Homicide Research:
Past, Present and Future

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Edited by

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Acknowledgements

The Homicide Research Working Group (HRWG) is an international and interdisciplinary organization of volunteers dedicated to cooperation among researchers and practitioners who are trying to understand and limit lethal violence. The HRWG has the following goals:

- ➢ to forge links between research, epidemiology and practical programs to reduce levels of mortality from violence;
- ➢ to promote improved data quality and the linking of diverse homicide data sources;
- ➢ to foster collaborative, interdisciplinary research on lethal and non-lethal violence;
- ➢ to encourage more efficient sharing of techniques for measuring and analyzing homicide;
- ➢ to create and maintain a communication network among those collecting, maintaining and analyzing homicide data sets; and
- ➢ to generate a stronger working relationship among homicide researchers.

Homicide Research Working Group publications, which include the *Proceedings* of each annual Intensive Workshop (beginning in 1992), the *HRWG Newsletter*, and the contents of issues of the journal *Homicide Studies* (beginning in 1997), may be downloaded from the HRWG web site, which is maintained by the Inter-University Consortium of Political and Social Research, at the following address: http://www.icpsr.umich.edu/HRWG/

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The Fourteenth Annual Summer Conference of the Homicide Research Working Group was held June 3-6, 2005 in Orlando, Florida. Co-sponsored by the University of Central Florida and the University of South Florida, the theme of the conference was "Homicide Research: Past, Present and Future".   The activities started with a pre-conference workshop on "Analyzing and Understanding National Incident-Based Reporting System (NIBRS) Data" that was organized by John Jarvis of the Federal Bureau of Investigation. The conference opened with a reception held at the home of James Wright of the University of Central Florida.

The conference was comprised of ten sessions and twenty-one papers on a variety of topics such as economics and homicide, homicide clearance rates, the prevalence of guns, violence against women and profiling. As has become a tradition at the conference, there was also a poster and literature display session which allowed participants to informally interact with the presenters. The conference concluded with a technology demonstration by John Schultz of the University of Central Florida on the use of GPR in finding human remains.

Special thanks should be extended to Candice Batton, Becky and Dick Block, Jay Corzine, Dallas Drake, Chris Dunn, Lin Huff-Corzine, John Jarvis, Jana Jasinski, Kaye Marz, Wendy Regoeczi, Gabrielle Salfati, Dwayne Smith and Jim Wright.

Thomas A. Petee
Auburn University
2005 HRWG Program Chair

In Memoriam

Eric Monkkonen
1942-2005

Eric Monkkonen, professor of history and policy studies at UCLA, died at his home May 30, 2005, after a 10-year battle with prostate cancer. Author of <u>Murder in New York</u> (University of California Press, 2000), and numerous other books and articles on crime, Eric was a long time member of the Homicide Research Working Group. The Eric Monkkonen Fund has been established at UCLA for graduate studies in American History.

CHAPTER ONE
PRECONFERENCE WORKSHOP
UNDERSTANDING AND ANALYZING NATIONAL-INCIDENT BASED
REPORTING SYSTEM DATA

Presenters:

John Jarvis, Federal Bureau of Investigation

Thomas Petee, Auburn University

Roland Chilton, University of Massachusetts

Lisa Walbolt Wagner, JRSA

STATA as a Tool for the Analysis of NIBRS Data

Roland Chilton – University of Massachusetts, Amherst

INTRODUCTION

This is an expanded "poster session" version of material presented as part of the workshop on NIBRS (National Incident-Based Reporting System) that occurred just prior to the 2005 meeting of the Homicide Research Working Group meeting in Orlando. I have included one STATA "dofile" and three STATA "programs" to illustrate some of the ways STATA might be used to examine NIBRS data, These examples are introduced or followed by comments and explanations presented in the workshop on power point slides. I begin with a STATA command and a data dictionary that can be used to read (infile) NIBRS data that is in text format. The best way to use any of this material is to get the STATA software, download the NIBRS data from ICPSR (Inter University Consortium for Political and Social Research), and try the commands, "the dofiles," (sets of commands), and the "programs" (sets of commands with added capabilities).

STATA as an alternative to SPSS

The primary advantage of STATA over SPSS is its programming language.

Unlike the syntax statements of SPSS that must be used when NIBRS data are read into SPSS, the STATA programming language is used <u>after</u> the NIBRS data are in STATA format.

ICPSR and STATA

Currently, ICPSR provides NIBRS in STATA format--except for the victim segment.

The fact that the victim segment for 2002 is not in STATA format is not a serious problem because putting NIBRS text into STATA format is a relatively simple operation.

Here is the STATA command needed to put the victim segment into STATA format.

```
infile using ib02seg4.dct,using(04066-0007-Data.txt)
```

The segment 4 (victim) data in text format is downloaded from the ICPSR website where it is called "04066-0007-Data.txt" The dictionary file, called ib02seg4.dct, is listed below. This dictionary file is different from the dictionary file provided by ICPSR. That file could be used in place of this file, in which case the variable names would be different.

```
dictionary  {
 str2     seg       %2s      "Segment 4"
 byte      st       %2.0f     "State No."
 str7     ori       %7s      "Agy. ID"
 str2     ori2      %2s      "Linked Agy."
 str12    inc       %12s      "Inc.No."
 int      year      %4.0f    "Year"
 byte     mon       %2.0f     "Month"
 byte     day       %2.0f     "Day"
 int      vseq      %3.0f     "Vic.Seq.N"
 str3     ucd1      %3s      "UCR code 1"
 str3     ucd2      %3s      "UCR code 2"
 str3     ucd3      %3s      "UCR code 3"
 str3     ucd4      %3s      "UCR code 4"
 str3     ucd5      %3s      "UCR code 5"
 str3     ucd6      %3s      "UCR code 6"
 str3     ucd7      %3s      "UCR code 7"
 str3     ucd8      %3s      "UCR code 8"
 str3     ucd9      %3s      "UCR code 9"
 str3     ucd10     %3s       "UCR code 10"
 str1     vtype      %1s       "Type of Victim"
 str2     vage      %2s      "Victim Age"
 str1     vsex      %1s      "Victim Sex"
 str1     vrace     %1s      "Victim Race"
 str1     veth      %1s      "Victim Ethnic."
 str1     vres      %1s      "Victim Resid."
 str2     circ1     %2s      "Hom/Aslt Circ 1"
 str2     circ2     %2s      "Hom/Aslt Circ 2"
 str1     justh     %1s       "Just.Homicide"
 str1     inj1      %1s      "Injury 1"
 str1     inj2      %1s      "Injury 2"
 str1     inj3      %1s      "Injury 3"
 str1     inj4      %1s      "Injury 4"
```

str1	inj5	%1s	"Injury 5"
str2	offn1	%2s	"Offender N1"
str2	rel1	%2s	"Relat.to O1"
str2	offn2	%2s	"Offender N2"
str2	rel2	%2s	"Relat.to O2"
str2	offn3	%2s	"Offender N3"
str2	rel3	%2s	"Relat.to O3"
str2	offn4	%2s	"Offender N4"
str2	rel4	%2s	"Relat.to O4"
str2	offn5	%2s	"Offender N5"
str2	rel5	%2s	"Relat.to O5"
str2	offn6	%2s	"Offender N6"
str2	rel6	%2s	"Relat.to O6"
str2	offn7	%2s	"Offender N7"
str2	rel7	%2s	"Relat.to O7"
str2	offn8	%2s	"Offender N8"
str2	rel8	%2s	"Relat.to O8"
str2	offn9	%2s	"Offender N9"
str2	rel9	%2s	"Relat.to O9"
str2	offn10	%2s	"Offender N10"
str2	rel10	%2s	"Relat.to O10"

}

Depending on the speed of your machine and the amount of internal memory it has, it will take a while for STATA to read the victim records. With one gigabyte of internal memory and a reasonably new machine, the time it takes to read almost four million records with 53 variables in each record is not unreasonable. After STATA has put the text data into STATA format, you can see the number of cases involved and the amount of memory needed to hold the STATA file by typing "de,s" on the command line. (See below)

. de,s

Contains data

obs: 3,774,777

vars: 53

size: 456,748,017 (3.2% of memory free)

Sorted by:

   Note: dataset has changed since last saved

The STATA fIle can then be given a name and saved on a hard drive. For the examples below, we have saved the STATA file created by this "infile" statement and this dictionary file as IC029904.dta

With all of the NIBRS data in STATA format, we can now use two "dofiles" and two STATA programs to select segments and variables, alter files, and create counts and rates for the police agencies that supplied the NIBRS data.

The lists presented below begin with a "dofile" designed to modify the segment 2 file (offenses) provided by ICPSR. This is followed by a set of bulleted statements that describe the differences between STATA "dofiles" and STATA "programs."

Example of a "dofile" saved as part5sg2.do

```
/*   part5sg2.do                          */
/*                                        */
/*   a DOFILE to use ICPSR Part 5 (Segment 2), modify some    */
/*   variables, and save it as IC029902.dta              */
/*           Important variables to create:          */
/*           7 char. ori, 4 digit year,            */
/*   Convenient variable name changes - seg, state, inc,      */
/*   off, ac, bias, locat, and nrecnum,                */
/*                                        */
/*   a dofile is like a program but without arguments.      */
/*                                        */
set mem 450m
use c:\HRWG2005\data\dta\04066-0005-Data.dta,clear
*
*  04066-0005-Data.dta is ICPSR name for NIBRS segment 02
*  (ICPSR calls this file "Part 5" Part 5 is NIBRS segment 2)
*
set more off
```

```
*

de   /* This command lists and describes segment 2 variables. */

*

rename V2001 seg    /* This changes the name of V2001 to seg  */

rename V2002 state  /* changes the name of var V2002 to state */

*

gen ori = substr(V2003,1,7)   /* creates new var ori */

*

*****************************************************************

* The substr function takes the first seven characters of the *

* nine character agency ID (V2003) and puts them in a newly   *

* generated variable called ori                              *

*****************************************************************

lab var V2003 "nine character ori - see ori"

lab var ori "seven character ori _ see V2003"

*

rename V2004 inc

rename V2006 off

rename V2007 ac

rename V2011 locat

*

gen year = int(V2005/10000)

*


*****************************************************************

* This command divides each eight digit date number such as   *

* 20020401 (yyyymmdd) by 10,000 and thus moves the decimal     *

* point so that the number reads  2002.0401. The int function *

* creates an integer (2002) by discarding the .0401 part.      *

*****************************************************************

lab var year "Year of offense"

*

rename V2020 bias
```

rename V2021 nrecnum

*

de,s

*

lab data "NIBRS 2002 - Offenses - Seg 02 - (ICPSR Part 5)"

*

de,s

sort ori inc

save IC029902,replace

Here is the outline. It explains why the ICPSR variable names need to be changed. The outline is followed by a list of the variables created or modified by the dofile.

GOAL: To Illustrate the Flexibility of STATA Programming in the Analysis of NIBRS Data

- *Data source: ICPSR 2002 NIBRS data*

- *Note: ICPSR now provides NIBRS data in STATA format. [Only the victim file is missing for 2002. As described above, the victim file can be created using a STATA "infile" command with a "dictionary file" and the NIBRS data in text format.]*

- *The easiest way to work with this data set is to create "dofiles" (lists of instructions in text format) or "STATA programs." (do files with "arguments") We start with a "dofile" example and then discuss "programs"*

Dofile example: to modify an ICPSR STATA file

- *See the listing above of the "dofile" called part5sg2.do.*

- *This is a text file and is run by typing on the STATA command line "do part5sg2"— without the quotes.*

- *See the listing below for a description of the modified variables*
  produced by this dofile.

Why modify the ICPSR STATA file?

- *To match and merge in STATA, the files to be merged must be sorted on the same variables—in this case ORI and incident.*

- *In the ICPSR offense segment, the ori is called V2003. In the ICPSR offender segment it is called V4003. We call both of them "ori" and make both 7-char. Codes.*

- *"inc" variables are created in a similar fashion.*

Another reason to modify the ICPSR files

- *To restrict the 2002 NIBRS file to 2002 incidents.*

- *The ICPSR file uses the full incident date*

- *To limit the analysis to 2002 incidents we need to keep only the first four characters of the incident data—in this case, 2002.*

- *We actually keep the incident date but create a new variable called "year."*

Issues for Everyone

- *Breaking the incidents into segments is easy. Putting them together is tricky.*

- *They must be merged because, for one thing, the offender segment has no offense code.*

- *Availability of victim characteristics depends on the type of victim. Age, race, and sex information is only available for individual victims and law enforcement officers—as distinct from businesses, religious organizations, and government agencies.*

- *At this point, the nine-character ORI is better changed to the traditional seven-characters—especially if the NIBRS data are to be used with traditional UCR offense or arrest data.*

- *We need a convention on using or not using incidents from the previous year. Each year, the NIBRS file contains some incidents from the previous year.*

The modified ICPSR file

- *The output of the dofile "part5sg2.do" is called IC029902.dta. This is the modified file for 2002, for all agencies, segment 02.*

- *This is one of the files used by the programs "example1" and "example2"   (See below.)*

Here is a description of the old and new variables in IC029902

Contains data from IC029902.dta

  obs: 3,79   NIBRS 2002 - Offenses - Seg 02 - (ICPSR Part 5)

  vars: 23   9 Apr 2005 15:14

  size: 273,282,552 (42.1% of memory free)

```
         storage  display      value
variable name  type  format      label      variable label
-------------------------------------------------------------------------

seg        str2  %9s              SEGMENT LEVEL
state      int   %8.0g   V2002   NUMERIC STATE CODE
V2003      str9  %9s              nine-character ori - see ori
inc        str12 %12s             INCIDENT NUMBER
V2005      long  %12.0g           INCIDENT DATE
off        str3  %9s             UCR OFFENSE CODE
ac         str1  %9s              OFFENSE ATTEMPTED / COMPLETED
V2008      str1  %9s               OFFENDER(S) SUSPECTED OF USING 1
V2009      str1  %9s               OFFENDER(S) SUSPECTED OF USING 2
V2010      str1  %9s               OFFENDER(S) SUSPECTED OF USING 3
locat      int   %31.0g  V2011   LOCATION TYPE
V2012      int   %8.0g            NUMBER OF PREMISES ENTERED
V2013      str1  %9s              METHOD OF ENTRY
V2014      str1  %9s              TYPE CRIMINAL ACTIVITY/GANG 1
V2015      str1  %9s              TYPE CRIMINAL ACTIVITY/GANG 2
V2016      str1  %9s              TYPE CRIMINAL ACTIVITY/GANG 3
V2017      str3  %9s              WEAPON / FORCE 1
V2018      str3  %9s              WEAPON / FORCE 2
V2019      str3  %9s              WEAPON / FORCE 3
bias       int   %33.0g  V2020   BIAS MOTIVATION
nrecnum    int   %8.0g            N RECORDS PER ORI-INCIDENT
ori        str7  %9s             Seven character ori – See V2003
year       float %9.0g            Year of offense

-------------------------------------------------------------------------

Sorted by:  ori  inc
```

- *A similar "dofile" (part5sg5.do) was used to modify the ICPSR offender segment (05) and create IC029905.dta*

Here is a description of the variables in the file IC029905.dta. Note that there is no indication of the offense or offenses that any of the offenders may have been accused or suspected of having committed. This is why we need to merge this segment with the offense segment.

Contains data from IC029905.dta

      obs: 3,903,725   NIBRS 2002 - Offender records -

                                        Seg 05 (ICPSR Part 08)

      vars: 12   8 Apr 2005 16:17

     size: 202,993,700 (57.0% of memory free)

     ----

                 storage display   value

     variable name type format   label   variable label

     ----

     seg   str2 %9s   SEGMENT LEVEL

     state   int   %8.0g   V5002 NUMERIC STATE CODE

     V5003   str9 %9s   ORI - Agy identifier 9-char -

                                see ori

     inc   str12 %12s   INCIDENT NUMBER

     V5005   long %12.0g   INCIDENT DATE

     oseqnum   int   %19.0g V5006 OFFENDER SEQUENCE NUMBER

     ageo   int   %11.0g V5007 AGE OF OFFENDER

     sexo   str1 %9s   SEX OF OFFENDER

     raceo   str1 %9s   RACE OF OFFENDER

     vrecs   int   %8.0g   N RECORDS PER ORI-INCIDENT

                                NUMBER

     ori   str7 %9s   Agency Identifier - seven

                                character

     year   float %9.0g

     Sorted by: ori inc

STATA Programs

The list of instructions presented next make up a STATA program designed to use the offense segment to select all robberies reported for 2002 and to use the offender segment and merge it with the offense segment. This identifies all the robbery offenders and allows us to tabulate the age, race, and sex of robbery offenders in an ORI for 2002. The bulleted comments that follow the program are intended to identify and explain the steps in the program.

```
/* example1.do  STATA program to read offense segment (02),  */
/*           and analyze a selected offense. A selected   */
/*           year, and selected ORI                 */
/*                                    */
/*   Program takes four arguments                 */
/*        1 off code such as robbery        120      */
/*        2 year such as            2002      */
/*        3 ORI such as Springfield      MA00718      */
/*        4 two char off name such as        ro      */
/*                                    */
/*     Example:   example1  120 2002 MA00718 ro          */
/*                                    */
/* This will read all robbery offenses (120) for 2002 for    */
/* ORI MA00718 (Springfield) & save the file as roMA0071805  */
/*                                    */
version 8.0
capture program drop example1
program def example1
drop _all
qui set mem 500m
set more off
*
use IC029902 if off=="`1'" & year==`2' & ori=="`3'",clear
*
************************************************************
```

```
* If, when you use this program, you type "run example1" on the*

* command line (and hit return) and then type the following    *

* command "example1 120 2002 MA00718 ro" (and hit return), the *

* program will replace the macro `1' with the first argument in*

* the list following example1 (120). This will cause the first *

* part of the line to read "use IC029902 if off=="120"." The   *

* program will replace the second macro `2' with the second    *

* argument on the list (2002). It will replace the third macro *

* `3' with the third argument on the list (MA00718)—the ori for*

* Springfield. In this way the command will read in (use) every*

* record where the offense is 120 (robbery), the year is 2002, *

* and the ori is MA00718.        Here are the naming conven- *

* tions for files. The IC means the data are from ICPSR. The   *

* first 02 means the data are for 2002.  The 99 means they are *

* for all available states. And the last 02 indicates they are *        * segment 2 (offense)
data                          *

*****************************************************************

*

tab off

*

label data "All `4' incidents for `2' for ORI `3'"

*

sort ori inc

*

save `4'`3',replace

*

*************************************************************

* This saves the selected robbery offense incidents using the *

* "ro" to start the  name and appending to it the ori.       *

*************************************************************

*

use IC029905  if ori=="`3'" & year==`2'

*
```

```
****************************************************************
*  This reads and keeps all 2002 offender records for        *
*  Springfield that are found in offender file IC029905. The  *
*  05 means offender record.                                  *
****************************************************************
*

merge ori inc using `4'`3'

tab _merge

keep if _merge==3 & raceo~="" & sexo~="" & ageo ~=.
*

tab sexo raceo,cell
*

sort ori inc
*

label data "All offenders in `4' incidents for `2' for ORI `3'"
*

save `4'`3'05,replace
*

****************************************************************
* As the label says, roMA0031705 now contains all offenders in *
* robbery  incidents for 2002 reported by the Springfield      *
* police department.                                           *
****************************************************************

end
*
```

Comments on the program called example1.do

- *Goal – To show how STATA can be used to analyze NIBRS <u>offender</u> data.*

- *Some aspects of example1.do*

    – Focus on a single offense

    – Focus on a single agency (ORI)

    – Creates an Offender file for an offense & ORI

[In addition, it shows how "arguments" are used in STATA programs to let you run any offense you want for any ORI your want.]

See the program listed above as example1.do

Data set used here: ICPSR data for 2002

- *"example1.do" will work with data sets for other years by changing the year "argument."*

- *ICPSR breaks each NIBRS incident into seven basic segments, including an Offense seg. (02), a Victim seg. (04) and an Offender seg. (05). "example1.do" uses seg. 02 and seg 05 to find all of the* <u>offenders</u> *associated with a given offense.*

- *The file files IC029902.dta and ic029905.dta must be in the same folder as the program or you must change the "use" statement to include a path that will tell the program where the files are located. For example, if the files are in a folder called "data" and the program is in a folder called "dofile," the use statement would read*

     Use C:/data/IC029905 if ori==" `3'" & year==`2'

Basic Steps in example1.do

1. *Get and keep all offense records (Seg. 02) for selected offense (say Robbery) for the selected agency (say Springfield).*

2. *Sort and save these offense incidents*

3. *Get all offender records (Seg. 05) for selected agency.*

4. *Sort on ORI and incident*

5. *Merge Offense records with Offender records matching on ORI and incident. Keep only matches. If the selected offense is robbery, this keeps all offenders in incidents with a robbery and saves a robbery offender file for 2002 for the ORI selected.*

[We can now run the age, race, and sex of robbery offenders. Here is a table showing the race and sex of robbery offenders with cell percentages for Springfield, MA for 2002]

Tab sex race,cell


```
    SEX OF |       RACE OF OFFENDER
  OFFENDER |    A      B      U      W |   Total
-----------+----------------------------------+----------
       F |     0     11      4     11 |    26
         |  0.00   4.06   1.48   4.06 |   9.59
-----------+----------------------------------+----------
```

```
    M |     1     111      31      96 |    239
      |   0.37   40.96   11.44   35.42 |   88.19

----------+---------------------------------------+----------

    U |     0       0       6       0 |      6
      |   0.00    0.00    2.21    0.00 |    2.21

----------+---------------------------------------+----------

Total |     1     122      41     107 |    271
      |   0.37   45.02   15.13   39.48 |  100.00
```

Running programs is a two step process.

The first step is to type a run command:

run example1

Then type the name of the program followed by its arguments:

example1 120 2002 MA00718 ro

The four pieces following example1 above are the "arguments." They, and the two step process, distinguish programs from "dofiles."

Let's focus on the "arguments"

- 1st arg is the NIBRS code for robbery offenses

- 2nd arg is the year to avoid using the 2001 offenses that are included in 2002 data set

- 3rd arg is ORI for Springfield MA

- 4th arg is the two-letter code I want to use to label the output as robbery.

Using STATA to Examine Victim Data: example2.do

- *Goal – In this example, to show how STATA can be used to analyze NIBRS <u>victim</u> data.*

- *For example2 we again*

  – Focus on a single offense

  – Focus on a single agency (ORI)

  – But now we create a Victim file for an offense & ORI

  –

[This too will show how "arguments" are used in STATA programs to let you run any offense you want for any ORI your want. This example shows as well how you can modify a program written for one purpose (to merge offense and offender records) and create a program for another purpose (to merge offense and victim records).]

The listing for example2, shown below, is similar to the listing shown for example1.do I have included it to show how one program can be modified to create another.


```
/* example2.do  STATA program to read offense segment (02) and analyze */
/*          selected offense. selected year, and selected ORI     */
/*          for VICTIMS                                 */
/*   Program takes four arguments                            */
/*          1 off code such as robbery        120         */
/*          2 year such as              2002         */
/*          3 ORI such as Springfield      MA00718          */
/*          4 two char off name such as          ro        */
/*                                      */
/*    Example   example1  120 2002 MA00718 ro                */
/*                                      */
/*   This will read all robbery offenses (120) for year 2000 for     */
/*   ORI MA00718 (Springfield) and save the file as roMA0071804      */
/*                                      */
version 8.0
capture program drop example2
program def example2
drop _all
qui set mem 500m
set more off
*
use IC029902 if off=="`1'" & year==`2' & ori=="`3'",clear
*
*************************************************************************
* Given the arguments in the example above, this command line reads and *
* keeps all 2002 robbery offense records (120) for Springfield, MA     *
* (MA00718) that are found in the offense  file (IC029902).         *
```

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```
*                                                          *
* The IC means the data are from ICPSR. The first 02 means the data are *
* for 2002.  he 99 means they are for all available states. And the    *
* last 02 indicates they are segment 2 (offense) data                  *
************************************************************************
*
tab off
*
label data "All `4' incidents for `2' for ORI `3'"
*
sort ori inc
*
save `4'`3',replace
*
************************************************************************
* This saves the selected robbery offense incidents using the ORI name. *
************************************************************************
*
use IC029904  if ori=="`3'" & year==`2'
*
************************************************************************
*  This reads and keeps all 2002 victim records for Springfield that    *
*  are found in victim file IC029904. The 04 means victim  records.     *
************************************************************************
*
merge ori inc using `4'`3'
tab _merge
keep if _merge==3 & vrace~=""
*
tab vsex vrace,cell
*
sort ori inc
*
```

label data "All victims in `4' incidents for `2' for ORI `3'"

*

save `4'`3'04,replace

*

****

* As the label says, roMA0031704 now contains all victims in robbery   *

* incidents for 2002 reported by the Springfield police department.   *

****

end

*

The comments shown below are very similar to those presented for example1.do

Data set used here: ICPSR data for 2002

- *"example2.do" will work with data sets for other years by changing year "argument."*

- *"example2.do" uses seg. 02 and seg 04 to find <u>most</u> of the <u>victims</u> associated with a given offense. To find all of the 2002 murder victims we would have to use the victim segment (segment 04). There is one segment 04 record for each victim. This will include multiple victims in an incident. Segment 02 indicates only that an incident was a murder incident and that there was at least one murder victim in the incident. This makes it a murder incident and allows us to find the offenders in such incidents. Note: all offenders in such incidents are considered murder offenders.*

Basic Steps in example2.do

1. Get and keep all offense records (Seg. 02) for selected offense (say murder) for the selected agency (say Springfield, MA).

2. Sort and save these offense incidents.

3. Get all victim records (Seg. 04) for selected agency.

4. Sort on ORI and incident.

5. Merge Offense records with victim records matching on ORI and incident. Keep only matches. If the selected offense is murder, this keeps at least one victim record in incidents with a murder and saves a murder victim file for 2002 for the ORI selected.

We can then run the age, race, and sex of murder victims in Springfield, MA. In the table we see that 7 of 14 murder victims in the city in 2002 were black males.

```
            |            Victim Race
Victim Sex |     A      B      U      W |   Total
-----------+----------------------------------------+----------
```

```
    F |      0        1        0        2 |      3
      |    0.00     7.14     0.00    14.29 |   21.43
------------+--------------------------------------------+----------
    M |      2        7        1        1 |     11
      |   14.29    50.00     7.14     7.14 |   78.57
------------+--------------------------------------------+----------
 Total |      2        8        1        3 |     14
      |   14.29    57.14     7.14    21.43 |  100.00
```

file muMA0071804.dta saved

Here are the commands needed to run example2.so

- *run example2*

- *example2 09A 2002 MA00718 mu*

Here are the arguments used for example2.do

- *1st arg is the NIBRS code for murder offenses*

- *2nd arg is the year to avoid using the 2001 offenses that are included in 2002 data set*

- *3rd arg is ORI for Springfield MA*

- *4th arg is the two-letter code I want to use to label the output as murder.*

The file saved is called muMA0071804. The mu indicates the counts are murder counts
The 04 following the Springfield ORI indicates that the counts are victim counts.

One more program: robberyO.do – A more realistic program example

- *Goal: To create offender counts and rates for a set of NIBRS cities for 2002.*

- *The resulting rates were used with Incident rates, victim rates, offender rates arrest and modified arrest rates for the same set of cities to assess the impact of specific kinds of crime rates on city level regression results.*

Notes about <u>robberyO.do</u>

- *It is used with 2000 census data and a crosswalk file. This links census data for each city to the offender counts and permits the computation of race- and sex-specific rates.*

- *It is used with the header record file (BH). This makes it easier to see which cities we are using.*

This is the program.   (It is stored as robberyO.do)

```
/*  robberyO   Program to create NIBRS summary robbery offender      */
/*          counts and rates for a specific year.             */
/*                                        */
/* Takes   1   argument - a year              May, 2005       */
/*                                        */
/*                                        */
/*  Example: robberyO 2002                          */
/*                                        */
/*  Note:Related programs - robberyI, robberyV, and robberyA        */
/*                                        */
capture program drop robberyO     /* clears program with same name */
program define robberyO    /* program name - file must have same name */
version 8.0          /* Version of STATA used to create program    */
drop _all            /* clears workspace   */
set mem 500m                /* set STATA memory size   */
set more off         /* avoids display stop at each full screen */
*
********************************************************************
*   Incidents/Offenses   (seg 02) [keeps only robbery incidents]     *
********************************************************************
*
local j = `1' - 2000       /* sets last digit for year */
*
```

```
use E:\nibrs\nibrs0`j'\data\ib0`j'9902.dta if year==200`j' & off == "120"
*

sort ori inc
*

label data "Robbery offenses for 200`j' - ns = not summarized"
*

save ri0`j'ns02.dta, replace
*

***********************************************************************
*                  Offenders        (seg 05)                   *
*                                                         *

* [By merging all offender records with the robbery incident records   *
* and keeping only the records that match, this step assigns a robbery *
* offense code to each offender record.]                       *
***********************************************************************
*

use E:\nibrs\nibrs0`j'\data\ib0`j'9905.dta
*

keep if year == 200`j'
*

sort ori inc
*

merge ori inc using ri0`j'ns02.dta
*

assert _merge ~= 2
*

keep if _merge==3
*

keep if  orace~=""
*

***********************************************************************
* Offender age groups  1 (inf-4) 2 (juv 5-17) 3 (adl 18-64) 4 (sen 65+)*
***********************************************************************
```

```
recode oage (1/4=1)(5/17=2) (18/64=3) (65/99=4), gen(oage4)
*

sort ori inc
*

drop _merge
*

label data "Robbery offenders 200`j' - ns = not summarized"
*

tab osex orace
*

save ro0`j'ns05.dta, replace
*

*********************************************************************
*                 Header records   (seg BH)                   *
*********************************************************************
*

local j = `1' - 2000
*

use F:\nibrs\nibrs0`j'\data\ib0`j'99BH.dta
*

keep if year==200`j' & typagy==1
*

sort ori inc
*

label data "Header records for 200`j' ns = not summarized"
*

save rh0`j'nsBH.dta, replace
*

*********************************************************************
*        OFFENDER summary counts                              *
*********************************************************************
*

local j = `1' - 2000
```

```
*
use ro0`j'ns05.dta
*******************************************************************
*        RACE and SEX  -  Robbery offenders            *
*******************************************************************
sort ori
*
qui gen otag = 1 if osex =="M"
qui egen Nmalor0`j' = sum(otag), by(ori)
drop otag
lab var Nmalor0`j' "Total Number of Male Robbery offenders"
*
qui gen otag = 1 if osex =="F"
qui egen Nfemor0`j' = sum(otag), by(ori)
drop otag
lab var Nfemor0`j' "Total Number of Female Robbery offenders"
*
qui gen otag = 1 if osex =="U"
qui egen Nsxuor0`j' = sum(otag), by(ori)
drop otag
lab var Nsxuor0`j' "Total Number of Sex Unknown Robbery offenders"
*
qui gen otag = 1 if (orace =="A" | orace=="I")
qui egen Notror0`j' = sum(otag), by(ori)
drop otag
lab var Notror0`j' "Total Number of Other Race (A/I) Robbery offenders"
*
qui gen otag = 1 if orace =="U"
qui egen Nrauor0`j' = sum(otag), by(ori)
drop otag
lab var Nrauor0`j' "Total Number of Race Unknown Robbery offenders"
*
qui gen otag = 1 if orace =="W"
```

```
qui egen Nwhior0`j' = sum(otag), by(ori)

drop otag

lab var Nwhior0`j' "Total Number of White Robbery offenders"

*

qui gen otag = 1 if orace =="B"

qui egen Nblkor0`j' = sum(otag), by(ori)

drop otag

lab var Nblkor0`j' "Total Number of Black Robbery offenders"

qui gen otag = 1 if orace=="W" & osex=="M"

qui egen Nwmor0`j' = sum(otag), by(ori)

drop otag

lab var Nwmor0`j' "Number of White Male robbery offenders"

*

qui gen otag = 1 if orace=="B" & osex=="M"

qui egen Nbmor0`j' = sum(otag), by(ori)

drop otag

lab var Nbmor0`j' "Number of Black Male robbery offenders"

*

qui gen otag = 1 if orace=="W" & osex=="F"

qui egen Nwfor0`j' = sum(otag), by(ori)

drop otag

lab var Nwfor0`j' "Number of White Female robbery offenders"

*

qui gen otag = 1 if orace=="B" & osex=="F"

qui egen Nbfor0`j' = sum(otag), by(ori)

drop otag

lab var Nbfor0`j' "Number of Black Female robbery offenders"

*

sort ori inc

******************************************************************

*       Total Robbery Offenders                        *

******************************************************************

qui gen otag = 1 if orace ~=""
```

```
qui egen Nallor0`j' = sum(otag), by(ori)

drop otag

lab var Nallor0`j' "Total Number of robbery offenders"

******************************************************************

*          Juvenile and Adult  Robbery Offenders          *

******************************************************************

qui gen otag = 1 if orace=="W" & oage4==2

qui egen Nwjor0`j' = sum(otag), by(ori)

drop otag

lab var Nwjor0`j' "Number of white Juvenile offenders"

*

qui gen otag = 1 if orace=="B" & oage4==2

qui egen Nbjor0`j' = sum(otag), by(ori)

drop otag

lab var Nbjor0`j' "Number of Black Juvenile offenders"

*

qui gen otag = 1 if orace=="W" & oage4==3

qui egen Nwaor0`j' = sum(otag), by(ori)

drop otag

lab var Nwaor0`j' "Number of White Adult offenders"

*

qui gen otag = 1 if orace=="B" & oage4==3

qui egen Nbaor0`j' = sum(otag), by(ori)

drop otag

lab var Nbaor0`j' "Number of Black Adult offenders"

*

sort ori

*

label data "Offender records - sm = summarized"

*

tab osex orace

dis "Just before using CENR02G4"

sort ori
```

```
drop if ori==ori[_n-1]
sort ori
save ro0`j'sm05.dta, replace
*
use ib0`j'99bh
sort ori
merge ori using ro0`j'sm05
tab _merge
keep if _merge ==3
drop _merge
sort ori
drop if ori==ori[_n-1]
sort ori
save ro0`j'ibbh,replace
*
use Rincid02
sort ori
merge ori using ro0`j'ibbh
tab _merge
drop if _merge==2
drop _merge
*
gen ROR0`j'   = 100000 *(Nallor0`j' / cpopt00T)
*
lab var ROR0`j' "Robbery offender rate, 200`j'"
*
gen RORwj0`j' = 100000 * (Nwjor0`j' / Wjpop)
gen RORwa0`j' = 100000 * (Nwaor0`j' / Wapop)
gen RORbj0`j' = 100000 * (Nbjor0`j' / Bjpop)
gen RORba0`j' = 100000 * (Nbaor0`j' / Bapop)
*
lab var RORwj0`j' "White Juvenile Robbery Offender Rate 200`j'"
lab var RORwa0`j' "White Adult Robbery Offender Rate 200`j'"
```

