptive evidence for large geographic units, very little is known about spatial variation in support for the death penalty in the U.S., including how much variation exists at relatively “localized” areas, and what social conditions might account for that variation.

We begin to fill some of these gaps in the literature by examining the sources of variation in death penalty support across a representative sample of U.S. metropolitan areas and non-metropolitan counties. Our analyses address two interrelated questions: Is there meaningful variation in support for capital punishment across these localized areas? And, if so, how can this variation be explained?

With respect to the latter question, we are particularly interested in exploring “contextual effects.” Support for the death penalty might vary across areas simply as a function of the non-random distribution of the population. Specifically, areas with strong death penalty support might be those with relatively large numbers of persons with the individual attributes that have been linked with pro-death penalty attitudes. Prior research and theory, however, suggest that

attitudes about punishment and social control are likely to be affected by features of the social environment, especially the level of lethal violence, political conservatism, and racial and economic composition.

The prior literature suggests four main hypotheses about contextual determinants of death penalty support (Beckett & Sasson, 2000; Garland, 2000; Gelles & Straus, 1975; Hawkins, 1987; Liska, 1992; Stinchcombe et al., 1980; Thomas & Foster, 1975; Tyler & Boeckmann, 1997; Tyler & Weber, 1982). Persons residing in areas with high homicide rates, a strongly conservative political climate, a relatively large minority population, and high income inequality should be more likely to express support for the death penalty. These effects should emerge net of individual attributes that have been linked with attitudes towards capital punishment, indicating that spatial variation in support for the death penalty is not simply a function of population distribution. They also should persist after holding constant other contextual variables that may be associated with these conditions and with support for the death penalty.

We address these hypotheses using individual-level data from the 1974-1998 General Social Survey (GSS) that have been linked with aggregate-level data on homicide rates and socio-demographic, political, and economic characteristics. Multilevel regression models reveal substantial variation across geographic areas in levels of support for the death penalty that is not accounted for by compositional differences in individual attributes that have been linked with pro-death penalty attitudes, such as sex, race, and education. Consistent with instrumental, social threat, and constructionist perspectives, we find that persons who reside in areas with higher homicide rates, a larger proportion of Blacks, and a more conservative political climate are significantly more likely to support the death penalty, net of other factors. Our results warrant further attention to both the contextual and individual sources of public support for the death penalty, an especially salient research task in light of renewed debate over capital punishment.

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**BETWEEN WAR AND CRIME: TERRORISM'S
CHALLENGE TO VIOLENCE RESEARCH**

Brian Buchner and Richard Rosenfeld

Department of Criminology and Criminal Justice, University of Missouri-St. Louis
8001 Natural Bridge Road, St. Louis, MO 63121

American criminology was caught off-guard by the events of September 11, 2001. There was and is no “criminology of terrorism,” but criminology can make distinctive contributions to the broader intellectual and policy debates that have emerged during the last year. We discuss four such contributions related to defining terrorism, situational crime prevention and the egress problem, terror and anti-terror as moral crusades, and the institutional sources of terrorism. We conclude with criminological skepticism about the effectiveness of addressing the “root causes” of terrorism, when there are good reasons to believe terrorism is rooted in modernism itself.

CHAPTER FIVE
INTIMATE PARTNER AND SEXUAL VIOLENCE

**NATIONAL TRENDS IN CANADIAN INTIMATE
PARTNER HOMICIDES, 1974 TO 2000**

Valerie Pottie Bunge

Research Program, Canadian Centre for Justice Statistics
19th Floor, R.H. Coats Building, Ottawa, Ontario K1A 0T6 CANADA

Spousal homicide rates amongst males and females have been declining since the late 1970s. The purpose of this paper will be to examine national trends in homicide rates between intimate partners in Canada and to assess possible factors that may have contributed to the decline. Using Statistics Canada's National Homicide Survey and a combination of other statistical data sources, this paper will outline in detail the nature of the decline, and then will assess these trends within the context of other factors, including growth in the availability of emergency services for battered women, improvements to women's economic and social well-being (e.g., education, income, birth rate, divorce rate, marriage rate, etc.), trends in spousal victims' use of social services, trends in reporting spousal violence to the police, and the evaluation of charging and prosecution policies.

POLICY EFFECTS ON INTIMATE PARTNER VIOLENCE

Laura Dugan

Department of Criminology and Criminal Justice, University of Maryland
2220 LeFrak Hall, College Park, MD 20742

Daniel Nagin

H.J. Heinz III School of Public Policy, Carnegie Mellon University
5000 Forbes Avenue, Pittsburgh, PA 15213

Richard Rosenfeld

Department of Criminology and Criminal Justice, University of Missouri-St. Louis
8001 Natural Bridge Road, St. Louis, MO 63121

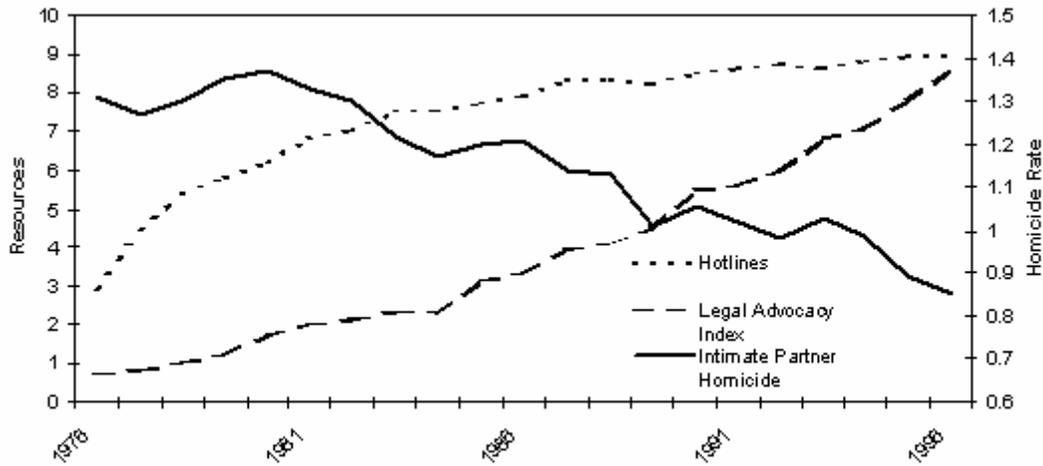
ABSTRACT

This article describes two National Consortium on Violence Research projects that examine the impact of policies intended to prevent family and intimate partner violence (Dugan, 2003; Dugan, Nagin, & Rosenfeld, 2003). The first project is a very exciting study that explores how policy changes over a 21-year period relates to changes in homicidal behavior of intimate partners. This analysis was conducted using city-level longitudinal data. The second project is a natural extension of the first because it uses individual-level data to further explore the implications of its conclusions.

PART I: DUGAN, NAGIN, AND ROSENFELD, 2003

This research agenda was motivated by two very strong United States trends spanning the middle 1970s to the middle 1990s (see Figure 1). The first is the rate of intimate partner homicide, which has decreased steadily since 1976. The second trend is the steady growth in domestic violence services over that same period. Figure 2 depicts this trend using information on hotlines and legal advocacy services in 49 large U.S. cities (data collected by the authors). The coincidence of these two trends leads naturally to the question: To what extent has the social response to domestic violence contributed to the decline in intimate partner homicide? Research evidence addressing that question is very limited, but the few existing studies suggest that domestic violence resources and policies such as hotlines, shelters, and legal advocacy programs may be associated with lower rates of intimate partner homicide, net of other influences (Browne & Williams, 1989; Dugan, Nagin, & Rosenfeld, 1999).

FIGURE 1. U.S. Intimate Partner Homicide Rates and Domestic Violence Services, 1976-1996



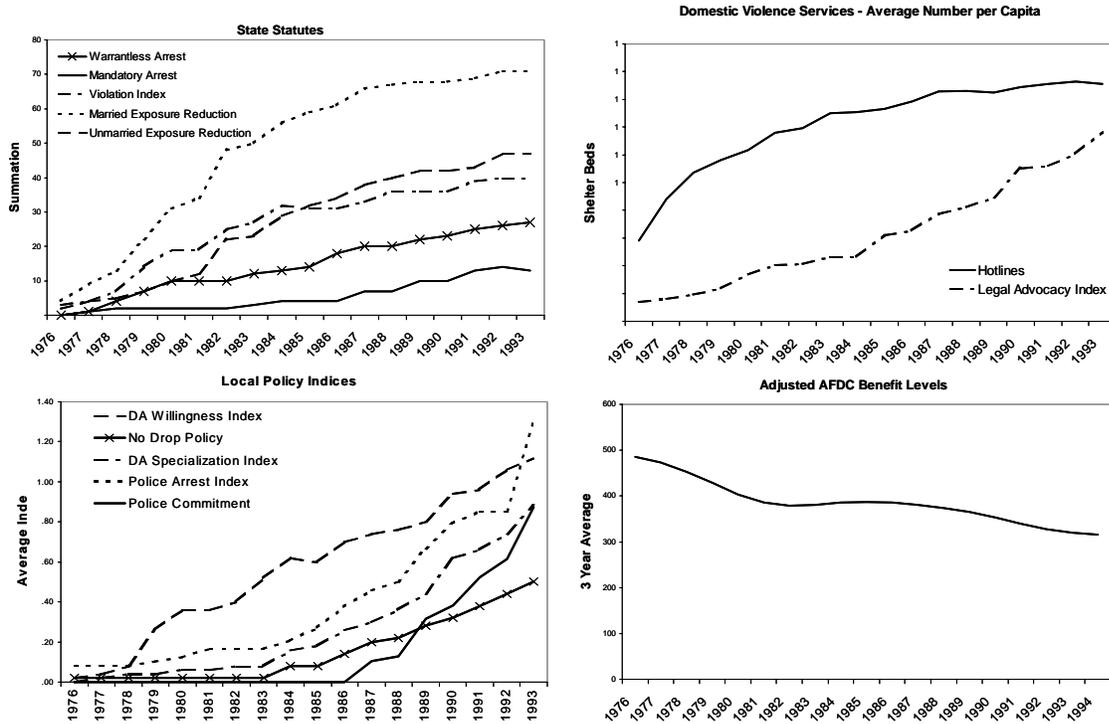
Source: Supplementary Homicide Reports, 1976-1996, and the authors

This research addresses the relationship between intimate partner homicide and domestic violence resources for a larger number of places over a longer period of time and with a considerably richer set of outcome and resource measures than used in previous research. Building on the research by Dugan, Nagin, and Rosenfeld (1999), we interpret that relationship in terms of the *exposure-reducing* potential of domestic violence resources. Simply put, those policies, programs, and services that effectively reduce contact between intimate partners reduce the opportunity for abuse and violence. However, we also assess the alternative possibility that, under certain conditions, domestic violence resources provoke a *retaliation effect*. Such an effect might occur, for example, if a protection order or other legal intervention directed at an abusive partner increased the level of stress or conflict in the relationship without effectively reducing victim exposure.

This project was possible because of our collaborative partnership with the Women’s Center and Shelter of Greater Pittsburgh. By collaborating with domestic violence practitioners we gained important insight as to the types of policies and services that might influence a woman’s exposure to a violent partner. Further, their efforts provided us with access to data from difficult-to-reach agencies. With their help, we evaluated the exposure-reducing and retaliation effects of a broad range of domestic violence resources on levels of heterosexual intimate homicide by victim sex, race, and marital relationship to the offender for 48 large U.S. cities between 1976 and 1996. Further, because we anticipate that other factors can affect the exposure between violent intimates, we control for changes in marriage and divorce rates, women’s status, and other time- and place-varying influences.

Patterns of change among the resource-related explanatory variables used in the models are shown in Figure 2. Instead of discussing the policies, laws, services, and AFDC benefit level in detail, we will point out that domestic violence resources have increased over this period while AFDC has dropped in real terms. We would also like to emphasize the success that we had in collecting the data. Nearly 100% of the agencies contacted responded to our inquiry.

FIGURE 2. Trends of Explanatory Variables



METHODS

The dependent variable for our model is a count of intimate partner homicide victims within a discrete period (3 years). Since rare events such as these are likely conform to a Poisson process, we use the Poisson likelihood function to estimate our models. Equation 1 shows the Poisson model with each observation weighted by the 3-year average of the city’s population:

$$\ln(\lambda_{it}) = \ln(n_{it}) + \sum_{k=0}^K \beta_k x_{itk} \tag{1}$$

where λ_{it} is the expected rate of homicides and n is the number of persons at risk of homicide. We estimate the statistical model shown in equation 2 for each category of intimate partner homicide as defined by the victim’s sex, race, and marital relationship. The subscript t refers to the wave. Each wave includes the current and 2 subsequent years. The subscript $t-1$ refers to the single year preceding the current wave.

$$\ln(Homicide_t) = \beta_0 + \ln(RiskPop) + \beta_1 Place + \beta_2 Year_t + \beta_3 Statute_{t-1} + \beta_4 LocPol_{t-1} + \beta_5 Services_{t-1} + \beta_6 AFDC_t + \beta_7 Status_t + \beta_8 Domestic_t + \beta_9 AdultHom_t + \beta_{10} Adjust_t, \tag{2}$$

where *Homicide* is the count of intimate partner homicide victims, *Statute* refers to the state statute provisions, *LocPol* refers to the local policies, *Services* refers to legal advocacy and hotlines, *AFDC* refers to the state benefit levels, *Status* is the measure of women’s relative education, *Domestic* refers to the marriage and divorce rates, *AdultHom* is the homicide rate for persons 25 and over, and *Adjust* is the adjustment for possible downward bias in the homicide

counts due to rounding (see Dugan et al., 2003, for details). We also included in the model dummy variables for each place and wave in the panel as controls for fixed effects attributable to time and place.

FINDINGS

Presentation of the results is complicated because of multiple dimensions used to test the robustness of the results (see Dugan et al., 2003, for details). In total, approximately 360 estimates are generated for each variable in each model. Table 1 lists some of the robust findings generated from a graphical method similar to the one described in Dugan (2002). The results are mixed. Some findings are consistent with our exposure reduction perspective suggesting that that increases in that factor are associated with decreases in homicide. AFDC and warrantless arrest consistently support this hypothesis across victim type. Other results are opposite that predicted by our theory, suggesting that increases in these factors are associated with increases in homicide (retaliation). Relative education and a prosecutor’s willingness to prosecute violators of protection orders consistently suggest a retaliation effect across victim type.

TABLE 1. Select Robust Findings

Homicide Reduction	Homicide Exacerbation
<u>AFDC Increases</u>	<u>Relative Education</u>
Black unmarried partners	Black unmarried partners
White unmarried males	Black husbands
<u>Warrantless Arrest</u>	<u>Prosecutor Willingness</u>
White females	White females
Unmarried males	White husbands
<u>Police Arrest Policy</u>	Black unmarried males and females
Black unmarried males and females	<u>Police Arrest Policy</u>
<u>Legal Advocacy</u>	White husbands
White wives	<u>Legal Advocacy</u>
	Black unmarried females

The remaining robust findings fall on either side of the exposure reduction hypothesis, depending on the characteristics of the victim. For example, the aggressiveness of police arrest policy seems to reduce the risk of homicide among Black unmarried couples. Yet, those same

policies appear to increase homicide risk for White husbands. Further, White wives benefit from strong local legal advocacy programs, while Black unmarried females appear to be endangered by them.

These findings do not mean that designing prevention strategies based on exposure reduction is a bad idea. They do, however, suggest that a little exposure reduction (or unmet promises of exposure reduction) in severely violent relationships can be worse than the status quo. Absolute reduction of exposure in such relationships is an important policy objective. But achieving this type of protection from abuse is not easy.

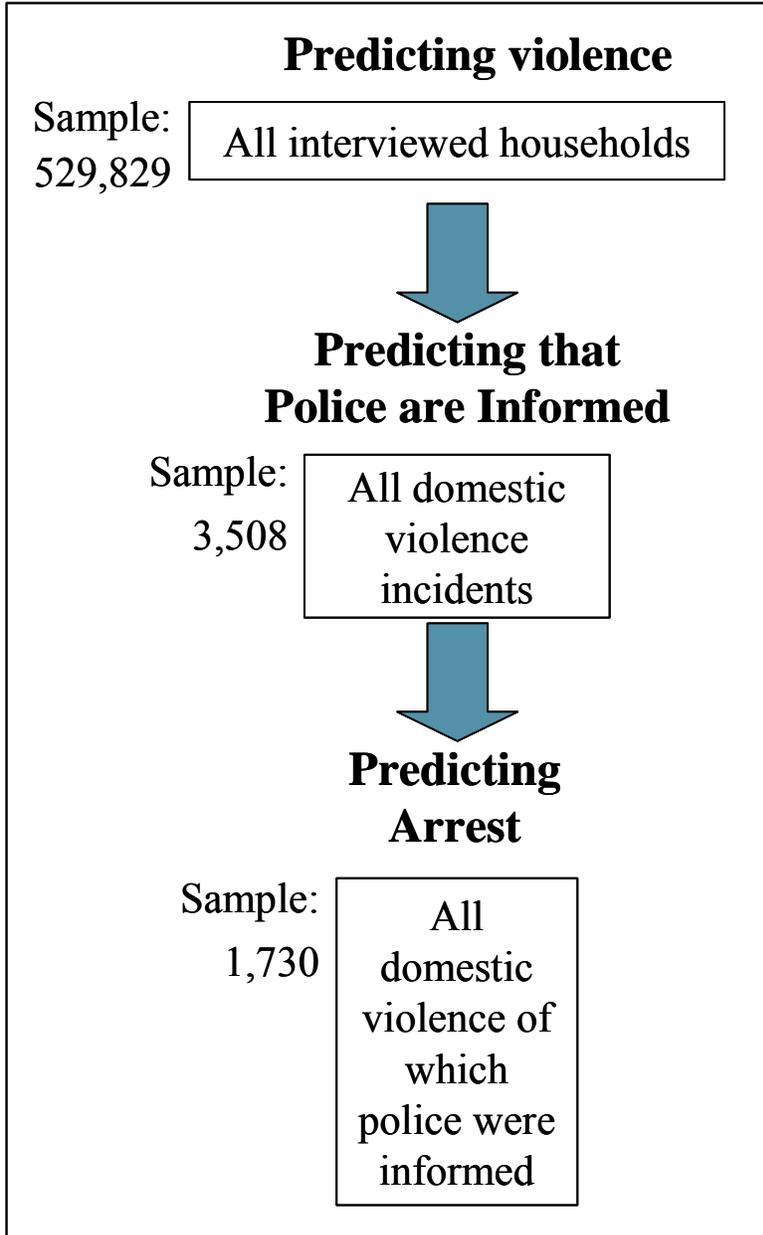
Dugan et al. (2003) investigated the community-level characteristics associated with exposure reduction. More research at the individual level is needed to examine the experiences of those who do or do not access the system. Further, only by investigating processes at the individual level will we be able to determine whether service providers act according to proscribed policy.

PART II: DUGAN, 2003

Dugan (2003) begins to address the issues raised in the above findings by examining how state laws relate to the probability of domestic violence in a household residing within its jurisdiction. Because this relationship may be driven by criminal justice responses, the research also examines how the laws influence two components of the criminal justice process: informing police and arrest. To test the hypotheses, the area-identified National Crime Victimization Survey (NCVS) is linked with the policy information that was collected project in part I. The NCVS is administered to a very large sample of persons and records detailed information on their victimization experiences. Further, since its redesign in 1992, it captures more information on family and intimate violence. Most importantly, it is now possible to geographically identify the jurisdictions of the respondents and incidents.

The policy information is linked to all incidents and households that are found in the redesigned NCVS data spanning from 1992 to July of 1998. Figure 3 displays a diagram showing the unit of analyses for all three predictive models. The first model estimates how state laws (and other factors) influence the probability that a household resident suffers from intimate or family violence. The other factors include household characteristics that describe the residents' stability, their exposure probability to violence, and their demographics. Controls for time and survey characteristics that may influence how they answer the questions are also included (see Dugan, 2003 for descriptions). All interviewed households are included in this model, totaling 529,829.

FIGURE 3. The Units of Analysis for All Three Models



The second model estimates the impact of laws and other factors on the probability that the police are informed of an incident. The sample used to estimate this model includes all domestic violence incidents reported in the survey ($n = 3,508$). Finally, the third model estimates how the laws and other factors impact whether or not the police make an arrest. The sample includes all of the 1,730 cases of which the police were informed. The other factors used in the two incident level analyses include measures describing the victim, offender, incident, location, and time (see Dugan, 2003, for descriptions).

The primary dependent variable was constructed from all NCVS households to indicate whether any resident was recently and violently victimized by a family member or intimate partner. While efforts have been made in the most recent survey design to encourage victims to disclose family and intimate victimizations, NCVS estimates incidence of domestic violence at lower rates compared to other sources (Crowell & Burgess, 1996; Tjaden & Thoennes, 2000). Because the survey was designed as a general crime survey, it cannot invest the same level of effort to prompt respondents to disclose *all* types of sensitive information. Because nondisclosure is possible, the dependent variable is more accurately generated from the joint distribution combining the probabilities that a household member was victimized *and* that he or she disclosed the incident to the interviewer. Independent variables are selected to account for survey characteristics that could affect a respondent's candidness.

Violent victimizations are defined as completed and attempted incidents of rape, robbery, and aggravated assault, simple assault, sexual attack with serious assault or minor assault, threatened assault with weapon, sexual assault without injury, unwanted sexual contact without force, assault without weapon or injury, verbal threats of rape, sexual assault, or assault, and completed burglary with unlawful entry with or without force. Three groupings of domestic violence are constructed according to the victim's relationship to the offender. The first includes all cases of *non-intimate family violence* in which there was only one offender and he or she was a parent, step parent, child, step child, sibling, or other relative.¹ The two remaining groups examine intimate partner domestic violence by the victim's marital relationship to the offender. *Spousal violence* includes spouses and former spouses, and *boy/girlfriend violence* includes cases where the offender was a current or former boyfriend or girlfriend.

Two secondary dependent variables were constructed with incident-specific data to show criminal justice involvement. The first indicates whether the police were informed of the violence based on the dichotomous response to the survey question, "Were the police informed or did they find out about this incident in another way?" (ICPSR, 1997, pp. 251-252). A general measure of police involvement is used because policy implementation is likely to rely more heavily on whether the police are involved than on what led to their involvement. The second incident-level dependent variable is an indicator of whether an *arrest* was made. The survey question asks the respondent, "As far as you know, was anyone arrested or were charges brought against anyone in connection with this incident?" (ICPSR 1997, p. 279).

Several key provisions were examined. The first concerns the impact of policies that expand the eligibility of protection orders to cover victims who do not live with the abuser,

¹Because children under the age of 12 are omitted from the sample, some cases of child abuse are not measured in this study. Additionally, if an adult household member objects to a 12 or 13 year old member being interviewed, then that or another member will serve as a proxy and respond to the questions for the child. If the proxy interviewee is unaware of the child's victimization or prefers not to disclose a crime, it is unlikely that those incidents will be reported to the interviewer. Finally, if a particular household member is physically or mentally unable to answer the questions, or is temporarily absent and not expected to return before the closeout date, the interviewer will accept information from another knowledgeable household member. All proxy interviews can reduce the chances that an actual incident is recorded in the NCVS.

beyond cohabitation. This provision concerns eligibility for receiving a protection order. *Custody* is a second provision that could encourage more victims to petition for protection orders. It authorizes judges to award temporary custody of children to the victim. Batterers sometimes warn their partners that they will not be allowed to leave with the children, and threaten to kidnap, hurt, or even kill the children. Women are less likely to leave abusive relationships if they think it will endanger their children. Therefore, a battered woman may be more likely to file for a protection order if she knows that she is likely to obtain temporary custody.

Three legal provisions relate to the consequence of violating an order. Violation of a protection order can be classified as *a misdemeanor, contempt (either civil or criminal), or a felony* depending on the provision that was violated.² Arrest and confinement are more likely to occur if the violation is classified as criminal contempt or felony. In general, police officers can not make an arrest without a warrant for a misdemeanor based on probable cause alone, thereby hampering enforcement in instances where violation of protection order is classified as a misdemeanor offense (Finn, 1991). As statutes allow judges discretion when classifying offenses, they are free to base sanctioning decisions on the specifics of each case. *Contempt and misdemeanor* are combined to index the discretion of the judge to sentencing outcomes.

The *firearm confiscation* provision is a controversial state law that requires offenders to relinquish all weapons once convicted for a misdemeanor crime of domestic violence. Another version of this statute limits possession and purchase of firearms to offenders who are served protection orders. In 1996, this statute became federal law. The last statute mandates police officers to arrest offenders who violate orders. *Mandatory arrest* provisions, in principle, eliminate the police officer's discretion in making an arrest once probable cause is established.

Findings Household Violence

Of the 529,829 households sampled, only one-half of 1% informed the NCVS interviewer of at least one incident of domestic violence, 0.16% disclosed at least one incident of family violence, 0.18% disclosed at least one incident of spousal violence, and a little more than 0.2% disclosed at least one incident of non-marital intimate violence.

Table 2 presents the results of the legal variables for logistic models for all three types of domestic violence.³ The first column lists the hypothesized associations of each variable with any domestic violence. The body of the table displays the odds ratios for each variable on each outcome. All significant odds ratios below one are negatively associated with violence and those greater than one are positively associated. The asterisks indicate the level of significance for one-tailed tests.

²For purposes of this study, we examine the type of violation that corresponds with the no-contact provision.

³See Dugan (2003) for a full table of results.

TABLE 2. Odds Ratios of Legal Measures from Logistic Regressions Predicting Violence (n = 529,829)

Variable	Hypothesized Association	Family	Spousal	Boy/ Girlfriend
<u>Statute Provisions</u>				
Beyond Cohabitation	-	0.864	0.865	0.798**
Custody	-	0.939	1.214*	0.976
Discretion Index	-	0.926*	0.944	0.996
Felony	-	0.620*	1.294	0.653**
Mandatory Arrest	-	0.935	0.885*	0.909
Firearm Confiscation	-	0.866*	0.958	0.861**

* = $p < .05$, ** = $p < .01$, all tests are one-tailed

All six of the legislative variables at least have marginal significance with one or more forms of domestic violence. One finding, however, is opposite the expectation. It was hypothesized that the statute awarding immediate *custody* to the victim after a protection order is issued would create an incentive for a father to keep peace in the household. Instead, households in states with the statute are more likely to suffer from spousal violence than those without it. Namely, the odds that households in those states will be victimized by a spouse or ex-spouse are 1.214 higher than households in other states. This suggests that violent fathers may be prone to retaliate if they lose custody of their children. Not surprisingly, the custody statute is unrelated to all other forms of domestic violence, which are less likely to involve only parents.

Another interesting offender-specific result is that households in states that expand *eligibility* of protection orders to victims living separately from the offender have a lower probability of suffering from non-marital intimate violence -- the group least likely to live together. The statute with the strongest apparent impact on reducing violence makes protection order violation a *felony* offense. The odds of victimization are lowest for family violence, followed closely by non-marital intimate violence. Surprisingly, the likelihood of victimization by a spouse is unrelated to the felony statute. This result pattern is similar for the *firearm confiscation* statute. Households in states with laws directing offenders to surrender their firearms once convicted of a domestic violence charge are less likely to suffer from family or non-spousal intimate violence. Spousal violence *is*, however, less probable in states with *mandatory arrest* laws. Finally, family violence is less likely in households in states with more *sanctioning options* available to judges.

Police Involvement and Arrest

Table 3 lists the odds ratios of all six domestic violence statute measures on informing the police and arrest. The only two policies that are significant are associated with the likelihood that police discover the incident: felony and mandatory arrest. The odds that officers in states

with felony statutes are involved are 1.59 higher than officers in states without the statute. This suggests that if the courts signal violations as serious, more cases will enter the system. However, mandating arrest appears to reduce the chances that police discover an incident (odds ratio = 0.875), suggesting that by assuring arrest, persons are less inclined to seek police assistance.

TABLE 3. Odds Ratios of Legal Measures on Informing Police and Arrest

Variable	Hypothesized Association	Police Informed (n = 3,508)	Arrest (n = 1,730)
<u>Statute Provisions</u>			
Beyond Cohabitation	+	0.882	1.191
Custody	+	0.970	0.788
Discretion Index	+	1.025	1.072
Felony	+	1.585*	1.636
Mandatory Arrest	+	0.875*	1.209
Firearm Confiscation	+	0.971	0.903

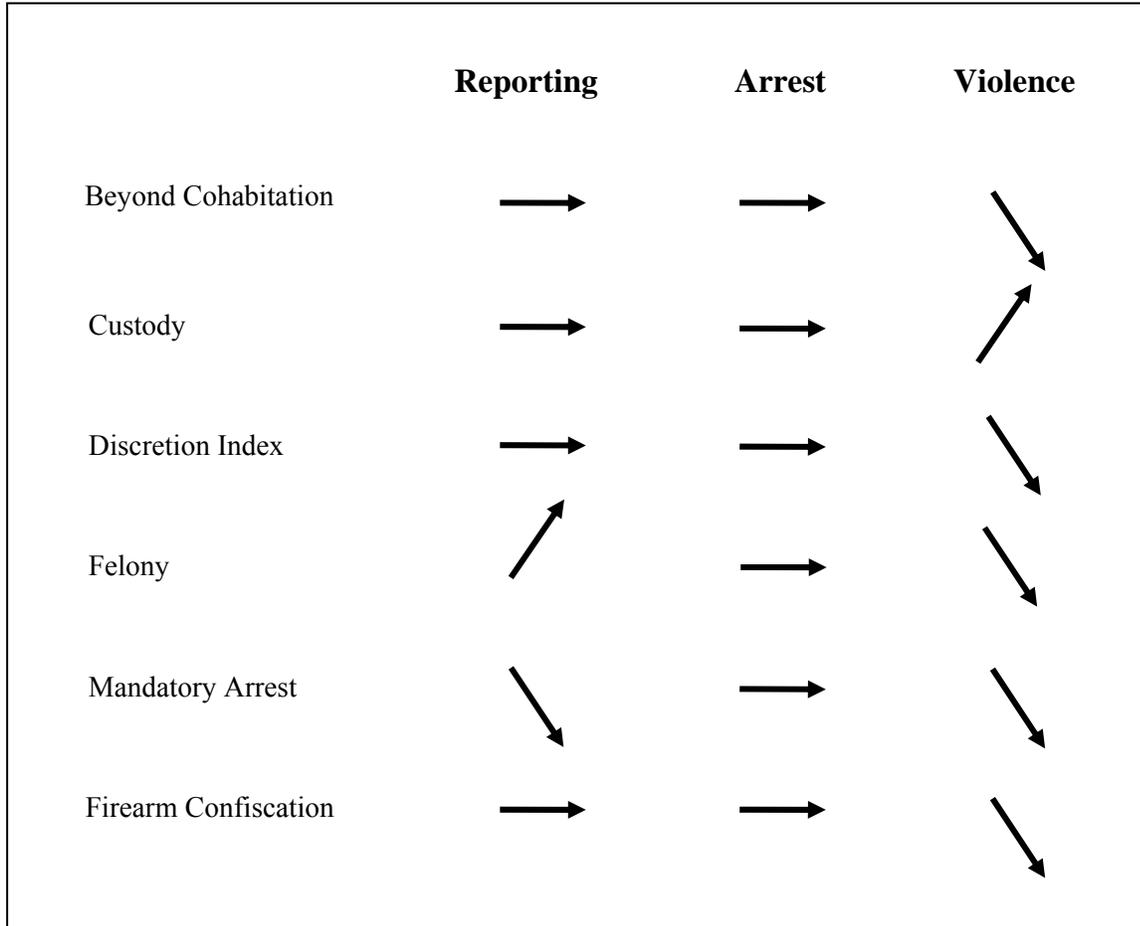
* = $p < .05$, ** = $p < .01$, all tests are one-tailed

However, the null findings for arrest suggest that mandating arrest does not assure that an arrest will occur. Further, none of the other statutes have a significant association with officers' arresting decisions.

DISCUSSION

The goal of this research was to better understand the influence of policy on violence against family members and intimate partners. Because the intention of aggressive domestic violence legislation is to stop violence, Dugan hypothesized that those households residing in states with aggressive legislation have a lower probability of domestic violence. Results support that proposition. Five of the 6 statutory powers are associated with a significantly lowered probability of at least one form of domestic violence. Further statutory powers directly relate to police intervention and arrest were also tested. Figure 4 summarizes all results by illustrating the direction of association of each statute on the tested outcomes -- reporting, arrest, and violence. Flat arrows indicate null associations. Upward and downward arrows show significantly positive and negative associations, respectively. Column three displays a tilted arrow if the statute is significantly associated with *any* of the three violent outcomes. The most notable pattern is that while 5 of 6 findings appear to reduce violence, only the felony statute seems to decrease violence and increase the chance that a case becomes known to the criminal justice system. This leaves us uncertain of the direct mechanism that translates the other state statutes into non-violent behavior.

FIGURE 4. Pattern of Associations Throughout Process



One of the more interesting patterns is found in the results for *Mandatory Arrest*, which was significant in 2 of the 3 components of the process. While the findings suggest that households in states that mandate arrest are less likely to suffer from spousal violence, police in these same states are less likely to discover an incident. This suggests that mandatory arrest laws not only reduce the chances of violence, but also keep people from calling the police. Further examination of this result shows that victims of domestic violence are no more likely to report an incident in states with mandatory arrest laws; however, third parties are significantly less likely to report. Perhaps others are less likely to get involved in domestic disputes if an arrest is almost certain.

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SEXUALLY MOTIVATED HOMICIDES IN VICTORIA, AUSTRALIA

Damon A. Muller
Department of Criminology, University of Melbourne
Victoria, 3010 AUSTRALIA

ABSTRACT

Homicides that include a sexual element are rare and poorly understood. Much of the literature concerning sexual homicides focuses exclusively on serial offenders. The current study identified and qualitatively analysed eight sexual homicides involving female victims in Victoria, Australia between the beginning of 1995 and the end of 1998. The homicides encompassed a range of victims (although three of the eight worked as prostitutes), and were usually committed by young men who were not well known to the victim. Strangulation was the most common cause of death, two cases involved postmortem mutilation, and at least one involved necrophilic sexual interaction. The similarity of the findings with other, similar, studies, and the detailed data available for each case, suggests that the findings may have validity, despite the small number of case examined. It is argued that sexual homicide should not be considered as an extreme form of violent sexual assault, but rather as a distinct phenomenon in itself.

INTRODUCTION

Traditionally, the idea of sexually motivated homicide has received very little attention in mainstream criminology. When homicide is examined by means of statistical analysis of large datasets (such as the UCR), such homicides do not tend to appear, as they are subsumed under other broad categories. Ressler, Burgess, and Douglas (1988) note that many sexually motivated homicides are categorised in the “unknown motive” category, as they appear random and motiveless.

One area in which sexually motivated homicides have been discussed in the literature is in the context of serial sexual homicides. Unfortunately, much of what has been written in this area is of negligible academic merit, and is comprised mainly of journalistic accounts and “true crime” novels (Geberth & Turco, 1997). It has been observed that such sources tend to be inaccurate, and may contain completely fictitious information (Dietz, Hazelwood, & Warren, 1990). Of the information that is considered to be from reputable sources, it is possibly debatable the extent to which the insights gained from serial killers applies to individuals who have only murdered one person. Further, it has been noted that many studies do not distinguish between sexual and non-sexual serial murder, although most serial killers appear to be sexual killers (Geberth & Turco, 1997; Myers, Reccoppa, Burton, & McElroy, 1993). Fox and Levin (1999) propose that sexual sadism is a sub-category of thrill serial killers, along with the dominance sub-category; however, they note that the sexual sadist is the most common type.

Due to the lack of literature specific to non-serial sexual homicides, much of the information discussed below is drawn from the more reliable of the serial-killer literature. It

should be emphasised, however, that whilst most serial homicides are sexual homicides, few sexual homicides are serial homicides.

What is Meant by “Sexual”

Ressler et al. (1988), having completed perhaps the most comprehensive study of sexual homicide, tautologically define sexual murders as homicides which show evidence of being sexual in nature. They go on to state that any of the following characteristics may be present:

. . . victim attire or lack of attire; exposure of the sexual parts of the victim’s body; sexual positioning of the victim’s body; insertion of foreign objects into the victim’s body cavities; evidence of sexual intercourse (oral, anal, vaginal); and evidence of substitute sexual activity, interest, or sadistic fantasy. (p. xiii)

This same definition was used in the study by Safarik, Jarvis, and Nussbaum (2002) in their study on sexual homicides of elderly women. However, caution should be taken when trying to interpret sexual activity from a crime scene when some decomposition has occurred. Komar and Beattie (1990) note that decomposition and maggot activity can move clothes in ways similar to a sexual assault, such as moving underwear down to the ankles, or pushing up a skirt. Also emphasised is the role of power and brutality in these murders, and the underlying issue of violent sexual fantasies (Geberth & Turco, 1997; Holmes, 1991; Ressler et al., 1988). Dietz et al. (1990) define sexually sadistic crimes as “those crimes reflective of an enduring pattern of sexual arousal in response to sadistic imagery” (p. 164-165).

It should be noted that not all sexual homicides are overtly sexual. Even if the murder does not show any overt sexual or fetishistic overtones, the offender may receive sexual stimulation either by reliving the murder in his¹ mind (Geberth & Turco, 1997), or through some “souvenir” taken from the victim (Dietz et al., 1990; Ressler et al., 1988). In the later cases, it may be impossible to determine whether the homicide was sexual without the identification and cooperation of the offender.

The Serial Killer

Serial killing is a form of multicide which is defined differently by many different authorities. Distinct from mass murder, where one person takes the life of at least three persons in one single continuous incident (Cantor, Mullen, & Alpers, 2000), serial killings are usually defined as being numerous discrete incidents. The number of victims needed to define a killer as serial differs at least between two (Holmes & Holmes, 1996), three (Dietz et al., 1990), and five (Myers et al., 1993), although it has been argued that the nature of the crimes and the propensity to re-offend are more important than a mere quantitative body-count (Kocsis, 1999). Myers et al. (1993), for example, describe two young males who, they propose, “may have been manifesting the onset of precocious serial sexual homicide behavior” (p. 440). An understanding of serial homicide is important to this discussion as many serial homicides involve an overt sexual

¹Female sexual murderers are extremely rare, and it is debatable whether they exist at all (Myers et al., 1993).

element, and while not all sexual killers are serial killers, much of the analysis of sexual homicide has occurred in the context of serial homicide.

The extent of the serial killer problem is the subject of some debate, and is naturally completely dependent on how one defines how many deaths are necessary for the homicides to be labelled as serial. In the mid-1980s, the United States Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) applied for funding, stating that up to 5,000 people a year were being killed by serial murderers, a figure which is now recognised as being considerably inflated (Hickey, 1997). Jenkins (1996) is extremely critical of the role of the FBI, contending that it was in their interest to make the problem seem worse than it actually was, as their perceived expertise and ownership of the issue, combined with highly visible public panic, guaranteed their financial support. A less conspiratorial explanation was that many of the increasing number of unsolved homicides were serial related, a claim which is impossible to substantiate, but does not seem particularly likely (Fox & Levin, 1999). In an interesting reality-check, Fox and Levin (1999) contend that “there may actually be more scholars studying serial murder than there are offenders committing it” (p. 166). Nevertheless, more realistic attempts at quantifying serial homicide do occur. Geberth and Turco (1997) cite sources that have identified 311 serial murderers (offenders) in the United States between 1977 and 1992. The most comprehensive estimates state that 2,526 to 3,860 victims have been killed by 399 US serial killers between 1800 and 1995, approximately 1,400 of those victims and 153 perpetrators being between 1975 and 1995 (Hickey, 1997). Overall, it is likely that less than 1% of homicides in the U.S. are the result of serial killers (Fox & Levin, 1999). In the previous decade, three separate series of serial homicides have been identified in Australia, one of which involved multiple offenders (Mouzos, 2000).

Several different classification schemes have been created to categories different types of serial killers. These tend to be based on either the motive or the behaviour of the offenders. In addition, Hickey (1997) has categorised serial killers on their geographic mobility and the distribution of their crimes.

Holmes and Holmes (1996) divide serial killers into four basic categories on the basis of motive. The *visionary* serial killer is actively psychotic when he kills, and kills because he believes that some other force (God, the devil) is compelling him to do so. These killers will often be found to have been legally insane when they committed their crimes. The *mission* serial killer is not insane, but desires to eliminate a certain class of people (for example, Jews, prostitutes, or Blacks). The *hedonistic* serial killer, also known as a lust, or thrill, killer, is generally a violent sexual sadist who kills for pleasure. Female killers who fall into this category generally kill for some sort of financial gain, and are referred to as “comfort” killers. The *power/control* serial killer is a psychopath who derives sexual gratification from having complete control over his victim.

Hickey (1997) notes that the Holmes and Holmes (1996) classification is useful for organising data; however, Fox and Levin (1999) note that there is some overlap between the categories. They also contend that comfort killers, who have an instrumental motive, sit poorly within the same category as lust killers, who murder for expressive means. By modifying the framework, Fox and Levin (1999, p. 172) came up with the following categories and subtypes:

1. Thrill
 - a. Sexual Sadism
 - b. Dominance
2. Mission
 - a. Reformist
 - b. Visionary
3. Expedience
 - a. Profit
 - b. Protection

In this typology, reformist serial killers equate to mission killers, who kill to further a cause. Some apparently reformist killers actually enjoy killing, but attempt to rationalise their behaviour. The experience killers are motivated either by pure financial reward (profit) or to cover up criminal activity (protection).

The other major typology of serial murderers was developed by Ressler et al. (1988) in order to assist in the investigation of serial crimes and the apprehension of the offender, and forms the basis of the FBI approach to criminal profiling. Serial killers were broken into two groups, organised and disorganised, which were said to be representative of both their personality, and the crimes that they committed. Ressler and Shachtman (1992) state that the simplicity of the dichotomy was to assist police without the use of confusing psychological jargon. Later work has emphasised that the two labels more accurately represent opposite ends of a continuum, rather than clearly defined and separate categories, and that many offenders can be classed as “mixed” type (Goodwin, 1998; Wilson, Lincon, & Kocsis, 1997). Holmes and Holmes (1996) note that this typology is most appropriate for homicides which include rape, sexual assault, mutilation, or necrophilia.

The *disorganised* offender is generally of low intelligence and will manifest some degree of psychiatric disturbance. He will have poor interpersonal skills, probably being a loner, will perform poorly at school or at work. Generally, he may be considered by others as “strange,” but is often perceived as being of little threat. He will select his victim, who will most likely be a victim of circumstance, at random and the attack will be frenzied and brutal (referred to as a “blitz” attack), often going far in excess of what is required to kill the victim. The offender will make no attempt to hide or move the victim, and if there is any sexual contact with the victim, it will generally be postmortem. The victim will be dehumanised, either by severe beating of the face, or by having the face somehow covered or obscured, and there may be mutilation of the face, breasts, and genitals.

The *organised* offender will generally be intelligent but an under-achiever, with an inconsistent education and employment history. He is socially adept and may be perceived as charming, possibly being married with children, but will usually show psychopathic tendencies. The crimes of the organised offender will demonstrate planning and control, with weapons brought to the scene, and the victim controlled through threats and restraints. The victim will be a targeted stranger, possibly selected because of a certain characteristic, and may be sexually assaulted and tortured by the offender before being killed. The body of the victim will often be

hidden, and may be transported by the offender to be disposed of (Holmes & Holmes, 1996; Ressler et al., 1988; Ressler & Shachtman, 1992).

The organised-disorganised typology, while popular, is thought to be of little use to the study of serial killers. The typology is designed to be used as an investigative resource, and does not have any theoretical underpinnings (Muller, 2000). Additionally, the categories are merely descriptive, and the categorisation lacks statistical support (Goodwin, 1998).

Associated Psychopathology

Psychopathy and Sexual Sadism

While many people would consider the activities of a serial killer to be “sick” or “insane,” it is generally accepted that sexual murderers do not suffer from psychotic disorders, such as schizophrenia (Geberth & Turco, 1997). Disorganised serial killers, those less likely to be in complete touch with reality, tend not to commit the sorts of sexual murders being considered (Geberth & Turco, 1997). More commonly associated with sexual murderers are personality disorders² such as psychopathy and sexual sadism (Holt, Meloy, & Strack, 1999). Smith and Taylor (1999) propose that psychotic disorders, such as schizophrenia, do not cause sexual offending, but rather that mental illness can occur in sex offenders the same as it occurs in non-sex offenders. Adler and Lidberg (1995) report that while most repeat killers in Sweden were diagnosed with personality disorders, psychoses were rare. Hare (1996) suggests that genuine psychopathy-psychosis co-morbidity is very rare, and that many who present as such are merely psychopaths who are malingering (faking symptoms).

Most of the significant work on psychopathy has been done by Canadian psychologist Robert Hare and his colleagues. Hare (1996, p. 26) defines the psychopath as follows:

Psychopaths can be described as intraspecies predators who use charm, manipulation, intimidation, and violence to control others and to satisfy their own selfish needs. Lacking in conscience and in feelings for others, they cold-bloodedly take what they want and do as they please, violating social norms and expectations without the slightest guilt or regret.

The concepts of the sociopath and the psychopath have been subsumed under the broader antisocial classification, but are often used interchangeably. Hare (1996) states that the *DSM* criteria for antisocial personality disorder (APD) are confusing and inadequate, and that the *DSM* criteria overemphasise criminal behaviour. He contends that most psychopaths (as diagnosed by a standard psychometric tool, the Psychopathy Checklist) fulfil the criteria for APD, but that most of those with APD are not psychopaths, as APD ignores many of the personality traits which distinguish psychopaths from other criminals.

²Note that psychiatry considers personality disorders to be extremes of personality that, while not strictly “normal,” are not considered to constitute mental illness. A more detailed description of the differences are, however, beyond the scope of this document.

Whilst they are often used interchangeably, the term “sociopath” places greater emphasis on the idea of a disorder that is developed through socialisation, whereas “psychopath” has been developed in more details by Hare and others. Factors that the conditions these terms describe have in common include a general lack of concern for the welfare of others and a lack of conscience, or internal moral compass. Psychopathy is thought to be the best predictor of both criminal behaviour, and recidivism (Porter et al., 2000).

One of the most useful consequences of categorising an individual as a psychopath is the implications for recidivism, violence, and utility of criminal intervention and treatments. Psychopaths have a propensity for violence and aggression that is fairly consistent across the lifespan. The presence of psychopathy is also a strong predictor of criminal recidivism and violent crime, more so than many of the other standardised measures used in prison settings. Finally, it has yet to be shown that any treatment for psychopathy will be effective, with research suggesting that standard prison treatment and resocialisation programs actually make psychopaths worse (Hare, 1996). A recent study looking at 68 incarcerated rapists and child molesters in Canada found that those offenders who rated higher on psychopathy recidivated sooner and at higher rates (Serin, Mailloux, & Malcolm, 2001).

Many convicted rapists are psychopaths and in some jurisdictions in the United States there are provisions for indefinitely incarcerating psychopathic sex offenders due to their negligible chances of rehabilitation. Some psychopaths have been found to be sexually “turned on” by violence (Hare, 1996).

While it is suggested that many (but not all) serial sexual murderers are psychopaths (Fox & Levin, 1999; Geberth & Turco, 1997), those who are psychopaths are not typical psychopaths (Myers et al., 1993). Although many do have a history of antisocial acts (such as cruelty to animals), they do not tend to have the long history of involvement in the criminal justice system that characterises many psychopaths (Ressler et al., 1988). One may speculate that their generally high intelligence and cunning (Hickey, 1997) allows them to generally escape the attention of the law. Geberth and Turco (1997) emphasise that psychopathy alone is not a sufficient explanation of sexual homicide, as most psychopaths do not kill. Those sexual murderers who are not psychopaths use strategies such as dehumanisation to view their victims as worthless and expendable.

Sexual sadism is defined by *DMS-IV* as a sexual paraphilia, that is, a condition where sexual stimulation and arousal is dependent on some stimulus, object, or condition which is unusual or inappropriate. While sexually healthy people may attach fetishistic significance to some object or behaviour (high-heeled shoes, for example), an individual with a sexual paraphilia will have the unusual stimulus as their primary, or only, means of sexual gratification (Geberth & Turco, 1997). Like all sexual paraphilias, sexual sadism can occur in the presence or absence of other forms of psychopathology, such as major psychosis (Dietz et al., 1990).

Sadism, named after the controversial 18th-century French author the Marquis de Sade, generally refers to the experience of pleasure through inflicting physical or emotional suffering on another. A subtype of sadism, sexual sadism involves sexual arousal through inflicting suffering onto others (Holt et al., 1999). As with other paraphiliacs, some sexual sadists will not

actually act out sadistic behaviours, but will find the fantasies sexually arousing (Dietz et al., 1990). While a fuller examination of sadism in general is beyond the scope of this paper, it is a condition which is understood only poorly and has been the subject of little research (Holt et al., 1999).

While both psychopathy and sexual sadism can and do occur independently of each other, sexual murderers are often referred to as “psychopathic sexual sadists,” implying a combination of both psychopathy and sexual sadism (Geberth & Turco, 1997). Holt et al. (1999), for example, examined 41 prison inmates who has been convicted of violent or sexually violent crimes, and found a significant positive correlation between sadism and psychopathy measures. Their hypothesised difference in sadism levels between violent and sexually violent offenders, however, was not supported to a significant level. Geberth and Turco (1997), however, examining 68 identified serial killers for which sufficient data were available, found clinically diagnosable levels of antisocial behaviour and sexual sadism. Examining a group of convicted sex offenders, Porter et al. (2000) found that offenders who targeted both children and adults had the higher psychopathy levels than child-only sex offenders or other prisoners. They state that while patterns of psychopathy vary between sex offender groups, mixed sex offenders (those who targeted both children and adults) were most likely to fall into the category of sexual psychopaths.

Necrophilia

Sexual attraction to a human corpse is reasonably rare, but may be underreported, and can occur in males, or more rarely, females (Rosman & Resnick, 1989). Stevens (1998), however, states that it appears to be becoming more common in serial rapes. It may manifest as fantasies of having sexual contact with a corpse, having sexual contact with already dead bodies, or killing in order to have sexual contact with the corpse (Milner & Dopke, 1997). Individuals with necrophilia (from the Greek, *nekros*, dead; *philia*, love; Milner & Dopke, 1997) will often work somewhere where they have easy access to corpses, such as in a mortuary, or at a funeral home. These individuals are often insensitive and may have a hatred of women, and are thought to displace their sexual attraction to corpses because it precludes the risk of rejection (Holmes, 1991). Rosman and Resnick (1989) believe that there are pseudo-necrophiliacs, who prefer contact with living partners but who may commit transitory and opportunistic necrophilic acts. True necrophiliacs are classed as homicide necrophiliacs, who murder to have sex with bodies, regular necrophiliacs, who have sex with already dead corpses, or those with necrophilic fantasies, who fantasise about necrophilic acts, but do not actually commit them. Most of the 122 necrophiliacs that they examined had a history of sadistic acts and many demonstrated a lack of self-esteem. Milner and Dopke (1997) state that, since the 1930s, necrophilia has generally been theorised along psychoanalytic lines, such as a return to primitive oral and anal drives, but note that there are very little data beyond case reports.

METHODS

All of the homicides that occurred in Victoria, Australia, between the start of 1995 and the end of 1998 and which involved a female victim were examined as part of a larger project on femicide. The cases that were identified as sexual homicides were examined for the current paper

(see below for further details on how the homicides were judged to be sexual homicides). However, note that only homicides involving female offenders are included; as it is a crime generally targeting females, it is unlikely that many sexual homicides involving male victims were overlooked by the study.

The primary data source was the brief of evidence prepared by the Victoria Police Homicide Squad for the Coronial (medical examiner's) inquest into the death. The brief generally consists of the autopsy and toxicology reports, relevant witness statements taken by the police, the crime-scene photographs, and transcripts of any interviews with suspects. The brief will commonly run to several hundred pages of information. At the completion of the Coronial inquest, all of this information generally becomes part of the public record.

The information contained in each brief was qualitatively analysed in order to determine the main themes, and the similarities and differences between the cases. Whilst some quantitative data were collected, the small number of those briefs renders any statistical analysis essentially meaningless.

Sexually motivated homicides are defined as homicides in which there is evidence of overtly sexual or fetishistic behaviour that occurred during, or was associated with, the killing. Such behaviour can include sexual intercourse with the victim before or after death, sexual mutilation of the victim, sexualised posing of the victim, and other activities in the context of the homicide which appear to have some sexual association. For the purposes of this categorisation it is more useful to think of "sexual" in terms of sexual gratification rather than sexual intercourse. Behaviour that may not be overtly sexual may be sexually arousing for the perpetrator through some fetish or association.

In many cases, the sexual nature of the homicide will be readily apparent and easily identified as such, whereas in other cases it is more subtle or hidden (and, therefore, more contentious). It is ultimately a somewhat subjective decision, as there is inevitably some aspect of the interaction between the killer and the victim which is unknowable. For example, it is suggested that many sexually motivated serial killers keep "souvenirs," which they may later use for sexual stimulation (Ressler et al., 1988). The perpetrator may obtain sexual gratification from a souvenir from a murder that was not obviously sexually motivated. However, it is believed that most sexually motivated murders will show some evidence of their sexual nature.

It can be problematic to determine the difference between a sexually motivated homicide and a homicide where any sexual interaction between the offender and the victim is merely opportunistic. Sexual intercourse may, in some cases, merely be a device to leave the victim in a vulnerable position, in which they can more easily be killed. For example, prostitutes are often the victims of physical and sexual assaults due to their vulnerability (Farley & Kelly, 2000). Similarly, Egger (1998) refers to some victims as the "less-dead," the members of society which are widely regarded as disposable, such as drug users and prostitutes. It is not unreasonable to suggest that some murders of prostitutes will be motivated by the fact that they are convenient targets, and any sexual interaction between the victim and the offender is more a consequence of the circumstances of their encounter than any direct sexual motivation by the offender.

Due to the difficulty in some instances of determining whether the killing was actually sexually motivated, all homicides with a sexual element have been placed in this category unless there is clear evidence that any sexual activity was unrelated to the motive of the homicide. Where it is clear that a homicide falls into another category (for example, a homicide in which a sexual assault preceded the homicide of a woman who had been the victim of ongoing domestic assault at the hands of the perpetrator), regardless of the sexual element, it will not be considered for the purposes of the current paper.

An attempt has been made to differentiate between the different types of sexual homicides; however, it is difficult to determine upon exactly what grounds these homicides should be distinguished. This is especially problematic given the low frequency of occurrence of these cases. A starting point for the conceptualisation of sexual homicide is that it is a form of rape. However, Hudson and Ward (1997) note that sexual aggression is manifested in a diverse number of ways. They note that there is no universally accepted classification of rapists, but that distinctions are often drawn between those who sexually assault adults and child molesters. In the context of the present study, child molesters are represented by those men who sexually abuse minors and then kill them in order to conceal the crime. These will not be considered in the current report. The remainder of the sexual homicide cases are small enough in number and heterogeneous enough that to break them up further would do little to add clarity to the issue.

The small number of the cases and the theoretical uncertainty inherent in the subject means that breaking up these cases into distinct categories would be difficult to justify. Despite this, certain themes suggest themselves when the sexual homicides are considered, and these will each be discussed separately. These themes will necessarily focus more on the circumstances of the homicides than the motivations of the offender, as in most cases it is impossible to tell exactly what the offender hoped to achieve through the homicide.