```
lab var RORbj0`j' "Black Juvenile Robbery Offender Rate 200`j'"
lab var RORba0`j' "Black Adult Robbery Offender Rate 200`j'"
*
gen RORwm0`j' = 100000 * (Nwmor0`j' / Wmpop)
gen RORwf0`j' = 100000 * (Nwfor0`j' / Wfpop)
gen RORbm0`j' = 100000 * (Nbmor0`j' / Bmpop)
gen RORbf0`j' = 100000 * (Nbfor0`j' / Bfpop)
*
lab var RORwm0`j' "White Male Robbery Offender Rate 200`j'"
lab var RORwf0`j' "White Female Robbery Offender Rate 200`j'"
lab var RORbm0`j' "Black Male Robbery Offender Rate 200`j'"
lab var RORbf0`j' "Black Female Robbery Offender Rate 200`j'"
*
sort ori
keep if ori ~=ori[_n-1]
*
*keep if agentype ==1
*
label data "Summary offender counts and rates - Robbery 200`j'"
save robO200`j'.dta, replace
keep ori Nmalor02 - RORbf02
sort ori
label data "Summary offender counts and rates - Robbery 200`j'"
save Roffnd0`j'.dta,replace
end
```

Pieces of the program

- *Documentation – the information at the top between the /*   */ marks. These lines and any lines that begins with an * indicate comments and are ignored*

- *The six lines just below the documentation are described in the program. The first two, especially the second, are essential to the program.*

- *The "set mem 500m" indicates why it is useful to have at least a gigabyte of internal memory on your machine.*

More pieces of the program

- *Look at the program listing.*

- *We use all of the NIBRS robbery offenses reported for 2002, sort and save them.*

- *We use all of the 2002 offender records. This takes time and space (almost 4 million), sort and save them.*

- *We merge offenses and offenders, keeping only those that match and those for which age, sex, and race is present.*

Page 2 pieces of program

- *At the top, we recode the age variable*

- *Then we read the header seg. file (BH)*

- *And start to summarize (count) the number of robbery offenders in each ORI.*

- *Note: the creation of summary counts goes on for two pages.*

- *On page 3, header records and a more important file is merged in –Rincid02.dta.*

Contents of the Rincid02 file

- *This file contains the population counts and independent census variables for each city. When merged with the robbery counts, we can compute the rates shown at the end of the program (RORO2,RORba02, RORwm02, etc)*

- *At the end of the program we keep only some of the variables and save the file as Roffnd02.*

CHAPTER TWO
HOMICIDE IN THE PAST AND PRESENT

Moderator: Thomas A. Petee, Auburn University

Presenters:

Thirty Years of Homicides in Buffalo, New York: 1905-1935.
    Vance McLaughlin, University of North Carolina-Pembroke

Homicide in San Francisco's Chinatown 1860-1930.
    Kevin J. Mullen, San Francisco Police Department

A Circumplex Model of Genocide
    Mark A. Winton, University of Central Florida

Recorder: Bill Edison, San Jacinto College North

THIRTY YEARS OF HOMICIDES IN BUFFALO, NEW YORK: 1905 TO 1935

(A Work in Progress)

Vance McLaughlin, Ph.D., University of North Carolina-Pembroke

In 1930, the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) was tasked by the Attorney General to collect data on crime. Law enforcement agencies voluntarily provide data directly to the FBI to be used in the Uniform Crime Report (UCR). Buffalo's homicide rates began to appear yearly in 1931.
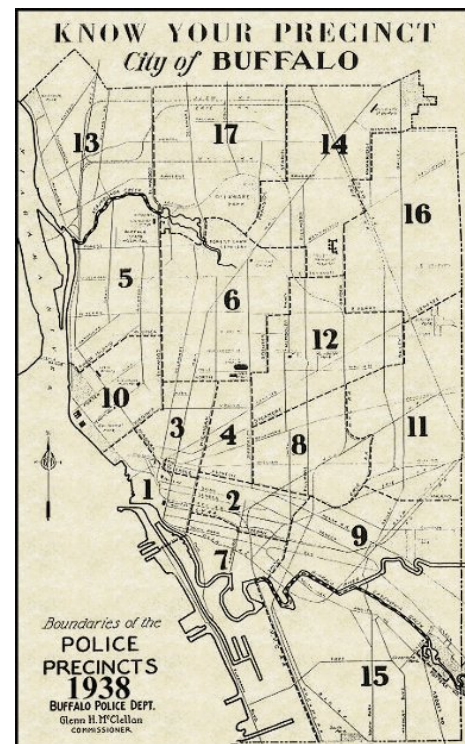
The Buffalo Police Department collected descriptions of all homicides occurring in the city limits for a number of years before the advent of the UCR. They were published in the Annual Report of the Board of Police. Thirty consecutive years of this report, from 1905 to 1935, were examined.

Each homicide listed contained the name of the victim(s) and if known, the perpetrator(s). The geographical location where the homicide occurred was pinpointed including the precinct it occurred in. The instrumentality, motive, and the disposition of the case at the time the report was submitted was included.

This brief overview of the data includes a map of Buffalo divided into Police Precincts, a table that shows the number of homicides committed yearly in each precinct from 1905 to 1935, a chart that graphs the total population and homicides per year in Buffalo from 1905 to 2001, and some initial findings.

Police Precincts in Buffalo

The Buffalo Police Department continued to grow by adding precincts. In 1908, Precinct 14 opened. Precinct 15 at South Park and Whitfield opened in 1924 followed by the opening of Precinct 16 on Bailey Avenue in 1925. Precinct 17, the last, was located at Colvin and Linden Avenues in 1927. None of the precincts changed in size after they were created.

Total Number of Homicides

The total number of homicides committed during these years was 573. Table 1 includes the year of the homicides, the number that occurred that year in each precinct, and the totals of both.

Table 1: Total Number of Homicides Occurring in Buffalo, New York from 1905 to 1935, identified by Precinct and Year.

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	Total
1905	5	1						6					1					13
1906	5		3		2		1											11
1907	7	4	1	3	1		1	4					1					22
1908	2		1		1			4	1			4						15
1909	2	2	2			2	3	2					2					13
1910	3		2	1				2				2	1					11
1911	7		1			2			2	1	3	1	1	1				19
1912	1		2	1				4	1									10
1913	5	1						3				2	2					13
1914	6	2			1			2		1		2	1					15
1915	7	2					1	3	2		2	1						18
1916	6	1	2	1			2	3	2		4		3					24
1917	6	1	1	2			1	3	3			1	4	2				24
1918	3	2		1	2		1	2	2	3	1	1	1					19
1919	4	2		4	1		1	4			1	1	1					19
1920	3	3		1				2		2	2	1	2					16
1921	3	4	3	1	1	1	2	3	2	1		2	3					26
1922	3	2		3		3		5	2		5	2	1					26
1923	4	2	1	1	2		1	1	1			1	1	1				16
1924	2	4	4	2	4			3		1		1	1	3				25
1925	5	6	1	3	1	1	1		1		1	3		1				24
1926	7	2	2	3	1	1			1	1	1	1		1				21
1927	1	4	3	4	2		4	6	1	3	1	1	1					31
1928	5	5	3	1	1		2			4	2				1	1		25
1929	2	4	1	1	1			2		1		1	3			1		17
1930	3	3	2	1	1	1		2			1	7						21
1931	4		2	2					1	1								10
1932	3			6			3	4	1	1				1	1			20
1933	3		1	3	3	3	1	1		3					1	1		20
1934	1		2	4	1	1		3		1	2	1		1			1	18
1935	1	1		2						2	1	1	1	1	1			11
Total	119	58	40	51	27	15	25	74	23	26	29	37	29	12	4	3	1	573

Automobile fatalities and suicides are not included

Graph of Homicides in Buffalo: 1905 to 2003

Initial Findings and Future Research

The surnames of all victims and of all known perpetrators of homicides in Buffalo are available from 1905 to 1930. Twenty-one percent of homicides occurred in precinct one, primarily among Italians. Thirteen percent of homicides occurred in precinct eight, primarily among Polish immigrants. The number and nature of homicides vary by precinct.

The Italian perpetrators and victims in precinct one were often killed in "soft drink shops." This seemingly referred to beer halls versus saloons. Many of the Italian homicides had a nuance of "honor" killings, usually attributed on white males in the South. Concomitantly, there seemed to be unique types of murder, such as rigging explosives to the starter of a vehicle, in this precinct.

In precinct eight, young Polish men seemed to be more involved in robberies. This extended outside of the boundaries of the Polish community into other parts of the city. The politicians had reached their limit of acceptance of these homicides in 1927 because victims were often other than Poles. Before and after 1927 to 1928, when a police officer killed or was killed, the name of both parties was given. During these two years, an "automobile squad" was formed in precinct eight. This squad was composed of officers whose sole duty was to stop robbers who used automobiles in their crimes. During these years, when Polish robbers were killed, no specific police perpetrator is named. The homicide is attributed to the automobile squad. At this point in time, the police could shoot perpetrators of non-violent crimes, such as burglaries. In one incident, three Polish men suspected of past robberies were killed while trying to escape from arrest.

The number of homicides committed between the sexes was 132, which is 23% of the total homicides. In 27 cases, females killed males and in 105 cases male killed females. Only in cases where the male killed a female did a suicide or attempted suicide by the perpetrator occur. There were 38 cases and in 20 of these cases, those involved were spouses. There were nine additional cases of attempted suicide after the homicide and four of those involved spouses.

Examining the homicide rate per year from 1905 to 2003 shows that by 1960, the population began declining while homicides continued to rise. A future area of research would be to identify crime control measures adopted during these years (alcohol, drugs, firearms, punishment, etc.) to try to determine what effect they had on homicides.

HOMICIDE IN SAN FRANCISCO'S CHINATOWN 1860-1930

Kevin J. Mullen, San Francisco Police Department

Abstract

Darnell Hawkins (1999) has called for researchers to move beyond Black-White quantitative analysis and look at other ethnic and racial groups to aid in analyzing conceptual and theoretical issues surrounding the study of homicide. This paper presents the heretofore unavailable data for one such group in a major American city in the past: late nineteenth and early twentieth century Chinese in San Francisco. The paper also makes a broad gauged analysis of the principal factors associated with the major fluctuations in the Chinese homicide rates during that period.

While noting the existence of the few studies which suggest that ethnic and racial groups other than Blacks -- Chinese, Irish, Greeks, and Italians-- had much higher homicide rates than in times past than they do now, Darnell Hawkins commented in 1999 on the paucity of such studies, and called for "researchers to move beyond simple cross-sectional, Black-White quantitative analyses to explore the full range of social dynamics that are associated with varying levels of lethal aggression among a variety of ethnic and racial groups."

One reason for the dearth of studies about many ethnic groups in the nineteenth and early twentieth century is the difficulty in obtaining uniform population data which encompass entire ethnic groups. (Based, as most of them are, on place of birth, census figures make it difficult to come to an exact population figure which includes both foreign and native born members of immigrant European ethnic groups.)

The Chinese are an exception. Because of their marked physical differences, Chinese of an earlier time were often identified by their race in any number of tabulations. In almost all cities, however, the numbers of Chinese were too few to provide a baseline for statistical analysis. Only in San Francisco, where their numbers fluctuated between 10,000 and 25,000 from the 1860s through the 1920s was there a large enough population to support a proper study.

This paper will set out the homicide rates in San Francisco's Chinese community between 1860 and 1930 and describe the major factors associated with fluctuations in those rates.
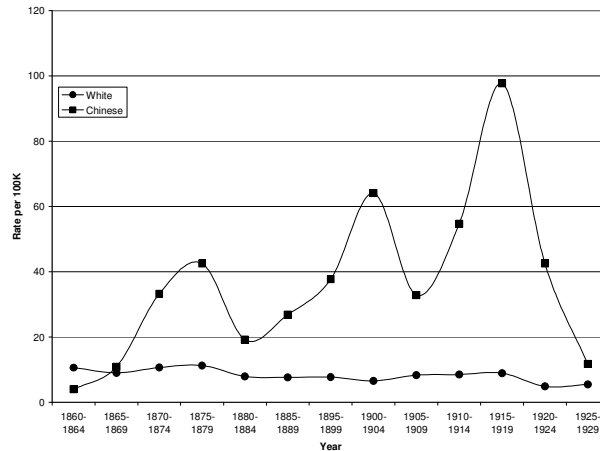
There were 348 homicides involving Chinese residents of San Francisco during the period in question. Figure 1 displays the Chinese homicide rate for San Francisco compared to white rates for the late nineteenth and early twentieth century.

A group that is now identified as a "model minority," and deservedly so, was, as the graph shows, once the most criminally violent group in the city's history. One issue which must be addressed at the outset is that fact that the proportion of males--the group most likely to commit homicide-- was much higher in the Chinese community than that of the white community at that time. Even when females are removed from the

equation, however, the disparity remained pronounced. On average, the rates for Chinese males ranged from three to five times that of white males.

Figure 1. Chinese and White Homicide Rates per 100,000 1860-1930

(Source: Kevin J. Mullen. Dangerous Strangers: Minority Newcomers and Criminal Violence in the Urban West 1850-2000. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005.)

Filtered through prevailing modern perceptions about the origins of criminal violence, Chinese homicide can be explained as a response to the unarguably discriminatory treatment to which their nineteenth century members were subjected. But it is also true that the Chinese who migrated to San Francisco at that time brought with them a well developed system of criminal extortion to which much of the violence can be traced.

Several factors account for the major fluctuations displayed on the above graph. Two major events preceded the great upsurge of Chinese homicides in the1870s. First, following the defeat of the rebel forces in the Taiping Rebellion in China in 1864, large numbers of refugees, many of them Triad gangsters, made their way to California. Once here, the gangsters engaged in extensive criminal activities which often resulted in homicide.

Secondly, the 1868 Burlingame Treaty, an agreement which provided for unrestricted immigration between China and the United States, resulted in a large influx of Chinese working men. This influx coincided with a nationwide economic depression which had disastrous effects in California, setting white working men against Chinese newcomers and newcomer against newcomer in the struggle for survival. In this climate of hostility, Chinese homicide rates rose precipitously.

The sharp decline shown in the early 1880s accompanied the passage of the first of a series of Chinese exclusion enactments, following a long period of anti-Chinese agitation and increased official attention paid to Chinese affairs.

The precipitous increase in the homicide rate in the 1890s marks the progress in a bloody internecine war in which Chinese criminal organizations vied violently for control of vice operations. Respectable elements in Chinatown, having lost face with the

larger community for their stance on exclusion legislation, were overwhelmed by the criminal gangs.

It was the intervention of a natural disaster which occasioned the sharp statistical decline Chinese homicide in San Francisco in the second half of the first decade of the new century. Following the cataclysmic 1906 San Francisco earthquake and fire, many residents of San Francisco, Chinese among them, moved elsewhere. As opportunists and workmen from around the world to benefit from the opportunities attendant to rebuilding the shattered city, San Francisco was visited by a post-quake crime wave. (The general 1907 homicide rate was higher than that for any year since the 1870s).

The Chinese did not contribute to that crime wave. A large part of the Chinese community reestablished itself in Oakland for the first few years following the earthquake and fire and thus did not figure largely in the criminal statistics of San Francisco for the years immediately following the disaster. There is evidence, however, that the murderous internecine conflict did continue in Oakland during that period.

During the 1910s, as San Francisco's Chinatown reestablished itself at its original downtown site, the homicide rate resumed it upward climb toward a peak which earned the Chinese the highest rate of any ethnic or racial group in the city's history. The decade was characterized by almost constant tong conflicts, not just in San Francisco but around California and Chinese settlements throughout the west, resulting in a great number of killings.

The extremely high rates in San Francisco were driven in part by the declining population denominator brought about by the effects of exclusionary immigration laws, but still, the population, at 10,000 or so, was substantial enough to offset arguments attributing the high rates to the fallacy of small numbers.

Chinese homicide rates fell dramatically in the 1920s, much faster than they rose, to almost correspond to white rates by the decade's end. Several factors contributed to that result. The old criminal gangsters, their source of replacement personnel restricted by exclusionary legislation, grew older and began to die off. Their place in the Chinese population was taken by less murderous "paper sons."

At the same time, as argued by Ivan Light, the moving forces in Chinatown came to the realization that there was more gain to be made with Chinatown as a tourist destination-- if things went peacefully--than as the vice district of old. Added to this was the adoption strict police practices, which for the first time--and though of questionable constitutional acceptability--promised to punish community leaders for community violence, not just the actual perpetrators.

Thereafter, and down to the present, Chinese homicide rates have been lower than any other major racial or ethnic group in the city.

A CIRCUMPLEX MODEL OF GENOCIDE

Mark A. Winton, University of Central Florida

Abstract

This study examines the use of the circumplex model from family therapy to explain genocide. The circumplex model of family functioning focuses on cohesion, flexibility, and communication. The data supports the application of the circumplex model for genocide. Genocidal societies demonstrate unbalanced levels of cohesion and flexibility toward the rigidly and enmeshed pattern.

A Circumplex Model of Genocide

The major sociological theories have not been able to adequately address genocide (Fein, 1993). This is also the case for criminology. It is even more unlikely that the family therapy literature would include theories of genocide. Fortunately, sociology, criminology, and family therapy share a rich tradition of theoretical paradigms that may be modified to explain genocide.

This study examines the use of the circumplex model from family therapy to explain genocide. The circumplex model of family functioning focuses on cohesion, flexibility, and communication (Olson, 2000; Olson, 1995; Olson and DeFrain, 1997). Families with high (enmeshed) or low (disengaged) levels of family cohesion are more likely to have family problems (e.g. child abuse and substance abuse). Likewise, families with high (chaotic) or low (rigid) levels of flexibility are at increased risk for a variety of family dysfunctions. Families also exhibit different levels of communication skills and patterns that impact their functioning. Families that are balanced on their levels of cohesion and flexibility are more likely to have lower levels of family problems.

The circumplex model (Olson and DeFrain, 1997) shows how parenting styles may be classified as democratic (balanced) or uninvolved, permissive, authoritarian, and rejecting (unbalanced). Dysfunctional family patterns may be enacted in communities and societies. Neighborhoods or societies may be classified using these same circumplex model concepts. The circumplex model portrays systems of change that can be classified as healthy or dysfunctional.

Charles Tittle (1995) focuses on the amount of control that one has in his control balance theory. Tittle (1995) suggests that having a control surplus or control deficit may lead to deviance. When the control ratio is balanced, deviance will be less likely to occur. According to Tittle (1995), a surplus of control may lead to genocide (he refers to this as plunderous acts). Deviance results from deviant motivation, provocation, opportunity, and constraint (Tittle, 1995). Braithwaite (1997) presented a revision of Tittle's theory to incorporate the notion that people desire more control than they currently have (see Piquiro & Hickman, 1999 for an evaluation of the theory).

Braithwaite (1997) actually addresses genocide in a review of control balance theory and points out that the Versailles Treaty created a control imbalance among the Germans and that "it was the emotional dynamics of that control imbalance that handed

the world the holocaust" (p.83). Thomas Scheff (1994) brought the sociology of emotions into the study of genocide by focusing on the shame/rage dimensions related to genocide.

Scheff (1994) states, "all societies train their members to balance closeness and distance, the interests of self and other. No society can long exist that vastly overreaches in one direction or the other. But different societies lean in different directions" (p. 41). This bimodal alienation (engulfment and isolation) is a problem for modern societies (Scheff, 1994). Scheff (1994) continues his analysis by pointing out that leaders will attempt to avoid alienation and shame by constructing a sense of pride and community. This is apparent in the genocides presented in this research. This is consistent with leaders encouraging societal members in specific social groups to become more rigid and enmeshed as indicated by the circumplex model.

Robert Merton (1968) developed the strain theory of crime based on the concept of anomie. Anomie is a condition of normlessness, or confusion and ambiguity over society's rules.   Anomie is "the presence of contradictory norms and the collective sense that moral order is too weak to warrant trusting other people" (Sampson, 1997, p. 41).

In society, there are various goals that people are expected to seek and a variety of means to reach them. Some people do not have the opportunity to utilize legitimate means to reach their desired goals. This may lead to frustration, strain, and stress. One study applied anomie theory to study the relationship between stress and violent crime (Linsky, Bachman, and Straus, 1995). Using their State Stress Index, a measurement of economic, family, and community stress at the state level, they found that:

1. The more stress in the social environment, the higher the violent crime rates.

2. High levels of stress are related to high rates of smoking and alcohol use, suicide, rape, and homicide.

3. High rates of violence are associated with high rates of legitimate violence (e.g. capital and corporal punishment).

4. Family violence is related to high rates of alcohol consumption and legitimate violence.

In sum, they have demonstrated that a relationship exists between high levels of stress (economic, family, and community) and high levels of violence. This is clearly relevant for studies of genocide.

Alienation is defined as "the experience of isolation and misery resulting from powerlessness"(Macionis, 1999, p. 105). Alienation is social detachment and isolation (Mirowsky and Ross, 1989). Life meaning is absent. Avoiding alienation and distress includes feeling in control and having commitment, support, meaning, and normality (Mirowsky and Ross, 1989).

Too much social control or not enough social control encourages violent reactions. While the circumplex model focuses on families, the model may be applied to organizations, communities, and societies. Like families, societies can be enmeshed, disengaged, rigid, chaotic, or balanced. Balanced organizations, communities, and

societies are more likely to prevent social problems from occurring and to intervene when risk factors are present.

The micro-macro links must also be addressed. The ecological approach focuses on the relationships between the individual, family, community, and society (Belsky, 1980; Bruhn and Rebach, 1996; Dubowitz, et al., 1993; Garbarino, 1982).

This approach focuses on the interactions between the person and the environment (Bruhn and Rebach, 1996 simplify the model by including the micro, meso, and macro systems). The components of the system are as follows:

1. Microsystem-the focus is on everyday settings. This includes relationships between family and friends.

2. Mesosystem- the emphasis is on interdependent microsystems. This includes interactions between microsystems, e.g. the links between the family and the school.

3. Exosystem- the focus is on social groups. This includes policy makers, neighborhoods, and the workplace.

4. Macrosystem-the focus is on political, economic, and the media. This consists of cultural values and belief systems (Garbarino, 1982; Tan, Ray, and Cate, 1991).

When the levels match up or are consistent with each other we have an ecological coalition that may lead to genocidal behaviors in an unbalanced society going through crisis and rapid change.

There may be a rapid move from a chaotic environment to a rigid one. The changes within and between the systems may lead to additional stress and strain. Continued failure to cope with crisis leads to shame and rage among individuals, groups, and large segments of society. This certainly appears to be the case prior to and during the Holocaust. Ecological factors are present that support and encourage genocidal behavior while the protective factors are minimal or absent.

For example, in the case of the Holocaust, organizations were encouraged to participate by the political and military systems (see Eizenstat, 2003). This led to a cycle or spiral of support leading to the genocide. While the encouragement occurs at all levels through feedback loops, the systems become more enmeshed and more rigid in their operation. Networked systems interact in rigid and enmeshed ways thus reinforcing pathological behavioral systems. The circumplex model variables may be used to explain the relationships between the individual, family, community, and state/nation. The group in power and control moves from the chaotic to the rigid and coerces the other social institutions to follow. This creates a feedback loop of genocidal support.

Cooney's (1997) analysis of lethal conflict and the state also supports the idea of too much or too little state authority leads to violence. These conditions would be consistent with the rigid and chaotic dimensions of the circumplex model. This model is also consistent with the research findings of Rummel (1995), Krain (1997), and Harff and Gurr (1998; 1988).

The goal of this study is to apply the circumplex model to 13 genocide cases of the 20th century. In addition, the type and number of victims killed will be examined. The focus is on the genocidal groups and the social conditions during the genocide.

Several hypotheses have been constructed to examine the circumplex model and genocide:

1. Societies engaging in genocide will exhibit high levels of cohesion (enmeshment) among the genocide perpetrators.

2. Societies engaging in genocide will exhibit low levels of flexibility (rigidity) among the genocide perpetrators.

3. Cohesion and flexibility will be negatively related to each other.

4. A higher number of deaths will be positively related to high levels of cohesion.

5. A higher number of deaths will be positively related to low levels of flexibility.

6. Pre genocide levels of cohesion will be lower than cohesion levels during genocide.

7. Pre genocide levels of flexibility will be higher than flexibility levels during genocide.

Methodology

Data Sources

This study is based on 13 genocides of the 20th Century that include:

Namibia, Turkey, USSR, Germany, Indonesia, Burundi, Bangladesh, Cambodia, East Timor, Indians of the Amazon, Iraq, Bosnia, and Rwanda. These genocides are analyzed based on the work of Chalk & Jonassohn (1990) for the first 10 genocides and Gourevitch (1998), Kressel (2002), and Power (2002) for the last three genocides.

While the definitions of genocide vary, two definitions used in this study are as follows: Helen Fein (1993) defines genocide as "sustained purposeful action by a perpetrator to physically destroy a collectivity directly or indirectly, through interdiction of the biological and social reproduction of group members, sustained regardless of the surrender or lack of threat offered by the victim" (p. 24). Chalk & Jonassohn (1990) define Genocide as: a form of one-sided mass killing in which a state or other authority intends to destroy a group, as that group and membership in it are defined by the perpetrator (p. 23).

Data Collection Techniques

The variables used in this study include:

- Cohesion- Cohesion refers to emotional bonding, autonomy, closeness, loyalty, & independence. Cohesion is coded as very low (disengaged, too much separateness between groups, lack of loyalty, high independence), separated (low to moderate levels of cohesion), connected (moderate to high levels of

cohesion), and very high (enmeshed, too much closeness, loyalty, and dependency). A society is considered to be balanced on cohesion if it is separated or connected (Olson, 1995; Olson and Defrain, 1997; Olson 2000).

- Flexibility-Flexibility refers to the ability for a system to change in response to stress, leadership, role shifts, & control. Flexibility is coded as very low (rigid, too little change allowed, authoritarian, strict social control and rule enforcement), structured (low to moderate levels of flexibility), flexible (moderate to high levels of flexibility), and very high (chaotic, too much change occurring, lack of leadership, role shifts, rules change and social control shifts). A society is considered to be balanced on flexibility if it is structured or flexible (Olson, 1995; Olson and Defrain, 1997; Olson 2000).

- Type of genocide - According to Chalk and Jonassohn (1990), there are four major types of genocide that focus on the following goals: elimination of a real or potential threat; spread of terror among real or potential enemies; acquisition of economic wealth; and implementation of a belief, a theory, or an ideology (p. 29).

- Death Category - The death category is coded into four groups based on the number of victims killed during the genocide (under 100,000; 100,000 to 1 million; 1 million to 5 million; and over 5 million).

Data Analysis

The data is coded and analyzed using SPSS (Statistical Package for the Social Sciences) 10.0 for Windows (SPSS Inc., 1999). The Spearman's rho statistic, the Wilcoxon Signed Rank test for two related samples, and descriptive statistics are used to assess the relationships and changes between the levels of cohesion, flexibility, and death categories. The Spearman's rho and the Wilcoxon Signed Rank test for two related samples are nonparametric statistical tests used for the analysis of ranked variables (Pett, 1997).

Results

All 13 genocides were used in the analysis. There were no missing data. The descriptive statistics indicate that:

- The types of genocides varied. The ideological type occurred with the greatest frequency (n=5), followed by, economic (n=4), threat (n=3), and terror (n=1).

- A majority of the societies engaging in genocide exhibited high levels of cohesion (84.6%).

- A majority of the societies engaging in genocide exhibited low levels of flexibility (76.9%).

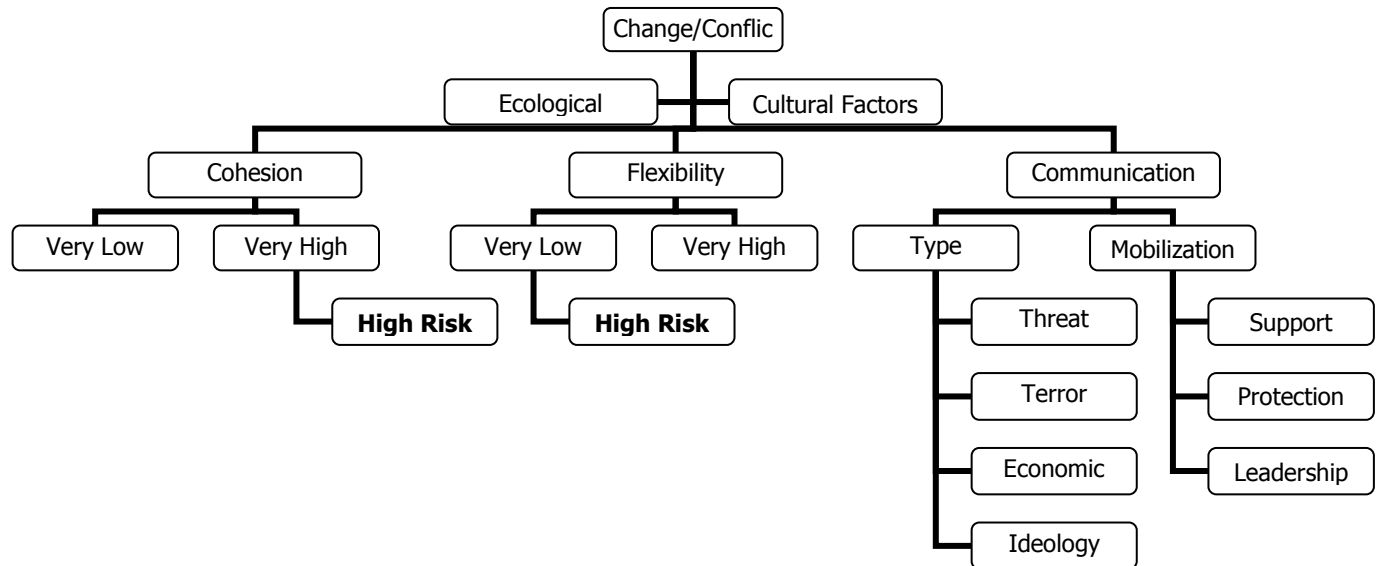The Spearman's rho correlations analysis indicates that:

- The levels of cohesion and flexibility are negatively related during genocides (r = -.778, p=.002).

- The death category and cohesion are positively related (r = .605, p=.029).

- The death category and flexibility are negatively related (r = -.777, p=.002).

The Wilcoxon Signed Rank test indicates that:

- Pre genocide levels of cohesion (Mdn = 3) were significantly lower than cohesion levels during the genocide (Mdn = 4; p = .01).

- Pre genocide levels of flexibility (Mdn = 2) were significantly higher than flexibility levels during the genocide (Mdn = 1; p = .006).

The data supports the application of the circumplex model for genocide. Genocidal societies demonstrate unbalanced levels of cohesion and flexibility toward the rigidly and enmeshed pattern. These results are summarized in the circumplex model of genocide presented in Figure I.

Figure I: *Circumplex Model of Genocide*


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                              ┌──────────────┐
                              │ Change/Conflic│
                              └──────┬───────┘
                    ┌────────────────┴────────────────┐
              ┌──────────┐                      ┌────────────────┐
              │ Ecological│                      │ Cultural Factors│
              └──────────┘                      └────────────────┘
        ┌─────────────────┬──────────────────────────┬─────────────────┐
   ┌──────────┐      ┌──────────┐              ┌──────────────┐
   │ Cohesion  │      │ Flexibility│             │ Communication │
   └──────────┘      └──────────┘              └──────────────┘
   ┌────────┬────────┐  ┌────────┬────────┐    ┌────────┬────────────┐
  ┌────────┐┌────────┐ ┌────────┐┌────────┐ ┌──────┐  ┌────────────┐
  │Very Low ││Very High│ │Very Low ││Very High│ │ Type │  │ Mobilization│
  └────────┘└────────┘ └────────┘└────────┘ └──────┘  └────────────┘
              ┌────────┐         ┌────────┐    ┌────────┐    ┌────────┐
              │High Risk│        │High Risk│    │ Threat │    │ Support │
              └────────┘         └────────┘    └────────┘    └────────┘
                                                ┌────────┐    ┌──────────┐
                                                │ Terror │    │ Protection│
                                                └────────┘    └──────────┘
                                                ┌────────┐    ┌──────────┐
                                                │Economic│    │ Leadership│
                                                └────────┘    └──────────┘
                                                ┌────────┐
                                                │Ideology│
                                                └────────┘
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Discussion

The risk for genocide is related to totalitarian societies and wars (Rummel, 1995). In this model a totalitarian society (regime) is a rigidly, enmeshed society. Additionally, the risk for genocide is greatest during civil wars when other risk factors are present (external wars, decolonization, openings in the political structure; Krain, 1997). Placed in the context of the circumplex model, new forms of cohesion, flexibility, and communication occur. Increases in conflict, social problems, and social change may frustrate citizen needs and lead to scapegoating, violent ideologies to solve group problems, and exclusion of victims (Staub, 1999).

Factors such as dehumanization, increased power and control, labeling of victim groups as dangerous, support of genocidal leadership, racial and ethnic ideologies, reduced state power by conflict, and justification of domination, brutalization, belligerency, victim exclusion, and violent performances are used to promote and carry out genocide (Athens, 1992; Charny, 1991; Fein, 1993; Porter, 1999). These factors are consistent with the move toward a greater level of rigid-enmeshment. In addition, responses to authority, the actor, context (culture of cruelty) and definition of target are important factors (Waller, 2002) that are also consistent with the circumplex model.

The circumplex model is always in operation. The intensity, degree, and strength of each dimension is dynamic. It is the increased conflict and societal problems, rapid changes, frustrated needs, scapegoating, genocidal ideologies, and genocidal leadership that increases the rigidity and decreases the flexibility leading to mass

violence (Staub, 1999). The next step is to incorporate the circumplex model into micro-macro models of genocidal behavior.

Stress, strain, change, and power struggles may lead to unbalanced levels of cohesion and flexibility. This in itself is not enough for genocide to occur although circumplex mapping suggests that several variables mentioned by other researchers apply.

Pathological levels of cohesion and flexibility account for a variety of dysfunctional behavior at micro, meso, and macro levels. Rates of societal change also influence this developmental process. The interaction of individuals, families, communities, and societies influence the level of unbalance. It is possible that societies move through various stages of cohesion and flexibility at certain rates that increase the chance of genocide. Further research might focus on this situation. Specifying variables at each systemic level would enhance this model. Olson's circumplex model offers a map of family change. The use of this model at societal level would certainly be relevant for genocide prevention. For example, external groups can assist those societies at risk for genocide by helping them move from unbalanced to balanced systems.

It is recommended that future research focus on both quantitative analysis of macro level events and qualitative analysis of micro level interaction. This will assist in developing interventions at micro and macro levels. In addition, future research may address what explains why a specific group engages in a certain type of genocide?

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Thirty Years of Homicide in Buffalo, New York: 1905-1935

Vance McLaughlin

Richard Block- How did they handle women who died in abortions?

Answer -They were not listed. The same problem exists with infanticide.

Block-Thirty percent of victims in Chicago were treated as victims of abortion. This would change motive.

Answer-The city has a high Catholic population and they probably didn't want this discussed.

Roland Chilton-Why did you stop in 1935?

Answer-UCR started in 1936.

Kevin Mullen-Soft drink parlors started in San Francisco about 1920. The speakeasy.

Candice Batton-Are you saying that violence rates increase 15-20 years after immigration by the 2nd generation?

Answer-There is some literature about second generation Americans, schooled in the U.S. who didn't mind making waves. I have data by precinct so I might be able to better separate this.

Homicide in San Francisco's Chinatown

Kevin Mullen

Roland Chilton- Regarding the counts of murder victims, do you have suspect information?

Answer (Kevin Mullen)- All data sets are victim based.

Roland Chilton -Is this Chinese killing Chinese?

Answer- Almost all intragroup incidents.

Richard Block-Regarding immigrant groups and policing, Did SFPD try to integrate Chinese into policing?

Answer- Not at that time. The police knew what was going on in Chinatown. The Chinese were good at establishing white business connections.

Richard Block - Comparing the Chinese to frontier populations, was it primarily a male population?

Answer-Yes, about 90% male, and primarily young males, a rate about 2-3 times normal.

Rebecca Block-You have victims, suspects, street addresses, talk about plans for archiving your data.

Answer - In 1906 everything burned. The coroner's tally was crazy, I used a lot of newspapers to put this together. Homicides were big events, listed in city directories.

Prior to 1906 the data came from newspapers, from 1906-1939 from the coroner's register, and from 1940 to present from the SFPD Murder Book. Rnady Roth will have the data on his website in July, so everyone will have access.

A Circumplex Model of Genocide

Mark A. Winton

Vance McLaughlin- Did you see any evidence of the homicide rate dropping during times of genocide like Germany 1938-1944 and Stalin in Russia?

Answer (Mark)- It would be fascinating to look at.

Roland Chilton- You have a description of what happens but what moved them to this?

Answer- Sociology fails miserably at explaining this. I don't know-leaders?

Kathleen Heide- How did you operationalize these measures(cohesion, flex)?

Answer- There is no validity or reliability- it is extremely subjective.

Dallas Drake-Was there cohesion on both sides? Was there defensive action on the losing side as a result of cohesion like the Civil War?

Answer- There was some resistance but small resistance. Politics gets into this as well. It depends on how you define it-if you include groups picked on for political purposes you end up with a much larger number of groups.

Vance McLaughlin- Dallas, The majority may have assigned cohesive values to the minority that they may not have had.

John Jarvis- You might get some direction from civil unrest studies.

Kevin Mullen-Have you looked at middlemen?

Gary Jensen-There is a book, When Religion Turns Evil, which describes passion with a dual moral system leading to high rates of violence.

Answer- I haven't looked at this with genocide but I have with terrorism. It might be easier to code.

CHAPTER THREE
FACTORS ASSOCIATED WITH HOMICIDE AND VIOLENCE

Moderator: Richard Block, Loyola University

Presenters:

Violence Prevention: The Confluence of Critical Events Lowering

Chicago's Homicide Rate in 2004.

> Charlie Ransford, MPP; Elena Quintana, PhD; Tim Metzger, MUPP; Candice Kane, PhD; and Gary Slutkin, MD. The Chicago Project for Violence Prevention

Factors Associated with the Extent of Injury in Non-Lethal Incidents of Violence.

> John P. Jarvis, Federal Bureau of Investigation, Thomas A Petee, Auburn University, Janice E. Clifford, Auburn University, Lin Huff-Corzine, University of Central Florida, Greg S. Weaver, Auburn University, and Jay Corzine, University of Central Florida

Recorder: Linn Huff Corzine, University of Central Florida

VIOLENCE PREVENTION: THE CONFLUENCE OF CRITICAL EVENTS LOWERING

CHICAGO'S HOMICIDE RATE IN 2004

Charlie Ransford, MPP; Elena Quintana, PhD;

Tim Metzger, MUPP; Candice Kane, PhD; and Gary Slutkin, MD.

The Chicago Project for Violence Prevention

This paper is a work in progress. What is laid out below is more or less an outline for the paper that shows the way in which I plan to conduct the analysis of the homicide reduction in Chicago. To this point, the analysis has not been completed.

During the past decade, Chicago has had exceptionally high homicide rates compared to other cities in the United States and the rest of the world. In 2003, Chicago had 599 homicides giving it the highest rate of homicides for large American cities at 20.7 homicides per 100,000 residents, the second time in three years the city attained that title. Other major cities such as New York and Los Angeles each had considerably lower homicide rates in 2003, in the neighborhood of 7 to 8 homicides per 100,000 residents, and typical European cities had even lower homicide rates, around 1 to 3 homicides per 100,000 residents.

In 2004, the number of homicides in Chicago declined by 25% for a total 448 homicides and a rate of 15.5 homicides per 100,000 residents. Similarly, shooting rates in Chicago declined by 40% from 2003 to 2004.[1] These are unprecedented decreases for Chicago and the results are the lowest rates in decades. Understanding the specific reasons for this historic decline is important both academically as well as to further the effect on Chicago in future years and addressing the violence problems in other cities.

The reasons, like the cause of violence, are multifaceted and the level of decline was only achieved through the confluence of several factors. Of the many factors, this paper will explore what the authors suggest are four primary factors responsible for this historic decline in homicides. These factors include a more focused and intense police activity, the efforts of violence prevention programs, gentrification of certain communities, and the decline in violent crime nationally.

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[1] Statistics are derived from data provided by the Chicago Police Department.

Analysis of Homicides and Shootings in Chicago

It is first important to understand several characteristics of the violence problem in Chicago in order to understand how they were successfully addressed. First, while homicides occur in many areas of the city, the problem is concentrated in poor neighborhoods with higher concentrations of minorities. These include neighborhoods such as Logan Square, Garfield Park, and Humbolt Park. Second, about 33% are known to be gang related conflicts with the actual percentage likely to be higher. Third, about 75% of homicides in Chicago involve the use of a firearm.

Analysis of Interventions

Because the homicide problem in Chicago was so severe, many elements were working to battle the problem. Below, three of the major interventions are highlighted and the details of their efforts are discussed.

Law Enforcement Strategies

The efforts of the Chicago Police Department have been instrumental in reducing shootings and homicides. Chicago has the second largest police department with 13,466 officers in 2000[2], and it ranks fourth in officers per capita.[3] However, Chicago has had a large force for many decades. In 2004 there was not a large increase in the number of police officers.

What has been different is several new strategies employed by the police. Some of the more important strategies include the development and implementation of a deployment operations center modeled after New York's CompStat. Chicago's program has the commanders of all the police districts in Chicago meet once a week, discuss the trends and patterns of gun violence in Chicago, and plan strategies for how units are to be deployed to combat the problems. This often includes identifying hot spots and deploying large numbers of police officers into the designated areas.

Other strategies were also in greater use in 2004. There has also been an increase in mission oriented policing such as the gang task force which targets individuals, gangs, and geographic areas and conducts missions to arrest and suppress criminal activity. Also, cameras were installed in strategic locations have played a role in identifying criminal activity, making arrests, and suppressing individuals from committing crime in the vicinity of the cameras. Additionally, the Chicago Alternative Policing Strategy (CAPS) has continued its efforts to utilize the efforts of community members to assist in making neighborhoods safer.

How much the efforts of the police have resulted in the reductions that were experienced is not clear from a simple analysis of the programs in place. It is well documented that similar efforts in New York and other cities has resulted in similar reductions, which would suggest that the Chicago police departments efforts had some

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[2] Reaves, Brian, "Census of State and Local Law Enforcement Agencies, 2000," Bureau of Justice Statistics, October 2002.