RESULTS

The Victim

A logical way in which to approach the victims of sexual homicides is to look at their relative level of risk, or the general dangerousness of their daily lives. Whilst characterisation of victim risk level, such as discussed by Ressler et al. (1988) is usually presented in terms of absolutes (that is, a victim is either at high risk or at low risk of being the victim of a homicide), the reality is much more dynamic, even within the activities of a single person. It is more useful, then, to consider the risk of the victim along a continuum from low to high, and then to consider it only for particular activities which put an individual at increased risk of victimisation. The occupations of the victims are listed in Table 1.

TABLE 1. Victim Characteristics

Case	Age	Employed	Occupation	Ethnicity	Alcohol	Drugs
609/95	30	Unemployed	Prostitute	Australian	No	Yes
784/95	38	Full-time	Supervisor	Australian	No	No
132/97	75	Unemployed	Retired	Australian	No	No
2993/97	40	Unemployed	Prostitute	Australian	No	Yes
3662/97	26	Unemployed	Student	Australian	0.23	Yes
2521/98	59	Unemployed	Pensioner	Australian	No	No
2582/98	24	Part-time	Escort	Australian	No	No
2973/98	20	Full-time	Nurse	Australian	No	Yes

Three of the victims were in an extremely high risk profession, that of prostitution. However, even within prostitution there are gradations of risk. One victim was a street prostitute, who was addicted to heroin and amphetamines, and who picked up her clients at truck stops and whilst hitchhiking. Although this woman had some friends and family who were aware of her general movements, it is obvious that the potential for her to find herself the victim of a predator is extremely high.

Moreen was a prostitute and she used to hitchhike everywhere and attempt to pick up clients when she was picked up. She also frequented the truck stops along the Hume Highway where she would knock on the windows of the semis and offer her services. (Case 2993/97, Friend of victim, p. 43)

In this case, not only was the victim engaged in a dangerous profession, one that required her to go away in the cars of strangers, or invite them into her home, but she was also a drug user. While most drugs would decrease an individual's capacity to avoid or resist an attack, it also introduces the further factor of association with drug dealers. The victim had a considerable drug debt (by her financial status, at least), with no real avenue other than prostitution to obtain money. Combined with general ill health and a poor diet, it is probably surprising that this woman lived as long as she did.

She told me that she could not afford to pay the full balance due to owing money to her drug supplier . . . She went on to say that she owed him \$300 and if she didn't pay she would be badly beaten up. (Case 2993/97, Acquaintance of victim, p. 61)

Another high risk street prostitute who became a homicide victim worked in the Melbourne suburb of St. Kilda, an area infamous for prostitutes. This could mitigate the dangerousness somewhat, considering it is an area that is heavily policed, high visibility, and the prostitutes know, and often look out for, one another. This young woman, however, was relatively new to prostitution, somewhat gullible, and not particularly street-smart.

I know Julie very well, we are best friends. She is a worker when she is desperate for money for food and rent . . . She had been doing this for only about two weeks. She is very new to the scene, very naïve to the street life. (Case 609/97, Victim's friend, p. 43)

It is probable in this particular case that the experience or insight of the victim would not have made much difference, given that the offender was particularly motivated, and determined to murder a prostitute. However it is clear that her presence in the street was putting her in constant exposure to potential predators.

The third prostitute victim had a very different risk of victimisation. She worked from an escort agency, and whilst she serviced clients at their home, she had a driver to look after her security. The escort agency knew exactly who had hired the services, where the woman was going, and how long she was expected to be away. When she failed to call in on time, they were able to immediately check on her safety. Unfortunately, by the time they recognised there was a problem and sent the driver to check, the woman was already dead.

I had driven her to other clients in the past, probably 20 times. She was always level headed, street-wise. There is no ways you could have made her do something she didn't want to do. (Case 2582/98, Victim's driver, p. 78)

The remainder of the victims were relatively low risk, although there is an interaction between the level of risk and the type of homicide. An elderly woman, for example, is at extremely low risk for being killed in a drunken fight at a night club (it is not beyond the realm of possibility, but it is highly improbable). However, this same elderly woman may look like an appealing target for a burglar, due to her relative defencelessness.

Two victims in the current study were elderly women (aged 69 and 75) who were living alone. Both lived in quiet suburban areas and were sexually assaulted and murdered late in the night by young men who knew them and knew they would be alone. Statistically, men and women over 50 are at extremely low risk of homicide victimisation in Australia (Mouzos, 2002). It was relatively unlikely that these women would have been at risk of such a death at the hands of another offender, but for these two young men, they were ideal targets, presenting little risk to the offender.

Two of the victims were young women, aged 20 and 26, who were killed by young men whom they knew. One had full time employment as a nurse and the other was a full-time student, studying Politics and Economics at a large university. Both lived in the western suburbs³ with their parents and had no significant history of crime or trouble. Both of these young women would normally be considered extremely low risk victims, however they inadvertently found themselves in situations which resulted in their death at the hands of another.

The final victim was a middle aged woman who lived in a quiet outer suburb of Melbourne with her son and husband. Her husband suffered pancreas problems and was unable to work, although she worked full time as a supervisor in South Melbourne. The victim was killed by a neighbour who was unknown to her, and could be described as random victim (random in that any other woman who had been standing in view of the offender was equally

³Melbourne's western suburbs have traditionally been known as the less desirable part of the city's urban fringe, but whilst having higher levels of social issues, they are by no means a "ghetto".

likely to have been the target). Normally this woman would have to be considered to be a very low risk victim.

All of the victims were women who were well liked by others, who did not go out of their way to give others reasons to dislike them. Although a number of them had various social disadvantages, all had family and friends who cared about them and worried about their safety and health. None of the victims could, in any way, have been considered to have been inviting her own death. Despite the relative marginality of some of them, none of these women could realistically be considered to be a member of the “less-dead” described by Egger (1998).

The Offender

As can be seen from Table 2, there was a remarkable degree of consistency with the age of the offender, with only one outside the 19- to 24-year-old range. That one exception (case 784/95), who was only a few years older, was still a student and was living with his parents. The average age of this sample (22.9) is considerably lower than the average of all of the (nonsexual) offenders (35.27), and has a much smaller range. Thus, on the basis of this small number of cases, it would appear that sexual homicide is largely an immature crime, and not a crime committed by older men.

TABLE 2. Offender Characteristics

Case	Age	Sex	Employed	Occupation	Ethnicity	Criminal History
609/95	22	Male	Unemployed	N/A	Australian	None
784/95	29	Male	Part-time	Nurse	English	Property
132/97	19	Male	Unemployed	N/A	Australian	Property
3662/97	24	Male	Unemployed	N/A	Unknown	Violence
3662/97	22	Female	Unemployed	N/A	Unknown	Property
2521/98	22	Male	Full-time	Plumber	Australian	Both
2582/98	24	Male	Unemployed	N/A	Australian	Property
2973/98	21	Male	Full-time	Welder	English	None

NOTES: No offender has been arrested for Case 2993/97. Also, the female in case 3662/97 was an accomplice, but was not convicted of murder, so her information will not appear in subsequent tables.

Half of the identified offenders had serious issues with alcohol or drug abuse which adversely affected their lives in some way. This could be considered as a response to, and a consequence of, their relative social disadvantages. The substance abuse led to problems with them holding down jobs, as well as caused problems in their own social circles. Unfortunately, data were not consistently available to determine whether they were using alcohol or drugs at the time of the homicides. For example, “Mark never used to drink alcohol at all. He was only a social drinker. Since Mark split with [his girlfriend] I have noticed a considerable difference in his drinking. He was drinking daily sometimes heavily” (Case 784/95, Offender’s mother, p. 55).

Similarly, “Drew and Simone used to take any drug that they could get their hands on, speed, heroin, trips, marijuana and both used to drink and mix alcohol and drugs together” (Case 3662/97, Acquaintance of offender, p. 105).

For some of the offenders, alcohol or drugs was associated with increased use of violence. However, as revealed in the following cases, some of these men were generally violent individuals, even in the absence of drugs or alcohol.

About a year or so ago I found out that Malcolm was using drugs, marijuana was the main drug, but he has told me that he has tried heroin. Malcolm said that he has been using marijuana longer. He became moody and aggressive but never violent towards me. (Case 2582/98, Offender’s father, p. 69)

He could never hold his drink and would change personality from Jeckell [sic] to Hyde when he drank When he started to drink he was fine, and you could not get a better kid, but after he had a bit to drink he would get aggravated and he would also get both physically and verbally abusive toward me. (Case 2582/98, Offender’s mother, p. 121)

Whilst . . . I lived with Drew and Simone I observed Drew to be, what I would describe as, a violent character. Whether he was drunk or stoned or straight he was always violent. (Case 3662/97, Acquaintance of offender, p. 107)

Most of the offenders were also socially marginal in some way or another. Most were either unemployed or worked as junior tradesmen, and those who did work tended use their employment as a means of paying for drugs or alcohol.

The one offender who did not substantially fit the pattern suggested by the other homicides was the offender in case 2521/98. This young man had a stable job, lived in an apparently stable family environment, and did not appear to have a problem with drugs or alcohol. On the night of the murder, he had drunk some alcohol, but those who saw him earlier that night (when he was actually still drinking), remarked that he was relatively sober and was not acting unusually. “Alan looked fine. He didn’t look pissed⁴ or stoned. He was just normal” (Case 2521/98, Friend of offender, p. 40).

There was no suggestion that this offender harboured any animosity towards the victim (his grandmother), had any unusual sexual fantasies, or was in any way particularly unusual. The offender had no history of violence or psychiatric disturbance, and there seems to be nothing to account for his involvement in a sexual homicide. This case should serve as an interesting caution to those who believe that violent behaviour in others is easily detected or prevented beforehand.

The remaining offenders all had various social issues and could probably be described as “unstable.” In one case (Case 2663/97), for example, the offender described himself as a “chaos punk rocker”. He and his co-offender abused heroin and any other drugs they happened to come

⁴“Pissed” is an Australian colloquial term meaning “drunk” or “inebriated”.

across, and had a substantial history of violent crime. The offender's mother was a 44-year-old transsexual living with her 25-year-old husband, suggesting his family environment may have been unstable.

One of the men (case 2582/98) had been released from gaol earlier on the same day that he had committed the homicide. He had been in prison for 8 months, was released, and then 5 days later was back in prison (for theft and other offences) for 2 months. The day he was released he killed an escort that he had hired from his motel, and was charged with murder and remanded in custody the next day. The offender was 23 years old.

In another instance (case 609/95), the 22-year-old offender had been sexually abused and had worked as a male prostitute. He regarded himself as worthless and could see no way to get himself out of his bad situation, so that a life in prison for murder was an attractive alternative.

Whilst none of these offenders were ruled to be legally insane, nor showed any particular mental illness, they did appear to be unstable individuals. Although the relative contributions of substance abuse, family life, living environment, and social marginalisation to their crimes are debatable, the consistency of the findings suggest some role for these external factors. It is not known, however, how many similarly disturbed people there are in the community who will never kill.

There were times when I was out with Malcolm and saw him staring at people and he was acting like a tough guy. There seemed to be two parts to Malcolm. He could be a weird manipulative little guy and a liar. There were times he would act like he was your best friend even though you had a blue⁵ with him. (Case 2973/98, Offender's work-make, p. 121)

Victim-Offender Relationship

As can be seen in Table 3, in only one of the cases (case 2521/98) were the victim and offender well known to each other, the victim being the grandmother of the offender. This is also the only sexual homicide in the sample where the victim and offender were related to one another. This particular case is interesting due to the spontaneity and thoughtlessness of the assault.

Three of the cases involved victims and offenders who were somewhat known to each other. Breaking victim-offender relationships into discrete categories is somewhat misleading, due to the often complex interrelations between different people. Certainly one- or two-word labels are inadequate to fully capture that spectrum of relationships between "known" and "unknown". While the term "acquaintance" is popular in the field (being one of the original categories used by Wolfgang, 1958), in this case the inclusion of the term in Table 3 warrants some explanation.

⁵“Blue” meaning “fight”.

TABLE 3. Victim-Offender Relationship

Case	Victim Age	Offender Age	Relationship	Sentence ^a	
				Max	(Min)
609/95	30	22	Stranger	15	(10)
784/95	39	29	Stranger	19	(15)
132/97	75	19	Acquaintance	23	(17)
2993/97	40	Unknown	Unknown	N/A	N/A
3662/97	26	24	Acquaintance	18	(15)
2521/98	69	22	Family	19	(15)
2582/98	24	23	Stranger	18	(14)
2973/98	20	21	Acquaintance	26	(21)

^aYears

One instance of “acquaintance” (case 3662/97) refers to a victim who had apparently met the offender no more than two times. The victim met the offender through a mutual friend, had visited the offender’s house on two occasions (one of those being the time of her death), and may have been interested in pursuing a sexual relationship with the offender. The time that the victim had spent in the presence of the offender prior to the occasion of her death was probably no more than a few hours in total.

The other “acquaintance” case involved a male offender and female victim who associated to smoke marijuana together. Although apparently the offender had proposed that they “go out” together, there is no evidence that they ever socialised together other than to smoke marijuana, and thus could not realistically be described as “friends”.

The remaining non-stranger case (case 132/97) involved an offender who had previously been a tenant in a property owned by the victim. The offender stated to police that the victim probably would not have recognised his face, although he presumably remembered her. The offender targeted the victim as he knew that she would have cash from collecting the rent from her tenants, and so the relationship was important to the reason for the homicide (but does not explain the sexual component).

Unusually for homicides in Australia, three of the victims were completely unknown to the offender before the homicide event. In two of these cases (cases 609/95 and 2582/98), the victim was a prostitute and the offender was her paying client, which constitutes a relationship of sorts. However, in both of these cases, the victim and offender were completely unknown to each other before the incident in which the offender had engaged the services of the victim and then killed her (that is, the actual homicide event). This is in contrast, for example, to one case which was outside the date-range of the research, in which a prostitute was killed by an offender who was a regular customer (and thus not a complete stranger). It is certainly possible that the other prostitute victim (case 2993/97) was also killed by a client who was previously unknown to her. The third stranger sexual homicide (case 784/95) involved a young man shooting a neighbour whom he had never previously had any contact with.

Keeping in mind the small number of cases in the sample, it would appear that most women who are killed in sexual circumstances in Victoria will be killed by someone that they know, but not someone that they know well. In no case did the victim and the offender have a pre-existing (even casual) sexual relationship.

The exception to the observation that sexual homicides involve acquaintances is for women who work as prostitutes, whose occupation puts them in a sexual situation with relative or complete strangers. It is more likely that sexual predators seek out vulnerable or “tainted” women to kill, than prostitutes being equally at danger of murder from any given client. This does not, however, detract from the overall dangerousness (or high risk) of the profession.

Did that person have to be a prostitute in your mind or could it have been anybody?
 No, it had to be a prostitute. I couldn't hurt another person, a normal person, no, I couldn't. 'Cause their lives are worth something. (Case 609/95, Police interview with offender, p. 25)

Means of Assault

The means of death, as outlined in Table 4, demonstrates that sexual homicide largely involves highly personal and “hands on” types of killing. By far the most common means of killing was strangulation, using a ligature (such as a scarf, belt, or piece of cord), or with the offender’s hands (generally referred to as “manual strangulation”). The strangulation might have followed a more conventional assault, in which the victims are beaten in order to subdue them, with more than half of the strangulations also showing some sort of head or facial injuries. As strangulation does not result in a particularly rapid death (as opposed, for example, to a gunshot wound to the head), it is not surprising that some victims would have struggled, resulting in further injuries. There is no evidence to suggest that the offenders beat their victims after death in the strangulation cases.

TABLE 4: MEANS OF ASSAULT

Case	Weapon	Cause of Death	No. Injuries	Other Injuries
609/95	Hands	Strangulation	N/A	Head injuries
784/95	Rifle, 0.303	Gunshot wound	1	None
132/97	Ligature	Strangulation	N/A	Head injuries
2993/97	Unknown	Unascertained	N/A	Breast removed
3662/97	Knife, kitchen	Stabbing	8	Bruising & defensive
2521/98	Ligature	Strangulation	N/A	Facial injuries
2582/98	Hands	Strangulation	N/A	None
2973/98	Ligature	Strangulation	N/A	Stabbing

One of the sexual homicides used a relatively large calibre rifle to kill the victim, shooting her in the neck from across the road. The remaining victim was killed by stabbing with a kitchen knife. Neither the stabbing nor the shooting display any particular suggestion of

“overkill” (bearing in mind that a rifle is inherently more lethal than a knife, and generally requires fewer inflicted injuries in order to kill the victim).

In all cases, the weapons were readily at hand, and none of the offenders specifically brought his weapon to the location of the killing. Even the rifle that was used was only taken a mere matter of metres from where it was usually stored.

Opportunistic Sexual Assault

Table 5 shows the offender’s sexual interaction with the victim. In three of the cases it appeared that the sexual assault was unplanned, but happened in the context of another crime against a vulnerable female victim. In all of these cases, the offender had control over the victim, and was known to the victim to some extent. The sexual assault was a way of manifesting, and taking advantage of, that control over a woman.

TABLE 5. Sexual Interaction with Victim

Case	Sexual Assault	Sexual Mutilation	Body of victim
609/95	Antemortem	None	Not moved
784/95	N/A	None	Not moved
132/97	Postmortem	None	Burned
2993/97	Unknown	Breast removed	Dumped
3662/97	Antemortem	None	Not moved
2521/98	Unknown	None	Posed
2582/98	Unknown	None	Not moved
2973/98	Antemortem	Cutting & stabbing	Not moved

In two of the cases (cases 132/97 and 2521/98) the victim was an elderly woman living alone. Both of these homicides occurred in the victim’s home. In the first case, the 19-year-old offender was previously a tenant of the victim (aged 75 years), who owned a number of properties. The offender, knowing that the victim would be in the possession of rent money from her properties (which amounted to \$800), decided to break into the victim’s house to steal the money. The offender gained entry into the victim's house and attacked the victim, who was awake in bed at the time. The offender strangled the victim, both with his feet and with a belt, and then proceeded to have sexual intercourse with her once he had ensured she was dead. The offender then stole \$1,000 cash and fled the premises, after having poured petrol on the victim and setting her and the house on fire.

When you say you attacked her what does that mean?

I -- I raped her.

Was she conscious at this stage?

No.

Right.

I think she was dead.

(Police interview with offender, p. 83)

The offender went to the victim's house more or less on a whim, intending to steal money, according to his police interview. He did not wear gloves or take any implements with which to break into a house. The implements used in the murder, a belt and a crowbar ("It didn't -- didn't knock her out or nothin' . . . No, it was like she had a steel plate in her head or something"), were things that he had found in the victim's house.

The offender didn't have any particular reason to kill the victim, let alone have sex with her dead body (as can be seen from Table 5, this was the only confirmed instance of necrophilia in the sample). In the interview he states that she would not have recognised him, and that he did not know why he killed her, nor why he had sex with her.

When did you actually decide to kill [the victim]?
I didn't.

Are you --, at no stage did you make a conscious decision to kill her?
No.

When did you decide you were going to have sex with her?
I didn't.

You didn't make a decision to do that?
No, it just -- I don't know, it just happened like same with killing her. I don't know why I did it, I just . . .
(Police interview with offender, p. 89)

Asked to explain what he was thinking at the time, the offender stated:

I don't know, I started -- me body started shaking and -- like, as soon as I got in the front yard . . . don't know why I did it, like, it just -- it wasn't me that was doing it, it was like -- I don't know, someone else was controlling me like a puppet that was -- and I -- that's what I done, like. (Police interview with offender, p. 93)

Whilst it seems likely that the offender was not mentally ill at the time, and did commit the assault on his own volition, it is clear that the offender did not have a reason for the assault. The assault was spontaneous and on the spur of the moment, and was not influenced by drug or alcohol use.

The second of the two elderly victims makes even less sense than the first. In this case the 69-year-old victim was strangled and sexually assaulted by her 19-year-old grandson. Unable to get home after visiting a nightclub, the offender walked to his grandmother's house. He was unable to rouse her by knocking on the door, and gained entry through a bedroom window. The victim, apparently thinking her grandson was an intruder, started screaming, and the offender hit her to make her stop. He then proceeded to strangle her in her bedroom, and at some point had sexual intercourse with her. Although DNA from semen found in the victim was consistent with the offender, he made no admissions in regards to the sexual assault (as opposed to the murder, to which he admitted when questioned by police).

No history of animosity seems to be present between the victim and the offender, and the offender was not described as being a violent or disturbed person. Whilst the offender was drinking prior to the homicide, he was observed by friends to be relatively unaffected by alcohol. “Alan appeared to be his normal self to me at this time. I didn’t really take much notice, but looking back I don’t remember him being pissed. He was walking and talking normally” (Friend of offender, p. 41).

When the victim was found, she was lying on her own bed, naked, with her legs spread apart. Two scarves, which were tied together, were wound around the victim’s neck. The ends of the scarves were tied to the rungs of the bed head, stretching the scarves tight. Apparently, this is very similar to the way in which an elderly woman was murdered in a movie called *Freeway*, which the offender had watched a week prior to the homicide with some friends. The influence of this movie on the assault is open to speculation, as the offender did not make any comment on it. This was the only case in which the victim was left in a “posed” position by the offender (see Table 5).

The third opportunistic sexual homicide (case 3662/97) was very different to the previous two, and involved a 26-year-old woman as the victim. The victim came to be at the house of the 24-year-old male offender whilst visiting with a friend, the offender being an acquaintance of that friend. The victim, the offender, and another woman (the offender’s 22-year-old girlfriend) were drinking in the offender’s flat, when the offender demanded the victim’s bank key card and her PIN number, so that they could purchase heroin. Whilst the girlfriend was out withdrawing money from the victim’s account, the offender sexually assaulted the victim orally and vaginally. When the girlfriend returned, the offender used a knife purchased by the girlfriend to kill the victim by stabbing her repeatedly in the throat and chest.

It is possible that any sexual interaction between this victim and the offender was consensual, as the victim did not display any genital injuries, and there was a report that the victim and the offender were, in the words of her ex-boyfriend, “getting it on.” However, the fact that the victim was found with a piece of rope around her neck, that the offender was able to get her key card and PIN number off her, and that the offender stabbed her to death, suggests that the two were not having a healthy, consensual relationship.

Postmortem Mutilation

Although it has been previously cautioned that the categorisation of some cases as being “sexual” is somewhat subjective, some of the cases manifested very explicit bizarre sexualised behaviour which was an integral part of the homicide. The literature review above has considered sexually sadistic behaviour as a common trait in sexual homicides, which may involve torture or mutilation of some sort. However, in none of these cases was there evidence that specific suffering was inflicted upon the victims (other than that which was intended to directly cause death) prior to their deaths. As can be seen from Table 5, two cases involved postmortem mutilation. Whilst two of the victims were mutilated or manipulated after having died, in none of the cases was a living victim mutilated. This is of potential theoretical significance as it is seemingly not possible to claim that these offenders enjoyed inflicting pain

on their victims. What is apparent, however, is that the mutilation was sexualised, suggesting maybe that its infliction is a form of necrophilia.

In the first case (case 2973/98), the 20-year-old victim was found unclothed in the front passenger seat of her car, having been strangled to death. According to the autopsy report:

Orange-handled scissors were present within the anus and there was obvious blood draining from the vagina and anus. The scissors were removed, holding on to either side of the hinge. The scissors were inserted almost to the hinge. There appeared to be incised-type defects on both the anterior and posterior anal verge which generally appeared swollen. (p. 17)

The autopsy revealed bruising to the anus which appeared to have been caused before death, and prior to the insertion of the scissors. No injuries suggesting penetration were observed in the vagina. This, and the fact that the offender was eventually convicted of two counts of rape, along with murder, suggests that the offender anally raped the victim prior to killing her.

The main mutilation in this case consisted of a large number of shallow incised wounds (cuts) caused by the scissors. According to the pathologist: “Involving the upper half of the front of the abdomen, straddling the midline, approximately 40 pinpoint to apparently shallow stabbed type defects, ranging from 0.1 to 1 cm in length” (p. 21). In addition, there were two shallow V-shaped incised cuts on the left nipple and a similar cut on the right nipple, each measuring around 1.5 cm. The pubic hair also showed three V-shaped cuts with a further two cuts of 0.5 cm length to part of the vagina (the right labia majora). All of these incised wounds were apparently caused after death.

The 21-year-old male offender who caused these injuries was shortly after seen to be affected by alcohol and marijuana, but when interviewed by police clearly remembered the murder and the events leading up to it. Whilst the offender admitted to the murder, he did not acknowledge or explain any of his sexual interaction with the victim. Nothing in the history that the police were able to unearth about the offender explained why he would kill, and then sexually mutilate, this young woman.

As no offender has been identified as being involved with the second homicide (Case 2993/97), little is known about what happened. It is not even known exactly how the victim died, other than a suggestion of strangulation. In the autopsy report, the pathologist states:

A significant finding at autopsy was evidence of blunt trauma in the form of a laceration to the right eyebrow, an incised injury to the left wrist and significantly [sic] postmortem mutilation of the body. The latter took the form of removal of the left breast and this had been placed within the mouth of the deceased. There was no evidence of any hemorrhage adjacent to the mastectomy suggesting the mutilation occurred postmortem. (p. 26)

It would be easy to suggest that removing the victim’s breast after her death and inserting it into her mouth, before dumping her by the side of a road in a pile of rubbish, held some symbolic significance for the offender. However, without an offender to ask, this is mere

conjecture. What is apparent, however, is that this sort of postmortem mutilation is extremely rare, and even in the absence of evidence of sexual assault, is highly suggestive of being a sexual act.

In both cases the mutilation performed on the body of the victim was not randomly targeted, but was focused on sexual areas of the victim's body. The utility and significance of this behaviour to the offender is not known, but it is not as obvious as taking parts of a victim as a "souvenir."

In the first case, it is known that the offender had asked the victim to be his girlfriend on several occasions, but that she had said that they should remain as just friends. It has been hypothesised by one of the investigating police that he made a sexual advance to her that night in the car and that she rejected him. Regardless of whether this is true, it seems reasonable to suggest that the offender harboured a degree of resentment towards the victim. The murder may have been an expression of sexual power and dominance, a way for the offender to regain control of the relationship. The sexual mutilation may have been his way of degrading the victim, of "putting her in her place." Whilst this explanation might be plausible, it still does not explain why this young man's sexual frustration went beyond rape to murder and sexual mutilation.

DISCUSSION

Sexual homicide is easily the most frightening and poorly understood form of homicide. Despite the fact that it is rare, it is also often apparently random, and generates more fear than it really deserves. Most sexual homicides seem to be without any apparent (understandable) motive, which, compounded with their scarcity, make them difficult for criminologists to explain. That there is no accepted way of definitively deciding whether a homicide is sexual or not only further complicates matters.

Whilst it has been mentioned previously that there is a dearth of research or reasoned comment on the topic of sexual homicide, Safarik et al. (2002) have looked at some similar cases, all involving elderly female victims. The study used a sample of 128 sexual homicides involving elderly victims which had come to the attention of the FBI, or were entered in the database of the National Center for the Analysis of Violent Crime (NCAVC). The similarities between the findings of this study and the current cases suggest that the Victorian cases are reasonably representative of sexual homicide in general. Safarik et al. (2002) found that their offenders generally had criminal records (90%, but most of those for property offences), and that 90% had a history of substance abuse. Most of the victims (94%) were killed in their own homes, and 77% of the offenders did not take a weapon to the scene. Strangulation (63%) and blunt force trauma (38%) were the most common causes of death. Compared to the Safarik et al. (2002) study, the Victorian cases tended to have offenders who were younger and less racially diverse, and the victims were more often known to the victims.

Safarik et al. (2002) note that the classification of the relationship between the victim and the offender are problematic in these cases. Although they tend to be categorised as "stranger" homicides, they report that many of the offenders were aware of the victim prior to the crime, knowing that the victim was alone and vulnerable (although the victim was not necessarily aware

of the offender). They suggest such cases might be better identified as “apparent” strangers, but neglect to comment on the difficulty such a classification would pose. In one of the cases examined above, the victim had been a previous landlady of the offender (he had paid her rent, but they had never, apparently, resided in the same house at the same time). According to the offender, it was unlikely that she would have recognised him:

Q: Did she ever give you any indication that she recognised you or did . . . ?

A: No.

Q: She call you by name?

A: No.

Q: Would [she] have been able to recognise you from your past association with her?

A: No.

(Case 132/97, Police interview with offender, p. 84)

As such, this case could conceivably be classified as an “apparent” stranger homicide. However, a considerable amount has to be known about the case before one can deem whether it is more deserving of this categorisation, and it is more likely to be classed as “stranger” if sufficient information is not known (in the current study this case was classified as “acquaintance,” which, whilst obviously inadequate, was considered to be the closest it fell to the traditional categories).

One way to conceptualise sexual homicide is as being an extreme form of sexual assault. That is, sexual assault may occur along a continuum of violence from a rape in which actual physical violence is not used (such as some acquaintance sexual assaults), through to violent rapes, through to sexual homicide. This would neatly allow us to sidestep the problems of lack of data and rarity of the event, and merely explain sexual homicide as an extreme form of violent rape.

This would imply that the intended crime was rape, and for some reason the victim was killed in the process. For example, the victim may have fought back, or tried to escape, and the violence escalated to a lethal conclusion. Whilst it is impossible to tell exactly what happened in all cases, at least some of the cases in the present sample do not appear to fit such a scenario. The cause of death in most of the cases appeared more to be a deliberate act designed to cause death than restraint gone wrong.

If the violence is considered as integral to the rape, rather than incidental to it (that is, expressive violence, as opposed to instrumental violence), again there are at least some cases that do not fit. In a number of cases, the victim seems to have been subjected to a comparatively minor level of violence, and have few injuries beyond that which was necessary to kill her. Strangulation, rather than stabbing, shooting, or beating to death, the victim, was the means most commonly used in sexual homicide. Next to poisoning, strangulation is probably the means of homicide which does the least to disfigure the body of the victim, and is the least bloody. One of the offenders actually said as much to the police. When asked why he stated that he could not shoot or stab someone, the offender replied:

I couldn't -- it makes me sick to see blood and all that, so I couldn't. I -- just to see that damage done to someone's body or just -- like, if I strangle them, it doesn't look like I've killed them, I suppose. I know they're dead, but it just doesn't look like I -- it won't affect me as much, you know, 'cause if I kill 'em like that and see blood and all that stuff, the effect -- that will affect you more, so I thought I couldn't do that, so, yeah. (Case 609/95, police interview with offender, p. 13)

As such, it is difficult to argue that the death is a result of the offender intending to inflict a large amount of violence upon the victim if the offender is explicitly trying to minimise the appearance of that violence. If the death was merely a result of an overly violent rape, one would expect to see the death caused by beating or stabbing, rather than by strangulation.

Thus, it is argued, whilst some rapes may escalate into homicides, the majority of sexual homicides are not merely the end-point of the rape continuum, but rather a phenomena of their own. The offender's intention appears to have been to kill the victim, with the sexual assault dependent on the death, rather than the reverse.

One might contend that the sexual assault of the victim was merely opportunistic. That is, the offender had the victim in a submissive position (either dead or threatened with death), and used that opportunity for sexual gratification. In some cases, this may certainly be a factor, although it is not a sufficient explanation for all sexual homicides. The most obvious counter argument is that of postmortem sexual assault: willingness to have any sexual interaction with a corpse is substantially less common than willingness to kill another person. As much as anything when talking about such extreme behaviour as murder, necrophilia certainly has to qualify as unusual. In short, if postmortem sexual assault is merely an opportunistic behaviour, why is it not more common? Clearly, there is some difference between the majority who have an opportunity for necrophilia and refrain from it, and those who see it as an acceptable option.

The unusualness of the sexual interaction argue against it being merely opportunistic also holds for some antemortem sexual assaults. In some cases, the victims of sexual homicides were within the scope of the offenders' anticipated range of sexual partners (that is, female in male heterosexual offenders and of a similar age to the offender). Assuming that opportunistic sexual assault is dependent on sexual attraction, it is much easier to explain a young man killing an attractive young woman his own age than a man of the same age killing his much older grandmother, especially in the absence of any evidence suggesting gerontophilia. Whilst it is not unheard of for young rapists to target older, vulnerable women (O'Reilly, 1992, for example, described one such offender who operated in New South Wales in the early 1980s), one would not expect opportunistic rapists to target those whom they do not find sexually arousing. Amir (1971) reports that in his study of rapes in Philadelphia, offenders tended to target victims in their own age group, and that victims tended to be younger than the offenders.

It is acknowledged that the current study is based on a limited number of examples of a relatively rare and heterogeneous form of homicide, and that, as such, the conclusions which can be drawn may have low external validity. However, even though the number of cases is small, they have been analysed with a depth not possible with larger statistical datasets. The similarities of the findings to those of Safarik et al. (2002) suggests that this small number of cases may be

reasonably representative of the larger phenomenon of sexual homicide. It is argued that, due to the complex nature of sexual homicide and the difficulty of identifying the cases, that an in-depth qualitative analysis is the most fruitful way to analyse these rare and frequently bizarre cases.

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DISCUSSION

Tom Petee: Damon, concerning the prostitute victims, was there evidence they had previous contact with the offender?

Damon Muller: There was no evidence to suggest this.

John Jarvis: In our study of sexual homicides among the elderly, we found evidence that the offender knew the victim but not vice versa, suggesting perhaps stalking or that both victim and offender exist in the same area.

Damon Muller: Two cases involved previous knowns.

Dick Block: Laura, early on, victimization surveys were recognized as particularly useful for studying familial assaults. They didn't coincide with police records. Asking respondents about arrest may be problematic. They may not know this.

Laura Dugan: The survey was redesigned to help prompt people to remember incidents about domestic violence. In contrast, the Violence Against Women survey was a one-time deal. The NCVS is measuring domestic violence in the household. I control for survey issues related to not disclosing (such as how many times the household was interviewed, proxy interviews, or whether it was a new household). In terms of data on arrest, because they know the offender, there is a much better likelihood of knowing this. However, there has been an increase in dual arrest policies, and the data only say whether an arrest was made; it doesn't tell you who was arrested.

Dick Block: You are still making an assumption the victim knows whether there has been an arrest. They may not understand what an arrest is.

Laura Dugan: They ask detailed information on police response.

Dick Block: I'm also concerned with the series incidents in the NCVS.

Laura Dugan: Series incidents indicate whether it has happened 6 times or more in the past 6 months. In this study it is treated as dichotomous -- whether domestic violence happened or not.

Terry Miethe: Do you have controls for the wider political climate, such as liberalism? In other words, is it the policy itself or is it the political climate?

Laura Dugan: I controlled for time. I looked for changes of effects over time in terms of whether coefficients become stronger/weaker at different times.

Becky Block: Effects may be different for different marital situations.

Vance McLaughlin: Damon, all of the people in your sample were all young men. I have one statement for you: "Testosterone is a flammable substance."

Tom Petee: Looking at your table regarding what happened to the victim afterwards, did you find this information to be useful?

Damon Muller: The problem is that very few people are organized or disorganized. Most fall in between. My feeling is that it will not be very useful. There is not much variability in this sample on this issue.

Al Blumstein: Laura, how will you follow up on post-arrest? The NCVS does not identify the respondent.

Laura Dugan: You can track them by household for the 3 years they are in the survey.

Al Blumstein: How do you know what the criminal justice system does?

Laura Dugan: The survey asks about contact with a prosecutor. It asks whether it was the first incident. With the husband you can basically assume it is the same person.

Roland Chilton: Valerie, has Statistics Canada changed its policy regarding the availability of data to researchers?

Valerie Pottie Bunge: The data are still not available.

Piyusha Singh: Were the data city-level?

Laura Dugan: No, state-level.

Mike Maltz: Domestic violence often involves a move in the family afterwards. There could a relationship between termination of interviews and domestic violence.

Laura Dugan: I am going to do a project with a graduate student looking at domestic violence and moving. We might need to use a hazard model.

Mike Maltz: The interviews will be of a very restricted sample of those who experience violence and don't move afterwards.

Becky Block: You are assuming violence first, move afterwards. It often happens the other way around.

Eileen Sullivan: Are the variables associated with a decline in spousal homicides the same for nonmarital couples?

Valerie Pottie Bunge: I haven't looked at this yet.

Chris Rasche: Damon, with the problem with your sample size regarding heterogeneity, the problem may actually lie in the definition of what you are studying. You may need to make it more narrow. You may need to be more precise in defining the focus of your study.

Damon Muller: I am going to look at that with more cases, for example, looking at opportunistic sexual homicides.

Becky Block: If you take opportunistic homicides and combine them with other burglary homicides without sexual homicides you could have more similarity there.

Damon Muller: My feeling is that sexual homicides differ from those without. I am not inclined to combine these.

Tom Petee: One of the problems with the definition of sexual homicides is that it encompasses a wide range of things.

Dick Block: In the changes in firearm legislation in Canada, the new registration system has been going into effect in different provinces at different times. This sets up a repeated natural experiment that could be used to analyze the effect of the legislation.

Valerie Pottie Bunge: I am not familiar enough with the differences in implementation, but it would be interesting to look at.

Jenny Mouzos: We also had legislative changes regarding firearms in 1996. We have seen a shift towards greater use of handguns. It might be interesting to look at this.

Becky Block: Were you able to pull out strangulations? Attempted strangulations are a strong predictor of being killed later.

Valerie Pottie Bunge: We have those categories available. We have beating, strangulation, lethal injection.

Terry Miethe: Damon, a solution to your problem of small numbers of sexual homicides would be to look at the SHR. There are probably 8,000 there. In a paper I did with Kriss Drass in the *Journal of Quantitative Criminology*, we examined the structural characteristics of the instrumental/expressive distinction. We found that sexual homicides are highly instrumental and have a situational structure similar to other instrumental homicides.

Becky Block: Damon, child homicides are not included in your study. Are there differences between children and adults?

Damon Muller: In the case of children the motive is often to try and prevent the victim from testifying or reporting to the police.

Becky Block: Young, separated women have a particularly high risk in Valerie's study. In our study we find women who are young but never lived with the person have the best chance of getting out of the relationship without being killed.

Valerie Pottie Bunge: Even for young men we find this high risk. I haven't looked at age for boyfriends/girlfriends.

Laura Dugan: I haven't looked at age but most of the drop in the U.S. is due to spousal homicides. We have seen an increase over time in terms of people not getting married. A recent report from the Heritage Foundation has (mis)used NCVS data and finds marriage to be a protective factor for young poor women.

CHAPTER SIX

LETHAL AND NON-LETHAL VIOLENCE IN SOCIAL CONTEXT

PREDICTORS ASSOCIATED WITH LETHAL AND NON-LETHAL VIOLENCE: A CONTEXTUAL ANALYSIS

Greg S. Weaver, Janice Clifford Wittekind, and Thomas A. Petee
Department of Sociology, Auburn University
7030 Haley Center, Auburn, AL 36849

Lin Huff-Corzine and Jay Corzine
Department of Sociology & Anthropology, University of Central Florida
Orlando, FL 32816

ABSTRACT

This study seeks to identify key factors that distinguish lethal from non-lethal outcomes of violent incidents. Data for this study are derived from the National Incident-Based Reporting System (NIBRS) of the Federal Bureau of Investigation. Using binary logistic regression analysis, the influence of a number of contextual factors, including weapon choice and victim/offender relationship, is explored. Results are discussed in terms of policy implications and their effects on both types of incidents.

INTRODUCTION

The level of violent crime, notably murder and manslaughter, in the United States (U.S.) is a recurrent cause of concern for the general public, government officials and scholars. Although the domestic rates of specific criminal offenses are moderate to high in comparison to those of other industrialized nations, it is the rate of killing that secures the U.S. its position as an outlier on the international crime scene.

Numerous explanations for U.S. violence have been offered since Redfield's (1880) pioneering study, but probably the most often cited factors are the easy access to firearms in American society and the large stock of guns, typically estimated at 200 million, in the hands of private citizens. Most interpersonal assaults do not involve guns, however, and a reasonable estimate is that only 10 to 15% of gun injuries result in the death of the victim. Moreover, some researchers question the extent to which guns are actually *more lethal* than knives (Kleck, 1997). In fact, the focus on weapons, particularly guns, seems to have produced a relative neglect of other situational contingencies that influence the lethality of violent encounters, e.g., type of circumstances, victim and offender characteristics.

Violent encounters involve two or more persons in a physical location interacting over a period of time. Obviously, the weapon(s) used by an assailant to attack a person affects the odds that a fatality will occur. Additionally, victim and offender characteristics, including sex, age, and race may influence the potential for a lethal outcome. For example, all else being equal (or reasonably close to equal), a lethal outcome will be more likely if the assailant is a man and the victim is a woman because of the greater strength of males and their familiarity with some types of weapons, notably firearms. The type of situation may exert an independent influence on the

lethality potential of an encounter. Blumstein (1995) has discussed the escalating arms race that accompanied the diffusion of inner-city crack cocaine markets in the late 1980s and early 1990s, and Wells and Horney (2002) report that a significant percentage of their sample of incarcerated males avoid entering some situations without a firearm. Because of the high prevalence of armed participants and the strong potential for disagreements, “drug deals” are a dangerous type of situation with a high potential for a lethal outcome. Finally, the location of a violent encounter, especially whether it is a private or a public setting, should alter the lethality potential of violent encounters because of differing levels of social control. Several authors have identified the “home” as an especially dangerous place for women victims of violence at the hands of their partners, in part because the attacks occur behind closed doors. Although encountering strangers is obviously more likely in public places, the police are charged with assuring the safety of people on the streets, at football games, and at public parks. Similarly, employees of retail establishments have some responsibility to intercede in assaults that occur on their premises, whether it is through becoming directly involved or by calling the police. It is reasonable to expect that violent encounters occurring outside “the public eye” will be more likely to result in a death.

Although the dynamics of homicide incidents have been explored since Wolfgang’s (1958) seminal work on the topic, to date only a handful of researchers have examined the connection between aggravated assault and homicide. In a recent article appearing in *Homicide Studies*, Harris and his colleagues make the argument that homicides are frequently acts of aggravated assault that result in the death of the victim (Harris, Thomas, Fisher, & Hirsch, 2002). To this end, these two types of violence can be thought of as a continuum of non-lethal to lethal outcomes that are contingent upon certain situational factors. In this paper, we use recently available data from the National Incident-Based Reporting System (NIBRS) collected by the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) to expand the range of situational contingencies of violent encounters examined in previous investigations of lethality. Specifically, we present logistic regression models including sets of variables measuring five characteristics of violent encounters: (1) the presence and type of weapons, (2) the demographic characteristics for both victims and offenders, (3) the type of situation, (4) the relationship between the assailant and victim, and (5) the location of the situation. Although the results show that each characteristic impacts the lethality of interpersonal violence, the type of situation and weapon consistently exert the strongest influence.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Identifying the Patterns

Assessing the totality of the violence problem in the United States is difficult. First, the existence of many criminal acts goes undetected. Second, there is no nation-wide comprehensive source containing detailed information on all types of crimes. Third, the data sources that do exist contain different variables. Fourth, among the various data sources, inconsistency in measurement exists, making comparison across sources difficult. Despite these limitations, we can examine these sources to identify existing crime patterns, in general and among specific offenses. Through examination of both official reports and victim accounts, we can more fully comprehend the contemporary violent crime scene.

Assault

Assault is defined as “*an unlawful physical attack or threat of attack*” (Bureau of Justice Statistics, 2000). For our purposes, assault will include both simple and aggravated assaults. Data from the 1999 National Crime Victimization Survey (NCVS) revealed that there were a total of 28,779,800 victimizations. Of these, 6,163,670 were assaults, representing 21.4% of all crimes. During 1999, persons ages 12 and over were victims of personal crimes at the rate of 32.8 per 1,000 persons. When examining assault, the rate was slightly lower at 27.4 per 1,000 persons (Bureau of Justice Statistics, 2001). However, the type of victimization and degree of risk differs by a person’s age, sex, and racial category. The NCVS (Bureau of Justice Statistics, 2000) reveals that juveniles are victims of assault more frequently than other age groups. Persons between the ages of 16 and 19 years have the highest victimization rate (62.3 per 1,000 persons) while the next highest rate is for persons between 12 and 15 years of age (56.4 per 1,000). After age 20 there is a steady decline in the rate at which people are victims of assault.

When comparing the total population, the risk for assault is greater for men (31.6 per 1,000) than women (23.6 per 1,000). In addition, Blacks experience higher victimization rates than Whites (31.3 vs. 27.2 per 1,000). A weapon was reported to be present in 22% of all assaults; however, in the cases of aggravated assault the percentage of situations in which a weapon was present jumps to 95.5%. A firearm was the weapon of choice in 22.7% of the aggravated assaults. Other weapon types used in aggravated assaults include “knife,” 24.9%; “blunt object,” 19.4%; “other weapon,” 19.3%; “sharp object,” 4.7%; and “unknown weapon,” 4.5%.

The location of the assault is also important. Twenty percent of all assaults occur “in or at a residence.” Closely following are the 19.6% of assaults that occurred “on a street,” 16.8% “in school or on school property,” 9.6% at other locations,” 9.5% “at a commercial location,” 5.8% “at a restaurant or bar,” and 2.9% “at an outside area not in another specific category.”

Interaction between the victim and offender also plays a significant role in victimization risk. In examining victim-offender relationships, the largest portion of assaults (53.3%) involved someone known to the victim. Included among persons known to assault victims were “someone well-known to them, but a non-relative,” 28.0%; a “casual acquaintance,” 16.0%; and a “relative,” 9.3%. Relationships were categorized as “strangers” in 45.1% of situations and “unknown” in 2.6% of assault incidents. These same patterns also held true for overall violent crime victimization (Bureau of Justice Statistics, 2001).

Homicide

Official reports indicate that in 1999 there were 12,658 homicides in the United States. Homicide includes murder and non-negligent manslaughter and is defined as the “willful (non-negligent) killing of one human being by another” (Federal Bureau of Investigation, 2000). The risk for a criminal event ending in a homicide differs based on victim characteristics and situational factors.

Persons who are 18 years of age or over represented 87% of all homicide victims. Juveniles, defined as those 17 years of age or younger, accounted for 11.4% of all homicides. The age of the victim was listed as “unknown” in only a few homicide cases (1.6%). Infants, children under 1 year, made up 0.2% of all homicide victims.

The 1999 *Uniform Crime Report* (Federal Bureau of Investigation, 2000) reveals that homicide victims are overwhelmingly men (75.5%) compared to women (24.4%). Other demographic traits such as race showed to be significant in outcomes as well. While Whites and Blacks were almost equally represented among homicide victims, 50% and 46% respectively, given that Blacks comprise approximately 13% of the total U.S. population, they are clearly overrepresented among homicide victims. Other racial and ethnic groups, e.g., Native Americans, represented only 3% of all victims. In 1% of the cases the victim’s race was listed as “not known.” Firearms are the weapon of choice, as they were used in 65.2% of all homicides. Other weapons included a “knife or cutting instrument,” 13.2%; “personal weapons,” 6.8%; and “some other weapon,” 9%.

Examination of victim-offender relationship reveals that in 60% of the cases, the offender was someone known to the victim. Of the incidents in which the homicide victim knew the offender, 25% were committed by an “acquaintance,” 14% by a “relative,” and 9% by “someone known to the victim, but not a relative.” In only 12% of cases was the homicide offender was a stranger. Since 40% of the cases recorded an unknown relationship between victim and offender, these numbers need to be viewed with caution.

Circumstances surrounding the homicide are often related to the type of interaction between the victim and offender. “Felony-related” or “suspected felony,” for example, made up 17% of all homicides while “other non-felonies” comprised 53% of the total. “Arguments” were the reported cause of 28.5% of all homicides, while 5.4% were “gang-related,” 2.3% were caused by a “fight due to substance use,” 1% resulted from a “romantic triangle,” and another 15.4% were caused by “other circumstances.” It is important to note that the circumstances surrounding homicide were unknown for an additional 30% of the cases (Federal Bureau of Investigation, 2000).

Influence of Victim Demographic, Situational, and Circumstance Factors on Outcomes

While much is known about assault and homicide victimization patterns, it is unclear how demographic, situational, and circumstance factors influence outcomes to produce either a lethal or non-lethal incident. Violent crime victimization patterns can be linked to both demographic characteristics of offenders and victims, i.e., age, sex, race, and social class, and context/situational variables, i.e., weapon usage and location of violent encounters. The outcome of violent crime incidents have also been linked to behavioral patterns. The risk for lethality of criminal violence is increased for persons who possess certain traits. As noted above, assault victims are most likely to be young Black men who are attacked in or near a residence by someone they know. If the assault is not too severe, i.e., simple assault, it is likely that no weapon was used. If it was an aggravated assault, the offender is almost as likely to choose a knife as a firearm. On the other hand, Black men, 18 years of age and over, who knew their assailant, and were killed by a firearm, are likely to be overrepresented among homicide victims.

The focus of this paper is on the predictability of potentially lethal situations. What is it that significantly swings the outcome of a situation toward becoming a lethal or non-lethal incident? Numerous studies conclude that individuals involved in criminal offending are more likely to become victims themselves (Dobrin, 2001; Lauritsen, Sampson, & Laub, 1991; Sampson & Lauritsen, 1990). Risk of lethal outcome is also linked to the type of intended criminal offense and setting or location of the incident.

Robberies, for example, particularly those occurring on the street, typically involve physical force by hitting, kicking, or shoving; however, the presence of a weapon is rare so the chance of a lethal outcome is also reduced (Miller, 1998). Even when a firearm is present, the offender is likely to use the weapon primarily to scare the victim into unquestioning compliance. However, some of these offenders may be willing to resort to the use of lethal force if necessary (Wright & Decker, 1997).

Combining NCVS and SHR data, Kleck and McElrath (1993) report that gun injuries are more likely to be fatal than knife injuries. Using similar data, Felson and Messner (1996) find that assailants using a gun are more than 40 times as likely to kill their victims than offenders who use no weapon, while those using a knife are between 4 and 5 times more likely to kill their victims. Importantly, Felson and Messner (1996) also examine selected victim and offender characteristics, the types of situations, and the relationship between the victim and offender as sources of differences in lethality. Black and male victims were more likely to be killed, but the race and sex of the offender had no influence on the lethality of the outcome. Deaths were less likely to result if the assailant and victim were strangers, with violent encounters involving family members being the most likely to result in a fatality.

Although they do not examine lethality per se, the findings of Wells and Horney (2002) enhance understanding of the weapons effect that is found in the relevant literature. The presence of a weapon, particularly a gun, increased the chances of injuries to assault victims regardless of assailants' intent to seriously injure their victims. This finding supports a "weapon instrumentality effect." In other words, the capacity of a weapon to kill or do serious injury in an assault exists apart from the offender's motivation.

The analyses below extend the scope of prior studies investigating determinants of the lethality of violent encounters by including a wider range of situational contingencies than have been considered by other researchers.

DATA AND METHODS

The data utilized in the present study consist of information for the years of 1998 and 1999 of the National Incident-Based Reporting System, which are collected under the auspices of the *Uniform Crime Reports* program (U.S. Department of Justice/Federal Bureau of Investigation, 2001a, 2001b). NIBRS is designed to more comprehensively document incident-level data which focuses on various aspects of the crime (Maxfield, 1999; Maxfield & Maltz, 1999). However, to date NIBRS is not fully implemented. For 1998, 15 states either fully or partially participated in the NIBRS program, and for 1999, 17 states were either fully or partially included in the data. For the present study, data from the incident, offender, and victim files were

obtained from ICPSR and merged into a single file (for an in-depth discussion on analyzing NIBRS data, see Akiyama & Nolan, 1999). The unit of analysis for this study is the incident itself, more specifically, those involving only one offender. These data will be used to examine how offender/victim characteristics and key contextual factors influence the lethality of a violent incident. The specific question addressed is how these factors are related to whether a violent incident results in homicide or aggravated assault. Because the dependent variable utilized in this study is dichotomous, the logistic regression procedure, a technique suitable for this type of data, will be employed.

Dependent Variable

The dependent variable in this study is an indicator of whether an incident resulted in homicide or an aggravated assault. As NIBRS includes data on all crimes known to police, the two variables mentioned above were extracted. The resulting dependent variable represents the lethality of the crime incident, with homicide coded “1” and aggravated assault coded “0,” respectively.

Independent Variables

The first group of independent variables assesses how weapon choice influences whether an incident results in a non-lethal versus lethal outcome. The following weapon categories are included: firearms, knives, blunt instruments, and motor vehicles. Each is included as a dummy variable, coded “1” and “0” respectively. The second group of independent variables assesses how key victim/offender relationships may influence these outcomes. As such, dummy variables (coded “1” and “0”) are included for the contexts of arguments, lovers’ quarrels, or whether the incident occurred during the course of a transaction involving illegal drugs.¹ Additionally, dichotomous, categorical variables are included to account for the victim/offender relationship: acquaintance, stranger, unknown, and family (contrast category).

Particular attention is given to the influence of location as it relates to whether an incident results in homicide or aggravated assault. As a result, the following categorical variables are included to identify the location of the incident as bar/nightclub, street, parking garage, home, school or college, retail or service establishment, other outside location (includes construction sites, fields/woods, and lakes or other waterways), and other locations (contrast category).

Finally, key characteristics of both offenders and victims are included as separate variables: offender and victim age in years, the gender of the offender and victim (both coded 1 = male, 0 = female), whether the offender or victim is African-American or White (1 = yes, 0 = no), and whether the victim was less than one year of age at the time of the incident (coded 1 = yes, 0 = no). Detailed information on the variables utilized in this study may be obtained from

¹These categories are included because (a) they are the most common circumstances for these incidents, and (b) theoretically speaking, they are expected to be the most salient in terms of distinguishing between lethal and non-lethal assaults.

the *National Incident-Based Reporting System* codebooks for 1998 and 1999 (U.S. Department of Justice/Federal Bureau of Investigation, 2000a, 2001b).

The analyses that follow will include separate models for the total number of incidents ($n = 91,604$), White victims ($n = 61,690$), Black victims ($n = 29,644$), male victims ($n = 49,431$), and female victims ($n = 42,473$), respectively. Disaggregating the models in this fashion is done in hopes of identifying and clarifying key differences across these groups, particularly in regard to how weapon choice, circumstances, and victim/offender relationship vary across these categories for homicide versus aggravated assault.

FINDINGS

The results of our initial analysis are presented in Table 1.² Of the victim characteristics, victim age ($b = .023$, $p < .001$), sex ($b = .359$, $p < .001$), and race ($b = .280$, $p < .01$) were significantly predictive of incident lethality. Male victims were nearly 1.5 times ($\alpha = 1.431$) more likely than female victims to be killed as a result of the incident. Similarly, Black victims were over 1.3 times ($\alpha = 1.322$) more likely to have the incident end in a homicide than victims of other racial groups. The control introduced for infant victims was also statistically significant ($b = 1.263$, $p < .001$), with infants being approximately 3.5 times ($\alpha = 3.542$) more likely to be killed compared to persons in other age categories.

The contrast for the victim-offender relationship used family relationship as the omitted reference category. Both acquaintance ($b = -.264$, $p < .01$) and stranger ($b = -1.066$, $p < .001$) victim-offender relationships were significantly less likely than family relationships to result in a lethal outcome. Unknown victim-offender relationships had no predictive utility in determining the outcome of these events.

Of the weapon variables included in the equation, only firearms ($b = 2.300$, $p < .001$) and knives ($b = .703$, $p < .001$) were statistically significant. If a firearm was used in the incident, the victim was nearly 10 times more likely to die ($\alpha = 9.974$) compared to those incidents where personal weapons (i.e., hands or feet, the omitted reference category for weapons) were used. By contrast, if the weapon of choice was a knife, the victim was only approximately 2 times ($\alpha = 2.020$) more likely to be killed than if personal weapons were used.