[3] Reaves, Brian, "Police Departments in Large Cities, 1990-2000," Bureau of Justice Statistics, March 2002.

effect. It is also reasonable to assume that the suppression of certain individuals will result in a decline in crimes in the neighborhoods where those individuals reside.

However, it is not clear that the police efforts are responsible for all of the reduction nor is it established that the police are substantially responsible for the decline. While the police efforts have been crucial in detaining dangerous individuals and providing a deterrent to potentially dangerous individuals, a suppression strategy alone will not solve the problem. As Congressman Danny Davis (D-IL) stated, "I'm always intrigued by the notion that the police are going to stop violence. It's the most ludicrous thing I've heard. The mere presence of additional law-enforcement personnel can help, but we need people to be mentors, big brothers, Scout leaders. We need to foster the evolution and development of certain moral values."[4]

CeaseFire

While suppression activity is important for decreasing homicides, a complementary approach is achieved through violence prevention programs such as CeaseFire and Project Safe Neighborhoods. These programs target specific communities that have violence problems and implement programs involving outreach to high risk youth, linkages to social services, development of opportunities, and community mobilization.

The CeaseFire program has developed a strategy from the growing literature about successful and unsuccessful models for violence prevention and has modified and honed this strategy after two and one-half years of discussion and negotiation with members of the police department, adult and juvenile probation, Chicago Public School representatives, state's attorney office, city officials, community based organizations,

and involved clergy. The strategy employed by CeaseFire is a strategic public health approach to violence prevention, an approach that is time tested for other health issues such as decreasing cigarette smoking to decrease incidence of cancer and respiratory disease, increasing use of seat belts to decrease automobile crash fatalities, and the elimination of smallpox and polio. The essence of a public health approach is focused

strategic prevention and it is this essence that enables the addressing of the issues and problems of violence as well as offering a complementary strategy to the law enforcement strategy, which typically involves suppression. This strategic public health approach includes: developing clarity in and full commitment to specific objectives; the setting of long term and short term goals; strategy development based on best practices but adapted to the local situation by local practitioners; and a management structure that works at both community and city/county levels.

The specific CeaseFire strategy that has been developed involves implementation of the five core components: outreach to high-risk individuals, public education to promote the message of violence prevention, involvement of faith leaders

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[4] Rex Huppke and David Heinzmann, "Shoot First Culture Stalks Street of Murder Capital," Chicago Tribune, February 1, 2004.

to influence the thinking and behavior of the community, involvement of law enforcement to share information and coordinate efforts, and community mobilization

As with the police strategy, it is not clear through an analysis of the program strategy how effective the program is at reducing crime. It is clear that the program has contributed to the reduction through its outreach efforts which have resulted in 152 documented conflicts mediated, each of which were likely to result in violent crimes. Additionally, the program has worked with over 1,300 high risk individuals as well as many of the most dangerous gangs in the city. Additionally, comparisons of CeaseFire areas to non-CeaseFire areas demonstrate differences in the reduction of violent crime with CeaseFire areas experiencing twice the decline in homicides from 2003 to 2004, as well as larger reductions in shootings.

Project Safe Neighborhoods (PSN)

Project Safe Neighborhoods (PSN) is a program that focuses on reducing gun violence. PSN has been funded with over $1 billion over four years (FY 2001 to FY2004) and uses this money to implement its program in all 94 court district in the United States. This implementation includes hiring prosecutors and investigators, providing training, distributing gun locks, developing effective deterrence and outreach efforts, and funding other gun crime initiatives.

There are several key elements to the PSN strategy. First, partnerships are utilized between law enforcement agencies, gun-related programs, and led by the United States Attorney in each court district. Second, a strategic plan is formulated to address gun crime in each district depending on the specific causes of gun crimes and availability of resources in each community. In all districts, the strategic plan focuses in increasing prosecution of gangs and increasing enforcement of gun laws particularly regarding gun trafficking and possession of guns by felons. Third, specialized training for law enforcement and prosecutors to keep current on laws and trends regarding gun laws such as firearms identification, safety, federal and state firearms statutes, federal and state search and seizure laws, crime scene and evidence management, firearms trafficking and tracing, and strategic planning.

Each local program is made to fit the unique gun crime problem in that district. In Chicago, PSN has been active in two police districts (the 11th and 15th districts) since January 2003, and is beginning operations in two more districts (7th and 9th districts). The program specifically targets individuals with previous gun offense within the communities it serves.

PSN is a relatively new program and its effects are difficult to determine. The strategy of targeting gun crimes and felons with a history of weapon use is a sound strategy given the high number of homicides committed with a gun.

Analysis of Other Factors in the Reduction

Other factors such as gentrification and a national trend in reduced crimes may have had an effect on the number of homicides in Chicago. While in many cases criminal activity migrated to other areas of the city, gentrification may have played a role in specific communities such as Logan Square and Humbolt Park in disrupting and displacing criminal activities. There are also suggestions that the migration of crime has crossed the city border and entered into the first ring of suburbs around Chicago.

The national rate in violent crime decreased by 2% during the first half of 2004 suggesting that some of the decline in homicides was a result of national level factors such as employment, income, and education. This national reduction would only account for a small part of the larger reduction in Chicago and recent statistics show that the reduction in violent crime has been stabilizing.[5]

Communities Analysis of Interventions

To get an idea of which interventions are having an affect on shooting and homicide rates, I will look at five communities that have different exposure to the three main interventions to see if the communities experienced different results. In each community I will look at crime rates in 2003 and crime rates in 2004 as well as comparing both years to a five year average (1999 – 2003) to determine what happened in each community in 2004 relative to what happened in that community in previous years.

There are important difference between these communities and these differences may contribute to differences in homicides levels. I will outline these differences in demographics, geography, economies, and infrastructure and analyze how much of an effect these differences contributed to the overall crime rate. Particular attention will be paid to signs of gentrification such as housing values and median income, as well as the status of the economy in each community through employment rates. The five communities being examined are listed below:

Austin - Austin is a community in northwest Chicago. It has a population of 117,527 and is predominantly African American (89.7%). Approximately 33.8% of residents do not have a high school diploma, 17.47% are unemployed, and 24.1% live below the poverty line.[6] Austin does not a have CeaseFire program, but it does have a Project Safe Neighborhoods program and being within city limits it has been affected by strategies employed by the Chicago Police Department.

West Garfield Park - West Garfield Park is a community on Chicago's west side. West Garfield has a population of 23,019 and is predominantly African American (98%). Approximately 42% of residents do not have a high school diploma, 22.1% are unemployed, and 35.9% live below the poverty line. West Garfield Park has a CeaseFire program, a Project Safe Neighborhoods program, and it has been affected by strategies employed by the Chicago Police Department.

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[5] Catalano, Shannan, "Criminal Victimization, 2003," Bureau of Justice Statistics, September 2004.
[6] Chicago Department of Health

Woodlawn - Woodlawn is a predominantly African American community on the south side of Chicago. Woodlawn has no CeaseFire program nor does it have a Project Safe Neighborhoods program, but being within the city it is affected by the Chicago Police Department strategies.

Maywood - Maywood is a suburb of Chicago just beyond city limits on the southwest side of the city. Maywood does have a CeaseFire program, but it does not have a Project Safe Neighborhoods program and being outside city limits it is not effected by the Chicago Police Department strategies, although it does have its own police force.

Harvey - Harvey is a suburb of Chicago just beyond city limits on the southwest side of the city. Maywood does not have a CeaseFire program, does not have a Project Safe Neighborhoods program, and being outside city limits it is not effected by the Chicago Police Department strategies, although it does have its own police force.

FACTORS ASSOCIATED WITH THE EXTENT OF INJURY IN NON-LETHAL INCIDENTS OF VIOLENCE

John P. Jarvis, Federal Bureau of Investigation

Thomas A. Petee, Auburn University

Janice E. Clifford, Auburn University

Lin Huff-Corzine, University of Central Florida

Greg S. Weaver, Auburn University

Jay Corzine, University of Central Florida

This study originated out of our interest in the injury code that is included in the National Incident-Based Reporting System (NIBRS) data. We had initially had some interest in using injury in an earlier analysis of child homicide, but discovered that the injury variable in NIBRS was only coded for non-lethal criminal incidents.

While there is a rather extensive literature on injury and violence, most of that literature is within the realm of public health or concerned with domestic abuse.

Safarik and Jarvis (2005) offer one of the few general criminological examinations of injury in lethal incidents, although the focus of their research was on attempting to quantify the extent of injury in order to better examine the dynamics of homicidal behavior.

The present research examines factors that may influence the type of injury incurred in non-lethal episodes of violent crime.

Using NIBRS data for 2001 and 2002, we explore the association between injury and such factors as the type of crime, the weapon used, the location of the offense, the victim-offender relationship, and the victim's sex.

Figure 1: Contingency Table for Injuries Sustained in Assaultive Incidents by Offense Type

	Aggravated Assault	Assault	Robbery
Apparent Minor Injury	57,291 56.4%	389,965 99.9%	9,899 78.1%
Apparent Broken Bones	4,846 4.8%	0 0.0%	219 1.7%
Other Major Injury	9,899 9.8%	0 0.0%	605 4.8%
Possible Internal Injury	4,342 4.3%	0 0.0%	308 2.4%
Loss of Teeth	1,156 1.1%	0 0.0%	62 0.5%
Severe Laceration	21,856 21.5%	0 0.0%	1,322 10.4%
Unconsciousness	2,132 2.1%	1 0.1%	263 2.1%

Figure 2: Contingency Table for Injuries Sustained in Assaultive Incidents by Weapon Used

	Personal Weapon	Gun	Knife	Blunt Instrument	Motor Vehicle	Other/ Unknown
Apparent Minor Injury	356,155 95.7%	4,619 49.8	9,582 49.9	13,065 61.0	3,114 72.9	44,304 87.3
Apparent Broken Bones	3,376 0.9%	89 1.0%	48 0.2%	598 2.8%	244 4.8%	543 1.1%
Other Major Injury	3,500 0.9%	2,850 30.7%	885 4.6%	1,349 6.3%	285 6.7%	1,410 2.8%
Possible Internal Injury	1,833 0.4%	785 8.5%	426 2.2%	596 2.8%	279 6.5%	618 1.2%
Loss of Teeth	872 0.2%	27 0.3%	7 0.1%	141 0.7%	5 0.1%	130 0.2%
Severe Laceration	5,018 1.3%	821 8.9%	8,178 42.6%	5,257 24.6%	289 6.8%	3,291 6.5%
Unconsciousness	1,266 0.3%	84 0.9%	75 0.4%	399 1.9%	56 1.3%	460 0.9%

Figure 3: Contingency Table for Injuries Sustained in Assaultive Incidents by Victim-Offender Relationship

	Family	Acquaintance	Stranger	Unknown
Apparent Minor Injury	146,876 94.4	231,308 91.3%	26,460 83.6%	52,511 92.4%
Apparent Broken Bones	971 0.6%	2,467 1.0%	558 1.8%	1,069 1.7%
Other Major Injury	2,076 1.3%	4,434 1.8%	1,032 3.3%	2,962 4.6%
Possible Internal Injury	931 0.6%	2,157 0.9%	486 1.5%	1,076 1.7%
Loss of Teeth	176 0.1%	675 0.3%	149 0.5%	218 0.3%
Severe Laceration	4,169 2.7%	11,199 4.4%	2,646 8.4%	5,164 8.1%
Unconsciousness	353 0.2%	1,012 0.4%	318 1.0%	713 1.1%

Figure 4: Contingency Table for Injuries Sustained in Assaultive Incidents by Location of the Offense

	Residence/ Home	Commercial/ Public	Other Outside Location	Other/ Unknown
Apparent Minor Injury	294,256 92.5%	61,371 89.6%	79,787 85.9%	21,741 87.9%
Apparent Broken Bones	2,441 0.8%	964 1.4%	1,369 1.5%	291 1.2%
Other Major Injury	5,307 1.7%	1,238 1.8%	3,137 3.4%	822 3.3%
Possible Internal Injury	2,390 0.8%	619 0.9%	1,386 1.5%	255 1.0%
Loss of Teeth	524 0.2%	278 0.4%	335 0.4%	81 0.3%
Severe Laceration	12,144 3.8%	3,547 5.2%	6,107 6.6%	1,380 5.6%
Unconsciousness	990 0.3%	468 0.7%	787 0.8%	151 0.6%

Figure 5: Contingency Table for Injuries Sustained in Assaultive Incidents by Victim Sex

	Female	Male
Apparent Minor Injury	280,622 94.7%	176,533 84.9%
Apparent Broken Bones	2,018 0.7%	3,047 1.5%
Other Major Injury	3,725 1.3%	6,779 3.3%
Possible Internal Injury	2,021 0.7%	2,629 1.3%
Loss of Teeth	395 0.1%	823 0.4%
Severe Laceration	6,651 2.2%	16,527 7.9%
Unconsciousness	835 0.3%	1,561 0.8%

OPEN DISCUSSION

Recorded by Linn Huff Corzine, University of Central Florida

Violence Prevention: The Confluence of Critical Events Lowering Chicago's Homicide Rate in 2004
Charlie Ransford

Mark Reidel - Are there differences in homicide and clearance rates that can be linked with your prevention efforts?

Answer - Yes, I believe so.

Scott Rasmussen - How do beat officers influence clearance rates?

Answer - When the police flood an area or have traffic stops, for example, clearance rates are improved.

Roland Chilton - What are the characteristics of victims and offenders in the area you studied?

Answer - The characteristics of victims and offenders have basically stayed the same over time.

Roland Chilton - What do outreach workers do?

Answer - Outreach workers are assigned up to forth (40) clients and serve as mentors. Among other things, outreach workers set up various activities for clients, help them find jobs, assist persons seeking further education and go to court with clients. Outreach workers are often former felons or gang members. Violence interrupters had had a high level of violent activity in gangs, etc.

Kim Vogt - Was there a change in the definition of a shooting?

Answer - Not exactly, but there was a change in the definition of gang-related homicides. It had been that for a homicide to be defined as related to gang membership, it had to be gang motivated. That definition has now been changed to one that counts a homicide incident as gang-related if the offender has any gang involvement. In addition, aggravated battery is defined by police officers and they have a lot of discretion in deciding what is, and is not, aggravated battery.

Kevin Mullen - There seemed to be a sharp decline in homicide in 2004. Was this preceded by targeting hotspots?

Answer - Police flooded areas based on hotspots all along.

Rebecca Block - Did you have data on where the hotspots were located?

Answer - Yes, we have them block by block.

Rebecca Block - You should be able to quantify them if you wanted.

Kim Vogt: - You said that age, race, and sex were pretty much the same over time. Can you explain further?

Answer - This is difficult to quantify.

Richard Block - There has been a radical decline in some areas.

Rebecca Block - Rapid increases and decreases in populations tend to increase homicide rates.

Scott Rasmussen - What kind of changes have occurred?

Answer - There have been decreases in domestic violence homicides and increases in gang-related homicides, the latter due to changes in the definition of a homicide being gang-related. Gang-related homicide remains high. Comparing Incarcerated Homicide Offenders and Non-Homicide Violent Offenders Using Personal Interviews: A Work in Progress

Thomas Petee - Which control theory are you using?

Leonore Simon - Self-control theory.

Rebecca Block - How was family background and relationships asked about?

Leonore Simon - The question was, "Before age 18, who was your father figure."

Dallas Drake - Clarify how you decided who to interview.

Leonore Simon -I chose all people who came into the prison in the last two years and were convicted of crimes I was looking for. Three hundred forty-one people were approached. Twenty percent declined; among that twenty percent more had killed strangers than family, friends, or acquaintances.

Dallas Drake - Of inmates agreeing, were there answers reliable?

Leonore Simon   Yes, the reliability and validity were both good even though some of the information cannot be checked.

Factors Associated with the Extent of Injury in Non-Lethal Incidents of Violence

John P. Jarvis, Thomas A Petee, Janice E. Clifford, Lin Huff-Corzine, Greg S. Weaver, and Jay Corzine

Becky Block:	Are injury categories mutually exclusive?
Tom Petee:	Data can be coded for more than one injury.
Dick Block:	Maybe should add death as the last injury category.
Tom Petee:	Nothing in the field.
Dick Block:	Since you do have murders, another paper have robbery/murders differentiated from other types of murder. May even want to look at incidents of rape.
Tom Petee:	These could be added.

Marc Riedel:	Are there differences in male/female? Females have less injury as they may retreat, where males may try to come back into the incident.
Tom Petee:	The percentage listed in a function of table space. 960,000 cases included in the data.
Roland Chilton:	More reason to present sample size. Allow comparison to be made by sex. Rates should be computed.
Becky Block:	Is there a way to figure out how to look at death rates from robbery. You may have to merge data sets. Take all robberies (robbery and robbery/murder). Have categories of no injuries, types of injuries, deaths. Look at outside versus inside locations, gender differences, etc. Look at assault murders also.
Tom Petee:	Good idea.
Dallas Drake:	Is it probable to have multiple injuries? Any way to sort this out?
Tom Petee:	We can look further at this, most likely to only report most serious injury.
Roland Chilton:	When writing this up, the last limitation is also positives the extent of injury in cases where described as an aggravated assault because only use of weapon, but no injury.

CHAPTER FOUR
ECONOMIC ISSUES AND HOMICIDE

Moderator: Candice Batton, University of Nebraska at Omaha

Presenters:

Economic Inequality, Legitimacy, and Cross-National Homicide Rates.
    Mitchell B. Chamlin, Ph. D., University of Cincinnati
    John K. Cochran, Ph.D., University of South Florida

Negative socioeconomic change and homicide in transitional Russia.
    William Alex Pridemore, Indiana University,
    Sang-Weon Kim, Indiana University

Recorder: Thomas A. Petee, Auburn University

ECONOMIC INEQUALITY, LEGITIMACY, AND CROSS-NATIONAL HOMICIDE RATES

Mitchell B. Chamlin, Ph. D., University of Cincinnati

John K. Cochran, Ph.D., University of South Florida

This research is concerned with explicating and modeling the causal linkages from economic inequality to homicide among nation-states. Our interest rest not with assessing the direct relationship between these two constructs. After all, the extant research is inordinately clear and consistent. Beginning in the 1970s, numerous studies have reported that countries that suffer from higher levels of income inequality tend to experience higher levels of homicide. Moreover, this finding holds across alternative measures of economic deprivation and homicide, across researchers, across model specifications, and across time (cf.Avison & Loring, 1986; Braithwaite, 1979; Braithwaite & Braithwaite, 1980; Hansmann & Quigley, 1982; Krahn, Hartnagel, & Gartrell, 1986; Krohn, 1976; Lee, 2001; Messner, Raffalovich, & Schrock, 2002; Neapolitan, 1998; Pratt & Godsey, 2003). What is less clear, however, is the manner in which economic inequality generates cross-national variations in the level of homicide. As others have repeatedly lamented, most researchers fail to delineate or include in their model specifications tha macro-social mechanisms that link economic inequality to homicide rates (Agnew, 1999; Chamlin and Cochran, 2005; Krahn et al., 1986; Lee, 2001).

For many researchers the connection between the unequal distribution of economic rewards and homicide is so intuitively obvious that it requires little, if any, clarification. All that is required to justify including an indicator of economic inequality in a model specification is the recognition that Apoverty in the midst of plenty@ is either unfair, oppressive, or otherwise frustrating. As a result, individuals mired in the lower economic strata are hypothesized to engage in criminal activity to somehow assuage their suffering. Hence, the greater the level of economic inequality, the greater the level of homicide (Agnew, 1999; Avison & Loring, 1986; Krahn et al., 1986; Krohn, 1976; Messner, 1982; 1989; Messner & Rosenfeld, 1997).

Independent of the difficulties inherent in making inference about the behavior of individuals on the basis of macro-level findings (Alker, 1969; Robinson, 1950), the social-psychological frustration-aggression thesis is just one of several abstract explanations that can account for the economic inequality-homicide relationship. Thus, until we can derive and measure the variables that link economic inequality to cross-national differences in homicide rates, neither the frustration, nor any competing, hypothesis can be falsified. Consequently, the goal of the current investigation is to discern, and explicitly include in our model specifications, indicators of the macro-social constructs that account for the effects of economic inequality on homicide.

Explicating the Economic Inequality-Homicide Linkage

Based on the empirical relationship between economic inequality and homicide among nation-states, one might be tempted to infer that economic inequality is inherently criminogenic.   Such may not be the case.   Rather, as the structure-functionalist perspective has long recognized, the unequal distribution of social and economic rewards can actually promote, rather than disrupt, macro-social integration (Davis & Moore, 1945; Durkheim, 1933; Parsons, 1977). That is, social and economic inequalities, insofar as they emerge from fair competition and merit, contribute to the healthy elaboration of the division of labor and, thereby, to macro-social integration. However, social and economic inequalities that arise from invidious distinctions, that have little, if anything, to do with innate ability or industriousness, are quite another matter.   A number of theoretical arguments claim that economic inequality is criminogenic because the social processes that generate it are intrinsically unfair. There is, however, considerable disagreement as to the specific manner in which societies "unjustly" distribute pecuniary resources to their members. Some argue that it emerges from the progressive accumulation of competitive advantage (Messner, 1982), for others it is due to the correlation between ascribed and achieved social statuses (Blau and Blau, 1982), or to the capitalist mode of production (Marx, 1906),or the juxtaposition of blocked opportunities with an overemphasis on success goals (Merton, 1938).   Nonetheless, there is also an important consensus among these rival macro-social explanations that accidents of birth (ascribed inequalities), rather than merit (achieved inequalities), are primarily responsible for the unequal distribution of income both within and across modern societies.

Hence, we propose that social and economic inequalities that are based on factors other than merit undermine the legitimacy of the social structure. As the social system loses its legitimacy, it simultaneously loses its moral authority and, thereby, its capacity to regulate the behavior of its members. As ties to the larger social order weaken, individuals become free to pursue their selfish wants and desires. This line of reasoning suggests two possible mechanisms that can provide the linkages between economic inequality and homicide.   First, we predict that the effect of economic inequality on cross-national homicide rates is mediated by the perceived legitimacy of the economic stratification system.   Our basic position is that ascribed economic inequalities, rather than economic inequality per se, are responsible for macro-level variations in homicide rates. If such is the case, then the positive, partial association between generic measures of economic inequality and cross-national homicide rates found in the empirical literature should be attenuated by perceptions of the legitimacy of the economic order. Insofar as societal members view the system of economic stratification as equitable, controlling for perceptions of legitimacy should substantially reduce the effects of economic inequality on homicide (Chamlin & Cochran, 2005). Alternatively, it is possible that the influence of economic inequality on cross-national homicide rates is conditioned/moderated, rather than mediated, by the perceived legitimacy of the economic stratification system. That is, the more that the economic stratification system is perceived to be unfair by the populace, the greater the effect of economic inequality on cross-national homicide rates.   In sum, we suspect that perceptions of legitimacy provide the key to understanding the theoretical linkages between economic inequality and homicide. What is less clear is the functional form of

this connection - do perception of the fairness of the distribution of economic rewards mediate or condition the effects of economic inequality on the level of homicide? We address these questions with cross-national data.

Methods

The sample of nation-states for this investigation consists of the forty-four countries that participated in the third wave of the World Values Survey [WVS] (1995-1997); our data source for the measures of perceived legitimacy. Sample attrition, primarily for the homicide measure, reduces the final sample to thirty-three nation-states. The World Values Survey is designed to provide cross-national data amenable to examinations of the influence cultural dimensions of social life on political and social systems. The WVS utilizes stratified multi-stage, probability sampling techniques to generate nationally representative samples for each of the participating nation-states. As such, responses within these nation-states can be aggregated to provide social indicators of cross-national attitudes, values, and beliefs.

Our perusal of the third wave of the WVS reveals two survey items that, on their face, appear to be valid indicators of two distinct, yet complimentary, dimensions of legitimacy. The first question taps respondents= beliefs concerning the fairness of the system of economic stratification (economic illegitimacy). Specifically, we measure perceived economic illegitimacy as the percentage of respondents that state that people in their country are poor because society treats them unfairly. The second question taps respondents= belief about the legitimacy of the national government (political illegitimacy). We measure perceived political illegitimacy as the percentage of respondents that claim they believe that their government is run by social elites and not for the benefit of all.

The dependent variable for these analyses is the rate of homicides known to the police per 100,000 persons. The primary source for this measure is the sixth United Nations Survey on Crime Trends and Operations of the Criminal Justice Systems [UNCJS]. Whenever possible, we replace missing data from the UNCJS with official data from Interpol (2000) and the United Nations Economic Commission for Europe (2003). To minimize yearly fluctuations in reporting, crime figures were averaged, when possible, for the three years of the survey (1998-2000). Preliminary data analyses indicated that the mean homicide rate is positively skewed. As such, we decided to transform this indicator by its natural logarithm to correct for skewness and induce normality (Maddala, 2001).

As has been acknowledged elsewhere (Messner and Rosenfeld, 1997; Stack, 1984), it is virtually impossible to locate cross-national measures of economic inequality for a single year. Consequently, our estimate of relative economic deprivation, the Gini index of economic concentration, spans a number of years, circa 1997. This measure was obtained from the World Development Indicators (World Bank, 2001).

Following past research (Krohn, 1978; Messner, 1982), we tap the concept of modernization with five measures of structural, demographic, and technological change. These include the percentage of the population that is urban (1997), the percentage of

the population fifteen to twenty-four (1995), the number of telephone mainlines per 1,000 population (1997), the per capita electric power consumption (1997), and the gross domestic product per capita (1997). Energy consumption and advance in communications are integral to, while increasing urbanization, a growth in domestic product per capita, and a declining birth rate are typical consequences of, the process of modernization. Data for each of these variables were ascertained from the World Development Indicators Online (World Bank, 2002). These five items are highly intercorrelated; hence we entered them into a principal components analysis. The results are quite clear. Each of these five indicators of structural differentiation load on a single factor (loadings +/- .334 or higher; eigenvalue = 3.52). We decided to combine these five measures, using appropriate factor weights, into a single predictor which we label modernity.

Population size is included to control for the predictions derived from formal structural theory (Blau, 1977; Gibbs and Erickson, 1976). Population size (1997) is measured as the number of inhabitant within the country in units of 1,000 and was obtained from the World development Indicators Online (World Bank, 2002). Preliminary data analyses indicated that population size is positively skewed. Again, following convention, we decided to transform this indicator by its natural logarithm to correct for skewness and induce normality (Maddala, 2001).

Finally, a number of cross-national studies report that the partial effect of the sex ratio on homicide is negative (Messner & Rosenfeld, 1997; Messner et al., 2002; Pratt & Godsey, 2003). Hence, we include the sex ratio in 1995 (males per 100 females) as a statistical control. The source for this measure is the World Population Prospects: The 2004 Revision (United Nations, 2005).

Results

Our analytic plan was to first model, with ordinary least squares regression , the direct effects of economic inequality on the level of cross-national homicide. Then, to test our mediation hypothesis we add to this equation each of our two measures of legitimacy, economic and political illegitimacy, respectively. Lastly, we test our conditioning effects hypothesis by subsequently adding cross-product terms for the interaction of the legitimacy measures with the Gini index.

Controlling for the effects of population size, modernity, and the sex ratio, the Gini index of economic concentration is, as has been consistently reported, positively and significantly associated with cross-national homicide rates (b = 0.036). Thus, homicide rates are higher among those nation-states which also have elevated levels of economic inequality. We add our measures of perceived economic and political illegitimacy separately to this model to test our mediation hypothesis. Our findings are clear; first the parameter estimates for the effects of both measures fail to attain statistical significance. Second, the effect of the Gini index remains positive, significant, and undiminished in size with the addition of these measure. Hence, legitimacy does not mediate, at least with these data, the effects of economic inequality on cross-national homicide levels. In fact, the addition of these measures of legitimacy does not even attenuate the effects of economic inequality.

To these models we next add the cross-product terms representing the interactive or conditioning effects of economic and political illegitimacy on the economic inequality-homicide relationship. Neither of these cross-product terms attain statistical significance; hence we find no evidence to support our conditioning effects hypothesis. Before we reject the idea that the legitimacy of the economic and political order can explain, at least in part, the linkage between economic inequality and cross-national homicide levels, we think it prudent to first explore the possibility that the economic inequality-legitimacy linkage is less universal than we initially suspected.

Supplementary Analyses

Chamlin and Cochran (2005) argue that the relationships between economic inequality, legitimacy, and cross-national homicide rates depend on the level of societal development. They conclude that an important consequence of the evolution of societies from traditional, agrarian communities to industrialized, modern social systems is the increasing rejection of custom and ancestry as legitimate bases for the extant social, economic, and political order of society; modern societies tend to rely on rational-legal authority to legitimate the manner in which positions are allocated within the social structure. We posit that the distinction between traditional-hereditary and rational-legal forms of legitimization may account for the null findings reported above. That is, in traditional societies economic inequality, regardless of its source, is viewed as consistent with a value system that endorse hereditary forms of authority. Conversely, economic inequality, again, regardless of its source, is perceived to be in direct conflict with the democratic (i.e., rational-legal) value orientation of modern societies (Bukovansky, 2002).

Two predictions emerge from this line of reasoning: first, the effect of economic inequality on cross-national homicide is greater in modern that in traditional societies; second, legitimacy mediates the effects of economic inequality in modern societies, but not in traditional societies. If so, then combining both types of societies into a single analysis would mask these countervailing processes. Thus, we reexamine the direct and indirect (through legitimacy) effects of economic inequality on homicide separately for modern and non-modern nation-states. Despite differing labels, every classification scheme we could locate classifies European, North American (Canada and the United States), and Oceanic (Australia and New Zealand) together as Amodern.@ We adopt such a strategy as well. However, such a decomposition of our original sample so reduces our degrees of freedom that we are unable to perform multivariate analyses. Instead, we examine the bivariate association between economic inequality and homicide and the partial effect of economic inequality on homicide, controlling sequentially for each dimension of legitimacy.

Our findings produce mixed support for the claims of Chamlin and Cochran (2005). First, contrary to our expectations, the bivariate association between economic inequality and cross-national homicide is greater among the non-modern than the modern nation-states ($r = .65$, $p < .05$ and $r = .30$, $p < .16$, respectively). Second, and consistent with the arguments of Chamlin and Cochran (2005), both economic ($r = .36$, $p < .10$) and political illegitimacy ($r = .52$, $p < .05$) are positively associated with

homicide rates among modern nation-states, but exhibit null ($r = .05$, $p < .90$) or negative ($r = -.49$, $p < .16$) bivariate associations with homicide among non-modern nation-states. In addition, political illegitimacy substantially mediates the influence of economic inequality on homicide across modern nations (from $r = .30$ to $r = .01$). In contrast economic inequality continues to influence homicide levels in non-modern nation states after controlling for economic ($r = .65$, $p < .05$) and political illegitimacy ($r = .60$, $p < .10$). In conjunction, these findings suggest that the causal linkages among economic inequality, legitimacy, and cross-national homicide depend, as predicted, on the level of societal development. That is, both the direct and mediating effects of legitimacy are probably limited to modern societies.

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NEGATIVE SOCIOECONOMIC CHANGE AND HOMICIDE IN A TRANSITIONAL SOCIETY

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Abstract

Russian homicide rates more than doubled in the few years following the dissolution of the Soviet Union and are now among the highest in the world. Russia is very large, however, and the pace and effects of the transition vary widely throughout the country, as do rates of violent crime. In this study, we took advantage of the unique natural experiment of the collapse of the Soviet Union to examine the association between negative socioeconomic change and homicide in the country. We measured the negative effects of socioeconomic change by creating an index of changes in population, poverty, unemployment, privatization, and foreign investment. Using data from Russian regions (n=78) and controlling for other structural covariates, regression results indicated that regions that more strongly experienced the negative effects of socioeconomic change were regions where homicide rates increased the most between 1991 and 2000. We discuss these findings as they relate to Durkheim's ideas about the anomic effects of rapid social change.

Introduction

Russia faced tremendous political, economic, social, and ideological change during the last 15 years. The country is transitioning from a totalitarian political system and a command economy toward a democratic government and a free market. These changes have had profound effects on every societal institution and Russians are being asked to embrace norms and values that were anathema less than a generation ago, with many formerly revered values now scorned. During this period the country experienced a wide array of challenges related to crime, law, and justice. These included drafting a new criminal code (Solomon, 2005), a police system facing severe budget shortfalls and widespread corruption (Beck and Lee, 2002), a judicial system that is distrusted by citizens due to its past role as a tool of the Communist Party (Huskey, 1997), corruption among the economic and political elite (Coulloudon, 1996; Wedel, 2001), and a dramatic increase in rates of interpersonal violence. For example, the Russian homicide victimization rate more than tripled between 1988 and 1994, and the 2000 rate of nearly 30 homicides per 100,000 persons was among the highest in the world, about double what it was a decade earlier, and almost five times higher than in the United States (Pridemore, 2003a).

Although it is easy to suspect that the rapid changes associated with democratization and marketization have influenced Russian crime rates, no studies

have focused on this issue. Recent research on post-Soviet Russia has examined the influence of social structure (Andrienko, 2001; Pridemore, 2005), alcohol consumption (Pridemore, 2002), and social institutions (Kim and Pridemore, 2005) on the variation of crime in the country. However, while the latter addressed socioeconomic change in passing as part of its test of institutional anomie theory, the effect on crime of the major force of the Russian transition - socioeconomic and political change - has not been tested explicitly as an explanation of the change in rates of interpersonal violence since the dissolution of the Soviet Union. This is surprising since contemporary Russia appears to fit some of the foundational works of sociology. Most notably, Durkheim (1897, p. 253) argued that rapid social change results in the related problems of decreasing integration and normative confusion. During such periods, what is right and what is wrong is blurred as society is unable to regulate the desires of the individual at the same time that new freedoms abound (Durkheim,). This seems an appropriate description of democratization and marketization in 1990s Russia.[1]

A flood of foreign values carried by Western media has eroded already battered traditional norms, leaving many Russians culturally disoriented and uncertain about the future (Frisby, 1998). The cohesive effects provided by family and friendship networks on social, economic, and moral stability may be threatened by the transition and the new capitalistic emphasis on self-reliance and cash accumulation. Aside from new abstract ideals that value individualism, the reality is that without the former Soviet social safety net, money has become much more important as a guarantor against economic hardship in a nation where more than a quarter of the population live in poverty. According to Polanyi (1947), in such circumstances the individual is coerced into acting on economic motives lest s/he be overwhelmed by the "juggernaut market." Traditional interpersonal relationships and patterns of social interaction obviously retain value in Russia, but now they coexist with a pressing need for money and with the nascent opportunities and individual freedoms offered by the new political economy. All this has occurred in a society where ideas, aspirations, and liberties had been limited from above and where communitarian ideas run deeper and go back much further than the 20th century interlude with Soviet communism (Kharkhordin, 1999). Traditional societal institutions quickly have been partially subordinated to the economy (Polanyi, 2001), and many Russians feel alienated by their quest for personal financial security, since the search for it includes independence from and even competition with those on whom they once depended (Frisby, 1998).

It is important to point out that Russia is an enormous country, however, and the pace and impact of these changes vary widely throughout the nation. Recent research has shown that rates of homicide (Pridemore, 2003a) and property crime (Kim, 2003) also vary extensively in Russia. In this study, we tested the hypotheses that those areas that have experienced the strongest negative effects of socioeconomic change are those areas that also experienced the greatest increases in homicide rates throughout the transition years of the 1990s.

Negative socioeconomic change in Russia

In the early 1990s, Russia launched an economic reform program of privatization and shock therapy meant to convert rapidly the centrally planned command economy to a free market. The legal, political, regulatory, and social institutions necessary for a properly functioning market economy, however, were and continue to be underdeveloped in Russia (Goldman, 1996; Hanson, 1998; Intriligator, 1994; Porket, 1995). The ensuing political instability and economic collapse, as well as concomitant anomic conditions, had far-reaching implications. Durkheim (1897/1979) argued that during periods of rapid social change norms become unclear and society's hold over individuals lessens as their aspirations become less limited. We have seen something similar in Russia, where there has been a transition from a top down paternalistic, controlling, communist state to a capitalist economy and a freer democratic system with theoretically limitless opportunities and individual freedoms. This normative dissonance is exacerbated further since political leaders are widely believed to be corrupt and those who have succeeded economically under the new system assumed to have done so by illegal means. Shlapentokh (2003, p. 151) revealed the high level of acceptance of corruption by Russian citizens, who view it as "a normal part of economic and political life," and Beck and Lee's (2002) survey of elite police officers and recruits showed that many believe corruption is morally acceptable and justifiable in a range of circumstances. According to Durkheim, such blurring of norms between what is right and wrong should result in increased deviance, including crime and violence. In fact, Figure 1 clearly shows that the Russian homicide rate rose dramatically during this period (although not tested here because of questions of data reliability from region to region, the overall robbery rate is shown in this figure for comparative purposes), and Chamlin, Pridemore, and Cochran's (2005) use of interrupted time series techniques revealed that the immediate increase in Russian homicide rates following the collapse of the Soviet Union were significant and sustained.[2]

Since the dissolution of the command economy and the transition toward a free market began in the early 1990s, Russian citizens have experienced continued economic, social, and political instability. The unemployment rate of 10.5% in 2000 was twice as high as it was in 1992, and nearly 30% of the population is currently living in poverty (Goskomstat, 2001). These conditions are largely the result of a decline in industrial output. Following the collapse of the Soviet Union, Russia's gross domestic product decreased by almost 40%, industry output halved, and salaries decreased 45-65% (Gokhberg, Kovaleva, Mindeli, and Nekipelova, 2000). These rates of unemployment and poverty vary widely by region, however, and a sharp geographic divergence in average incomes and living standards has developed since the introduction of sweeping economic reforms at the beginning of 1992 (Goskomstat, 1998; Sagers 1992). For example, regions that were heavily dependent upon military industry faced deeper recessions during the 1990s. On the other hand, oil and natural gas can now be sold at market value on the international market and regions with large reserves of these natural resources are performing better economically than other regions (Murakami and Tabata, 2000). These regions can provide more and better paying jobs to their citizens, which also allows local government to be more effective in providing public services because of a larger tax base.

The transition also had an alarming impact on demographic trends, which are often indicators of abnormal conditions (Kingkade, 1997). The concurrent trends of declining birth rates and increasing death rates, for example, led to a shrinking population. The largest increases in death rates were among middle-aged males, who proved to be the most vulnerable to the increased stress brought on by rapid socioeconomic change and an uncertain future (Leon and Shkolnikov, 2002; Shkolnikov and Meslé, 1996). In less than a decade, male life expectancy declined by nearly 8 years, to around 60 years (Heleniak, 1995). Crime and mortality data also indicate that males 25-44 have the highest rates of homicide (Pridemore, 2003a) and suicide (Pridemore and Spivak, 2003). Skolnikov and Meslé (1996) concluded that marketization led to a failure of Soviet state paternalism - including the state's social safety networks and guarantees of medical care, housing, and food - that had disastrous effects for the population.

Finally, the forces of migration have led to wide regional variation in population age, labor force, social services, and local fiscal systems, all of which influence social and economic structures. A region's age-sex structure is partially dependent upon the type and number of jobs available, and in turn will have an impact on the supply and demand for schools and health care, as well as on the regional tax base and pension funding (Heleniak, 1997). Andrienko and Guriev (2004) have shown that there have been clear migration flows from poorer regions with job scarcity and poor public services to more prosperous areas with higher employment and stronger public services. All of this suggests that the varying pace and impact of socioeconomic change have likely produced varying levels of uncertainty and social stress throughout the country that have helped to create variation in anomic conditions, leading us to expect greater increases in homicide rates in those areas most negatively affected by these changes.

Data

Russia consists of 89 regions, which are equivalent to states or provinces. Data from the contiguous Ingush and Chechen Republics are unreliable because of the ongoing war in the region, so they were excluded from this analysis. Data from nine of the smaller regions (called autonomous "okrugs," or districts) are covered by the larger regions in which they are embedded. This left 78 cases for analysis. A lower level of aggregation may be more appropriate for testing most criminological theories, but larger units, including nations, are commonly employed when investigating the effects of large-scale political, economic, and social change on crime.

Dependent variables

Violence was measured using regional homicide victimization rates. In order to examine the effect of socioeconomic change on the change in homicide rates during the transition years of the 1990s, we employed as the dependent variable the *change* in regional homicide rates between 1991 (the last year of the Soviet Union's existence) and 2000.[3] We used the residual change score instead of the raw change score, since

this value reflects the amount of change in a region's homicide and robbery rates that is unexplained by its initial levels (i.e., ΔHomicide2000 = Homicide2000 - (α + β * Homicide1991)). These values are superior to raw change scores since they are independent of initial values (Bohrnstedt, 1969). Further, since all the Russian regions were used to estimate the regression from which the residuals were drawn, these scores take into account the developments of the entire ecological system we examined (Morenoff and Sampson, 1997). This approach has been used to examine macro-level change on changes in rates of delinquency (Bursik and Webb, 1982) and changes in homicide and robbery rates (Chamlin, 1989), and it is important here since we know from prior research that the spatial patterning of homicide in Russia has shown consistently lower rates in the Northern Caucasus and European Russia and higher rates east of the Ural mountains for the last several decades (Shelley, 1980; Shkolnikov, 1987). Thus this construction of the dependent variable assures us that this historical legacy will not play a role in our results.

Pridemore (2003b) described and compared the homicide estimates provided by the vital statistics and police reporting systems in Russia. Given his conclusion that the mortality data provide significantly more reliable estimates of the overall number of homicides, we used the homicide victimization rate per 100,000 residents. These rates were age-standardized for each region. These data are collected via the vital statistics registration system and are available from Russian State Committee for Statistics (Goskomstat) and Ministry of Health publications. The data employed here were prepared for the first author from Goskomstat data (Russian Mortality Database, 2003). Russia used the abridged Soviet coding system to classify cause of death until 1999, when it began to use ICD codes, 10th revision. The case definition of homicide in the Soviet coding system, however, was exactly the same as that in the ICD codes. Soviet and Russian mortality data in general (Anderson and Silver, 1997) and for violent death specifically (Wasserman and Värnik, 1998) have been subjected to various validation procedures with positive results (see also Värnik, Wasserman, Palo, and Tooding, 2001).

Socioeconomic change index

We created a composite index to measure variation in the amount of different aspects of socioeconomic change by region, coding it to highlight the negative effects of these changes. These variables should not be considered measures of the exact same underlying factor, but instead represent different components of social and economic change. The measures were population change, privatization, foreign capital investment, unemployment change, and poverty change. Data for these measures were obtained from Goskomstat (various years).

Population change and the proportion of the active labor force unemployed were measured as residual change scores when values for each in 2000 were regressed on 1992 values (as discussed above with changes in homicide and robbery rates). Another important indicator of political and socioeconomic change is privatization, since the Soviet economic system was characterized by state ownership. We measured this as the percentage of the regional labor force employed in private companies in 2000,

which in a sense represents a change score since privatization was virtually zero until the adoption in 1992 of the "Basic Provision for the Privatization of State and Municipal Enterprises in the Russian Federation" (Chubais and Vishnevskaya, 1993). Foreign capital investment is another vital indicator of political and socioeconomic change, since it is an indirect measure of stability and of the presence of a relatively strong legal framework for business and rule of law. This is also essentially a change score, since foreign investment was absent during the Soviet era, and was measured as foreign capital investment per capita in U.S. dollars. Finally, the poverty variable was measured as the residual change score when 1999 poverty rates (2000 data were unavailable) were regressed on poverty rates from 1994 (earlier data unavailable).

In the context of this study, privatization and foreign investment are "positive" since they represent economic revitalization in economically depressed areas by providing jobs, income, and other advantages (Firebaugh and Beck, 1994; Frey and Field, 2000). A growing population is also considered positive since a decreasing population usually represents a concentration of poverty as people with greater resources move out (Wilson, 1996) and leave behind residents with fewer resources and thus a higher proportion of people who are economically dependent. Recent research has shown this to be the case for regional mobility in Russia (Andrienko and Guriev 2004; Heleniak 1997). Therefore, in order to create our index of negative socioeconomic change, we coded privatization, foreign investment, and population change as 1 if they were more than 0.5 standard deviations below the mean (i.e., they were substantially worse off than other regions on these measures), 0 otherwise, and coded unemployment and poverty as 1 if they were more than 0.5 standard deviations above the mean (i.e., they had substantially higher levels of poverty and unemployment relative to other regions), 0 otherwise. These scores were summed, providing a value of 0-5 (with 5 being the worst) for each region.

Control variables

We employed several controls based on the social structure and crime literature and on findings from recent studies of crime in Russia (Andrienko, 2001; Kim & Pridemore, 2005; Pridemore, 2002). First, we included a measure of relative deprivation, measured as the ratio of the income received by the top 20% relative to the bottom 20% of wage earners. These data were obtained from Goskomstat (2001), and the values logged since the skew statistic more than twice its standard error.

Pridemore (2002) found alcohol consumption and family cohesion to be positively and significantly associated with Russian regional homicide rates in 1995. We therefore employed his proxy for heavy drinking (other examples of and the reasons for the use of this proxy in Russia are explained elsewhere: Chenet, Britton, Kalediene, and Petrauskiene, 2001; Pridemore, 2002; Shkolnikov, McKee, and Leon, 2001; Shkolnikov and Meslé, 1996), and used the percentage of single-parent households in a region as measure of cohesion. The former is available from Ministry of Health and from Goskomstat (Russian Mortality Database, 2003) and the latter from Goskomstat (2003). Based on Kim and Pridemore's (2005) study we also included measures of the strength of social institutions such as education and polity. Educational strength was measured

as the rate per 1,000 people in the region enrolled in college (Goskomstat, 2001). Voter turnout or the proportion voting for a specific candidate/party is often used as a measure of apathy and/or lack of trust (Powell, 1982; Putnam, 1995; Villarreal, 2002), and thus we measured the strength of polity as the percentage of registered voters who voted in the 2000 Russian Presidential election. The voting data were obtained from Orttung (2000). The education and polity measures were logged because of the pronounced positive skews in their distributions.

We also included controls for the proportion of the population living in cities with more than 100,000 residents[4] and the proportion of the population male aged 25-44. The latter group was used because it has the highest level of homicide victimization in Russia. Finally, a dummy variable was included for regions located in the Northern Caucasus, which has significantly lower homicide rates than the rest of the nation (Pridemore, 2003a). Given the larger proportion of Muslims in this area, the cultural characteristics of the region may be confounded with some of the other variables in the model (e.g., lower rates of single-parent households and alcohol consumption), thus providing another reason to include a control for these regions.

Missing data

The Chukot and Jewish Autonomous Okrugs had missing data for homicide rates in 1991, so 1992 rates were substituted when creating change scores. Northern Osetia and the Chukot Okrug had missing values on foreign investment, and the latter also for education. In order to retain these cases for analysis, we regressed the variable with the missing observation on all other independent variables with complete data, thus replacing the three missing observations with the predicted values from this equation (Pindyck and Rubinfeld 1998).

Method

Two models were estimated using OLS regression, with the change in homicide rates as the dependent variable and the negative socioeconomic change index as the main independent variable of interest in each model. The second model is the same as the first except it includes the control for the Northern Caucasus. We used the Huber-White sandwich estimator to obtain robust standard errors (Huber, 1967; White, 1980). For each model, common exploratory data analysis techniques, regression diagnostics, and tests of model sensitivity were employed and are discussed below where appropriate.

Results

Table 1 provides descriptive statistics for all dependent and independent variables (including those used to create the socioeconomic change index). The mean regional age-standardized homicide victimization rate in Russia was about 30 per 100,000 in 2000. This mean rate for entire regions is higher than most large U.S. cities. It is important to note that aside from the high overall homicide rate, the regional rates

vary tremendously, ranging from a low of 7 per 100,000 in Kabardino-Balkaria to a high of 135 in Tyva. The mean change in regional homicide rates between 1991 and 2000 was an increase of about 14 homicides per 100,000 persons, or an average increase of nearly 100% over 1991 rates. Of the 78 regions in this analysis, all but one experienced an increase in homicide rates (the rate in the Kursk Oblast decreased by less than 1 homicide per 100,000 persons). The correlation matrix shown in Table 2 reveals a moderate correlation between the negative socioeconomic change index and the change in regional homicide rates between 1991 and 2000 (r=.39).

Table 3 provides the results of model estimation. The results for both models are the essentially the same, so we discuss Model 3 here. The results show that when the residual change scores for regional homicide rates between 1991 and 2000 were regressed on the socioeconomic change index and the control variables, the results were as expected. Higher levels of socioeconomic change are positively and significantly associated with regional increases in homicide victimization rates (b=2.28, p=.003).

Model sensitivity

Several alternative specifications were made to check model sensitivity. First, the cities of Moscow and St. Petersburg are considered "regions" for administrative purposes. Since they may represent a different dynamic than other regions, we estimated a model excluding these cases. Second, it appears that Tyva may be an outlier, and thus a separate model was estimated excluding this region. Third, past research has shown that regions east of the Ural Mountains have significantly higher homicide rates than the rest of the nation, and thus models were estimated that included a dummy variable for these regions. For each of these alternative models, the inferences drawn in regard to the effect of negative socioeconomic change on homicide remained the same, with only very minor changes to the rest of the model. Fourth, since highly aggregated data are often collinear, we examined various indicators of its presence. None showed problems in this regard. For example, all variance inflation factors were less than 2.5, which is well below critical levels for a sample of this size (Neter, Kutner, Nachtsheim, and Wasserman, 1996).[5]

Finally, in one respect we are losing information by turning interval into dummy variables (with a final index that is nominal), thereby restricting the variance on our main independent variable. Creating a factor or constructing an index in a more traditional manner, however, might not allow us to capture the nature of these different components in a manner consistent with our theory. Nevertheless, as a sensitivity test we also estimated the models (1) with an index created by summing the z-scores and (2) using principal components analysis to create a factor using these 5 measures. The inferences drawn when these measures were substituted for the current index were the same as those shown in Table 3.

Rapidity of change and anomie in Russia

This is the first study to test the association between socioeconomic change and crime in Russia, which clearly provides a rare opportunity for assessing the efficacy of this hypothesis. Controlling for other structural covariates, our results show that negative socioeconomic change was positively and significantly associated with changes in regional homicide rates between 1991 and 2000. Given the collapse of the legal and economic structure of Soviet society and the rapid political and socioeconomic changes that followed, Durkheimian anomie theory offers an appealing framework for increasing rates of violence in transitional Russia.[6] According to Pokrovsky, "Russian society has made a dramatically fast transition to conditions in which there is a complete vacuum in cultural goals and institutionalized means. This transitional period in Russian society has brought the theory of anomie to the fore" (Pokrovsky, as cited in Merton, 1997). The dissolution of the Soviet state occurred nearly overnight, leaving an unfulfilled void as the transition toward democracy and civil society inched slowly and painfully forward. The sweeping fundamental changes have produced not only cultural dissonance but social deregulation and unprecedented freedoms for Russians. While certainly positive, the limits of these freedoms are not yet fixed and the boundaries will thus be tested by Russian citizens.

Progressing naturally and gradually, societal development should not create acute anomic conditions since societies adapt new mechanisms to meet these changes and to control new aspirations. Rates of violence should actually decrease under these conditions according to Durkheim (1900, 1897; see DiCristina, 2004, p. 71), since the religion of the individual strengthens. The change in Russia, however, was anything but gradual. There was instead a sudden collapse of totalitarianism and the welfare state that, together with the introduction of shock therapy and individual freedoms, occurred in a context where civil society and democratic and market institutions were at best immature. During such times of rapid political, social, and economic change, the former solidarity is weakened and loses its power to control individuals. At the same time, new controls are not yet solidified and a new solidarity remains underdeveloped. Individuals are free to follow selfish pursuits, leaving no time for adjustment of the moral forces required to control the behavior individuals use to grasp for these desires (Passas, 1995). Russia's instantaneous switch from tight top-down control over aspirations to deregulated desires would be expected to create this type of rootlessness, allowing unanchored individuals to drift (Durkheim, 1897). Left with few clear rules, we should not be surprised by higher rates of interpersonal violence, and our results clearly show that those areas of Russia that more strongly experienced the negative effects of socioeconomic change are those areas that experienced greater increases in homicide rates during the 1990s. Furthermore, the ongoing transitional status has yet to reach a new equilibrium and thus individual aspirations flourish at the expense of respect for others. That is, the concern is for *my* person and not *persons* (Durkheim, 1893). According to Durkheim (1897, p. 253):

The scale is upset; but a new scale cannot be immediately improvised. Time is required for the public conscience to reclassify men and things. So long as the social forces thus freed have not regained equilibrium, their respective values are unknown and so all regulation is lacking for a time. The limits are unknown between the possible and the impossible, what is just and what is unjust, legitimate claims and hopes and those which are immoderate. Consequently, there is no restraint upon aspirations…. At the very moment when traditional rules have lost their authority, the richer prize offered by these appetites stimulates them and makes them more exigent and impatient of control. The state of deregulation or anomie is thus further heightened by passions being less disciplined, precisely when they need more disciplining.

Just such a situation has occurred in Russia, where enticing new individual and economic goals and opportunities are now being promoted by democracy and the market. At the same time, inequality has grown sharply in the country, with a very small but very rich economic elite on one side and the large majority of the population experiencing substandard living conditions on the other, with only a small middle class separating them (Maleva, 2002). It is widely believed that the majority of the economic elite achieved success through ill-gotten gains, largely by using former Party connections. If the new standard is monetary success, and if the masses are left out, and if those who have experienced success are believed to have done so via illegitimate means, then it becomes unclear that these means, even violence, are truly illegitimate and immoral paths of achieving economic success or other desires (Volkov, 2002).

Increased rates of homicide may simply be one of the prices paid by Russians for the transition, especially in those regions more strongly experiencing the negative effects of socioeconomic change. Russian citizens have been left unprotected in the face of the collapse of the welfare state and the chaos that followed. A government in disarray and facing repeated crises did little to respond. Says Polanyi (2001, p. 76), "[r]obbed of the protective covering of cultural institutions, human beings would perish from the effects of social exposure; they would die as the victims of acute social dislocation through vice, perversion, crime, and starvation." In Russia, the already widespread negative effects of heavy alcohol consumption became worse (Nemtsov, 2002), drug use (and with it HIV incidence) increased dramatically (Paoli, 2002), a mortality crisis led to premature mortality for countless Russians and lowered male life expectancy to less than 60 years (see Bobadilla, Costello, and Mitchell, 1997), and we have shown in this study that the negative socioeconomic change accompanying the transition is closely tied to increases in homicide rates.

The former Russian collective and the new Russian individual

Though certainly not possessing the same traits of societies described by Durkheim (1893) as exhibiting mechanical solidarity, Soviet Russia was characterized by a "sameness" in thought and action that stemmed from a ubiquitous value system and homogeneity enforced from the top down. More importantly, a strong collective conscience, communitarian ideals, and a social system that privileged the collective

relative to the individual were characteristics of Russian culture well before the arrival of the Soviets (Kharkhordin, 1999).

These values are at extreme odds with the democratic free market to which the country aspires. Price controls, free education, subsidized housing, and full employment are incompatible with marketization, just as tight restrictions on speech, press, and assembly are incompatible with democratization. Many of the goals of the past must be delegitimized, and symbols of group pride and faith that earlier generated collective sentiments have disappeared or exist in a weakened state: The hammer and sickle, the omnipresent paternalistic state, the social safety net, superpower status, the Red Army, and the ubiquitous community-oriented groups sponsored the Party. These cultural traditions and the Soviet state are being replaced by the individual goals of freedom, autonomy, and economic opportunities that were repressed and publicly scoffed at during the Soviet era. Thus while the transformation in Russia toward capitalism, democracy, and liberal values is not a transition from a mechanical to an organic society, there has been a fundamental shift from protection of the group to protection of the individual. At the same time, there has been an invasion of Western goods, advertising, and notions that idealize money and the individual. Russians are thus likely beginning to consider material success an important social value and to emphasize individualism (Barkan, 1997). In Durkheimian terms, we might say that Soviet society represented one social species (discussions of "the new Soviet man" were not uncommon during the period), while current Russia is evolving toward a new social species.

Blurred distinctions between right and wrong

Democratic and market reforms demand that Russian citizens abandon old understandings of good and evil and supplant former goals and values with new ones that were publicly demonized until very recently. What had been regarded as criminal during the Soviet era, for example private entrepreneurship, is now central to success. But this transformation requires institutions that aid in developing and regulating civil society, economic competition, and government transparency that were largely absent at the end of the Soviet era. Russians are thus being told that they must play according to new social, economic, and legal rules that are not only different from what they had been taught throughout much of their lives under the Soviet regime but also still ambiguous.

If society is facing a crisis of norms that confuses past and present wrongs and rights, then what behaviors are to be considered criminal? According to Durkheim, what is legal and illegal, allowed and prohibited, is not clearly defined in such situations. This is made worse in Russia by real and perceived beliefs about widespread corruption among the police, the legal system, government officials, and economic elites (Beck and Lee, 2002; Shlapentokh, 2003; Volkov, 2002). Crime and corruption become acceptable under these circumstances, or at least substantially less unacceptable, and this culture of corruption and illegality fosters deviance in countless ways. Even violence becomes routinized if it is recognized as a sometimes necessary and accepted part of entrepreneurship (Volkov, 2002), and if we remember that the number of homicides

reported by the Russian police is substantially lower than the count reported by vital statistics data, then we see that even the act of murder may be included among behaviors whose illegitimacy is not clearly defined.

According to Durkheim (1897), people will restrain their desires only in response to a limit they recognize as just. This limit must therefore come from an authority they respect, like society or one of its organs such as the governing legal system or religion. Yet in Russia (1) the former legal system was a distrusted totalitarian one, (2) those that run the current legal system are considered corrupt by a majority of the population (Shlapentokh, 2003), (3) the democratic system to which the country is transitioning is foreign to Russian history and culture, and (4) religion in the country was essentially dismantled during the communist era.

Is the American Dream becoming the Russian Dream?

The transition to a free market has been one of the all-consuming goals in Russia during the last decade, and it has been accompanied by an influx of Western goods, advertising, and media programming. It is only natural to assume that as their society moves toward capitalism Russians are beginning to consider individual economic success to be a central value, likely at the expense of other social institutions such as family, community, education, and polity (Messner and Rosenfeld, 1997; Polanyi, 2001) that were stressed in the past (Kharkhordin, 1999). At the same time, however, high unemployment rates and widespread poverty have kept the average Russian income low. This may have resulted in a discrepancy between new cultural aspirations and current structural realities. Hence, Merton's (1938, 1968) ideas may also be relevant here, as he argued that a strong emphasis on the goal of monetary success in the context of deemphasized legitimate means for achieving it will result in the goal-seeking behavior of individuals being subject to little regulation. Individuals are thus more likely to pursue monetary success using whatever means necessary as societal institutions fail to cap aspirations and regulate behavior. As Russians begin to accept consumeristic values, yet face widespread limits on the means for achieving their desires, the disjuncture between goals and means may help explain the increase in and wide variation of crime throughout the country. According to Merton (1968, p. 217):

> The social structure strains the cultural values…[it] acts as a barrier
> or as an open door to the acting out of cultural mandates. When the
> cultural and the social structures are malintegrated, the first calling
> for behavior and attitudes which the second precludes, there is a
> strain toward the breakdown of the norms, toward normlessness.

In the case of Russia, then, it may not only be the deregulation of desires that is important in explaining heightened levels of violence, but also the redistribution or removal of opportunities and the frustration and anger that ensues.

Limitations

There are a few limitations to consider when evaluating these results. The first relates to our definition and measurement of socioeconomic change. Durkheim (1893) believed that even seemingly "positive" change would create anomic conditions. A sudden flow of wealth into a community or society, for example, would result in new opportunities and desires that might go unchecked, thereby leading to anomie and thus an increase in negative behaviors resulting from seemingly positive changes. On the other hand, our index highlights the negative aspects of socioeconomic change and assumes that some types of change are "positive" for areas (e.g., providing more jobs and income and better health). Those areas with fewer of these types of "positive" changes experience negative conditions, which we have shown to be associated with higher rates of crime and violence. Nevertheless, one could argue in Durkheimian terms that there has been an influx of non-economic "wealth" into Russia and that the changes the country is experiencing in this regard are "positive" by democratic standards. For example, despite some remaining authoritarian limits (and the imposed limits of the negative socioeconomic conditions we highlight here), relative to the Soviet era there is a new wealth of individual liberties in the country. Few would argue that new freedoms of speech, expression, religion, and private property are bad things, but all this occurred in a short time and replaced strict controls. Therefore these "positive" new freedoms and the aspirations they generate may be as responsible for the anomic conditions resulting in crime and violence as the negative aspects of socioeconomic change we studied here.[7]

A second limitation is associated with the stationary measures of the control variables. Since data on several of these measures were unavailable from the late Soviet era, we used the values on these control variables for the year 2000 instead of using change scores. While this makes it difficult to interpret the meaning of their association with the change in homicide rates, we believe this has little effect on the main hypothesis tested here since the results for these variables replicate those from stationary cross-sectional studies of social structure and homicide in Russia (Andrienko, 2001; Pridemore, 2005).

A third limitation is related to research design. Unlike a time series analysis that might test Durkheim's societal development theory, the very nature of the deregulation hypothesis is about swift change and it is difficult to envision a design that could test this exactly. A fixed-effects panel analysis might be appropriate, and would also better model the non-monotonic change in homicide rates throughout the 1990s, but annual data on all regions on all measures are lacking. An interrupted time series analysis has shown that the changes in Russian homicide (and other crime) and suicide rates following the collapse of the Soviet Union are significant and not following longer trends (see Chamlin, Pridemore, and Cochran, 2005), yet such a univariate analysis must necessarily assume that these changes were entirely due to a Durkheimian process without any measures of this process. We have thus used a design that we believe can best test the negative socioeconomic change-crime hypothesis with the available data. In our attempt to overcome these obstacles, our design was aided by the fact that Russia is a vast nation that stretches across 11 time zones. It is also a diverse nation that varies across this large area in terms of ethnic and demographic makeup, level of

development, and other characteristics of interest to structural sociologists and criminologists. Most importantly for our study, the pace of socioeconomic change throughout the country and the effects it has had on these different regions vary substantially. This allowed us to gauge more effectively the covariation of negative socioeconomic change and changes in homicide rates throughout the country.

The last main limitation is that this study was unable to address all other alternative explanations for homicide growth, as well as other theoretically relevant outcomes of social change. For example, future research should address the exact mechanisms through which these changes serve to increase rates of violence. Alternatively, perhaps the increased crime rates in Russia are associated with declining deterrence resulting from police ineffectiveness and corruption or with the growth in criminal opportunities associated with greater amounts of consumer goods. Finally, models similar to those tested here should also examine the influence of the societal changes in Russia on its high suicide rate, which also increased sharply during the 1990s, especially given Durkheim's explicit focus on suicide in his work.

Conclusion

The hypothesis that rapid societal change leads to social disruption and thus to higher rates of crime has long been a part of the sociological and criminological literatures. We have rarely had the opportunity, however, to test this hypothesis on such a large scale with truly visible and meaningful social change. The dissolution of the Soviet Union and the transition toward a free market democracy is likely the closest scholars in this area will come to a natural experiment, and it represents a rare and unique opportunity to test a host of sociological and criminological propositions, as well as to more generally examine the effects of political, social, and economic change on a society. Further, historical circumstances and Russia's very large size has resulted in meaningful variation on many structural concepts, including the pace and effects of socioeconomic change, that normally we would not see in countries such as the United States. With this study, we have attempted to take advantage of this confluence of opportunities in order to test the hypothesis that negative socioeconomic change leads to increased rates of interpersonal violence. Controlling for other structural covariates, those parts of Russia that have experienced more negative socioeconomic change are those areas that witnessed larger increases in homicide rates during the course of the transition.

Our index of change is not simply a measure of negative economic circumstances but also indicates true change in other important respects. For example, privatization represents a meaningful change in ideas and philosophy, forcing both labor and management (and consumers) to think differently. Likewise, attracting foreign investment is extremely difficult in politically corrupt, unsafe, and unstable areas. Foreign capital investment thus represents the development of a local legal structure that is able to protect individuals and businesses that enter into contracts, which again represents a radically different legal system from that of the Soviet period. Further, although local economic prospects are now largely determined by characteristics inherent to the region (e.g., climate, the presence of natural resources such as oil or a

deepwater port) and not to recent changes, the variation in the standard of living was artificially blunted in the past by Soviet economic and welfare policies. Thus, while perhaps "natural" in an economic sense, the current stratification and the variation in the negative effects of social and economic change are nevertheless the result of the collapse of the Soviet Union.

Finally, although the length of the Russian transformation will be measured in decades, the initial shift was surprisingly sudden and abrupt. Instead of society progressing slowly and gradually, there was a swift change from collective to individual ideals. The question now is what behavior will flourish throughout the rest of the transition? Importing institutions and dropping them on the Russian people and culture will not magically result in a new Russia overnight. Democratic institutions and culture will take time to develop. Russia is becoming a democracy, but it is not yet; it is becoming a free market, but it is not yet. This interzone is necessarily murky and has created stresses between the old and the new that have resulted in normative confusion. In Durkheimian terms, a new solidarity has not yet solidified and Russia appears to be in the midst of a disequilibrium between structure and culture. Unfortunately, it appears that increases in and high levels of violence are a price Russians must pay for the path to democracy chosen by their leaders and others.

Endnotes

1. DiCristina (2004) noted the confusion in the literature about the hypotheses to be drawn from Durkheim's discussion of societal development and crime. He shows that some scholars suggest a positive relationship between development and crime (presumably as a consequence of the breakdown of mechanical solidarity), others expect a negative relationship resulting from the increasing strength of moral individualism/religion of the individual, while still others expect off-setting positive and negative relationships via countervailing mechanisms. There is also considerable confusion about the expected response of violent relative to property crime. DiCristina points to Durkheim's statements that development in general (as opposed to rapid change) should lead to less violent crime, though such change may create an increase in acquisitive crimes. We note here that most studies have examined *levels* of societal development not rapid social *change* (though see Bennett, 1991, and Ortega, Corzine, Burnett, and Poyer, 1992). Our study focused squarely on the latter, making Durkheim's social deregulation hypothesis of interest to us.

2. Given the sudden and dramatic increases in mortality following the dissolution of the Soviet Union and the subsequent mortality crisis in Russia, there has been considerable research on the validity of the Russian mortality data. Leon et al. (1997) showed that the tremendous variation in mortality during this period was real, not an artifact of changing systems, and Pridemore (2003b) provided a detailed description of the homicide mortality data and a compared them to the Russian crime data on homicide, showing the mortality data to be a far better measure than unreliable crime data. Further, there was in fact no change in the vital statistics registration system at this time in terms of recording deaths. The country continued to employ the former Soviet means of death classification until it switched to ICD-10 codes in 1999.

3. Although political and economic change in the USSR began in the mid- to late 1980s, there are several reasons for selecting the early 1990s as the key initial years for analysis of change. First, and most important, the changes of the 1980s were qualitatively different than those following the dissolution of the Soviet Union. While liberalizing, the former sought to retain the underlying political and economic framework while the latter resulted in a fundamental shift that required discarding this framework. Further, examination of available social and economic time-series data (e.g., divorce, poverty, unemployment) shows that they remained relatively unchanged until the collapse of the Soviet Union, then changed rapidly. Finally, the formal shifts toward democratization and a free market officially and legally came about in 1992.

4. Kim and Pridemore (2005) found rates of armed robbery to be significantly higher in more urbanized regions. However, unlike what we are used to from U.S. studies, homicide rates in rural Russia are as high or higher than in urban areas (Chervyakov, Shkolnikov, Pridemore, and McKee, 2002). This may be indicative of the differential development of urban centers in the United States and Russia. In the U.S., urban neighborhoods became increasingly segmented along racial and class lines, resulting in ghettos characterized by concentrated deprivation and high crime rates (Wilson, 1996, 1987). In Russia, on the other hand, urbanization did not occur on a large scale until well into the 20th century, and Soviet economic and migration policies resulted in an urban landscape that was more egalitarian and that lacked areas of concentrated disadvantage. It will be interesting to monitor how changes in the Russian political-economy will influence the structure of Russian cities in this regard and the effects this will have on crime.

5. While the VIF scores suggest multicollinearity is not a problem, the number of independent variables, the moderate correlations between several of them, and the relatively small sample size could result in the findings for a particular variable being unstable as a result of the limited degrees of freedom. This raises the possibility that when one or two control variables are dropped, the resulting noise could make the association between negative socioeconomic change and homicide non-significant. Thus several models were estimated that excluded the different controls, both alone and in concert. The inferences about the association between socioeconomic change and homicide remained the same throughout.

6. It is commonly accepted that Durkheim used the term anomie in different ways. We wish to make it clear that the scope of this discussion is concerned chiefly with the anomie/crime (and especially homicide) dimension of Durkheim's theory and not other important Durkheimian concepts such as cultural variations in respect for humanity, respect for "collective things," or other aspects of anomie. The latter might include, for example, Durkheim's conception of domestic anomie (which may help explain our finding of an association between single-parent households and crime) and the anomic division of labor (an alternative conception of economic anomie discussed by Durkheim (1893) in *The division of labor in society*).

7. An alternative explanation of these events may be consistent with Merton's ideas outlined above. Russians now have economic freedoms that likely generate new goals, such as accumulating wealth and goods (and probably the desire to do so, given the encroachment of Western products and advertising). Yet the negative effects of these

changes, which we have described here, mean that the pathways to these new goals are blocked for most people. Areas with higher levels of blocked opportunities (i.e., negative socioeconomic change) should thus be those areas with higher crime rates, which is consistent with our findings.

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Table 1. Brief definitions and descriptive statistics for all dependent and independent variables (n=78).

Variable	Description	Mean	S. D.
Homicide rate	Homicide victimization rate, 2000	30.1	17.5
Δ Homicide	Homicide victimization rate in 1991 subtracted from rate in 2000	13.6	8.6
SE change	Index of socioeconomic change: See text for description	1.4	1.1
Poverty	% of population living below subsistence minimum, 1999	42.7	16.2
Unemployment	% of active labor force unemployed, 2000	11.8	4.2
Population	Population size (in 1000s), 2000	1,852	1,497
Privatization	% of employed labor force working for private companies, 2000	45.1	8.1
Foreign investment	Per capita foreign investment in U.S. dollars, 2000	47.5	90.1
Inequality	Ratio of the income of top 20% of wage earners to bottom 20% of wage earners, 2000	6.0	2.8
Singles	% of all households with only one parent and at least one child <18 years old, 1994	15.6	2.1
Education	Number of students enrolled in higher education per 1,000 residents, 2000	27.0	13.8
Polity	% of registered voters who voted in 2000 presidential election	69.3	4.6
Alcohol	Proxy (see text): Rate per 100,000 population of deaths due to alcohol poisoning, 2000	28.7	17.5