All of the circumstance indicators were significantly predictive of the non-lethality/lethality of these assault-related incidents. Those incidents classified as drug deals ($b = 1.857$, $p < .001$), other felonies ($b = 2.622$, $p < .001$), and domestic-related ($b = .537$, $p < .001$), were all positively associated with lethal outcomes. In fact, the two felony-related circumstances were among the most potent predictors in the model, with incidents stemming from drug deals being over 6 times ($a = 6.408$) more likely, and other felonies being nearly 14 times ($a = 13.762$) more likely, to result in a fatality than other circumstances (see the Methods section). On the

²Offender characteristics were included in our logistic regression models as control variables.

other hand, arguments are significantly less likely to result in the death of the victim ($b = -.631, p < .001$).

TABLE 1. Net Effects for Logistic Regression of Lethality (Non-lethal = 0, Lethal = 1) Regressed on Selected Variables

VARIABLE	b	S.E.	Odds Ratio
Victim Age	.023***	.002	1.024
Male Victim	.359***	.070	1.431
Black Victim	.280**	.106	1.322
Infant Victim	1.263***	.144	3.535
Victim-Offender Relationship			
Acquaintance	-.264**	.080	.768
Stranger	-1.066***	.147	.372
Unknown	-.084	.112	.874
Firearm	2.300***	.093	9.974
Knife	.703***	.107	2.020
Blunt Instrument	.023	.136	1.023
Motor Vehicle	-.134	.236	.874
Drug Deal	1.857***	.212	6.408
Other Felony	2.622***	.192	13.762
Domestic	.537***	.117	1.711
Argument	-.631***	.072	.532
Location			
Home	-.017	.130	.983
Street	-.349*	.150	.705
Parking Lot/Garage	.062	.198	1.064
Bar/Nightclub	.205	.217	1.228
Retail/Service	-.331	.204	.718
School/College	-1.955*	.915	.142
Other Outside Location	1.265***	.190	3.542
Offender Age	.009***	.002	1.009
Male Offender	.333***	.089	1.395
Black Offender	-.253*	.107	.776
CONSTANT	-6.263		

Model χ^2

* $p < .05$

** $p < .01$

*** $p < .001$

The location of the incident was also a salient predictor of lethality. However, of the individual categorical contrasts, only those incidents occurring on the street ($b = -.349, p < .05$), at a school or college ($b = -1.955, p < .05$), or at another outside location ($b = 1.265, p < .001$), were statistically significant. Perhaps most interestingly, those cases that took place at those

“other” outdoor locations were over 3.5 times ($a = 3.542$) more likely to be associated with a homicide than other locations.

The salience of victim race and sex led us to conduct a series of conditional analyses for the relevant categories of these variables. As shown in Table 2, some interesting patterns emerge in the comparison of White and Black victims. First of all, for Whites, victim age remained a significant predictor of lethal outcome ($b = .030$, $p < .001$). However, for Black victims, this relationship was rendered non-significant. Similarly, with weapons, as was the case in the overall model, the use of a knife was statistically significant ($b = .897$, $p < .001$). Again, this was not the case with Black victims, where the use of a knife had no discriminating value in determining the difference between a lethal and non-lethal outcome. While the use of firearms remained significant for both racial victim groups, the effect of this predictor was much more pronounced for White victims ($\alpha = 10.901$) than for Black victims ($\alpha = 6.946$). Unlike the overall model, the use of a blunt instrument was significant for both victim groups, although in opposite directions. For Whites, blunt instruments were associated with lethal outcomes ($b = .405$, $p < .01$), while for Blacks, they were associated with non-lethal outcomes ($b = -.919$, $p < .01$).

For the victim-offender relationship, the only notable difference between White and Black victims concerned the unknown relationship category. For White victims, those cases in which the victim-offender relationship could not be determined were more likely to involve a non-lethal outcome ($b = -.318$, $p < .05$). For Black victims, unknown victim-offender relationships had no discriminatory utility. Finally, relating to the context of the incident, the relative impact of circumstances involving drug deals and other felonies was greater for Black victims than White victims. For Black victims, the odds ratio for drug deals was 8.236 compared to 4.196 for White victims, suggesting that, comparatively, Black victims were almost twice as likely to be killed in this type of incident. Equally as compelling, for Black victims the odds ratio for other felonies was 17.912, while for White victims the odds ratio was 11.509.

Shifting to Table 3, it can be seen that interesting patterns also emerged in the comparison of male and female victims.³ While the overall effect of victim age is similar in both models (i.e., significant and positive, with roughly equivalent odds ratios), the control variable introduced for infants has a differential impact for the two victim groups. Female infants were slightly more than 6 times ($a = 6.065$) as likely to die from an assault-related incident as were female victims in other age categories. By contrast, male infants were only around 2.5 times ($a = 2.572$) more likely than males in other age groups to be killed in these incidents.

Not surprisingly, there were also some differences in the circumstances surrounding the incident. For male victims, incidents involving suspected drug deals were more likely to result in a lethal outcome ($b = 2.103$, $p < .001$). However, for female victims, the drug deal indicator was not statistically significant. When it came to other felonies, the relative impact of this circumstance was greater for male victims than female victims. Male victims were over 20 times ($a = 20.052$) more likely to be killed in a felony-related incident compared to other

³The net effects for the use of a firearm and the use of a knife were very similar for both victim groups.

lethality of the incident. Second, for other outside locations, the odds ratio for females was much greater than the comparable odds ratio for males ($\alpha = 8.280$ for females, and 2.859 for male victims).

TABLE 3. Net Effects for Logistic Regression of Lethality (Non-lethal = 0, Lethal = 1) Regressed on Selected Variables by Sex of Victim

VARIABLE	Male Victims			Female Victims		
	b	S.E.	ODDS RATIO	b	S.E.	ODDS RATIO
Victim Age	.017***	.003	1.017	.036***	.004	1.036
Black Victim	.339**	.125	1.404	.164	.208	1.178
Infant Victim	.945***	.185	2.572	1.802***	.236	6.065
Victim-Offender Relationship						
Acquaintance	-.121	.116	.886	-.414**	.121	.661
Stranger	-.878***	.177	.416	-1.155***	.329	.315
Unknown	.159	.143	1.172	-.457*	.209	.633
Firearm	2.290***	.130	9.877	2.245***	.135	9.443
Knife	.590***	.149	1.803	.989***	.155	2.690
Blunt Instrument	-.095	.179	.910	.245	.212	1.278
Motor Vehicle	-.417	.355	.659	.170	.323	1.185
Drug Deal	2.103***	.230	8.191	.480	.735	1.616
Other Felony	2.998***	.252	20.052	2.129***	.314	8.407
Domestic	.529*	.217	1.697	.476**	.148	1.610
Argument	-.320***	.088	.726	-1.140***	.125	.320
Location						
Home	.079	.160	1.082	-.178	.224	.837
Street	-.426*	.180	.653	-.210	.275	.811
Parking Lot/Garage	.000	.235	1.000	.074	.377	1.077
Bar/Nightclub	.250	.241	1.285	-.459	.620	.632
Retail/Service	-.439	.245	.645	-.190	.373	.827
School/College	-4.074	2.831	.017	-.732	1.020	.481
Other Outside Location	1.050***	.226	2.859	2.114***	.343	8.280
Offender Age	.005*	.003	1.005	.009*	.004	1.009
Male Offender	.291**	.108	1.338	.375*	.182	1.455
Black Offender	.082	.085	1.085	-.261*	.119	.770
CONSTANT	-6.084			-6.624		
	Model $\chi^2 = 1142.621$ ***			Model $\chi^2 = 794.716$ ***		

- * p < .05
- ** p < .01
- *** p < .001

CONCLUSIONS

Our results demonstrate the importance of various situational factors in determining the potential lethality of violent incidents. In general, victim characteristics such as age and race seem to be important predictors of a lethal/non-lethal outcome. The impact of age is not particularly surprising given the possibility of greater frailty of elderly and child victims. Likewise, the relatively high risk of homicide victimization for Blacks makes the salience of race in the determination of lethality an expected outcome (MacKellar & Yanagishita, 1995). Weapon choice also is a strong determinant of lethality, with firearms and knives both increasing

the likelihood of a lethal outcome. The potency of the effect of firearms in our analyses (i.e., being one of the strongest predictors in our model) should begin to settle the question as to the lethality of certain weapons (again, see Kleck, 1997). Finally, the circumstances of the incident also figure into the outcome. Incidents involving drug deals and other felonies are both strong predictors of an altercation ending in the death of the victim. Our results pertaining to drug deals are certainly consistent with the findings of Blumstein (1995), and the importance of “other felonies” would seem to support the notion that some predatory offenders enter felony encounters with the willingness to use lethal force if necessary (Wells & Horney, 2002; Wright & Decker, 1997).

There are certain contingencies that condition the outcome of these incidents as well. Differences in the salience of predictors exist for Black versus White victims as well as male versus female victims. When examining the contingent effects of race, weapon differences in particular stand out. The use of firearms, knives, and blunt instruments are much more predictive of a lethal outcome for White victims in comparison to Black victims. For males and females, circumstances of the offense -- specifically drug deals and other felonies -- are more important in determining the lethality of an event for males. For females, the location of the incident -- specifically other outside locations -- and whether or not the victim was an infant are more predictive of a lethal outcome. However, in the former case, this may have more to do with where a body is found rather than where the offense occurred, with perhaps female victims having a greater likelihood of having had their bodies dumped at outside locations.

While our results may be instructive as to factors which influence the lethality of violent encounters, there are several limitations to this study which need to be noted. First of all, at this point in time, NIBRS is hardly nationally representative. Only about a third of all states currently participate in the program, and even among participating states, not all jurisdictions are represented. Moreover, jurisdictions currently participating in NIBRS would probably best be described as being decidedly non-urban. It is conceivable, and even likely, that if all police jurisdictions fully participated in NIBRS, our results would be somewhat different. Additionally, while NIBRS represents a rich data source with a great deal of detail regarding contingencies involved in criminal offenses, there are certainly factors that could influence lethality that are essentially unmeasured in the present study. For example, the availability and quality of medical care would likely have some impact in determining whether or not such incidents ended in the death of the victim (Harris et al., 2002).

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REGIONAL VARIATIONS IN LETHAL AND NON-LETHAL ASSAULTS

Roland Chilton
Department of Sociology, University of Massachusetts
Amherst, MA 01003

ABSTRACT

Data from the National Incident-Based Reporting System (the new Uniform Crime Reports) for 1999 and data from the 2000 U.S. Census are used to evaluate aspects of recent “culture of violence” theories. Victim and offender rates of murder, assaults, and robbery are examined by race for 17 states with a special emphasis on cities in Iowa and South Carolina. The analysis provides little indication of a White code of honor in southern cities. The most striking aspects of the results are the Black homicide offender rates. They are much higher than the White rates North and South. These high Black offender rates are not, in themselves, support for the existence of a widespread “Black code of the streets,” but neither do they call this possibility into question. Whether sustained by cultural pressures or isolation and exclusion from the main stream of American life, high Black rates of violence call for explanations that go beyond the use of regional differences in overall state level rates of violence.

RECENT THEORY

The most useful theory for this analysis is that presented by Fox Butterfield (1995) and Elijah Anderson (1999). Butterfield describes a southern concern for honor that produced lethal violence by White males before, during, and after the American Civil War. His general thesis is that this concern for honor transmuted into a concern of Black males for respect and that this desire for respect in turn produces much of the lethal violence by Black males seen in contemporary American society.

In my view, Butterfield does not make a convincing case for the transition from a southern, White code of honor to a Black code of the streets as he follows four generations of Black males from South Carolina to New York. But, while discussing what he sees as a widely shared concern for respect among Black males and their belief that they need to fight to be respected, he provides a plausible, partial explanation for the high Black murder offending and victimization rates in some areas of America’s largest cities.

Although Butterfield describes the older southern notion of honor as producing a set of people who were touchy, quick to take offense, and willing, perhaps eager, to use violence to protect their reputations and good names, he suggests the concept of honor becomes more dangerous when combined with poverty, racism, and segregation. He sees concern for honor or respect in this context contributing to a ritual of insult and revenge that produces very high murder rates for Black men.

Elijah Anderson expands on the notion of honor in his description of a code of the street. He describes it as a desperate search for respect designed to provide protection from attack.

Similar to the concern for honor, the code focuses on respect and disrespect and the respect sought may sometimes be thought of as fear. Anderson suggests that a large number of Black men, and perhaps some Black women, believe that to survive on the street you have to present yourself as tough and capable of violence, be willing to fight, and retaliate if attacked. The description constitutes one possible explanation for the very high murder rates in some areas of most major cities in the United States.

Butterfield and Anderson's approaches to honor and respect may be new but the concept of a southern culture of violence is not. Wolfgang and Ferracuti (1967), Gastil (1971), and many others have used it to explain generally higher rates of violence in southern states or by Americans with southern origins. I think it is accurate to say that Butterfield and Anderson provide some of the latest variations in attempts to explain regional and racial variations in levels of lethal and non-lethal violence. Whitt, Corzine, and Huff-Corzine (1995) provide an extensive review of variations on southern culture of violence theory and research. This analysis does not move in the same direction but focuses on the ways in which variations in offender rates by race weaken the notion of an a general southern culture of violence.

IOWA AND SOUTH CAROLINA

My analysis begins with a comparison of lethal and non-lethal violence in Iowa and South Carolina. These states were selected for the initial analysis because both have near complete participation in the National Incident-Based Reporting System (the new Uniform Crime Reports program) and each represents a distinctly different region of the country. South Carolina is a southern state by any definition. One of the 11 states of the Confederacy and the state that ignited the U.S. Civil War, South Carolina was a slave state that remained officially segregated though the first 64 years of the 20th century. Butterfield uses South Carolina to illustrate the historic components of a southern code of honor. In contrast, Iowa was a free state that fought on the Union side. It never officially developed or maintained a set of laws designed to subjugate its Black population. There is little indication that any substantial number of its White citizens subscribed to a code of honor.

In this analysis, I assume that *if* there are still much higher rates of violent crime committed by White men in South Carolina than there are in Iowa, one plausible explanation would be that there are remnants of a southern concern for honor still operating in the South. Even if we cannot interpret higher White rates of violence in South Carolina than in Iowa as evidence of a lingering code of honor, finding little or no difference in the rates of violent crime by White males in these two states would at least call into question the suggestion that some high homicide offender rates can be explained by lingering concerns for honor.

The top section of Table 1 shows the counts not rates for groups of offenses reported in the new Uniform Crime Reports program (NIBRS). As indicated in the second note in Table 1, of the five columns, only murder and robbery are single offenses. The assault counts include aggravated assault, simple assault, and intimidation. The sexual assault column includes rape, forcible sodomy, sexual assault with an object, and forcible fondling. The "Other Assaults" column includes kidnapping, negligent manslaughter, and two non-violent offenses (incest and statutory rape).

TABLE 1. Counts of Violent Crime for Iowa and South Carolina from the New Uniform Crime Reports (NIBRS) for 1999¹

	Incident Counts ²				
	Murder	Assault	Sexual Assault	Other Assaults	Robbery
All ³	1,118	464,960	27,822	6,555	22,336
Iowa	44	25,913	1,719	282	1,029
South Carolina	256	99,043	3,710	1,180	5,893

	Victim Counts				
	Murder	Assault	Sexual Assault	Other Assaults	Robbery
All ³	1,211	517,894	30,122	7,341	28,356
Iowa	49	28,279	1,866	299	1,204
South Carolina	269	112,059	3,871	1,297	8,503

	Offender Counts				
	Murder	Assault	Sexual Assault	Other Assaults	Robbery
All ³	1,442	507,839	29,209	7,510	28,254
Iowa	49	27,536	1,746	307	1,069
South Carolina	414	115,697	4,127	1,521	9,236

¹The new Uniform Crime Reports system is currently called the National Incident-Based Reporting System.

²The Assault Column includes counts of Aggravated Assault, Simple Assault, and Intimidation. The Sexual Assault column includes counts of Rape, Forcible Sodomy, Sexual Assault with an object, and Forcible Fondling. The Other Assaults column includes counts of Negligent Manslaughter, Kidnapping, Statutory rape, and Incest.

³All police agencies providing NIBRS counts in 1999. The age, race, or sex of some victims and some offenders is missing.

The murder and robbery incident counts shown in the top part of Table 1 can be obtained from the data compiled in the traditional UCR program. They are essentially offenses known to the police. The robbery counts include robberies in which those victimized were members of an organization or company. For this reason, the number of robberies will drop when they are counted by the race of the victim or offender. Age, race, and sex information is not collected in robberies of organizations or commercial establishments.

The bottom two parts of the table show the new UCR's advantage over the old system. The victimization and offender information indicates that many incidents produce multiple victims and that multiple offenders are involved in many violent crime incidents. There were, for example, 1,118 murder incidents reported for the complete set of agencies providing NIBRS data for 1999. Because of multiple victims, these incidents produced 1,211 murder victims. Because some incidents involved more than one offender, the same incidents produced 1,442 offenders. It is important to remember that those reported as offenders may or may not have been arrested. The information on offenders in the new UCR program comes from victims and witnesses and is not simply a description of persons arrested.

VICTIM AND OFFENDER RATES

Table 2 shows the offense, victim, and offender *rates* for Iowa and South Carolina and for the combined set of agencies providing NIBRS data for 1999. It indicates that there are indeed differences between Iowa and South Carolina. All of the victimization rates for these offenses are higher for South Carolina than they are for Iowa; all of the offender rates for South Carolina are higher than the Iowa rates. The murder victimization rate for South Carolina is almost four times as high as the same rate for Iowa. The rate at which people are reported as murder offenders in South Carolina is almost six times as high as the murder offender rate in Iowa. If we were limited to this information, we would conclude that the notion of a southern code of honor remains plausible.

We can extend this oversimplified state-level analysis by looking at the NIBRS information that is available for the northern states of Ohio, Massachusetts, and Michigan, and the southern states of Tennessee, Texas, and Virginia. Unlike Iowa and South Carolina, not all of the police agencies in these states participated in the NIBRS program in 1999. By totaling the counts of victims reported by participating agencies and summing the population estimates assigned by the FBI to the same agencies, we can compute murder and assault victimization rates. Following a similar procedure, we can compute offender rates.

TABLE 2. Rates of Violent Crime for Iowa and South Carolina from the New Uniform Crime Reports (NIBRS) for 1999 ¹

	Incident Rates (per 100,000) ²				
	Murder	Assault	Sexual Assault	Other Assaults	Robbery
All ³	3.2	1,317.6	78.8	18.6	63.3
Iowa	1.6	931.5	61.8	10.1	37.0
South Carolina	6.6	2,555.7	69.9	30.4	152.1

	Victim Rates (per 100,000)				
	Murder	Assault	Sexual Assault	Other Assaults	Robbery
All ³	3.3	1,423.9	82.0	20.1	78.4
Iowa	1.8	1,016.9	67.1	10.8	43.3
South Carolina	6.9	2,886.4	99.7	33.4	219.0

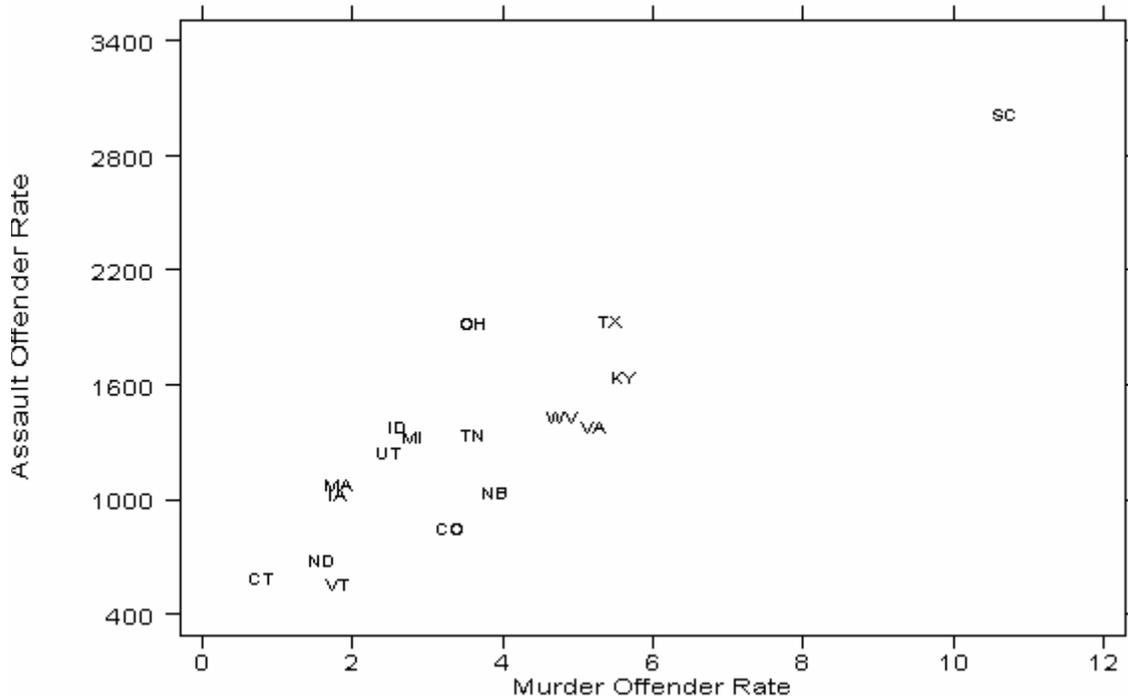
	Offender Rates (per 100,000)				
	Murder	Assault	Sexual Assault	Other Assaults	Robbery
All ³	4.0	1,426.9	82.1	21.1	79.4
Iowa	1.8	990.1	62.8	11.0	38.4
South Carolina	10.7	2,980.1	106.3	39.2	237.9

When such rates are computed for these and nine other states (Colorado, Connecticut, Idaho, Kentucky, Nebraska, North Dakota, Utah, Vermont, and West Virginia), Figure 1 indicates that the highest murder offender rates are those for South Carolina, Texas, Kentucky, and Virginia. The lowest murder offender rates are those for Connecticut, North Dakota, Vermont, Iowa, and Massachusetts. This pattern is still consistent with suggestions of regional differences and a more violent south. The rates for Kentucky are the most questionable measures in Figure 1 because they reflect the submissions of just four police agencies.

Since it is possible that these state-level rates might reflect either a subculture of violence among White residents that might be described as a “southern culture of violence,” or a subculture of violence among Black residents that might be seen as reflecting a “code of the street,” or aspects of both of these, Table 3 presents the victimization and offender rates for Iowa

^{1,2,3}See Notes in Table 1 for all footnotes in table.

FIGURE 1. Murder and Assault Rates for 17 States, 1999



and South Carolina by race. While the most important portion of Table 3 is the part that contains the offender rates, the victimization rates are also interesting. If the police reports in both states are accurate, White South Carolinians are more likely to be victims of murder, robbery, and assaults of all kinds than White Iowans. They are murdered at rates two-and-one-half times as high as White Iowans are murdered. But with murder victim rates of 13.6 and 14.2 respectively, Black Iowans are only slightly less likely to be murder victims than are Black South Carolinians. Moreover, Black Iowans are more likely to be victims of some kind of assault than Black South Carolinians.

While murder and assault victimization rates are interesting, the offender rates are more likely to help us understand the role of culture and subculture as explanations for lethal and non-lethal assaults. As shown in the bottom part of Table 3, the rates at which White offenders were reported for murder, assault, and robbery in South Carolina are higher than the rates at which White Iowans are reported for murder, assault, and robbery. This too appears to support theories suggesting a southern regional culture of violence. But any general conclusion concerning a southern culture of violence is confounded by the fact that the Black offender assault and robbery rates for Iowa are higher than the Black offender assault and robbery rates for South Carolina. Only the Black offender rate for murder is higher in South Carolina than in Iowa. The overall effect is to suggest that if there is a southern culture of violence, it is a White culture and if there is a Black culture of violence, it appears to be stronger in Iowa than it is in South Carolina. Still, the Black murder offender rate is very high (23.7 per 100,000) for South Carolina. And, when we compare rates within South Carolina, the Black robbery and assault rates are much higher than the White robbery and assault rates.

TABLE 3. Rates of Violent Crime for Iowa and South Carolina by Race, from the New Uniform Crime Reports (NIBRS) for 1999¹

	Victim Rates ²				
	Murder	Assault	Sexual Assault	Other Assaults	Robbery
All ³ (All Races)	3.4	1,423.9	82.0	20.1	78.4
Iowa					
White	1.5	927.6	62.9	9.8	32.4
Black	13.6	5,296.5	240.3	57.9	221.5
South Carolina					
White	4.0	2,191.2	91.8	26.6	150.7
Black	14.2	4,732.4	127.8	51.6	256.1
	Offender Rates				
	Murder	Assault	Sexual Assault	Other Assaults	Robbery
All ³ (All Races)	4.1	1,426.9	82.1	21.1	79.4
Iowa					
White	1.2	820.1	53.2	9.0	19.2
Black	10.2	8,393.0	395.1	104.0	838.4
South Carolina					
White	4.5	1,921.5	74.1	21.0	52.2
Black	23.7	5,459.0	182.3	81.1	648.8

^{1,2,3}See Notes in Table 1 for all footnotes in table.

CITY RATES

Table 3 highlights a basic limitation of this analysis, which is the absence of Black and White victim and offender rates for all police agencies providing NIBRS counts for 1999. This will be remedied when I use detailed census counts of race to create Black and White population estimates for all cities and towns and counties that submit NIBRS data. This is a sizable project and the information was not available for this analysis. The city level analysis that follows is limited to a selected set of cities -- starting with Des Moines, Iowa, and Columbia, South Carolina. Cities providing NIBRS data were selected if they had populations of at least 50,000 and Black populations of at least 700.

U.S. census counts by race for the year 2000 were used to estimate the 1999 Black and White populations for Des Moines, Iowa, and Columbia, South Carolina. Table 4 presents race-specific victim and offender rates for these two cities. Perhaps the most important aspects of Table 4 are the race-specific murder victim rates. Both the White and Black murder *victim* rates are lower for Columbia than for Des Moines. Even the number of White murder *offenders* per 100,000 persons is higher for Des Moines at 3.2 than it is for Columbia at zero. On the other hand, the number of Black offenders per 100,000 persons is roughly 19 per 100,000 people in Des Moines and 29 per 100,000 people in Columbia. Since the White offender assault rates also are higher in Des Moines than in Columbia, it would appear that if there is a southern culture of violence it has lost ground in Columbia. Another striking aspect of these tables is the size of the Black offender murder rates in both cities.

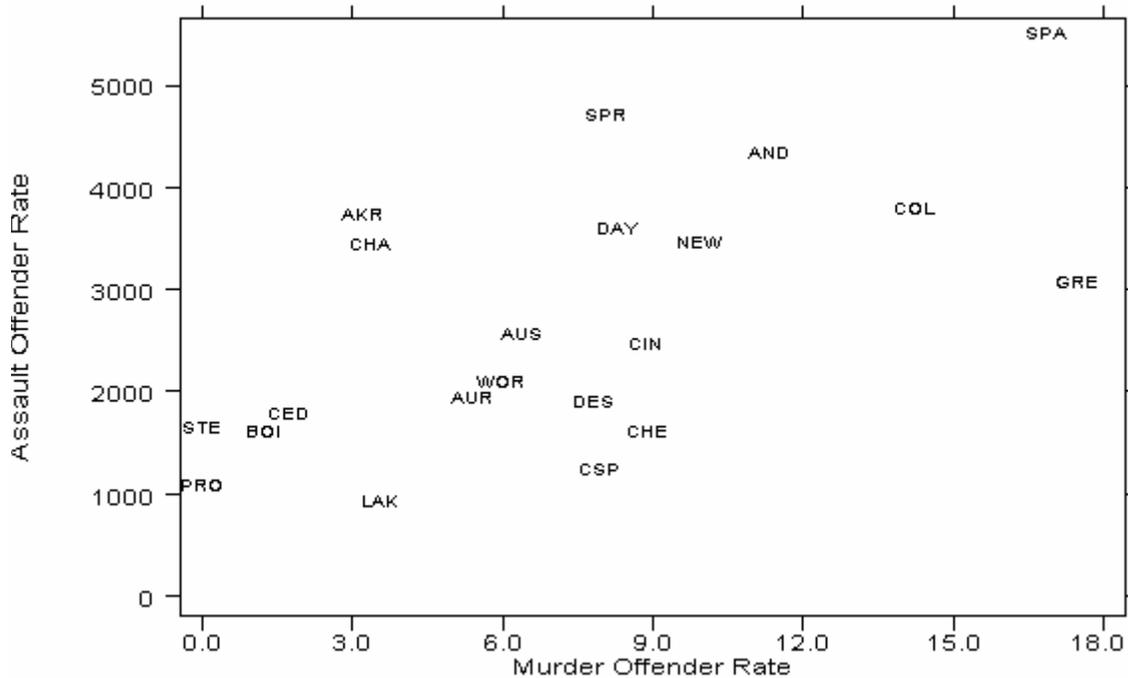
The magnitude of the Black offender murder and assault rates in both Des Moines and Columbia suggests that a Black “code of the street” or some other sub-cultural mechanism may be driving the Black homicide offender rates in both cities. It is possible that such a mechanism or the sheer isolation and exclusion from the main stream of American life of segments of the Black population in Des Moines is driving these rates. To explore the possibility that high murder offender rates are more closely linked to urban segregation and racial inequality than to regional differences, Figure 2 shows the murder and assault rates of a larger set of northern and southern cities.

In Figure 2 we see that southern cities are spread across the murder offender rate spectrum. The highest murder offender rates are for Spartanburg (SPA) and Greenville (GRE), South Carolina. But Newport News (NEW), Virginia, is in the middle. Austin (AUS), Texas, has still lower rates. And Charleston (CHA), South Carolina, is at the lower end of the distribution. On the other hand, four of the five cities with the highest murder rates are in South Carolina. They are Anderson (AND), Columbia (COL), Spartanburg (SPA), and Greenville (GRE). The fifth is Newport News (NEW) in Virginia. Moreover, the lowest murder offender rates are those for northern and western cities. Thus, the murder offender rates for these cities, though showing some variation, still suggest a regional pattern in lethal violence.

TABLE 4. Rates of Violent Crime for Des Moines, Iowa, and Columbia, South Carolina, from the 1999 NIBRS Data.

	Victim Rates (per 100,000)				
	Murder	Assault	Sexual Assault	Other Assaults	Robbery
Des Moines					
All	6.8	1,790.5	140.6	24.6	115.5
White	4.0	1,498.4	123.4	19.8	125.1
Black	32.4	4,561.7	311.0	77.8	272.1
Columbia					
All	12.4	3,530.3	135.1	48.0	582.0
White	1.8	1,476.6	74.0	12.6	418.8
Black	23.1	6,077.8	214.5	88.9	802.0
	Offender Rates (per 100,000)				
	Murder	Assault	Sexual Assault	Other Assaults	Robbery
Des Moines					
All	7.8	1,855.8	147.9	27.7	189.7
White	3.2	1,436.6	126.4	24.1	79.1
Black	19.4	7,412.7	473.0	97.2	1,406.1
Columbia					
All	13.3	3,615.6	146.6	47.1	702.0
White	0	1,086.7	61.4	9.0	99.3
Black	29.0	6,686.5	251.2	92.8	1,426.2

FIGURE 2. Assault & Murder Rates, 21 Cities

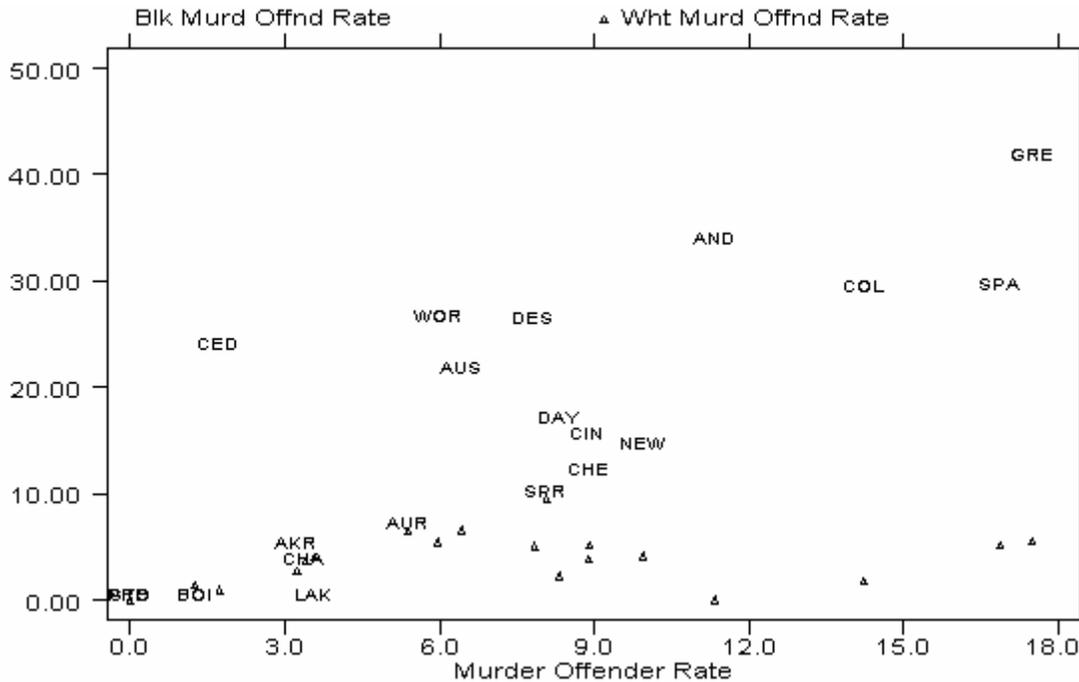


STATE AND CITY DIFFERENCES

In Figure 3, which shows the Black and White murder and assault offender rates of the same set of northern and southern cities used in Figure 2, we see an even less consistent pattern and a more important difference. In this graph, the three-letter city codes show the *Black* murder offender rates and the small triangles spread across the bottom of the graph show the *White* murder offender rates for the same cities. In Greenville (GRE), for example, the Black murder offender rate was over 40 per 100,000 while the White rate was closer to 5.5 per 100,000. Moreover, some of the triangles indicate that the highest Black murder offender rates appear in northern or western cities. The Black murder offender rate for Anderson (AND) is relatively high but its White offender rate is very low. In sharp contrast to Figure 1, this set of city-level offender rates will not support a suggestion that the southern region of the United States has consistently higher homicide offender rates. In general, the Black offender rates are high and the White offender rates are relatively low.

Why do the city level results produce such different outcomes when compared with the state level results? Does some southern code of honor persist only in small towns and rural areas of southern states? Or are the differences shown for Iowa and South Carolina a reflection of the larger Black populations in southern states and the higher assault and murder rates for these populations? In the 2000 census, four of the southern states participating to some degree in NIBRS (South Carolina, Texas, Virginia, and Tennessee) had a combined Black population approaching six million persons. Four of the northern states participating in NIBRS (Iowa, Massachusetts, Michigan, and Ohio) had a combined Black population of just over three million persons.

FIGURE 3. Black & White Murder Rates, 20 Cities



To explore rural-urban differences in homicide rates in South Carolina, the police agencies in the state were divided into four basic categories. Table 5 show the number of murders reported for each group of police agencies. The larger cities (populations over 25,000), with 16% of the state's population, reported one quarter of the murders. This gives these cities the highest overall murder rate of 15.3 per 100,000. Only when we look at the White and Black murder offender counts separately do we see that in the great majority of these murder incidents (79 of 93, or 85%), the offender was reported as Black. This produces a relatively low White murder offender rate for these cities (3.9). In fact, the White murder offender rate for each group of agencies is small when compared to a corresponding Black murder offender rate. The highest White rate is for the county agencies (5.1). Small cities and towns had the lowest rate (2.6). This suggests that it is inaccurate to describe homicide in South Carolina as a reflection of the actions of people in small towns and rural areas. The highest Black rates emerge for the larger cities and the highest White rates are produced in the metropolitan counties surrounding the larger cities. But the great differences in the Black and White rates suggest that there is not a single southern culture of violence in South Carolina or that, if there is, it has far more impact on some Black South Carolinians than it has on White South Carolinians.

To my knowledge, NIBRS data have not yet been used to examine other explanations sometimes suggested for the regional differences in murder rates. One approach focuses on the availability of emergency medical services and the quality of medical care available to different populations. For a recent study of the importance of medical care for homicide rates that does not touch on a southern culture of violence see Harris, Thomas, Fisher, and Hirsch (2002). Others have suggested that differences in the availability of medical care produce the regional differences in murder rates. They suggest that what appear to be regional variations in murder are in fact regional variations in the availability of emergency medical services. By extension,

NIBRS might be used to test this explanation for the regional differences and to examine differences between Black and White homicide victim rates. NIBRS includes a measure of the extent of injury reported in non-lethal assaults. Combined with data about the medical facilities available throughout the state, the NIBRS reports may make a test of this hypothesis possible.

Finally, NIBRS can almost certainly be used to explore the possibility that regional differences in gun and alcohol use contribute to the patterns described above. It should be possible to examine the rate at which weapons were used in offenses reported in NIBRS and to look at this in relation to the murder victimization rates in the same cities and states. In addition, as I extend the analysis, it will be possible to look at the relationship of rates of alcohol and other reported drug use to regional variations the murder and assault rates in these 17 states. At this point, it seems reasonably clear that alcohol use is reported several times as often as other drug use when a murder is reported. The examination of reports of gun and drug use by region and by race is a logical extension of the work reported here.

CONCLUSIONS

There is little indication of remnants of a White southern code of honor in cities with populations of more than 100,000 persons that provide NIBRS data. Some southern cities have lower White offender murder rates than some northern cities. The fact that the southern states I examined have higher overall murder and assault offender rates than the northern states is, to a large extent, a reflection of the large Black populations in southern states and the higher Black assault and murder rates in these states. If this is the case, any suggestion that the higher overall rates of violence for southern states are the result of a White southern culture of violence will be misleading if not inaccurate.

The high Black offender rates of violence in northern, southern, and western states do not clearly support a widespread “code of the street,” but neither do they call it into question. It will take additional qualitative studies in several cities and in the metropolitan counties outside of such cities to determine how plausible this explanation is as a cause of high rates of violent offending. It is possible that the widespread existence of sub-cultural values that are conducive to violent confrontations will explain a large number of murders by Black offenders. It is possible that other cultural, economic, and structural pressures may be involved in the production of the rates presented above. In any case, the continuing high murder, robbery, and assault rates reported for Black offenders in urban areas North and South call for explanation. While Anderson’s and Butterfield’s focus on the role of respect and revenge remains a plausible explanation for part of the violence, I remain convinced that it is the isolation and exclusion of large segments of the Black population from full participation in the social, political, and economic life of the country that produces both the sub-cultural values and the high levels of lethal and non-lethal violence in some areas of American cities.

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HOMICIDE IN THE COURSE OF OTHER CRIME IN AUSTRALIA

Jenny Mouzos

National Homicide Monitoring Program, Australian Institute of Criminology
GPO Box 2944, Canberra ACT 2601, AUSTRALIA

ABSTRACT

Much research in Australia and elsewhere has shown that homicide is not one type of crime, and that if policy makers are to make any impact in terms of prevention they need to better understand the various facets of homicide. This report adds to our understanding by exploring those homicide incidents that originate in another crime, such as a robbery or sexual assault. In Australia, an average of 13% of homicide incidents (n = 42) occur each year in the course of another crime. These incidents were found to differ significantly from non-crime homicide incidents in that they were least likely to be solved, involve a male offender, and involve a victim and offender who were not known to each other. An additional analysis comparing robbery and robbery-homicides in Australia also noted that the two types of crimes differed, with robbery-homicides more likely to occur in a residential location, involve victims aged 45 years and older, and a higher use of firearms. The report also discusses the policy implications of these findings.

INTRODUCTION

Homicide is arguably the most serious offence that could be committed against a person. However, on some occasions, the act of homicide is often a “side effect” or unplanned consequence of another criminal act (Maxfield, 1989). Such homicides usually involve what Polk (1994) refers to as “double victims,” that is, the victim in the initial crime of robbery or sexual assault becomes the victim in the homicide as well.

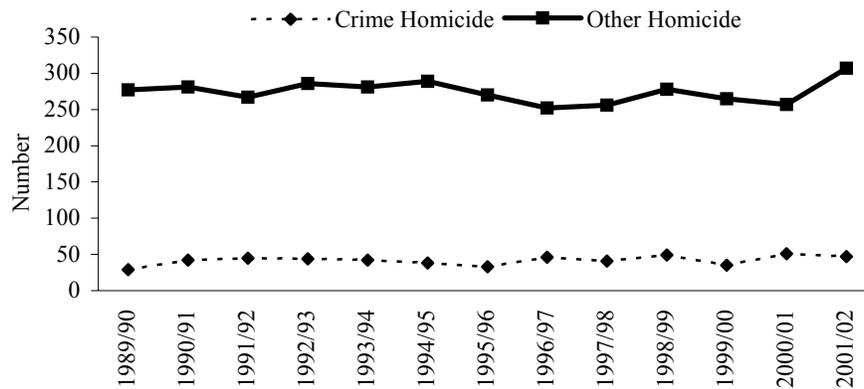
Homicides that occur during the course of another crime are commonly classified as “instrumental homicides” because the death of the victim is subsidiary to the primary goal -- money, property, power, and control (Miethe & Drass, 1999). Interviews conducted with convicted robbers indicate that a majority of these offenders are motivated by instrumental reasons such as getting money or merchandise, or for purchasing drugs (Feeney, 1986; Gabor et al., 1987). Most robbers’ and sex offenders’ initial aim is therefore not to kill their victims, instead it is to steal or commit sexual assault. Murder becomes incidental in the sense that it accidentally occurs through the use of excess force, an “eggshell” situation where the victim is susceptible to injury, or where the victim resists forcing the offender to over react.

Based on offence report information collected as part of the National Homicide Monitoring Program (NHMP), an average of 13% of homicide incidents occurring in Australia each year take place during the commission of another crime (42 out of an average of 316 incidents per year) (Mouzos, 2003). This compares to 17% in the United States in 2001 (Federal

Bureau of Investigation, 2002), 12% in England and Wales in 2000/2001 (Home Office, 2002), and 23% in Canada¹ in 2001 (Dauvergne, 2002).

Despite yearly fluctuations, the number of homicides occurring during the course of another crime in Australia has remained relatively stable between 1 July 1989 and 30 June 2002 (see Figure 1). Over half of the homicides that occurred during the course of another crime, referred to hereafter as “crime homicides,” occurred during the course of a robbery (56%). A further 23% of crime homicides occurred during the course of a sexual assault. Eight percent occurred during a break and enter, and less than 5% of crime homicides took place following a kidnapping/abduction (4%).

FIGURE 1. Crime Homicide and Other Homicide Incidents in Australia



SOURCE: Australian Institute of Criminology, National Homicide Monitoring Program (NHMP) 1989 – 2002 [computer file]

It is acknowledged that these figures may under-represent the true incidence of crime homicides in Australia. This is particularly relevant to sexual homicide. Burgess, Harman, Ressler, Douglas, and McCormack (1986, p. 252) believe the reason for this under-representation is that the victim is officially reported as a homicide statistic and not as a rape assault; thus, the underlying sexual dynamics in a seemingly “ordinary” murder may not be apparent until the investigation has been completed, and conventional evidence of a crime’s sexual nature may be absent.

While there seems to be minimal variation in the trend of crime homicides in Australia, little is actually understood about the nature of crime homicides and how they differ from other homicides. In recent years there has been a dramatic increase in the rate of robbery in Australia² (Mouzos & Carcach, 2001). In contrast, the rate of robbery-homicide has remained relatively stable over the same period (see Mouzos 2000, p. 74), suggesting that the robbery-homicide trend does not follow the robbery trend in Australia. While there appear to be differences in the incidence rates of the two types of crime, few studies in Australia or elsewhere have examined the proposition that robbery homicide is a by-product of robbery, and that the only difference

¹Excludes homicides that originated during an assault.

²In 2001, the robbery rate was 137 per 100,000 persons, compared to a rate of 72 in 1993.

between the two is that robbery-homicide results in the death of the victim whereas robbery does not.

One of the few studies that has addressed this question found that robbery-homicides are more similar to other robberies than to other homicides, offering support to the contention that robbery-murder is an intrinsic by-product of robbery rather than a different offence altogether (Cook, 1987). This dearth of research leaves many questions unanswered. For example, are the offences of robbery and robbery-homicide essentially similar behaviours that differ principally in outcome rather than in process? Is the typical robbery-homicide most appropriately considered a fatal robbery, or are lethal robberies quantitatively different from non-lethal robberies?

The aims of the present research are thus twofold:

1. To undertake a comparative analysis of the circumstances and characteristics of crime homicides and other homicides in Australia; and
2. To determine whether robbery homicide is a by-product of robbery, or whether there is some qualitative difference in the two types of crime.

METHODOLOGY

The comparative analysis proceeds in two parts. Part I compares the characteristics of crime homicides and other homicides in Australia using NHMP data. Part II compares the characteristics of robbery and robbery-homicide in Australia based on the limited variables that were available. This analysis is extended to include comparisons of the gender and age of offenders of armed robbery and armed robbery-homicide. In addition, comparisons of robbery and robbery-homicide were also undertaken between Australia and the United States (and Chicago).

Definitions

Robbery is defined as “the unlawful taking of property, with intent to permanently deprive the owner of the property, from the immediate possession of a person, or an organisation, or control, custody or care of a person accompanied by the use, and/or threatened use of immediate force or violence” (Australian Bureau of Statistics [hereafter, ABS], 2002, p. 36). Where a weapon was used in the committal of the offence, robbery is classified as armed, otherwise it is classified as unarmed (ABS, 2002, p. 37). The use of personal force (i.e., hands and/or feet) is considered as unarmed robbery.

Data Sources

There were three main data sources utilised for the comparative analyses. These were:

1. National Homicide Monitoring Program (NHMP) -- The NHMP was established in 1990, and annually collects information on 77 variables for all homicides coming to the attention of police services throughout Australia. Data are available between 1 July 1989 and 30 June 2002.

2. National Armed Robbery Monitoring Program (NARMP) -- Additional offender data on armed robbery was used from data collected as part of the NARMP. This data source has been derived from police records, but is limited to the offence of armed robbery (see Mouzou & Carcach, 2001). Data are available between 1996 and 1999.
3. Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS), Recorded Crime Australia -- The ABS collects limited statistics on robbery. These variables include robbery by type of location, gender of victims, age group of victims, type of weapon used, and clearance status. These data were available in aggregate format only, and collection periods also varied for each variable (see notes on Table 2).

It is important to note that there were a number of limitations associated with the availability and breadth of data on robbery and armed robbery. Official statistics only collect a standard set of (limited) variables, and the collection of these variables differs on a year-to-year basis. For example, data relating to the gender of victims of robbery and armed robbery were only available from 1995 onwards, and data on age of victims were available from 1996 onwards (see notes at the bottom of Table 2). Given these limitations, the type of analysis was restricted to descriptive statistics, and the chi square test of association was only conducted for the crime and other homicides comparisons.

PART I FINDINGS: COMPARISON BETWEEN CRIME-RELATED HOMICIDES AND OTHER HOMICIDES

The comparative analysis of crime homicides and other homicides in Australia reveals a number of noteworthy differences. Compared to other homicides, Table 1 indicates that crime homicides were significantly more likely to:

- occur in a location other than a residential premise (street/open area, recreational venue, etc);
- be unsolved at the time of data collection;
- when offender data were available, involve a victim who was older than the offender (the mean age of victims was 41 years and offenders was 29 years for crime homicides, compared to a mean age of 36 years for victims and 34 years for offenders of other homicides);
- involve a victim and offender who were non-Indigenous;
- involve either an unemployed victim, an unemployed offender, or both unemployed;
- be as a result of a motive that was not known or, where it was known, the motive was related to drugs and/or money or sexual gratification;
- involve a weapon other than a knife or some other sharp instrument (firearm, assaultive force [hands and/or feet], blunt instrument);
- involve a male offender;
- involve a victim and offender who had not been drinking prior to the incident; and
- involve a victim and offender who were not known to each other.

TABLE 1. Comparison between Crime Homicides and Other Homicides in Australia

Circumstances and Characteristics	Crime Homicides (N = 542)		Other Homicides (N = 3566)	
	No.	%	No.	%
<i>Day of the Week</i>				
Weekends	200	36.9	1145	32.1
Weekdays*	342	63.1	2421	67.9
<i>Location of Incident:</i>				
Residential Premise	264	48.7	2175	61.0
Other Location***	278	51.3	1391	39.0
<i>Status of Investigation</i>				
Solved	424	78.2	3185	89.3
Unsolved***	118	21.8	381	10.7
<i>Gender of Victim</i>				
Male Victim	326	60.2	2295	64.4
Female Victim	216	39.9	1265	34.5
<i>Gender of Offender^(a)</i>				
Male Offender	399	93.2	2756	86.3
Female Offender***	24	5.6	412	12.9
<i>Age of Victim and Offender</i>				
Victim Younger than Offender	142	26.2	1529	42.9
Victim Same Age as Offender	18	3.3	185	5.2
Victim Older than Offender***	381	70.3	1847	51.8
<i>Racial Appearance of Victim and Offender</i>				
Both Victim and Offender Indigenous	17	3.1	466	13.1
Indigenous Offender and Non-Indigenous Victim	39	7.2	95	2.7
Non-Indigenous Offender and Indigenous Victim	4	0.7	68	1.9
Both Victim and Offender Non-Indigenous***	482	88.9	2937	82.4
<i>Marital Status of Victim and Offender</i>				
Both Victim and Offender Never Married	129	23.8	838	23.5
Victim Never Married and Offender Ever Married	95	17.6	484	13.6
Victim Ever Married and Offender Never Married	155	28.7	567	15.9
Both Victim and Offender Ever Married	162	29.9	1672	47.0
<i>Employment Status of Victim and Offender</i>				
Both Victim and Offender Working	31	5.7	354	9.9
Either Victim/Offender or Neither Working ***	511	94.3	3212	90.1
<i>Alleged Motive</i>				
Drug or Money Related Motive	125	23.1	262	7.4
Sexual Gratification	30	5.5	8	0.2
Other Motive***	46	8.5	2414	67.7
No Apparent Motive/Not Stated/Unknown	341	62.9	881	24.7
<i>Weapon</i>				
Knife & Other Sharp Instrument	138	25.5	1225	34.4
Other Weapon***	404	74.5	2341	65.7
<i>Alcohol Consumption</i>				
Both Victim and Offender Drinking	67	12.4	1016	28.5
Victim Drinking But Not Offender	39	7.2	231	6.5
Offender Drinking But Not Victim	62	11.4	285	8.0
Neither Victim Nor Offender Drinking***	374	69.0	2034	57.0
<i>Relationship Between Victim and Offender</i>				
Victim Known to Offender	183	33.8	2768	77.6
Victim not Known to Offender***	359	66.2	798	22.4

(a) where an offender had been identified

Chi-square test of significance: ***p < .001 **p < .01 ***p < .05

SOURCE: Australian Institute of Criminology, National Homicide Monitoring Program (NHMP) 1989–2002 [computer file]

There were no differences found between crime homicides and other homicides in terms of the gender of the victims -- males were more likely than females to be victimised in both cases -- and the marital status of the victim and offender -- both victim and offender were most likely to have been married at some time for both crime types. In sum, these findings suggest that there are certain incident, victim, and offender characteristics that are more common to crime homicides than other homicides. The implication of these findings in terms of prevention will be discussed later on.

PART II FINDINGS: ROBBERY AND ROBBERY-HOMICIDE IN AUSTRALIA

As demonstrated in Table 2, the contrast between robbery and robbery-homicide in Australia is quite striking. In Australia, robberies were more likely to be committed in a community (52%) or retail setting (30%), whereas robbery-homicides were more likely to be committed in a residential location (55%). A further examination of robbery-homicides that occur in a residential location in Australia indicates that where the motive was known, it was usually related to the acquisition of money (61%) or drugs (16%), and committed by either strangers (54%) or friends and/or acquaintances (32%). This suggests there are possibly two types of robbery-homicides that occur in residential premises: (a) those that are stranger invasion type offences where the homicide is the unintentional side effect of the housebreaking, and (b) robbery-homicides where the victims and offenders are known and the homicide results from a possible “drug-rip off” or some other confrontation in relation to money.

Table 2 also indicates that a disproportionate number of robbery-homicide victims when compared to robbery victims were aged 45 years or older (48% versus 21%) and were male (74% versus 65%). Cook (1987) noted similar differences in his analysis of robbery-murder and robbery in the United States. He found that the age of robbery murder victims was considerably older than that of either robbery or non-felony (non-crime) homicide victims, and that the percentage of robbery murder victims who were male was higher than the corresponding percentage of either robbery or non-felony homicides (see Table 3).

The current study also reveals a number of other important differences between the two types of crime. The majority of robberies in Australia were unarmed (59%), while only a quarter of robbery-homicides were committed by an unarmed offender. Firearms were used in a higher proportion of robbery-homicides (23%) than in robberies (10%). The comparative analysis also revealed differences in clearance rates for robbery and robbery-homicide in Australia, with robberies having a lower clearance rate (21%) than robbery-homicides (76%).

The present research replicates the results of Zimring and Zuehl (1986) who examined victim injury and death in urban robbery in Chicago, and found that a higher proportion of robbery-homicides occurred in a residential location, involved the use of a firearm, and were solved (see Table 3).

Following the examination of robbery and robbery-homicide in Australia, the additional offender variables derived from the NARMP, such as gender and age, were used to compare armed robbery and armed robbery-homicide. The results indicate that, again, males dominate both non-lethal and lethal robbery offences (Table 2). There were, however, differences based on

TABLE 2. Comparison Between Robbery and Robbery-Homicide in Australia

Circumstances & Characteristics	Robbery		Robbery-Homicide	
	No.	%	No.	%
Location: ^(c)	(N = 177979)		(N = 340)	
Residential	13255	7.5	188	55.3
Community	92309	51.9	96	28.2
Retail	53910	30.3	39	11.5
Other and Unspecified	18505	10.4	17	5.0
Gender of Victims: ^(a)	(N = 145331)		(N = 340)	
Males	75774	65.1	250	73.5
Females	40655	34.9	90	26.5
Organisations	30988	NA	NA	NA
Not Stated	2903	NA	NA	NA
Age of Victims: ^(b)	(N = 102473)		(N = 336)	
0-14	6221	6.2	2	0.9
15-19	22703	22.6	20	5.9
20-24	16379	16.3	25	7.4
25-34	19894	19.8	61	17.9
35-44	13938	13.9	65	19.1
45+	21325	21.2	163	47.9
Weapon Involvement: ^(c)	(N = 177091)		(N = 331)	
Unarmed	104043	58.8	82	24.8
Armed – Firearm	15959	9.0	76	23.0
Armed – Other Weapon	50530	28.5	161	48.6
Weapon Not Further Defined	6561	3.7	12	3.6
Clearance Status: ^(d)	(N = 117509)		(N = 340)	
Cleared	24011	20.4	258	75.9
Not Cleared	93463	79.5	82	24.1
	Armed Robbery		Armed Robbery-Homicide ^(e)	
	No.	%	No.	%
Gender of Offenders:	(N = 753)		(N = 198)	
Males	643	85.4	185	93.4
Females	110	14.6	13	6.6
Age of Offenders:	(N = 753)		(N = 193)	
0-14	42	5.6	10	5.2
15-19	253	33.6	44	22.8
20-24	202	26.8	46	23.8
25-34	203	27.0	53	27.5
35-44	45	6.0	31	16.1
45+	8	1.1	9	4.7

(a) Data available from 1995 – 2001

(b) Data available from 1996 – 2001

(c) Data available from 1993 – 2001

(d) Data available from 1997 – 2001

(e) Excludes homicides committed with physical force (hands and/or feet).

SOURCE: Robbery: Australian Institute of Criminology, Adapted from Australian Bureau of Statistics, Recorded Crime Australia (several years). Armed Robbery: Australian Institute of Criminology, National Armed Robbery Monitoring Program 1996-1999 [computer file]; Homicide: Australian Institute of Criminology, National Homicide Monitoring Program 1989-2001 [computer file].

TABLE 3. Percent Distribution of Robbery and Robbery-Homicide in Australia, the United States, and Chicago

Characteristic	Robbery in the United States	Robbery-Homicide in the United States
Gender of Victims		(N = 2086)
Males	63	85
Females	37	15
Age of Victims		
Less than 20	27	6
20-34	40	34
35 and over	33	60
Weapon Type		
Firearm	17	65
Other Weapon	28	25
Personal / Unknown	56	11
	Robbery in Chicago	Robbery-Homicide in the Chicago
Location	(N = 360)	(N = 94)
Retail	10	16
Residential	8	36
Other Location	81	48
Clearance Status		
Cleared	13	57
Not Cleared	87	43

SOURCE: *United States*: Robbery and Robbery-Homicide 1981: Cook (1987); *Chicago*: Robbery and Robbery-Homicide 1982-1983: Zimring and Zuehl (1986).

the age of the offenders. While the majority of offenders of armed robbery -- lethal and non-lethal -- were aged between 15 and 34 years, the highest proportion of armed robbery offenders (non-lethal) were aged between 15 and 19 years (34%). However, the highest proportion of armed robbery-homicide offenders were aged 25 to 34 years (28%), suggesting that offenders of armed robberies that result in the death of a victim tended to be older than those offenders in cases where the victim was not killed.

The findings from the comparative analyses suggest that (a) crime homicides are different from non-crime or other homicides; (b) robbery and robbery-homicides are different and, while they can be seen as “endpoints in a continuum representing severity of injury” (Felson & Messner, 1996, p. 536), other factors were found to differentiate between them; and (c) the differential patterns observed between robbery and robbery-homicide in Australia are consistent with previous research undertaken in the United States and Chicago.

There are a number of competing factors that could account for the differences observed between robbery-homicide and robbery. The fact that robbery-homicides were more likely to involve victims aged 45 years or older (of which 44% were victims aged 65 years or older), in line with research on the victimisation of older persons, suggest that they may be targeted because they would offer little resistance to offenders. Due to their increased vulnerability as a function of age -- a decline in physical strength and agility, prospect for post-injury recovery and

chances of survival after an attack -- elderly persons may be viewed as “soft targets” or “easy marks”. As a result, the elderly would be far more likely to be fatally wounded when robbed (Fox & Levin, 1991; Maxfield, 1989).

While firearms were the type of weapon least used in both robbery and robbery-homicide, the higher use of firearms in robbery-homicide may also play a role. Zimring (1991) refers to this as the “instrumentality effect.” According to this explanation, the likelihood of serious injury or death increases with the lethality of the weapon. Hence, when weapons such as firearms are used, there is a greater likelihood that the victim will be killed than when other weapons or physical force are used (see also Allen, 1986; Cook, 1980, 1985, 1987, 1990; Felson & Messner, 1996; Skogan, 1978). This would explain why the use of firearms in a robbery contributes to a higher proportion of deaths than a robbery offence.

Differences in clearance status could also be explained in terms of the priority of the police investigation and the seriousness of the offence. The investigation of a robbery-homicide by police will be accorded much higher priority than the investigation of a robbery, mainly because of the nature and seriousness of the crime, i.e., the homicide component. In terms of severity of response, the criminal justice system may also respond to the robbery-homicide on the same level as other homicides (being the most serious offence), and non-fatal robberies on a less serious level.

Another factor that cannot be discounted is that the death of the victim during a robbery or some other crime may result from differential motivational patterns of the offender. Cook (1987) views the death in these cases as a by-product of the robbery. Some robbery-homicides may be an “accident” that occurred because the victim offered resistance to the offender and the offender impulsively reacted with deadly force. Other robbery-homicides result from the offenders’ deliberate plan to rob and kill the victims (involving the acquisition of an appropriate weapon), while for some other robbery-homicides the robbery occurs after the victim is killed. The offender’s motivation is paramount to understanding and responding to this type of violence.

CONCLUDING REFLECTIONS

It is firstly important to highlight and alleviate public concern about the level of risk of robbery-homicide. The overall risk of death due to robbery in Australia is quite low. In 2001, the risk of death was calculated at 0.98 per 1,000 robberies (see Maltz, 1976, for a discussion of the statistical formula employed). In other words, for every 1,000 robberies there will be about one death. The risk will be even lower for sexual homicide.

While the risk of robbery homicide is quite low, these findings suggest a number of avenues for policy formulation and crime prevention. From a crime deterrence perspective, the threat of legal sanction has been proposed as an effective response to instrumental crimes. Recently, the judicial system has also imposed higher penalties for armed robberies committed with certain weapons. For example, the Court of Criminal Appeal in Western Australia recognised that “the use of . . . a syringe in the course of an armed robbery should, normally attract a sentence of at least one year’s imprisonment above that which would otherwise have

been imposed for the robbery in question” (White, J., in *Miles v The Queen* [1997] 17 WAR 578 at 523–524).³

Measures aimed at improving a person’s life skills (such as job training, family counselling, and educational enhancement) have been advocated as preventative actions to abate the conditions that motivate instrumental crimes. Prevention also needs to focus on the underlying factors that motivate the offender to commit the crime. The factors that motivate a robbery offender (to acquire money and/or to purchase drugs) will differ from those that motivate a sexual offender (power, control, degradation, etc).

To summarise, this research has found that homicides that occur in furtherance of other criminal activity are quantitatively different from non-crime homicides. In addition, the results also suggest that robbery-homicides are different from robberies that do not result in the death of the victim. A number of factors associated with the vulnerability of the victims targeted, weapon instrumentality, and the priority of the investigative process and seriousness of the offence may account for these differences. These findings further confirm the notion that there is not one type of homicide in Australia, and that the prevention of homicide must therefore be multi-faceted and far-reaching.

As promising as these findings may seem, there is still a requirement for further research in this area, especially multivariate analyses examining the factors that increase the probability that a robbery will result in death. Such analysis should include additional variables, such as the involvement of alcohol and/or illicit drugs, and the employment status of both victims and offenders. This could also be extended to include an analysis comparing robbery, robbery with injury, robbery with serious injury, and robbery-homicide to further explore the proposition that robbery-homicide is a by-product of robbery. Qualitative analysis of the cases of robbery-homicide would also assist in gaining a greater understanding of what was the actual “trigger” that escalated the robbery to a homicide.

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³See also *Pratt v The Queen* (2000) WASCA 110 (5 May 2000) and *R v Roy* (2001) VSCA 61 (2 May 2001).

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DISCUSSION

Terry Miethe: Roland, most tests of the subculture of violence are based on aggregate level data. So isn't there a need for disaggregation of data? Are aggregate-level comparisons defensible? We need to disaggregate into male, urban, etc.

Roland Chilton: We need field studies and we need to talk to people in the streets, geo-code data. At the city level more than the state level; at the block level more than the city level. Yes, we do need to disaggregate, but you have to go with what you have even if it is crude (aggregate).

Dick Block: NIBRS doesn't code crimes according to a hierarchy. So what do you count if the same incident has more than one victim and one dies and one does not? Do you code each?

Roland Chilton: Each incident is coded for all crimes. You don't lose any detail. If you have both a rape and a robbery, both are counted.

John Jarvis: If you have an aggravated assault and the victim then dies, you count a murder, not an aggravated assault; but if you have an aggravated assault and a robbery, you count both.

Tom Petee: What about rural versus urban comparisons?

Roland Chilton: If the incident is rural, it is coded as such, so you get both rural and urban counts.

Jay Corzine: However, you can't make meaningful rural and urban comparisons of race in the North and South. For example, there are more Blacks in South Carolina than in Iowa. In Iowa, Blacks are just in the cities, while in South Carolina they are in both rural and urban areas. Also, race could be confused with family disorganization. Also, there are more White Hispanics in South Carolina than in Iowa and this confounds things also.

Roland Chilton: You can look at rural and urban communities in NIBRS on many empirical issues.

Vance McLaughlin: In Savannah, 1988-1993, there was a decrease in White homicide rates. How can you explain this decrease in the "southern culture of violence"? Also, Charleston, South Carolina, is very similar to Savannah, yet Charleston has a low homicide rate and Savannah has a high rate. How do you explain this?

Roland Chilton: Too bad that Georgia is not a NIBRS state.

Al Blumstein: Table 3 indicates that Whites should be the carriers of southern culture and therefore the findings are opposite the predicted direction.

Roland Chilton: Maybe the subculture of violence is just in the rural areas. Then the findings would hold up.

James Noonan: Did you do trend analysis on the NIBRS data to see if Black males are driving the trends?

Roland Chilton: I haven't done it yet, but I have 1995-1998 data so I *can* look at trends.

Al Blumstein: Tom, one interpretation of the low odds ratios is that the incidents had to be reported to police. Many assaults are not reported unless they are serious. Therefore, assaults between people who know each other may not be reported, leading to the low ratio.

Becky Block: How can you explain the negative effects of all locations (lots, home, street)?

Tom Petee: There were 29 total locations, but just 4-5 were significant.

Mike Maltz: With a sample size of 115,000, you can get significance of variables just by chance. Therefore, this would be expected. An 11.9 felony odds ratio is also more likely to be a weapon incident and an intentional targeted assault. Therefore, the ratio is expected.

Eric Lacourse: Is there a univariate positive correlation between offender and lethality? There could be a suppression effect; for example, if Blacks use more guns, it could be "gun use" that is correlated. Therefore, there is a need to decompose the model, starting with the more distal and then adding the more proximal.

Tom Petee: I also want to put the "urban/non-urban" variable in to see if that makes a difference.

Jay Corzine: Three things are related to lethality -- distance to a trauma center, guns in rural areas (for example, long guns are more lethal than urban handguns), and men and women raised in rural areas (with a hunting subculture) being better shots than city people. Therefore, there could be an urban/rural bias because NIBRS is mainly rural.

Chris Dunn: I am concerned that we are missing a set of comparison cases. We have good aggravated assault and homicide comparisons, but we should include robbery as a comparison also. It could have important findings.

Tom Petee: Robbery will be included.

Thomas Holt: Using "bars" and "fights" as context makes sense. But I don't understand why there is a high (1.4) odds ratio in "home" (domestic) incidents. There are many more non-lethal incidents in the home. Therefore, these are strange findings.

Jay Corzine: These non-lethal incidents are probably not reported to police since they are minor incidents in the home and are (seen as) private matters.

Chris Rasche: The negative score for Black offenders is strange, especially given Roland Chilton's results. It flies in the face of the other data.

Jay Corzine: This surprised me also. It could indirectly reflect the urban/rural problem. Nationwide, most Blacks live in urban areas. Therefore, maybe the “rural context” bias could explain the lower ratio for Black rural offenders. It could be a suppression effect.

James Noonan: You could combine “street” and “parking lot” since they are very similar as locations.

Jay Corzine: There is also the problem that an incident could start in a bar and then move outside to the sidewalk, etc. Maybe there should be a combined “public setting.”

Mike Maltz: Jenny, the Blocks have written about homicide syndromes. Can this be applied to robbery as well? For example, bank robbery requires a gun, not strangulation.

Jenny Mouzos: Aggregate level data don’t allow for such syndrome analyses. However, I will look at some jurisdictions in more depth in another study.

Marc Riedel: Why do you use percents rather than rates?

Jenny Mouzos: Because the Ns are too low.

Becky Block: How do you account for the increased risk of death for older people? Does this relate to gender? Situation?

Jenny Mouzos: The elderly are more likely to be at risk from someone they know. If a stranger is involved, it is felony-related. Vulnerability is also involved since “younger offender” and “no weapon” numbers are higher.

Vance McLaughlin: Armed robberies in Savannah can occur in series (multiple). Therefore, this could lead to an increased probability of a lethal outcome. Maybe this is just heading toward increased violence.

Jenny Mouzos: There have been increases in robbery in Australia, but a decrease in gun use. This could be a factor.

Margaret Zahn: Older offenders are more involved with older victims. Are guns more prevalent also?

Jenny Mouzos: Seventeen percent are gun incidents. And this is a decrease, fewer than knives.

Margaret Zahn: Were some of the elderly victims victimized by people working in their homes?

Jenny Mouzos: I looked at victim/offender relationship, and 50% were strangers, so the other 50% are known to the victim -- and some of these could be people working in their homes.

Derral Cheatwood: It is curious that there was an increase in robbery homicide with a decrease

in gun use. If you hold gun homicides constant, robbery homicides also remain the same. That is, it is the gun homicides that are driving the lethality.

Rick Rosenfeld: Did the use of firearms decrease at the same time there were increases in legislative restrictions?

Jenny Mouzos: The decline began *before* the 1990s firearms controls were enacted.

Becky Block: Did you compare “mystery homicides” (unknown circumstance) with “robbery homicides”?

Jenny Mouzos: There were only 34 robbery homicides per year. I will compare robbery homicides with other types to see what variables are significant in discriminating among types.

CHAPTER SEVEN
GROUPS, NETWORKS, ORGANIZATIONS, AND VIOLENCE

**DEVELOPMENTAL TRAJECTORIES OF BOYS' DELINQUENT
GROUP MEMBERSHIP AND FACILITATION OF
VIOLENT BEHAVIORS DURING ADOLESCENCE**

Eric Lacourse
GRIP, University of Montreal
3050 Edouard-Montpetit, Montreal, H3T 1J7, CANADA

Daniel S. Nagin
Heinz School of Public Policy and Management, Carnegie Mellon University
Pittsburgh, PA 15213

Richard E. Tremblay
Frank Vitaro
Michel Claes
[Editors' Note: No addresses provided]

Being part of a delinquent group has been shown to facilitate the expression of an individual's own delinquent propensities. However, this facilitation effect has not been investigated from a developmental perspective within a population heterogeneity model. Using a semi-parametric mixture model with data from the Montreal Longitudinal Experimental Study, we explore how the rate of violent behaviors follows delinquent peer group trajectories and investigate a differential facilitation effect of delinquent peers on violence across multiple developmental pathways. Results suggest that 25% of males followed a childhood or an adolescence delinquent group affiliation trajectory. These two groups account for most of the violent acts assessed during adolescence. We also found that being involved in a delinquent group at any specific time during adolescence is associated with an increased rate of violent behaviors, and that leaving these groups results in a decrease in violent behaviors. This facilitation effect appears homogeneous over time and across developmental trajectories.

SOCIAL NETWORKS IN LETHAL AND NON-LETHAL VIOLENCE

Norman White, Richard Rosenfeld, Carolyn Phillips, Pernel Witherspoon, and Thomas Holt
Department of Criminology and Criminal Justice, University of Missouri-St. Louis
8001 Natural Bridge Road, St. Louis, MO 63121

Using crime incident and criminal history information from St. Louis police records, we apply formal network models to the direct and indirect relationships among male and female participants in lethal and non-lethal violence. Our primary concern in the present paper is to compare the size, density, cohesion, and other characteristics of the networks centered on crime events involving female participants with those involving males. We address two basic research questions: (a) Are the higher offending and victimization rates observed for males a function of greater exposure through their more extensive involvement in violent networks? (b) Are the networks that center on incidents involving females more likely than those centered on incidents involving males to consist of family and intimate associations?

WORKPLACE VIOLENCE IN THE UNITED STATES: FROM RESEARCH TO PREVENTION

E. Lynn Jenkins

National Institute for Occupational Safety and Health
1095 Willowdale Road, Mailstop 1811, Morgantown, WV 26505

PROBLEM UNDER STUDY

Violence committed against workers while performing job-related tasks is an issue of paramount importance. In the United States, national data exist on both fatal and nonfatal workplace violence incidents and a number of state and industry-specific studies have been conducted to characterize specific risk factors and potential prevention strategies. This paper will synthesize data from a number of sources in order to provide a more comprehensive understanding of the range of important issues with regard to the incidence of workplace violence as well as the risk factors and prevention strategies.

OBJECTIVES

The objectives of this paper are to (a) provide an understanding of the nature and magnitude of workplace violence in the U.S., (b) describe the risk factors for workplace assault and homicide, (c) discuss the various prevention strategies for reducing violence in high-risk work settings, and (d) provide a framework for thinking about workplace violence research and how it can be used to guide and enhance prevention efforts.

METHOD

Data from a number of national and other sources will be compiled to provide a comprehensive assessment of the nature and magnitude of workplace violence, including data from the Census of Fatal Occupational Injuries (COI) and the National Crime Victimization Survey (NCVS). The current literature on workplace violence will also be summarized with regard to risk factors, prevention strategies, and future research needs.

RESULTS

During the 5-year period from 1995 through 1999, there were an average of 838 workplace homicides annually in the U.S. In 2000, there were 677 workplace homicides; 46% of these occurred in the retail trades. With regard to nonfatal workplace violence, data from the National Crime Victimization Survey for the years 1992 to 1996 indicate that an average 2 million workers were victims of violent incidents while working or on duty each year. The most common type of workplace victimization was simple assault with an estimated 1.5 million occurring each year. Approximately 12% of the nonfatal violent workplace crimes resulted in an injury to the victim, and of those injured, about half received medical care. The occupational groups with the highest rates of victimization per 1,000 workers were law enforcement officers, taxicab drivers, workers in bars and gas stations, and mental health professionals. A number of

strategies have been suggested to reduce workplace violence ranging from changes to the physical design of workplaces to administrative policies and procedures as well as various behavioral or training approaches.

CONCLUSION

Workplace violence is a substantial contributor to death and injury on the job in the United States. While a number of strategies have been suggested and tried for reducing the incidence of workplace violence, there is little empirical evidence regarding the effectiveness of the various strategies, even in high-risk settings. Future research should focus on elucidating specific workplace and work task information to better understand risk factors for workplace violence and on evaluating the efficacy of various environmental, administrative, and behavioral strategies in reducing the incidence and severity of workplace violence incidents.

CHAPTER EIGHT
CROSS-NATIONAL PROFILES IN HOMICIDE

**HOMICIDE IN THE NETHERLANDS:
A SUMMARY OF ALL CASES IN THE PERIOD 1992-2001**

Paul Nieuwbeerta
Nederlands Institute for the Study of Crime and Law Enforcement (NSCR)
P.O. Box 792, 2300 AT Leiden, THE NETHERLANDS

Gerlof Leistra
Elsevier
Vd Sande Bakhuijzenstraat 4, 1061AG Amsterdam, THE NETHERLANDS

ABSTRACT

In several Western industrial nations -- e.g., Australia, Britain, Germany, United States -- longstanding national homicide monitoring programs exist. Up to recently no such program existed in the Netherlands. Consequently, research on homicide was rare, and, if done, based on small samples. For this article, data were collected on every homicide in the Netherlands in the period 1992-2001. This unique dataset makes it possible to conduct in-depth analyses of various aspects of homicide. This article is the first report of an extensive examination of the last decade of homicide in the Netherlands. It provides a statistical overview of the four essential components of homicide: incident, victim, offender, and victim-offender relationships. It also studies the occurrences of homicide over time, and in the course of other crime. The report then examines the occurrence and characteristics of various types of homicidal encounters including lethal violence involving intimate partners, women and children who kill, and children and the elderly as victims of homicide.

INTRODUCTION

Annually in the Netherlands about 250 people are the victims of murder or manslaughter. It is surprising that so little is known about this type of crime. Systematic surveys of murder and manslaughter in which a distinction is made according to type of murder have almost never been performed in the Netherlands. In contrast to countries such as Australia, Great Britain, and the United States, the Netherlands has no tradition of authoritative and long-term Murder and Manslaughter Monitors in which data are presented on all murders, victims, and perpetrators. In addition, the statistical publications about murder and manslaughter produced by Statistics Netherlands (the Dutch Central Bureau for Statistics [CBS]) do not give a good overall picture of murders, because they are targeted on either only victims or only on convicted murderers. A summary that does combine data concerning the cases, victims, and perpetrators, and also makes a distinction between various types of murders, is the NRI/WODC report *Moord en Doodslag in 1998* [*Murder and Manslaughter in 1998*]. This study, however, only deals with a single year so that no trends can be described. Moreover, there are consequently only a small number of murders of each type, so that the discussion of the different types is necessarily restricted.

A systematic summary of murder and manslaughter in the Netherlands was in our view then seriously lacking. We have therefore on the basis of various sources attempted to create a summary of all murders that have occurred in the Netherlands in recent years. This resulted in a databank “Murder and Manslaughter 1992-2001 [“Moord en Doodslag 1992-2001”] in which details of the murders, the victims, and the perpetrators are stored. This study thus fills a vacuum. In our book *Moord en Doodslag in Nederland 1992-2001* [*Homicide in the Netherlands 1992-2001*] (Leistra & Nieuwbeerta, 2003), we have provided a comprehensive description of fatal violence in our country.

In this article we provide a brief description of all 2,549 cases of murder and manslaughter in the Netherlands in the period 1992-2001. We indicate trends and answer a number of questions. What kinds of murders occur most frequently? Where are most murders committed? What is the ethnic background of perpetrators and victims? How are murders committed? What sentences are the perpetrators given? And how many cases remain unsolved?

DATA

In describing the murders we drew on data from the databank “Murder and Manslaughter 1992-2001” (for a comprehensive description, see Leistra & Nieuwbeerta, 2003, and Nieuwbeerta, 2003). The databank includes data from all crimes that, according to the Criminal Code, fall into the categories of murder (Art. 289 and 291 Criminal Code) or manslaughter (Art. 287, 288, and 290 Criminal Code). The manslaughters relate to crimes in which the perpetrator has deliberately taken the life of the victim. If the manslaughter is premeditated then this amounts to murder. In order to keep the text of this article brief, we generally talk about “murder.” Where we wish explicitly to distinguish between murder and manslaughter, we will clearly indicate that. When defining whether a crime related to a murder in principle we based our data on the qualification of the crime given by the Public Prosecutor’s Office or -- where prosecution did not or has not yet taken place -- on the police assessment of the case.

A relative restricted list of characteristics of the murders is available. These cover when and where the murder took place, and there is information about the site where the body was found. In addition, the weapon used to commit the murder is known. In relation to the victims and the perpetrators data are available about their age, sex, ethnicity or nationality, the relationship between the perpetrator(s) and victim, and whether the murder was solved. For the perpetrators information is available about the sentences demanded by the Public Prosecutor and the sentences handed down by the courts.

To construct the databank “Murder and Manslaughter 1992-2001,” all available sources of information in the Netherlands were used. These overlap each other but also complement each other. The following sources were used:

- *All ANP press reports about murder and manslaughter in the Netherlands 1992-2001.* In the period 1992-2001 the Algemeen Nederlands Persbureau (ANP) [General Dutch Press Agency] published more than 13,000 press reports relating to murder and manslaughter in the Netherlands. On average there are about five reports per murder. The event is usually reported in the press when the murder has taken place, when the perpetrator is caught, when

the public prosecutor has demanded a sentence, and when the verdict is given. The ANP press reports contain much information about the characteristics of the murder cases, perpetrators, and victims.

- *Annual summaries from Elsevier.* The weekly magazine *Elsevier* has in recent years provided a summary in January of all murder and manslaughter cases that took place in the previous year. These summaries are mainly based on ANP press reports and newspapers reports, supplemented with information from the local police authorities. In the period under investigation this occurred 5 times, namely in the years 1992, 1997, 1999, 2000, and 2001. For the databank the missing years were added.
- *The Murder and Manslaughter File of the Nationale Recherche Informatiedienst (NRI) [National Detection Information Division].* This file contains data about a number of basic characteristics of all murder and manslaughter cases that have come to the attention of the police. For the period 1992-1995 the data were collated by Cees Roos, a detective from The Hague, who, in his spare time, maintained a murders file. He obtained the information from national newspapers and through contacts with colleagues. From 1996, the management of the file was transferred to the Murders and Vice Programme of the Nationale Recherche Informatie (NRI) division [National Detection Information Division] of the Korps Landelijke Politiediensten (KLPD) [National Police Services]. This information concerns the date on which the murder took place, the site where the body was found, and the weapon used. Characteristics of victims and perpetrators are registered as well the sex, race, and nationality.
- *The VICLAS system of the NRI.* Since 1997 the Murders and Sex Crimes department of the KLPD has kept a register of data in which detailed information has been included from sex crimes. These include murder cases where victims have been approached with sexual intentions, or have been sexually assaulted and/or raped. These data have been included in the “Violent Crime Linkage Analysis System” (VICLAS).
- *The database “OM-data” of the Openbaar Ministerie [Public Prosecutor’s Office (PPO)].* In order to avoid the need to continually return to the files and yet be able to monitor the progress of cases since 1992, a computer register of criminal cases has been kept with the name “OM-data.” In this register various pieces of information about the “course” of a case can be found. In particular, the dates on which a case was started, completed and brought before the court are all registered. Information about the type of resolution by the PPO, the sentence demanded by the public prosecutor, and the decision of the court are registered along with various other data. Lastly, a number of personal details of the perpetrators are included in the database (age, nationality, and place of residence). The “OM-data” database only includes prosecution of first instance.
- *Data from the Strafregister van de Dienst Centrale Justitiële Documentatie van het Ministerie van Justitie [Criminal Record Register of the Central Judicial Documentation Department of the Ministry of Justice].* At the Central Judicial Documentation department of the Ministry of Justice all the criminal records of all Dutch citizens are archived and registered. Local municipalities can request details here when citizens request a “certificate

of good conduct.” Until the beginning of the 1990s, this information was stored at each of the 19 separate courts of law. Since then the archives and criminal records have been combined and stored and managed centrally. In the Criminal Record register, information is stored relating to about 2 million Dutch citizens. For the dataset “Murder and Manslaughter 1992-2001,” we investigated all cases of murder and manslaughter in the period 1992-2001 in the central computer database of the Central Judicial Documentation Service. In most cases, this produced the same information as was present as data from the Public Prosecutor’s Office. However, the Criminal Record Register also includes information from the law courts and the Supreme Court if the suspects have made an appeal or have appealed to the court of cassation.¹

- *File Murder in 1998 of the WODC.* For the year 1998, the WODC reported on 225 murder and manslaughter cases (Smit, Bijleveld, & van der Zee, 2001). In addition to the data from the KLPD and the Public Prosecutor’s Office, the detectives involved were also interviewed.

SIZE AND DEVELOPMENTS

In total there were 2,389 murder cases in the Netherlands between 1 January 1992 and 31 December 2001. On average this means almost 240 cases per year. These murders resulted in 2,549 victims losing their lives. There were -- as far as is known -- 2,564 perpetrators involved in these crimes.

As shown in Table 1, there are important differences between the various years. At the beginning of the 1990s more murders were committed than at the end of this period. In 1995 we see the highest number of victims, namely 281. The lowest number of victims was in 2000; in that year there were “only” 225. On average there have been fewer murders since 1998 than at the beginning of the 1990s. This development matches the data from the police and causes of death statistics produced by Statistics Netherlands, the Dutch Central Bureau for Statistics (CBS).

When looking at developments in murder and manslaughter, it is important to take account of the size of the population. The Dutch population has increased by almost 1 million since the beginning of the 1990s to 16 million nowadays. In the first years of our study there were annually an average of 1.7 murder victims per 100,000. In the subsequent years, the average lies at 1.5 per 100,000. The number of victims of murders has in the last 10 years fallen both in absolute numbers as well as in terms of the number of inhabitants.

¹Apart from that we did not yet have information, when completing this article, for all perpetrators about the sentences laid down in appeal or cassation. They are therefore also not included in the analyses presented here.

TABLE 1. Numbers of Murder Cases and Victims per Year, 1992 – 2001

	Murder cases	Victims	Number of victims per 100,000 inhabitants
1992	248	262	1.73
1993	258	273	1.79
1994	230	241	1.58
1995	269	281	1.83
1996	241	255	1.65
1997	259	283	1.81
1998	215	238	1.51
1999	225	236	1.50
2000	209	225	1.42
2001	235	255	1.59

TYPES OF MURDERS

One murder case is not the same as another. In Dutch and foreign literature on murder and manslaughter this is forcefully emphasized. Murders can be classified on the basis of various criteria. The classification system used in this article is inspired by earlier research into murder and manslaughter in the Netherlands. The classification was made on the basis of a number of characteristics of the murder cases, and of the perpetrators and victims. More specifically, the murders are classified on the basis of the relationship between the perpetrators and the victims and the context in which the murder took place. The method is the closest match to various criminological theories and to opportunities offered for interventions.

As can be seen in Table 2, we distinguished nine categories. These include four types of murders in the family domain (child and parent killings, partner killings, and other murders in the family), two types in the criminal domain (robbery with murder, and other murders in the criminal domain, including liquidations [contract killings]), murders occurring during arguments, sexual murders, and other murders.

Murder cases that have not been solved by the police have not been classified. To be able to classify a murder into a category, you need to know the relationship between the perpetrator and the victim. In unsolved cases this information is not available. It might have been possible to classify a portion of the unsolved cases -- for example liquidations -- on the basis of information about the cause of death, the place of the crime, and background of the victim. To avoid distortion of the facts we decided not to do so.

The majority of murders in the family/relational domain concern partner murders. These we take to include all killings whereby one (ex-)partner kills the other (ex-)partner. Cases whereby rivals in love were killed are also included in this category. Together, the partner killings and killings of rivals constitute almost one-fifth of all murder cases in the Netherlands. In the family/relational domain, killings of children and parents also occur. Together they form almost 5% of the total. In the remaining murder cases in the family/relational domain, persons other than partners, parents and/or children are killed. These cases relate to murders of, for example, brothers, sisters, uncles and aunts. We also include cases of honor killing and blood

revenge killing. Together the category “other murders in the family” accounts for approximately 5% of all murders.

TABLE 2. Distribution of Victims by Type of Murder

	Number	Percentage
Partner killing	474	19
Child killing	85	3
Parent killing	48	2
Other murders in the family sphere	116	5
Murders in the criminal world	278	11
Arguments	509	20
Robberies with murder	182	7
Sexual murders	95	4
Other type	252	10
Unsolved murders	510	20
Total	2,549	100

The second category relates to murder cases that have taken place in the criminal world. That is to say, the perpetrator and/or the victim were involved in criminal activities. Most of these are related to drugs. This runs from drug addicts who murder each other and addicts who murder their dealers, to dealers in drugs who murder each other in a rip deal. The settling of accounts in the criminal world is also included here. This category accounts for about 11% of all murder cases.

In addition, we classify robbery with murder separately. Of all murders, 7% were classified as robbery with murder. This category includes victims arising from robberies, hold-ups, and burglaries. In addition to robberies with murder, there are also murders committed in the criminal domain.

Another large category is formed by murders occurring during arguments. In such cases a brief or long-term conflict between friends, acquaintances, or strangers leads to a violent death. We have only included those cases of murder and manslaughter here in which perpetrators and victims were not immediate family and did not know each other from the criminal world. In the last 10 years, this category represented 20% of all murders.

Murders committed in the sexual domain are classified as a separate category. It includes murder cases in the prostitution world and/or murder cases in which victims have been sexually assaulted or raped. We were able to establish this in about 4% of all murder cases.

In addition to this category there is a “remainder category.” These are murders in which we sometimes have information about the relationship between the perpetrator(s) and victim(s) and the circumstances of the murder case, but that cannot be classified into any of the previously mentioned categories. Moreover, this category relates to murder cases where we have insufficient information about the relationship between the perpetrators and the victims to be

able to judge precisely what type of murder it was. The “remainder category” consists of about 10% of all murders in the Netherlands. It is naturally a very heterogeneous group.

The distribution of murder cases across the various categories is constant over the last 10 years. From our data, we cannot conclude that there has been a systematic increase in the number of murders in the criminal world or of liquidations, as has been suggested. What we can see is that the number of murders that we cannot classify in 2000 and 2001 is relatively high. In these 2 years, relatively fewer murder cases can be adequately classified because a relatively large proportion of these cases have not yet been brought to court so that fewer details about the circumstances are known.

CHARACTERISTICS OF VICTIMS AND PERPETRATORS

Number of Perpetrators and Victims

There are sometimes several victims in cases of murder and manslaughter. In the period studied, 4% of the 2,389 murder cases had two victims and in 1% of the cases three or more victims. In total, 2,549 persons were killed. This is an average of 1.07 victims per murder case. The percentage of murder cases in which respectively one, two, three, or more victims were killed is very constant over time.

Also the number of perpetrators involved in a murder case is constant over the period in question. On average, in 78% of all murders solved one perpetrator is involved. In 14%, there are two perpetrators involved and in 8% of cases three or more perpetrators. This is an average of 1.35 perpetrators per murder case. In 20% of the cases, the number of perpetrators involved is unknown because these cases are not (yet) solved.

In murders in the family/relational domain, there is usually only one victim and one perpetrator involved. In partner killings, this is the case in 88% of cases, and in child- and parent-killings in 75% and 89% of cases, respectively. In vice cases, there was only one perpetrator and one victim involved in 81% of all cases. It is in the criminal domain that several perpetrators tend to be involved in murder cases. On average there are several perpetrators involved in 22% of cases. This is the case almost 50% of the time in murders in the criminal world and robberies with murder.

Method of Killing

The majority (two-thirds) of all victims are shot or stabbed to death (see Table 3). More than one-third (39%) are killed with a gun. About a third (32%) are killed with some kind of knife (knife, stiletto, etc.). Roughly 10% of the remaining third are killed by a blow from a blunt instrument, a further 10% by smothering or strangulation, and 5% by other forms of physical violence. A very small portion (3%) are killed by poisoning, drowning, burning, or being run over by a motor vehicle. This classification according to cause of death is stable over time. However, men are more often shot while women are more frequently strangled.

There are also clear differences in the way in which victims are killed between the various murder categories. Firearms are used in 39% of all cases, but this percentage lies far higher in the category of murders in the criminal world. Liquidations are almost all (92%) carried out using a gun. In murders in the criminal world, firearms are used in 68% of cases. In murders in the family/relational domain firearms are used much less frequently (in about one third of the cases). When children and their parents are after each other's blood, they strangle or stab each other relatively frequently. In partner killings the victims are stabbed to death in 41% of cases, and strangled in 18% of cases.

TABLE 3. Weapons with Which Victims are Murdered (Percentage Distribution)

	Partner killing	Child killing	Parent killing	Other family	Crim. World	Arguments	Robbery murder	Sexual Murder	Unknown type	Unsolved	Total
Firearm	27	11	7	39	68	32	28	9	42	54	39
stabbing, knife	41	18	40	39	22	40	34	36	32	21	32
strangling, suffocation	18	38	24	5	3	4	13	36	8	7	11
Other	14	34	29	17	7	23	24	20	17	18	18
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Scene of Crime

Almost half (47%) of all murder victims are killed in homes (see Table 4). In a third of cases (31%), the victim is found on the public highway, and almost another one-tenth (8%) in other public locations such as parks and woodlands. Almost 10% of all murders occur in places of entertainment (for example, discos, bars, and coffee shops²). This distribution of scenes of crime is fairly constant over time. Women are most often killed in a house (66%); men are killed as frequently in a house as in the open (each 38%).

TABLE 4. Place Where Victims are Murdered (Percentage Distribution)

Place	Men	Women	Total
House	38	68	47
Public highway	38	16	31
Park, woodland & water	8	9	8
Hotel, café, restaurant	12	4	9
Other	4	4	5
Total	100	100	100

²In the Netherlands the coffee shops are permitted to sell cannabis for use on the premises.

There are also clear differences in the scene of crime, and place where the body was found. The majority of murders in the family/relational domain are committed in a house (about 70%), but rarely in hotels, cafes, or restaurants (only 3% of cases). Murders in the criminal world are much less frequently committed in a house. Robberies with murder take place in a house in 55% of cases. The victim was murdered in a house in only 31% of the cases in the criminal world. These murders are in the majority committed on the public highway or other public locations (e.g., parks, woods, water). Vice crimes take place principally in a house or in public locations.

Table 5 shows the geographical distribution of murders across the Netherlands. It can be seen that the majority of murder cases are committed in the three largest cities of the Netherlands, Amsterdam, Rotterdam, and The Hague. In the past 10 years, there have been 452 murders in Amsterdam, 286 in Rotterdam, and 174 in The Hague. Collectively they represent about 40% of all murder cases in the Netherlands. About 30% of the murders committed occur in the other major cities with more than 100,000 inhabitants. The remaining murders (also 30%) are committed in smaller municipalities.

TABLE 5. Police Regions: Numbers of Murders, Victims, and Victims per Region

	Number of Murders	Number of Victims	Victims per 100,000 Inhabitants per Year
Amsterdam – Amstelland	476	498	5.6
Rotterdam – Rijnmond	348	368	3.0
Haaglanden	216	244	2.6
Midden- and West-Brabant	120	131	1.3
Utrecht	116	119	1.1
Limburg – Zuid	102	107	1.6
Gelderland – Midden	70	85	1.3
Kennemerland	76	85	1.7
Brabant-Zuid-Oost	80	83	1.2
Zuid Holland – Zuid	67	74	1.5
Noord-Brabant – Noord	64	72	1.2
Groningen	65	69	1.3
Noord Holland – Noord	66	69	1.1
Limburg – Noord	59	61	1.2
Friesland	52	57	0.9
Gelderland – Zuid	55	57	1.1
N. and O. Gelderland	48	50	0.6
Ijsselland	47	49	1.0
Twente	46	48	0.8
Hollands Midden	45	46	0.6
Zaanstreek – Waterland	41	42	1.4
Zeeland	38	39	1.0
Drenthe	36	38	0.8
Flevoland	33	33	1.0
Gooi- and Vechtstreek	23	25	1.0
NETHERLANDS	2,389	2,549	1.6

The highest numbers of murders are committed in the police regions of Amsterdam-Amstelland (476), Rotterdam-Rijnmond (348) and Haaglanden (216). Almost 45% of the total number of murders in the Netherlands are committed in these three regions. Compared to the rest of the country, there are also relatively more murders committed here in the criminal domain. Some 20% of the total number of murders take place in Amsterdam (-Amstelland); for murders in the criminal domain, this rises to 26%. It is noticeable that in the Utrecht and Brabant regions the number of murders in absolute numbers is fairly high, but looked at in relative terms -- i.e. taking account of the number of residents -- there are in fact relatively few murders. The Noord-Oost Gelderland and Hollands-Midden regions have, according to the number of inhabitants, the lowest number of murder cases, namely 0.6 per 100,000. There is considerable fluctuation between the years, but in the last 10 years, there has been no systematic evolution in the distribution of murder cases across the regions.

Sex Distribution of Victims and Perpetrators

The distribution of male/female involvement in murder as victims and offenders is shown in Table 6. It can be seen that, like most forms of criminal behavior, murder statistics are dominated by men. Of all 2549 victims, 71% were male and 29% female. This means that on average women run a risk of 1.0 per 100,000 of being murdered, while for men this risk is 2.3 per 100,000. This distribution between men and women is constant over all years.

Most of those committing murder are also men (91%), resulting in an offense rate of 3.0 per 100,000 for men and 0.3 per 100,000 for women. Men are thus 10 times more likely to be perpetrators than are women. These differences between men and women are constant over all years.

TABLE 6. Male/Female Distribution as Victims and Perpetrators by Type of Murder (Percentage Distribution)

	Partner Killing	Child Killing	Parent killing	Other Family	Crim. World	Arguments	Robbery murder	Sexual murder	Unknown type	Unsolved	Total
Victims											
Male	30	56	46	68	97	89	73	39	80	81	71
Female	70	44	54	32	3	11	27	61	20	19	29
	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Perpetrators											
Man	86	49	94	90	98	96	91	92	90	-	91
Woman	14	51	6	10	2	4	9	8	10	-	9
	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	-	100

The male/female profile also differs clearly in the type of murder. Victims of criminal world murders are almost all men (97%) men. Those committing murders in the criminal domain are also men in almost every case -- criminal world, 98%; robbery, 92%; and others, 98%. In the cases involving child or parent killings, 50% of the perpetrators and victims are men. Women are in particular involved in murders in the relational domain and then principally as the victims.

Whenever women commit a murder, it is almost always in the family/relational domain and only very seldom in the criminal domain.

Age

A different pattern also emerges for men and women if we examine age. Looking at Table 7, we see that boys and girls in their early childhood run approximately the same risk of being the victim of murder. On average 1 in 100,000 babies (younger than 1 year) is the victim of murder or manslaughter. This risk reduces as children get older. Children between the ages of 1 and 14 have the lowest risk at about 0.4 per 100,000. After age 15, the risk increases rapidly. On average, young people between 15-19 years of age have a risk of 1.4 per 100,000, and the risk continues to increase until age of 25 or thereabouts. However a large difference between men and women can be observed at this point. Around age 25, men have a chance of 4.8 per 100,000 of being the victim of murder. Women, by way of contrast, have at this age a risk of 1.9 per 100,000. The risk for both men and women is at its highest at ages 25-29. Thereafter, the difference slowly decreases, mainly because the risk for men reduces more rapidly than that for women. At about retirement age, the risk for both men and women has fallen to less than 1.0 per 100,000. It is interesting, however, that for men the risk of being murdered rises again after the age of 84. In the last 10 years, 10 men and 11 women older than 85 years old have been murdered.

TABLE 7. Risks of Being Murdered at Various Ages, by Sex (per 100,000)

	Men	Women	Total
0 year	1.1	1.0	1.0
1-4 years	0.3	0.5	0.4
5- 9 years	0.4	0.4	0.4
10-14 years	0.2	0.3	0.2
15-19 years	1.6	1.2	1.4
20-24 years	4.2	1.8	3.0
25-29 years	4.8	1.9	3.4
30-34 years	4.0	1.4	2.7
35-39 years	3.3	1.2	2.3
40-44 years	3.0	1.1	2.0
45-49 years	2.7	0.6	1.6
50-54 years	1.7	0.6	1.2
55-59 years	1.5	0.5	1.0
60-64 years	1.0	0.5	0.8
65-69 years	1.2	0.6	0.9
70-74 years	0.3	0.5	0.4
75-79 years	0.7	0.7	0.7
80-84 years	0.4	0.7	0.6
85-89 years	2.1	0.6	1.0
90+	0.7	0.7	0.7

Looked at as a whole, victims and perpetrators younger than age 18 constitute only a limited number of cases -- 7% of all victims and 5% of the perpetrators (data not shown). Thus,

victims and perpetrators of murders are mostly between 18-39 years of age, with some 58% of victims and 76% of perpetrators falling into this age range. In contrast, there are a few victims or perpetrators older than 65 years of age.

The differences between men and women are also visible when we look at the ages of the perpetrators. The risk of committing a murder for men is at its highest between the ages of 19-24 (data not shown). In this age group, almost 10 in 100,000 men commit a murder. For women this is also the time when the risk is highest. However, for women the chance that they will commit a murder is much lower -- about 1 in 100,000 women between the ages of 20 and 24. The difference between men and women slowly decreases thereafter, principally because the risk for men reduces. After reaching retirement age, men and women, for all intents and purposes, rarely commit murder. The youngest perpetrator was, for that matter, 12 years old.

Ethnicity

Slightly more than half of the victims and perpetrators are of Dutch origin (see Table 8). Of those of foreign origin, both as victims and perpetrator, about 80% come from the Dutch Antilles, Surinam, Turkey, or North Africa (chiefly Morocco, but also Tunisia and Algeria). Almost one-tenth of the victims and perpetrators come from West European countries, and the remaining 10% come from other countries. The origin of both victims and perpetrators is fairly similar.

TABLE 8. Ethnic Origin of Victims and Perpetrators

	Victims		Perpetrators	
	Percentage	Per 100,000	Percentage	Per 100,000
Netherlands	52	0.8	56	0.8
Ned. Antilles	4	6.9	7	22.1
Surinam	7	4.8	8	9.5
Europe	9	1.6	6	2.4
Turkey	9	6.2	8	9.8
North Africa	8	6.0	6	8.0
Other	11	4.0	10	7.4
Total	100		100	

One interesting question to ask is how much the chances of being a victim or perpetrator vary between persons from different ethnic origins? To acquire some insight into this we have to delineate the number of victims and perpetrators in the various ethnic groups against the size of these groups in the Netherlands. In doing so, we define a person of foreign origin as being someone with at least one parent born abroad. This then covers persons who themselves were born abroad (the first generation) and persons who were born in the Netherlands (the second generation). Dutch-origin persons are therefore persons both of whose parents were born in the Netherlands. On the basis of this definition, the population of the Netherlands consists of 0.6% Antilleans, 2% Surinamers, 2% Turks, 2% Moroccans, and 11% other non-Dutch groups. The

vast majority of the Dutch population is of Dutch origin (82%). The ethnic composition of the entire population thus clearly deviated from that of victims of murder; among the victims, there are relatively more non-Dutch origin persons, in particular, Antilleans, Surinamers, Turks, and Moroccans.

Persons of foreign origin have a relatively high risk of becoming the victim of murder. While Dutch-origin residents of the Netherlands annually run a risk of 0.8 per 100,000 inhabitants, Antilleans have a risk of 6.3 per 100,000, Turks 6.2, Moroccans 6.0, and Surinamers 4.8 per 100,000. When we specifically examine men the differences are even greater. Antillean men even have a risk of 12 per 100,000 of being murdered.

The chance of committing a murder is also relatively high for persons of foreign origin. Whereas native Dutch people have an annual chance of 0.8 per 100,000, for Antilleans this is 22.1 per 100,000, for Turks 9.0, for Surinamers 9.5, and for Moroccans 8.0. If we look specifically at men then the differences are even greater. The chance that an Antillean man will commit a murder is 30 per 100,000.

About half of both victims and perpetrators are of non-Dutch origin. This figure is higher for murders in the criminal world, where the figure is more than 70%. In particular, Turks are over-represented; while for all murders, about 10% of the victims and perpetrators are Turkish, they constitute almost a quarter of those involved in criminal world murders. The over-representation of Turks also extends to the victims and perpetrators of “other family murders.” This is related mainly to cases of honor killing. Antilleans, Surinamers, and Moroccans are relatively more often involved in criminal murders compared to other types of murder.

Marriages are often ethnically homogenous, and in daily life (friends, colleagues), non-Dutch more often spend time with people with the same ethnic background, including those who participate in the criminal world. It is therefore more natural to suppose that perpetrators tend to murder persons with the same ethnicity than might be expected on the basis of chance. That appears to be the case with murder in the Netherlands, a fact supported by the data shown in Table 9. In this table, the perpetrator/victim combination that is most likely for each ethnic group is shown in bold. It can be seen, for instance, that 58% of cases with Turkish perpetrators involved someone who was also of Turkish extraction. That is considerably more often than could be expected on the basis of chance, given that people of Turkish origin only constitute 2% of all inhabitants of the Netherlands. Turks thus murder an ethnic peer (58/2) 26 times more often than chance. We see the same picture in other groups in the population. Moroccans murder an ethnic peer 33 times more often than chance, Surinamers 27 times, and Antilleans 67 times. The exception to this rule is native-Dutch perpetrators. They have a slightly lower than chance probability of murdering a fellow Dutchman/woman. On the basis of the population figures, they should have an 83% chance of murdering a fellow native Dutchman/woman, but they only do so in 76% of the cases. Native Dutch perpetrators murder proportionally slightly more often a victim of non-Dutch origin.

TABLE 9. Ethnic Origin of Victims According to Ethnic Origin of Perpetrators (Percentage Distribution)

Perpetrators	Ned.			Northern				Total
	Netherlands	Antilles	Surinam	Europe	Turkey	Africa	Other	
Netherlands	76	1	4	6	3	5	5	100
Ned. Antilles	24	45	9	1	3	7	10	100
Surinam	25	4	52	3	3	5	9	100
Europe	42	0	4	34	8	6	6	100
Turkey	26	1	2	4	58	4	6	100
North Africa	25	2	1	5	7	57	3	100
Other	29	2	3	9	3	3	51	100
By chance:	83	1	2	8	2	2	4	100

DETECTION AND PROSECUTION

Eighty percent of all murders committed in the period 1992-2001 have been solved. We speak of solving the case when at least a suspect is known to the police. The percentage of cases solved has risen slightly in the last few years, but in 2001 was again slightly lower. This is probably because a number of cases still have to be solved, so that the percentage of solved cases for that year will probably rise. While 80% of cases are solved, 20% (483) of murder cases in the last 10 years are still not solved. In the other 1906 solved murder cases, the police have named 2562 persons as suspects of murder or manslaughter who have been prosecuted for these crimes by the Public Prosecutor's Office.

When the suspect(s) of a murder is (are) known, then in principle prosecution can begin. The suspect is then officially charged by the Public Prosecutor's Office with murder or manslaughter. However, a number of suspects are not prosecuted in the Netherlands. In the last 10 years, a number (33) of suspects were, in the end, prosecuted abroad. After the Public Prosecutor's Office summoned the suspect, in these cases it then passed the case over to the person's country of origin. In addition, some suspects were not prosecuted because they died. That is especially the case in the murder-suicide cases. In the last 10 years, this was the case for 73 (3%) of the suspects. Usually this was in the family sphere. This means that ultimately in the period 1992-2001, a charge of murder or manslaughter was made against 2458 suspects by the Public Prosecutor's Office.

Not all these prosecuted suspects were also sentenced for murder or manslaughter. Sometimes the judge considered that the charge "murder" or "manslaughter" was not correct or could not be proven. The perpetrator was then acquitted or discharged from further prosecution. Five percent of the suspects charged with murder or manslaughter in the period 1992-2001 by the Public Prosecutor's Office were in the end acquitted or discharged from further prosecution following a court case conducted by the judge (in first instance). Five percent of suspects who are charged by the Public Prosecutor's Office with murder or manslaughter are ultimately acquitted or discharged from prosecution by the judge (of first instance) following a court case.

However, as shown in Table 10, judges can also deviate from the charges made and classify the case as something different. Where the charge has been murder of manslaughter, 10% were ultimately sentenced for a less serious crime, for example “grievous bodily harm leading to death” or “culpable homicide,” etc. Where the most serious charge made is murder, the perpetrator was sentenced for manslaughter in 26% of cases. In such cases, the judge has decided that “acting in full knowledge of the facts” was not applicable here or could not be proved.

TABLE 10. Sentences Given vs. Sentences Requested (Percentage Distribution)

Sentence	Request		Total
	Manslaughter	Murder	
Assault etc.	20	5	10
Manslaughter	80	26	43
Murder	0	69	47
Total	100	100	100

PUNISHMENTS

Perpetrators who are found guilty of manslaughter can be punished with a prison sentence of maximally 15 years, or a fine of the fifth category. A life sentence can be given to those perpetrators who have deliberately, and acting in full knowledge of the facts, taken the life of another person (murder), can be given a temporary sentence of at least 20 years or, instead, a fine of the fifth category. Further, in addition to or instead of a punishment, the judge can sentence the perpetrator to be detained at Her Majesty’s Pleasure (HMP) [TBS -- ter beschikkingstelling]. HMP is feasible if, according to experts, the suspect suffers from “defective development or pathological disturbance of the mental abilities,” the result of which renders the person not fully responsible for the crime and there is reason to fear repetition of a similar offense. The HMP can be ordered in combination with a prison sentence. Often, when the prison sentence is given, the fact that HMP is also ordered will be taken into account.

A breakdown of sentences is shown in Table 11. Of all perpetrators sentenced for murder and manslaughter, 77% are given only a prison sentence, 4% are given only HMP, and 17% are given both HMP and a prison sentence. Two percent were sentenced to detention in an institution for young offenders. There are hardly any differences between murder and manslaughter in the sorts of sentences given. Perpetrators who, in the end, are sentenced for assault or other lesser charges are given only a prison sentence more frequently, probably because there is less perceived danger of recidivism.

Where HMP was also ordered for those convicted, the average sentence was 5.7 years and for those sentenced only to prison the average was 7 years. Taken together, this resulted in an average sentence of 6.6 years. Perpetrators sentenced for murder were given a sentence of almost 8.5 years; those sentenced for manslaughter were sentenced to an average of 2 years less. The difference is smaller when perpetrators are also given HMP. The prison sentences for those convicted of murder are only 4 months shorter.

TABLE 11. Prison Sentence Imposed by Type of Sentence (Percentage Distribution)

Sentence, Number of Years	Type of Sentence	
	Only prison sentence	Prison sentence and HMP
0-1 year	10	4
2-3 years	10	22
4-5 years	17	30
6-7 years	21	20
8-9 years	15	12
10-11 years	9	5
12-13 years	10	3
14-15 years	4	3
16-17 years	1	
18-19 years	1	1
20 years	1	
Life	1	0
Total	100	100

However, as one can see in Table 12, the sentences that are imposed do differ substantially between the types of murder. Of all the perpetrators sentenced, 77% are given only a prison sentence, 4% only HMP, and 17% both HMP and a prison sentence. HMP is principally ordered in cases involving child killing (in 46% of cases), parent killing (46%), sexual murders (36%), and to a lesser extent, in partner killings (24%). In murders in the criminal world and murders resulting from arguments, a prison sentence is often the only sentence imposed; that is true in 100% of the cases involving liquidations.

TABLE 12. Type of Sentence (Percentage Distribution) and Length of Prison Sentence by Type of Murder

	Partner killing	Child killing	Parent Killing	Other Family	Crim. World	Arguments	Robbery murder	Sexual murder	Unknown Type	Total
Type of Sentence										
Only prison sentence	73	54	41	72	93	78	79	45	79	77
Prison sentence and HMP	23	37	31	19	5	16	18	32	15	17
HMP	4	10	26	6	2	5	2	4	4	4
Youth detention	0	0	3	3	1	1	2	19	2	2
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Average Duration of Prison Sentence (in years)										
Only prison sentence	6.9	5.4	5.6	6.2	8.1	5.9	8.1	9.8	6.4	7.0
Prison sentence and HMP	5.7	4.6	3.7	4.3	5.5	5.7	6.8	7.4	4.8	5.7

There are also differences in sentences among different types of murders. Perpetrators convicted of robbery with murder and murders in the criminal sphere are sentenced on average to 8 years. Perpetrators of sexual murders are given the longest sentences, almost 10 years. The

shortest sentences are given to those convicted of child or parent killing, on average about 5.5 years.

DISCUSSION

In this article we have provided a summary of murder and manslaughter cases in the Netherlands in the last 10 years and discussed the characteristics of various types. In the coming years, there will undoubtedly be many more studies of murder and manslaughter. On the basis of the knowledge and experience we have gained, we wish to make a number of recommendations for this.

The first recommendation is that a *continuous National Monitor for Murder and Manslaughter in the Netherlands* should be established. In order to provide the summary we have given in this article, we have constructed a dataset with details of all murders and manslaughters in the last 10 years. There was no monitor with information about a longer period. For the coming years, it would be sensible if one single organization could continue to maintain a complete murder and manslaughter databank. This organization would need to work closely with the various organizations (regional and national police forces, Public Prosecutor's Office, courts of law, and research organisations) that register data about murder and manslaughter. This would permit the Netherlands to count as one of the countries where such databases already exist, like Australia, Canada, the United States, and the United Kingdom. By registering the data in the same way it would be possible to create opportunities for comparative studies on an international scale. The dataset could then also be extended to include the years prior to 1992.