Urban	% of population living in cities > 100,000 population, 2000	39.0	16.5
Males 25-44	% of population male and aged 25-44, 2000	15.3	1.2

Notes. The change score in this table is the raw change score. In model estimation, the change score is the difference between the observed rate for 2000 minus the predicted rate for 2000 based upon the 1991 rate (see text).

Table 2. Correlation matrix (n=78).

	1	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**6**	**7**	**8**	**9**	**10**
1. Δ Homicide	1.00									
2. SE change	.39	1.00								
3. Ln inequality	-.02	-.03	1.00							
4. Singles	.47	.20	.14	1.00						
5. Alcohol	.46	.07	-.25	.22	1.00					
6. Ln education	-.26	-.21	.39	-.14	-.30	1.00				
7. Ln polity	-.34	-.05	-.05	-.45	-.26	.04	1.00			
8. Urban	-.15	-.36	.34	.14	-.13	.65	-.13	1.00		
9. Ln males	.10	.16	-.01	.29	.03	-.20	-.34	-.02	1.00	
10. N. Caucasus	-.28	-.03	.09	-.30	-.41	.14	.26	-.15	-.37	1.00

Table 3. Model estimation for homicide and change in homicide rates in Russia (n=78).[a]

	Model 1		Model 2	
	b (SE)	p-value	b (SE)	*p-value*
Intercept	108.63(60.55)	.077	118.76(63.24)	*.065*
SE change	2.29(0.73)	.002	2.28(0.74)	*.003*
Ln inequality	2.00(4.23)	.638	2.15(4.36)	*.624*
Singles	1.19(0.52)	.026	1.17(0.53)	*.030*
Alcohol	0.16(0.07)	.033	0.15(0.08)	*.084*
Ln education	-1.36(2.62)	.605	-1.19(2.72)	*.663*
Ln polity	-19.66(12.19)	.111	-19.94(12.19)	*.107*
Urban	-0.02(0.07)	.785	-0.03(0.07)	*.676*
Ln males	-13.42(13.45)	.322	-16.45(13.71)	*.235*
Caucasus			-2.16(2.21)	*.333*
Adjusted R^2	.46		.47	

OPEN DISCUSSION

Recorded by: Thomas A. Petee, Auburn University

Economic Inequality, Legitimacy, and Cross-National Homicide Rates.

Mitchell B. Chamlin, Ph. D., University of Cincinnati and John K. Cochran, Ph.D., University of South Florida

Scott Rasmussen: Where does your definition of political illegitimacy come from?

John Cochran: From the World Values Survey

Gary Jensen: The World Values Survey involves surveys from different nations and has questions about people's attitudes about inequality.

John Cochran: The survey has both regional and nation states. We restricted our analysis to nation states.

Gary Jensen: Why is the sex ration variable included as a control variable?

John Cochran: Messner and Sampson (1991) make the argument that this variable is germane to looking at homicide, but it had no effect in our analysis.

Gary Jensen: There has been a debate between Messner and myself about what might affect perceptions. Did you control for cultural variables?

John Cochran: Not as yet.

Negative socioeconomic change and homicide in transitional Russia.

William Alex Pridemore, Indiana University, and Sang-Weon Kim, Indiana University

Marc Riedel: What was the source of your homicide data? There is a blurred distinction between right and wrong that occurs in the United States, do you see any blurring in your data?

William Pridemore: The data comes from mortality statistics. I haven't thought about this in comparison to the United States. When will it end? I'm not sure… the transition may go on from some time.

Dick Block: Rather than using Merton, you may want to go back to relative deprivation and strain.

William Pridemore: Unlike John Cochran's cross-national analyses, the findings for poverty and inequality in the United States is not so consistent. In Russia, there is no real middle class, a really small group of economic elites and a large lower class. There is hatred for the wealthy.

Kevin Mullen: We heard earlier that the homicide rate went down in Nazi Germany. Could the collapse of the totalitarian state explain the rise in homicide?

William Pridemore: Don't believe the hype. We have data that suggests that Soviet homicide was as high or higher than rates in the United States. Reports were essentially falsified.

Gary Jensen: Have you looked at suicide during these same time spans? Homicide and suicide can be positively associated during times of change.

William Pridemore: Suicide follows the same general pattern.

Vance McLaughlin: A colleague of mine who studies Russia says that Russian society is more stratified and that most people are pessimistic.

William Pridemore: Yes, this is what we were interested in.

Jay Corzine: Was there any appreciable difference in the quality of medical care during the two time periods?

William Pridemore: Medical care was very poor in both situations.

CHAPTER FIVE
ISSUES IN HOMICIDE CLEARANCE

Moderator: Kathleen Heide, University of South Florida

Presenters:

Clearing Murders: Is It About Time?

>Wendy Regoeczi, Cleveland State University; John Jarvis, Federal Bureau of Investigation; Marc Riedel, Southeastern Louisiana University

Clandestine Homicide Victims: Exploring for Missing Persons, Lost Bodies & Dead Spaces.

>Dallas S. Drake and Joseph Shulka, Center for Homicide Research, Minneapolis, MN

Recorder: Kimberly A. Vogt, University of Wisconsin - La Crosse

CLEARING MURDERS: IS IT ABOUT TIME?

Wendy Regoeczi, Cleveland State University

John Jarvis, Federal Bureau of Investigation; Marc Riedel, Southeastern Louisiana University

This work presents a work-in-progress exploring murder clearance rates as reported in the FBI National Incident-Based Reporting System (NIBRS). In particular, both traditional operationalizations of clearance rates as well as the time to clearance are used as dependent variables in examinations of causes and correlates of solvability in these cases. Preliminary results suggest that this work, with a different approach than most other analyses of this problem, reveals some relationships that are less evident in other studies. In effect this work may have implications for analyses of efficiency and effectiveness of police response to homicide. Implications for cold case analyses and other strategies for solving crime are also discussed.

In recent years crime rates have fallen from the historic highs of the late 1980s. However, crime clearances have fallen over the years as well (see figure 1). In fact murder clearances were as high as 94% in 1961 and currently are at about 62% (FBI, 2003). This rather dramatic decline has sparked debate regarding the causes and correlates of homicide clearances. Unfortunately, the extant literature devoted to this question is mostly equivocal as to the determinants of homicide clearance. This point is highlighted by the following assertion: "there is no prospect of seeing the homicide clearance rate return to the good old days when it was in the 90% range (Fox, 2000) ….as juxtaposed to "there are few homicide cases that given the right initial response, the right timing, and the right dedication of resources cannot be solved (Wellford and Cronin, 1999). These seemingly contradictory contentions may be the result of at least three problems. First, there is a lack of clear empirical evidence suggesting which, if any, factors, may improve the likelihood of homicide cases being cleared. Second, there is little recognition that in reality some factors may be situationally important to specific cases but not universally significant to all homicide case clearance efforts. And third, the possibility is that the traditional dependent variable--case clearance--has not been conceived of properly. That is, perhaps a better conception of this problem is one of time to clearance rather than the traditional dichotomous variable of cleared or not.

In the next section we begin examining each of these problems with a review of the scant literature devoted to examinations of homicide clearances and introduce a discussion of many of the issues that remain unclear relative to the dynamics of homicide clearances. After this we turn to analyses of homicide incident data in an attempt to assess our hypotheses relative to the causes and correlates of homicide clearance. Lastly, we offer models contrasting the results of traditional operationalizations of the dependent variable with a time to clearance measure. Through these efforts, we hope to demonstrate consistencies and highlight other discrepancies in efforts to understand law enforcement efforts to clear homicide cases.

Literature Review

The trends in clearance beg the question as to why these trends have dropped so dramatically over the years. While a single explanation is elusive, the wide range of explanations includes the changing nature of police investigations, the changing nature of the criminal behavior, and changing resources available to conduct such investigations. Each of these is considered respectively.

Policing Investigative Efforts

As early as 1977, Greenwood et al. argued that increased workloads contributed to falling case clearances in the investigation of homicide (see also Ahlburg and Knuttson, 1987). Others, including Riedel and Jarvis (1998) have argued that fear of retaliation and mistrust of the police hampers law enforcements' ability to solve homicides. As recent as 1995, the International Association of Chiefs of Police concurred and suggested that these factors, among others have contributed to falling case clearances. The dynamics of investigative efforts have been examined by some including a recent study suggesting that a multitude of policing variables impact the likelihood of successful case clearance (Wellford and Cronin, 1999). This study suggested that the police efforts to: secure the scene of the crime, make notifications to medical examiners, crime lab personnel, and detective bureaus, attempt to locate witnesses, response time, and crime scene data collection all impact case clearance rates.

Homicide Dynamics

When examining the nature and structure of the criminal behavior itself, others have argued that the nature of homicide has changed in such dramatic ways that investigative efforts have been unable to keep up with these changes. Specifically, increases in stranger-on-stranger homicides (Gilbert, 1983; Cardarelli and Cavanagh, 1992), homicides accompanied by other criminal felonies (robbery, drugs, etc.) (Regoeczi, Kennedy, and Silverman, 2000; Riedel and Rinehart 1994, 1996), and lack of witnesses coming forward (Riedel 1994, 1995) have been suggested as factors that hamper police efforts to solve these crimes.

Resource Allocation

On the other hand, some promising approaches suggest that intensified team policing efforts, dedicated cold case squads, working with regional state and federal partners, use of databases, evidence specialists, and other cooperative strategies have led to some successes in particular cases. That said, each of these efforts require resources that often are limited or unavailable to the average police department charged with investigating these deaths. As such the resources (both in dollars and human capital) to effectively investigate such cases may be limited.

Definition and Measurement

Complicating the entire issue of homicide clearance are the definitions and metrics used to measure these processes. Following the FBI (UCR definition) a criminal case is considered cleared when an arrest for that incident is made. The research, however, has delineated a myriad of circumstances that indicate variation in clearance. Most commonly this has taken the form of providing, as the FBI does, for exceptional clearances. That is, providing for cases where the case is cleared due to the death of the offender.[7] In other instances, the measurement of clearance has also accounted for those cases that, while cleared, do not require very much true investigative effort. Presumably, these are cases where the offender is readily identified and the case is cleared perhaps at the scene or shortly thereafter. To account for these instances, some research has further limited the clearance data by eliminating cases that were cleared in the first 24 hours. In other instances, some have chosen to consider these as "dunker" cases and expanded the time frame to exclude cases that are solved in the first week of occurrence. There may be some merit in considering such factors in clearing homicide. However, these methodological choices, at least in part, substantively change the research from case clearance research to cold case research. We argue instead that conceptualizing the dependent variable of case clearance as a time to clearance variable would account for all of the variation that these circumstances present. Additionally, we argue that by conceptualizing the clearance metric in this fashion provides for some other advantages as noted below.

Time and Homicide Clearances

One of the problems of homicide research, in general, is that researchers believe they are dealing with primary data, that is, the most direct observation of an event possible. Thus, if records of everyone who actually witnessed a homicide were collected, primary data would be available.

Such data are not available and the probability of anyone witnessing a large number of homicides is extremely small, except in some very unusual circumstances. Instead, records produced after the events that represent an interpretation of police and medical examiners are what are relied upon. Thus, operationally, homicide is whatever police and medical examiners say it is.

The consequence of treating secondary data as if it was primary is that research on clearances focuses on static characteristics of the event such as age, race, gender, victim/offender relationships, etc. when what may be more relevant is how police operate to clear offenses. For example, the research by Wellford and Cronin (1999) indicates that homicides are more likely to be cleared if detectives interview friends and acquaintances of the victim, locate a witness at the scene, utilize confidential informants, etc. All of the latter may be very true in cases where police have taken the

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[7] This reporting category also provides for lack of victim cooperation, prosecution declined, extradition denied, and some provisions for juveniles in minor offenses. For the purposes of homicide cases, exceptional circumstances do occur and sometimes are often excluded from homicide clearance data and research.

time to do all the things that are listed. But if they do not, then the probability of the case being cleared decreases. Then the question becomes why the police do not do all the things suggested to clear homicide cases? Or does the Wellford and Cronin research require a general perspective that discusses how police socially construct serious crime and how that construction determines clearance behavior?

The fundamental organizational dilemmas are twofold: on the one hand, police and detectives have no control over their input. Crimes occur daily in various amounts and with varying degrees of seriousness. On the other hand, police, or in this case detectives are held to standards of production--arrests--that remain relatively invariant. For example, Waegel (1981) reports that it was an understanding in the police department that he studied that one or two lock-ups per week were the expectation if one was to remain a detective. The detective=s progress is monitored by supervisors in terms of the number of arrests. If the number of arrests declines precipitously, then the supervisor himself or herself is, in turn, in trouble with their superior.

Suppose a given police department had three drug related homicides three days in a row. On the fourth day, there was a domestic argument that ended in the shooting of one of the spouses. If the detectives were to do all that has been suggested to clear the drug related offense, it is unlikely there would be time during that week and perhaps the following week to investigate the domestic killing, even though the latter would likely be easier to clear by arrest. Of course, this does not account for the robberies and burglaries and other crimes that occurred during this period that could not be investigated because of the time spent on the drug related homicides. In short, all the factors that contribute to a clearance probably work, but it's unlikely they will be applied consistently in every homicide simply because of the diverse commitments faced by detectives.

What this suggests is that detectives manage their time to meet organizational goals. The management of time by police to meet organizational goals is not limited to police and appears in different contexts. Sudnow (1965) and Swigert and Farrell (1971) found that social and demographic characteristics are filtered through stereotypic conceptions that have an impact on legal processing. Waegel (1981) talks about case routinization in investigative work; in a later paper, Waegel (1982) makes use of a more useful concept: casework orientation.

For the police department studied by Waegel, detective work is not rooted in supervisory surveillance that is minimal. The major constraints require the production of investigative reports for all cases assigned to them in 14 days and two or more arrests per week. In order to meet these twin goals, detectives engage in Askimming,@ that is, selecting out for extensive investigation those cases that are likely to result in arrests while giving only minimal attention to the remainder. For example, burglaries and robberies that are viewed as unlikely to be cleared by arrest are termed, Aroutine cases@ and given little attention. Assaults, rapes, and homicides fare somewhat better, but that is because the perpetrators are more frequently known and the quality of information is likely to be better.

With respect to homicides, detectives sometimes distinguish between "killings" and "murders." Two prominent case features of killings are (1) whether information at

the scene can be linked to an offender and (2) whether the victim and offender had a prior relationship. If motive and circumstance can be mapped onto a common pattern for domestic or barroom killings, the offense is treated as a routine case. If not, then the case is treated as a murder that requires additional methodical investigation.

Simon makes the same kind of distinction in differentiating between Adunkers@ and Awhodunits.@ AWhodunits are genuine mysteries; dunkers are cases accompanied by ample evidence and an obvious suspect.@ (Simon, 1991, p. 42)

Whether we are talking about normal homicides, routine vs. non-routine homicides, stereotypic conceptions that guide investigations, dunkers or whodunits, or casework orientation, the underlying theme is the organization of time. If homicides are socially constructed by the actions of police detectives then a central variable to be examined is what happens as time progresses.

For example, figure 1 shows the time lapse from incident to clearance. This chart suggests it would be worth knowing how these cases are cleared on a day-to-day basis. Are those cases with arguments cleared first, followed by other types of homicides? What kinds of homicides are not cleared as days occur? How far can homicides that remain uncleared be tracked? By conceptualizing homicide clearance as time to clearance each of these lines of inquiry become possible.

Data and Methods

The data used for this preliminary analysis are the 2002 National Incident-Based Reporting System (NIBRS) data from the FBI. These data are used for two reasons: 1) the NIBRS data, while not nationally representative as yet, are reported by as many as 5,271 agencies in 25 states representing 20% of the U.S. population. The variation in both police practice and the nature and scope of homicidal behavior in these data are likely to be superior to any other source of data. Additionally, the NIBRS data contain information on the date of the criminal incident and the date of the arrest of an offender associated with that incident. As such, time calculations can be made to produce the dependent variable of interest- time to clearance. This variable, along with as many as 51 other variables, are available in NIBRS and provide many fruitful avenues for exploration of homicide clearances. As such, these data are used to provide both descriptive and inferential analyses of the problem of homicide clearances. First, time to clearance charts are prepared that visually depict the variation in case clearances for both homicide and other crimes (see figure 1). Second, logistic regression models and survival models are constructed to examine both traditional homicide clearance rates and time to clearance for homicide, respectively (see tables 1 and 2).

RESULTS

Initial analyses using available 1998 NIBRS data show the survival curves of the criminal incidents as they pertain to case clearance (see Figure 1). From this analysis, it is clear that homicide clearances are the highest at about a 60% clearance rate. Additionally, it is evident that other crimes follow a similar course in terms of the time to clearance that these cases experience. Further inspection also reveals that the slopes of these survival curves dampen considerably in a very short period of time. That is, after about 7 days the clearance rates plateau compared to the successes of the first few days of investigation. This is perhaps important for both investigative strategy and the promise of ever clearing some cases.

From these patterns, more inferential models of homicide clearance are derived that examine the both the traditional dichotomous variable of clearance and the time to clearance metric discussed earlier. These models utilize the traditional correlates of homicide clearance (see Tables 1 and 2) that are available in the NIBRS data and suggest the following observations: 1) Overall, the results of the logistic models and survival models generally appear similar suggesting time to clearance may not be a significantly different metric than the dichotomous measure of clearance rates; 2) Upon closer inspection, the odds ratios compared to the hazards ratios reveal some differences. These are particularly clear when it comes to victims under 18 years old, both blunt object and other weapon involvement, the location of the incident, and lastly, whether an argument could be established as the circumstance leading to the homicide. This last factor, argument, is the most remarkable with the odds decreasing almost two fold in the survival model as opposed to that of the logistic model. Several characteristics, such as the race of the victim and the use of other weapons, are significant predictors of time to clearance (model 2), but not of the likelihood of clearing versus not clearing the case (model 1).

Discussion and Conclusion

This work-in-progress of exploring murder clearance rates as reported in the FBI National Incident-Based Reporting System (NIBRS) and relating these results to the successful clearance of homicide cases is just a beginning rather than an end. As demonstrated here, we have used a different approach than most other analyses of this problem to reveal some subtleties in the relationship of incident, crime, and victim characteristics to case clearances of homicide. To date, this work, similar to other studies, suggests that the efficiency and effectiveness of police response to homicide may be influenced by these case characteristics. However, what may be more important are the implications for when a case is likely to become cold. The descriptive analyses clearly showed that the probability of case clearance markedly declines with the passage of time. In fact, these analyses suggest that homicides go cold as soon as two weeks after the case becomes known. Such results suggest that cold case squads and other resource allocation may be better employed if mobilized earlier in the investigation of homicide. As to the measurement of clearance as time to clearance as opposed to simple dichotomous measurement of clearance rates, the analysis suggests only a few, but perhaps significant, differences. Refinement of these models and inclusion of the full

set of NIBRS data (1996-2003) may reveal more substantial differences. Additionally, inclusion of other data such as the structure, operations, and resources of police departments may help to improve the models. Using such data poses its own set of challenges but the future of understanding more about the ways to increase case clearances for not only homicide but other crimes may well depend upon such efforts. It is about time that homicide clearance and other strategies for solving crime be studied in this or similar fashion.

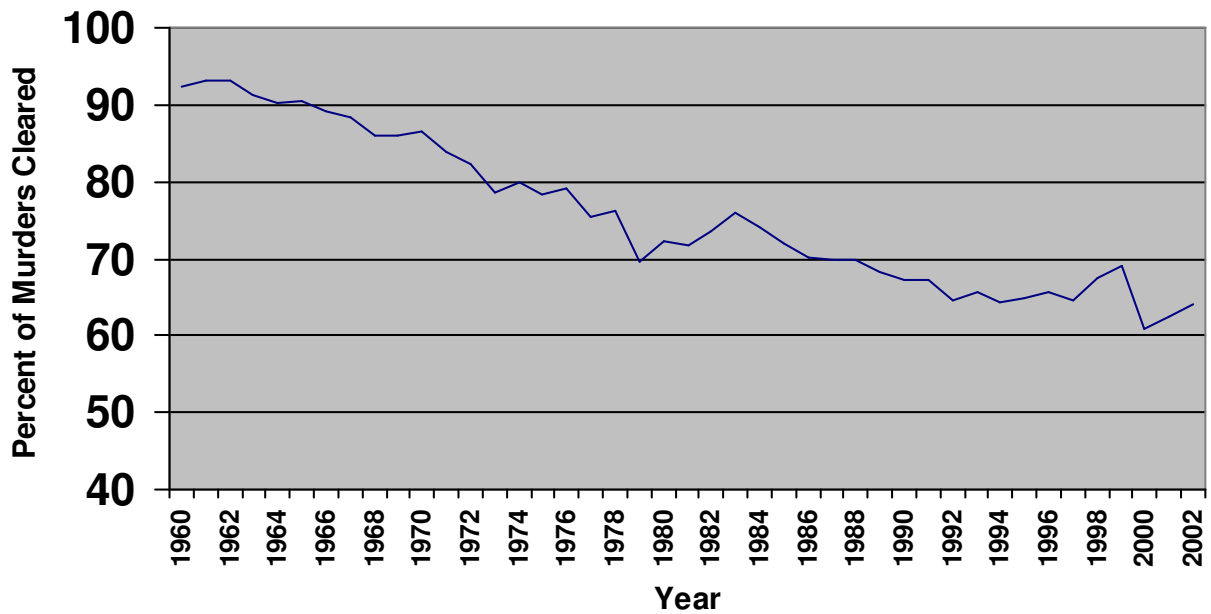**Figure 1: Murder Clearance Rates in the U.S., 1960-2002**

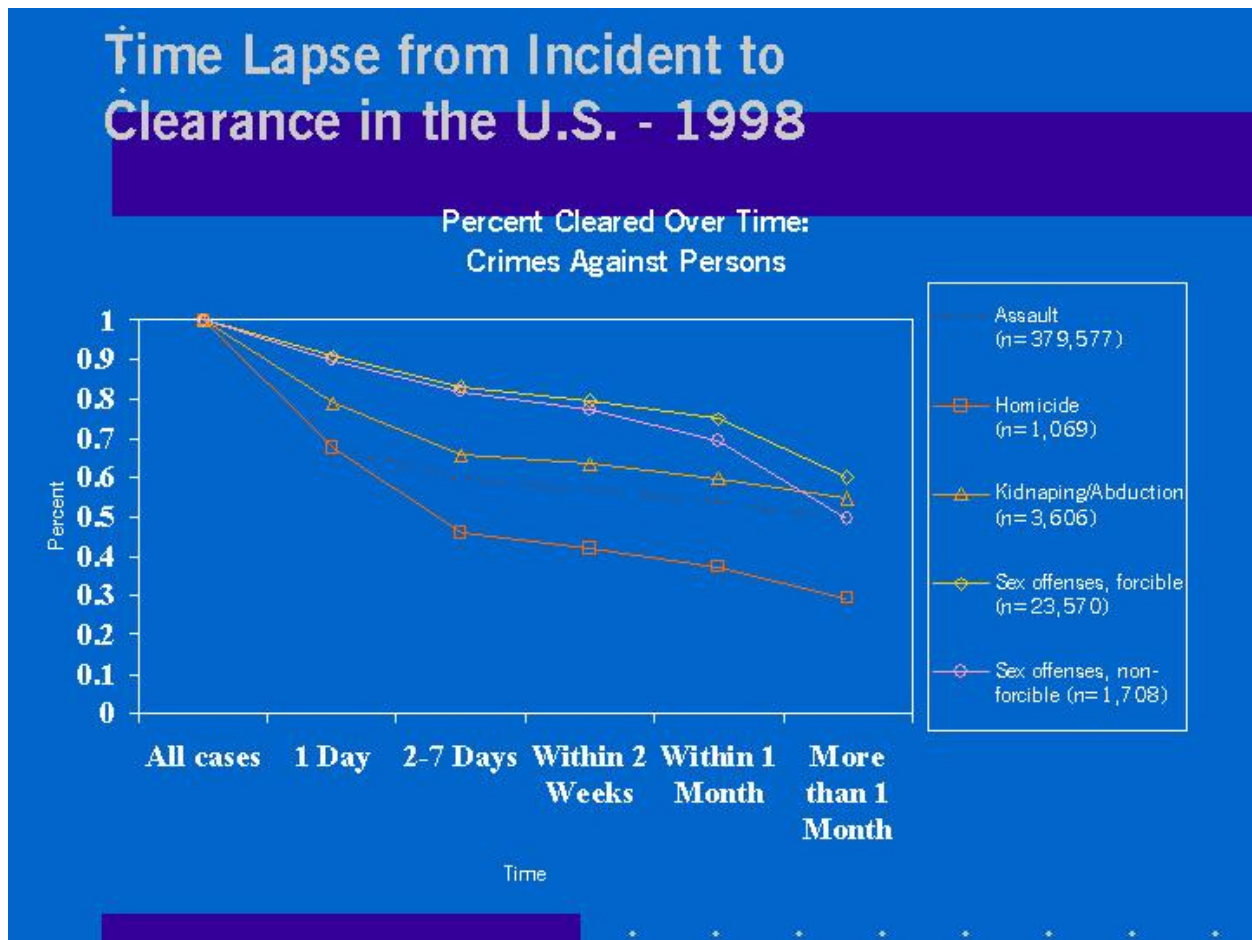Figure 2: Time to Clearance for Various Person Crimes- 1998 NIBRS DATA

Table 1: Logistic Regression Model for Homicide Clearances

National Incident Based Reporting System, 2002[a, b, c]

Predictor	Coefficient	Standard Error	Odds Ratio
Male Victim	-.044	.148	.957
White Victim	.145	.136	1.156
Victim Under 18 Years Old	.698**	.258	2.009
Outdoor Location	-.608***	.148	.544
Other Location	-.619*	.252	.538
Second Shift	-.086	.166	.918
Third Shift	-.080	.172	.923
Gun	-.336†	.204	.714
Blunt Object	-.303	.345	.738
Hands/Feet	.338	.272	1.402
Other Weapon	-.298	.229	.742
Argument	1.440***	.170	4.221

† $p<.10$ * $p<.05$ ** $p<.01$ *** $p<.001$

[a] N = 1122

[b] Reference categories are: indoor location, first shift, knife

[c] -2 Log likelihood = 1372.686; Nagelkerke R Square = .172, $p<.001$

Table 2: Cox Proportional Hazard Model of Time to Clearance for Homicide Cases Submitted Through the National Incident Based Reporting System, 2002[a, b, c]

Predictor	Coefficient	Standard Error	Hazard Ratio
Male Victim	-.089	.081	.914
White Victim	.186*	.080	1.205
Victim Under 18 Years Old	.485***	.129	1.624
Outdoor Location	-.474***	.096	.662
Other Location	-.475**	.178	.622
Second Shift	-.144	.094	.866
Third Shift	-.046	.099	.955
Gun	-.190[†]	.111	.827
Blunt Object	-.334[†]	.196	.716
Hands/Feet	-.172	.141	.842
Other Weapon	-.342*	.136	.711
Argument	.772***	.083	2.164

[†] $p<.10$ * $p<.05$ ** $p<.01$ *** $p<.001$

[a] N = 1156

[b] Reference categories are: indoor location, first shift, knife

[c] LR chi-square = 165.60, $p<.001$

A note on interpreting the coefficients. This is easiest to do by using the hazard ratios. Hazard ratios greater than 1 indicate that the factor/characteristic in question increases the hazard (risk of failure, or in this case, clearance). So, for example, a homicide involving a victim under the age of 18 is 62% more likely to be cleared over a short period of time than a homicide involving older victims.

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CLANDESTINE HOMICIDE VICTIMS: EXPLORING FOR MISSING PERSONS, LOST BODIES & DEAD SPACES
A Work-In-Progress

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Thesis

Missing homicide victims affects the validity of homicide data and can be investigated using a delayed discovery loss-recovery analysis to determine probable disposal locations and methods, and offender motives.

1. Do missing victims substantially affect the validity of homicide data?

2. Can an examination of delayed discovery homicide victims shed light on body disposal locations and methods?

3. Can an investigation of delayed discovery homicide victims be used to ascertain potential homicide offender motives?

Introduction

A continuing and central theme of homicide research is the attention to data access and validity. This paper investigates the conceptual issue of missing homicide data, i.e. undetected homicide cases (especially as it pertains to marginalized and disenfranchised populations) and relates it to the overall scope of homicide victimization. Using case studies, we will examine the various domains within which cases are missing, and analyze the impact missing cases might have on our overall understanding of homicide. Will also seek to show how identifying these victims can serve to increase case solvability within law enforcement.

According to the Center for Missing Adults, "as of March 31, 2003 there were 97,297 active missing person cases in the United States. Of those missing, approximately 54,184 are juveniles and nearly 43,113 were reports of individuals eighteen and older" (CMA, 2003). Despite the large number, research literature on missing persons is sparse. The predominant focus is on missing children and little has been written about the missing who is presumed dead from violence. One project, a multi-case study, investigated the delayed discovery of murder victims. It was undertaken as a result of the notorious Green River killings in Washington State which focused on serial homicide (Haglund, Reay, and Snow, 1987). This project helped lay the important groundwork by identifying relevant concepts and developing the list of research variables for this topic. The focus of their report however is on the identification

of human remains, rather than on remains detection or solvability issues, except as related to the aspect of identification specifically. In addition, the study was completed prior to the apprehension of the offender who went on to kill many more victims.

There also exists information on this topic in the field of forensic anthropology (Killam, 2004). However, these accounts focus on methods for isolating the decomposing corpses and identifying skeletal remains once a search site has been identified. Necro-Search, a multidisciplinary Colorado-based agency that specializes in body searches, focuses heavily on the hard sciences for their work. The problem of search site-selection remains mostly unexplored.

The majority of law enforcement and investigative practices, as well as homicide statistics, are based only on those victims that eventually are found. The circular nature of this problem is that many victims may go undiscovered due to missing data resulting from missing victims and this data is the basis for determining where to search for missing victims.

What is the importance of this work?

Identifying the length of time between death and discovery may have several benefits. The first issue is to determine the location of missing bodies. There is no research that reveals the time until body discovery that is based on the type of offender motive or homicide syndrome. If the motive was known, it may be possible to predict how the body was disposed of, and thereby revealing the types of places to look for the body. The faster the body is discovered, the greater the chance that critical evidence will remain intact (Keppel and Weis, 1994). Establishing a "typical" distance from major assault/murder site to body disposal location has also never been empirically determined. This information could assist investigators in focusing their search and saving time and resources.

The second issue is when a body is found, its location and disposal method might be used to predict the motive of the offender. Motives may be correlated with particular disposal techniques. This is information that cannot be developed by the forensic technicians since it is not simply a scientific finding, but a combination of both forensic and social sciences. Many bodies are found where the motive for the killing is unknown (Podolsky, 1956) and therefore an offender may be difficult to identify. Correlating disposal method and location to motive may speed identification of a motive, and therefore a suspect.

A third issue concerns the validity of the homicide rate. Identifying the number of missing homicide victims can be used to verify the homicide rate by establishing empirical validity of data collection results. By considering the distribution of time until discovery of the various types of homicide, it may be possible to produce an estimate of the minimum number of missing homicide victims at any particular point in time. And some homicide types are likely prone to lengthy concealment times while others are not.

Fourth, to date no empirical study of adult homicide victims has compared the probable specific body locations with a given type of disposal. For instance, if the body is dumped in the wilderness, what are the specific parameters that affect each body

disposal technique and location? What factors contribute to some locations being employed repeatedly? This repeated use sometimes leads particular locations to be labeled as dump sites (Mott, 1999; Streed, 1989). It is unknown whether offenders in unrelated cases choose common sites to dump victim bodies or that some ecological feature may encourage such behavior.

Generally, loss-recovery analysis might lead to greater number of bodies being recovered, thereby helping establish a better understanding of the scope of homicide victimization and increased case resolution resulting from quicker detection of victim remains.
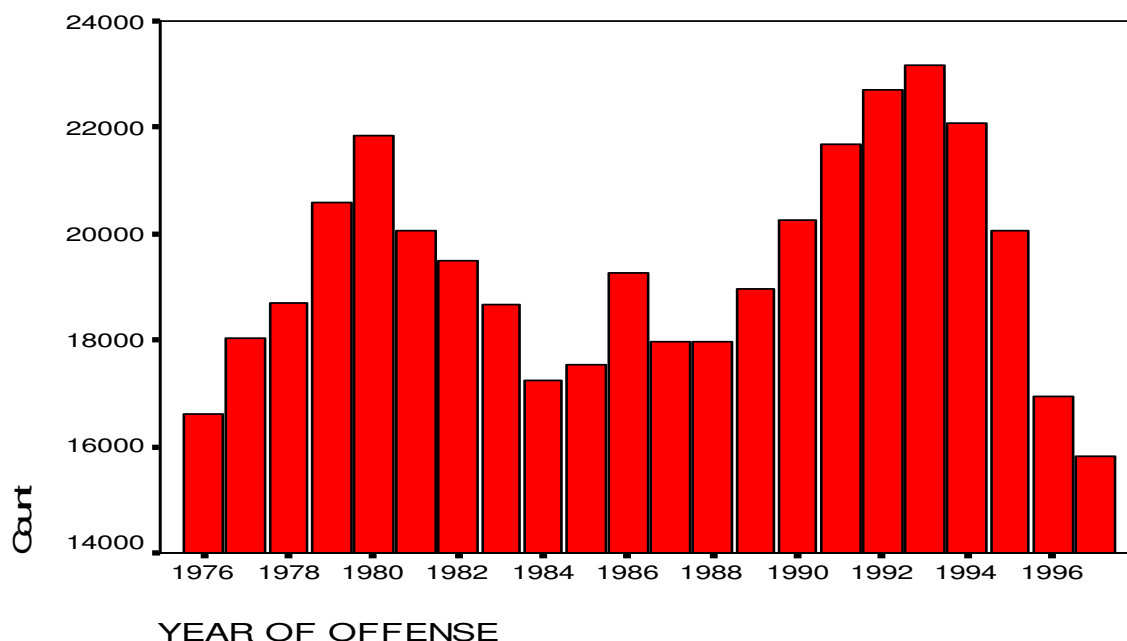
Data Validity

Accuracy and reliability of homicide data has long been a concern of homicide researchers (Riedel and Rinehart, 1996). Monkkonen (2001:1) explores the accuracy of homicide rates historically and asserts that missing data "can be accurately estimated" using a capture-recapture estimation developed by Eckberg in1998. This method is only accurate to the degree that a minimum number of missing cases can be estimated from the manifest sources. It can never provide the total number of or maximum number of missing homicide victims (Eckberg, 2001).

Exploratory work on this topic was conducted by Smith (2001). He observed that surges in the homicide rate occurred that were not easily explained and that were different from the consistent homicide rate. Babbie, a sociologist who specializes in research methods, says that we should expect social behavior to occur in patterned ways or with "social regularity" (25).

The following chart contains data from the Federal Bureau of Investigation's Supplemental Homicide Reports for the years 1976-1997. All cases of homicide as reported through the Uniform Crime Reporting System are represented for a total of 425,745 cases. These years contain records for homicides in which the bodies of homicide victims were recovered, thereby revealing the minimum known homicide cases for each year. What is not so apparent is that some years' counts fall below the pattern for the curve. Also be reminded that we are not looking at small numbers. For instance, the difference between 1983 and 1984 is 1,412 cases. 1995 through 1996 represents a steep decline that appears to in fact continue. The change from 1978 through 1979 is an increase of 1,877 cases, a significant spike in the pattern of increase.

Chart 1.1 Supplemental Homicide Report Incidents by Year of Offense

Another way to analyze this is to compare the change from one year to the next and highlight the deviation of a particular year from the mean. The mean changed from year to year was .28 percent. The range was from zero to .70. Years with zero change ranged from eight to 283 victims, indicating that these percentages represent significant adjustments from year to year. For example 1996 is a 3,097 reduction from 1995. Although a pattern of reduction in homicide was in process, the rate of drop is questionable and may very likely represent an indication of missing homicide victims.

Explanations for this variation are several. It could be that serial offenders are at work and we are seeing their result. Few (less than 40) serial offenders are thought to be killing at any one time in the United States (Reynolds, 1990), but Holmes and Holmes estimate the number closer to 200 (Holmes and Holmes, 1994). Whatever the number, serial cases tend to produce cases that are difficult to solve, in part due to delayed detection of the body.

False reports of murder should also be considered as this might shed light on unsubstantiated sources of missing cases. Smith (2001) referred to rumors of people being taken "down to the river." The role of these accounts might provide insight, if not into previous missing cases, then future ones as offenders innovate on past ideas.

Data Access

Little data exists to investigate the issue of missing homicide victims. Data is typically built on the discovery of the corpus delicti (victim's body). What we think of as data are actually investigational records of criminal acts and a body is generally necessary if a crime is to have occurred (Brody, Acker, Logan, 2001). So, data-set

construction of missing cases is unlikely to occur. Instead, I propose that data be collected on missing homicide victims whose remains have been recovered for the purpose of a loss recovery analysis.

How do we know missing homicide victims exist?

Evidence already exists to show that missing victims remain undiscovered, though no research has attempted to quantify their numbers. This proof rests in the occasional discovery of missing victims' bodies which have remained undetected for days, months, and even years. However, no accounting of the numbers of delayed discoveries has been undertaken, nor has any analysis of their loss or recovery been conducted.

A more difficult issue exists as we consider those victims that remain missing. We cannot prove that we have uncovered all missing victims. However, as time plays out the environment continues to yield up its dead. In various cases human remains are discovered incidentally to the search for another presumed homicide victim. A historical case in point was the massive search for three missing civil rights workers during Freedom Summer 1964 (Weisbrot, 1990). During this search, "four hundred sailors dredged nearby waters, a move that quickly recovered corpses of several blacks who had been shot" (113).

In Mason City, Iowa, a search for missing news anchor Jodi Huisentruit, who is believed to have been abducted and murdered, uncovered an additional body. Initially, authorities and others thought that the search for Huisentruit was over. But autopsy results showed that the remains were not hers (Collins and Furst, 2004). Although this appears to be rare, it does happen and points to the frequency of missing victim cases. She remains missing.

A third example is the recent abduction and killing of Jessica Lunsford in western Florida (CNN, 2005). While looking for this missing child (who later turned out to have been murdered) a body was discovered by fishermen in a nearby lake. She too turned out to be a murder victim. Given that the location was a lake, this particular victim probably would likely have been discovered whether they were looking for the first victim or not.

Identification of missing homicide victims is a retrospective process in which we cannot really know the condition of the present except as a reflection or repetition of the past. Human remains of many homicide victims likely remain concealed and undiscovered.

I propose that an estimation of the population of missing victims might be possible by determining the frequency distribution of various time-until-discovery intervals. I call this variable "delayed recovery" which I define as any homicide victim whose body or remains are not recovered by authorities for a period of more than 24 hours. I also propose that the delayed recovery interval may also point to a specific motive in the homicide case.

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OPEN DISCUSSION

Recorded by Kimberly A. Vogt, University of Wisconsin-La Crosse

Clearing Murders: Is It About Time?

Wendy Regoeczi, John P. Jarvis, and Marc Riedel

Discussion:

There has been very little work on murder clearances, there is controversy in the literature as to what leads to differences in clearance rates. Documentation and data collection are the keys for the detective and researcher. There is a greater likelihood that a homicide will be cleared sooner than other if the weapon used was a blunt object, "other" weapon, and a causal factor was an argument.

There are questions about what level of analysis using NIBRS data is appropriate for clearance analysis. Victim-level data or incidence-level data?

Becky Block argued that incidence-level data is best. Information gained at this level of analysis can be used by law enforcement. It speaks to the question being asked and research using the incidence level can demonstrate the utility of NIBRS for law enforcement.

Answer (John Jarvis) - We could use both

Gabrielle Salfati - When a case is solved, will the information get changed in NIBRS?

John Jarvis - If the case is solved within the two-year window for entering data- yes. If it happens after two years, there is information that is available to law enforcement after the two-year window has passed, where data can be entered.

Dwayne Smith - In the UCR the clearance is only reported if it happens in the year that the data are reported, not in a two-year window, correct?

Answer (John Jarvis) - Yes, NIBRS data are better because of the two-year window.

Dwayne Smith - Maybe it is just that it is taking longer to solve crimes than in the past. That clearance rates are really higher that reported in the UCR, it just takes longer to solve- 2-3 years.

Wendy Regoeczi - Clearance of justified homicides are also included in counts of clearances, increasing the percent solved.

Dwayne Smith - Exceptionally cleared homicides are also included.

Rebbecca Block - How did you treat exceptional clearances in this analysis? Chicago has a lot of exceptional clearances because they couldn't extradite people from Mexico. Exceptional clearances could change to cleared by arrest later.

Answer (John Jarvis) - Exceptionals were removed in this analysis. NIBRS does afford analysis of the exceptional clearances. However, the current analysis does not address

this. Additionally, the problem of flight of offenders to avoid prosecution is not a reporting category in exceptional clearance circumstances in NIBRS.

Vance McLaughlin - This could be a criterion problem- how people are being trained to investigate homicides. How detectives are trained may be influenced by police leadership (little or no training except on-the-job training).

Answer (John Jarvis) - Obviously these qualitative issues cannot be addressed with NIBRS.

Leonore Simon - Other crimes have different clearance rates. Have those clearance rates changed over time?

Answer (John Jarvis) - They vary similar to other person crimes (see our figure 2). However, the focus of this work was on homicide clearances.

Richard Block - Does the FBI do quality checks on whether clearance rates are being reported accurately to NIBRS?

Answer (John Jarvis) - Not yet, but they may be doing that some time in the future.

Joe Shulka - Physicians were strongly influenced by malpractice insurance to change their practices. Do you think that detectives that do not follow best practices should be sanctioned in some similar way?

Answer (John Jarvis) - Not following best practice? The police are always at risk of being sued, so in a way they are affected in some similar ways.

Clandestine Homicide Victims: Exploring for Missing Persons, Lost Bodies & Dead Spaces

Dallas Drake and Joseph Shulka

Rebecca Block - It might be a good idea not to limit data collection to people reported missing. Instead use "delayed recovery". For example, babies, newborns, found by accident are not reported missing. Prostitutes, the homeless, are not reported missing.

Answer (Dallas Drake) - With this preliminary data we can get ideas about how to think about the data and apply this knowledge toward understanding the 117 per 1,000 per year who are missing.

Richard Block - Delayed discovery has a lot more to do with the anonymity of the victims than the characteristics of the offender.

John Schulz - I see the problem as related to how the body is disposed of – buried, incinerated bodies are harder to discover than bodies that are not buried.

Gabrielle Salfati - The influencing factor is victims that are not missed. With prostitutes this is a serious problem. They are not reported missing; there is a lack of forensic evidence.

Answer (Dallas Drake) - An important variable for us to consider then is whether or not a person was ever reported missing.

Leonore Walker- How did you find cases? The ratio of female to male victims in your sample is disproportionate.

Answer (Dallas Drake)- We are still coding data for a representative sample of Minnesota homicides to use as a comparison. This study is a convenience sample to explore the possibility or viability of examining missing/delayed discovery homicides.

Rebecca Block - Information should be included on the dumpsite. There is, in spatial analysis research (Kim Rossmo, etc.) data on land/dumpsite use. Look in the GIS homicide literature and you will find this information.

CHAPTER SIX
HOMICIDE AND LAW ENFORCEMENT

Moderator: Christine Lanier, University of Delaware

Presenters:

A Case-by-Case Comparison of Police Justifiable Homicides and Legal Intervention
Homicides

  Marc Riedel, Southeastern Louisiana University, and David Rozhon, Southern

  Illinois University

Forming Research Partnerships with Law Enforcement: Using GPR to locate

Graves of Homicide Victims.

  John J. Schultz, University of Central Florida

Recorder: Dallas Drake, Center for Homicide Research

A CASE-BY-CASE COMPARISON OF POLICE JUSTIFIABLE HOMICIDES AND LEGAL INTERVENTION HOMICIDES[8]

Marc Riedel, Southeastern Louisiana University

David Rozhon, KMart Corporation

Justifiable homicides committed by police officers have consequences that go beyond the immediate loss of life. Because the intentional killing of citizens is done by an agent of government, many civil insurrections in the past one-hundred years have been caused or increased by police killings. In addition, police killing of citizens enhance the perception by citizens their lives are devalued. This, in turn, may reduce citizen cooperation in reporting and investigating crimes. As Loftin, Wiersema, McDowall, & Dobrin (2003 p. 1117) point out, the "ability to accurately assess the incidence and characteristics of justifiable homicides committed by police officers is central to the development and evaluation of policies that promote public health and safety."