A second recommendation is that research must be conducted into specific types of murder and manslaughter. A summary of Dutch literature on this topic shows that such studies are rare. It is noticeable that most studies carried out into certain types of murders have been performed by forensic psychiatrists. Because they are conducted from this perspective, most of these studies are small scale and/or focus on special groups of detainees (parent killers, child killers, etc.) The lack of a reliable summary of murder cases may have contributed to this. Larger scale investigations into different types of murder are recommended. Murder cases in the criminal sphere in the Netherlands should be given explicit attention. Although there are many journalistic publications about murders in criminal circles, they have hardly been the subject of academic study in the Netherlands. Studies into robbery with murder and murders in the drugs world could possibly shed more light into these phenomena. The same holds true for murders involving sex, as well as murders following arguments.

A third recommendation is that research should be conducted into the role of ethnicity in relation to murder and manslaughter. Non-native Dutch people are relatively more often involved in murder and manslaughter than are native Dutch people. However, it is unclear as to what the reasons are for this overrepresentation. Given the relatively greater involvement of some groups of non-native Dutch people in different forms of criminality, the overrepresentation in criminal murders can be understood; although this again raises the need for an explanation as to why non-native Dutch people are more often involved in crime. What is more difficult to fathom is why non-native Dutch people more often murder their (usually non-native Dutch) partners and more often murder their children than native Dutch people. Various explanations

have been suggested. Non-native Dutch people often live in poorer circumstances, smaller houses, with less income, and higher unemployment. It is also possible that experiences in their country of origin mean they are more often psychiatrically disturbed. Sometimes these experiences are also violent, for example, among asylum seekers. Other explanations lie in the culture and the culture shock they experience when they live in the Netherlands. Right now there is a lack of insight into the sustainability of the various explanations.

A fourth recommendation is to investigate the personal and criminal careers of perpetrators and victims of murder and manslaughter. Murders are often investigated separately in academic studies. The perpetrators and the victims are examined at the time of or just prior to the murder. The question of what occurred earlier, and how much that explains the final event, is often not asked. That is a deficiency. The personal and criminal antecedents of offenders and even victims often provide more insight into and explanation for the eventual murder. It is known that murders in the family/relational sphere are often preceded by a long history of violence. Knowledge about the personal and criminal antecedents of persons might even help to prevent murders. For example, when should there be intervention in a situation involving domestic violence so that it does not lead to a murder? And when, and among whom, could we expect a history of armed robberies to ultimately lead to murder or manslaughter? Certain characteristics can then be given a signal function -- through research it is possible to determine which combination of characteristics means that the chance of a pattern of violent acts will at a given moment get out of hand and when there are consequently strong indications that justify intervention.

Apart from researching the backgrounds and causes, research into the solution and prosecution of murders would also be useful. In murders the percentage of solved cases is relatively high compared to other crimes. In about 80% of the murders, a suspect is regarded by the police as the perpetrator. Despite this, one fifth of murders are not solved. The question is whether murders can be solved more often and more rapidly. To investigate this, specific attention to unsolved cases is important. In which aspects do these cases differ from solved cases? Or is this pure chance? And if chance is not a factor, was that difference perhaps already noticeable shortly after the murder was discovered? What could the criminal investigation bureau have possibly done differently?

A second type of study aimed at improving the tracing of the perpetrators would be to devote attention to perpetrator profiling. In perpetrator profiling the main question is: given the characteristics of the murder, the Crime Scene, the modus operandi, etc., what kind of predictions can then be made about characteristics of the perpetrator? On the basis of the predictions about characteristics of perpetrators, the criminal investigation can be shaped. Nowadays, these predications are often done by involving behavioral experts in the case. Another form, but one that is almost never used and is underdeveloped in the Netherlands, is that of the statistical profiling. In this form, the profile of the perpetrator is not so much sketched on the basis of behavioural theories, but in particular on the statistical patterns that have arisen from previous crimes. This latter form is frequently used in the United States and Great Britain. If the dataset "Murder and Manslaughter" were to be extended with specific data about characteristics of murders, then this would offer good opportunities to develop statistical profiling. What is clear

in any case is the data collected offers an opportunity for more searching analyses in future research.

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ANALYSIS OF HOMICIDES IN WASHINGTON, DC, 1990-2001

Tom McEwen
Institution for Law and Justice, Inc.
1018 Duke Street, Alexandria, VA 22314

This paper presents an analysis of over 4,400 homicides that occurred in Washington, DC, from 1990 through 2001. Information from the master case homicide jackets was coded using the FBI's ViCAP booklets and entered into an Access database. The coding was part of a larger project directed by the author at the Metropolitan Police, District of Columbia (MPDC). The MPDC uses the resulting database as its case management system. The ViCAP booklet includes sections on victim information, offender/suspect information, motives, offender's *modus operandi*, causes of death, weapon information, and vehicle information. The project captured other information of a local nature about the homicides, such as district of occurrence, police service area, and others. Results from the analysis of these homicides will be presented.

HOMICIDE IN THE NETHERLANDS: ON THE STRUCTURING OF HOMICIDE TYPOLOGIES

Catrien C. J. H. Bijleveld
NSCR Institute for the Study of Crime and Law Enforcement
P.O. Box 792, 2300 AT Leiden, THE NETHERLANDS

Paul R. Smit
WODC Research & Documentation Centre, Ministry of Justice
P.O.Box 20301, 2500 EH The Hague, THE NETHERLANDS

ABSTRACT

The findings of a survey of all homicides in 1998 in the Netherlands are briefly presented. After describing characteristics of the incident, the offender, and the victim, multivariate relations between these characteristics are investigated. It appears that homicide cases structure in an interpretable way, in which a previous classification can be accommodated. The analysis, however, also indicates that homicide types do not constitute distinct groups, but instead rank along a circular continuum.

INTRODUCTION

While attracting quite a bit of public and media attention, relatively little scientific research has been devoted to homicide in the Netherlands. This is at least partly due to the fact that, in absolute terms, the Netherlands witnesses few homicides every year. Since 1980, the number of homicides has, after an initial rise, fluctuated between 200 and 250 each year, and has maybe even receded slightly over the past 3 to 4 years. Homicide rates per capita are fairly average. The clearance rate for homicide hovers between 70% and 80%. Previous studies in the Netherlands investigated mainly trends and types of homicides; a recent overview based on 1998 data was published by Smit, Bijleveld, and van der Zee (2001). However, in the Netherlands, studies on special types of homicide cannot be conducted from official statistics such as those published by Statistics Netherlands, but have to be tailored to the question at hand and thus need special data collection efforts. The main dimensions along which classifications are generally made are the victim-offender relationship and the circumstances of the event. Other dimensions are instrumental/expressive (Salfati, 2000), or primary/non-primary (Smith & Parker, 1980). The classification that is employed is generally dictated as much by the research questions as by the constraints posed by data quality and research tradition (see Flewelling & Williams, 1999).

One problem with such classifications, however, is that classifications are generally based on a logical scheme and one cannot be sure that any derived classification actually manifests itself also empirically. If homicide types are indeed distinct and homogeneous groups, multivariate analysis should be able to identify clusters of homicide types, to each of which distinctive combinations of characteristics are particular.

In this paper it will be investigated to what extent such homogeneous and distinct groups or types are present within the 1998 Dutch homicides. Our study does not work from one single

theoretical perspective, nor does it attempt to test one specific theory on homicide. The framework from which the structuring of homicide typologies is investigated is exploratory. The main research question in this paper is whether homicide events in 1998 in the Netherlands constitute a heterogeneous group in the sense that particular subgroups of homicide events can be distinguished with particular properties.

DATA COLLECTION

We use data for the year 1998 that witnessed 202 homicide incidents with a total of 225 victims. In total, there were 230 offenders. In the majority ($n = 166$) of homicide incidents there was one victim and one offender. The remaining 36 incidents had more than one victim and/or more than one offender.

Results

Homicides have been classified along two dimensions. The first of these was the motive of the offender, which has four main categories: "Criminal background," where the homicide is related to criminal activities in which offender and victim are involved; "Sexual"; "Robbery," where the basic motivation of the offender is to steal property from the victim; and "Dispute." Where a homicide fell into more than one category, the first category was leading. The second dimension along which homicides have been classified was the relation between offender and victim. Thus, if a homicide had been classified as "Criminal background," a further division in three categories was made: "Contract killing," a planned killing between criminals; "Drug related," for example, when a drug dealer is killed in a dispute by a customer; and "Criminal, other," when neither of the previous applied. In the case of "Dispute," a further classification into three categories based on the relation between offender and victim was made. These three categories were "Intimate," the so-called family homicides; "Acquaintances"; and "Strangers." Homicides that could not be classified in one of the four main categories were divided into the following three categories: "Other," with another motive than the aforementioned; "Psychotic," with a bizarre or seemingly psychotic motive; and "Unknown," when there is not enough information available to classify the homicide. Table 1 gives the distribution over the homicide types thus arrived at (taken from Smit et al., 2001).

Results: Multivariate Analysis of Relations between Homicide Characteristics

We use multiple correspondence analysis or homogeneity analysis for answering the research questions. Readers are referred elsewhere for details (see Bijleveld et al., 1998, ch. 2; Gifi, 1990; SPSS, 1990). This type of technique has become an accepted method of analysis in various branches of the social sciences. It is relatively uncommon in criminology. Examples of the use of comparable methods (such as Smallest Space Analysis; see Lingoes, 1973) in homicide research can be found in Salfati and Canter (1999) and Salfati (2000); outside of homicide research, Bijleveld, Bakker, and Hendriks (1998) related personality characteristics and background variables to offence characteristics (using OVERALS, SPSS, 1990).

For investigating the clustering of offender, victim, and incident characteristics, the categories from a total of 15 variables were used (see Table 2). In order to be able to evaluate the

empirical support for the previous classifications of the homicide incidents, these classifications themselves were excluded from the analysis. For the same reason, the “motive” variable was excluded, as this had been the leading variable in the classification of homicides.

TABLE 1. Distribution of Homicide Types

<u>Types</u>	<u>Distribution</u>
Criminal, contract killing	9%
Criminal, drug related	8%
Criminal, other	4%
Sexual	4%
Robbery	10%
Dispute, intimates	32%
Dispute, acquaintances	15%
Dispute, strangers	4%
Other	2%
Psychotic	2%
Unknown	10%

TABLE 2. Offender, Victim and Event Characteristics in Multivariate Analysis

<u>Homicide event:</u>	location		
	relation offender/victim		
	cause of death/weapon		
<u>Offender:</u>	age	<u>Victim:</u>	age
	gender		gender
	ethnicity		ethnicity
	daily activities		daily activities
	criminal record		criminal record
	drug intoxication		drug intoxication
	alcohol intoxication		alcohol intoxication
	drug addiction		drug addiction
	alcohol addiction		alcohol addiction

The analysis was conducted at the level of the homicide interaction (for instance, if someone had been killed by two offenders, for this homicide two records would be entered into the analysis data set). To avoid trivial solutions, the analysis was carried out with only the solved homicides (n = 201). The total fit of the solution was fairly low (.51). A first explanation for this is that quite a bit of noise can be expected in these types of data. Another explanation may be

that the clustering of characteristics is actually higher-dimensional. Figure 1 depicts the plot of category quantifications.

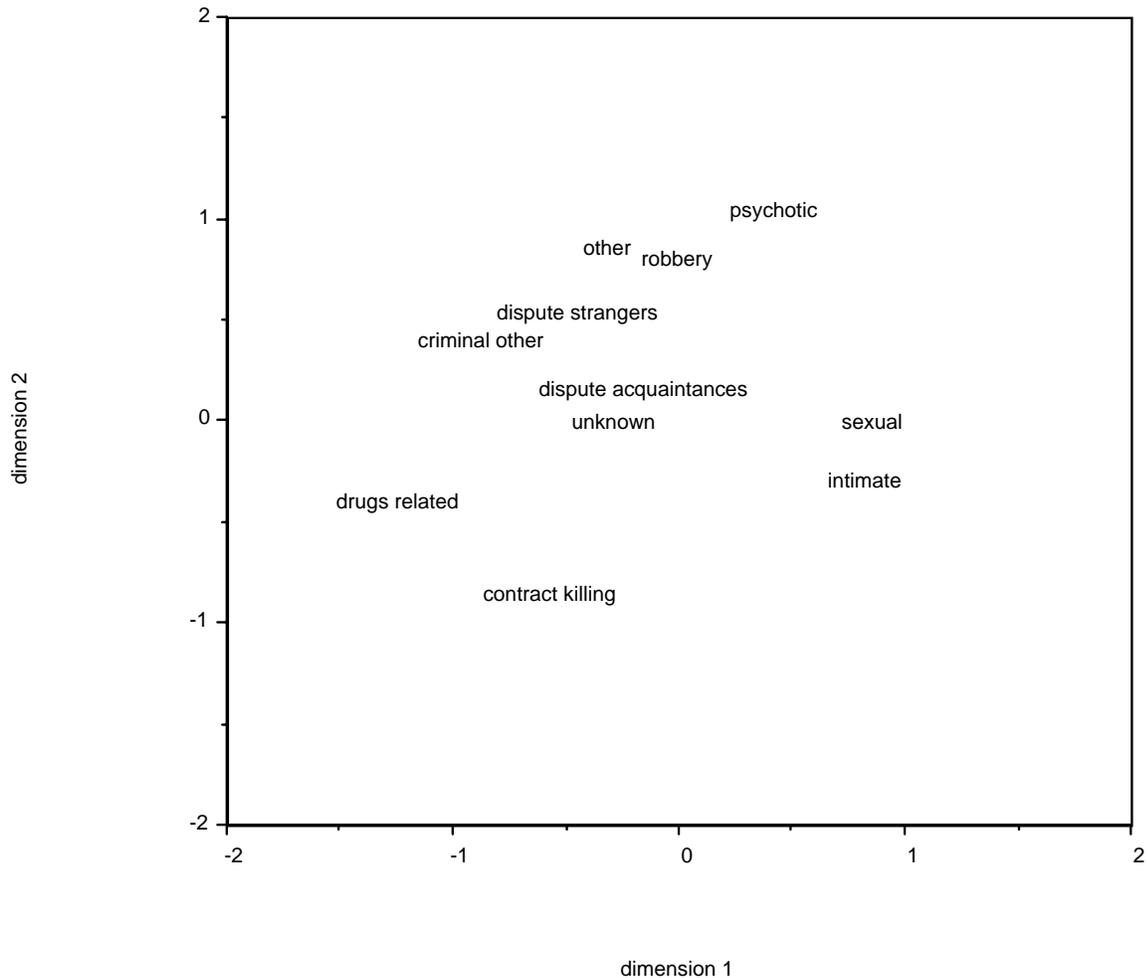
Next, we computed the average object scores of the homicides in each of the 11 types of homicides. These are graphically represented in Figure 2. In combination with the plot of object scores (not shown here), Figure 2 shows that the various categories do not represent distinct and homogeneous classes of homicides. The object scores are fairly evenly spread, with little or no clustering. The same, as shown above, applies to the category quantifications: they are spread all through the solution, and do not cluster into distinct and isolated patterns. In combination with the fairly low fit of the analysis, the conclusion from the analysis is therefore that the homicides cannot be separated into clearly distinct groups.

The homicide types “Dispute, acquaintances” and “Unknown” are placed quite centrally, indicating that the technique has trouble identifying unique characteristics for them. An explanation for this placement of the “acquaintance disputes” is that they are quite common, and will thus have a fairly average profile. Leaving out these two types of homicides, one can see how the other homicide types are ranked along a (more or less) circular structure: from “Contract killing” to “Drugs related” homicides to “Criminal, other,” then from “Dispute, strangers” on to “Other,” “Robbery,” and “Psychotic,” and, turning to “Sexual” and “Intimate” homicides, a circular or oval shape is formed.

Combining the placement of the homicide types in this plot with the information from Figure 1, the following can be deduced. In the (lower) left hand-side of the solution, the contract killings and drug-related homicides are placed; they share a number of characteristics, as they have been placed not far apart. From Figure 2, it can be seen that the offenders here are not addicted themselves, that there is a shooting, that homicides are often carried out on the streets, by Surinamese/Netherlands Antilleans on Surinamese/Netherlands Antilleans, and by Eastern Europeans on Eastern Europeans, and that the victims have a criminal record. These homicides therefore tend to be carried out by offenders in charge: not addicted themselves but dealing or involved in the drug trade, using a “distant” means to kill the victims who have a criminal record. These are the criminal settlements of accounts.

Higher up in the solution, “Other criminal disputes” and “Disputes between strangers” are placed closely together. These homicide types share the fact that quite a few offenders (as well as victims) are originally from the Middle East or Turkey, victims are addicted to alcohol or drugs, the offender is often intoxicated and also often has a criminal record. Tentatively, one could say that these offenders and victims are the socially excluded. They may be acquainted or unacquainted, and are slightly older than those in the previous two types.

FIGURE 2. Position of Average Object Scores of Homicide Classifications in Analysis Structure



Moving on, homicides with a property motive and psychotic murders have been placed. What these homicides share (combining their positioning with the information from Figure 1) is that the offender and victim tend to be Dutch and strangers. The homicides become more angry and frenzied, the cause of death is often beating, and the offender is more often drunk during the homicide. Thus, moving from the bottom of the solution to the top of the solution, a gradual move has been made from homicides that are fairly cool and distant settlements, to homicides that arise from (intoxicated) disputes, to homicides that are angry and involved. It is remarkable that the “Other” type of homicide is closest to the robbery type. The property motive is helpful here to interpret the homicides that are located a little more to the right, of older and handicapped people, those in the home of the victim, and by addicted offenders, often under the influence, as it can be seen that these homicides are probably quite often robberies, with fairly defenseless victims.

Next, the sexual and intimate homicides are encountered about midway on the second axis of the solution and well along the first axis. It is not amazing that the sexual homicides more often have female victims, often prostitutes. The victim is here typically killed by strangulation

or other kinds of external force. Offenders can be much older. Lower down, the intimate homicides are typically carried out by offenders with no criminal record at all, in the home of the offender and victim, cuts are typically found on the (sometimes very young) victims. In a sense, these are the emotional/intimate settlements, as opposed to the business settlements in the opposite corner of the structure.

Based on the interpretation of the combined figures, one could -- tentatively -- interpret the first dimension as a business-personal dimension. The second dimension could be interpreted as a (personal) settlement-(impersonal) escalation/angry brawl dimension.

Thus it appears that the various homicide types do not imply dramatically distinct or unique profiles. Rather, shifts are in all likelihood fairly gradual, as homicide types are often located fairly closely, in which case homicides in one type will have certain characteristics, but may also share these characteristics with homicide types located close by.

DISCUSSION

This study did not attempt to be theoretical, but rather to describe and explore the data. The multivariate analysis showed that the homicide typology employed previously (Smit et al., 2001), while not entirely rejected, may not be empirically optimal. It appears very well defensible to aggregate the homicides into larger groups, for instance, the contract killings and drug-related homicides. Further analyses, not reported here, showed that unsolved homicides that had had to be excluded from the multivariate analysis probably did not skew the data to a great extent.

The study gave an indication that, instead of a grouping of homicides into categories, they could perhaps be ranked along a circular or circumplex structure. Such circumplex structures have also been found in the study of personality characteristics (Wiggins, 1996) and in the study of emotions (Plutchik & Conte, 1997). For the 1998 homicides in the Netherlands, the continuum ranged from contract killings as the most business-like, settling type of homicide to disputes between strangers, and back to emotional-intimate settling types of homicides. Results from studies by others can be recognized in the multivariate structure analysed here. For instance, the instrumental-expressive dimension that is employed in many studies on violence (for results on homicide, see Salfati, 2000) might also provide appropriate labelling for the first dimension of the analysis. The advantage of employing dimensions over distinct classes is that the inevitable "fuzzy" homicides can be accommodated easily. Causes and correlates are then not tied to distinct types of homicide; instead, their impact can be investigated relative to the positioning of the homicide on the respective dimensions. This would perhaps lead to a much more intricate model of lethal violence.

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SOCIAL CONTEXTS OF HOMICIDE: EXAMINING THE SOCIAL DYNAMICS THAT LEAD TO LETHAL VIOLENCE

Kenneth Polk and Christine Alder
Department of Criminology, University of Melbourne
234 Queensbury Street, Parkville, Victoria 3052 AUSTRALIA

INTRODUCTION: THE ISSUE OF SOCIAL RELATIONSHIPS IN HOMICIDE

One of the striking aspects of the criminological study of homicide is the emphasis placed on the relationship between victim and offender. This can be accounted for in part by the recognition that homicide is fundamentally a social act, and therefore it is argued that primacy should be given to an exploration of the social dynamics that link the central participants in the act, the victim and the offender. Unfortunately, over the years there has been little agreement on the best ways to examine these social dynamics. Here we shall examine how it is possible to define what have been called “scenarios” of violence, which shall be referred to in the present text as “social contexts,” in ways that *theoretically capture the important events* that link victims and offenders in exchanges leading to lethal violence, while at the same time providing *empirical guidance* of categorisation of forms of homicide.

Wolfgang’s (1958) early research has been influential in establishing the basic understandings and categories within which research on victim-offender relationships is carried out. Wolfgang argued that a weakness of much of the criminological work existing when he was writing was that it examined either offenders, or victims, separately, rather than as interdependent participants in an inherently social event. Drawing upon the observations of von Hentig (1948), Wolfgang (1958) urged that the homicide scene be examined within a “duel frame of crime,” where the victim can be seen as “shaping and moulding” the offender as the homicide unfolds. He proposed, specifically, that:

homicide is a dynamic relationship between two or more persons caught up in a life drama where they operate in a direct, interactional relationship. More so than in any other violation of conduct norms, the relationship the victim bears to the offender plays a role in explaining the reasons for such flagrant violation. (p. 203)

This central idea that homicide research should focus on the victim-offender relationship continued to echo in the literature that followed his initial work, as in the observation of Silverman and Mukherjee (1987, p. 37) that murder is a social event involving at least two actors in a “. . . social relationship that plays a dynamic role in the way that the homicide unfolds.” Luckenbill (1977) widened this somewhat when he observed that: “By definition, criminal homicide is a collective transaction. An offender, victim, and possibly an audience engage in an interchange which leaves the victim dead (p. 176).

While there may be wide agreement that these social dynamics, or collective transactions, should provide a focal point for research on homicide, there has been in fact little consensus regarding the specifics of how such analyses should proceed. It is worth noting that over 40 years ago, at the beginning of this long line of investigation, Wolfgang (1958) could comment

that “the usual difficulties of incomparable classifications are met when the distribution of victim-offender relationships is compared with other research (p. 217).

Wolfgang defined two distinct dimensions that potentially address the question of what is happening between homicide offenders and victims. The first was to propose a classification of the “social relationship” between victims and offenders, in terms of what later writers (Silverman & Kennedy, 1987, 1993) have referred to as “relational distance.” That is, there were a cluster of possible social connections that reflect family, sexual, or kinship closeness at one end of a continuum (for example, spouses, parents, siblings), persons who have some lesser social bond in a more middling position on the continuum (friends and acquaintances, for example), and then those with no previous connection to each other, that is, strangers, at the other end of the continuum.

This particular view of how homicides might be classified has had a profound impact on much, if not most, of the empirical work on homicide that has followed. A modification of Wolfgang’s categories is still to be found in the annual reports of homicide published by the Department of Justice in the United States (for a discussion, see Maxfield, 1989), and another variation can be seen in the publications of the Australian Institute of Criminology in the reporting of the Australian Homicide Monitoring Project that has been following reports of homicide in the various states and territories since 1989 (Mouzos, 2000). The specific categories used to describe the victim-offender relationships in the Australian data include (the percentages are indicated in parentheses) “Intimates” (20.9%), “Family” (14.3%), “Friends/Acquaintances” (27.6%), “Strangers” (19.3%), “Other Relationships” (9.8%), and “Unknown” (8.1%) (Mouzos, 2000, p. 68). Thus, this report concludes that 8 out of 10 homicides occur between people who were known to each other, and that just under 2 in 10 homicides occurred between strangers (Mouzos, 2000, p. 69).

It is somewhat of a puzzle why this particular approach to the grouping of social relationships of victim and offender in homicide continues to be used, since its underlying empirical and theoretical problems are profound. The actual coding of homicides into such categories as “friends,” “acquaintances,” or “strangers,” in terms of procedures that have acceptable levels of reliability and validity, is exceptionally problematic given the poor quality of information that is available in most investigations of homicide. But the major problem with these relationship schema rests in their theoretical weaknesses. While without question the relational distance classifications provide a way of classifying forms of social relationship, it is far from clear how the issue of “distance” connects to the problem of homicide.

We would argue that ideally any system of grouping of social relationships of victims and offenders in lethal violence should be done in a way so that the specific categories provide some clue regarding the violence that has taken place. This is not the case with relational distance. People do not kill each other because they are strangers, or because they are friends, or because they are linked by a family bond. There are a number of different kinds of lethal encounters where the individuals have not known each other previously; for examples, they may fight in a pub (although some who fight in pubs have a passing acquaintance with each other), the killing may occur in the course of a robbery or a burglary, or the killing may be one death among many in either a mass killing or the killings of a serial killer. In such cases the classification of the

event as a “stranger killing” does not even provide a hint of the actual social dynamics that have linked the offender and a victim in the homicide (Polk, 1993).

The second dimension of grouping suggested by Wolfgang (1958) focused on the apparent “motive” for the crime. While some of the terms that Wolfgang suggested were inventive and might with some modification prove useful (such as “altercation of trivial origin,” “jealousy,” or “revenge”), by and large there has been much less use of this dimension of classification (although Rasche, 1993, provides an example of how this terrain of “given” reasons might be re-worked in an empirical investigation). A cogent statement of the problems with attempting to provide a simple classification of motivations can be found in the work of Daly and Wilson (1988):

[T]he prevailing criminological conception of motives in homicide is a woolly amalgam of several potentially independent dimensions: spontaneity versus premeditation, the victim-offender relationship, and only a relatively small dose of those substantive issues that murder mystery and ordinary speakers of English mean when they speak of “motive” Violence arises from conflicts *about something*, difficult though it may be to pinpoint exactly what, and notwithstanding that the bones of contention may be multiple. (pp. 173-174)

ALTERNATIVE APPROACH: EXAMINING SOCIAL CONTEXTS OF HOMICIDE

The present argument proposes examining the social dynamics that link victims and offenders in the social context within which the homicide takes place, precisely in an attempt to explore in our view the origins of the conflicts that result in lethal violence. This approach builds upon previous work on homicide in the work of Polk (1994), who examined scenarios of masculine violence, Alder and Polk (2001), who looked at patterns of homicide involving child victims, and Mouzos (2000, 2003), who has focused homicide generally and more recently on women as offenders. This perspective begins by focusing on the nature of the violence that links offenders and victims, then connecting these with the social characteristics and contexts common to the major forms of violence. Empirically, it appears useful in the first instance to distinguish between lethal events that involve unrelated individuals from those that involve persons linked by some bond of intimacy or friendship.

Homicides Involving Unrelated Persons

The social contexts of homicide where unrelated persons are found nearly always will involve males as offenders (and in a great majority of situations males as victims as well). While most of these will concern adults as both offenders and victims, there will be instances in which these are below the technical age of adulthood (that is, age 17 or under), and it is important that any classification scheme note the age if those involved are children. Previous analysis has suggested that homicides involving children as victims should be differentiated as to whether the offender is unrelated or related, and the social contexts for the unrelated child homicides will be consistent with the general patterns for homicides involving unrelated persons. Further, while the major patterns here are distinctly masculine in both nature and number (Polk, 1994), inevitably there will be a handful of cases that do not fit the pattern where the offenders are female.

Honour Contests and Other Spontaneous Encounters

A first form of homicides involving unrelated individuals consists of those homicides that have been termed “confrontational homicide” (Polk, 1994) or in most cases more aptly described in Polk (1999) as “honor contests.” Honour contests typically involve unrelated young males as victims and offenders in a lethal interactional dynamic that evolves rapidly and spontaneously from what often appears to be a trivial provocation. That initial stimulus leads to a series of stages beginning with an opening move (where one “lays down the challenge”), to a response to that move which indicates a willingness to continue the confrontational encounter (where another “accepts the challenge”), with the two individuals then agreeing to escalate the matter from dispute (the “mutual agreement to argue”) into physical violence (“agreement to fight”). In this idealised form, it is clear that both parties are playing an active role in the events as they unfold. In many honour contests there are only two persons involved, and while it may be obvious that one can be designated the “victim” and the other the “offender,” in fact, the actual roles that these have played in the evolution of the violence may not be as clear. Research suggests that often the victim was the main aggressor, and in fact may have been the first to employ violence (what Wolfgang, 1958, referred to as “victim precipitated homicide”). The scenes of these contests are those where young males circulate for purposes of recreation, with alcohol being a central element in a majority of events. Thus, these commonly occur in such venues as pubs, discos, parties, barbecues, parks, reserves, or beaches, among others, or perhaps in transport scenes (buses, trains, stations) or even such locations of transit as streets or laneways.

The frequent presence of a social audience of male and female bystanders ups the stakes in the contest of honour. The roles of “victim” and “offender” can become confused indeed when that social audience, as not infrequently happens, becomes directly involved in the escalating violence. On the one hand, such group affrays may create afterwards highly contested and charged accounts of the precipitating events that may be strikingly contradictory. On the other hand, the actual homicide victim, and the offender, may not be those who were initially involved in the acts that provoked the initial honour contest, but they may instead be individuals who were peripheral audience members to the initial exchanges.

An issue in the prosecution/defence of cases of honour contests may evolve on what kind of weapon the offender or his confederates brought into the scene, and if it was a dangerous weapon (gun, knife), the intent that can be argued because of the presence of that weapon. The use of handguns in honour contests is rare in Australia.

While these observations are derived from analysis of a large volume of homicides across a number of investigations, it is important to note that there will be spontaneous lethal encounters involving unrelated males where not all elements of the idealised honour contest are present. Two drunken males may wander together or separately out of a pub, and later one of them is found to have been beaten to death by the other. There may be little more that is knowable about such encounters, since there were no witnesses, and cases exist where the offender was so drunk that he has little recollection of the what caused the violence. Further, there will be cases where there is a killing involving males in a scene such as a pub, where there has been a fight, where the reasons for the fight are not well comprehended within the term “honour contest.” Tomsen (1997) has argued that at times there will be males for whom fighting is something akin to a form

of recreation, and that a “top night” out would not be complete without violence. In short, there will be some spontaneous killings involving males where honour and disrespect on not the issues that impel the offender to kill.

Fetching a Weapon

The ideal type of quickly developing honour contest sometimes shifts, and the actions become extended in time when one of the parties leaves the immediate scene of the conflict to fetch a weapon that is then brought back in and results in the lethal violence. Not only are such lethal encounters more complex because of the extended time dimension, the act of procuring the weapon may raise issues of intention and motivation that take different form than in the more spontaneously occurring honour contest. However, culpability, as Polk (1994) suggests, can become confused here since there are cases where the ultimate victim was the person who brought the weapon back into the scene.

Purposeful Offender/Passive-Innocent Victim

In many, if not most, honour contest homicides, there is some clear involvement, that is, an active role, of both offender and victim in the escalating steps leading to the homicide. There are those events, however, where the ultimate victim has not participated actively in the exchanges, and is, in fact, an innocent victim of relatively unprovoked violence. This can happen, for example, where a group of rowdy young males prowls a venue such as a train station, and come upon an isolated male who suddenly becomes a target for their aggression through no action, or fault, on the victim's part. There are other documented cases where the victim of the honour contest is in fact a totally innocent bystander who happens to be in the wrong place at the wrong time, for example, where a patron of a bar becomes drunk and abusive, and is ejected from a bar, and then goes to his vehicle and drives in circles around the parking lot at high speed, and then a totally uninvolved person who is passing by is hit and killed (recklessness on the part of an offender may be an issue in such cases).

Lethal Violence as a Form of Dispute Resolution

Another form of violence identified in the work of Polk (1994, 1995) is that found where violence has been chosen as a method of dispute resolution. This violence has its origins in a relationship of some standing between victim and offender that might consist of lending money, sharing a house, engaging in risky business of various kinds together (thus it differs sharply from the rapidly escalating and spontaneous violence of the honour contest). Over time, a dispute emerges among the parties, and gradually one or the other reaches the point where they decide that violence is a device for resolving the conflict. Thus, in addition to a relationship of some duration, the violence is likely to display elements of intention and planning (for example, obtaining a weapon prior to the killing). Since such extreme violence involves considerable risks, it is not likely to be undertaken where more conventional forms of dispute resolution are readily available. In fact, most of this pattern of violence is by its very nature likely to be concentrated in highly marginalised groups, and will bear a close resemblance to what Black (1998; see also Mouzos, 2003) refers to as killing as “self-help.” The specific factors that provoke the violence may vary widely, sometimes it is a debt that has not been paid (as between persons involved in

dealing with drugs), at times the argument may involve issues of sharing of a flat, in other cases the matters may assume a pattern of “score settling” involving an argument which has niggled between the parties for some time. Some of these killings may involve groups of young males who have been feuding for some lengthy period of time, although patterns of gang violence as seen in the United States are not commonly a part of the current Australian scene (where gang violence exists, it may require a special sub-category within this scheme). The circumstances that tend to differentiate this pattern from such other contexts as honour contests is that there is some thread of involvement or personal contact between offender and victim that ties the two over time, and it is the unravelling of that bond that results in the lethal violence.

Vigilante Killings

Within marginalised communities, a form of violence that is not uncommon involves killings where an individual, or more commonly a group, have discovered (correctly or incorrectly) that someone in their circle has engaged in what they considered to be a reprehensible act that they must correct themselves. In a typical case allegations may emerge that the victim has been sexually abusing a child within the family or friendship circle. This is another instance of the “self-help” scenario suggested by Black (1998; see also Mouzos, 2003), since from a theoretical point of view it is of interest to consider why the offenders in these circumstances feel that they must take action themselves, rather than relying upon the criminal justice system. The important defining characteristic of these killings, in contrast to other forms of dispute resolution, is that the offenders have reason to believe that the victim involved has broken some law, so that the “self-help” involved in these cases consists of using personal violence as an alternative to calling upon the formal criminal justice system.

Professional/Contract Killings

An ultimate form of dispute resolution consists of professional or contract killings that arise as a result of dispute between figures within the criminal underworld. The presence of this sub-category provides recognition that in some conflict resolution homicides, the killing will be arranged so that a third party actually carries out the killing, that person being paid a fee for the homicide. There is, of course, a long tradition for this form of violence, and some amount of this form of homicide is virtually inevitable where relatively highly organised forms of criminal activity exist, and where, by their very nature the resulting organizations do not have access to alternative dispute resolution processes.

Prison Killings

One problematic form of killing in terms of classification is that found where the homicide occurs among prison inmates. These are difficult to assess because so little will be known about the events surrounding the death. The intense demands of prison culture dictate that inmates typically will be reluctant to provide any information about the homicide. Nonetheless, in most of the cases the killing will be a result of a dispute that arises between inmates, even if we can not be sure the exact character and details of the conflict. Lacking any other information, for now the suggestion is that such homicides be noted within the general category of violence as

a form of conflict resolution, making sure, of course, that the information that the killing has taken place within a prison is preserved.

Homicide Resulting from the Commission of another Crime

The third major grouping of homicides involving unrelated individuals consists of those that result directly from the commission of another crime. The key to understanding these is that there is a direct connection between the original crime (such as armed robbery or burglary) and the death of the victim. It is proposed here that victims of sexual crimes, such as sexual assault, be classified separately below so that the sexual element of the crime is preserved in the classification of the event.

Victims of the Original Crime

The largest grouping of these homicides will consist of those cases where the victim of the original crime, such as an armed robbery, becomes a victim of the homicide as well (Polk, 1994, referred to these as “double victims” since they were victims both of the initial crime and then the homicide). In this context it needs to be noted that the term “direct connection” can actually be complex, and require a careful tracing of the case through the files of the coroner’s inquest, since there will be cases where the death comes sometime after the actual initial crime, for example, in cases where an elderly and ill shop keeper suffers a heart attack immediately after a robbery (and thus the coroner finds that the death was a result of the initial crime).

Offender Killed by Police

There are times when events in the course of a risky crime turn out different to that planned by the offender, and in fact the initial criminal is the one who becomes the ultimate victim of the homicide. The first of these involves circumstances where the offender is killed by the police. In general, these will be dealt with by the criminal justice system as justifiable homicides.

Offender Killed by Citizen

Some cases of “reverse victims” involve situations where the original criminal offender is killed by a citizen, as has happened in cases where persons engaging in a burglary are encountered by the owner of the premises, and in the exchange that follows the offender is killed.

Offender Killed by Other Offender

A final possibility for reverse victimisation is where the person is killed not by police, but in fact by his criminal confederates during the course of a violent crime that goes wrong.

Sexual Predation/Exploitation

Another form of homicide involving the commission of another crime is that where some form of sexual predation or exploitation is involved. One form this can take is where the crime

involved is sexual assault or rape, and in such circumstances it may be *that the killing is not an intended part of the original crime*. In other circumstances, especially where the victim is a child, it may be the case that part of the *pattern of sexual predation involves, or even requires, that the killing take place* either as part of the sexual pattern or because it is required to cover up the identity of the offender. Since much of serial killing has its origins in sexual predation and sexual violence, this is a place where these events can be placed as well.

Homophobic Killing

In any large body of contemporary data on homicide involving unrelated males, some amount of homophobic violence is likely to occur. In one variation of these, a male, or more likely a group of males, makes a foray into territory where gay men are known to congregate for the purposes of beating up homosexuals (“gay bashing”). These events can be complicated to sort out when in the course of the beating the male victims are robbed as well, since such homicides will have elements of the “other crime” scenario as well as the homophobic violence (if the major task is classification, then the event should be considered in light of what the initial intent of the offenders appears to have been, if that can be established from the available information). A second pattern involves those situations in which the violence is argued to be in response to an unwanted sexual advance. The actual structure of this form of violence may be hard to classify accurately, since the initial events may have the appearance of a spontaneous encounter, with the homophobic panic defence being offered up after the fact as a possible legal defence for the violence.

“Accidental” Killings

Some killings involving unrelated males will take the form of what appear to be “accidental” shootings. For these to be considered as homicides, there will have to be some level of negligence claimed by the justice authorities. Examples would include deaths where a group of young males are “playing” games with a handgun, and it goes off, where teenage boys are playing with a rifle or handgun, pointing the weapon at one another, and it goes off, or where a hunter negligently fires a high powered rifle in a direction where there are houses and a person is killed as a result. On the other hand, a purely accidental shooting, for example where a loaded weapon is accidentally dropped and it discharges, killing a fellow hunter nearby (and where these facts were verified by police and/or coronial inquest), where the death was defined as excusable, would not be classified as a criminal homicide for present purposes.

Mass Killings/Spree Killings

While relatively rare, another form of killing nearly always involving male offenders is that where a number of victims are killed in the single event. This form of multiple homicide has been called a “murder spree” and has been described in the following terms:

Victims of a murder spree typically are selected by chance: they tend to come into contact with their killer purely by accident A murder spree is characterised by the death of several victims over a rather short time span . . . at the hands of a relatively

reckless assailant who kills thoughtlessly upon impulse or expediency. (Holmes & De Burger, 1988, p. 18)

Examples in Victoria are the Hoddle Street (where 7 persons were killed) and the Queen Street killings (where 8 were killed) that took place in 1988 (for a description, see Polk, 1994, p. 137).

Homicides Involving Related Individuals (Sexual or Kinship Bond)

A second broad category of killings consists of those situations where the offender and victim are connected by virtue of a sexual or kinship bond. However, some variations exist within this category.

Men Killing Their Sexual Partners

A first group of these cases involves homicides where the victim has been a sexual partner out of a motive of *jealousy or sexual control*. A common and persistent statement of the offenders in such cases is “If I can’t have her, no one will.” Often these will show a long pattern of physical violence before the homicide. A key issue in the legal consideration of these cases will be the level of intention regarding the killing, since in a large proportion of these jealousy/control homicides the offender will have planned the homicide, including obtaining a prohibited weapon, plotting the movements of the victim, arranging the lethal encounter at a time of maximum victim vulnerability, etc. While jealousy features centrally in many of these, the underlying issue is what Daly and Wilson (1988) refer to as “sexual proprietariness” and, accordingly, the behaviour of the male is about exerting his ultimate control of the woman he considers to be “his.” These writers have argued that while jealousy is common to many,

a better label might be *male sexual proprietariness*. It is manifested in the dogged inclination of men to control the activities of women, and in the male perspective according to which sexual access and woman’s reproductive capacity are *commodities* that men can “own” and exchange. This proprietary point of view is furthermore inextricably bound up with the use of threat of violence in order to maintain sexual exclusivity and control. (p. 182)

Accordingly, it is to be expected that while jealousy is common, there will be cases where there is no present problem of jealousy, and instead the issues provoking the violence are to be found in the attempts of the woman to evade or escape the control of the male. Thereby, the violence may be triggered by the woman simply announcing that she is leaving, or when papers are presented such as those stating that a divorce is being sought. There is a need to explore further the dynamics of intimate partner homicide in Australia to observe if the long term downward trend in women being killed by their sexual partners in Canada (Johnson & Hotton, 2003) is found here as well.

A second group of homicides of female sexual partners by their male companions consists of those cases where the woman is killed by a male who is profoundly depressed, and *her homicide is part of his planned suicide*. In one variation of this scenario, the man and

woman are elderly, and the male has become depressed over his health, or perhaps her health, or the health of the two. Unable to face a further deterioration, the male decides to commit suicide, and further decides that the killing of his wife should be part of his suicide plan (one of the males in the cases reviewed by Polk [1994, p. 44] referred to this as “double euthanasia”). In another variation, the male is distressed by some form of economic calamity, and sees no way out but to take his life. As with the other pattern, his wife’s homicide becomes part of his suicide plan. Polk (1994) notes that this pattern of partner suicide followed by homicide involves males as offenders, and it is quite uncommon for women to be involved in this scenario. These cases can become exceptionally difficult for the criminal justice system when the suicide is unsuccessful, especially where the male is elderly and infirm.

Men Killing Men within the Context of Intimacy

A further group of homicides involving male offenders occurs when the victim of the sexually motivated homicide is another male, most often one who is seen as a potential sexual rival. Thus, within the sexual triangle that can result as one relationship disintegrates, the victim that the violent male elects, rather than the sexual partner, may be his sexual rival. In some actual cases, the male victim may not have established a relationship with the woman, since at times all that has happened is that the victim has intervened in some way, and then becomes a target for the anger and violence of the offender as a result of his attempt to protect or shelter the woman.

A further scenario of male on male violence within the context of sexual intimacy can, of course, involve *homosexual lovers*. While provision for this pattern is a necessary part of a logical scheme for classification, the evidence suggests that in the current scene within Australia, such events are rare (Polk, 1994, did not find any such homicides in the years covered in his research in Victoria). A further possibility, of course, would be that the target for the offender might be a gay sexual rival, but that, too, appears to be a rare phenomenon in Australia.

Women Killing Men

While much less common than men killing women, there are a number of cases where women are responsible for the deaths of their male sexual partners. Many of these are situations where the woman’s violence is *provoked by the violence of the male*. In the most extreme of these cases, the woman is clearly defending herself against life threatening violence, and she will be able to succeed in a claim that the killing was in legitimate self defence. In other circumstances, there may exist a long and persistent pattern of violence on the part of the male, but the particular features of the homicide are such that self-defence cannot be claimed successfully, yet it still may be possible to argue that the woman’s behaviour fits what has been termed the battered women’s syndrome. As well, there will be cases where while there appears to be a history of violence in the relationship, from the viewpoint of the criminal justice authorities the killing cannot be seen to be in any way justified by that prior history.

While there is often a history of male violence in circumstances where women kill their partners, there are a number of cases where other factors provoke the homicide. While rarer than is the case of homicides where men kill their female partners, women occasionally kill out of either jealousy or in an attempt to use violence as a way of exerting control over their sexual

partners. Further, women, too, can be involved in what appear to be “spontaneous flare-ups,” often where use of alcohol or drugs are present, that result in the homicide of the male intimate partner (Mouzos, 2003). Finally, while rare, women may use homicide as a method for ridding themselves of unwanted partners (although they will often enlist the help of other males in this task). An important difference in female perpetrated intimate partner homicide is that, in contrast with male offenders, nearly always only the male partner is the homicide victim, whereas a significant proportion of males will kill other family members, most often their children (Johnson & Hotton, 2003).

Women Killing Women

As is true for men, in cases of sexual intimacy the violence of women can be focused on a same sex target. Women, too, although much less often than men, may use lethal violence to rid themselves of *sexual rivals*. This form of violence by women, as with men, can be focused on gay lover partners.

Child Killings: Filicide

Unfortunately, children as well as adults can become victims of homicide. With older children, above the age of 9 or 10, an overwhelming percentage of the offenders are both male and unrelated. Since these cases of homicide with older children in general share the same features as with older victims of such violence, it is suggested here that these be classified and considered within the categories suggested for killings involving unrelated individuals (with the cases clearly coded by age so that it is possible to examine child victims separately when such an analysis is called for). For younger children, and this is especially true for cases under the age of six, the offenders are nearly always to be found within one or another of the close kinship bonds. It is essential in these cases that there be a clear identification of the sex of the offenders since there can be important differences between female and male offenders. Previous analyses (e.g., Wallace, 1986; Wilczynski, 1997) have reported that filicide is one of the few forms of violence where female offenders numerically are found roughly in the same numbers as male offenders. Further, proportionally more of the female filicide offenders are the natural mothers than are male offenders natural fathers (i.e., step-father offenders are numerically much more common than are step-mother offenders; see Alder & Polk, 2001). Concerning sex of the victim, Alder and Polk (2001) have pointed out that in the case of younger child victims of homicide (involving mostly filicides) there tends to be no significant difference in the patterns of homicide by sex of the victim, but, for the older child homicide victims (involving nearly always an unrelated male offender), there are sharp differences in the rates and patterns of homicide according to the sex of the victim (i.e., older boys are not only more likely to be victims of lethal violence, how they are killed tends to differ from the victimisation patterns of girls).

Remembering the importance of preserving information regarding the sex of the offender, the following are the major forms of filicide. *Neonaticide* involves the killing of an infant in the first 24 hours of its life, and where the data are available, in Australia at least nearly always is a form of killing involving female offenders, in this case the natural mothers (Alder & Polk, 2001; Wallace, 1986). *Fatal physical assault*, most often involving the battering of a small child, is a form of filicide where recent Australian evidence suggests male (often the de facto partner of the

mother) offenders slightly more often than female offenders (Alder & Polk, 2001). *Homicide of a child or children, followed by the suicide of the offender* (or attempted suicide) is a pattern involving both female and male offenders, although there tend to be some important gender differences in the specific motivations of these homicides.

Other Family Relationships

While in an overwhelming majority of circumstances family bonds are safe and protective, there are those exceptional cases where a homicide occurs within relationships of kinship. These rare cases are puzzling on many counts, and their classification within categories of family connection is not entirely satisfactory. That is, in most other groupings where there is a reference to the social context, the very grouping suggests a background to the factors that provoke the homicide (as when terms are used such as “honour contest,” “dispute resolution,” or “jealousy”). Nonetheless, some killings occur between family members that are not classifiable within the other groupings of social context, so for now what is suggested is that these preserve the specific nature of the family bond that links victim to offender. In Australia, it is likely that the following groupings will be sufficient: (1) *Parents as victims*, including both mothers (matricide) and fathers (patricide); (2) *Siblings as victims*, including sisters (sororicide) and brothers (fratricide); and (3) *Other family members as victims*, including grandparents and other family. Where an investigation covers a large number of years, or a large number of homicides (as in the United States), an exceptionally large number of possible categories might be required if all possible family dyads are to be recorded (cousin-cousin, nephew-aunt, etc.), but such homicides are quite rare and for present purposes sufficient information regarding the family context results from the classification of the event as “other family homicide” (as long, of course, as more detailed qualitative information is preserved elsewhere in the files).

Mental Impairment/Gross Mental Illness

Some killings, while they initially may appear to fall within another context (for example, a filicide which fits the pattern of fatal physical assault) come to be seen by the criminal justice system as resulting from some high level of mental impairment, or gross mental illness. These would include cases, for example, where powerful inner “voices” tell the killer that the victim is an “instrument of the devil,” and these same voices demand that the offender destroy the victim. Most of these will come to be defined as killings that are the result of the inability of the offender to “tell right from wrong” and thereby the case will meet the restrictive definitions of legal insanity. Where a number of forensic psychiatrists agree that the homicide results from a high level of mental impairment, the placement of the case within this grouping is relatively straightforward. Unfortunately, there are cases where the matter is not clear-cut. There are those cases where the circumstances of the killing do not fit easily into other groupings, where the motivations or explanations for the killing seem highly unusual or bizarre, where there may be a history of mental illness, yet where there is little or no consensus from psychiatric interviews regarding the mental impairment of the offender. In general, what is suggested here is that a conservative approach be taken to classifying cases of homicide as a result of mental impairment or gross mental illness be restricted to those instances where there is some degree of psychiatric consensus, and that these difficult cases that do not meet this strict criterion be classified elsewhere.

Other Killings, Not Otherwise Classifiable

It is inevitable that even with a relatively comprehensive set of groupings for the classification of homicide, there will be some where there are a clear set of circumstances that an outside observer can interpret in terms of the social dynamics that have resulted in the killing, but the case does not fit within the major general classifications that are provided here. These are likely to be events that an outsider can “understand” as a possible motivation for homicide, but which are relatively rare. One such example would be a mercy killing, where (as in an actual case reported by Polk, 1994) a person who has become a quadriplegic over time pleads with a friend to kill him, and ultimately those pleas are heeded.

Other Killings, Known Circumstances, Social Context Not Definable (“Special,” “Distinctive,” or “Mystery” Cases)

A further set of problem cases arise when despite the presence of a reasonable amount of information about the homicide, including certainly the traditional “social relationship” category, on the basis of the facts that are available it simply is not possible to place the violence within the dynamics of the other social contexts provided by the present framework. Polk (1994) reports several of these cases, including one involving a husband who killed his wife, another where a young man killed his brother, and yet another where, on the basis of the records available, there simply were no clear set of reasons why the killing had occurred. The individuals involved knowingly killed his wife in one case and his brother in the other, but neither could offer a reason (at least for the official record) for the death. Certainly on the basis of the known information, there did not appear to be anything in the social context that provoked the homicide. These cases, referred to by Polk (1994) as “special” and Alder and Polk (2001) as “distinctive,” represent for the social analyst true “mysteries” since, on the basis of the data available in the records, no clear accounting of the social dynamics will be forthcoming.

Facts of Homicide Unknown for Purposes of Understanding Social Context

The final set of problem cases involves those cases where too little is known about the homicide to provide any clues regarding the nature of the victimisation. Commonly these clearly will be homicides (that is, the death was not “natural,” “accidental,” or a result of suicide), but little other than that will be known. These often involve cases where a body is found in a locations such as a park, reserve, or perhaps bushland, where the death was not self-induced, but where there is no evidence of an event such as an armed robbery or sexual assault that might explain why the body has been abandoned, nor is there a history of known involvement in criminal activity that might suggest the death is a contract killing. Further, by definition, since an offender cannot be identified (nor even the pattern inferred) no traditional form of “social relationship” can be assumed. This category can be kept to a minimum if the analysis is able to make some inferences even where little is known, as for example considering the case of a body of a service station attendant found at the scene of what clearly seems to be an armed robbery as homicide in the course of other crime, despite that little is actual known about the specific events involved in the homicide itself. Further, if the files are kept “open” for some period of time, it often transpires that information comes available at a later date that provides an explanation for the events that have lead to these killings that for known must be classified as unknowable.

CONCLUSIONS REGARDING EXAMINING THE SOCIAL CONTEXT OF HOMICIDE

The general thrust of this discussion has been to expand upon the earlier insights that have developed in the criminological analysis of homicide. From the early research, including that of Wolfgang (1958) and Silverman and Kennedy (1987, 1993) there has been a consistent focus on the importance of the nature of the social dynamics that link the victim and offender. Recent thinking (e.g, Alder & Polk, 2001; Mouzos, 2000, 2003; Polk, 1994) has argued for conceptualization of these patterns of social relationships such that there is a focus on the nature of the interactions that result in the lethal violence. In the present discussion of the contexts of homicide, this form of analysis has been further refined. The result is a set of categories that recognise consistently the gendered nature of violence in contemporary society, going beyond simply noting that there tends to be a gender bias to violence. While it is true that men are more likely to be caught up in social scenes of violence, there are important differences to the patterns of masculine violence. Homicides resulting from spontaneous encounters, for example, have different social contours, and tend to involve somewhat different characters, than are found in homicides resulting from other crimes such as armed robbery. Similarly, while women homicide offenders are rare, and while when it does occur it tends to involve situations of intimacy, here too it is the case that there are sharply different dynamics where the victim of the violence is the sexual partner in contrast to situations where the victim is the natural child of the woman.

Further, while the present examination of the social contexts of lethal violence is a logical extension of a long tradition of work on the social relationship dimension of homicide, it is important to underscore the limits of this form of analysis. Even with relatively rich data from files such as a coroner's inquest or those from a prosecution unit, there will be limits to what can be done in terms of the examination of social contexts. Some of these limits are inherent in the often convoluted and hazy recollections of what has transpired after the event, with the information on some cases being so chaotic that little definition can be given to the events that resulted in the killing. Put simply, even with the best of data, some mysteries will remain. In addition, there often will be multiple motivations of offenders as the context unfolds, and what may begin as one kind of interaction can gradually shift and become something rather different as the violence reaches its lethal climax. Some killings, in short, may cross the boundaries that are described in the present report as the events unfold.

Nonetheless, the key assumption that runs through the present analysis is that much of the understanding of lethal violence rests in a grasp of the social circumstances that have brought the victim and the offender to the point where lethal violence occurs. The purpose of this report has been to provide a description of the latest thought about how we might best understanding the diverse possible social relationships that result in lethal violence between victim and offender.

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DISCUSSION

Becky Block: Paul, could you translate *slagwapen*, *hoera*, and *liquidation* for us?

Paul Nieuwebeerta: *Slagwapen* is a blunt instrument, *hoera* are parks, and *liquidation* is professional executions, similar to murder-for-hire.

Roland Chilton: Did you study the victim and offender relationship?

Paul Nieuwebeerta: Yes, we used the relationship to classify the types of homicide.

Becky Block: How are you defining same-sex partner relationship?

Paul Nieuwebeerta: We included four lesbian homicides in the study, there were an unknown number of men, very little information on these types of relationships.

Brian Wiersema: Did you compare your murder rates with the world health survey or world health statistics?

Paul Nieuwebeerta: We used data from the Home Office; it is difficult finding statistics.

Rolf Loeber: Is it possible to find the types and origins of guns used?

Paul Nieuwebeerta: You know more about gun legislation than I do; hardly anyone has a gun in the Netherlands.

Al Blumstein: Thirty-eight percent of your homicides were from firearms?

Paul Nieuwebeerta: Most firearms are illegal, possessed by criminals.

Derral Cheatwood: Are these *dead body* homicides, not just attempts?

Paul Nieuwebeerta: Completed, dead bodies.

Paul Blackman: In the Netherlands, 2% of households claim gun ownership.

Terry Miethe: From an historical perspective, do you have concerns about the quality of data-types covered through media coverage?

Paul Nieuwebeerta: Intimate partner homicides are underreported in the news. Also, the police do not report to the media. We use many different sources to create our dataset.

Dick Block: The tabloids report multiple times the same crime which leads to overreporting and overlapping incidents.

Paul Nieuwebeerta: That's true.

Dick Block: In Amsterdam, their hot spots or red light districts have high homicide rates. Are you doing spacial analysis? And, is the nature of homicide quite different -- more domestic or unusual -- than the in the U.S.?

Paul Nieuwbeerta: No one knows. Many people say that. Official statistics do not separate attempted and completed homicides. Also, executions have been reported to go up but statistics do not prove this as the data is only 10 years old.

Mike Maltz: Cathrien, will the method take more than two dimensions?

Paul Blackman: How many murders are non-negligent manslaughter (similar to assault)?

Catrien Bijleveld: Not sure the same categorization in the Netherlands, a vast majority are non-murder, 10% are premeditated.

Paul Blackman: How many are unintended or assaults that lead to death?

Catrien Bijleveld: Fifty to 100.

Marc Riedel: If during a robbery there results an unintended murder, is it a robbery classification?

Catrien Bijleveld: Robbery with special circumstance (aggravated).

Dwayne Smith: Will official agencies from the Netherlands speak to the group regarding coding schemes -- for example, how Medical Examiner's findings are coded?

Catrien Bijleveld: The police have to decide first, but the most important party is the prosecution.

Kim Vogt: Do we know the number of homicides from the death certificates?

Catrien Bijleveld: There are 50-100 per year discrepancy.

Paul Smit: [Puts up slides of homicide rates from 1950-2000 ranging from 0.2/100,000 to 2.0/100,000.]

Al Blumstein: Tom, there are two variables that capture your ideas; "vulnerability" decreasing with age and "exposure to threat" increasing with age.

Tom McEwan: Accepted -- try to find those generalizations.

Rick Rosenfeld: You are proposing that we require distinct theories for the types of homicides?

Tom McEwan: Yes, until you can make a general statement that we don't need to.

Rick Rosenfeld: Assume Durkheim's theory is true. If more up on level of analysis is one productive way to generate what we want.

Tom McEwan: We don't want many homicides, but I think the U.S. is too quick to accept categories that are worthless.

Mike Maltz: "Valley of Shadow of Death" for under five victims, they were all equal but not really equal. Look at *per hour of exposure* to child more exposed, less likely?

Terry Miethe: Homicide is incredibly patterned in the way people kill (structure) gender difference that is very clear -- combinations of attributes that quantitative people can identify. General theories allow us to identify the structure -- difficult is the process.

Tom McEwan: I agree.

Becky Block: Preaching to the choir . . . looking at category "intimate/partner violence" is different by age.

Tom McEwan: We did not have that kind of data. We did talk about the forms of homicide, but didn't have such categories as "school shootings" and "exposure to guns."

Roger Trent: The field is dominated by the thought that "homicide" is a police and legal term, but "death at the hands of another" -- such as execution and war -- you'd have to have categories that encompass all.

Tom McEwan: The nature of social relationships -- much of criminological analysis does take into account the social relationship that defines the individual. I was surprised by "negligent death at work." Look at how those homicides are dealt with differently by police and the courts.

CHAPTER NINE

THE CALIFORNIA LINKED HOMICIDE FILE: EXPLORING ITS USEFULNESS

THE CALIFORNIA LINKED HOMICIDE FILE: EXPLORING A NEW DATA SOURCE

Marc Riedel
Southern Illinois University
Crime Studies Center, MC4504, Carbondale, IL 62901

Wendy C. Regoeczi
Cleveland State University
1860 East 22nd Street, Cleveland, OH 44114

ABSTRACT

There have been a number of studies comparing Supplementary Homicide Reports (SHR) to vital statistics (VS) records. The prior research has made aggregate comparisons using the nation, states, or counties as a unit of analysis. While the studies have described differences and similarities between the two data sources, there has been only one previous effort, begun, but not finished, of linking the two data sources on a case-by-case basis. Linking together of the two data sources would permit case-level comparison of such variables as education and marital status with law enforcement data. The California Linked Homicide File, completed by Roger Trent and his colleagues at the California Department of Health Services, has matched 32,163 of 34,584 VS records to SHR records for the years 1990-1999. This study has a twofold purpose: (a) to examine the amount of agreement on matched cases for variables reported by both data sources, and (b) to compare variables on matched cases with 2,241 cases that are reported as SHR homicides, but could not be matched with VS.

INTRODUCTION

Homicide is the only offense for which there are two nationwide reporting systems that gather detailed information on the entire population of events. When a suspected homicide is reported, both the police (or appropriate law enforcement agency) and county medical examiners or coroners begin an investigation. The two offices determine independently whether a homicide has occurred.

Medical examiners are charged with assigning a cause of death and judging whether medical evidence indicates that the death occurred by the actions of another person. While limited to victim characteristics, medical examiner records contain information about variables like marital status and education that are not available from police records.

Police, on the other hand, have responsibilities related to criminal law. They conclude whether a criminal homicide has occurred and, if so, develop records to facilitate the investigation, arrest, and prosecution of offenders. Police records contain information about offenders and arrests as well as victim characteristics.

To satisfy the demands of national reporting programs, a subset of information is extracted from both medical examiner and police records and forwarded to state reporting agencies. All states have vital statistics offices to which death certificates are forwarded. Many police jurisdictions send their data to state level agencies, but, as has been discussed elsewhere, some police jurisdictions report directly to the Uniform Crime Reporting (UCR) Program (Riedel, 1999).

The information collected at the state level is transmitted to national reporting programs and reported annually. Police-based data go to the UCR Program while copies of death certificates go to the Mortality Division of the National Center for Health Statistics. Hereafter, death certificate information will be referred to as vital statistics (VS) records.

Unless homicide researchers obtain information directly from the official records of reporting agencies, data are taken from the Supplementary Homicide Reports (SHR), one of the forms used by the UCR program. Unlike other UCR forms, the SHR gives the age, race/ethnicity, and gender of victims and offenders, victim/offender relationships, weapons, locations, and circumstances of each homicide. Because VS gives much of the same information, albeit limited to victims, two questions have been raised.

First, because both data sources provide records on the most completely reported crime, to what extent do they agree? As the following section will demonstrate, the general answer is that the larger the unit of analysis, the greater the amount of agreement. Conversely, the smaller the units, like states, counties, and cities, the greater the disagreement.

Second, although both data sources report on the same event, the information gathered by the two sources overlap rather than being identical. Thus, while both sources gather information on the age, race/ethnicity, and gender of victims, SHR collects the same information on available offenders while VS does not. On the other hand, VS gathers information on victim's education and marital status while SHR does not. Under the circumstances, why not merge the two data sets for one comprehensive data set on homicide?

Efforts have been made to merge the two data sources, but the California Linked Homicide file appears to be the first to accomplish this task.¹ The purpose of this paper is a description and exploration of this data set and will focus on two general questions. First, for the variables shared by both data sources, what is the extent of agreement? Second, what are the differences between a sample of the matched cases for the two data sources and those cases classified as SHR homicides that could not be matched with cases from the VS file?

¹California Department of Health Services, Epidemiology and Prevention for Injury Control (EPIC) Branch, Violent Injury Surveillance Program. Linked Homicide File, 1990-1991. October, 2001.

AGREEMENT BETWEEN UCR AND VS DATA

National Comparisons

One of the earliest comparisons of UCR and VS data was done by Hindelang (1974). Hindelang compared national UCR murder and nonnegligent manslaughter from 1940 through 1970 to those provided by the National Center for Health Statistics. Hindelang concluded that “CHS [Center for Health Statistics] and UCR are in reasonably close agreement with respect to estimates of homicide rates in the period for which data from both sources are available; to the extent that one lends credence to the CHS results, credence is also lent to the UCR homicide results” (p. 5).

To some extent, the agreement is a function of the UCR measure used. Hindelang used annual Return A rates. Return A, Crimes Known to the Police, is a monthly aggregate that includes offenses reported, founded, and cleared. Return A also uses estimates to account for underreporting (Riedel, 1999).

Annual Return A rates are typically higher than SHR rates. Riedel (1999) calculated Return A rates and SHR rates and compared them to VS rates from 1960 through 1994. Dividing VS rates by Return A estimates for the 32-year series resulted in a mean agreement ratio of 1.04, meaning that VS reported 4% more homicides than Return A. However, the mean agreement ratio for VS divided by SHR showed that VS reported 17.0% more homicides than SHR. Overall, Return A rates agreed well with VS rates, but the difference between VS and SHR rates were substantially larger, partly because not all homicides are reported on the SHR and partly because Return A uses estimates to account for underreporting.

Rokaw, Mercy, and Smith (1990) compared SHR frequencies to VS codes (E960.0-E969.9) from 1976-1982. E960.0 through E969.9 are homicide codes used by the *International Classification of Diseases, 9th edition*. For the SHR, murder, nonnegligent manslaughters, and justifiable homicides were included, and negligent manslaughters excluded. For the 7-year period, VS reported more homicides than the SHR. The mean difference of 1,791 more homicides for VS indicated that VS reported 9% more homicides than SHR. Ratios of the annual total frequencies did not vary in a systematic way. Examining the proportional distributions of homicide by month showed the seasonal patterns to be very close.

While SHR rates are generally lower than Return A or VS rates, this does not appear to be the case currently in California. In an analysis of clearance rates for Los Angeles taken from Return A from 1987-1998, monthly homicide frequencies agreed completely with what was reported on the SHR for Los Angeles as well as the remainder of the state (Riedel, in press).

Cantor and Cohen (1980) did an extensive analysis of eight time series compiled by VS, UCR, and the Office of Management and Budget. While there was close agreement between VS and Return A estimates from 1963-1973, they stress that correlations between the two time series will provide different results depending on the time period chosen between 1933-1975.

State Comparisons

In addition to a national comparison, Hindelang (1974) also compared VS and Return A estimates for each state for 1968. While they agree closely (the median difference value was eight), the differences were skewed toward more homicides being reported by VS.

Similarly, Rokaw et al. (1990) also did a state-by-state comparison for SHR and VS homicide frequencies. They found substantially different results from national comparisons. In 11 states for the 1976-1982 period, VS homicide reports exceed SHR reports by more than 20%. In four states, SHR reports exceed VS homicide reports. The authors conclude:

Some states had extreme variability in their annual ratios. Annual ratios (of SHR divided by VS) for New Mexico varied from 1.13 to 42.0 with a standard deviation of 15.32. Although the frequencies in many States were small for both systems, clearly the UCR system receives substantially fewer homicide reports from many states than does the mortality system. (p. 451).

In the Rokaw et al. (1990) research, California was among the states with the closest agreement between SHR and VS. For 1976-1982 the agreement ratio was 1.01, meaning that VS reported one percent more homicides than SHR. California VS reported 20,162 homicides while the SHR reported 20,015.

Keppel, Weis, and LaMoria (1990) developed the Homicide Information and Tracking System (HITS) to obtain information in the state of Washington. After a careful examination of information from VS, UCR, and local offices of police and medical examiners, Keppel et al. concluded there were 1,309 homicides in Washington from 1980 through 1986. Using this figure as a comparison base, the authors found that the largest amount of underreporting (-21.3%) was done by local medical examiners and coroners; the latter were followed in amount of underreporting by VS (-16.0%). The UCR underreported by 4.7% while local law enforcement underreported by only 0.5%.

County Comparisons

The question of agreement between VS and SHR is particularly important when the focus of the inquiry is counties or cities within counties. If VS and SHR statistics do not agree, then any results obtained run the risk of being affected by the particular data source used (Wiersema, Loftin, & McDowall, 2000). Wiersema et al. (2000) examined the amount of agreement between SHR and VS records for 3,111 counties or county equivalents in the United States from 1980-1988. The VS data used codes E960.0 through E969.9 while the SHR used murders and nonnegligent manslaughters excluding negligent manslaughters and justifiable homicides.

Using positive and negative differences between the two data sets, the authors found that in 22%, or 670 counties, the two homicide estimates agreed exactly. For more than two-thirds of the counties (2,120) the difference was ± 4 homicides or less. The full distribution of differences, however, extended from -474 to +3,121. Nine counties had differences between -474 and -30,

which means more SHR homicides were reported than VS homicides. There were 154 counties with differences between +30 and +3,121, which means more VS homicides were reported than SHR homicides.

The counties that report more VS than SHR homicides tend to contain larger cities. The counties with the largest positive differences contain Chicago, Houston, New York, Los Angeles, and Miami. For example, Cook County (Chicago) reported 8,089 VS homicides and 4,968 SHR homicides from 1980 through 1988 for positive difference of 3,121. Los Angeles had 13,531 VS and 12,543 SHR homicides for a difference of 988.

Counties with the largest negative differences -- that is, more SHR homicides were reported than VS homicides -- contain medium-sized cities. They were Franklin County, Ohio (Columbus), Alameda County, California (Oakland), Summit County, Ohio (Akron), San Joaquin County, California (Stockton), and Baltimore County, Maryland (suburban Baltimore). Columbus VS reported 314 homicides and 789 SHR homicides, for a difference of -475. In California, Oakland reported 1,164 VS homicides and 1,385 SHR homicides, for a difference of -221 while Stockton reported 403 VS homicides and 510 SHR homicides for a difference of -107 (Wiersema et al., 2000).

MERGING THE TWO DATA SOURCES

To the authors' knowledge there has been one attempt to merge SHR and VS data prior to the California Linked Homicide project. The Bureau of Justice Statistics attempted to create a comprehensive national homicide data base by merging VS data (E960.0-E978.9), which included homicides and legal intervention homicides, with SHR data including murders and nonnegligent manslaughters, negligent manslaughters, and justifiable homicides. Death certificates were obtained for all states for July 1986 from all states and the District of Columbia, except Maryland, New Jersey, Virginia, and upstate New York. Of the total VS cases (1,855) and total SHR cases (1,783), 1,191 cases were matched. This left 664 unmatched death certificates and 572 unmatched SHR cases (Rand, 1993).

CONCLUSIONS FROM EXISTING STUDIES

There are several conclusions that can be drawn from this review. First, high levels of agreement between VS and UCR have used national level data and relied on Return A estimates. More current national comparisons of SHR, Return A, and VS also show a high level of agreement between VS and Return A, but a substantially lower level when VS is compared to SHR. It seems likely that early national studies showing high levels of agreement capitalized on aggregation error and the higher frequencies of Return A estimates.

Second, although it is not uniformly true, VS reports more homicides than either Return A or the SHR. Even when more refined units of analysis are used such as states and counties, there are more instances of VS frequencies being higher than SHR frequencies than the reverse. One reason that VS generally reports more homicides than the SHR is because there is no separate category for justifiable homicides by civilians in VS while there is a separate classification for those offenses in the SHR. Thus, when murder and nonnegligent manslaughters

are compared to VS homicide classifications, there is overreporting because civilian justifiable homicides are included in the VS classification as homicides, but are not included in murders and nonnegligent manslaughters.

Third, many of the studies used the SHR category of murders and nonnegligent manslaughters and compared it to E960.0 through E969.9, which are the most comparable homicide codes. Rokaw et al. (1990) used murders and nonnegligent manslaughters and justifiable homicides and compared national and state frequencies to E970.0 through E978.9, legal intervention homicides. Legal intervention homicides are “injuries inflicted by the police or other law-enforcing agents, including military on duty, in the course of arresting or attempting to arrest lawbreakers, suppressing disturbances, maintaining order, and other legal action.” Legal intervention homicides also include legal executions. Although this was the only study to include justifiable homicides/legal intervention, the results suggest that the broader category provides the same results.

Fourth, because the focus of this paper is on homicide data in California, it is worth noting its position *vis-a-vis* other jurisdictions. In the comparisons made by Rokaw et al. (1990) reported VS homicides were 1% more than SHR homicides. Wiersema et al. (2000) found that among the five counties that reported the largest positive differences in favor of VS over SHR, three large counties reported greater differences than Los Angeles. Stockton and Oakland were among the five cities with the largest negative differences. However, an examination of the trends for the two cities indicate a convergence of VS and SHR counts in the last 2 or 3 years prior to 1988.

Fifth, as noted, early research indicated high agreement between the two data sources. However, as subsequent research used more refined units of analysis, substantial differences appeared. This has had two consequences. The high agreement found in early studies may have reinforced a belief that merging the two data sources would be an easy task. Rand (1993) efforts show that combining the two data sources is a formidable challenge. In addition, the research by Rokaw et al. (1990) and Wiersema et al. (2000) shows that there are high levels of agreement among many states and counties. The extreme differences between the two data sources are found in a few states and counties.

THE PRESENT STUDY

The difficulty is that while there is an abundance of suggestions as to why the two sources show differences, there is no research exploring why these differences occur. What we suggest as a future step in research is the selection of one or two counties in the same state in which there is high agreement and one or two counties where there is little agreement between the two sources. After selecting these two sets, what is needed is a detailed examination of how law enforcement and medical examiners in these jurisdictions make classification decisions, how they compile reports, how they interact with each other particularly when they disagree as to whether a homicide occurred, and the extent of their reporting. In short, what are the differences in processing between jurisdictions in which medical and law enforcement decisions agree and jurisdictions in which they disagree?

METHOD

The process of merging SHR and VS is described in detail in the documentation provided by the Epidemiology and Prevention for Injury Control (EPIC) Branch, Violent Injury Surveillance Program. Complete documentation is provided with the data set.

The SHR data set consisted of 34,584 homicides investigated and reported to the California Criminal Justice Statistics from 1990-1999. The Department of Health Services provided the death records on a death statistical master file. Because the goal was to link as many death records as possible to the homicide file, all 170,111 injury deaths (E800.0-E999.9) from 1990-1999 were used.

Integrity, formerly known as Automatch, was used to achieve the linkage between the two data sets. Integrity is a probabilistic linkage program that uses selected variables to link cases from the two data sources and assigns a final probability to the success of the linkage. Including the automated and manual linking that was done, 32,163 cases of the 34,584 cases were matched for a matching rate of 93%; 2,421 cases were designated homicides by law enforcement, but could not be matched so only SHR data are available for those cases. Other details of the matching process are available in the documentation

RESULTS

Agreement Between Common SHR and VS Variables

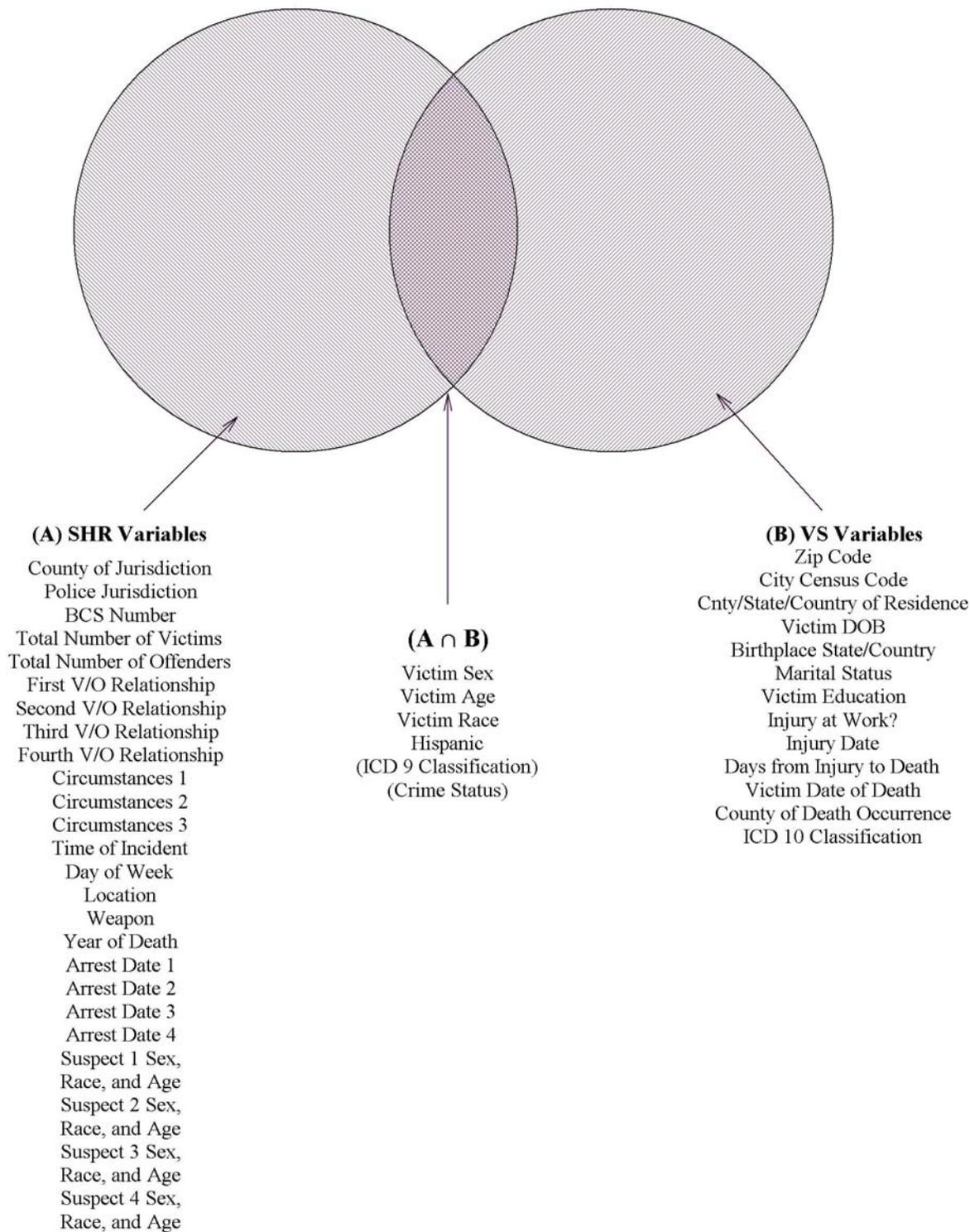
Figure 1 gives the relationships among SHR and VS variables for the two datasets where matching was possible. For the 32,163 matched cases, the intersection of A and B shown in this figure indicates variables that were reported reported by both data sources.

The list of SHR variables in Figure 1 are, no doubt, familiar to many homicide researchers. Less familiar to SHR users are the vital statistics on the right side of Figure 1. Researchers interested in homicide events will find variables such as victim education extremely useful as an indicator of social class, a measure consistently absent from law enforcement data. For example, one project currently being done is an exploration of how intimate partner homicides vary by educational level.

For variables reported by both sources, victim sex and age lend themselves to easy comparison. For the SHR, Hispanics are represented by one code under the race variable, while for VS, Hispanic is a separate variable composed of several codes for different Hispanic ethnic groups and whether they were born in the United States. We were able to collapse the latter codes to make them comparable to SHR race variable in order to study agreement. The ICD-9 and crime status are comparable in a different way and are discussed in the following section.

For comparison of the variables reported by both data sources as well as the logistic regression between matched and unmatched cases reported later, we omitted the years 1990 and 1991. This was made necessary by the fact that data collected on domestic violence and killings did not begin until 1992. This reduced the number of cases from 34,584 to 26,557.

FIGURE 1. Relationship Among SHR and VS Variables: The Matched File



Because information on drive-by shootings was collected beginning in 1996, we omitted these 313 cases, leaving us with a final data set of 26,244 cases. Of these, 24,426 cases were matched and 1,818 cases were unmatched.

Crime Status

The ICD-9 classification refers to the classification of personal injury deaths according to the 9th revision of the *International Classification of Diseases* (ICD). Because the ICD is revised approximately every 10 years, the 10th revision was used in 1999 (Riedel, 1999). In order to simplify our comparisons, we focused on the years from 1992 through 1998. The crime status variable used by the SHR includes willful homicides, and police and civilian justifiable homicides and manslaughters.

The matching process attempted to determine to what extent VS cases with personal injury codes (which include homicides) can be matched to SHR homicides. This means that while VS cases may be matched to SHR cases, it does not follow that matched VS cases were all classified as homicides. The extent to which they were or used other personal injury codes is the purpose of this comparison.

To compare SHR codes with VS, we collapsed the ICD-9 classification into homicides, legal interventions, and other kinds of personal injury. The results are given in Table 1.

TABLE 1. ICD by SHR Crime Status Classification, 1992-1998

ICD	SHR Crime Status (%)				Total
	Willful Homicides	Manslaughter	Civilian Justifiable	Police Justifiable	
Homicides	98.1	66.3	96.2	53.7	21,670
Legal Interventions	0.0	0.5	2.7	44.1	382
All Other	1.8	33.2	1.1	2.1	471
Total	21,034 100.0%	190 100.0%	476 100.0%	823 100.0%	22,523

Table 1 shows that VS and SHR generally agree (98.1%) on the broad category of homicides used by ICD and willful homicides or murder used in California. Sixty-six percent of events classified as manslaughters by the SHR are classified by VS as homicides while 33.2% are classified in other categories such as accidents.

In attempting to conceptually match SHR and VS classifications, Rokaw et al. (1990) suggests that negligent manslaughters are most comparable to accidents or homicides with undetermined intent. Table 1 suggests that a substantial number (66.3%) are also classified as

homicides by VS; about a third are classified as other types of personal injuries which may include accidents or undetermined intent.

Because VS has no separate classification for civilian justifiable homicides, it is not surprising that 96.2% of them are classified as homicides. Among the 476 cases classified as civilian justifiabiles, only 2.7% are classified as legal intervention and less than one percent are classified by VS as all other causes of injury.

We combined justifiable homicides by civilians with SHR homicides and reran Table 1. We found that it did not change the percent of agreement for VS and SHR homicides although it did increase the legal intervention category by less than one percent. Thus, the view that VS reports more homicides than SHR because it includes justifiable homicides by civilians while the SHR provides a separate classification is not supported by this analysis.

We also examined the agreement between data sources for California counties. We focused only on 20 of 57 California counties with 100 matched homicides or more from 1992 through 1998 (no homicides were recorded for Alpine County). The percentage of events classified as homicides by SHR and VS varied little throughout the selected counties; the lowest was for Santa Clara County (95.4%).

The number of manslaughter cases for each of the 20 counties were so small as to preclude any meaningful comparisons. Even for the county with the largest number of homicides, Los Angeles (9819), there were only 45 SHR manslaughters, 43 of which were classified as homicides by VS.

Table 1 indicates that SHR classifies more homicides as justified killings by police than VS. For 823 homicides, SHR classified 53.7% as justifiable homicides by police while VS classified them as homicides. By contrast, VS classified 44.1% as legal intervention homicides of the 823 SHR classified as justifiable homicides by police. Sherman and Langworthy (1979) also found that police classify more homicides by police as justifiable than medical examiners. It is tempting to suggest that police may classify more police shootings as justifiable to prevent police officers from being charged with an offense that carries criminal liability.

However, a different conclusion is supported when the 20 counties with more than 100 homicides are examined. In 10 counties, for the homicides that SHR classified as justifiable homicides by police, VS classified more of them as legal intervention than homicides. For example, in San Bernardino County, 63 of 1,408 homicides were classified as justifiable homicides by police. Of those, VS classified 79.4%% as legal interventions and 20.6% as homicides.

In seven counties, the percentages were reversed, that is, police justifiabiles were more frequently reported as homicides by VS than legal intervention homicides. Inspection suggests these are counties with larger numbers of homicides. For example, in Los Angeles County, 302 of 10,366 homicides were reported as justifiable homicides by police. Of those, an impressive 90.4% were reported as homicides by VS and 9.3% as legal intervention homicides.

There was one county (Fresno) in which SHR and VS agreed for 10 events and another 10 events that were classified as justifiable homicide by SHR and homicides by VS. There were two counties (Merced and Monterey) with a very small number of homicides that were classified as police justifiable by SHR and legal intervention by VS.

The results for Los Angeles County help to explain why more police justifiabiles were reported as VS homicides in Table 1. Of the 442 police justifiabiles reported as homicides by VS, 61.8% of them came from Los Angeles County. Thus, before concluding that police report more justifiable homicides than medical examiners, it is important to examine variations by counties. The result may be a function of a few counties with very large numbers of homicides. Additional support for this point of view comes from other studies, some of which used different units of analysis, that show legal intervention homicides mixed with other homicides. Of course, this does not answer the larger question of why there is variation by counties.

Gender

We also examined the amount of agreement between the SHR gender variable and the VS classification of gender. The results are given in Table 2.

TABLE 2. ICD by SHR Victim Gender Classification

ICD Victim Gender	SHR Victim Gender (%)		
	Male	Female	Total
Male	99.8	0.7	20,223
Female	0.2	99.3	4,203
Total	20,243 100.0	4,183 100.0	24,426

Not unexpectedly, the agreement on victim gender classification for VS and SHR is very close. Among 20,243 SHR male victims, only 0.2% were classified as female by VS; among 4,183 female victims, only 0.7% were classified as males by VS.

We made separate cross tabulations for murders, manslaughters, and justifiable homicides, and found similar small amounts of misclassification. Eight counties either agreed with the results in Table 2 or had a one percent or less disagreement. The remaining counties showed complete agreement between SHR and VS classifications.

Age

The mean SHR age was 30.04 ($\delta = 14.77$) while the VS mean age was 30.19 ($\delta = 14.68$). The correlation between the two series was 0.972. There were 13 VS cases missing information on age.

A more detailed examination of differences between SHR and VS ages is given in Table 3, which indicates a large spread of differences where we looked at whether VS ages were greater than SHR ages or the reverse. For example, there were three cases where the VS age was between 70 and 90 years greater than SHR age. Fortunately, these extreme cases were very few; if we include 2 years on either side of identical ages (79.9%), we include 95% of all the cases.

TABLE 3. Differences in Ages Between SHR and VS

	SHR Greater Than VS	Frequency	Percent
SHR Greater Than VS	50-69	2	0.0
	30-49	6	0.0
	10-29	126	0.5
	3-9	371	1.5
	1-2	2,407	9.9
Identical Agreement	0	19,501	79.9
	1-2	1,330	5.4
	3-9	363	1.5
VS Greater Than SHR	10-29	223	0.9
	30-49	65	0.3
	50-69	16	0.1
	70-90	3	0.0
	Total	24,413	100.0

We also examined age differences by counties. For the 20 counties with 100 or more homicides and examining only identical age percentages, 10 counties were greater than 79.9% with the highest percentage of agreement (88.1%) being Merced County. Eight counties had a percentage agreement less than 79.5% with the lowest agreement (59.1%) being San Francisco County. Los Angeles County had an agreement percentage of 79.5%. There is a tendency for counties with less than 100 homicides to have greater amount of agreement probably because there are fewer opportunities for disagreement.

Race/Ethnicity

To make the SHR and VS race variables comparable, we collapsed the 21 categories of VS into 17 categories to match the SHR classification. Unlike the SHR which includes Hispanics

as part of race classification, VS has a separate variable that distinguishes a variety of Hispanics and their places of origin. To make it two comparable variables, we collapsed the Hispanic variable into one category and merged it with the VS race variable.

Eighty-five percent of 10,097 Hispanic victims are Mexican/American or Chicanos; 11.7% are from Central or South America. The remainder are from Puerto Rico, Cuba, or are classified as other Spanish/Hispanic.

Table 4 examines the amount of agreement between the two data sources on race/ethnicity when VS Hispanics are defined to include any racial group. It can be seen that for the three largest race/ethnic groups (White, Hispanic, and Black), the agreement between SHR and VS classifications is high, ranging from 93.2% for Whites to 97.1% for Blacks. It is not clear what factors determine the fluctuations in classification of race/ethnic groups other than Whites, Hispanic, and Blacks. For example, the two data sources agree on the classification of Japanese (80.6%) even though there were only 36 victims. However, another group almost the same size, Pacific Islanders (n = 30), has an agreement of only 26.7% for the two data sources.

TABLE 4. Percent Agreement of VS Race/Ethnicity by Percent Agreement of SHR Race/Ethnicity

		SHR Race/Ethnicity					
VS Race/ Ethnicity	White (Not Hispanic)	Hispanic	Black	American Indian	Chinese	Japanese	
Percent Agree	93.2	93.2	97.1	45.7	57.6	80.6	
Total	5,573	10,395	6,848	116	85	36	
VS Race/ Ethnicity	Filipino	Other	Pacific Islander	Asian	Cambodian	Guamanian	
Percent Agree	84.2	5.0	26.7	14.1	19.3	66.7	
Total	196	380	30	411	29	3	
VS Race/ Ethnicity	Korean	Laotian	Samoan	Vietnamese	Hawaiian		
Percent Agree	83.3	73.9	77.8	86.8	0.0		
Total	96	23	36	152	1		

To simplify more detailed comparisons, we recoded SHR and VS race/ethnic variables into White, Hispanic, Black, and other. For White, Hispanic, and Black, the percent agreement

remained the same; for the collapsed “other” category, the percent agreement between the two data sources was 84.8%.

Eighteen of the 20 counties with more than 100 homicides had percentage agreement for White victims that ranged between 92.2% and 97.3%. Monterey County had complete agreement for 53 White victims. At the lower end of agreement, San Francisco County (n = 210) and Solano County (n = 75) had White agreement percentages of only 71.4 and 86.7, respectively.

The general percentage agreement in Table 4 was identical for Whites and Hispanics (93.2%). The range of percentage agreement for the 20 counties for Hispanics was between 90.0 and 97.9. San Francisco County had a percentage agreement for Hispanics for the two data sources of 82.4%.

For 20 counties, the percent of agreement for Black ranged from 85.0% to 100.0%. The range of agreement among the counties for the “other” category was from 73.8% to 91.3%. One county, Kern, had a percent agreement of 60.0.

When considering race/ethnic groups other than Whites and Hispanics, percent agreements have to be viewed with caution. Not only is there a difference between the volume of homicides for Whites and Hispanics, minorities are distributed differently among the counties. For example, out of 500 homicides in Kern County, only 15 were homicides involving race/ethnic groups other than Black, White, or Hispanics.

CONCLUSIONS FROM THE ANALYSES

Based on an analysis of the amount of agreement between shared variables, the following conclusions are warranted. First, it appears the two data sets agree well with respect to classifying homicides (98.1%).

Second, almost two-thirds of negligent manslaughters are classified by VS as homicides. The suggestion by Rokaw et al. (1990) that negligent manslaughters are most similar to accidents or homicides with undetermined causes needs to be reexamined.

Third, the finding that SHR reports more justifiable homicides than are classified by VS as legal intervention seems to be the consequence of one large county, Los Angeles. An examination of other counties shows that frequently more police justifiables are classified by VS as legal interventions than homicides.

Fourth, classification of gender by VS and SHR agreed extremely well. Examination of county breakdowns showed very little misclassification.

Fifth, of the comparisons made in this section, there is probably the most disagreement over victim age. Overall, the two data sources agreed in 79.9% of the cases. If 2 years are included on both sides of the identical age, the agreement is increased to 95%. There are substantial misclassifications among a few counties and what are probably recording errors in the largest counties.

Sixth, among White, Hispanic, and Black victims, there is a high level of agreement between the two data sources, ranging from 93.2% to 97.1%. Among the 14 race/ethnic groups that we could make comparable for SHR and VS sources, the agreement for each group was low, ranging from no agreement for Hawaiian victims to 86.8% for Vietnamese.

Finally, while this is an extremely useful data set, the minor differences suggest a need for caution. One suggested caution is that researchers should use a level of alpha of doing statistical tests of less than 0.05. The use of a probability of 0.01 or less will reduce the possibility of Type I error.

A second caution is that researchers should examine county comparisons carefully. In every comparison done here, there were always a few counties that had aberrant results. As the Wiersema et al. (2000) research indicates, county level data show variations that are cancelled out in larger units of analysis.

COMPARING MATCHED AND UNMATCHED CASES

The second part of this paper focuses on the differences between the 24,426 matched cases and the 1,818 unmatched cases. For the matched cases, we drew a sample of 2,500 homicide cases from the pool of 24,426. The reason for drawing a sample of willful homicides is to prevent a highly skewed dependent variable as a result of comparing matched homicides to unmatched homicides. When a dependent variable is skewed, the upper limit moves away from a value of 1.00 and leads to a large number of false positives in the logistic regression output. The sample included 2,342 willful homicides or murders, 55 civilian justifiable homicides, 88 police justifiable homicides, and 15 manslaughters.

For the 1,818 unmatched cases, there were 2,281 murders, 26 civilian justifiabilities, 48 police justifiabilities, and 26 negligent manslaughters. Logistic regression was used to compare matched and unmatched cases.

Definition of Variables

For the dependent variable, each case was coded as “1” for unmatched and “0” for matched. The variables were:

Total Number of Victims -- This variable was coded as “1” one victim and “2” for two or more victims.

Victim Gender -- Gender was coded “1” for males and “0” for females.

Victim Race/Ethnicity -- Race/ethnicity consisted of four categories: “1” Whites, “2” Hispanics, “3” Blacks, and “4” other racial/ethnic groups. Whites were the reference category.

Victim Age -- Age was treated as a continuous variable. The mean age was 25.9 with a standard deviation of 19.0.

Victim/Offender Relationships -- We constructed the following relationship categories: “1” intimate partners (husband, wife, common-law husband, common-law wife, boyfriend, girlfriend, ex-husband, ex-wife, homosexual relationship), “2” other family (mother, father, son, daughter, brother, sister, in-law, stepfather, stepmother, stepson, stepdaughter, other family), “3” others, known to victim (neighbor, acquaintance, employee, employer, friend, other known to victim), and “4” strangers. Strangers were the reference category.

Circumstances -- This variable was coded as “1” for altercations (brawls, arguments, domestic violence), “2” felonies (robbery, rape, burglary, larceny, motor vehicle theft, arson, prostitution and commercial vice, other sex offense, abortion, narcotic drug laws, gambling, other felony), “3” organized crime/gangs (gang altercation, organized crime, contract killing, contract arson), “4” other nonfelony (child abuse, child killed by babysitter, institutional killings, sniper attack, other), “5” negligent manslaughters (hunting and gun accidents), “6” justifiable homicides by civilians (felon attacked police or others, resisted arrest, killed in commission of crime), and “7” justifiable homicide by police officer (felon attacked police or civilian, attempted flight, killed in commission of crime, resisted arrest). Altercations were the reference category.

Locations -- Locations were coded as “1” private residence (short term residence, victim or offender or shared or other residence), “2” public indoor location (service station, convenience store, fast food restaurant, liquor store, other business, financial institution, warehouse, other storage area, bar, restaurant, vehicle), “3” public outdoor locations (street, highway, park, public use area, vacant area, jail, CYS, Department of Corrections, school grounds), “4” other. Private residences were the reference category.

Weapons -- Coded as “1” handguns, “2” firearms (firearms, shotgun, rifle), “3” knives, “4” blunt objects, “5” personal weapons (hands, feet, teeth, etc), and “6” other. Handguns were the reference category.

Comparing Matched Homicide Cases to Unmatched Cases

Of 4,318 cases used for logistic regression, 1,435 were omitted because of missing data, leaving 2,883 available for analysis. The model chi square was 399.71 ($p = 0$). We rejected the null hypothesis that none of the independent variables are linearly related to the log odds of the dependent variables. The Hosmer and Lemeshow goodness-of-fit test was a chi-square of 10.34 ($p = .242$) indicating the model’s estimates fit the data at an acceptable level. Table 5 gives the results of the logistic regression.

Using White victims as a reference category, the odds of no match increased by a factor of 1.845 for Hispanic victims and 1.728 for members of other race/ethnic groups victims. Hispanics are an ethnic rather than a racial group. As seen earlier, most Hispanics are racially classified as Whites. It is also reasonable to suppose there would be considerable confusion among both police investigators and medical examiners in distinguishing race from ethnicity thereby making it more likely that Hispanics would not be matched.

TABLE 5. Logistic Regression Analysis of Matched and Unmatched Homicides

Variable	B	S.E.	Odds Ratio
No. of Victims – One	-.286	.152	.751
Gender – Male	-.035	.121	.966
Race – Hispanic	.613**	.111	1.845
Blacks	.049	.128	1.050
Other	.547*	.188	1.728
Relation - Intimate Partners	.027	.195	1.027
Other Family	.343	.186	1.409
Other - Known to Victim	.094	.107	1.099
Circumstances - Felonies	.548**	.120	1.730
Organized Crime/Gangs	-.186	.141	.830
Other Nonfelonies	.392	.171	1.481
Negligent Manslaughters	.639	.376	1.894
Civilian Justifiabiles	.438	.260	1.549
Police Justifiabiles	.606*	.214	1.833
Location - Public Indoor	-.051	.137	.951
Public Outdoor	.128	.109	1.137
Other	.804	.507	2.234
Weapons – Firearms	-.017	.176	.983
Knives	.583**	.134	1.791
Blunt Objects	1.267**	.180	3.551
Personal Weapons	1.500**	.164	4.481
Other Weapons	1.750**	.173	5.755
Victim Age	-.001	.003	.999

*p < .01

**p < .001

Using altercations as a reference category, the odds of no match increased by a factor of 1.730 for felonies. It is important to keep in mind the simple fact that what characterizes the unmatched cases is the inability to match them. The difficulty is that we can only speculate about the unmatched cases because these cases have only SHR data. Rand's (1993) cogent conclusion is appropriate here, namely, that

differences between cases in the files are to a great degree the result of differences in the two programs' purposes and procedures. Basically, the UCR measures crimes, of which death is one outcome. The Mortality System measures deaths, of which crime is one cause. (p. 112)

Felonies, nonfelonies, negligent manslaughters, and justifiable homicides by civilians are legal classifications and have limited or no parallels in ICD classifications that would pose difficulties in attempting to match the two data sources.

The odds of no match increased by a factor of 1.833 for police justifiabiles. Given the earlier discussion of how classification of justifiable homicides varies among the counties, it is not surprising that it would be difficult to match on this variable.

Using handguns as a reference category, the odds of no match is increased by factors of 1.791, 3.551, 4.481, and 5.755 for knives, blunt objects, personal weapons, and other weapons, respectively. The results found with weapons seems to support Rand's conclusion that misclassifications are bound to occur when comparing a classification system of crime, of which intentional death is a relatively small part, to a complex classification system that is focused on medical, as opposed to legal, decisions, about the causes of death.

For law enforcement purposes, weapons enter in as one element of whether the actor will be held criminally liable. For VS, the question is what kind of agent caused the death of the person; the question of criminal liability is irrelevant. The personal injury codes in ICD-9 extend from E800 to E999; many of them have a fourth digit that specifies more fully the cause. Weapons, such as blunt objects and personal weapons, have detailed and complex ICD classifications in comparison to the simple schema used by the SHR.

GENERAL CONCLUSIONS

Several conclusions can be drawn from this research. First, both data sources agree very well as to whether the event should be called a homicide. The agreement from different comparisons is approximately 98%.

Second, the view by Rokaw et al. (1990) that negligent manslaughters are most similar to accidents or homicides of undetermined causes needs to be examined further; this research found that almost two-thirds were classified as homicides by VS. Third, data on justifiable homicides by police have to be used with caution. As the research indicated, the SHR has a tendency to report more justifiable homicides than VS, but this is influenced by county frequencies. The underreporting by VS seems to characterize larger counties.

Fourth, agreement between the two data sources was excellent for gender and primarily for Whites, Blacks, and Hispanics. Other race/ethnic groups had lower percentages of agreement. The two data sources agreed exactly on age of the victim in only about 79% of the cases; including 2 years on either side of the identical age category increased the agreement to 95%.

Fifth, the results of the logistic regression can be explained by difficulties of classifying Hispanics, other racial/ethnic groups, and by differences in the classification system used by SHR and VS. For circumstances, it is difficult to find parallels to felonies, nonfelonies, and negligent manslaughters in the VS classification system designed to classify medical causes of death. Similarly, SHR weapons have to be matched to an exceedingly detailed classification of causes of death which causes misclassifications.

Finally, there are some general recommendations with respect to using the California linked homicide file for research. As mentioned earlier, the agreement between the two data sets on a variety of measures is in excess of 95%. While this amount of agreement is high, it seems appropriate that statistical comparison should set an alpha level of 0.01 rather than the customary 0.05 to avoid Type I error.

This research suggests the next step might be qualitative research. There is a need to examine how classification decisions are made by police as well as medical examiners. As indicated earlier, the present research can be used to isolate counties of high and low agreement on important variables which can be followed by interviews by key decision makers. Why, for example, do some county medical examiners classify more justifiable homicides by police while other counties do the opposite?

Perhaps the most general conclusion has been given elsewhere by the first author, who notes that there is a “relative absence of information about the validity of the initial classifications in either sources. There is little encouraging research about the accuracy of medical classification of homicide and none about the accuracy of police decisions” (Riedel, 1999, p. 93).

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**AN ANALYSIS OF UNLINKED CASES IN THE
CALIFORNIA LINKED HOMICIDE FILE, 1990-99**

Jason Van Court, Laura E. Lund, and Roger Trent
California Department of Health Services, EPIC Branch
Violent Injury Surveillance Program, 611 N. 7th St., Suite C, Sacramento, CA 95814

The California Linked Homicide File contains 34,584 cases with information from Supplemental Homicide Reports. Using a probabilistic matching program, 32,163 (93.0%) of these cases were linked with information from Vital Statistics Death Records. Why weren't the remaining 7% of cases linked? In the linkage process we used death records with injury codes ("E-codes") but not those with natural causes of death ("N-codes"). Coroners/Medical Examiners code many child abuse cases as SIDS or another natural cause. To determine if this is why we missed potential matches, we attempted to re-link a sample of the unmatched cases to non-injury death records. The results should tell us whether we need to expand our pool of death records to non-injury deaths to improve future linkages.

**A COMPARISON OF FATAL AND NON-FATAL
VIOLENT INJURIES IN CALIFORNIA, 1991-1999**

Laura E. Lund
California Department of Health Services, EPIC Branch
Violent Injury Surveillance Program, 611 N. 7th St., Suite C, Sacramento, CA 95814

Violence is a serious criminal justice and public health problem. This paper compares fatal injuries (homicides) with non-fatal hospitalized injuries for the period 1991 through 1999 in California, using vital statistics death records (death certificates) and data from the state's mandated hospital discharge reporting system. During the 1990s in California there were more than 30,000 homicides and about 160,000 hospitalizations for treatment of injuries sustained through assault or abuse. Comparisons include sex, race, and age of victims, cause of injury or death (type of weapon used), and trends over time. Injury patterns varied by severity of assault (i.e., fatal vs. non-fatal) and sex of victim.

DISCUSSION

Rick Rosenfeld: Marc, how available will these data be?

Marc Riedel: All data will be available through Jason Van Court. It needs to be converted into SPSS and managed with some minor housekeeping.

Paul Blackman: Are police killing acquaintances or strangers?

Marc Riedel: The proportion of strangers being killed is very high.

Roland Chilton: Shouldn't the dataset be put into the ICPSR?

Jason Van Court: That application is in process.

Brian Wiersema: I will be publishing a paper in the *American Journal of Public Health* concluding that Medical Examiners should enter a mark in a small box when the killing is by a police officer. There is reluctance by Medical Examiners to indicate homicide by a police officer. This dataset is interesting due to its ability to allow a look at the individual level. Jason, could a third source be linked? A third source could allow you to triangulate.

Jason Van Court: It would take a lot of leg work. We might put the death records in, too.

Mike Maltz: Immigrant people get a social security number to get a job. We know that they are known to reuse these numbers. Can this be detected or is this taken into account?

Jason Van Court: This can be a problem. Another problem is when the Social Security number of the parent is used when the victim is really young.

Rick Rosenfeld: Will offender census tract information be available with these data?

Jason Van Court: No.

Rick Rosenfeld: How about location of the incident?

Jason Van Court: Yes. But there's no address on the electronic record. Victims will be divided into census tracts, but the incidents will not. This is because the address of residence of the victim appears in the record.

Brian Wiersema: The place of residence goes on a death certificate, but is used by researchers primarily for linking of the records.

Chris Rasche: Can this be used for infanticide, especially in California where babies are washed up against sewer screens. Will these data enable us to get a better handle on victims without these names?

Jason Van Court: No. These would be listed as Baby Doe. This wouldn't be a good way to track these.

Terry Mieth: Thirty-three percent was other weapon. Some people linger prior to dying. Why is 10 days the cutoff for lingering? Weapons have varying levels of lethality.

Jason Van Court: The contractor who linked these files filtered them based on previous experience.

Terry Mieth: Some weapons may lead to more lingering before dying.

Jason Van Court: We could look at that to see if it holds true.

Mark Riedel: We did some cross-tabs (preliminary) to see if it held true.

Jackie Cohen: Was there error sampling by the contractor?

Jason Van Court: We did some manual checks. It was a pretty clean match using the probabilistic method.

Barrie Ritter: California has the highest rate of serial crime. It's an excellent place to study. There are negligent homicide cases in this dataset, justifiable and by police, etc.

[**Recorder's Note:** Laura Lund's presentation was delivered by Roger Trent.]

Becky Block: Roger, did you look at mode of death, weapon type (like strangulation), in gender and race categories?

Roger Trent: It varies by age and gender depending on whether death is involved.

Becky Block: It would be interesting to look at differences between fatal and nonfatal categories.

Roger Trent: Yes. We've looked at this in drowning.

Brian Wiersema: This could be the same person over and over again with one person experiencing multiple hospital visits?

Roger Trent: Yes, but only one record is generated even when transferred from hospital to hospital. We tend to look at these events as events rather than persons.

Brian Wiersma: What about the reliability of electronic coding?

Roger Trent: Coding standards are enforced by fines. Professionalism of the coders is very high. Insurers drive the quality of the coding.

Rick Rosenfeld: What is the definition of violent injury?

Roger Trent: There is an international coding document (ICD) for medical practitioners. We use those codes to differentiate.

Rick Rosenfeld: Are you certain suicides are not included?

Roger Trent: Definitely.

Chris Rasche: Could you explain the race and gender numbers in the tables.

Roger Trent: Given an attack serious enough to be hospitalized, females are more likely to die. There is a difference in the nature or severity of attacks on women. In a very determined attack, the coefficient should be high.

Terry Miethe: Could this be due to differences due to time? Some people are more unlikely to go to the hospital, say due to race or socio-economic class. People with a deviant lifestyle, like drug users, etc., are less likely to go in.

Roger Trent: Yes.

Becky Block: Some partner violence offenders don't allow the injured party to go in to the hospital to be treated.

Roger Trent: Reporting is only at the level of the emergency room, but not for overnight stays at the hospital.

Darryl Cheatwood: Your only insurance might be that when you're bad enough off, you may just get dumped by "friends" at the emergency room door.

CHAPTER TEN
HOMICIDES BY AND ABOUT DRUGS

**DOUBLE DOWN -- IT'S ALL IN THE CARDS:
PRE-OFFENCE, OFFENCE, AND POST RELEASE USE OF
ALCOHOL AND OTHER DRUGS BY HOMICIDE OFFENDERS**

Sherry A. Mumford
School of Criminology, Simon Fraser University
8888 University Drive, Burnaby, BC V5A 1S6 CANADA

ABSTRACT

Research on homicide offenders in British Columbia, Canada, released from confinement between 1963-1997, focused on the pre-offence, offence, and post release use of alcohol and other drugs by these offenders. Results indicate that alcohol and other drug use problems are a lifelong pattern for more than 50% of these offenders, and more than 30% came from homes with a history of excessive substance use. More than 50% of these offenders were using substances, predominantly alcohol, at the time of their offence. Furthermore, there is a strong link between the history of excessive drinking and other drug use pre-offence/offence and the post release commission of an alcohol or other drug related criminal/non criminal violation often resulting in a return to confinement.

INTRODUCTION

In Canada, the problem of dealing with homicide offenders is accomplished by imposing life sentences and administering treatment, rehabilitation, or programming. By pathologizing and individualizing the characteristics of the murderer, we avoid problematizing the cultural context in which the killer is found. In the past, eliminating the murderers through either lawful execution or detaining them by way of the imposition of lengthy sentences seemingly ended the threat. In short, removing the offender eliminated the problem. Homicide is considered a malevolent act by some people, generally committed by irrational human beings who victimise innocent strangers. However, that is not the most apt portrait. What makes murder such an emotional issue is our strong aversion to premature and culpable violent death.

Looking beyond the homicide offender to locate the source of the problem behind each offence, that is, how the offender came to the place of committing the act in the first place, requires efforts at identifying, understanding, and perhaps rectifying the problem -- a seemingly labyrinthine goal. In other words, in cost/benefit language, it may be more cost effective and not just in monetary terms, to eliminate the problem of murder by imposing life sentences on the perpetrator rather than developing and implementing strategies aimed at preventing its occurrence in the first place. However, the reality is, at least in Canada, that life imprisonment does not involve the spending of one's natural life in prison. Rather, it currently involves minimum sentences of 10 years for 2nd degree murder and 25 years for 1st degree murder before possible parole eligibility, and no minimum sentence, but a range of sentences for manslaughter, including the possibility of non-custodial sanctions. Inevitably, most of these homicide offenders will be returning to our communities, perhaps becoming our next-door neighbours.

HOMICIDE PATTERNS AND RATES

The rate of Canadian homicides in 1999 was 1.8 per 100,000 population. This rate represents a number slightly higher than the recorded low rate of 1.28 per 100,000 experienced in 1961. The highest homicide rate of 3.02 per 100,000 occurred in 1975, and from that point on, possibly as a result of the abolition of the death penalty in 1976, demographic changes resulting in fewer young men as a percentage of the total population, and the introduction of stricter gun control legislation, homicide rates experienced steady declines (as suggested by Johnson & Boe, 1997). Comparatively speaking, the rate of homicide in 1995 in Canada was 1.98 per 100,000 whereas in the United States, the homicide rate was 9 per 100,000. When examining the provincial homicide rates in Canada, the pattern remains the same as it has for several years, that is, the rate increases when going from the east to the west coast (Gartner, 1995). In the 1960s, for example, the rate of homicide for British Columbia was 2.39 per 100,000 population, the highest of all of the provinces in Canada. However, if the Yukon and Northwest Territories are factored in, they have the highest rates for the 1960s at 9.45 and 4.27 per 100,000 population, respectively. In the 1980s, the rate of homicide for British Columbia was 3.06 per 100,000 with 0.45 per 100,000 for Newfoundland and 1.03 per 100,000 for Prince Edward Island (Gartner, 1995, p.196).

On average, between 1994 and 1997, cases of convictions for 1st degree murder have remained at about 15% of all homicide cases in Canada. Likewise, 2nd degree murder and manslaughter comprised more than 50% and 30%, respectively, of all homicide cases in Canada, for those two time periods (Motiuk & Belcourt, 1995, 1998). At the end of 1997, 3,122 homicide offenders were in Canadian federal institutions.

SUBSTANCE USE AS A FACTOR IN HOMICIDES

It has only been over the last few years that attempts were made to document the use of substances such as alcohol and other drugs during the commission of crimes such as homicide. In the U.S. for example, researchers examined the interaction of alcohol on four sets of structural characteristics, which were theorized as causes of homicide. The four sets included *material* (including concepts of relative and absolute deprivation), *integrative* (including the degree to which there existed social integration among members and the impact of social control mechanisms), *demographics* (including routine activity and lifestyle paradigms), and *cultural* (for example, the legitimization of the use of violence as a means to settle disputes or conflicts) (Gartner, 1990; Parker, 1998).

Much of the evidence to support or negate the presence of intoxication, other mood altering effects or in some cases, severe withdrawal symptoms, which might somehow be linked to the commission of the crime, relies on the offender's self report on this matter, a report generally after the fact. The fact is that, for the most part, offenders are not tested for alcohol or other drugs when they are arrested, except in the case of impaired drivers. Therefore, this information has not been systematically collected and official crime statistics do not contain information about the presence of substances or how they might be a factor in the commission of crimes (Dandurand & Chin, 2000). Apart from the apparent "involuntary" violence-producing effects of some substances such as alcohol, some offenders may use specific substances with the

explicit goal of steadying their nerves or raising their level of risk taking. Perhaps others would choose to use the alcohol, and other drug taking behaviour, as a way of defending their criminal behaviour.