Homicide, including justifiable homicide, is the only offense for which there are two nationwide reporting systems that gather detailed information on the entire population of events. The Uniform Crime Reporting Program of the FBI gathers data from police departments (or appropriate law enforcement agency) while the National Vital Statistics System (NVSS) of the National Center for Health Statistics collects death certificate data from county coroners or medical examiners.

There have been studies that compare the total number of cases classified as homicides by the UCR and NVSS at the national level (Cantor & Cohen, 1980; Hindelang, 1974; Riedel, 1999), state comparisons (Keppel, Weis, & LaMoria, 1990; Rokaw, Mercy, & Smith, 1990; Riedel & Regoeczi, 2005), and county comparisons (Wiersema, Loftin, & McDowall, 2000).

Literature Review

The purpose of the present study is to determine the extent to which justifiable homicides reported by police agree with legal intervention homicides reported by medical examiners or coroners. We have been able to find two studies that compared justifiable homicides with legal intervention homicides.

Sherman and Langworthy (1979) did not use Supplemental Homicide Reports (SHR) either at the state or national level. Instead, they used data generated from 13 police jurisdictions and compared it to death certificate data. Overall, there was more than 50% underreporting by VS data compared to police data in nine of the 13 nonrandomly chosen jurisdictions. In three jurisdictions, VS data exceed the number

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[8]This paper is a revision of a thesis: Rozhon, D. J. (2004). Legal intervention or police justifiable homicides : a study of deadly force in California. Southern Illinois University, Carbondale.

reported by the police and in one jurisdiction (Nebraska), the difference is three deaths over three years.

They also compared VS data to police homicides in 133 city-years from 36 jurisdictions of over 250,000 population. The correlation between the raw death counts was 0.64. With respect to the absolute differences between VS and an alternative data source (mostly police generated reports), the ratio of alternative data to VS is almost four to one although this ratio is influenced by two outliers, Houston (30.0) and Memphis (40.39). By contrast, eight cities show higher VS death counts than alternative death counts. With the exception of a small number of cities, the authors conclude the two data sets show roughly the same *pattern* of incidence, but given the correlation, a large amount of variation remains to be explained.

Loftin, Wiersema, McDowall, and Dobrin (2003) obtained SHR and VS data for 1976 through 1998. The date of 1976 was chosen because the SHR underwent a substantial revision one year earlier.

For the 23 year period, the SHR consistently reported more police justifiables than the VS. The authors estimate the number of police justifiables was 29% larger than VS estimates although the pattern was stable over time with a ratio of SHR to VS of 1.3. Loftin, et al (2003) also found SHR/VS ratios were higher among whites (1.2), blacks (1.5), and other races (1.0). Ratios for ten-year age groupings range from 1.0 for 60-69 to 1.4 for 10-19 and 20-29. The remaining two age groups had ratios of 1.2.

A different pattern was revealed when cases were stratified by state. Of the 50 states, 29 reported more VS cases than SHR cases. States having more SHR cases tended to have larger populations; the most prominent was California with 2295 SHR cases to 1180 VS cases, a ratio of 1.94.

The Present Study

The research reported here differs in three important respects from previous research. First, our study is limited to comparisons within a single state - California. Sherman and Langworthy (1979) report there may be variations in reporting defintions across different jurisdictions within and across states. By focusing on one state, this study eliminates variation resulting from different reporting definitions.

Second, the two previous studies relied upon data aggregated by location and time. In other words, police justifiables for the SHR for a given year and location were compared to legal intervention homicides for the same time and location to determine agreement. In the present study, data on a case-by-case basis is linked with a 0.93 probability so that comparisons are more precise and it is possible to use different levels of aggregation.

Finally, Sherman and Langworthy (1979) indicate that failure to record the police role in a killing may result from the close relationship between the local police and the medical examiner/coroner. A case study by Bradshaw (cited by Sherman and Langworthy, 1979, p. 549) showed that

[t]he coroner is enmeshed in the legal-political structure of the county in which he practices. This immersion places upon him certain informal controls which can be exercised to insure continuing cooperation between the Coroner, Sheriff, Prosecuting Attorney and the medical community. These informal restrictions may be as significant as the law in determining cause of death procedures.

While involvement with the police may lead medical examiners/coroners to omit police involvement, another of the forensic pathologists interviewed by the authors stated:

the ease of doing the job and serving the public in a medical examiner's or coroner's office largely depends upon the cooperation of the police. So it doesn't pay to antagonize the police unnecessarily. On the other hand, the doctors won't pull a cover-up job. When you sign the certificate, you have to put down homicide. You just may not put down the full background circumstances of death.

In addition to comparing the two data sources at the level of individual cases, we also decided to compare counties according to the extent to which the two data sources agreed in the classification of police justifiables. Thus, we compare two groups of counties: those in which the disagreement between the two sources is 70% or more and those in which the disagreement is 30% or less.

METHOD

Data

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 and in Van Court and Trent (2001). The SHR data set consists of 34,584 homicides investigated and reported to the California Criminal Justice Statistics Center from 1990-1999. The Department of Health Services provided the death records on a death statistical master file. Considering 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, performed 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, assigning a final probability to the success of the linkage. Each record from the SHR file was treated independently and permitted to match with any vital statistics record. Social security number, last name, first name, middle name, sex, age, date of homicide, date of injury, date of death, and county were used in the linkage process. Including the automated and manual linking that was performed, 32,163 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; these cases were not analyzed further.

Justifiable homicides by police (N =1077) were selected from the 1990-1998 linked file. The ending point of 1998 and the 9th ICD revisions were used because the 10th ICD revision was not fully implemented in the 1999 data. Justifiable homicides by police are defined as the killing of felons by police officers in the line of duty.

Most of the justifiable homicides by police consisted of felons attacking police officers (71.4%), followed by felons killed in the commission of crimes (22.5%). The remaining 66 cases (6.1%) were comprised of felons attacking police officers (9) attacking civilians (14), attempting flight (2), or resisting arrest (41).

Using The International Classification of Diseases, 9th Revision (Public Health Service, 1980), the 1077 justifiable homicides by police cases were classified as follows: 467 cases, or 43.4%, were classified as legal intervention by medical examiners or coroners. Of the remaining justifiable homicides, 587, or 54.5%, were classified as homicides by medical examiners or coroners. Only 26 cases, or 2.4%, were classified as accidents (17), suicides (7), or deaths in which the medical examiners or coroners could not decide whether the cause of death was accidental or intended (2). Legal intervention injuries are those "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." (http://gamma.wustl.edu/ division/icd9tbp.pdf, 2005, p 741)

Variables

The dependent variable was whether the cases was coded in the same way by police and medical examiners or coroners. Because we were interested in the variables that accounted for differences between classifications, we coded cases of disagreement as "1" and cases of agreement as "0."   The following variables were used in the analysis.

Number of victims and *gender* were not included in the logistic analysis because the number of female victims and those with more than one victim was very small. *Race*, using the SHR variable, was dummy coded into white, Latinos, blacks, and others; white was treated as the reference category. *Education* was dummy coded into elementary (0-8), high school (9-12), and college (13 or more); college was the reference category. *Marital status* was dummy coded into single, married, and otherwise unmarried with single being the reference category. *Location* was coded into private inside, private outside, and public outside with private inside as the reference category. Finally *weapons* was divided into handguns, long guns, other firearms, and other weapons; other firearms was the reference category. *Age of the victim* was treated as a continuous variable.

Because previous research indicated a few instances in which there were more legal intervention homicides than justifiable homicides by police, we examined the extent to which that was true in the present data set (Table 1).

Table 1: Vital Statistics Classification by SHR Homicide Classifications

Vital Statistics (ICD9)	Homicides						Total
	Police Justifiable			Other Homicides			
	Cell	Freq	Pct.	Cell	Freq	Pct.	
Homicides	A	587	54.5	B	28515	97.8	29102
Legal Interventions	C	467	43.4	D	22	0.1	489
Others	E	23	2.1	F	606	2.1	629
Total		1077	100.0		29143	100.0	30220

Table 1 shows that in the linked file, there are very few legal intervention homicides that are also classified as other homicides. Cell "D" shows that there are only 22 cases that are legal intervention homicides by VS, but called homicides by SHR.
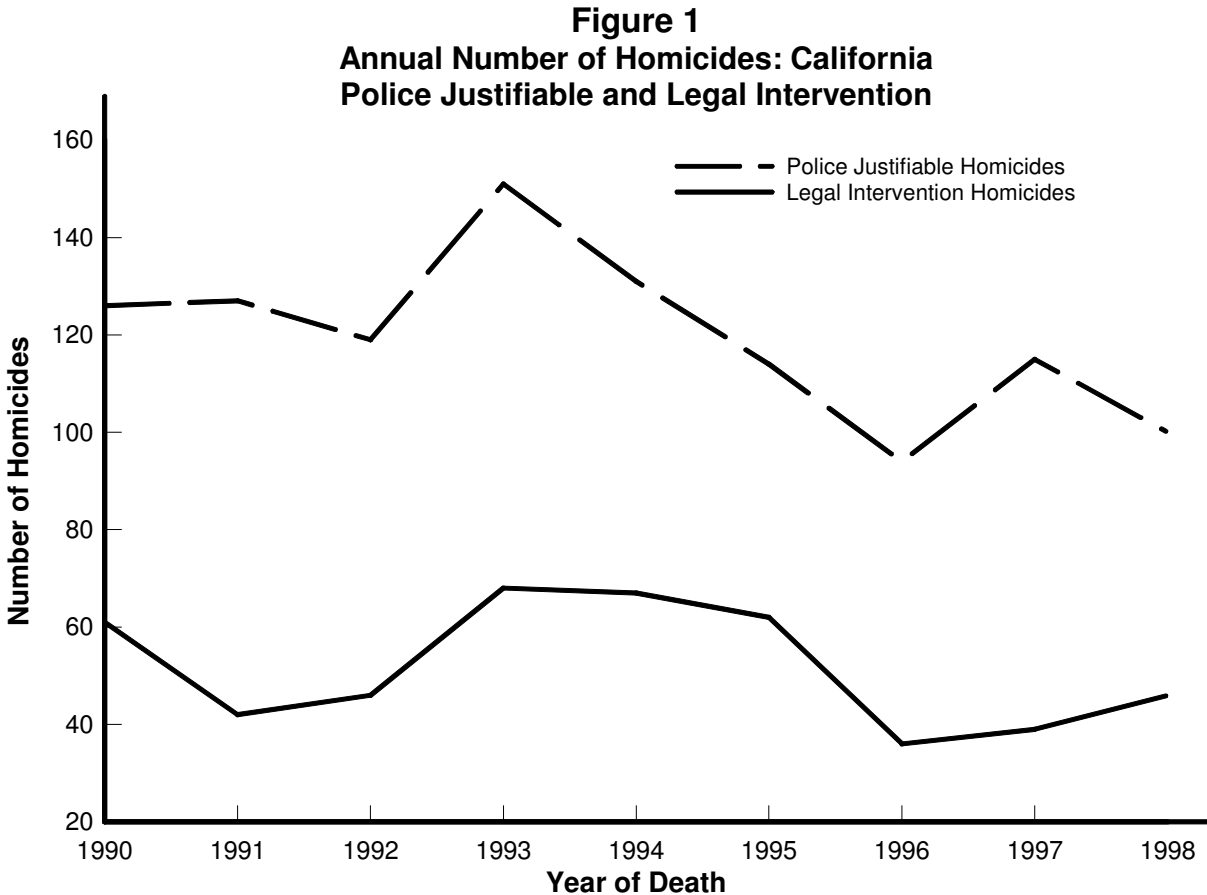
Cell "C" shows there are only 467 legal intervention homicides that are also classified as justifiable homicides by the police. For the logistic analysis these 467 cases are defined as agreement and given a code of "0."

Cell "A" are 587 cases that are classified as homicides by VS, but police justifiables by the SHR. Similarly, Cell "E" are 23 cases classified as Others (mostly accidents) by VS and police justifiables by the SHR. Cell "A" and cell "E" are 610 cases that are defined and combined as disagreement in the logistic analysis and give a code of "1." The total number of cases (30220) does not includes cases for the 1999 year for reasons discussed previously.

Research by Loftin, et al (2003) plotted 23 year time series of SHR and VS cases of justifiable homicide by police and legal intervention and found that SHR overreported justifiable homicides. Although we have only nine years of data, Figure 1 gives the number of SHR and VS homicide.

Loftin et al (2003) found that California was one of the states with the largest ratio (1.94) of SHR to VS reports of justifiable homicides. Analysis of annual differences between the two data sources shown in Figure 1 ranges from 1.84 in 1995 to 3.02 in

1991 with very little discernable trend. The mean indicates over two times (2.38) as many SHR cases as VS cases during the nine year period with a standard deviation of 0.43.

Figure 1
Annual Number of Homicides: California
Police Justifiable and Legal Intervention

Analysis of Cases

Bivariate Analysis

We eliminated from further analyses 12 counties that had only one justifiable homicide in the nine year period. To explore bivariate relationships and select variables for logistic regression, we crosstabulated race, education, marital status, location, and weapon. A t-test was done on age of victims. Of the five variables, only race, marital status, and age was significant. Table 2 gives the association for race.

Table 2: Agree-Disagree by Race/Ethnicity

	White	Latino	Black	Other	Total
Agree	50.6	37.8	36.6	51.0	456
Disagree	49.4	62.2	63.4	49.0	608
Total	387	389	235	53	1064

$$X^2 = 18.8 \quad p < 0.05$$

Table 2 indicates that among the 387 white cases and 53 cases of other races, approximately half are in the agree category. By contrast, among 389 Latino cases and 235 black cases, over 60% are in the disagree category. The chi-square is significant ($X^2 = 18.8$, $p < 0.05$). On the basis of the bivariate analysis, approximately 60% are accounted for by Latino and black victims.

Table 3: Agree-Disagree by Marital Status

	Single	Married	Otherwise Unmarried	Total
Agree	46.0	39.6	52.1	446
Disagree	54.0	60.4	47.9	591
Total	272	617	148	1037

$$X^2 = 8.9 \quad p < 0.05$$

Table 3 indicates that among 272 single victims 54% are in the disagree category. Of the 148 "Otherwise unmarried" (widowed, divorced) victims, 47.9% made up the disagree category. The largest disagree category belonged to 617 married victims (60.4%). The chi-square was significant ($X^2 = 8.9$, $p < 0.05$).

The t-test for age was significant ($t = 3.06$, $p < 0.05$) (See Table 4). Those victims in which police and medical examiners/coroners disagree as to their classification are significantly younger. The mean ages for the disagreement category is 30.0 while for the agreement category, it is 32.0.

Table 4: t-test of Victim Age

Variable	N	Mean	S.D.	t test
Agree	457	32.0	10.6	t = 3.06
				p < 0.05
Disagree	608	30.0	10.5	

Logistic Regression

Five dummy variables of race and marital status plus the age variable were entered into the logistic equation. The results are given in Table 5.

Table 5: Logistic Regression of Police Justifiables and Legal Intervention Homicides

Variable	B	S.E.	Odds Ratio	Pct.
Latino	0.508*	0.152	1.662	66.2
Black	0.493*	0.176	1.637	63.7
Other	-0.066	0.296	0.936	-6.4
Age	-0.008	0.007	0.920	-8.0
Married	0.138	0.161	1.148	14.8
Otherwise Unmarried	-0.165	0.209	0.848	-15.2

*p < 0.05

The likelihood ratio for the 1036[9] observations was 27.5 (p < 0.05). The BIC' measure was equal to 14.183 indicating a good fit (Raftery, 1995)

Table 5 indicates that significant disagreement in classification exists for black and Latino victims. In comparison to white victims, the odds of disagreement for Latino victims increase by 66.2%. Similarly, the odds of disagreement for black victims increase by 63.7%.

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[9]The number of cases for the total population as well as cases in which felons attacked police and felons killed in commission of crimes will differ slightly from earlier numbers because all counties with only one case were omitted and because of missing values.

In addition to using the total number of justifiable homicides by police, we did a similar bivariate and logistic analysis using only the cases in which felons attacked police (N = 762) with similar results. The only significant coefficients were for Latino and black victims. We also did a logistic analysis on the 237 cases in which felons were killed in commission of a crime; none of the chi-squares were significant and the likelihood ratio was not significant.

The finding in this study that many more blacks and Latino victims are reported by police in comparison to medical examiners/coroners partially consistent with the research by Loftin et al (2003) using national data. They found many more white, black and other race cases reported by police as justifiable in comparison to legal intervention classification by medical examiners/coroners.

An Analysis of Counties

Bivariate Analysis

As indicated earlier, one hypothesis is that there is, for political reasons, a high amount of agreement between police departments and county offices of medical examiners on classifying homicides as justifiable and due to legal intervention. To test that hypothesis, we created two groups: those counties with a 70% or more agreement between the two classifications and counties with 30% or less agreement. To be consistent with earlier coding, the latter high disagreement was code "1" and the low disagreement (or high agreement) was code "0."

There were six counties with high levels of disagreement and 531 cases. With respect to high levels of agreement, there were 15 counties and 311 cases. As before, we cross tabulated the county agreement variable with the variables mentioned earlier.

Table 6: Agree-Disagree by Race/Ethnicity

Counties	White	Latino	Black	Other	Total
Agree	51.2	32.6	21.2	45.9	310
Disagree	48.8	67.4	78.8	54.0	531
Total	287	319	198	371	841

$$X^2 = 50.0 \quad p < 0.05$$

The crosstabulations by high and low counties served to sharpen existing relationships, but not introduce any new ones. Table 6 indicates that among 287 white and 198 victims of other races, the disagreement was the lowest, almost 49% and 54% respectively. Among 319 Latino and 198 black victims, however, the disagreement was 67.4% and 78.8%, much higher than indicated in data used in Table 5.

Table 7: Agree-Disagree by Marital Status

Counties	Single	Married	Otherwise Unmarried	Total
Agree	41.5	33.2	46.8	304
Disagree	58.4	66.8	53.2	515
Total	207	503	109	819

$$X^2 = 9.4 \quad p < 0.05$$

Table 7 gives county disagree-agree bivariate relationships for marital status. As with Table 3, 503 maried victim have the highest (66.8%) in the disagreement category with 207 single victims (58.4%) and 109 otherwise unmarried (53.2) victims following.

Table 8: test of Victim Age

Counties	N	Mean	S.D.	t test
Agree	311	32.1	10.7	t = 2.97p < 0.05
Disagree	531	29.9	10.5	

Table 8 gives the results of the t test. The table shows that victims in the disagree category were much younger (29.9) than those in the agree category (32.1).

Logistic Regression

  The race, age, and marital status variables were the only ones significant. Table 9 gives the results of the logistic regression.

Table 9: Logistic Regression of High and Low Disagreement Counties for Police Justifiables and Legal Intervention Homicides

Variable	B	S.E.	Odds Ratio	Pct.
Latino	0.775*	0.174	2.172	117.2
Black	1.307*	0.216	3.696	269.6
Other	0.172	0.354	1.188	18.8
Age	-0.006	0.008	0.939	-0.6
Married	0.183	0.188	1.201	20.1
Otherwise Unmarried	-0.137	0.249	0.872	-12.8

*p < 0.05

The likelihood ratio was 57.15 which was significant (p < 0.05). The BIC' also indicated an adequate model fit (-16.906)

Results of the logit were very similar to earlier analyses. As Table 9 indicates, the amount of disagreement for Latinos and blacks is significant. In comparison to whites, the odds of disagreement for Latino victims increase by 117.2% while the odds of disagreement for black victims increase by 269.6%.

Conclusions

The results of this study consistently indicate that justifiable homicides by police are overreported. Using the mean of 2.38, over twice as many police justifiable homicides as legal intervention homicides. Second, when agreement by cases is examined, police and medical examiners/coroners agree in their classifications only 43.4% of the time. Third, there are only 22 cases classified as legal intervention and not as police justifiables.

Finally, when compared to a binary variable of whether the classifications agreed, relatively few variables were found to be significant in a bivariate analysis: white, black, Latino, married, otherwise unmarried, and younger victims.

Several logistic regressions were done. In all cases, we eliminated counties with one or less police justifiable homicide. In the first logit, we examined all cases while in a

second logit we focused only those cases in which a felon attacked the police. In both logits, the significant coefficients indicated that black and Latino victims were accounting for the disagreement in classifications.

An alternative approach was to divide the counties into high and low disagreement and use that variable as a dependent variable in a logit. We found the same results: black and Latino victims were accounting for the disagreement in classifications. While there are some minor differences, the results found here are not inconsistent with the results shown by Loftin, et al (2003) in their 23 year national analysis of SHR and VS data.

The finding, replicated in several different ways, that a very large percent of Latinos and blacks are reported as justifiable homicides by police, but not as legal interventions by medical examiners/coroners is surprising. The analysis by counties does not uncover different results.

One speculative conclusion is that the large number of homicides involving minorities reported as justifiable by police is one way for police officers to avoid criminal liability. Of course, relatives of the victims would have legal recourse and the fact that in many of these cases, the medical examiner/coroner would not agree with the police decision would seem to shift the legal burden to the police. On the other hand, we have to consider that because many of the victims are minorities, their families may not have the resources to pursue legal alternatives or the faith to believe that if they did so, the police would be found legally accountable.

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FORMING RESEARCH PARTNERSHIPS WITH LAW ENFORCEMENT: USING GPR TO LOCATE GRAVES OF HOMICIDE VICTIMS

John J. Schultz, Ph.D., University of Central Florida.

Abstract

Ground-penetrating radar (GPR) is a geophysical tool that is now being utilized by law enforcement to search for buried homicide victims. This equipment is used by pulling an antenna that is emitting electromagnetic waves into the ground. When the waves encounter areas of contrasting properties, such as a grave or metallic object, the imagery is captured by the equipment as an anomaly; this is not an exact picture of the buried object in the ground but an indication that something is buried. A partnership was recently formalized with the Orange County Sheriff's Office in Florida and the Department of Sociology and Anthropology at the University of Central Florida for the purpose of purchasing GPR equipment. The equipment will be used to search for buried homicide victims and buried weapons used in crimes. The Sheriff also provided access to secure land to conduct research that will include burying weapons and constructing controlled graves so they can be monitored with GPR and metal detectors. The research will provide important guidelines and background data that will enhance the effectiveness of actual searches for buried homicide victims and weapons. The purpose of this presentation is to discuss the importance of forming partnerships with local law enforcement agencies to pool resources for homicide research. I will use my GPR research as a case example.

Introduction

Ground-penetrating radar (GPR) is a geophysical tool that has become a valuable search option for forensic investigators. This equipment is now routinely used in conjunction with other search methods to search for clandestine buried bodies and forensic evidence, and to clear suspected areas where a body is thought to have been buried so investigations can be directed elsewhere. The use of GPR for forensic searches has gained in popularity for a number of reasons. The data is presented in real-time and results are immediately available in the field. This technology has the best resolution out of all the geophysical methods used on land and depth of subsurface features can be estimated somewhat accurately. Also, this technology is a non-invasive or non-destructive search method that preserves the scene. Therefore, pre-excavation testing can provide forensic investigators with an undisturbed view of subsurface features to target specific areas for further testing.

The purpose of this paper is to discuss how a partnership was formed with local law enforcement to purchase GPR equipment to be used for forensic research and forensic cases. Before discussing the details of the partnership and the reason for forming the partnership, it is first important to explain what GPR is and how it works, and then to explain how GPR is used for forensic applications.

GPR Methodology

Standard GPR systems consist of a control unit, an antenna containing a transmitter and a receiver, and a display monitor that can also be a laptop. Antenna frequencies ranging from 400- to 500-MHz are appropriate for most forensic and archeological applications because they provide an excellent compromise between depth of penetration and resolution of subsurface features (Schultz et al. 2002, Schultz 2003). The equipment can be configured a number of ways. All of the components can be integrated into a cart that can be pushed while performing a survey. The antenna can be hand pulled while performing a survey with the monitor secured to the body via a harness (Figure 1), or the monitor can be placed at a fixed location while the antenna is hand pulled.
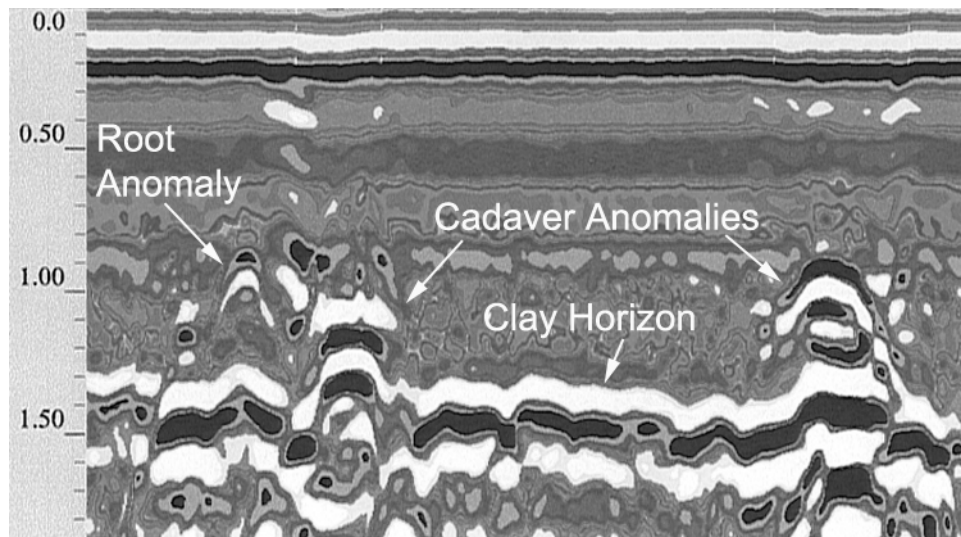
Figure 1. The author using a GPR unit at a forensic search by hand pulling the antenna across a grid.

The purpose of a conducting a GPR survey for a buried body is to detect an anomaly that is recognized as an area of contrasting properties in the soil. As the antenna is pulled over the ground surface, it is emitting continuous electromagnetic pulses of short duration downward into the ground. When the signal penetrates the subsurface, it will be reflected and scattered as it encounter materials of contrasting properties (e.g., changes in conductivity, density, and voids). The GPR antenna will receive the returning reflected waves and a cross-sectional picture of the subsurface is

generated from the composite of the reflected waves along a grid line or transect that is displayed on the monitor.

Figure 2. Ground-penetrating radar profile using the 500-MHz antenna of two buried pig cadavers. The left hand margin represents depth in meters. Note the hyperbolic shape produced from the two decomposing cadavers that terminates inferiorly at the distinctive reflection of the clay horizon.

In forensic contexts, clandestine graves can be detected due to a number of variables including the buried remains, disturbed ground, and nonbiologic items that are added to the grave or used to wrap the body (Schultz et al. 2002, Schultz 2003). Ground-penetrating radar imagery does not produce a picture of a buried body or skeleton, but rather a general image of an anomaly is displayed, which represents an area of contrasting properties in the soil. An anomaly for a grave or buried body may appear as a hyperbolic shape (Figure 2) that results from the wide angle of the transmitted radar beam. Also, depending on the soil type, a burial may be located when soil disturbances are detected. However, it is almost impossible to determine the particular object that produces an isolated anomaly without invasive testing such as excavating.

Application of GPR for Detecting Graves or Bodies

The applicability of using GPR for forensic contexts was first demonstrated with controlled research. These studies consist of burying a large mammal, most often a pig cadaver, used as a surrogate for a human body, and then to detect and monitor the buried bodies for some length of time (e.g., France et al. 1992, France et al. 1997, Schultz et al. 2002, Schultz 2003). This research has been vital in demonstrating that GPR is the most important geophysical tool used to delineate graves (France et al. 1992; France et al. 1997), and controlled research provides invaluable experience searching for buried bodies. Finally, controlled studies are very important in different

areas of the country because soil types and environments will significantly affect GPR performance.

Forensic GPR Case

The following case will be discussed only briefly because it is still active. During December of 2003, the Orange County Sheriff's Office (OCSO) in Florida requested my assistance with a body search. The sheriff asked if I would be available to perform a GPR survey because a number of tips suggested a body may have been buried under a cement slab of a residential home. Unfortunately, I did not have GPR equipment that was locally available at that time. However, I was able to borrow GPR equipment from an out of town colleague to use for this case.

Upon arriving at the home with detective and crime scene personnel from the OCSO, we noted that there were concrete slabs in two areas of the backyard. The first survey I performed was over one of the concrete slabs. I was able to demonstrate that a body was not buried under the slab and therefore I eliminated this area from further searching. Next I performed a GPR survey in the garage and I was able to show that in the area where the cement had been repaired, the ground had been disturbed and the disturbance was large enough to contain a buried body. After the concrete slab was removed and the soil was excavated, the skeleton was uncovered at a depth between 2 to 3 feet.

Forming the Research Partnership

This GPR case identified an obvious need to have this equipment locally. There are two important issues concerning acquiring GPR equipment: the high cost of the equipment and an experienced operator that is available. For most law enforcement departments, it is cost prohibitive to purchase GPR equipment for their crime scene investigation units. Depending on the GPR manufacturer, a complete outfit that can be used for forensics and archaeology will generally begin in the mid-$20,000 range to more than $40,000. Since GPR is a piece of equipment that can only be used for certain types of searches, it is not possible for law enforcement agencies to purchase this equipment because it is only used occasionally for searches.

The next issue, concerning purchasing GPR equipment is having a trained and experienced operator readily available to perform GPR surveys. A GPR operator needs to know how to operate the equipment and the software used to view the data files. All the GPR data is saved so that each file can be viewed at a later time and images of the files can be created to use in reports, court, publications, etc. A GPR survey performed for forensic contexts must be a controlled survey performed in the same manner as a survey conducted in an archaeological context where GPR transects are collected over a grid that utilizes appropriate spacing between transects.

In the fall of 2004, a partnership was formalized, with a memorandum of understanding, between the OCSO and the Department of Sociology and Anthropology in the College of Arts at the University of Central Florida. The primary purpose of the partnership was for the OCSO and College of Arts and Sciences to pool monetary

resources to purchase GPR equipment. The equipment will be used to search for buried homicide victims and buried weapons used in crimes. The Sheriff also provided access to secure land to conduct research that will include burying weapons and constructing controlled graves so they can be monitored with GPR and metal detectors. The research will provide important guidelines and background data that will enhance the effectiveness of actual searches for buried homicide victims and weapons in central Florida.

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OPEN DISCUSSION

Recorded by Dallas Drake, Center for Homicide Research

A Case-by-Case Comparison of Police Justifiable Homicides and Legal Intervention Homicides

Marc Riedel, Southeastern Louisiana University, and David Rozhon, Southern Illinois University

Roland Chilton: You're using somebody else's data?

Marc Riedel: Yeah.

Roland Chilton: Isn't a civilian also classified as a Justifiable Homicide?

Marc Riedel: Yeah, that's another category entirely.

Richard Block: Where did you get your data?

Marc Riedel: Reports to the Criminal Justice Center in Sacramento.

Richard Block: Are there cases where cases were found by the medical examiner but the police didn't rule it a homicide?

Marc Riedel: All cases come in through the police.

Richard Block: They come into the system at different points.

Lenore Simon: Does your data include identification of Police Departments?

Marc Riedel: Yes.

Marc Riedel: Two avenues are not explored, some avenues have a sheriff/coroner system.

Roland Chilton: Does your data show medical examiners have half of police justifiables as homicides?

Marc Riedel: Yes.

Roland Chilton: You ought to come out with a more forceful conclusion.

Lenore Simon: Do your data include civilians?

Marc Riedel: No.

Becky Block: To learn of the definition we contact police departments and ask them.

Forming Research Partnerships with Law Enforcement: Using GPR to locate Graves of Homicide Victims.

John J. Schultz, University of Central Florida

Kathleen Heidi: If you just had an abduction case, would it be paracticle for you to just go through an area, like an open field?

John Shultz: No, its useless, even when cadaver dogs are used. Digital photos are useful.

CHAPTER SEVEN
CRIME SCENE ANALYSIS OF HOMICIDE
USING THE HOMICIDE PROFILING INDEX I

Moderator: C. Gabrielle Salfati, John Jay College of Criminal Justice

Presenters:

The Homicide Profiling Index (HPI) – A Tool for Measurements of Crime Scene Behaviors, Victim Characteristics, and Offender Characteristics.
   C. Gabrielle Salfati, John Jay College of Criminal Justice

A Behavioral Comparison of Single and Serial Homicide.
   Steve Hoover and C. Gabrielle Salfati, John Jay College of Criminal Justice

Recorder: Scott Rasmussen, Center for Homicide Research

THE HOMICIDE PROFILING INDEX (HPI) – A TOOL FOR MEASUREMENTS OF CRIME SCENE BEHAVIORS, VICTIM CHARACTERISTICS, AND OFFENDER CHARACTERISTICS

C. Gabrielle Salfati, Ph.D., John Jay College of Criminal Justice

Abstract

A number of authors have stressed the need to standardize classification systems as they are applied to homicide. Common classification systems across studies would greatly enhance our ability to interpret findings from multiple studies and thereby advance our knowledge regarding the causes and correlates of homicide. In order to achieve this, we need a standard tool to measure the components upon which these classification systems are based, which is thorough, useful, valid, and reliable.

Currently, there are many approaches to collect data, and there are a number of databases which each have their own variables. However, the common problem with most of these, is the lack of descriptions for each measurement to help researchers code each measure reliably, and so reducing any possibilities for comparisons of data from different systems. There is also a scarcity of variables that include pertinent details useful for profiling and crimes scene classification, notably the actions of the offender at the time of the crime, the nature of the victims, and the characteristics of the offender.

The Homicide Profiling Index aims to outline a detailed protocol which gives guidelines on how to measure and record the key variables used in the literature on homicide crime scene analysis. Reliability testing and of future developments of the HPI for research as well as for law enforcement will also be discussed.

Background

A number of authors have stressed the need to standardize classification systems as they are applied to homicide. In particular, Flewelling and Williams (1999) state that common classification systems across studies would greatly enhance our ability to interpret findings from multiple studies and thereby advance our knowledge regarding the causes and correlates of homicide. In order to achieve this, we need a standard tool to measure the components upon which these classification systems are based, which is thorough, useful, valid, and reliable.

In order to achieve standardization in measurement and classification of homicide, we need a standard tool which is thorough, detailed, useful, valid, and reliable, and which can be applied to work done in a variety of theoretical frameworks.

Currently, there are many approaches to collect data, and there are a number of databases which each have their own variables. However, the common issue with most of these, is the inclusion only of a certain number of variables, mostly demographic ones, and a lack of more detailed information. There is also a scarcity of variables that include pertinent details useful for profiling and crime scene classification, notably the

actions of the offender at the time of the crime, the nature of the victims, and the characteristics of the offender. Most systems also include different types of variables, and types of cases, thereby also reducing any possibilities for comparisons of data from different systems.

In addition, many of the current data collections tools do not have clear definitions of what constitutes each of the items or variables contained within the tool. Indeed, this has been found to be a common problem in much of the research, and recent studies (e.g. Canter, Alison, Alison and Wentink, 2004, Canter and Wentink, 2004) which have attempted to replicate earlier classification systems, notably the Organised/Disorganised typology proposed by Ressler, Burgess, and Douglas (1988), and the model by Holmes and Holmes (1996), have run into great methodological and conceptual problems.

The initial problems identified by these studies has been the theoretical, and consequently, methodological frameworks the original studies on profiling have used. Notably, most of these studies rely on motivational or internal cognitive and psychological features of the offenders as some of the key components of their classification systems. Although pertinent to the area of psychology, the obvious problem with this is that these motivational components are not only difficult to assess, but are also difficult to measure in an objective and reliable way.

Because of these problems, there have been earlier coding frameworks proposed by the author to create an objective measurement tool to measure the actions as they occur at the crime scene (see Salfati and Canter, 1999; Salfati, 1998; 2000).

The suggestion is that behaviors should be the focus of any development of classification systems to be used for profiling, since these are what are first and foremost observable at the crime scene. As an observable unit of analysis they are more objective at the first stage of interpretation. Secondly, using observable data at the crime scene will produce a more readily applicable model for police investigators who will be able to more directly use the results of the research in investigations of murder.

This dictionary of behaviors created for this purpose has been found useful to construct behavioral models of crime scene behaviors (Salfati and Canter, 1999; Salfati, 2000; Salfati, 2003) and the tool has been used by a number of different researchers in an attempt to replicate these earlier studies (e.g. Salfati and Haratsis, 2001; Salfati and Bateman, 2005; Santilla, Elfgren, and Hakkanen, 2001).

Latest developments

Since this early work on classification systems, the work has moved forwards to deal with focusing on the more detailed components of the crime to gain a deeper understanding of the actions of the offender at the crime scene. For this purpose, a number of new measures have been identified from the literature and from currently used crime scene coding frameworks, as well as from the theoretical literature, and all of these have been extensively defined to increase the definitions of each variable for ease of use in data collection.

More extensive and detailed demographic descriptions of both victims and offenders has also been identified and have been added.

In addition, although this early coding dictionary provided the foundations towards a more empirical basis for measuring crime scene behaviors and developing classification systems based on these measures, it does not take into account the motivational features which much of the literature suggests is important in order to understand the dynamics of homicide. In order for early motivational models to be tested and replicated, there is a need to include these factors, as the published work on motivations do not provide clear guidelines for measurements, and as such the work stands untested. The biggest challenge here is to develop tight definitions of motivational issues that can be validly and reliably measured.

These developments have led to the creation of the Homicide Profiling Index, which includes a detailed number of behavioral indicators of crime scene actions, as well as measurements of motivational factors, and detailed demographics of both the victim and the offender.

The Homicide Profiling Index (HPI)

The Homicide Profiling Index aims to outline a detailed protocol which gives guidelines on how to measure and record the key variables used in the literature on homicide crime scene analysis. The current paper aims to outline the construction and reliability testing of the HPI, and in the process highlight key methodological issues relating to data collection which are pertinent to the homicide field as a whole.

The HPI is aimed to be used mainly with police files of homicide, and currently contains a coding dictionary of 209 variables, which encompasses indicators of crime scene actions, as well as measurements of motivational factors, and detailed demographics of both the victim and the offender. Each variable has a detailed description and guidelines that coders follow in order to reliably code the presence of the variable. Likert-scale measures have been avoided and all variables are constructed so that measurements are in strictly defined categorical categories such as Present, Absent, or Unknown. The dictionary also includes qualitative variables that allows for more specific details to be recorded for some of the variables. And finally, the HPI allows for the collection of both single offences and serial offences.

Below is a brief description of the different sub-categories of variables included in the dictionary

- Identifiers, e.g. case number, number of offenders, number of victims
- Timing, e.g. the date the body of victim was found, the estimated date the victim killed
- Location, e.g. the location of the body of the victim
- Forensic, e.g. Whether forensic trace evidence was present

- Theft behaviors, e.g. whether property had been stolen, and if so a description of the property stolen

- Crime scene variables – behavioral evidence of whether preparatory actions were taken before crime,or if the offender spent time at the crime scene

- Control, e.g. evidence of binding, gagging, blindfold

- Weapons, e.g. whether the offender used a weapon from the scene, or brought a weapon to the scene

- Wounding – types of wounding such as wounding by a blunt object, manual wounding such as hitting, kicking, punching, stabbing, et.

- Wounding – exact body location and extent of wounding, e.g. torso – front, torso – back, pelvic region, face, multiple wounds distributed, multiple wounds one area

- Sexual, e.g. overt sexual behaviors, motivation

- Motivation as gained from the offender themselves, or from the notes in the case file, e.g. Sexual, Personal Financial, Conflict

- Precipitating factors, e.g. alcohol use, verbal argument/disagreement, physical fight/altercation, loss of employment

- Post mortem – activities, e.g. cleaning the body, dismemberment, transporting the body away from the original crime scene, hiding the body, deliberate positioning of body, etc.

- Geography, e.g. distance traveled between home and crime scene

- Post-crime behavior, e.g.whether the offender turned themselves in to the police, attempted suicide, injected themselves into the investigation, re-visited the crime scene, etc.

- Victim & offender characteristics, e.g. gender, age race, occupation, physical look, vulnerabilities

- Prior offenses of the offender, e.g. offences against person, offences against property

- Victim-offender relationship, e.g. whether they were strangers, knew each other, and if so in what capacity, e.g. acquainted , past/present relationship, or blood related

The reliability testing of the HPI

In order to test the reliability of the HPI, a number of inter-rater reliability testings have been done, and are still ongoing. The current paper will outline some of the first sets of results to date and the implications of these on the modifications of the HPI.

In order to test the reliability of the individual components of the HPI, a team or researchers were trained on the HPI, and trained on data coding issues. A number of tests were done, and the below is an example of one of these tests.

Four groups of coders, each composed of 3 coders, were given the same 5 cases within each group, but each group had different cases. Coders did not confer with each other during coding, and did not compare results until all coding had been done. Once all coding had been completed, coders compared results by looking at which variables they had coded differently. Any variable that was coded the same by all coders were given an X. Any variables that was coded differently by one or more coders, was marked with a Y (see below table). Across each group, if any variable had been given a Y, it was considered an unreliable variable, and summarised as such in the summary at the end of the table (see below.)

		Variable 1	Variable 2	Variable 3	Etc…
Case 1	Coder 1	1	0	0	
	Coder 2	1	0	0	
	Coder 3	1	0	0	
		X	X	X	
Case 2	Coder 1	1	0	0	
	Coder 2	1	0	0	
	Coder 3	1	1	0	
		X	Y	X	
Case 3	Coder 1	0	1	1	
	Coder 2	0	0	1	
	Coder 3	0	1	1	
Summary		X	Y	X	

Based on the summary, and discounting any non-dichotomous variable (i.e. qualitative variables), a totally inter-rater reliability score (IRR) was calculated. The score on in this particular IRR was 60.3%, showing that just under two-thirds of the variables were not coded in the same way, in other words, were unreliable.

In a previous IRR study on the HPI base don the results by 5 coders, the actual reasons for the inconsistency in coding was investigated.

For the 209 variables contained in the HPI, there were 1035 fields, or actual coding possibilities, as each question contained several possible answers. Of these, 955 were dichotomous variables.

Four main error groups were found, and these are outlined below.

1. In a number of cases there was disagreement regarding whether a variable was to be coded as missing (999) or as not present (0). Often this was difficult to determine, especially as it was difficult to find corroborating evidence in the file that specifically stated that something *did not* happen. Because of this, many coders would code something as not present because of its face validity. An example could be for a case where the victim was a 4-year old child, and where one of the questions asked whether the victim was a drug dealer. It makes sense to assume that the child was not a drug dealer, and so code it as a 'no'. However, the HPI specifically asks for variables to be coded as 'not known' unless the file explicitly states that the variable is *not* present. The reason for this is that an indication of what information is missing will allow researchers to feed back to the police what information needs to be more explicitly stated in the file in order for reliable research to be done on information in police files. Of the 955 possible answers, 153 were erroneously coded by the 5 coders. This constitutes an error rate of 16% (all percents rounded up/down to nearest full number) across all variables, and 42% of all the errors as a whole.

2. The most serious error occurred when there was disagreement between whether a variable was present in the file (1) or missing (999)/not present (0). This error occurred in 144 of the 955 possible answers, which constitutes 15% of all variables, and 39% of all errors.

3. The other serious error was when there was a disagreement in allocation of a variable to a category in a multi-category variable. This error occurred in 43 of the 955 possible answers, which constitutes 4% of all variables, and 12% of all errors.

4. Some minimal human error was also observed. This error occurred in 27 of the 955 possible answers, which constitutes 3% of all variables, and 7% of all errors.

In an attempt to evaluate how the IRR could be increased, further testing was done in a further IRR test on the first group described above. As the first error category accounted for most of the errors, the two categories *missing* and *did not occur* were collapsed. The below table shows that by collapsing this into a simpler dichotomous answer, the IRR went up to between 82%-89%.

In order to test the effect of experience and training, one of the groups (group 4) also re-did their IRR a second time, with a different 5 cases. As the table shows, their original IRR, which was very low, increased from 33% to 71% showing an effect of experience. Interestingly, when the two groups were collapsed, the IRR rate remained similar to the other 3 groups.

	IRR		IRR (999/0 collapsed)
1	65%		86%
2	47%		88%
3	67%		82%
4	33%	71%	89%

Summary and Implications

There are a number of implications of this work that pertains to the measurement of crime scene information in a reliable valid way.

- The HPI provides a detail coding framework regarding pertinent information regarding the crime scene, the victim and the offender, that as been highlighted in the literature as important for the profiling process.

- The reliability testing of the HPI has allowed for its thorough empirical testing and further development to increase its validity and reliability. Work is currently underway to further increase reliability measures based on the first sets of results.

- The IRR testing of the HPI has additionally made us aware of the types of coding difficulties that coders typically encounter in the face of crime scene file information. This, in addition to knowing that coders improve with practice and experience, has increased our understanding of the components necessary to thoroughly train coders.

- These same results have also highlighted the issues that need to be dealt with in constructing valid and reliable coding frameworks for use in research, and data collection.

- This work provides a much needed baseline for understanding reliability in the collection of crime scene data.

- The results further point to important issues of the construction of coding frameworks, and the problems of reliability. Most of the current frameworks currently used do not have strict definitions of each item. When a coding

framework such as the HPI, with strict descriptive definitions allows for such high error rates, it highlights the question of the reliability values of frameworks that do not provide coding guidelines as clearly.

Ongoing and Future Developments

The work on the HPI continues in order to increase its validity and reliability as a crime scene data measurement tool. Further refinement in light of continuous IRR tests are underway, and a second version of the HPI is being developed for investigative use, which includes a smaller number of key variables. Work is also under way developing other parallel coding frameworks for sexual offences.

For more Information on the Homicide Profiling Index

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A BEHAVIORAL COMPARISON OF SINGLE AND SERIAL HOMICIDE

Steven Hoover and C. Gabrielle Salfati, John Jay College of Criminal Justice

Abstract

The current study attempts to analyze and compare the behaviors demonstrated by serial homicide offenders at their initial crime to those of single homicide offenders. Literature to date has taken a largely theoretical approach to serial homicide research. This analysis begins to allow for an empirical behavioral differentiation to be made between single and serial homicide even from the initial crime in the series. Using the Homicide Profiling Index (HPI), respective prevalence rates of numerous observable aspects of the crime scene as well as victim characteristics were analyzed indicating that while many theories of serial homicide are, in fact supported, there appears to be behavioral exceptions. A multidimensional analysis also revealed that distinct crime scene themes are apparent in the behaviors engaged in by single versus serial homicide offenders (impulsive versus sexual/control homicides). Results are discussed in regards to implications on behavioral distinctions between the crime scene of a single homicide offender, and that of a serial offender.

Introduction

One of the most influential tasks which affects how a homicide investigation is carried out is the determination of whether the homicide is an isolated case requiring methods of police work unique to single homicide, or the work of a serial offender. Unlike the single homicide, which in approximately 75% of the cases involves an offender and a victim who knew one another (Salfati, 2003; Salfati & Canter, 1999; Wolfgang, 1958), serial homicides are reported to be almost exclusively committed by strangers (Egger, 2002; Hickey, 2002). As a result, the usual investigative procedures of identifying suspects (partner, spouse, neighbor, coworker, etc.) by examining their possible motives generally do not yield successful results. In instances of serial homicide in which the victim and offender are often unknown to each other, it is often very difficult to identify the offender. All too often, this determination of a homicide as being the work of a serial offender is not one that can be easily resolved. If this determination could be made early in the investigative process, ideally from the initial crime in a series, it could greatly influence the course of a homicide investigation by identifying a possible serial offender earlier in the process, and help direct resources in the proper direction.

Recent studies have attempted to identify styles of offending in single victim homicides by examining the behavioral evidence left by the offender at the crime scene (Salfati & Canter, 1999; Salfati, 2000). Since serial offenders are often treated as an entirely separate category of offender in the theories of motivations and typologies (Canter, 1995; DeHart & Mahoney, 1994; Egger, 2002). Based on these distinct theories, it is being hypothesized that the behaviors engaged in by the offender at the crime scene are going to be unique between these two types of homicide offenders. If

this is true, and the patterns of behavior are different between single and serial offenders, then these very behaviors could be used to differentiate between single and serial homicide offenses even from the **initial** crime scene. Only recently have there been studies that attempt to analyze the behaviors engaged in by a serial homicide offender at a crime scene (Canter, Alison, Alison, & Wentink, 2004; Salfati & Bateman, in press). There have not, however, been any comprehensive empirical studies to date identifying how such crime scene behaviors compare to those of single homicide offenders. This analysis, as well as differentiating between single and serial homicides, could provide us with greater insight into the behavioral patterns and motivations behind serial offenses.

Motivational Distinction Between Single and Serial Homicide

The hypothesis that behavioral patterns will be different in single and serial offenders is based upon the foundation that the theories of motivations of single and serial homicide show vast differences. An examination of the thematic tendencies seen within the motivational theories of homicide, however, shows a great deal of variance between those proposed for serial homicide versus single homicide. As a result, it is being hypothesized that these motivational differences would manifest themselves in different behavioral patterns engaged in by the offender at a crime scene.

Theories of motivation regarding single homicides have largely been attributed to interpersonal conflict with an emphasis on the relationship between the victim and the offender (Canter, 1995; Salfati, 2003; Salfati & Canter, 1999). Studies have shown that as many as 83% of single homicide victims knew their offenders (Salfati, 2003; Salfati & Canter, 1999; Wolfgang, 1958). Serial homicide, in contrast, has been attributed to various innate deficits with the majority of its emphasis being placed on either a psychological or sexual drive to commit homicide (DeHart & Mahoney, 1994; Egger, 2002). Some clinicians even propose that all serial homicide by definition, is sexually motivated (Geberth & Turco, 1997; Grubin, 1994; Myers, Reccoppa, Burton & McElroy, 1993; Ressler, Burgess & Douglas, 1988).

These theories of motivation show obvious discrepancies in the motivations behind these two types of homicide and as a result, it is being hypothesized that they will manifest in observable differences in the behaviors engaged in by the offenders at their respective crime scenes.

Aims

The primary objective of the study was to illustrate the behavioral tendencies of serial homicide offenders and how they differ from those offenders only committing a single homicide. Previous studies suggest definite patterns resulting from given "types" of single homicides. Previous studies have also suggested that serial homicides would also show patterns in their behavior. It would also be fair to assume that this new serial typology would yield different behavioral groupings than that of single offenders due to variance in the theories of motivators and pathology between these two types of offenders. If this is the case, it may provide additional information which may prove to either confirm or dispel some of the many myths regarding serial homicide which have

been disseminated throughout the literature. The current study will analyze the behaviors of serial offenders based on a comparison of the FIRST crime within a homicide series to a sample group of single homicide offenses in an attempt to identify any fundamental differences that are observable even from the initial crime of a series before any learning behavior has been able to take effect.

The vast majority of information that is disseminated regarding serial homicide whether it be to the public, investigators, or to the research community, is theory based. Logical assumptions have been made about the meanings and motivations behind serial offenders. While the majority of these assumptions may, in fact, be true, they are in need of empirical support before they can be reliably applied throughout the investigative process. The data obtained from this study will be applied in an attempt to either support, or dispel some of the myths regarding serial homicide. This is an essential step in furthering knowledge of serial homicide offenders.

The second objective is to see whether or not there are distinct themes that are observable within the crime scene actions of both single and serial homicide and to examine how they relate in comparison to each other. This analysis could provide the basis for a future judgment being made by investigators of whether a homicide is a single homicide, or the first homicide of an upcoming series. It will also provide greater insight as to whether or not there are, in fact, different types of serial homicide offenders that can be identified by the behaviors engaged in at a crime scene, and provide additional information pertaining to the possible motives for these crimes.

Methods

Data

Data utilized for the study consisted of 159 single homicides and 19 initial homicides of serial offenders. The data for this research were taken from closed, fully adjudicated state and local cases that were contributed from law enforcement agencies from around the country for the purpose of research. All identifiers, including names of victims, suspects, offenders, officers, departments, correctional agencies, are removed. Only aggregate data are reported on.[10]

Variables

Variables obtained from the Homicide Profiling Index (HPI) were used which addressed observable crime scene or victim characteristics. Only variables were utilized that would be known to investigator upon arrival at a crime scene.

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[10] The authors would like to express their gratitude to the FBI's Behavioral Science Unit for coordinating this effort. Authors' opinions, statements and conclusions should not be considered an endorsement by the FBI for any policy, program or service.

<u>Measurement</u>

The first objective of the study was analyzed by examining prevalence rates of each of the behaviors if these two types of homicide in comparison to each other. The second objective was addressed using smallest sample analysis (SSA) which is a non-metric, multidimensional scaling procedure in which a visual representation is presented indicating the relationship and co-occurrence each variable has to all other variables (Shye, Elizur & Hoffman, 1994).

Results

The current study provided support for many of the theories regarding behavioral preferences between single and serial homicide. The vast majority of spontaneous behaviors were seen within single homicide and the control or sexual variable were seen within serial homicide. The behaviors which demonstrated the most predictive ability in distinguishing between single and serial homicide were using a weapon from the scene, body being left at the murder site, body being found in the victim's residence, body being found inside, injury to limbs (all being more present in single homicide), and deliberate positioning of the body, dismemberment and removal of body parts, victims being bound and the victim being a prostitute (all being more present in serial homicide). These behaviors were all observed within the type of homicide in which the literature has predicted. The single homicide behaviors demonstrate spontaneity and a lack of post-crime behaviors to delay detection and the serial homicide behaviors showed planning, personal gratification, and control. Behaviors were also discovered which while occurring within the type of homicide that is commonly expected, they were not seen in the degree that would be expected. These differences between single and serial homicide were not statistically significant in the number of offenders bringing a weapon to the scene, overt sexual activity, blindfolding and gagging the victim (more prevalent in serial homicide), and body being found in the offender's residence and use of a blunt instrument as a weapon (more prevalent in single homicide). While all of these behaviors occurred as expected, difference in prevalence were not nearly as high as the literature has hypothesized which would hinder these variables being used to differentiate between single and serial homicide. It was also discovered that there were behaviors which occurred in the opposite group as was expected. These behaviors are possible exceptions to the theories put forth regarding serial homicide which have not yet been identified. These behaviors would provide the greatest problems if used to possibly identify serial homicide. All of these behaviors have been predicted to be typical aspects of serial homicide, and yet within the current sample they were found to be more frequent in single homicide. These behaviors include superficial cutting, forensic awareness of the offender, writings/drawings/notes left, cleaning the body and evisceration. This demonstrates the need to empirically test these theories in order to identify the inevitable exceptions to the theories as well as identifying which behaviors have the greatest amount of predictive ability.

The second objective was to identify any thematic differences between the crime scenes of a single homicide offender versus that of a serial offender. An SSA analysis demonstrates which behaviors are likely to co-occur at a crime scene. This examination showed a very clear distinction between a group of behaviors that was found to be more typical of single homicide and those typical of serial homicide. Not only does this demonstrate the ability to begin to differentiate between these two crime scenes, but it demonstrates the relationship between all of the behaviors within these two types of crimes. Within single homicide, there is a very concentrated group of core behaviors which are spontaneous in nature and are typical of most single homicides. Serial homicide does not show as many of these high frequency behaviors. Within serial homicide, offenders seem to show much more variance in relation to each other. The themes of serial homicide can also be easily delineated into a crime scene with primarily control behaviors and those with sexual behaviors implying that not only are these the two fundamental drives of serial offenders, but there appears to be very little overlap between them.

Discussion

This study shows that a behavioral distinction between the crime scenes left by single and serial homicide offenders is possible, even from the initial crime in the series. Distinctions were made between the individual behaviors at a scene and the roles that they may be playing to the offender. The results demonstrated that motivational themes can be seen within the actions at a crime scene and that these themes are unique between these two types of homicides. Background characteristics were also applied in order to determine if distinguishable traits exist and these characteristics were very limited within the homicide sample.

The greatest concern in the current study revolved around the sample that was used. Specifically, the single homicide cases were not representative, and overall were more extreme than homicide in general. This is likely to skew the data towards serial homicides, which by its very nature, is an exceptional crime. This is likely to have minimized attempts to pull apart these two types of homicide. Replication of the current study is necessary in order to determine if the conclusions within the current study are in fact findings, or an error in the sample. A larger sample size is also needed in order to insure the results are reliable. A comparison group of only 19 serial homicide offenders is not ideal, but is often necessary due to issues of availability.

Future research must focus of this identification of individual behavioral differences first and then attempt to apply these differences into a thematic model. These frameworks require cases to then be applied one by one in order to identify how reliable these models are in classifying a crime as either a single or a serial homicide. Single behaviors will never be adequate to base a conclusion on and an empirical picture of the entire crime scene is necessary in order to begin make the determination that a homicide may be the work of a serial offender.

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OPEN DISCUSSION

Recorded by Scott Rasmussen, Center for Homicide Research

The Homicide Profiling Index (HPI) – A Tool for Measurements of Crime Scene Behaviors, Victim Characteristics, and Offender Characteristics.

C. Gabrielle Salfati, John Jay College of Criminal Justice

Roland Chilton: What is the index measuring?

Response: The Index is descriptive and more like a "coding dictionary".

Roland Chilton: And what do you do with these codes?

Response: The next 3 presentation gives examples of how these codes are applied.

Kathleen Heide: What is the extent of the input and what relationship with law enforcement agencies and the FBI do you wish to develop?

Response: There HPI includes a number of variables based on crime scene indicators as outlined by both homicide investigator the issues highlighted as important within homicide literature and in other law enforcement data collection tools. The difference with the HPI is that it gives actual descriptions of each variable, and direction on how to code it to enable reliable extraction of information from case files. We are currently using the HPI on a number of co-operative projects between ourselves and the FBI's Behavioral Science Unit.

Thomas Petee: Regarding several motivations regarding an offence. Is there much overlap?

Response: Motivations are not consider mutually exclusive and the index covers any number of motivations, utilizing offender interviews and case notes as sources. But this index is not a "profile" of an offender, but a "database"…a summary of information within a file.

Roland Chilton: How does the HPI compare to the Chicago Homicide Database?

Response: There are similarities, but the nature of the variables as well as the detail of the descriptions of what is collected differs. The HPI, on top of demographics, also includes more psychological variables, particularly in terms of what the literature has suggested may be indicators of signature.

Roland Chilton: How accessible are the variables in the database?

Response: You can use whatever measures that you need for the specific project you are looking at - think of it as a research field guide that helps you not only identify

measures that you may want to use, but also how to retrieve this information from the files in the most reliable way.

Richard Block: Mostly had cover sheets from the police…

Roland Chilton: So you're not creating data, but leaving it up to the coder?

Response: The coder uses the HPI to determine if the information was present in the file.

Richard Block: What about reliability testing on written descriptions?

Response: We have done reliability testing on the dichotomous variables, and we are still working on refining those in line with what we find. The actual free flow descriptions of certain element of the crime scene give us details. What we are looking at at the moment is how this is best reported, and how much detail is useful. In addition, we also produce a written summary of each case, highlighting the storyline, as well as any issues that rae important in understanding the investigation f the case, that is not covered by the more numerical descriptions of the case.

Kathleen Heide: The error may be from "missing/undetermined" variables. You should think about how the question "any evidence of" leads to a "yes/no" answer. What information you need to get better information and who is wording the questions.

Dallas Drake: The criminal profiling is very psychological. What about sociological variables?

Richard Block: The Chicago Dataset is police based not sociological.

Response: There is overlap and the basic measurements are there. The future goal is a more cross-cultural incorporation of those variables that are not easy to define.

A Behavioral Comparison of Single and Serial Homicide.

Steve Hoover and C. Gabrielle Salfati, John Jay College of Criminal Justice

Steve Hoover: Here we have a comparison of single-serial homicide cases.

Richard Block: There appears to be an over-representation of female victims.

Kathleen Heide: There's some surprising activity of superficial cutting.

Thomas Petee: Within the serial sample and the characteristics of offenders…what about "organized v. disorganized"?

Response (Steve Hoover): The H.P.I. doesn't make that distinction, it looks simply at what behaviors are used. However, the behaviors that are used are defined by motivational models.

Thomas Petee: What about variables such as "forensic awareness" and "mentally ill"?

Response: Mental illness is a variable even though that distinction might not be in the case file.

Vance McLaughlin: I have concerns for future implications. I see prosecutors referring to the "Salfati Study" and the possible future "serial" behavior in an offender.

Response: The results need to be replicated before any type of use within court proceedings is allowed.

Jay Corzine: Why are there only 19 cases within the serial category?

Response: These were the only number of files that we had access to when we did the study.

Jay Corzine: And a larger number of serial offenders?

Response: When we code more cases.

Gabrielle Salfati: Also we may access more through other sources, and then top the information up with information from databases such as Lexis-Nexus for example.

Scott Rasmussen: What about spree killings?

Response: They are not included at all.

John Jarvis: You could use the F.B.I. as a conduit to filter, siphon F.B.I. data to research projects.

Kim Davies: What about multi-variable analysis…for "stranger relationships".

Response (Steve Hoover & Gabrielle Salfati): What we have so far is only a first step. We will be expanding research and analysis techniques when we have more data.

CHAPTER EIGHT
CRIME SCENE ANALYSIS OF HOMICIDE
USING THE HOMICIDE PROFILING INDEX II

Moderator: C. Gabrielle Salfati, John Jay College of Criminal Justice

Presenters:

Intrafamilial versus Stranger Homicides: The Difference in the Offender Demographics and Crime Scene Actions.

      Jisun Park and C. Gabrielle Salfati, John Jay College of Criminal Justice

Analyzing multiple-offender bias-motivated homicides.

      Chris Fisher, John Jay College of Criminal Justice

Recorder: Wendy Regoeczi, Cleveland State University

INTRAFAMILIAL VERSUS STRANGER HOMICIDES:
THE DIFFERENCE IN THE OFFENDER DEMOGRAPHICS AND CRIME SCENE ACTIONS

Jisun Park, John Jay College of Criminal Justice

C. Gabrielle Salfati, John Jay College of Criminal Justice

Abstract

Although intrafamilial homicides still overwhelmingly exist, research concerning intrafamilial homicide and difference between intra and extrafamilial homicide has barely existed. It is suggested that the difference between intrafamilial and stranger homicide best be understood using two frameworks, expressive/instrumental aggression and planned/unplanned violence. The selection of the variables and the coding scheme followed the Homicide Profiling Index (HPI). Multidimensional analysis is carried out on the crime scene actions of 66 homicides. Two frameworks are found to be useful in differentiating intrafamilial homicides from stranger homicides. Results also indicate that behavioral difference can be related to the differences in the offender background characteristics.

Introduction

Homicidal violence directed toward a family member is widely regarded as the most frightening of all crimes (Ewing, 1997). Why do some people kill their own family? Is there any fundamental difference between homicide offenders who kill their own family and those who kill a stranger? Research concerning intrafamilial homicide and difference between intra and extrafamilial homicide has barely existed.

Silverman and Mukherjee (1987) suggest that the social relationship between offender and victim should be a component in the analysis of homicide. In particular, they hypothesize that the intensity levels associated with intimate relationships will be associated with the type of homicide that occurs. The types of aggression proposed by Fesbach (1964) reflect a distinction which can be applied to offender-victim relationship.

Expressive-Instrumental theme of Homicide behavior

Fesbach (1964) stated that there are two types of aggression: expressive and instrumental aggression. Expressive aggression occurs in response to anger-inducing conditions, such as insults, physical attacks or personal failures, whereas instrumental aggression begins with competition or the desire for some object or status possessed by another person.

Salfati (2000) showed that the sample of British homicide crime scenes could most readily be differentiated in terms of the expressive and instrumental role the victim had to the offender. Behaviors in the expressive theme suggest a prior relationship between offender and victim, or at least suggest that the offender knew the victim to some extent. The behaviors in the instrumental theme are more focused the benefits the victim had for the offender, and the victim can be anyone who meets a set of conditions.

Along with the expressive-instrumental theme, whether the offender had planned the offence or not can be strongly related to the offender-victim relationship. For example, Gillis (1986) found that the closer the tie between offender and victim, the more often homicides were spontaneous.

Planned versus Unplanned theme of Homicide behavior

Block (1999) has suggested that the expressive-instrumental continuum would be improved by an added dimension, planned versus spontaneous. In violent incidents closer to the planned pole of the continuum, the offender had prepared or arranged to commit violence prior to the violet interaction. In contrast, violent incidents closer to the spontaneous pole of the continuum begin without the offender preparing to commit violence.

Offender-Victim relationship relating to the behavioral themes

It is common in expressive violence for there to be a history of similar violence against the same person, because the rage characterizing expressive violence may have built up over a number of previous incidents spanning a period of time (Block, Devitt, Donoghue, Dames and Block, 2001). Berkowitz (1965) related expressive aggression to family violence. Gillis (1986) found that the closer the tie between offender and victim, the more often homicides were spontaneous and emotion-laden acts. While the target of instrumental violence could be anyone who meets a set of conditions, such as possessing the object the offender wants or being vulnerable or available. Because of this, there is a correlation between expressive or instrumental theme and the relationship between the victim and the offender. More specifically, the offender's target in expressive violence is more likely to be a family member or friend than a stranger, while the offender's target in instrumental violence is more likely to be a stranger (Block et al., 2001).

Along with the expressive-instrumental theme, it is expected that whether the offender had planned the offense or not will be strongly related to the offender-victim relationship. As mentioned above, Gillis (1986) found that the closer the tie between offender and victim, the more likely homicides were to be spontaneous. Block et al. (2001) also found that 69.5% of 82 intimate partner homicide cases were spontaneous in nature. Based on these studies, it is expected that unplanned homicides are more likely to be committed between persons who know each other and have close ties than planned homicides.

Aims of Study

The present study aims to link the theme of crime scene actions to offender-victim relationships: more specifically, the present study aims to differentiate crime scene actions in terms of whether the violence is expressive or instrumental and in terms of whether the offense is planned or spontaneous and then to identify how these types of violence are related to intrafamilial and stranger homicides. Also, the present study aims to investigate differences in the background characteristics between intrafamilial and stranger homicide offenders, e.g. their difference in previous convictions.

Method

Sources of Data

Details of 66 homicide cases were obtained from homicide case files. Forty-seven cases were intrafamilial homicide, and nineteen cases were stranger homicide. The data for this research were taken from closed, fully adjudicated state and local cases that were contributed from law enforcement agencies from around the country for the purpose of research. All identifiers, including names of victims, suspects, offenders, officers, departments, correctional agencies, are removed. Only aggregate data are reported on.[11]

Variables

By using content analysis offender characteristics, crime scene characteristics, and crime scene action variables are generated to cover the behaviors of the offenders and the victims. The selection of the variables and the coding scheme followed the Homicide Profiling Index (HPI).

Results

In order to test hypotheses, 33 crime scene action variables of 66 homicide offenses were subjected to an SSA-I (Lingoes, 1973). The 3-dimensional solution was found to have a Guttman-Lingoes' coefficient of alienation of 0.15 in 47 iterations, indicating a good fit for this data.

Thematic Analysis of Crime Scene Actions: Expressive/Instrumental

There were two sub-regions that could be distinguished on the plot. Partitions have been superimposed to delineate these sub-groups: Expressive and Instrumental.

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[11] The authors would like to express their gratitude to the FBI's Behavioral Science Unit for coordinating this effort. Authors' opinions, statements and conclusions should not be considered an endorsement by the FBI for any policy, program or service.

Expressive Theme

Seventeen behaviors in this region of the SSA plot reflect that all the actions centre on hurting the victim. The offender did not come prepared with a weapon before the offense. If a weapon was used, it was more likely that a weapon from the crime scene was used. In many cases this was a blunt instrument. Multiple wounds were distributed across the victim's body such as torso, head, limbs or face. After the offense, the victim's body in some cases may have been covered, hidden, and/or buried.

Instrumental Theme

The theme of the sixteen behaviors that co-occurred in this region reflects that the offender treated the victim as an object to their ulterior motive, which appeared to be either sexual gain or material gain. The offender often had come prepared by bringing the weapon to the crime scene. In many cases, the weapon was a knife. The victim was wounded multiple times to one body area. In some cases, the victim was gagged and/or bound by the offender. After the offense, the offender engaged in behaviors that suggested that they were careful not to leave forensic evidence at the crime scene. Behaviors involved theft of victim's property. There also exists evidence of sexual activity such as vaginal penetration at the crime scene. The victim was often found partially dressed or naked.

Intrafamilial versus Stranger Homicides

All the crime scene behaviors more frequently occurred in intrafamilial homicides are distributed closely to the expressive theme rather than instrumental theme. It is found that intrafamilial homicides cases are more likely to involve expressive theme (F= 38.8, P=.00), while stranger homicides cases are more likely to involve instrumental theme (F= 5.53, P<.05).

Classifying homicides in terms of a dominant behavioral theme

In order to test whether the proposed framework serves as a useful way of classifying homicide offenses, each of the 66 offenses was tested to establish whether it could be assigned to a dominant behavioral theme. To be assigned to a dominant theme, the percentage score of the occurrence of variables for that theme had to be greater than the sum of scores for other theme.

First, each of the 47 intrafamilial homicides was tested to establish whether it could be assigned to a dominant behavioral theme. Using this procedure, 87.2% were classified as Expressive, and 12.8% of them were classified as Instrumental.

Secondly, each of the 19 stranger homicides was tested. Using this procedure, 26.3% were classified as Expressive, and 73.7% of them were classified as Instrumental.

Thematic Analysis of Crime Scene Actions: Planned/Unplanned

The frequency analysis of behaviors indicates a movement from high frequency behaviors encompassing impulsivity with no degree of planning and a more emotional attack, to low frequency behaviors which involved offender's planning of the offence or forensic awareness. The distribution of the frequencies of behaviors at these homicide crime scenes reflects that homicide is an impulsive act: the majority of high frequency behaviors reflects an impulsivity and expressiveness, whereas the less frequent behaviors are more purposeful and directed in nature.

Planned/Unplanned Theme related to Intrafamilial and Stranger Homicides

It is explored how this planned-unplanned behavioral theme relates to the difference in the offender-victim relationship. High frequency behaviors in intrafamilial homicides are all centered on the SSA plot, indicating behaviors that frequently occurred in intrafamilial homicide tend to be impulsive and spontaneous. On the other hand, high frequency behaviors in stranger homicides are more likely to be distributed, indicating that stranger homicide are more likely to involve offender's planning of the offence.

Difference in the Offender Background Characteristics

Intrafamilial homicide offenders are more likely to be older (M = 36.6) than stranger homicide offenders (M = 24.8). Intrafamilial homicide offenders are more likely to be married, while stranger homicide offenders single ($chi^2 = 12.88$, $p < .05$).

In terms of previous convictions, stranger homicide offenders are more likely to have engaged in criminal activity ($chi^2 = 4.90$, $p < .05$). Stranger homicide offenders are more likely to have a prior conviction of rape and vandalism/damage (all $p < .05$), whereas intrafamilial homicide offenders are more likely to have a prior conviction of domestic violence ($chi^2 = 4.98$, $p < .05$).

Discussion

Findings about correlation between offender-victim relationship and the behavioral theme have great implications for police investigations, as the offender's relationship to the victim can be inferred from the crime scene assisting in reducing the number of suspects. The present study shows that the expressive/instrumental theme can be useful in differentiating intrafamilial homicides from stranger homicides. In terms of the Planned/Unplanned theme, however, a number of questions may be raised, e.g., how to determine whether each action is planned or unplanned.

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ANALYZING MULTIPLE-OFFENDER BIAS-MOTIVATED HOMICIDES
(Work in-progress)

Chris Fisher, John Jay College of Criminal Justice

Abstract

The purpose of this research is to analyze bias-motivated homicides using an expanded version of the Homicide Profiling Index (HPI), which includes information specific to bias homicides, as well as multidimensional scaling techniques to examine the behavioral characteristics of crime scenes for information that could be used to link offenders to crime scene behaviors and create a meaningful classification system for bias homicides. The data for this research represent all of the bias homicides (N=160) reported to the UCR in the eleven years (1991-2002) following the passage of the Hate Crime Statistics Act (HCSA) of 1990. Expected issues such as variations in legal definitions and the processes used by different police agencies to determine the presence of and type of bias present in a homicide were addressed at the beginning of the study. Analyzing the data, however, highlighted a major hurdle that will need to be overcome: the theoretical and analytical issues introduced by multiple offender homicides. Research that has focused on themes of behavior and their potential role in understanding homicide has centered on single-offender homicides, with most excluding multiple-offender homicides because of the difficulties they present. It is hoped that with proper data collection and analysis techniques, bias-motivated homicides can be examined in a manner that could reveal whether the background interpersonal interactions of one particular offender are evident in the crime scene or if the backgrounds of several offenders are "displayed." Of the current 39 bias-motivated homicide cases that have been analyzed, nineteen (48.7%) involve multiple offenders. Ten of the nineteen included two offenders and nine included three or more offenders. Initial analyses revealed that homicides motivated by a racial bias are most likely to involve multiple offenders. In order to record the level of data that is necessary to determine the connection between crime scene behaviors and the background characteristics of the offenders, multiple-offender analysis techniques need to be developed.

Introduction of the Research

The purpose of this research is to analyze bias-motivated homicides using multidimensional scaling techniques to examine the behavioral and situational characteristics of crime scenes for information that could be used to link offenders to their crime scene behaviors and create a meaningful classification system for bias homicides. The data for this researchrepresent all of the bias homicides (N=160) reported to the UCR program in the eleven years (1991-2002) following the passage of the Hate Crime Statistics Act (HCSA) of 1990.

The United States' over 15,000 homicides a year has prompted a tremendous amount of research on homicide dynamics. The techniques and approaches employed by investigators have improved dramatically as a result of the combination of this research and new technologies. Similar advances could be achieved in understanding the dynamics of bias homicide. These advances require that more be learned about bias homicide. The actions of offenders at crime scenes need to be examined, as do the behavioral backgrounds of these offenders. Ultimately, the characteristics of and the connections between the victim(s), offender(s), the physical setting, and the biases involved, need to be understood.

Expected issues such as the variations in legal definitions and the processes used by different police agencies to determine the presence of and type of bias present in a homicide were addressed at the beginning of the study. Analyzing the data, however, highlighted a major hurdle that will need to be overcome for this research to be completed: the theoretical and analytical issues introduced by multiple offender/victim homicides. To help clear this hurdle, this paper outlines the analytical questions that must be answered. Summarizing the theoretical work that has been done on multiple offender/victim homicides emphasizes the limited research on this subject, the necessity of treating these cases as unique, and the general conclusion that they represent events for which there is no clear method of analysis.

Multiple Offender/Victim Research

Research that has focused on themes of behavior and their potential role in understanding homicide has centered on single-offender homicides (Cheatwood, 1996). Limited research on violent offending has considered the potential relevance of behavioral themes to multiple-offender and/or multiple-victim incidents; instead, most has excluded multiple-offender homicides because of the difficulties they present (Cheatwood, 1996; Porter & Alison, 2004). Some researchers, however, are addressing this lack of information. Porter and Alison have concentrated on co-offending in multiple-offender rapes, and Cheatwood (1996, 1992) has conducted research on multiple-offender/multiple-victim homicide. Their work, and that of others, outlines the major theoretical and analytical issues that must be addressed when studying multiple-offender violence.

Multiple-offender homicide research has sought to understand if there are distinct similarities or differences between single and multiple incidents. This research consistently has found that individual behavior does differ significantly from group on a variety of demographic, situational, and decision-making factors (Block, 1986; R. Block & Zimring, 1973; Cheatwood, 1996, 1992; Cheatwood & Block, 1990; Clark, 1991; Pynchon & Borum, 1999). Considering these findings and descriptive bias crime research, which suggests that a majority of bias crimes are committed by individuals acting as a group, some bias homicides should not be examined through the same theoretical and analytical lens as single-offender homicides.