Fifty to 70% of homicides involved intoxication on the part of the offender according to Beaudoin (1991), Boyd, Elliott, and Gaucher (1991), and Holcomb and Anderson (1983), whereas Silverman and Kennedy (1993) suggested the figure was closer to 33% of all homicide cases. Grant, Chunn, and Boyle (1994) concluded that more than 30% of homicide cases involved the use of alcohol, while 13% involved the use of both alcohol and other drugs, and approximately 5% involved the use of drugs only. Violent outbursts have been associated with the use of alcohol and, to a lesser degree, large doses of other drugs, such as LSD, PCP, amphetamines (speed), and cocaine and its derivatives (Roth, 1994, as cited in Dandurand & Chin, 2000). Fedorowycz (1998, as cited in Dandurand & Chin, 2000, p. 37) concluded that in the case of homicide, "one in three victims and one in two accused had been drinking or using [other] drugs at the time of the homicide." Likewise, approximately 12% of those homicides for which a motive was known were related to the drug trade (Canadian Centre for Justice Statistics, 1999, p.14). Spunt, Brownstein, Crimmins, and Langley (1996) also believed that 9% of all U.S. homicide offenders were either withdrawing, or experiencing acute sickness, from the use of alcohol and/or other drugs, at the time of the offence. Dobash and his colleagues (2000) also concluded that, at the time of the homicide, 60% of the offenders were drinking, resulting in 69% of these being "drunk or very drunk." Eighteen percent were under the influence of drugs, while another 7% were using both alcohol and other drugs. Further analysis of their sample produced results suggesting that before the age of 16 years, 34% of homicide offenders abused alcohol, some starting at the age of 5 years. Another 19% abused other drugs, with the youngest onset age of use at 8 years. In addition to this, of the fathers or stepfathers of these offenders, 21% and 1% respectively, abused alcohol and other drugs.

Other researchers in Canada, the U.S., and India concluded that alcohol is the substance most commonly used by males prior to the commission of their crimes (Boyd, 1988; Nagpaul, 1985; Tardiff, 1995) while, in Canada, females were most likely to use both alcohol and other drugs (Lavigne, Hoffman, & Dickie, 1997), with cocaine cited as the most commonly used drug. However, Wiczorek, Welte, and Abel (1990) believed that alcohol, or a combination of alcohol and other drugs, was used more frequently by males than females in the U.S. prior to the offence; in contrast, they found no difference in the rate of illegal drug use between the two genders prior to the homicide. Blount, Danner, Vega, and Silverman (1991) also reported that abused rather than non-abused women in the U.S. are more likely to have been using substances, prior to murdering their victims. Both Lindquist (1986), in Sweden, and Collins (1989), in the U.S., believed that two thirds of the cases they studied involved the use of alcohol, especially homicides involving expressive violence most commonly seen in where the victim died as a result of stab wounds or beatings. In the U.S., a Missouri study that spanned 3 years concluded that 55% of males charged with capital or 1st degree murder had consumed alcohol, other drugs, or both at the time of the offence (Bartol, 1999). Likewise, research done in both Britain and France on convicted murderers, concluded that 55% and 51%, respectively, were drinking at the time of their offence (Derville, L'Epee, Lazarin, & Derville, 1962; Gillies, 1965).

Based on lifetime rates, Motiuk and Porporino (1991) conducted research on inmates serving sentences in Canadian federal institutions, and argued that 30% and 36.7% of those convicted of murder and manslaughter, respectively, abused drugs or were drug dependent. Likewise, 46% and 46.9% of convicted murderers and those convicted of manslaughter either abused alcohol or were alcohol dependent. For all offenders, the largest cohort (75%) who were characterised as drug dependent were between the ages of 25-29 years old, while the largest cohort (73.9%) to abuse alcohol was slightly younger, between 20-24 years of age (Motiuk & Porporino, 1991). In the U.S., however, Wieczorek et al. (1990) concluded that the group of offenders between the ages of 15-24 years old was the largest cohort to use drugs before committing homicide. The average age of this drug-using group, when compared to the alcohol users or the combination users, was significantly lower (Fendrich, Mackesy-Amiti, Goldstein, Spunt, & Brownstein, 1995).

Goldstein (1989) found that in cases involving psychopharmacological violence, whereby the offender was either under the influence of, or withdrawing from, a substance, alcohol was the major substance consumed. Those cases involving economically compulsive crimes of violence committed in order to obtain money to buy more alcohol and/or other drugs most often revolved around cocaine. Systemic violence was characterised as violence used to resolve territorial disputes and other drug related matters, and Goldstein (1989) believed this most often involved the use of heroin for males and cocaine for females.

CONDITIONAL RELEASE

Conditional release is a vital part of an offender's sentence as it allows for the supervised, controlled, gradual re-entry of the offender into the community and is the safest way to protect society. Incarceration results in separation from the community and is not a guarantee that once released an offender will be a law-abiding citizen. The three types of conditional release are day parole, full parole, and statutory release. Statutory release occurs after the offender has completed two thirds of his/her sentence, day parole eligibility begins 6 months before the full parole eligibility date, and full parole eligibility occurs after one third of the sentence is served. In the case of those offenders convicted of 1st and 2nd degree murder, there is no statutory release date because of the life sentence. The Courts, according to the stipulations and requirements of the Criminal Code, establish the full parole eligibility date. Day parole prepares offenders for eventual full parole and release back into society, while full parole allows offenders to work and live in the community. In Canada, of those out of prison by the end of December 1997, there were 258 (15.7%) homicide offenders on day parole, 1,225 (74.3%) on full parole, and 166 (10.1%) on statutory release (Motiuk & Belcourt, 1997).

SUBSTANCE ABUSE PROGRAMMING

Analysis has concluded that the strongest variables associated with of post-release outcomes are employment, substance abuse, associates, marital/family, and personal/emotional (Motiuk, 1998). A 1991 Correctional Services Canada (CSC) report states that treatment participation on the whole was low, with 68% of federal offenders not attending any program, and less than 5% participating in a program specifically dealing with violent personalities. Over 65% did not take part in any professional training.

Dowden and Blanchette (1998) examined the success rate of female federal offenders, assessed as substance abusers versus non substance abusers, when given parole. The goal was to compare the rate of recidivism, for any reason, for substance abusers who had completed a treatment program while incarcerated, with non-program participants, and non-substance users. The results indicated that 10.3%, 44.1%, and 8.1% of these subgroups, respectively, exhibited a failure rate while on parole, and the two lowest rates were for substance users who completed the treatment program and non-users. In addition to this finding, the Canadian Association of Police Boards also concluded that delivery of cognitive skills based substance abuse intervention decreases the possibility of readmission to the federal system by 20% when delivered in the institution, and by 65% when delivered in the community.

In a U.S. study, which focused on 92 convicted murderers released from prison in Massachusetts between 1957-1966, Panagopoulos, Miller, and Carney (1970) compared rates of recidivism between this group of offenders and those convicted of all other offences. The follow up study period, which lasted 4 years, produced results showing that the recidivism rate for the homicide offenders was much lower than that of other offender types (12.8% versus 59.5% recidivism rate, respectively). However, when these recidivists were re-incarcerated and then released for a second time, the homicide offenders had a much higher rate of recidivism than those convicted of other offences. In this case, for the 18 homicide offenders involved, 8 were re-incarcerated for technical violations (no new charges), while 10 re-offended (including one case each of murder, assault with intent to murder, indecent assault and battery, and battery by means of a dangerous weapon) (Panagopoulos et al., 1970, p. 25). The factors of most significance to the success of all offenders, including homicide offenders, in maintaining post release status are employment, family, and friends, according to Wallin (1974). For those offenders whose re-offending included all types of convictions, and in particular offences involving violence, most included alcohol as the one variable most often associated with their involvement in these acts (Wallin, 1974).

PRESENT RESEARCH

This research aimed at providing a more comprehensive and holistic portrait of the complexities associated with the use of substances and the commission of homicide. Likewise, the types of social and personal barriers faced by homicide offenders in their attempts to reintegrate into society, and, more specifically, how substance use as a variable may affect post release outcomes, have not been widely researched and much of the existing research is outdated. In order to understand how drinking and other drug use may be related to homicide and post release outcomes, it was necessary to examine factors such as psychological/biological/social and pharmacological influences by employing both a quantitative and qualitative lens. While quantitative methods are able to provide a statistical relevance to the variables and concepts being studied, qualitative methods are able to add meaning to these same variables and concepts. These methods then help to provide a more holistic picture of the overall activity or phenomena being examined.

METHOD

Sampling

The subjects for the research were homicide offenders who were convicted of murder or manslaughter and released from confinement, in B.C., between the years 1963-1997. From a list of all homicide offenders serving time in federal institutions, a list of those who fit the criteria for inclusion into the study was developed. This list included the FPS number, the conviction category, date of the homicide, date of sentencing, sentence and term numbers, and the institution or parole office where the offender file was being held. This list was sorted by the name of the institution responsible for the offender file. The objective was to come as close as possible to a 50% sample of homicide offenders, both male and female, who fit the criteria and to begin doing a file review.

The printout of homicide offenders in B.C. indicated that there were 1,011 homicides perpetrated by 939 offenders. Overall, 824 homicide offender files fit the criteria for inclusion in the study. Of those files, 617 offenders (or 75% of the B.C. homicide offender population) resided in the Lower Mainland area. From that pool of offenders, a smaller number of offenders (235) had been granted a conditional release at least one time (i.e., day parole, full parole, mandatory supervision/statutory release), which they either successfully maintained, or which had been suspended or revoked. The goal was to review the files of approximately 50% of the offenders who were the subject of this research to get a representative sample, and to conduct face-to-face interviews with 10% of the sample of those who had experienced at least one conditional release.

Concepts

For the purposes of this research, certain concepts were utilised in order to classify, collect, and code certain pieces of data. The “levels” of substance use utilised were similar to that found in at least one other study (Blount et al., 1991). The levels are “none/no use,” “casual/recreational use,” and “problematic/chronic” use. In terms of problematic or chronic use of alcohol, such high-risk behaviour would involve, for men, more than 14 drinks per week and more than 4 drinks per occasion. For women, high risk drinking would include more than 9 drinks per week and more than 3 drinks per occasion. With respect to the use of other drugs, increased dose, frequency and duration of use, along with combining drugs, including alcohol are all indicative of problematic or chronic use (BC Addictions Services, 1997). The term “problem or problematic use” refers to a pattern of use, which constitutes a risk to health, security or the well being of individuals, families, and communities. Chronic use refers to a state whereby a primary brain disorder has developed because of prolonged, continuous, and heavy use for more than one year, and is characterized by a loss of control, and continued used despite negative consequences (Kaiser Foundation Addictions Task Force, 2001).

Quantitative Data Analysis

The quantitative data analysis involved collecting pertinent information from 309 offender files involving 315 homicide cases. Some of the difficulty in doing this involved having

to read several files, some of which were quite old, in order to get sufficient information on one offender. The other difficulty was that because the time period of offender files included in this study was from 1963-1997, not only did the forms and methods of gathering such information change over time, but also some information specific to substance use, family history, and so forth, was not found in the files. Initially, a content analysis was conducted on 25 offender files as a trial run with the data collection tool. The category of “number of day paroles” was removed from the tool, as accurate and consistent information could not be collected within this category for many of the files. The four sections of the data collection tool were personal factors, criminal/offence history, parole history, and other variables of interest such as substance use history.

In terms of parole history, attempting to collect information from offender files on the number of times “day parole” was granted became an arduous task. Except for the day parole eligibility date, which was readily available in many of the more recent files, it was almost impossible to uniformly collect information regarding the number of day paroles any individual offender had. However, “full parole eligibility date” or “warrant expiry date,” as well as the number of times these were granted, were fairly easy to identify in most of the files. Likewise, for most of the files, there was a brief description of any violations, technical or criminal, that occurred while the offender was on a conditional release. These violations were collected and assigned values relating to two variables identifying “type of criminal violation” and “type of non-criminal violation.” As violations showed up on offender files, they were given values and added to either of the variable lists. The number of times parole was granted, non-criminal violations occurred post release, or criminal violations occurred post release, were treated as interval data. Types of non-criminal and criminal violations were treated as nominal data.

Other variables of interest included co-existing mental health disorder, other significant health concerns/disorders, evidence of pre-offence substance use, and evidence of post release substance use. For the purpose of this study, analysis was not conducted on “other significant health concerns/disorder.” The remaining three variables required a “yes” or “no” response followed by a written description of the evidence for each. For example, evidence for a co-existing mental health disorder came from brief psychological and/or psychiatric assessments or reports contained in the files. The diagnosis, which utilised the most current *DSM* edition of the day, allowed values to be assigned and used for further analysis.

Pre-offence substance use, if it was indicated, could be recorded on any number of documents within the offender file. In keeping with research done by Blount et al. (1991), the using of substances had to be verified by or come from a minimum of two sources, including self-reports, in order to be useful. Likewise, the level of use was assigned the values of “none” (as evidenced by notations in the file stating that the offender had no history of drinking or other drug use), casual/recreational use, and problematic/chronic use. For pre-offence use of substances to be valid, the evidence in the files had to indicate such use was present at no less than one year prior to the date of the offence. In addition to this, wherever possible, the onset age of use was also collected. Post release use of drugs was most generally documented as a reason for a suspension or revocation of conditional release, and was coded as either “yes,” “no,” or “not known.” Likewise, evidence of substance use within the institution was generally documented as part of the information generated by psychological or psychiatric reports or, in

some cases, by various case managers, or it was documented as some type of infraction or warning. With the exception of the onset age of use of substances, which is treated as interval or ratio data, all other variables in this section were treated as nominal data.

Much of the documentary evidence was in narrative or written form and, as such, some of the variables and values assigned to them evolved as more and more files were reviewed. Frequencies were run for all variables providing an initial assessment of the available information and thereby allowing for the elimination of variables not useful in the analyses. “Mean” and “median” values were included in the analysis where appropriate. Ordinal data in this study were not rank ordered and therefore were treated as nominal data for the purposes of further analysis. Cross tabulation was conducted for categorical variables, utilizing a Chi Square value of $p = .05$, Contingency coefficient, and Cramér’s V as statistical measures of the strength and significance of relationships shown in the cross tabulation.

Qualitative Data Analysis

Although there has been some discussion among researchers as to the validity of self-reports, some researchers have concluded that offender reports around alcohol and drug use were rather reliable (Wieczorek et al., 1990). Researchers have also concluded that “long term recall of alcohol use and other drug use, in conjunction with life events over about 8 years, has been found to be reliable” (Sobell et al., 1988, cited in Wieczorek et al., 1990).

The 24 participants were chosen through random sampling. In addition to this, a random sample of replacement names was also calculated in order to retain the goal of 24 interviewees. Interviewees were asked to discuss their own substance use history including any family history of substance use, as well as the effect such use may have had on their lives (i.e., “what was that like for you growing up when your mother was drinking?”). In addition to this, they were also asked to describe the manner in which the use of substances interacted with the homicidal event, in particular, whether they were high, withdrawing, or experiencing cravings at the time of the offence (Fendrich et al., 1995). Interviewees were also asked to describe their own experience around the use of substances within institutions and the role their own substance use might have played in any conditional release suspensions or revocations. Lastly, interviewees were asked to discuss any experiences they might have had with alcohol or drug programs, particularly those within the institution. All interviews were tape-recorded.

Analysis involved reading and re-reading transcripts in order to identify “meaning units” or complete thoughts, which were relevant to the research objectives. These meaning units were then categorized into themes by noting regularities, clusters of characteristics, and linkages, and these were transcribed separately. Metathemes were gathered by comparing reoccurring themes across all of the transcripts and these formed the basis of the qualitative findings. Throughout the recording of metathemes, the use of appropriate quotations helped to illustrate, clarify, or amplify the meanings presented.

Limitations

One of the difficulties of doing this research involved the inability to access any consistently recorded information regarding the history of pre-offence substance use, for example, during the offender's adolescent years. Although such documentation appeared in brief form in some of the more recent files, it was almost absent in the offenders files that were older. The importance of such information is in its ability to clarify and illuminate the history and pattern of use over a much longer period of time in the offender's life. Early onset of use in combination with route of administration, frequency, dose, type of drugs, and duration, is associated with the likelihood of problematic/chronic use of substances later on in life.

The second limitation relates to the ability to collect the necessary information with respect to substances used around the time of the homicide. This information is not consistently collected by police departments, and only sometimes appears on specific police reports found in the files. Furthermore, not every set of files that were accessed contained a copy of the police report in the first place. In addition to this, the Offender Management System, which is a DOS based data program containing relevant offender demographic information for the most part, also does not contain information for the population being studied on substance use around the time of the homicidal event. The method of capturing or documenting information and assembling offender files has changed dramatically between 1963 and 1997, resulting in lack of information or loss of information. This has further posed an obstacle in trying to collect information that is consistent across all the files for which a content review was being conducted. Furthermore, the development of an assessment tool known as the CLAI, or Computerized Life Assessment Inventory, resulted in the inclusion of a hard copy of results in many of the more recent files. A portion of this lengthy document includes a section on substance use, utilising such standardized screening and assessment tools as the MAST (Michigan Alcoholism Screening Test), DAST (Drug Assessment Screening Tool), and the ADS (Alcohol Dependency Scale). This results in an overall score, which indicates the severity of use along with some computer-generated comments. This would have been most useful for this research or future research, however, because the majority of files reviewed did not include the CLAI, this piece was not utilised.

RESULTS

Quantitative Analysis

The sampling yielded 309 offenders of whom 283 were males and 26 were females, primarily characterized as Caucasian (67%). The average age of the offender in this sample was 44 years with a range of 19-88 years of age. Overall, the average age of the female offenders was slightly younger than that of the males. The average age of the offender at the time of the offence was 28 years of age, with females being slightly older than the males at the time of the offence. The average amount of formal education for the overall sample of offenders at the start of their incarceration was 8.7 years.

Close to 57% of the sample had a pre-offence history of problem drinking and 41% had a pre-offence history of other drug use, including problematic and chronic drug use patterns. One third of the sample had a history of problem use with *both* alcohol and other drugs. The average

onset age of use of alcohol was 13.78 years and for other drugs, 14.9 years. One quarter of the problem drinkers started using by age 10 (Table 1).

TABLE 1. Level of Pre-Office Use of Alcohol and Other Drugs by Gender

	Recreational/Casual Use		Problem Use	
	Alcohol	Other Drugs	Alcohol	Other Drugs
Males				
By age 10	0%	0%	24%	7%
By age 14	25%	35%	63%	52%
Females				
By age 10	0%	0%	10%	11%
By age 14	67%	50%	50%	67%

Thirty-eight percent of the sample had a family history of excessive use of alcohol and/or other drugs. Having a family history of excessive substance use involved slightly more females (43%) than males (38%) within this sample. During the commission of the homicide offence, 57% of the sample were using or withdrawing from substances, and this involved slightly more males (60%) than females (46%). In two thirds of these cases, the offender used a single substance, and alcohol was most frequently cited (Table 2).

TABLE 2. Specific Substances Used by Gender Breakdown

	Alcohol	Alcohol combos	Cocaine	Speed	Prescription drugs	Heroin	Marijuana	Other combos
Males	51.7	31.5	5.0	<1	3.4	3.9	2.2	1.7
Females	53.8	38.5	0	0	7.7	0	0	0

For post release outcomes involving substance use, non-criminal violations showed up in 18% of conditional releases, with the use of alcohol and/or other drugs constituting 88% of these non-criminal violations. In the case of female offenders, the evidence suggests that all of the non-criminal or technical violations were a result of alcohol and other drug use. Criminal violations showed up in 16% of conditional releases, with alcohol and/or other drugs constituting 36% of these criminal violations. Once again, for female homicide offenders, one half of the criminal offences occurred as a result of involvement with alcohol and other drugs, while the remainder involved assaults (see Tables 3 and 4).

Results of Cross-Tabulations

A significant relationship was detected between the offender's history of problem drinking and other drug use *and* having a family history of excessive substance use ($p = .000$ and $p = .002$ respectively). More specifically, in terms of offender's pre-offence level of alcohol,

TABLE 3. Non-Criminal/Technical Violations Post Release by Gender

Technical Violation by Type (%)	Overall (n = 161)	Males	Females
Using other drugs	28.6	30.0	16.7
Using alcohol	25.0	26.0	16.7
Unlawfully at large and using substances	25.0	24.0	33.3
Unlawfully at large	10.7	12.0	0
Using alcohol and other drugs	8.9	6.0	33.3
Non compliant	1.8	2.0	0

TABLE 4. Criminal Offences Post Release by Gender

Criminal Offences by Type (%)	Overall (n = 163)	Males	Females
Alcohol and/or other drug related	25.0	23.9	50.0
Homicide	12.5	13.0	0
Property offences	12.5	13.0	0
All assaults	10.4	8.7	50.0
Armed robbery	10.4	10.9	0
Impaired driving	6.3	6.5	0
Sexual offence	6.3	6.5	0
Property and drug offences	4.2	4.3	0
Attempted murder	4.2	4.3	0
Sexual assault/impaired driving/possession of drugs	2.1	2.2	0
Illegally entering Canada	2.1	2.2	0
Prostitution	2.1	2.2	0
Possession of a weapon	2.1	2.2	0

significance was noted in the large number of offenders with a problematic history of drinking who also had a family history of substance use. Forty-four percent of the offenders with a history of problematic or chronic drinking were also using or withdrawing from substances, usually alcohol, during the time of their offence. Likewise, in terms of the use of drugs other than alcohol, close to one third of all offenders could be described as those with a pre-offence history of problem use of other drugs, and, moreover, were using or withdrawing from other drugs, at the time of their offence.

Significance was also noted in the relationship between the high percentage (85%) of offenders who drank post release and who were also described as pre-offence problematic or chronic consumers of alcohol. Likewise, three quarters (73%) of offenders who used drugs other than alcohol post release, also had a history of problematic or chronic use of alcohol or a prior history of chronic or problematic drug use. In terms of the commission of technical violations post release that involved the consumption of alcohol or other drugs (n = 58), offenders whose pre-offence level of alcohol or other drugs was described as problematic or chronic were in the

majority. The findings suggest that of those offenders whose pre-offence levels of alcohol or other drugs were problematic or chronic in nature, there was a much greater likelihood that these offenders would commit technical violations post release and these would involve the use of substances (Table 5).

TABLE 5. Type of Technical Violation in Relation to Pre-Offence Use of Alcohol and/or Other Drugs

Technical Violation	% Level of Pre-offence Use of Alcohol and/or Other Drugs					
	None or not known		Casual/recreational		Problem/chronic	
	Alcohol	Other Drugs	Alcohol	Other Drugs	Alcohol	Other Drugs
Using alcohol	0	57.1	7.1	21.4	92.9	21.4
Using other drugs	6.3	6.3	25.0	12.5	68.8	81.3
Using alcohol and other drugs	0	20.0	0	0	100.0	80.0
Unlawfully at large	50.0	66.7	16.7	16.7	33.3	16.7
UAL/using substances	0	28.6	7.1	21.4	92.9	50.0
*Non compliant	0	0	100.0	0	0	100.0

*In terms of the technical violation of “non compliancy,” this involved two offenders, one of whom was considered a pre-offence casual drinker, and the other a pre-offence problem or chronic user of other drugs.

In terms of the commission of criminal offences post release, there was a moderately strong statistical significance with those who were pre-offence users of other drugs (Cramér’s $V = .662$, $p = .013$). More specifically, this relationship existed between the commission of another homicide, or a sexual offence, and a history of casual or recreational use of drugs other than alcohol. The pre-offence use of alcohol or other drugs in relation to the type of criminal offence committed post release is illustrated in Tables 6 and 7.

TABLE 6. Type of Criminal Offence Post Release in Relation to Pre-Offence Use of Alcohol

Criminal Offence Post Release	% Pre-Offence Level of Alcohol Use		
	Problem/chronic	Casual/recreational	None/not known
Homicide (n = 6)	100.0	0	0
Alcohol/other drug related (n = 12)	75.0	8.3	16.7
All assaults (n = 5)	80.0	0	20.0
Armed robbery (n = 5)	60.0	20.0	20.0
Property offences (n = 6)	66.7	16.7	16.7
Property/drug offences (n = 2)	100.0	0	0
Impaired driving (n = 3)	66.7	33.3	0
Attempted murder & assorted charges (n = 2)	100.0	0	0
Sexual assault/impaired driving/possession drugs (n = 1)	100.0	0	0
Illegally entering Canada (n = 1)	0	100.0	0
Prostitution (n = 1)	0	100.0	0
Possession of weapon (n = 1)	100.0	0	0
Sexual offences (n = 3)	0	100.0	0

TABLE 7. Type of Criminal Offence Post Release in Relation to Pre-Offence Use of Other Drugs

Criminal Offence Post Release	% Pre-Offence Level of Other Drug Use		
	Problem/chronic	Casual/recreational	None/not known
Homicide (n = 6)	0	83.3	16.7
Alcohol/other drug related (n = 12)	83.3	8.3	8.3
All assaults (n = 5)	20.0	20.0	60.0
Armed robbery (n = 5)	60.0	20.0	20.0
Property offences (n = 6)	66.7	0	33.3
Property/drug offences (n = 2)	100.0	0	0
Impaired driving (n = 3)	33.3	33.3	33.3
Attempted murder & assorted charges (n = 2)	50.0	0	50.0
Sexual assault/impaired driving/possession drugs (n = 1)	100.0	0	0
Illegally entering Canada (n = 1)	0	100.0	0
Prostitution (n = 1)	0	100.0	0
Possession of weapon (n = 1)	0	0	100.0
Sexual offences (n = 3)	0	100.0	0

Qualitative Analysis

Six out of 9 female interviewees had an early pre-offence history of substance use with an onset age ranging from 10-15 years. For some, their first “using” experience involved injection drug use and involved substances such as alcohol, speed (amphetamine and methamphetamine), mescaline, and heroin. Likewise, 11 out of 15 male interviewees also had an early pre-offence history of substance use with an onset age ranging from 5-19 years and mostly involving the use of alcohol. A family history of excessive substance use was prevalent in the backgrounds of most of the interviewees.

Only those females with a pre-offence history of substance use admitted that using/withdrawing from substances was a factor in the homicidal event. For more than two thirds of the males interviewed, using/withdrawing from substances was a factor in the homicidal event. Moreover, for two thirds of the females and one third of the males, alcohol was the substance most frequently cited in terms of the homicidal event.

Many women returned to drug use upon release often precipitating a return to prison. Eight out of 15 male interviewees with a history of problematic substance use had at least one conditional release suspended or revoked because of involvement with substances post release.

Many of the interviewees stated that a return to “using” was often associated with estrangement from “community.” Furthermore, lengthy sentences resulted in a degradation of social skills further resulting in a sense of isolation from people. This often prompted a return to “using” as a way to cope with internal feelings, fears and anxieties. According to these interviewees, a lack of adequate addictions programming and an accompanying therapeutic piece within the institution, often leads to post release failure. Furthermore, an imposition by CSC of unrealistic goals, job placements, and adjustment expectations for lifers, post release, were often associated with return to “using.”

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

Little research has been done on the impact of alcohol or other drug use in relation to specific crimes and, more specifically, to homicide (Wieczorek et al., 1990). However, more information around the alcohol-violence relationship is known in comparison to the drug-violence relationship. This has led to the current research around alcohol and other drugs with respect to homicide offenders, the subject of this paper, in order to better understand the role that substance use may play in relation to the homicidal event and post release outcomes.

This research has produced evidence that more than one half of the homicide offenders were problem or chronic drinkers and this involved more males than females. Moreover, slightly less than one-half of these offenders had problematic or chronic patterns of use of other drugs, and this involved both males and females equally. Lastly, close to one third of these offenders were problem or chronic polydrug users, characterized by the use of alcohol and other drugs.

The percentage of problem or chronic drinkers in this population is much higher than the standard for the B.C. population in general. These findings are similar to a study done by Wieczorek et al. (1990), who concluded that 50% of their sample of homicide offenders was also problem or chronic drinkers. They described 50% of the homicide offender population, versus 13% of the general population, as being problematic/chronic drinkers. Both this research, and that done by Wieczorek et al., have concluded that the prevalence of a heavier or much heavier drinking style was substantially greater than that found in the general population and that it generally involved more male drinkers than female drinkers. Research has shown that certain risk factors are associated with who uses drugs and who does not. In this study, more than one third of the homicide offenders came from families with a history of excessive or problematic use of substances. Moreover, it was predominantly the biological father who had the substance use problem and, generally, this involved the use of alcohol (Dobash et al., 2000).

Many studies have indicated that substance use is initiated between the ages of 12-13. The sequence of this drug use is usually from using legal substances (although the use is illegal for minors) such as tobacco, alcohol, and inhalants, to illegal drugs such as marijuana. Progression to the use of “hard drugs” may occur following the initiation as previously outlined. However, although such progression to hard drug use or problematic drug use does not occur for every child adolescent who engages in such use, there is some strong evidence to suggest that early onset of use does pose a significant risk factor biologically, psychologically, and socially to the user’s well being. For example, research suggests that youth who smoke or drink may be 65 times more at risk for using marijuana than a non-user of substances. Likewise, those who

smoked marijuana may be 104 times more at risk to move on to using cocaine. Nearly one quarter of the problem drinkers in this study were drinking at age 10. By the age of 14, the majority of problem drug users were already involved in using both alcohol and other drugs. Interviews with offenders were successful in illuminating the journey of initiation into substance use, and the progression ending with problematic or chronic use of mainly alcohol or heroin. Many of these offenders traced the origins of their drug using to their families, where the prevalence of drug using behaviours was quite apparent.

Interviews with women and men who were the subjects of this research substantiate the results of the content review done on offender files. For some, the extensive and detailed story of their journeys and struggles with the use of alcohol and/or other drugs gives some credence to the family origins of such substance abuse. For many of these individuals, a family history of substance use/abuse coupled with an early onset of use, some younger than age 10 years, set the tone for future substance use problems. Some of the men who were interviewed described alcohol and other drug using lifestyles that were 30 or more years in length. As mentioned elsewhere in this paper, there is ample evidence to substantiate the fact that a history of family substance abuse can play a major role in the development of substance use problems in some of the offspring. Given that there are a higher proportion of problem/chronic drinkers and users of other drugs in homicide offender populations relative to the general population, one can speculate that a comparable family history of substance abuse would also be present in many of these.

Although a successful content review of homicide offender files was conducted for the majority of files, some difficulties were encountered along the way, and have been described in the methodology section. What other research implies is that drug use during the commission of interpersonal violence such as homicide can be attributed to three explanations -- psychopharmacological effects, systemic violence, and economically compulsive motives (Goldstein, 1989). In terms of the possible relationship between alcohol use and violent crimes such as homicide, other researchers have suggested the existence of possible biochemical causes or a disinhibition effect. Some have suggested an interaction between alcohol and personality characteristics, such as the need for power and control. Situational factors such as the drinking environment, or even expectations that revolve around the anticipated effects of using alcohol, are also plausible explanations. Still others have suggested that a combination of several of these factors, unique to the individual and situation are the cause of violent behaviour.

Although there are some homicides that occur in the absence of substance use, it is still important to consider the factors unique to each situation during which alcohol and/or other drugs are a factor in the homicidal event. This is not to necessarily imply that alcohol or other drug use causes violence, but to suggest that available research has indicated that substances do play an important and significant role in many homicides. Other researchers have concluded that heavy consumption of alcohol just before the homicidal event was directly implicated in more than one half of the homicides studied, and this was consistent "across sex and age groupings" (Boyd, Elliott, & Gaucher, 1991; Fendrich et al., 1995; Wieczorek et al., 1990). This is also consistent with the findings of this research, which concluded that more than one half of the offenders were using substances at the time of the offence, and of those more than one half used alcohol as a single substance. Wieczorek et al. (1990) have indicated that even among problem

and chronic drinkers, the intake of alcohol just prior to the homicide was substantially higher (an average of 24 drinks consumed within a 24 hour period) than their regular consumption patterns. Likewise, they noted that casual/ recreational drinkers consumed more alcohol than usual before committing a homicide. These researchers concluded that the link between homicide and a higher than usual level of alcohol consumption “supports a direct impact of alcohol on aggressive behavior and/or an alcohol-based impact on cognition or expectation” (Wieczorek et al., 1990 p. 224). The next most frequently used single substances in this study were cocaine, heroin, and antidepressants. Close to one third of the offenders were also using both alcohol and other drugs at the time of the offence. On those few files where the information could be located, close to 20% of the homicide offenders were diagnosed as having a “substance dependence disorder” as defined by the DSM.

Some research has also concluded that a “special relationship exists between the use of other drugs and homicidal events which varied with respect to race, sex, and type of drug used” (Wieczorek et al., 1990). The results of the current research have revealed that more than one third of the homicide offenders were polydrug users at the time of their offence. Although it may be true that many drug use episodes are not followed by violence, it is also fair to say that there may exist predisposing and reinforcing factors for both violence and drug taking. Similar to findings by other researchers, the relationship between specific types of illegal drug use and the gender of the offender did seem to differ in this research. Therefore, while female offenders, for whom such use was indicated at the time of the offence, were most often using prescription drugs, males most often used cocaine, followed by heroin and prescription drugs. Some explanations for the association of some prescription drugs or opiates (such as heroin) with violent acts (such as homicide) have been attributed to withdrawal symptoms, sometimes characterized by an increase in irritability, agitation, and impulsive behaviour. Likewise, cocaine use is sometimes associated with defensive reactions to stress or experiencing cocaine psychosis, which may include exaggerated feelings of paranoia accompanied by hallucinations for a small percentage of users.

During the course of this research, both men and women described the relationship of their alcohol/other drug use to the homicidal event. All of the interviewees for whom such use was a factor in the homicide were also identified as having a history of problematic use of alcohol and/or other drugs. Although the use of alcohol alone was identified as the substance used in many of these cases, polydrug use was also prevalent among the remaining cases. This is also consistent with most other research findings, although some researchers have indicated that males are more likely to use alcohol during the time of the offence.

Although some research has concluded that high risk offenders are more likely to re-offend and fail on conditional release than low risk offenders (thus necessitating in part the rationale for a risk/needs assessment), it would seem that the re-offence rate for homicide offenders in this study was very low. In fact, this research has concluded that criminal and non-criminal violations were prevalent in only 16% of the homicide files, which is consistent with other research. Some research has shown that for those offenders whose re-offending included violence, alcohol was the one variable most often associated with this act (Wallin, 1974). In the current research findings, alcohol and/or other drugs showed up on one third of all parole violations flowing from criminal offences. For female homicide offenders, one half of these

violations were related to alcohol and/or other drugs. Alcohol and/or other drugs constituted more than three quarters of all technical violations. One hundred percent of technical violations for females involved alcohol and/or other drug use or possession.

Current research findings have also concluded that of those offenders who used substances within the institution, more than three quarters had a history of problem or chronic drinking and two thirds were problem or chronic users of other drugs. Finally, there is a link between having a pre-offence history of problem use of alcohol or other drugs, using/withdrawing from substances at the time of the homicidal event, and committing an alcohol and/or other drug violation or offence post release, which included nearly one third of all offenders in this study with such a post release history. The legacy of substance use continued as the interviewees described how their continued use or return to use of various substances played a part in technical violations and criminal re-offending. Many of these individuals also identified a history of problematic substance use prior to the offence. For some of these homicide offenders, the picture that appeared was one of a continued pattern of substance abuse uninterrupted throughout their prison terms. In addition, for some, that pattern and history of use continued to play a part in the revocation of their conditional release status.

This research has identified the role that alcohol or other drugs play in the lives of homicide offenders, both pre-offence, offence and post release. In doing so, one conclusion is that problematic or chronic alcohol and other drug use results in a life long health problem, as illustrated by this homicide offender population. Likewise, the prevalence of problematic substance use within this sample is much greater than within the general population. Due to the nature of their crimes, homicide offenders are more likely than other types of offenders to be returned to prison for non criminal or technical violation, the majority of which involves substance use. Finally, it is evident that within this offender population, substance use and abuse are considerable barriers to the successful reintegration into the community, post release.

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HOMICIDAL POISONINGS: THE SILENT OFFENSE

Arthur E. Westveer and John P. Jarvis
Behavioral Science Unit, FBI Academy
Quantico, VA 22135

ABSTRACT

The goal of this study is to examine the most recent data available to determine the consistency of patterns in homicidal poisonings. To this end, comparisons are made with earlier analyses by Westveer, Trestrail, and Pinizotto (1996) covering the period 1980-1989. Through this effort we attempt to validate and refine homicidal poisoner characteristics that could be further utilized by forensic scientists and law enforcement personnel to assist their criminal investigations. The importance of cooperation between the medico-legal science community and law enforcement is underscored, and such findings serve as a foundation for the continued examination of behavioral attributes of these silent killers. Factors examined for these cases include victim demographics, offender attributes, geographic and temporal features, and incident characteristics that comprise the crime patterns in these cases.

INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND

Homicidal poisonings have always remained one of the most difficult crimes to detect and prove, and one of the most difficult in which to bring the offender to justice. As there are often few visible signs of the homicidal poisoning, all too often the victim's death may be certified as being due to a natural or unknown cause, and important evidence of the crime is buried with the victim. Thus, a great number of homicides by poisoning are eventually detected only upon specific toxicological analyses carried out after the exhumation of the victims' remains.

The following cases, selected from FBI and police files as well as public source court documents, identify incidents in which the nature of the initial poisoning was either not detected or misdiagnosed by criminal or medical investigators. In most of these cases the initial causes of

AUTHORS' NOTE: The following is a draft work in progress and should not be considered in any way as a finished product. While the case data, observations, and analysis are informative and accurate, the discussion and importance of the work for understanding these low base rate incidents remain a challenge. We would like to thank the FBI's UCR program for providing the SHR data relating to poisoning homicides. Additionally, we thank John Trestrail for his insights on earlier drafts and his contributions to earlier work in this area. Finally, we would like to acknowledge Emily Noroski who, as an intern for the Behavioral Science Unit, assisted us in reworking initial drafts of this work into its current form.

death were thought to be accidental or due to natural causes, but were later determined, through considerable legal and investigative effort, to be deaths due to homicide where poison was the weapon of choice.

Case #1 -- In a small country town, a White male became suddenly very ill and his family diagnosed his symptoms as pneumonia. He was later admitted to the hospital, prescribed antibiotics and pain killers, and 10 days after the onset of his symptoms he succumbed, and was declared to have died from his illness. It was later discovered that the wife of the victim admitted poisoning her husband to a live-in acquaintance whom she hoped to marry. The acquaintance was reluctant to marry her and became worried about the potential risk of his own sudden demise. After the wife returned some herbicide named Gramoxone® to a fruit grower, the acquaintance contacted the fruit grower inquiring about the toxins in the Gramoxone® (Paraquat). Only then did the fruit grower become suspicious and contact the police. Upon further investigation, it was substantiated that the wife of the victim was having an affair with the live-in acquaintance, had collected on a \$55,000 insurance policy, and was pressing the acquaintance to marry her. The police then had the body exhumed, discovering the chemical Paraquat in the victim.

Disposition: As a result of these findings and other evidence, the wife was arrested and charged with the death of her husband. She was later convicted and sentenced to 5 years imprisonment and treatment in a mental hospital.

Case #2 -- In 1999, officers were called at 3:30 a.m. to treat an 8-month-old baby who had been reported to have stopped breathing. The boy was transported to the hospital, and died later that morning. It was presumed that the infant had suffered from Sudden Infant Death Syndrome (SIDS). An autopsy was later conducted that revealed the child to have had a blood ethanol level of 0.12 (120 mg/dL). Upon further investigation, the father was found to have given the child a toxic dose of the alcoholic beverage Peppermint Schnapps.

Disposition: The father was arrested, and charged with negligent homicide for the alcohol poisoning of his son.

Case #3 -- A 33-year-old woman was found dead in her waterbed. A black substance was discovered around her mouth and nose. The investigating officer, recalling similar evidence from a case 12 years earlier, suspected a possible cyanide poisoning. As a result, during autopsy the distinctive bitter-almond-like odor common to cyanide poisonings was discovered.¹ Laboratory tests confirmed the presence of cyanide in the blood, but not in her stomach contents. Due to this finding it was thought that the victim was somehow forced to inhale hydrogen cyanide gas. Police later investigated the husband, and found that he worked at an exterminating company where hydrogen cyanide was readily available.

¹It is estimated that only about 50% of the human population are able to detect the odor of cyanide. Therefore, the possibility exists that the use of this poisonous substance may often go undetected.

Disposition: Combining this information with evidence of both marital and financial problems, the husband was later arrested. Prosecutors have sought a 1st degree murder conviction and a possible life sentence.

These cases are illustrative of the subtlety of the homicidal poisoner as was summed up well a number of years ago by a prominent toxicologist who noted that:

[P]oisoning, of course, differs considerably from many other crimes, frequently committed in uncontrolled passion and in the heat of the moment. The innate character of the crime of homicidal poisoning demands subterfuge, cunning and, what is equally important, usually a period of careful planning, and also not infrequently the repetition of the act of administering poison Its characteristic being one of premeditation, it is a method of murder which therefore cannot be the subject of extenuation as some other forms of killing can. (Glaisiter, 1954, p. 153)

This kind of criminal behavior stirs up images of what these criminals must be like. If one thinks of a poisoner, the following perceptions might come to one's mind: female, subtle, and manipulative (as in case #1), highly intelligent, domestic (as in cases #1 and #3), cowardly, or even artistic. Rowland (1960) portrays the characteristics of the poisoner as likely to have an unfortunate married life, failing to make an impression on life, possibly connected with the medical world, vain, possessed with a mind without sympathy and/or imagination, and likely to be spoiled by his/her parents. Still another observer, Wilson (1988, pp. 476-484) describes poisoners as weak-willed, daydreamers, fantasists, possessing an artistic temperament, cowardly, and avaricious. While these depictions may have been anecdotally accurate when offered, the question of whether current law enforcement perceptions and medico-legal statements about poisoners' characteristics are still valid and reliable remains.

This work attempts to address the following question. When examined as a group, do the empirical data concerning homicidal poisoners and their victims reveal relationships and characteristics that are in accordance with descriptions and anecdotal cases that were illustrated above? Other than a few published reviews of some famous historical poisoning cases, little has been written on the characteristics of the poisoner and his or her victim (see Trestrail, 2000, for a recent exception). A further review of the international forensic literature also does not reveal any previously published epidemiological studies dealing with the criminal investigative analyses, or psychological profile, of the homicidal poisoner either. While the earlier work of Westveer et al. (1996) provided forensic scientists and law enforcement personnel with a clearer statistical picture of the various characteristics related to poisoning homicide victims and offenders, additional analysis of the most recent reported poisoning homicides are sought to further unravel some of the mystery surrounding this type of killer.

In order to conduct this examination, the Federal Bureau of Investigation's Uniform Crime Reports (UCR) information concerning Supplementary Homicide Reports (SHR) were drawn upon to examine those incidents occurring in the United States over the most recent decade (Federal Bureau of Investigation, 1990-1999). Specifically, these data are examined to isolate incidents involving homicides where a poisoning agent was reported to be the cause of death. These data are believed to be the most reliable source of information concerning such

incidents that come to the attention of the police, and form the basis for all analyses presented. This time period is purposefully selected in order to permit comparisons to the earlier work of Westveer et al. (1996) that examined similar data reported over the previous decade (1980-1989).

METHOD

The UCR program has traditionally been utilized to look for fluctuations in the level of crime and to provide criminologists with statistics for varied research and planning purposes. From these data, the Supplementary Homicide Reports reveal much of what is known empirically about the nature and scope of homicidal behavior in the United States. For this study, 186,971 SHR murders in the United States, during the 10-year period from 1990-1999, were available for analysis. This volume of cases represents an 8% decline in reported murders when compared to the 202,785 homicides reported in the 1980s. From these cases, those homicides that involved a chemical (non-drug) poison or a drug/narcotic that had been utilized by an offender for homicidal purposes were extracted. Reports involving asphyxiation/fumes were excluded from the present study, because it was not possible to differentiate asphyxiation by smothering from those cases involving chemical fumes (e.g., carbon monoxide).

RESULTS

Of the total 186,971 SHR reports in the United States for the period 1990-1999, 346 (0.19%) or 1.9 per 100,000 total homicides, were poisonings involving a single victim and a single offender, or a single victim and an unknown number of offenders.² This compares with 292 similar homicidal poisonings reported during the 1980s. Therefore, the 1990s saw an increase of 18% in reported homicidal poisonings, which equates to a 35% increase in the rate of these cases coming to the attention of law enforcement during the 1990s. The effective investigation of homicides generally, and these cases in particular, often depends on a number of factors including determining such basic investigative data as victim demographics, possible offender characteristics, geographic and temporal features of the case, and any particular incident attributes that may assist law enforcement in solving the case. For these reasons, the results are presented with these investigative categories in mind.

Victim Demographics

The SHR data for the 1990s shows that victims of homicidal poisonings were found to be almost equally divided between males and females. The victims' ages ranged from a single victim less than 1 week old to 13 victims 75 years or older. The age range for the greatest

²For the purposes of this study, in those reports where there were an unknown number of offenders, it was assumed that at least one offender was involved. Therefore, all these cases are included even though the exact number of offenders remains unknown. While this may over count some cases involving multiple offenders, two factors mitigate this problem. First, previous analyses in this area suggests that these offenses are more likely committed by lone offenders. And secondly, separate analyses of FBI NIBRS data confirm this by showing that when the number of offenders is known, approximately 90-95% of these cases involve a single offender.

number of victims was in the 25-44 years, which constituted 91 (37.2%) of the victims. The age of the victim was unknown in four (1.2%) of the homicides. By race, poison was used 0.006% for all homicides on Black victims. By gender, Black males were poisoning victims almost twice as often as Black females. White victims were almost equally divided between males and females in poisoning homicides. Victims of other races were as likely to be males as females.

Offender Attributes

The data also reveal that victim characteristics may dictate some contingency related to offender characteristics. That is, when the victim was a female, the offender was found to be predominantly male. If the victim was a male, the offender was found to be almost equally likely to be male or female. Regardless of the sex of the victim, the poisoning offender was found to be predominantly of the White race. When examining race, it would appear that homicidal poisonings, like other homicidal behavior, usually did not cross racial lines, with the offender predominantly being of the same race as the victim. However, this information also shows a slight increase from 1% to 3.5% among other races as victims compared to 1980s' analysis (Westveer et al., 1996). Additional findings show that Whites were predominantly the victims of a male offender, Blacks were almost equally the victims of male and female offenders, and people of other racial backgrounds were equally likely to be victims of female and unknown offenders.

By race, Black poisoning offenders were males twice as often as females, and White poisoning offenders were also more likely to be males. By gender, the result that 168 (48.6%) of the poisoning offenders were male, compared to 115 (33.2%) female offenders, would seem to challenge the perception that poisons are primarily used by female offenders. Of course, it must be emphasized here that these cases represent only those murders that become known. It could be that females are the predominate gender for poisoners, but are more successful at getting away with the crime. Yet, this information reflects a 50% increase in the participation of females in this criminal homicidal behavior compared to data from the 1980s (see Westveer et al, 1996). Of course it must be noted that the gender of 63 (18.2%) of the offenders remained unknown. The offenders' ages ranged from one offender in the 10-14 year range, to four in the 75 years or older group. The 20-34 years age category accounted for 111 (32.1%) of the offenders. The age of the offender was unknown in 73 (21.1%) of the homicides. These patterns have remained relatively stable in comparison to those of the 1980s.

However, a word of caution should be emphasized here. Because the percent of poisoning offenders with unknown characteristics was found to be 20-30 times higher than those with unknown characteristics among all homicide offenders, some of these demographic findings may be tentative. This problem is most likely due to a lack of witnesses to these offenses and therefore no readily available clues to offender characteristics in these homicidal poisonings.

Relationship of Poisoning Victim to Offender

As was detailed in the cases noted at the outset, homicides of a family relation of the offender are relatively common and accounted for 125 (36.1%) of the poisonings in the 1990s. The four most frequent relationships within the family were son (9.5%), daughter (7.2%), wife

(6.9%), and husband (5.2%). However, while it is widely believed that poisoning is predominantly a household or domestic crime, of the reports where the relationship of the offender to the victim was known, more of the victims were outside the family (63.9%) than were within the family (36.1%) of the offender. Victims found to be outside of the family of the offender accounted for 221 (or 63.9%) of the poisoning homicides. The five most frequent relationships outside of the family were acquaintance (69, or 19.9%), unknown (66, or 19.1%), other (31, or 9%), friend (22, or 6.4%), and girlfriend (13, or 3.8%). These results are in stark contrast to the Westveer et al. (1996) findings from the 1980s showing just 39% of victims outside the family of the offender. This earlier analysis of Westveer et al. showed a more equitable distribution of relationships whereas this study shows substantially more victimizations of individuals outside the family. Once again, 66 (or 19.1%) of homicide victims had an unknown relationship to the offender. So the prevalence of unknown characteristics may dampen the significance of some of the patterns noted here. In particular, the variance with the findings of Westveer et al. may be due to fluctuations in missing data relative to these cases rather than true compositional changes in homicidal poisoning behavior

Type of Poison

Thirty (8.7%) of the female offenders, and 38 (11%) of the male offenders utilized a chemical (non-drug) poison. Eighty-five (25%) of the female offenders and 130 (37.6%) of the male offenders utilized a drug/narcotic as their homicidal agent. Although it was not possible from the SHR reports to determine the exact identification of the poison used, chemical (non-drug) poisons were utilized in a ratio of 5:4 by male offenders compared to female offenders. A drug/narcotic was utilized in a ratio of almost 3:2 by the male offender compared to the female offender. This represents a 33% increase in the use of drug/narcotic poisonings by women, compared to analysis of 1980s' data (Westveer et al., 1996). The exact identification of the poison used could not be made from the SHR report; this important piece of information will have to be obtained from a more in-depth analysis of the specific case reports on file in the various jurisdictions. As to what could serve as a potential homicidal poison, one need only to refer to the early, but accurate, definition suggested by Paracelsus in 1564 (Deichman, Henschler, & Keil, 1986, p. 207): "What is there that is not a poison, all things are poison and nothing without poison. Solely the dose determines that a thing is not a poison." Thus, any substance has the potential of producing a homicide by poisoning. Clearly, the prime candidate for the most effective weapon in homicidal poisonings is the chemical with the greatest lethality, the smallest dose, and least likelihood of being detected.

Geographic and Temporal Features

A total of 44 (88%) of the 50 states reported poisoning homicides for the decade of the 1990s. The seven states with the most reported cases, accounting for a total of 178 (51.5%) of the reported homicides, were California (63, or 18.2%), Washington (34, or 9.8%), Texas (23, or 6.6%), Pennsylvania (22, or 6.4%), Arizona (12, or 3.5%), Michigan (12, or 3.5%), and New York (12, or 3.5%). When the 346 poisoning homicide reports were analyzed by geographic region for the United States, the following results were obtained: Northeast (52, or 15%), South (87, or 25%), Midwest (56, or 16%), and West (151, or 44%). These findings are very similar to

the 1980s' analysis of Westveer et al. (1996) except for an increase of 9% in reported cases from the western United States.

The fact that fewer SHR reports were received from one geographic area over another, however, does not necessarily mean that there were fewer poisoning homicides. Factors that could impact the number of reports received from a jurisdiction include legislation requiring autopsies or toxicology screens on all deaths of unknown cause, the sophistication of analytical toxicology laboratories in the area, or the workload of the local law enforcement and/or forensic pathology personnel.

Homicidal Poisonings by Year and Month

The number of homicide reports per year for the decade varied from a high of 41 in 1995 to a low of 26 in 1999. The average number of poisoning homicide reports per year was 34.6. Yet little year-to-year variation was found in the data reported.

The incidence of poisoning homicide reports by month for the decade varied from a high of 40 in the month of December to a low of 16 in the month of August. The average number of poisoning homicide reports by month was 28.8. The number of poisoning homicide reports for each month remained relatively constant except for the months of August and December, in which the number was at 25.

Incident Characteristics

From the SHR reports, it is impossible to determine an exact motive in 220 (64%) of the reports, as they fall into such generalized categories as "other-not specified," "other," or "unable to determine circumstances." This important information relating to motive will likely have to be obtained from a more in-depth analysis of the specific case reports on file in the various jurisdictions. It is interesting to note that in only two (0.6%) of the reports was the circumstance related to a so-called romantic triangle, which seems to be contrary to both the case details offered earlier (Case #1), as well as the general perception that poisons are often used in these domestic situations to remove "significant others," allowing the offender to achieve a romantic goal.

Modus Operandi

Because of the large number of reports that fall into generalized unknown categories, it is impossible to determine the exact motive as related to relationship of victim to offender. Additionally, it is not possible from the SHR reports to determine how the poison was administered. However, a summary of findings provided in Table 1 shows the consistency of patterns in homicidal poisonings and may provide an opportunity for investigators in developing investigative leads that may reveal the methods used by these killers.

TABLE 1. Demographics of Homicide Poisonings, 1990-1999 (n = 346)

Attribute	Victim	Offender
Age	24-44	20-34 ¹
Sex	M/F ²	M ³
Race	W ^{4,5,6}	W ⁷
Circumstance	? ⁸	?
Relationship	63% outside family	37% inside family ⁹
Weapon	75% drug/narcotic	25% non-drug ¹⁰
Unknown	20-30% higher than that of all homicides	

NOTES:

¹Age and/or Gender is unknown in approximately 20% of cases.

²Victim = male offender no more frequently male or female; Victim = female offender more frequently than male.

³More frequent than female, but 50% increase in female offending compared to 1980s' analysis.

⁴Victim = White offender more frequently male; victim = Black offender no more frequently male or female.

⁵Black male victims occur 2 times more than Black female victims; White/other males = White/other females.

⁶Other race victims increase from 1% to 3.5% compared to 1980s' analysis.

⁷Both White and Black offenders were more frequently male.

⁸Circumstances were not informative in 64% of cases as they were reported as unknown, other, or missing. Yet, 3 times more husbands than wives were reported as victims in romantic triangle circumstance. Also, there were some acquaintance victims in this circumstance.

⁹Relationship reported to be 39% outside family in 1980s' analysis.

¹⁰Drug/narcotic type poisoning involving female offenders increased 33% compared to 1980s' analysis.

CONCLUSION

It can be concluded from this study that the incidence of reported homicides due to poisoning comprised only a small portion of the SHR data for the decade. One can only wonder if more of these types of homicides remain undetected, as there are many holes in the investigative net through which the homicidal poisoner can slip -- such as crime scene detection and homicidal poison identification (by autopsy and/or toxicological screening). It should also be remembered that many of the demographics of poisoning offenders remain largely unknown at

least in contrast to that of overall homicides during the decade. This would seem to indicate that homicide investigators may have often been presented with a poisoning homicide victim and were unable to identify the offender of the crime. An old and wise adage related to homicide detection is that “all deaths are homicides until facts prove otherwise.” As evident from the cases identified at the outset of this research, and the statistical analysis offered here, perhaps this adage should be extended to state “and all deaths, with no visible signs of trauma, may be considered poisonings until facts prove otherwise.”

What other factors may be important to the identification of a poisoning homicide offender? Among the many factors that need to be identified are the offender’s socioeconomic level, IQ, level of education, professional training, personality (introversion/extroversion), ethnicity, prior criminal history, marital harmony, and psychological status. These factors of homicidal poisoners cannot be elucidated from the SHR reports. This information can be generated only by in-depth research into actual circumstances surrounding such poisoning cases. The research offered here, coupled with investigative experience, provides the basis for extending criminal investigative analysis. Such analyses may assist law enforcement in their investigations by arming them with a clearer picture of this type of cunning, premeditating killer. Finally, while this work has focused on incidents of homicidal poisoning behavior, the importance of these patterns may be even more significant in the context of the 21st century. That is, the potential for toxic substances being utilized as a weapon of mass destruction may prove to be more of a substantial threat than in the past. Understanding some of the attributes of homicidal poisoners as examined here may enhance the abilities of law enforcement and the forensic community should they be called upon to assist in prevention and investigative efforts that may arise in the future.

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DISCUSSION

Damon Muller: John, is anthrax a poison?

John Jarvis: Yes.

Damon Muller: There was a New Zealand case where a professor of psychiatry poisoned his wife with insulin over time.

John Jarvis: The problem is when an individual has a disease and dies from an overdose of this drug for this disease.

Damon Muller: What about other chemicals also, like potassium?

John Jarvis: Every substance is toxic, the dose is what matters.

Ken Polk: It is very rare that cases are classified as poisons, due to investigations. It is hard to establish who did it. You need to go look at the investigations and classify what about drug overdoses versus the typical stereotype of poisoning. The SHR may not work.

Becky Block: I would like to add that the Chicago data have been worked through and they may be more complete.

John Jarvis: This is the motivation to create collaborative partnerships with detectives to deal with the issues of delays.

Dwayne Smith: Are cases of medical personnel who poison patients in the SHR?

John Jarvis: More have been uncovered. The number of times poisoned may be an issue. They are more likely to be detected.

Linda Langford: This seems to be a natural for the California data with the linked records. Can the issue of the time lag be addressed with these files?

Roger Trent: Our files are not centralized. There are 58 sites. One site, Los Angeles, is 40% complete.

Becky Block: In the Chicago data, for poisoning we have information on the length of time before date of injury and date of death when booked.

Mike Maltz: You may need to be careful of jurisdictional variation in the data reporting for SHR.

John Jarvis: In the SHR you also need to be wary of the relationship codes. In NIBRS, the relationship codes go through mandatory error checks and may be more reliable.

Mike Malz: There is a 2-year window to update records.

Dallas Drake: The time of poisoning to the time of detection may be an important variable as it gives information on the kinds of poisons. In searching for missing cases, what kinds of poisons are detected at different time points?

John Jarvis: It is also important for other crimes as well.

Roland Chilton: Sherry, that was a most useful presentation. You begin with alcohol distinct from drugs and later end with substances. You could point out the major part of the problem is alcohol. This is also consistent with Thomas Holt's information. Focus on alcohol and drugs but the differences are not put together.

Thomas Holt: Alcohol and drugs together. Both are substances with a pharmacological effect. Could be re-examined looking for simpler classification scheme.

Sherry Mumford: Alcohol is a more prominent chemical in Canada. Alcohol is now grouped as a drug. It needs to be pulled apart.

[**Editors' Note:** Thomas Holt presented "Anatomy of Drug-Related Murder," but did not submit any material to the Homicide Research Working Group that could be included in these *Proceedings*.]

Tom Petee: Why in Thomas Holt's study are the unknown victims and offenders treated as secondary?

Rick Rosenfeld: They are not included as secondary. [**Editors' Note:** Richard Rosenfeld has worked with the data used by Thomas Holt.]

Tom Petee: What about the meth-homicide connection?

Sherry Mumford: In the 1963-97 data, meth did not play a big part. The 1990s have not been examined but we think it has increased. The predominant drugs are heroin and cocaine.

Dick Block: I am surprised you couldn't differentiate (not understood) . . . only look at business transactions and pharmacological effects.

Thomas Holt: They were excluded in part because of the lack of success with other research.

Rick Rosenfeld: We originally used three categories and this may undercount those cases. For example, robbery is used by the person as a means to get the drugs. There is no information in the narratives, we are not finding any. We find almost no overlap in the alcohol/drug use homicides. Surprisingly, there is no need for the hierarchy rule. We checked the medical examiner data on the victims and 30% had alcohol in their system, compared to nearly 60% with drugs. Our theory is that the police are undercounting the alcohol and focusing on illicit drugs.

Also, there is a changing racial composition. Blacks do not drink at the same rate as their White counterparts.

Vance McLaughlin: Sherry, other countries have a higher rate of crack problem like the U.S.? Why not use crack?

Damon Muller: Not Australia. There are very few deaths with cocaine.

Chris Rasche: American ingenuity.

Sherry Mumford: In the last 3 years there has been an increase in crack on the west coast.

Marc Reidel: Tom or Rick, why not treat age as a continuous variable?

Rick Rosenfeld: We wanted the age categories to represent different developmental stages.

Becky Block: It is not realistic to assume that age is a ratio variable.

Damon Muller: How would legal prescription drugs fit into the model?

Thomas Holt: We exclude the use of prescription drugs.

Damon Muller: The effects of abusing drugs have a significant effect on personalities. In Australia legal drugs are the drugs of choice.

Rick Rosenfeld: Any significant presence of prescription drugs?

Vance McLaughlin: In Savannah, sometimes we see the combo of pot, coke, and other prescription drugs. Does the medical examiner screen for drugs?

Damon Muller: There is a common drug screen on all cases.

Ken Polk: The alcohol category “primary characteristics” does not make sense, you need to differentiate it.

Rick Rosenfeld: Is brawling in homicide data?

Dick Block: More homicides are in the parking lot of liquor stores. “Barroom brawls” seem to be a thing of the past and does not describe cases now. They do not generate a large percentage of homicides.

Eileen Sullivan: Look at alcohol and drug homicides. Are they the same as alcohol-drug other crimes. Is the relationship unique?

Sherry Mumford: It has not been examined. The intent was to study post release homicide offenders.

Eileen Sullivan: Alcohol and drug use would be associated with post release.

Jenny Mouzous: What about the use of alcohol and pot frequency and homicide?

Thomas Holt: Not much drug/alcohol combination related homicide. Same prevalence of the combination use outside of homicide.

Jenny Mouzous: Three-quarters of homicides that are alcohol related are among Indigenous Australians.

Rick Rosenfeld: This is also the same with indigenous U.S. populations.

CHAPTER ELEVEN
POSTER, DEMONSTRATION, AND LITERATURE DISPLAYS

THE COMPARABILITY OF MALE AND FEMALE RATES OF LETHAL VIOLENCE

Candice Batton

Department of Criminal Justice, University of Nebraska-Omaha
540 N. 16th St., 1100 Neihardt, Lincoln, NE 68588

This poster presentation describes current research I am conducting on gender differences in rates of lethal violence. Both homicide and suicide rates are examined, as well as the relative likelihood of each for men and women in the United States. While it is well established that males commit both suicide and homicide at higher rates than females, little research has been conducted examining historical trends in this relationship. The integrated homicide-suicide theory in conjunction with a historical-contextual approach provides the conceptual framework. According to the integrated homicide-suicide model, gender differences in violence rates are associated with differences in the manner in which males and females attribute blame and responsibility, which is subject to the cultural and structural characteristics of society. To address this issue, time series techniques are used to study recent trends in male and female rates of lethal violence, from the 1960s to the present.

**NATIONAL RIFLE ASSOCIATION
(Literature Display)**

Paul H. Blackman
NRA Institute for Legislative Action
11250 Waples Mill Road, Fairfax, VA 22030

As might be expected, most of the materials available in hard copy, or on the Internet, from the National Rifle Association and its lobbying arm, the Institute for Legislative Action (ILA), is not really intended for academic research. The materials certainly take advantage of academic research, but most material is intended to explain the position of the NRA and ILA to those confronted with information and viewpoints from the other side of the “gun control” debate, or for the assistance of NRA members wishing to be able to discuss the details of current debates on particular gun issues and legislative responses, and to understand and comply with the various gun laws.

As the literature display makes clear, the materials take advantage of academic research, including both NRA-ILA summaries of the findings of the research, a bibliography of research (particularly on the constitutional right to keep and bear arms), and reproduction of material by academic researchers on the gun issue. Some of those materials, as well, may be of use to homicide researchers whose studies touch on firearms involvement in homicide. For example, while our summaries of state firearms laws are produced for the benefit of our gun-owning members seeking to understand the laws applicable to their activities, those summaries have also proven beneficial to non-NRA members such as researchers conducting statistical analyses which include state gun laws as factors.

Much of the material available from the National Rifle Association and ILA can be accessed on our web site. In the Issues section one can find the aforementioned state firearms laws summaries as well as the bibliography of research on the constitutional right to keep and bear arms. Also available is information comparing the level of firearms regulation and crime rates in various countries around the world. Additionally, there are crime and incarceration statistics for the U.S., the 50 states, and the District of Columbia, including numbers, rates, and trends, from 1960 to the present, using FBI and BJS data, in Excel and CSV formats. Similarly available are mortality data of potential interest to homicide researchers, from NCHS, including total deaths, accidental deaths, deaths associated with common types of accidents, total homicides, suicides, and firearm-related deaths (suicides, homicides, and accidents), including numbers, rates, and trends (one year to next, and any year to present), and data showing each type of death as a percentage of total and/or total accidental deaths. These data are shown for all ages, ages 0-9 and 0-14, and for various age groups between 0-24 years. Also included are line charts showing annual numbers of various types of accidental death for several age groups. The web site has links to other research and government sources which may be useful in homicide research.

An example of an NRA-ILA fact sheet follows. It demonstrates how such fact sheets make some use of academic scholarship while being rhetorical. Such a fact sheet would normally have NRA-ILA letterhead and other graphics lacking here, and would not be formatted to

conform to requirements for HRWG *Proceedings*. What follows is a September 2001 fact sheet on the proposed national firearm injury surveillance system being promoted by some anti-gun organizations and academic researchers, entitled, "Anti-gun Researchers Grabbing for Guns -- and Uncle Sam's Pocketbook -- Again":

One of the current primary goals of anti-gun public health professionals is the establishment of a federally-funded national firearms injury surveillance system. They claim that its purpose would be to enable researchers -- them -- to study the firearms issue (receiving lucrative grants of public moneys to do so), to determine the nature and extent of gun-related violence in America and thereafter craft "scientific" efforts to curb it. During the Clinton Administration, Congress curbed the practice of paying anti-gun researchers to conduct "studies" used for anti-gun propaganda purposes. However, the researchers hope that where there is a will (to promote "gun control" and be paid for it), there is a way, and that an injury surveillance system is it.

While anti-gun researchers assert that they would conduct studies objectively, their past activities suggest otherwise. Those most fervently calling for data collection now previously have advocated gun prohibition. Among them, several prominent New York doctors provided an eight-point program to the *Journal of the American Medical Association*, including a call for a firearm injury surveillance system, following an admission that the ultimate goal was a ban on the private possession of handguns.¹ Similarly, the HELP (Handgun Epidemic Lowering Plan) Network, now leading the charge for an injury surveillance system, previously stated that its goal is to change "society's attitude toward guns so that it becomes socially unacceptable for private citizens to have handguns."² And surveillance advocates at the Medical College of Wisconsin called for a ban on "Black Talon" ammunition, alleging various threats to the medical community, without having first collected any data as to whether the threats were real, or whether greater threats to doctors and nurses came from cutting and stabbing instruments kept in surgical rooms than from the century-old problem of pointed parts of bullets.

Additional reasons to oppose a federally-funded injury surveillance system include: Data collection, even if objectively conducted, would inevitably have biased results. The data that would be collected by the system would relate only to misuses of firearms (murders, suicides, and accidents). Data on protective and other beneficial uses of guns would not be recorded by an injury surveillance system since, obviously, there is no injury to record in the vast majority of self-defense uses of firearms and in all properly conducted sporting firearms uses. Additionally, data would be collected only on injuries involving guns, ignoring those involving knives, clubs,

¹One of those physicians has gone on to lead in the establishment of Doctors Against Handgun Injury, calling, of course, for a national firearm injury surveillance system.

²Two examples demonstrate the HELP Network's interest in objective data collection and analysis. It refused to allow the pro-gun head of Doctors for Integrity in Policy Research to attend its annual meeting. And in response to an open letter from the head of the group, the HELP Network's founder and leader, K. K. Christoffel e-mailed colleagues (July 16, 1997, 11:23:52 EDT): "Does this group have a web page; if so, does it list members? Might VPC [the handgun-ban advocacy group, Violence Policy Center] dig up some dirt on it?"

fists and feet, and other non-firearm objects.

When data using the Wisconsin surveillance system were reported to a multidisciplinary group studying homicide, Roland Chilton, president of the American Society of Criminology, said that focusing on just firearms, rather than other weapons, looked more like rhetoric than science. In order to evaluate the real threat to the medical community from the Black Talon round, for example -- the fear being that cuts from the bullet being extracted from persons shot with the round might expose doctors and nurses to such blood-borne pathogens as HIV--data would have to be collected on all methods by which that community accidentally cuts itself exposing members to blood-borne pathogens of at-risk patients.

In sum, the policy debate about gun control really calls for a cost-benefit analysis, weighing the good that flows from the ownership and use of firearms against the bad. Surveillance system advocates are not interested in such an approach, since firearms are used for self-defense far more often than to commit crimes, widespread ownership and carrying of firearms deters violent criminals, and persons who use firearms to defend against crime are statistically less likely to be injured by criminals than persons who use another, or no, means of self-defense.

1. The data collection envisioned is impractical and expensive. When the medical community have attempted to record data on the types of guns and ammunition involved in injuries, they have failed to do so accurately. To the extent that the data collection system envisioned involves input from law enforcement agencies, crime labs, emergency-room personnel, social workers, and other groups, it could become quite costly, with no clear benefit.

2. Data collected would be used for political rhetoric more than for scientific analysis. Prominent anti-gun public health researcher Arthur Kellermann explained to sympathetic colleagues that the benefit of national firearm-related morbidity and mortality surveillance system was that gun-control advocates could lobby each congressman to support pending anti-gun legislation by telling him precisely how much gun injury occurred in his district annually. Certainly, all public health advocates of restrictive gun laws -- and all anti-gun groups -- have made similar but less detailed use of gun-related mortality data already collected.

Data collection advocates are interested in data only to the extent that they can be used to argue for "gun control." Data collection has indicated that the federal "assault weapon" ban was unjustified and not working, that gun-surrender programs don't work, and that one-gun-a-month restrictions are not warranted, yet data collection advocates have been silent in the public debate of those issues.

Surveillance system proponents envision taxing gun buyers to pay for collecting data. The most prominent call for such a system advocated taxing guns to pay for it, simultaneously fulfilling gun-prohibitionists' goal of making guns more expensive. Curiously, the alleged model for firearms surveillance, the FARS (Fatality Analysis Reporting System) for motor vehicle accidents, is not paid for by taxing cars, nor is it clear that it is beneficial. Public health professionals pretend that the decline in motor vehicle accidents is related to data collection and analysis, but the gun-related fatal accident rate has fallen considerably faster than the motor-

vehicle accident rate, and the decline in car accidents is more closely tied to the decline in the availability of cheap gas, and speed limit policies associated with the goal of fuel conservation, than to anything related to public-health research.

**CANADIAN CENTRE FOR JUSTICE STATISTICS
REPORTS ON LETHAL AND NON-LETHAL VIOLENCE**

Valerie Pottie Bunge
Canadian Centre for Justice Statistics, Statistics Canada
19th Floor, R. H. Coats Building, Ottawa, Ontario K1A 0T6 CANADA

This literature display will present the latest publications and reports on homicides and violence from the Canadian Centre for Justice Statistics. Literature on display will include some of Statistics Canada's most recent findings on lethal and non-lethal violence in spousal violence cases, including spousal violence after marital separation and children witnessing family violence. Other reports on display will describe homicide victims and offenders within Canada. A publication on crime comparisons between Canada and the United States will also be available.

**THE SOCIO-SPATIAL LOCATION OF WOMEN KILLERS IN
THREE GEORGIA COUNTIES DURING THE 1990s**

Kim Davies
Department of Sociology, Augusta State University
Augusta, GA 30904

During 1990s in three eastern Georgia counties near South Carolina, 44 women were believed by the police to have killed another person. This poster includes descriptive information gathered from police incident and arrest reports, trial transcripts, victim's assistance files, newspaper clippings, and the Georgia Department of Corrections Website about each of these offenders and the 43 victims. Data presented consist of methods, circumstances and the roles of the accused female-perpetrators. Maps showing the physical location of the homicides within Richmond County, where most of the homicides occurred, help demonstrate the lower socio-economic class location of many of the offenders.

CHARACTERISTICS OF ROBBERY IN HOMOSEXUAL HOMICIDES

Dallas S. Drake
Minnesota Gay Homicide Study
115 West 36th Street, Minneapolis, MN 55408

Researchers and law enforcement personnel allege that homosexual homicide victims are frequently victimized by robbery. Both qualitative and quantitative data will be presented to show the extent to which this phenomenon occurs by using a dataset of homosexual homicides constructed from news reports. Key questions about what role robberies might play, and about what variables should be sought when official investigative records are coded. One particular aspect will include the comparison of incidence based on gender.

HOMICIDE TRENDS IN THE UNITED STATES

Detis Duhart
Victimization Statistics Branch, Bureau of Justice Statistics
810 7th St. NW, Washington, DC 20531

This literature display and poster will present the latest Bureau of Justice Statistics publications and reports on homicides. Data from the SHR, UCR, and other sources are used to describe homicide victims and offenders, as well as trends and aggregates. These reports and publications also examine the characteristics of the incident and the distribution of the case.

RESOURCES OF ICPSR AND NACJD (Literature Display)

Chris Dunn and Kaye Marz
ICPSR/NACJD, University of Michigan
Perry Building, 330 Packard, Ann Arbor, MI 48104

Approximately 90 data collections in the National Archive of Criminal Justice Data (NACJD) have data about various aspects of homicide. The NACJD exhibit explained how individuals could locate these collections (using “homicide” or “murder” as keyword search terms), learn more about their contents and structure, and download these data to their computer for statistical analysis. Some of these data collections are also available on the NACJD Web site for use with the online statistical analysis program. These data are useful for answering inquiries about homicide and for creating instructional exercises. Information was also provided on the Census 2000 data available from the Inter-university Consortium for Political and Social Research (ICPSR). The live Internet connection was also used to demonstrate the new HRWG Web site.

THE NATIONAL YOUTH GANG SURVEY

Arlen Egley, Jr.
National Youth Gang Center
P.O. Box 12729, Tallahassee, FL 32317

ABSTRACT

National Youth Gang Center (NYGC) literature pertaining to the National Youth Gang Survey (NYGS), as well as recent publications from OJJDP's Youth Gang Series, will be displayed. These include highlights of the 2000 NYGS, trends from 1996 to 2000, the changing characteristics of youth gangs, differences in youth gangs across differing jurisdictional types, and other related material. These documents can be downloaded at www.iir.com/nygc/. Also, information regarding other NYGC tasks will be provided to interested parties.

OVERVIEW

The National Youth Gang Survey is an annual survey of a representative sample of over 3,000 law enforcement agencies across the United States. The survey has been conducted by the National Youth Gang Center since 1996. Survey participants provide information pertaining to a wide range of current gang-related issues. Recurring topics include the prevalence of gang activity, number of gangs and gang members, demographic characteristics of gang members, level of gang member involvement in serious and violent offenses, and number of gang-related homicides. Topics unique to the latest survey include law enforcement procedures for recording gang-related crime, the effect of gang members returning from prison, and the use of various programs and strategies designed to combat the youth gang problem.

NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF JUSTICE (NIJ) LITERATURE DISPLAY: RESOURCES AND RESEARCH ON LETHAL AND NON-LETHAL VIOLENCE

Kara Emory
National Criminal Justice Reference Service (NCJRS)
National Institution of Justice, 810 Seventh St., N.W., Washington, DC 20531

Lois F. Mock
National Institute of Justice
810 Seventh St., N.W., Washington, DC 20531

This display will include single copies of relevant NIJ publications and order forms. These displayed publications are also available online at www.ojp.usdoj.gov/nij. Kara Emory will not be present at the meeting, but if you have any questions, please contact her at 202-305-9215 or emoryk@ojp.usdoj.gov. You can also contact Lois Mock, who will be attending the meeting or can also be reached at 202.307.0693 or mockl@ojp.usdoj.gov.

LETHAL AND POTENTIALLY LETHAL VIOLENCE: A COUNTY LEVEL ANALYSIS

Jana L. Jasinski
Department of Sociology & Anthropology, University of Central Florida
Orlando, FL 32816

Christina L. Lanier
Department of Sociology & Criminal Justice, University of Delaware
Newark, DE 19716

ABSTRACT

The volume of research on homicide is extensive as is that on domestic violence. Although a variety of characteristics have been associated with both types of violent behavior, one of the more consistent characteristics associated with homicide (and most violent crime) has been region of the country (specifically the South). Contrary to most work on homicide in general, Avakame (1998) found that the *lowest* incidence of intimate homicides occurred in southern states. Consistent regional effects have not been found, however, for non-lethal domestic violence. It has been suggested, however, that certain southern states, Florida in particular, should be not be lumped together with other southern states because of diversity within the state itself. To address these issues, the present study explores three main areas. First, we will consider the relationship between homicide and domestic violence at the county level in Florida. Second, we will consider the characteristics that are associated with both homicide and domestic violence at the county level. Finally, we will consider whether there is regional effect (southern status) within the state of Florida for domestic violence.

DATA AND METHODS

The objective of this analysis is two-fold: (a) to examine the relationship between homicide, domestic violence-related homicide, and domestic violence offenses in the 67 counties in Florida for the years 1999-2001; and (b) to identify characteristics that are associated with these dependent variables at the county-level. To accomplish these objectives, the data for this analysis were extracted from a variety of sources including U.S. Census 2000, Florida Statistical Abstract, and the USA Counties and Cities Data Book. The dependent variables, homicide, domestic violence related-homicide, and domestic violence offenses, were gathered utilizing data from the Florida Department of Law Enforcement.

After examining the spatial distribution of the dependent variables, a variety of independent variables were selected in the attempt to identify social and cultural characteristics associated with the dependent variables. The independent variables were organized into four theoretical groupings: economic indicators, indicators of social disorganization, indicators of resources within the county, and indicators of population composition. For the purpose of these exploratory analyses, bivariate correlations were performed with each independent and dependent variable.

RESULTS

Economic Indicators

The results of the correlation analyses suggest both similarities and differences in the associations between economic indicators and the 3 dependent variables. Retail sale dollars and percent of college graduates, for example, were both positively associated with all three dependent variables. In contrast, high school completion and median income were significantly associated with domestic violence offenses and domestic violence related homicides only. Poverty was associated with only domestic violence offenses. Interestingly, this relationship was negative.

Resources

We also examined indicators of county resources including medical, law enforcement, and money from two different fund sources, the crime compensation trust and federal funds and grants. In contrast to the associations among the dependent variables and economic indicators, all resource indicators were significantly, positively, and strongly associated with all 3 dependent variables.

Social Disorganization Indicators

We examined the correlation between independent variables that are traditionally utilized as a measure of social disorganization theory. Five of the 6 independent variables were both significant and in the anticipated direction. For example, the homeownership rate and the percentage of housing occupied by owner each had a negative and significant correlation with the 3 dependent variables. This finding may be an indication of the influence of a mobile/transient community. Additionally, family disruption, as measured by the number of divorces, was found to be in the expected direction and significant. The percentage of female-headed households was positive and significant for the total homicide offenses variable only. The initial explanation for this finding is that the majority of domestic violence offenses and domestic violence homicide, take place among intimate partners, thus this finding is expected.

Population Composition

The variables selected to examine the correlation between the dependent variables and the composition of the population were found to be similar across each dependent variable with the exception of the percentage of the population over 18 years of age and female. This variable was positively and significantly correlated with only the total domestic violence offenses. In contrast, the percentage of the population over 18 and male was negative and significant with the 3 dependent variables. When examining the racial composition of the population, we found that there was positive and significant correlation with the percentage of the population that is Native American, Asian, or Pacific Islander. Surprisingly, the percentage of the population that is Black/African American had no correlation with the dependent variables, as is suggested in an abundance of literature. Lastly, the total population and the number of households were significantly, positively, and highly correlated with the dependent variables.

CONCLUSIONS

Our exploratory analysis of domestic violence, domestic violence related homicides, and homicide revealed a similar geographic dispersion of both lethal and non-lethal violent offenses. As illustrated by the county level maps, counties in which there were higher rates of domestic violence offenses also had higher rates of domestic violence homicides and homicides in general. At the same time, our analyses of the county level factors associated with each of these variables suggest that there may be differences between each offense type. Specifically, indicators of economic resources and population composition were not all significantly associated with each of the three dependent variables at the bivariate level. Future analyses will investigate these relationships at the multivariate level.

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NIOSH RESEARCH ON WORKPLACE VIOLENCE

E. Lynn Jenkins

Division of Safety Research, NIOSH

1095 Willowdale Road, M/S 1811, Morgantown, WV 26505-2888

NIOSH has a longstanding interest and expertise with regard to workplace violence research and prevention. NIOSH first published data in 1988 indicating that homicide was among the leading causes of workplace injury death. Since that time, NIOSH has published an *Alert* on preventing workplace homicide, and a *Current Intelligence Bulletin* that reviewed all available national data on fatal and nonfatal workplace violence, the identified risk factors, and potential prevention strategies. Currently, NIOSH researchers have projects focused on enhancing the utility of data on workplace victimizations reported in the National Crime Victimization Survey through collaboration with the Bureau of Justice Statistics, the Bureau of the Census, and other interested agencies and groups; assessing the feasibility of using local health departments as partners in evaluation workplace violence prevention efforts in health care settings; evaluating strategies for violence prevention in taxicabs; and evaluating various state-based approaches to workplace violence prevention.

DID “MORE GUNS” REDUCE HOMICIDE?

Michael D. Maltz

Department of Criminal Justice, University of Illinois at Chicago
M/C 141, 1007 West Harrison St., Chicago, IL 60607

In his book, *More Guns, Less Crime* (1998), John Lott used county-level homicide data to reach the conclusion inherent in the title, that relaxing the laws restricting citizens' rights to carry concealed weapons reduced homicide. However, he did not take into account the gaps in the data and in the methods used to account for them by the National Archive of Criminal Justice Data (where he obtained his data), which invalidates his conclusion. Specifically, he ignored the fact that NACJD specifically warned that “data from earlier year files should not be compared to data from 1994 and subsequent years,” which Lott did for the comparison in his analyses. Thus, his conclusions about the efficacy of these laws are unsupported by any reliable evidence.

In a subsequent edition (2000), Lott used state- and city-level data as well to reach the same conclusion. However, he appears to have used the same unreliable (county-level) homicide data, aggregated to the state level, instead of the FBI-imputed state-level homicide data, which is less problematic than the data he used. Analysis of the FBI's state-level data shows some association between “shall-issue” laws and reduced homicide rates, but only for a short period of time, and even this association reverses itself slightly in subsequent years. Those wishing to understand the problems with Lott's analyses are advised to read the article “A Note on the Use of County-Level UCR Data” (Maltz & Targonski, 2002), Lott's comments on this paper (Lott, 2003), and our response (Maltz & Targonski, 2003).

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SOURCES AND ANALYSES OF HOMICIDE RESEARCH FROM THE FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

James H. Noonan

Federal Bureau of Investigation, Criminal Justice Information Services Division
10000 Custer Hollow Road, Clarksburg, WV 26330

Since 1930, the FBI has compiled crime data collected by law enforcement agencies across the country. With the development of the National Incident-Based Reporting System (NIBRS) in 1988, law enforcement agencies are collecting more detailed crime data and, at the time of this study, approximately 15% of the nation's crime was reported through NIBRS. Using this detailed incident-level information, the Crime Analysis, Research and Development (CARD) Unit conducted a study examining trends of guns and violent crime and will present this as a poster presentation for the HRWG at the University of Missouri-St. Louis.

CAN PEOPLE OF FAITH MAKE A DIFFERENCE?

Barbara Pearce

Interfaith Initiative Against Gun Violence
c/o Chicago Sinai Congregation, 15 W. Delaware, Chicago, IL 60610

The Interfaith Initiative Against Gun Violence is a non-partisan organization of congregations, clergy, and lay leaders dedicated to fighting the plague of gun violence in our society. The Initiative seeks to accomplish its mission through educating the membership of our congregations, advocating our positions to appropriate policy makers and media outlets, supporting efforts to reduce the root causes of violence, cooperating with local and national organizations already active on this issue, and formulating positions on city, county, state, and federal legislation. This poster presentation will show how the Interfaith Initiative employs public health principles by educating its congregational memberships and cooperating with other organizations already active on this issue. It will list proposed and enacted state and national legislation for mitigating handgun violence. A tour of the Interfaith Initiative web site, www.interfaithinitiative.org, will be included.

LIFE COURSE VISUALIZATION METHODOLOGY

Sharon Shipinski, Joseph Targoniski, and Marianne Ring
University of Illinois, Center for Research in Law and Justice
921 W. Vanburen, Suite 230, Chicago, IL 60627

Traditional social science uses variable-centered data collection methods and deductive reasoning approaches. This approach presents many limitations when analyzing complex human behavior over time. Variable-centered approaches assume that the same questions apply to all individuals. We address these shortcomings by developing a person-centered approach using life history visualization and analysis. A life-course analysis is an in-depth examination of the turning points or transitions that individuals take which enable or deter them from persisting in a lifetime of criminal behavior. Using Microsoft Excel and Visio, we display life course trajectories graphically. This method allows for a visual depiction of individuals' development over their life courses, and provides a format for analyzing the connection of multiple, inter-related life events and their impact on future delinquency and criminality.

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**WORK ON UNDERSTANDING AND PREVENTING VIOLENCE
AT THE VERA INSTITUTE OF JUSTICE**

Eileen Sullivan
Vera Institute of Justice
233 Broadway, 12th Floor, New York, NY 10279

Over the last four decades, the Vera Institute of Justice has pioneered practical and affordable solutions to some of the toughest problems in criminal justice. Its mission is to make the system more fair, humane, and efficient for everyone. Vera plans and demonstrates solutions -- often building non-profit organizations from successful demonstrations -- studies social problems and current responses, and provides the advice and assistance leaders need to change their own systems. Every project stems from a true partnership between the Institute and its clients, leaders around the world who seek out Vera's services because they want to do justice. At the Homicide Research Working Group intensive workshop, we plan to present a series of posters showing various aspects of Vera's work on understanding and preventing violence.

**DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH & HUMAN SERVICES
NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF MENTAL HEALTH
(Literature Display)**

Farris Tuma
National Institute of Mental Health, 6001 Executive Blvd, Room 6197
Bethesda, MD 20892

The National Institute of Mental Health (NIMH), part of the National Institutes of Health, and a component of the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, supports research and research training to diminish the burden of mental illness and promote mental health. Basic neuroscience, behavioral science, and genetics research are used to improve our understanding of the fundamental mechanisms underlying thought, emotion, and behavior -- and what goes wrong in mental disorder -- and to translate scientifically-generated information into clinical applications.

The NIMH has a long history of support for research and research training on violence and traumatic stress. Throughout the 1950s, and early 1960s, NIMH provided research and research training support that built much of the modern field of behavioral science, and much subsequent research on violence has built upon that foundation.

The violence portfolio focuses on:

1. Basic or fundamental processes in violent and aggressive behavior:
2. Perpetrators of youth violence, serious adult crime, sexual offenses (adult and juvenile), intimate partner assaults, and violence among the mentally ill;
3. Victims of interpersonal violence and crime, including child abuse, rape, sexual assault, family violence; and
4. Victims of major traumatic events, such as combat and war, mass shootings, terrorism, natural and technological disaster, refugee trauma and relocation, and torture.

Information on research and research training opportunities is available at
<http://www.nimh.nih.gov/>

AN UPDATE OF JRSA'S INCIDENT-BASED REPORTING RESOURCE CENTER

Lisa Walbolt
Justice Research and Statistics Association
777 N. Capitol St., Suite 801, Washington, DC 20002

The IBR Resource Center is an outline resource providing easily accessible information on, and assistance with, several aspects of incident-based reporting and the data produced. The Center consists of several components that provide information on the background, features, and potential uses of IBR data. Several new sections have been added to the site, including: Mapping IBR Data, Displaying IBR Data, Using IBR Data in ACCESS, and An Examination of NIBRS Elements. The Homicide Research Working Group presentation includes a poster, a computer demonstration and a literature display.

APPENDICES

AGENDA

**Homicide Research Working Group
2002 Annual Meeting
Sheraton St. Louis City Center Hotel
St Louis, Missouri**

Thursday, May 30:

5:00 PM - 6:45 PM Registration

7:00 PM – 8:30 PM Opening Presentation

Presenter: Rolf Loeber, University of Pittsburgh
Moderator: Richard Rosenfeld, University of Missouri-St. Louis
Discussants: Jay Corzine, University of Central Florida and
 Finn Esbensen, University of Missouri-St. Louis
Recorder: Cheryl Maxson

8:30 PM - 10:00 PM Reception

Friday, May 31:

**8:00 AM – 9:30 PM Session #1 – Targeting Violence in the Community:
Evaluation and Prevention Issues**

Moderator: Lois Mock

Presenters: James R. Coldren *“Integration of Research into Problem-Solving
Collaboratives: Studying a Collaboration with the
Strategic Approaches to Community Safety
Initiative”*

Scott Decker *“Reducing Firearm Violence and Homicide in St.
Shannon Catalano Louis: The Role of Research in a Multi-agency
Problem-solving Initiative”*

Elena Quintana *“Using Evaluation to Enhance Violence Prevention
Cody Stephens Efforts in Chicago”*

Recorder: Brian Wiersema

9:45 AM – 10:30 AM Session #2 – Poster, Demonstration, and Literature Displays

Organizer: Carolyn Block

- Presenters:** Candice Batton *“The Compatibility of Male and Female Rates of Lethal Violence”*
- Paul H. Blackman *“National Rifle Association”*
- Valerie Bunge *“Canadian Centre for Justice Statistics Reports on Lethal and Non-Lethal Violence in Intimate Relationships”*
- Kim Davies *“The Socio-Spatial Location of Women Killers in Three George Counties During the 1902”*
- Dallas Drake *“Characteristics of Robbery in Homosexual Homicides”*
- Detis Duhart *“Homicide Trends in the United States”*
- Chris Dunn
Kaye Marz *“Resources and Available Products of the National Archive of Criminal Justice Data (NACJD)”*
- Arlen Egley, Jr. *“The National Youth Gang Center Gang Survey: Meaning, Measurement, and Application of the Results”*
- Kara Emory
Lois Mock *“NIJ Resources and Research on Lethal and Non-Lethal Violence”*
- Jana L. Jasinski *“Lethal and Potentially Lethal Violence: A County-Level Analysis”*
- Lynn Jenkins *“NIOSH Research on Workplace Violence”*
- Michael D. Maltz *“Did “More Guns” Reduce Homicide?”*
- James Noonan *“Sources on Homicide Research Available from the Federal Bureau of Investigation”*
- Barbara Pearce *“Can People of Faith Make a Difference?”*

Sharon Shipinski
Joseph Targonski
Marianne Ring

“Life Course Visualization Methodology”

Eileen Sullivan

“Work on Understanding and Preventing Violence at the Vera Institute of Justice”

Farris Tuma

“National Institute of Mental Health (NIMH)”

Lisa Walbolt

“An Update of JRSA’s Incident-Based Report Resource Center”

10:45 AM – 12:45 PM Session #3 – Violence Research, Theory, and Policy

Moderator: Candice Batton

Presenters: Barrie J. Ritter
Jack Ritter

“Research for the Cop on the Beat: What We Can Do to Help Police”

Derral Cheatwood

“A Proposed Model to Better Integrate Theory and Policy on Homicide”

Richard Block

“Place, Space, and Crime Revisited: Targets and Offenders Converge in Violent Offenses in Chicago”

Recorder: Paul Blackman

12:15 PM – 1:15 PM Lunch

1:30 PM – 3:00 PM Session #4 – Contextual Features of Non-Lethal and Lethal Violence Results from an NCOVR/NIJ Partnership

Moderator: Jacquelin Cohen

Presenters: Amie Nielson

“Ethnic Differences in Firearm Use, Injury, and Lethality in Assaultive Violence”

Piyusha Singh
Jacqueline Cohen

“Weaponry, Age and Violence: The Role of Contextual Factors on Use of Weaponry Among Youth”

Jacqueline Cohen *“Individual, Situational and Contextual Influences
Laura Dugan on Official Agency Contacts by Assault Victims:
 Implications for Estimating Levels of Assaultive
 Violence”*

Recorder: Greg Weaver

3:15 PM – 4:45 PM Session #5 – Violence and Social Control

Moderator: Lin Huff-Corzine

Presenters: Vance McLaughlin *“Mass Legal Executions in the United States”*
Paul H. Blackman

Eric Baumer *“Homicide Rates and Support for Capital
 Punishment: A Multi-Level Analysis”*

Brian Buchner *“Between War and Crime: Terrorism’s Challenge
Richard Rosenfeld to Violence Research”*

Recorder: Chris Rasche

5:00 PM – 6:00 PM Business Meeting

Saturday, June 1:

8:00 AM – 9:30 AM Session #6 – Intimate Partner and Sexual Violence

Moderator: Carolyn Block

Presenters: Valerie Pottie-Bunge *“National Trends in Canadian Intimate Partner
 Homicides, 1974 to 2000”*

Laura Dugan *“Policy Effects on Intimate Partner Violence”*

Damon Muller *“Sexual Homicide in Victoria”*

Recorder: Wendy Regoeczi

**9:45 AM – 10:30 AM Session #7 - Poster, Demonstration, And Literature Displays
(See Friday, May 31, Description)**

10:45 AM – 12:15 PM Session #8 – Lethal and Non-Lethal Violence in Social Context

Moderator: Richard Rosenfeld

Presenters: Greg S. Weaver *“Predictors Associated with Lethal and Non-Lethal Violence: A Contextual Analysis”*
Thomas Petee
Janice Clifford-Wittekind
Lin Huff-Corzine
Jay Corzine

Roland Chilton *“Regional Variations in Lethal and Non-Lethal Assaults”*

Jenny Mouzos *“A Comparative Analysis of Armed Robbery and Robbery Homicide in Australia: Is the Latter a By-Product of the Former?”*

Recorder: Lois Mock

12:15 PM – 1:15 PM Lunch

1:30 PM – 3:00 PM Session #9 – Groups, Networks, Organizations, and Violence

Moderator: Brian Wiersema

Presenters: Eric Lacourse *“Developmental Trajectories of Boys’ Delinquent Group Membership and Facilitation of Violent Behaviors During Adolescence”*
Daniel Nagin
Frank Vitaro
Richard E. Tremblay
Michel Claes

Norman White *“Social Networks in Lethal and Non-Lethal Violence”*
Richard Rosenfeld
Carolyn Phillips
Pernell Witherspoon
Thomas Holt

E. Lynn Jenkins *“Workplace Violence in the United States: From Research to Prevention”*

Recorder: Kathleen Heide

3:15 PM – 4:45 PM Session #10 – Cross-National Profiles in Homicide

Moderator: Steven F. Messner

Presenters: Paul Nieuwbeerta *“Homicide in the Netherlands, 1992-2001”*
Catrien Bijleveld *“An Exploratory Study of the 1998 Homicides in the Netherlands”*
Christine Adler *“Gender, Age and Patterns of Child Homicide Victimization”*
Kenneth Polk

Recorder: Sharon Shipinski

5:00 PM – 6:45 PM Session #11 – The California Linked Homicide File: Exploring Its Usefulness

Moderator: Marc Riedel

Presenters: Marc Riedel *“The California Linked Homicide File: Exploring a New Data Source”*
Wendy C. Regoeczi
Jason Van Court *“An Analysis of Unlinked Cases in the California Linked Homicide File: 1990-99”*
Laura E. Lund
Roger Trent
Laura E. Lund *“A Comparison of Fatal and Non-Fatal Violent Injuries in California, 1991-1999”*
(Presented by:
Roger Trent)

Recorder: Dallas Drake

8:30 PM Party – Governor’s Suite, Sponsored by UMSL Criminology

Sunday, June 2:

8:00 AM – 9:30 AM Session #12 – Homicides By and About Drugs

Moderator: Kathleen Heide

Presenters: Sherry Mumford *“Double Down- It’s All In The Cards: Pre-Offence, Offence and Post Release Use of Alcohol and other Drugs by Homicide Offenders”*
Thomas Holt *“Anatomy of Drug-Related Murder”*

John Jarvis
Arthur Westveer

*“Homicidal Poisonings: A Consideration of Lethal
and Non-Lethal Outcomes and the Demographics of
These Silent Crimes”*

Recorder: Jana Jasinski

9:45 AM – 10:30 AM **Session #13 – Poster, Demonstration, And Literature Displays**
(See Friday, May 31, Description)

10:45 AM – 11:45 AM **Business Meeting**

PARTICIPANTS IN THE SYMPOSIUM

Adler, Christine

Department of Criminology
University of Melbourne
Parkville, VIC 3052
AUSTRALIA
c.alder@criminology.unimelb.edu.au

Barlow, Hugh D.

Dept of Sociology
Southern Illinois University
Box 1455
Edwardsville, IL 62026
hbarlow@siue.edu

Batton, Candice

Department of Criminal Justice
University of Nebraska
540 N. 16th St., 1100 NRC
Lincoln, NE 68588-0630
cbatton@mail.unomaha.edu

Baumer, Eric

Dept of Criminology & Criminal Justice
University of Missouri-St. Louis
8001 Natural Bridge Road
St. Louis, MO 63121
baumer@umsl.edu

Bijleveld, Catrien

PO Box 792
2300 AT Leiden
Netherlands
bijleveld@nscr.nl

Blackman, Paul H.

National Rifle Association
11250 Waples Mill Road
Fairfax, VA 22030-7400
pblackman@nrahq.org

Block, Carolyn Rebecca

Research and Analysis Unit
IL Criminal Justice Information Auth.
120 S. Riverside Plaza
Chicago, IL 60606
bblock@icjia.state.il.us

Block, Richard

Dept. of Sociology
Loyola University
6525 N. Sheridan Rd.
Chicago, IL 60626
rblock@luc.edu

Blumstein, Alfred

The Heinz School
Carnegie Mellon University
Pittsburgh, PA 15213
AB0Q@andrew.cmu.edu

Buchner, Brian

Department of Criminology & Criminal
Justice
University of Missouri-St. Louis
8001 Natural Bridge Road
St. Louis, MO 63121
buchner_umsl@hotmail.com

Catalano, Shannan
Dept. Of Criminology and Criminal Justice
University of Missouri-St. Louis
St. Louis, MO 63121

Cheatwood, Derral
Department of Sociology
University of Texas at San Antonio
6900 N Loop 1604 West
San Antonio, TX 78249-0655
derralc@lonestar.utsa.edu

Chilton, Roland
100 Aubinwood Road
Amherst, MA 01002
chilton@soc.umass.edu

Cohen, Jacqueline
The Heinz School
Carnegie Mellon University
5000 Forbes Ave.
Pittsburgh, PA 15213
jc63@andrew.cmu.edu

Coldren, James “Chip”
John Howard Association
300 West Adams Street
Suite 617
Chicago, IL 60606
jhachip@algxmail.com

Corzine, Jay
Dept. of Sociology & Anthropology
University of Central Florida
4000 Central Florida Blvd.
Orlando, FL 32816-1360
hcorzine@mail.ucf.edu

Costello, Sandra Kaminska
921 Van Buren, Suite 230
Chicago, IL 60607
skamin1@uic.edu

Davies, Kim
Augusta State University

2500 Walton Way
Augusta, GA 30904
kdavies@aug.edu

Decker, Scott
Criminology and Criminal Justice
University of Missouri-St. Louis
8001 Natural Bridge Road, 494 Lucas Hall
St Louis, MO 63121-4499
c1911@umslvma.umsl.edu

Donahue, Karon
2010 Evergreen Terrace Drive West
Apt. #1
Carbondale, IL 62901
kdonahuesocsuic@aol.com

Drake, Dallas S.
Minnesota Gay Homicide Study
115 West 36th Street
Minneapolis, MN 55408
dallas.drake@mindspring.com

Dugan, Laura J.
Dept of Criminology & Criminal Justice
University of Maryland
2220 Lefrak Hall
College Park, MD 20742
ldugan@crim.umd.edu

Duhart, Detis T.

Bureau of Justice Statistics
810 7th St NW
Washington, DC 20531
duhartd@ojp.usdoj.gov

Dunn, Christopher S.

ICPSR
University of Michigan
311 Maynard, LL10
Ann Arbor, MI 48104
csdunn@umich.edu

Edison, Bill

Department of Criminal Justice
San Jacinto College North
5800 Uvalde
Houston, TX 77049
wediso@sjcd.cc.tx.us

Egley, Arlen

National Youth Gang Center
P.O. Box 12729
Tallahassee, FL 32317
aegley@iir.com

Emory, Kara

NCJRS/NIJ Coordinator
National Institute of Justice
810 Seventh St., N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20531
emoryk@ojp.usdoj.gov

Esbensen, Finn

Department of Criminology & Criminal
Justice
330 Lucas Hall, University of Missouri-St.
Louis
8001 Natural Bridge Road
St. Louis, MO 63121
esbensenf@msx.umsl.edu

Folami, Michael Olakunle

Ondo State University
Akungba-Akoko, Nigeria
P.O. Box 1812, Agege, Lagos
folakunlemi@onebox.com

Galary, Aneta

Loyola University
6525 N. Sheridan Rd.
Chicago, IL 60626

Hansen, Avianca Marie

Senior Director of Homicide Programs
Safe Horizon
201 Joralemon Street, Suite 608
Brooklyn, New York 11201

Heide, Kathleen M.

Dept. of Criminology, SOC 107
University of South Florida
4202 E. Fowler Ave.
Tampa, FL 33620-8100
kheide@chumal.cas.usf.edu

Holt, Thomas

Dept. of Criminology & Criminal Justice
University of Missouri-St. Louis
8001 Natural Bridge Road
St. Louis, MO 63121
holt.thomas@lycos.com

Huff-Corzine, Lin

Division of Academic Affairs
University of Central Florida
311 Millican Hall
Orlando, FL 32816-0065
lcorzine@ mail.ucf.edu

Jarvis, John P.

Behavioral Sciences Unit
FBI Academy
Quantico, VA 22135
jjarvis@fbiacademy.edu

Jasinski, Jana L.

Dept of Sociology & Anthropology
University of Central Florida
4000 Central Florida Blvd.
Orlando, FL 32816-1360
jjasinsk@pegasus.cc.ucf.edu

Jenkins, E. Lynn

National Institute for Occupational
Safety & Health
1095 Willodale Road
Mailstop 1811
Morgantown, WV 26505
ljenkins@cdc.gov

Lacourse, Eric

GRIP, University of Montreal
3050 Edouard-Montpetit
Montreal, H3T 1J7
CANADA

Langford, Linda

Higher Education Center for AOD
Prevention
Education Development Center
55 Chapel St.
Newton, MA 02458-1060
llangford@post.harvard.edu

Lanier, Christina

2716 Patty Way
Orlando, FL 32826
clddd@mpinet.net

Loeber, Rolf

Western Psychiatric Institute and Clinic
University of Pittsburgh
3811 O'Hara Street
Pittsburgh, PA 15210
loeberr@msx.upmc.edu

Lum, Cynthia

Department of Criminology
University of Maryland
2220 Lefrak Hall
College Park, MD 20742
clum@crim.umd.edu

Lund, Laura E.

Department of Health Services
Epidemiology and Prevention for Injury
Control (EPIC) Branch
Violent Injury Surveillance Program
611 N. 7th St., Suite C
Sacramento, CA 95814-0208
llund@dhs.ca.gov

Maltz, Michael

Dept. of Criminal Justice (M/C 141)
University of Illinois at Chicago
1007 West Harrison Street
Chicago, IL 60607-7140
mikem@uic.edu

Martinez, Ramiro

School of Policy & Management
Florida International University, 11200 SW
8th St.
ECS Building 431
Miami, FL 33199
ramirom62@aol.com

Marz, Kaye

ICPSR/ National Archive of Criminal
Justice Data
University of Michigan
426 Thompson St., Borders
Ann Arbor, MI 48106-1248
kaye@icpsr.umich.edu

Maxson, Cheryl L.

Criminology, Law and Society
University of California, Irvine
2309 Social Ecology II
Irvine, CA 92697-7080
cmaxson@uci.edu

McEwen, Tom

Director of Research
Institute for Law and Justice, Inc.
1018 Duke St.
Alexandria, Virginia 22314
tmcewen@ilj.org

McLaughlin, Vance

Savannah Police Dept.
112 Lazy Lagoon Way
Savannah, GA 31410-2445
cvmclaughlin@hotmail.com

Messner, Steven F.

Dept. of Sociology
SUNY-Albany
1400 Washington Ave.
Albany, NY 12222
s.messner@albany.edu

Miethe, Terance D.

University of Nevada at Las Vegas
Department of Criminal Justice
4505 Maryland Parkway
Las Vegas, NV 89154-5009
miethe@nevada.edu

Mock, Lois Felson

National Institute of Justice
Office of Research and Evaluation
810 Seventh St., N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20531
loism@ojp.usdoj.gov

Mouzos, Jenny

Australian Institute of Criminology
National Homicide Monitoring Program
GPO Box 2944
Canberra ACT 2601 AUSTRALIA
jenny.mouzos@aic.gov.au

Muller, Damon A.

Department of Criminology
University of Melbourne
234 Queensbury St.
Parkville, 3052, Victoria AUSTRALIA
d.muller@pgrad.unimelb.edu.au

Mumford, Sherry

45282 South Sumas Road
Sardis, British Columbia V2R 1R7 Canada
sher@danesonline.com

Nagin, Daniel S.

Carnegie Mellon University
Heinz School of Public Policy and
Management
Pittsburgh, PA 15213
dn03@andrew.cmu.edu

Nielsen, Amie L.

Department of Sociology
University of Miami
P.O. Box 248162
Coral Gables, FL 33124-2208
anielsen@mail.as.miami.edu

Nieuwebeerta, Paul

NSCR
POBox 792
NL2300 at Leiden
Netherlands
nieuwebeerta@nscr.nl

Noonan, James H.

1000 Custer Hollow Road
Clarksburg, WV 26306
janoonan@leo.gov

Pearce, Barbara

Interfaith Initiative Against Gun Violence
C/o the Chicago Sinai Congregation
15 W. Delaware
Chicago, IL 60610
info@interfaithinitiative.org

ELLIE12HELYNE@aol.com

Petee, Thomas A.

Dept. of Sociology
Auburn University
7030 Haley Center
Auburn, AL 36849-5209
peteeta@auburn.edu

Phillips, Carolyn

Department of Criminology
University of Missouri-St. Louis
8001 Natural Bridge Road
St. Louis, MO 63121
cphillips@umsl.edu

Polk, Kenneth

Department of Criminology
University of Melbourne
234 Queensbury St.
Parkville, Victoria 3052 AUSTRALIA
k.polk@criminology.unimelb.edu.au

Pottie-Bunge, Valerie

19 RH Coats
Tunney's Pasture
Ottawa, Ontario
Canada, K1A OT6
valerie.pottie-bunge@statcan.ca

Quintana, Elena

Chicago Project for Violence Prevention
1603 W. Taylor Street (m/c 923)
Chicago, IL 60612-4394
elenaq@uic.edu

Rasche, Christine E.

Sociology, Anthropology & Criminal Justice
University of North Florida
4567 St. John's Bluff Rd. South
Jacksonville, FL 32224-2645
crasche@unf.edu

Regoezi, Wendy C.

Dept. of Sociology
Cleveland State University
1860 East 22nd St.
Cleveland, OH 44114-4435
w.regoezi@csuohio.edu

Riedel, Marc

Cen. for the Study of Crime, Delinq. &
Corrections
Southern Illinois University at Carbondale
624 Somerset Apt. B
Murphysboro, IL 62966
riedel@siu.edu

Ring, Marianne

Center for Research in Law and Justice
MC 223
921 West Van Buren Street, Suite 230
Chicago, IL 60607
mring1@uic.edu

Ritter, Barrie J.

673 Malarin Ave.
Santa Clara, CA 95050
barrie_ritter@hotmail.com

Ritter, Jack

673 Malarin Ave.
Santa Clara, CA 95050
Jack_ritter@hotmail.com

Rosenfeld, Richard

Criminology & Criminal Justice
University of Missouri-St. Louis
8001 Natural Bridge Rd., 249 Lucas Hall
St. Louis, MO 63121
richard_rosenfeld@umsl.edu

Shipinski, Sharon

921 W. Van Buren, Suite 230
Chicago, IL 60627
sshipi1@uic.edu

Shulka, Joe

Minnesota Gay Homicide Study
115 West 36th Street
Minneapolis, MN 55408
joeshulka@earthlink.net

Singh, Piyusha

Rm 1506 Hamburg Hall
5000 Forbes Avenue
Carnegie Mellon University
Pittsburgh, PA 16217
ps5h@andrew.cmu.edu

Smit, Paul R.

Ministry of Justice, WODC
Postbus 20301
2500 EH The Hague
Netherlands
psmit@best-dep.minjus.nl

Smith, M. Dwayne
Department of Criminology
University of South Florida
4202 E. Fowler Ave.
Tampa, FL 33620-8100
mdsmith@cas.usf.edu

Stephens, Cody
University of Illinois-Chicago
1603 W. Taylor M/C 923
Chicago, IL 60612-4394
codys@uic.edu

Sullivan, Eileen
Vera Institute of Justice
233 Broadway, 12th Floor
New York, NY 10279
esullivan@vera.org

Targonski, Joesph
Department of Criminal Justice (M/C 141)
University of Illinois- Chicago
1007 West Harrison Street
Chicago, Il 60607
jtargo1@uic.edu

Trent, Roger
California Department of Health Services
EPIC Branch
611 N. 7th St., Suite C,
Sacramento, CA 95814-0208
rtrent@dhs.ca.gov

Tuma, Farris
National Institute of Mental Health
6001 Executive Blvd., Room 6200
Bethesda, Maryland 20892
FTUMA@NIH.GOV

Van Court, Jason
California Department of Health Services
EPIC Branch
611 N. 7th St., Suite C
Sacramento, CA 95814-0208
Jvancour@dhs.ca.gov

Vogt, Kimberly A.
Dept. of Sociology/Archaeology
University of Wisconsin at La Crosse
1725 State Street, 435 Wimberly Hall
La Crosse, WI 54601
vogt.kimb@uwlax.edu

Walbolt, Lisa
Research Associate
Justice Research and Statistics Association
777 N. Capitol St., Suite 801
Washington, D.C. 2002-4239
www.jrsa.org/jaibg

Weaver, Greg S.
Dept. of Sociology
Auburn University
7030 Haley Center
Auburn, AL 36849-5209
weavegs@mail.auburn.edu

White, Norm
Department of Criminology & Criminal
Justice
University of Missouri-St. Louis
8001 Natural Bridge Road
St. Louis, MO 63121
norman@umsl.edu

Wiersema, Brian

Department of Criminology & Criminal
Justice
University of Maryland
2220 Lefrak Hall
College Park, MD 20742-8235
bwiersema@crim.umd.edu

Wittekind, Janice

Department of Sociology
Auburn University
7030 Haley Center
Auburn, AL 36849-5209
wittejc@auburn.edu

White, Norman

Dept. of Criminology and Criminal Justice
University of Missouri-St. Louis
St. Louis, MO 36121
Norman@unsl.edu

Witherspoon, Pernell

Dept. of Criminology and Criminal Justice
University of Missouri-St. Louis
St. Louis, MO 36121
pwfcc@studentmail.umsl.edu

Zahn, Margaret A.

13 Glen Eden Drive
Raleigh, NC 27612
zahnm@ojp.usdoj.gov