Research into multiple-offender violence suggests that the interpersonal dynamics of the events are essential to developing an understanding of the evolution of multiple-offender bias homicides. Cheatwood's work on multiple-offender homicide has

found that a majority of these crimes start out as arguments or character disputes and evolve into unforeseen lethal encounters (1996, 1992). Descriptions of bias crimes suggest that these crimes also rarely begin as severely as they end. Holstrom's and Burgess' (1980) research on rape suggests that multiple offenders often perform for the other members of the group throughout the incident. Sociological research suggests that bias crimes, particularly for males, are almost strictly about performing a social role for peers observing the incident. The findings that the evolution and final outcome of multiple-offender violent incidents are highly dependent on the interactions of the offenders, not only with the victim(s), but with each other, highlights the need for developing a strategy for coding data in a way that allows for the analysis of these interactions (Cheatwood, 1996).

Research focused on the interaction between offenders and victims, which highlights the necessity of determining which individuals are involved in the various stages of the incident, has found that there generally is one primary offender who engages in a character or business dispute with one primary victim, and the others involved know why the dispute is taking place, that violence is likely to occur, and that the primary offender's intent may be to kill the victim (Cheatwood, 1996). Some instances may involve two or more offenders who are directly involved in the violence, but most are interactions among multiple individuals where one offender kills the victim with enough involvement by others for them to be charged with the homicide as well (Cheatwood, 1996).

While some research indicates that everyone in a group can exert pressure on the other members, another aspect of group behavior that researchers have examined is the concept of "scale of influence." The idea behind "scale of influence" is that the leader of a group can be determined by examining who influences the members of the group throughout the stages of the offense. Examinations of violent group offending have found evidence that the leader of the group usually initiates the attack and plans the post-incident activities (Porter & Alison, 2001). Research into the influence of group leaders suggests that the influential leader may be the most important group member in terms of understanding the evolution of the incident; therefore, identifying this individual and recording their actions and characteristics is vital in analyzing multiple-offender bias homicides. It could be argued, that after identification of the "leader" it may not be as important to capture specific information about the other offenders.

Multiple-offender homicides have been subjected to some analysis of their theoretical and procedural aspects; however, most of the work has accomplished the necessary, but insufficient tasks, of delineating how single-offender homicides are different than multiple-offender homicides and describing the group processes that allow members to engage in the most heinous of crimes. Almost none of the information from such studies could be used to assist in investigating homicides because it does not attempt to connect the behaviors present in the events to characteristics of the offender(s).

Porter and Alison (2004, 2001), with their work on multiple-offender rape, are attempting to develop a methodological and analytical approach for understanding multiple-offender violence, which examines the possible connections between themes of behavior and co-offending multiple-offender violent crimes. Porter and Alison

hypothesized that the thematic behaviors of individuals involved in a gang rape actually would be quite similar and form distinct themes. The multidimensional scaling analysis of gang rapes revealed that there is a "structural coherence among members of the same group," such that when acting together individual behaviors are uniform and "structurally coherent" (Porter & Alison, 2004, p.467). It is hoped that with proper data collection and analysis techniques, bias-motivated homicides can be examined in a manner that could reveal the individual characteristics and group structures that are involved. Such an analysis could reveal whether the background interpersonal interactions of one particular offender – perhaps the "influential leader" – are evident in the observable bias homicide crime scene actions, or if the backgrounds of several of the offenders are "displayed".

Current Research Design Issues

Of the current 39 bias-motivated homicide cases that have been analyzed out of the 160 total cases[12], 48.7 percent (n=19) involve multiple offenders. Ten (25.6%) of these included two offenders and nine (23.1%) included three or more offenders. Initial analyses revealed that homicides motivated by a racial bias are most likely to involve multiple offenders. In order to record the level of data that is necessary to determine the connection between crime scene behaviors and the background characteristics of the offenders, multiple-offender analysis techniques need to be developed. Cheatwood and Block (1990) suggest that multiple-offender homicides might need to be analyzed separately because they could require completely different theoretical explanations. Analyzing bias homicides separately would create two small populations, which could limit the impact of any analyses. A case where, for example, all but one offender is involved in the actual death of the victim, but everyone is involved in the preceding altercation, will require new theoretical and methodological approaches. The few studies that have investigated multiple-offender homicides all offer different approaches for dealing with issues such as coding the demographics of all individuals involved, recording the connections between the offenders and victims, and determining who was actually involved in the event.

Determining methods for setting up a database in SPSS that can adequately record the demographics for multiple offenders and multiple victims is a challenge that must be met. There are two general design options: having multiple rows for each incident, where rows are offenders; or, each row can represent one incident with offender(s), victim(s) and their interactions all recorded on one row. With the latter option, the decision of how to match each offender to the victim(s) they interacted with, as well as how they interacted with each other, is one of the most challenging issues. Not only is this a data recording issue of determining who interacted with whom based on the case files, which is an issue exacerbated in multiple-offender incidents, but it also

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[12] The data for this research were taken from closed, fully adjudicated state and local cases that were contributed from law enforcement agencies from around the country for the purpose of research. All identifiers, including names of victims, suspects, offenders, officers, departments, correctional agencies, are removed. Only aggregate data are reported on. The authors would like to express their gratitude to the FBI's Behavioral Science Unit for coordinating this effort. Authors' opinions, statements and conclusions should not be considered an endorsement by the FBI for any policy, program or service.

is an issue of how can a database record aspects of the interactions between everyone in an incident and still be manageable.

The research offers little help, as most studies have either not focused on multiple-offender incidents, or they have collapsed certain variables to be based on the demographics and actions of one specific member of either the offender or victim group. Some researchers have chosen to code certain demographics – age for example – based on strategies for avoiding the confusion presented by multiple individuals. In some work age has been determined based on the age of the oldest offender – a methodology that introduces many confounding issues into the analysis. Other offender demographics, such as criminal history, weapon possession, and drug use were coded as present if any of the offenders involved had such a characteristic. Race and gender demographics were only coded and analyzed if they were matching among all of the offenders. If the offender group was mixed in their race or gender, they were omitted from that section of the analysis. Given that race and other demographic factors often are of high concern to investigators of bias crimes, only recording the race if everyone in either the offender or victim group is of the same race would leave one of the most important factors out of the analysis. While research does suggest that group behavior results in group members all following the lead of the "influential leader," and individual characteristics evaporating in the group dynamics, for this research to sufficiently explain bias homicides, which tend to involve groups more than non-bias homicides, group information cannot be lost to simplify the analyses.

How does one record and analyze how often bias homicides involve same age, race, or gender offenders/victims when there are multiple offenders/victims who do not share these qualities? If a member of one of the groups is not directly involved in the incident, should their characteristics be included in the analysis? What is the best database design that allows the connections between specific offenders and victims to be maintained and analyzed? Should an incident be coded as involving known associates if only one of the offenders knows one of the victims? These are the types of questions that must be addressed for this analysis to be able to include the multiple-offender bias homicides in any sort of meaningful analysis.

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OPEN DISCUSSION

Recorded by Wendy Regoeczi, Cleveland State University

Intrafamilial versus Stranger Homicides: The Difference in the Offender Demographics and Crime Scene Actions.

Jisun Park and C. Gabrielle Salfati, John Jay College of Criminal Justice

Kathleen Heide: I found it helpful to look at the two dimensions at the same time: intention (planned - low or high) and desire (more of an expressive dimension). You can make a quadrant: low/high intention, low/high desire to hurt the victim. For example serial killers are high on planning, but also have a high expressive component.

Becky Block: I agree. You are thinking more along the lines of a continuum, or two continua.

Kathleen Heide: No, more of a quadrant. You can have high expressive with no intention, etc.

Becky Block: We call these things a lot of different things. Margo Wilson discusses intimate partner homicides where the man continually beats the woman but doesn't recognize she might die. This area involves a lot of semantics. People become married to many of the typologies that are used. A lot is just figuring out how to say it. For years, Dick and I talked about expressive and impulsive as if it were the same thing. The definition of terms is important, and to be clear that it is not a dichotomy. While it is important to look at the frequencies, the whole point is to look at the off-diagonal cases. For example, the expressive, planned cases: what are their characteristics? how do we reduce them?

Jisun Park: I haven't presented differences in homicide offender backgrounds, but we want to relate differences in crime scene actions to offender backgrounds.

Becky Block: Some of the variables could be more specific. For example, it may be helpful to distinguish between arson to destroy a crime scene vs. arson to prevent the victim from fleeing the house.

Gabrielle Salfati: We have that information. However, we were limited by the number of variables we can put into an SSA analysis due to the small number of cases.

Becky Block: This study (presented by Chris Fischer) is a wonderful service.

Chris Fischer: I have been wondering if these beginning stages are the most important.

Becky Block: I think your gut reaction is right that single- and multiple-offender homicides are different. A lot of people eliminate the multiples. If you just look at the singles, that is a huge bias, producing misleading results. You want to include them. Don't look at them separately. If you go back to the Proceedings from one of the first

meetings, I wrote instructions on how to do this (it may have been the 1993 meeting at the FBI). We went through this with the Chicago homicide data. You end up with three ID numbers: offender, victim, and incident. The Chicago homicide data is archived as both victim-based and offender-based. We also did a codebook on how to create these files.

Dick Block: I was never sure how you analyze these. Perhaps you would use a weighting scheme.

Vance McLaughlin: Do you think a bias homicide is always legally premeditated?

Chris Fisher: From what I have seen, no.

Roland Chilton: Central to the notion of bias crime is motive. You need evidence of bias. How do you establish motive?

Chris Fisher: The coding book includes indicators such as statements by the offender, notes written by the offender, bragging, etc.

Roland Chilton: So it is based on written or oral statements by the offender?

Chris Fisher: Yes, unless there is something else available.

Roland Chilton: I think you are limited to saying are any of the offenders in this category, or are all of the offenders in this category; there is no alternative.

Chris Fisher: About half are single offenders.

Kathleen Heide: I would analyze those separately. With multiple offenders you get group contagion, etc.

Bill Edison: I am struggling with this myself. I have created three databases (victim, offender, incident) with incident characteristics, treating each victim/offender diad as a case. I then include a code for whether this is a multiple, so I can see if the multiple variable makes a difference.

Shiyloh Duncan: Will you be dealing with juvenile offenders? Sometimes they are influenced by information on the internet, which affects motivation.

Chris Fisher: There are some files including juvenile offenders, but a lot of the information is blacked out.

Gabrielle Salfati: Even identifying who did what to whom is impossible. But there are no names in the information we have.

CHAPTER NINE
VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN

Moderator: Chris Rasche, University of North Florida

Presenters:

Battered Women Seeking Help: Police Contact and Experiences.

 Kim Davies, Augusta State University, Carolyn Rebecca Block, Illinois

 Criminal Justice Information Authority, and Jacquelyn Campbell, The Johns Hopkins University School of Nursing

Violent Victimization of Women: The Factors Contributing to

Life or Death Outcomes.

 Janice E. Clifford, Auburn University, Lin Huff-Corzine, University of Central Florida, John P. Jarvis, Federal Bureau of Investigation, Greg S. Weaver, Auburn University, Jay Corzine, University of Central Florida, and Thomas A Petee, Auburn University

Recorder: Batton, University of Nebraska

BATTERED WOMEN SEEKING HELP: POLICE CONTACT AND EXPERIENCES

Kim Davies, PhD, Augusta State University

Carolyn Rebecca Block, PhD, Illinois Criminal Justice Information Authority

Jacquelyn Campbell, PhD RN FAAN, Johns Hopkins University School of Nursing

Abstract

This secondary analysis examines whether contextual and system factors are related to battered women's decisions to turn to the police for help and their experiences after contacting the police. Using data from the Chicago Women's Health Risk Study (CWHRS), which includes a sample of battered women (n = 497; 69% African-American and 21.3% Latina) and a sample of abused women who either killed or were killed by their intimate partners (n=63; 81% African American, 10% Latina), we find that several factors affect battered women's decisions to contact the police and their experiences with the police, including the severity and frequency of violence they have experienced, other harassing behaviors committed by the abuser, the length of the intimate relationship, and the women's social support network. Importantly, women who had left or tried to leave the relationship in the past year are much more likely to have called the police, whether the maximum level of violence was severe or life-threatening. Factors and experiences however, vary somewhat by race/ethnicity and the sex of the abusive partner. For Latina women, having control of one's personal income is correlated with police contact. Finally, we found that the battered women who had been killed had penetrated deeper into the criminal justice system than the battered women who were in the non-homicide sample.

Introduction

Contrary to popular opinion, few women in violent relationships are passive victims of male violence; instead, they are "actively engaged in surviving" (Browne 1997; Campbell et al. 1994; Campbell et al. 1998; Fugate et al. 2005; Johnson 1998: 63). Most abused women, in fact, try to stop or escape the battering behavior of their intimate partners and they often seek outside help in this endeavor (Johnson 1998). However, successfully ending the violence may be difficult and complex. A woman's ability to escape or stop the violence often depends on her material resources as well as the availability of both official and unofficial support networks that can assist her (Bowker 1993; Dobash and Dobash 1995; Horton and Johnson 1993). Class status, race, ethnicity, immigrant status, and sexual orientation may also affect a woman's help seeking decisions and experiences (Bachman & Coker 1995; Coulter et al. 1999; Dasgupta 2003; Hutchinson, Hirschel & Pesackis 1994; Rasche 1995; Renzetti 1989).

Guided by seven hypotheses predicting links between various factors and women's decisions and experiences with the criminal justice system (CJS) (see Appendix A), we

used data from the Chicago Women's Health Risk Study to gain a greater under-standing of what factors and experiences influenced women's decisions about seeking help from the CJS in battering situations and their experiences with the system when they did rely on it for help. All seven of our hypotheses dealt with the question as to whether and when women experiencing intimate partner violence have contact with the police.

Data

We use data from the Chicago Women's Health Risk Study (CWHRS) to examine abused women's experiences with the criminal justice system. There are two samples in the CWHRS – a sample of battered women and a sample of women who either killed or were killed by their intimate partner. For the sample of battered women, the CWHRS used a quasi-experimental design to interview women in primary health care settings (Leskin, Block and Campbell 2003). In 1997 and 1998, 2,739 women were randomly screened at four large Chicago Area medical centers, located in areas of the city with high rates of domestic violence homicide. Rather than relying on a sample of women seeking help for abuse, the CWHRS screened all women coming to the hospital or health center for any reason (such as a regular pregnancy checkup, a bad cold or any other reason). The screener, in English or Spanish, contained three questions one about physical abuse, one about sexual abuse, and "are you afraid to go home?" The CWHRS attempted to schedule a detailed interview with all of the women who answered "yes" to at least one screening question and were age 18 years or older. Of the women interviewed, 497 reported at least one incident of physical violence or threat of violence at the hands of an intimate partner in the previous year.

The CWHRS homicide sample included all 87 intimate partner homicides that occurred in Chicago in 1995 or 1996 with a women victim or offender aged 18 years or older. Data sources for the homicide sample included the Chicago Homicide Dataset, Medical Examiner's Office records, court records, and newspapers, as well as face-to-face or telephone "proxy" interviews with friends, family or others who knew about the relationship (see Block, et al. 1999). The proxy interviews used questionnaires that were the same as the questionnaires used with the health care setting women (to the extent possible). One of the findings of the CWHRS was that about 15% of the women in the homicide sample had not experienced a violent incident in the past year. For our analyses, we only include the 63 women who were known to have been physically abused in the past year, since only the women who had experienced violence could have contacted the police about a violent incident.

The data set we use for this analysis is unique for several reasons. First, this sample of 497 women who experienced intimate partner violence currently or in the past year is a larger sample than many previously used to learn about battered women's experiences with the CJS (Apsler et al. 2003; Brown 1984; Chaudhuri & Daly 1992; Ferraro 1989; Fleury 2002; Ford 1991, Kennedy & Homant 1983; Martin 1997; Ptacek 1999; Stephens & Sinden 2000; Yegidis & Renzy 1994). Second, unlike other studies that have examined battered women's experiences with the CJS, this study does not

employ a sample that was collected at a specific decision point within the CJS.[13] Rather than interviews with women who have turned to the police for help or those who have seen their case go to court, these data were collected from abused women who might not have turned to the criminal justice system or to any other formal source of help. Third, in addition to the sample of battered women, homicide data for all intimate partner homicide cases involving women in Chicago during 1995 and 1996 were collected. Thus, we can compare the criminal justice system experiences of abused women in fatal and (so far) not fatal situations.

Table 1 includes sociodemographic information about women in the CWHRS clinic sample who reported that they had experienced intimate partner violence during the year leading up to the interview (AW), and women homicide victims (AHV) and offenders (AHO) in Chicago in 1995 or 1996 and who were also known to have experienced intimate partner violence at least once during the year leading up to the homicide. In general, the goal of the CWHRS clinic/ hospital sampling process, that the sampled women would represent a community population of abused women at risk of death, seems to have been met. For example, the age distributions of the abused clinic/hospital women and the women homicide victims are very similar, but women homicide offenders tend to be older.

However, the proportion of Latina women in the clinic sample was higher than among homicide victims (21% versus 15%), and the proportion of non-Latina white women was lower (8% versus 15). This was the deliberate result of another project goal, to have enough Latina women and African American women in the sample so that it would be possible to conduct separate analyses of risk factors for death within both subgroups. Though we succeeded in this goal, with 107 abused and 58 comparison women in the clinic/hospital sample, the number of non-Latina white women is limited (41 abused and 21 comparison). For some of the same reasons, the CWHRS clinic/ hospital sample over-represents women who have very few resources. While household income is varied, many more women (34.5%) in the abused sample report a household income of less than $5,000 than is the case for women homicide victims (17.9%) or women homicide offenders (zero). Household income may reflect the living situation of both homicide victims and offenders, who were more likely to be living with their partner than were the clinic/hospital women. Similarly, almost half (48%) of the women in the abused clinic/hospital sample had not graduated from high school, compared to 36% of women homicide victims and 82% of women homicide offenders.

Measurements

Dependent Variable: Help Seeking

After telling the interviewer about their experiences of violence, women in the CWHRS were asked a series of specific questions about their help seeking from each of four separate sources — friends or family, counselors, medical practitioners, and the

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[13]With the exception of Wiist et al.'s (1998) study based on interviews with pregnant Hispanic women, only in studies by authors of this paper and others who use this same data set and the Femicide in Violent Intimate Relationships Study data set, do we see these features.

criminal justice system. Questions about the criminal justice system began with a general question about contacting the police, and continued with follow-up questions about her reasons for NOT calling the police, what the police did if called, and whether what they did was helpful or harmful. For the regression analyses, the dependent variable is a dichotomous variable indicating whether the woman (or someone else) contacted the police after an intimate partner violence incident in the year previous to the study.

Independent Variables

Violence Severity

The following scale, which combines the severity of the violence and the degree of injury, was used to code degree of severity of each incident the women or proxy indicated during the interviews. The interviewer coded the level corresponding with the maximum severity of violence or the maximum injury, whichever yielded the higher score.

0.   Threat of violence (other than threats to use a weapon or to kill);

1.   Slapping, pushing, something thrown that could hurt; or

   No injury and no lasting pain;

2.   Punching, kicking, biting, hit with a fist; or

   Bruises, cuts and/or continuing pain;

3.   "Beating up," choking; or

   Miscarriage, severe contusions, burns, broken bones, teeth knocked out;

4.   Threat to use weapon; or

   Permanent injury, head injury, loss of consciousness, internal injury;

5.   Weapon use or attempted murder; or

   Wounds from a weapon.

For purposes of analysis, we created a dichotomous variable indicating whether or not the woman had experienced at least one incident in the past year that was "very serious or life threatening," counting seriousness levels 3, 4 and 5 as very serious or life threatening. For the women included in the homicide sample, we used interviews with the women who killed, proxy interviews, and police records to determine if the women were abused and at what level.

Stalking and Harassment

As an indicator of her partner's stalking or harassment behavior against her, the CWHRS uses the Harassment in Abusive Relationships: A Self-Report Scale (HARASS) instrument developed by Daniel Sheridan (1992). The woman was asked whether each of the following statements "describes the behavior of any intimate partner in the past year:" For more detail, see Appendix B.

Social Support Network

The 12-item Social Support Network (SSN) scale was developed by the collaborators of the Chicago Women's Health Risk Study (CWHRS), to provide an instrument appropriate for measuring the social support network for adult women, particularly women challenged by poverty or abuse The scale's twelve items capture three aspects of informal social support: acceptance and support (five items), emergency help (four items) and access to resources (three items). See Appendix B for more detail.

Results

Police Contact

As predicted in our first hypothesis (see Appendix A), the more severe the physical violence the woman has experienced, the more likely that she or someone else has contacted the police on her behalf (see Table 2). As Johnson (1998) notes, most abused women try to stop the battering behavior of their intimate partners, and they often seek outside help in this endeavor. In the CWHRS, this was true of women in both the clinic and the homicide sample. However, while women in the clinic sample were significantly more likely to report that she or someone else had contacted the police when she had experienced being beaten up or worse (57%) versus less severe violence (27%), abused women who became either a homicide victim or a homicide offender were not more likely to call the police if the violence had been very severe or life-threatening, as opposed to less severe. Of the women in the homicide sample who were known to have been abused, 53% of the 38 homicide victims and 72% of the 18 homicide offenders had notified the police, or someone else had. The percent did not differ for women who had been more or less severely abused.

Thus, many women do seek help from the police when they are abused, and women in the clinic sample were more likely to seek help when the abuse was more severe. Furthermore, those who got medical care as a result of the abuse were 28.3% more likely to go to the police than those who did not get medical care. This proved to be the case for the entire sample, as well as when we separated the sample by race/ethnicity.

Why don't abused women contact the police, especially when the abuse is severe? Even though many women do contact the police, it is important for practitioners to know the reasons women decide not to contact them. A considerable number had not contacted the police in the past year — in the clinic/hospital sample, 43% who had experienced severe abuse and 73% who had experienced less severe abuse, and 47%

of abused women who were killed by their partner. In contrast, only 28% of abused women who killed their abusive partner had not turned to the police the year before they tragically took matters into their own hands. Thus, the abused women most likely to have had police contact in the past year were the women who ended up killing their abusive partner.

We predicted that when we controlled for severity, the level of a woman's fear for her life would be linked to police contact (see Appendix A). Specifically, women were asked, "Thinking about the incidents of the past year, did you ever feel that your life was in danger?" We also predicted that, controlling for incident severity and fear, women would be less likely to turn to the police if they had controlling partners, and more likely if they had greater material, health and social support resources. Finally, we believed that the characteristics of the abuser, such as his or her alcohol abuse, would be related to CJS contact.

Much of this did not end up being the case. Instead, violence severity had by far the strongest relationship to whether the police were contacted about an incident of intimate partner violence in the past year. In addition, the more harassing behavior women had experienced in the past year, the more likely they were to have had police contact. Women who reported that they had tried to leave or end their relationship were also more likely to have had police contact.

Although the woman's material and health resources did not prove to be key factors in her decision to contact the police, given incident severity and fear, we did find that her informal social support was important. The more informal social support and acceptance the women had in her life, the greater the chances she had contacted the police or the police had been contacted for her.

Overall, our results indicate that women contact the police when she has support from an informal social network, and when she is trying to leave. Just the fact that 72% of the women who killed their abusers had gone to the police for help may suggest in the most clear way that women who are trying to leave do all that they can to get away from their abusive partner.

We correctly hypothesized that women who had experienced violence at the hands of a woman were significantly less likely to have police contact than those who had experienced violence at the hands of a man. As suggested by Renzetti (1989), controlling for other variables such as support and severity of violence, women who are abused by women are less likely to report that they had turned to the police for help.

Additionally, we predicted that race/ ethnicity might be an important factor determining police contact. We found that ethnicity was an important factor. Although violence severity is also an important factor in predicting police contact, additional factors are important for Latinas — whether the abuser had an "alcohol problem" whether the woman suffered from depression in the past month, and whether she had any personal income. Our prediction that the abuser's alcohol problem would affect police contact when controlling for other factors, was confirmed only for Latinas. Latinas who reported that they had "an emotional condition that limited you in the past month" and identified the condition as "depression" were less likely to have police contact than other Latinas. Unlike African American and "other" women, controlling for other factors,

Latinas were more likely to contact the police when they said that they had personal income that they controlled.

Reasons for Not Contacting the Police

In line with our findings that abuse severity is connected to police contact, the most common reason for not contacting the police given by the women in the clinic sample was that the violence was not serious enough (see Table 3). In addition, many women reported that they were afraid that police contact would make further abuse more likely, and others said that the abuser had prevented her from contacting the police. Other women said they did not think of calling the police that they did not want to get the abuser in trouble, or they did not believe that the police would not do anything that would be helpful. For others, there were barriers, such as not having a phone or the abuser was a police officer. Some excused the partner or blamed themselves, some reported being embarrassed, and in some cases someone else called the police.

Experiences with Police

When women did decide to call the police, over four out of five of them (84%) reported that the police intervened in some way, with just over half (54%) noting that the police had arrested the batterer (see Table 4). Importantly, women who had contact with the police were significantly more likely to have also sought help from an agency or counselor. This suggests that the police are important gate keepers for linking women with agencies and counselors that they might find helpful.

Our results also show that abused women who became a homicide victim had penetrated deeper into the criminal justice system than the women who were in the CWHRS clinic sample. Eight of the women (18.6%) had gone to court for something related to the violent incidents during the year before her death, compared to 63 (12.7%) of the women in the interview sample. Six of the homicide victims went to domestic violence court and all six received orders of protection against their partners during their original court appearance. This finding is in contrast with Campbell et al. (1998; 2003), who found that in homicide cases the abuser was less likely to have an arrest history.

Discussion and Implications for Practice

Early in our paper, we noted that most abused women try to stop or escape the battering behavior of their intimate partners and they often seek outside help in this endeavor. Using a unique data set, we found that a majority of women (64%) who experienced abuse in the previous year and a majority of women (55%) in our sample who either killed or were killed by an intimate partner did not have police contact. Importantly, however, compared with those who did not have police contact, those who did have police contact were (1) more likely to have experienced more severe abuse; (2) more likely to have tried to leave their abusive partner; (3) and more likely to report

harassing behavior by their partner. Furthermore, women in the homicide samples were more likely than those who were in the clinic sample to have penetrated deeper into the criminal justice system.

We also found that there are important factors that distinguish less severely abused women who have police contact from those who do not.   Women who have police contact are more likely to report that their abuser's have high power and control scores. Further, they are more likely to report that their lives are in danger that their partner has threatened to kill himself, that he is violent against others outside of the house and that he abuses alcohol.

The implications for police and others in the criminal justice system should be clear. When women turn to the criminal justice system, they are in desperate need of help. Those who come to the system are often severely abused, they are being harassed, and they often are trying to leave their abuser.   However, they are realistically fearful of their abusers.   Also important for police agencies and other helping agencies is our finding that women who had contact with the police were significantly more likely to have also sought help from an agency or counselor. This suggests that the police are important gate keepers for linking women with agencies and counselors that they might find helpful. And too, agencies and counselors may be important in helping support women as they turn to the criminal justice system for help. Thus, partnerships between helping agencies, counselors and the criminal justice system may be important for moving further forward in helping battered women

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Table 1: Sociodemographic Information of Abused Women (AW), Abused Homicide Victims (AHV), and Abused Homicide Offender (AHO)

Ethnicity	AW	AHV	AHO	Household Income (from all sources)	AW	AHV	AHO
African American	69.0%	74.4%	95.0%	Less than $5,000	34.5%	17.9%	.0%
Latina	21.3%	14.0%	.0%	$5,000-$9,999	20.2%	23.1%	31.6%
Non-Latina White	7.9%	11.6%	.0%	$10,000-$19,999	20.7%	20.5%	42.1%
Asian/Pacific Islander	.4%	.0%	.0%	$20,000-$29,999	10.2%	23.1%	21.1%
Native American	.2%	.0%	5.0%	$30,000-$39,999	4.8%	12.8%	5.3%
Other	.2%	.0%	.0%	$40,000 or more	9.6%	2.6%	.0%
Multi-racial	1.0%	.0%	.0%	Total N (100%)	(440)	(39)	(19)
Total N (100%)	(494)	(43)	(20)	She doesn't know	(54)		
Refused	(2)			Missing	(3)	(4)	(1)
Not asked	(1)						
Total N (100%)	(496)	(43)		**Age**	**AW**	**AHV**	**AHO**
				18-20 years	17.1%	14.0%	5.0%
Relationship to "Name"[a]				21-25 years	16.1%	20.9%	10.0%
	AW	**AHV**	**AHO**	26-30 years	17.3%	14.0%	10.0%
Current Wife	17.1%	16.3%	30.0%	31-40 years	34.6%	37.2%	35.0%
Ex-or Former wife	4.4%	2.3%	.0%	41-50 years	12.9%	11.6%	30.0%
Current common-law	4.0%	23.3%	45.0%	51-64 years	2.0%	2.3%	10.0%
Ex- or Former com-law	2.2%	.0%	.0%	Total N (100%)	(497)	(43)	(20)
Current girlfriend	32.3%	34.9%	20.0%				
Ex-girlfriend	31.7%	20.9%	5.0%	**Education**	**AW**	**AHV**	**AHO**
Current same-sex part.	2.6%	2.3%	.0%	Less than high schl	48.0%	35.9%	82.4%
Ex-same-sex partner	1.2%	.0%	.0%	High school or GED	23.4%	28.2%	5.9%
Current Other[a]	0.6%	.0%	.0%	Some coll or trade	25.6%	35.9%	11.8%
Former Other[a]	2.2%	.0%	.0%	College, prof. degree	3.0%	.0%	.0%
Child's Father	1.6%	.0%	.0%	Total N (100%)	(496)	(39)	(17)
Total N (100%)	(496)	(43)	(20)	Missing	(1)	(4)	(3)

Note: * , .01; ** <.001;

[a] For the clinic/hospital sample, "Name" refers to the abusive intimate partner, or where there was more than one abusive partner in the past year, the one the women chose as the one who did the most serious incidents or incidents that "bothered you the most." For the homicide sample, "Name" refers to the partner who killed the woman or who was killed by the woman. Other relationship responses (all heterosexual) include "friend" and " lover."

Table 2: Percent of Women Who Contacted the Police in the Past Year, by Maximum Severity of Incident(s) in the Past Year

Police Contacted?	AW		AHV		AHO	
	Less Severe	Severe or Life Threatening	Less Severe	Severe or Life Threatening	Less Severe	Severe or Life Threatening
	(N = 206)	(N = 285)	(N = 7)	(N = 29)	(N = 2)	(N = 16)
Yes	21.4%	40.4%	42.9%	44.8%	100.0%	62.5%
Sometimes	.0	.7	14.3	.0	.0	6.3
Sometimes she called, some-times doctor called	.0	1.1	.0	.0	.0	.0
Someone else called	4.4	11.9	.0	6.9	.0	.0
Tried but Name prevented	.5	.0	.0	.0	.0	0.0
Yes, but in previous year	.5	.7	.0	.0	.0	.0
No	73.3	45.3	42.9	48.3	.0	31.3

*Information about police contact is missing, though information about abuse severity is present, for one AHV less severe case, 3 severe AHV cases, one AHO less severe case, and one AHO severe case.

Table 3: Categorization and Frequencies for Not Reporting To Police

Category	First Reason	Second Reason	Third Reason	TOTAL
It won't help/Police Won't Do Anything	18	10	2	30
Didn't want to	17	8	3	28
Barriers (i.e., no phone, abuser is police)	8	5	1	14
Fear of police (immigrant status, lose kids, or drug use)	9	7	1	17
Did not want to get abuser in trouble	29	2	2	33
Excusing partner/blame self	8	4	1	13
Loved him, he apologized, was not going to leave him	18	8	0	26
Privacy or embarrassed	6	4	1	11
Scared or fear of further abuse	32	5	3	40
He prevented her or threatened her	15	2	0	17
She believed it was not serious enough	85	7	1	93
Abuser left or she did something else to handle it	19	3	1	23
Someone else called the police	5	1	0	6
Did not think of it	34	3	0	37
Other reasons	2	1	0	3
TOTAL	**305**	**70**	**16**	**391**

Table 4: Frequency and Percentages of Police Responses for Interview Sample

Response by Police	Frequency
Responded by seeing her	126
Arrested abuser	83
Had her sign a complaint	67
Took abuser away	62
Made a report	24
They didn't do anything	9
Put her in touch with agency	9
Took her someplace (hospital/safe)	14
Gave her advice*	8
Restraining order	3
Something else	13
Confiscated weapon	2
Arrested Respondent	4
Total:	**424**

*For example: told her how to press charges

Appendix a: Hypotheses

Based on previous research about intimate partner violence, we hypothesize the following:

1. The more severe the physical violence the woman has experienced at the hands of her intimate partner in the past year, the more likely that she has contacted the police or someone else has contacted the police about an incident in the past year.

2. Controlling for incident severity, women who are in fear of their lives (for example, she felt in danger of death in at least one incident, she thinks the abuser is capable of killing her, or the abuser threatened to kill her) will be more likely to have notified the police in the past year.

3. Controlling for incident severity and fear, women who have abusive partners who are extremely controlling (for example, they must know where she is at all times), who threaten to hurt her or the children if she tries to leave, or who prevent her from seeking help will be less likely to have notified the police about a violent incident in the past year.

4. Controlling for incident severity and fear, women who have material, health, and social support resources will be more likely to notify the police. These resources include a safe place she can go to, an independent income she can control, at least a high school education, a current job, the ability to speak English, at least average physical health, no mental problems such as depression or PTSD, and a strong informal support network.

5. Characteristics of the abuser, such as their drug and alcohol abuse, and violence outside of the home will be related to CJS contact.

6. Characteristics of the abuse and abuser may interact with race/ethnicity and the sex of the abusive partner in affecting contact with the CJS and experiences with the CJS.

7. Campbell et al. (1998; 2003) found that a feature that distinguished abuse cases that ended in homicide from those that had not was that in homicide cases the abuser was less likely to have been arrested. Thus we expect that women in the interview sample will be more likely to have had police contact than the homicide case women were in the year previous to the interview and the homicide, respectively.

Appendix B: Instruments And Scales

HARASS

In the self-report scale of stalking and harassment (HARASS), developed by Daniel Sheridan (1992), women are asked whether each of the following statements "describes the behavior of any intimate partner in the past year."

1. Scared you with a weapon.
2. Threatened to harm your pet
3. Threatened to kill himself (herself) if you leave (don't come back).
4. Called you on phone and hung up.
5. Left threatening messages on your voice mail or telephone answering machine.
6. Tried to get you fired from your job.
7. Followed you.
8. Sat in a car or stood outside your home.
9. Destroyed something that belongs to you or that you like very much.
10. Frightened or threatened your family.
11. Threatened to harm the kids if you leave (don't come back).
12. Threatened to take the kids if you leave (don't come back).
13. Left notes on your car.
14. Threatened to kill you if you leave (don't come back).
15. Showed up without warning.
16. Made you feel like he (she) can again force you into sex.
17. Frightened or threatened your friends.
18. Agreed to pay certain bills, then didn't pay them.
19. Reported you to the authorities for taking drugs when you didn't

For the 497 abused women in the clinic/hospital sample, HARASS has a reliability coefficient Alpha of .863 (.888 for Latina women, .855 for black women, and .811 for white or other women). The HARASS score is correlated .455 ($p < .001$) with the maximum severity of any incident in the past year (ranging from 0 to 5). The correlation is .353 ($p < .01$) for Latina women, .467 ($p < .01$) for black women, and .438 ($p < .01$) for white or other women.

Social Support Network (SSN) Scale

Description:

The 12- item SSN was developed by the collaborators of the Chicago Women's Health Risk Study (CWHRS),[14] to provide an instrument appropriate for measuring the social support network for adult women, particularly women challenged by poverty or abuse. The scale's twelve items capture three aspects of informal social support:

  ~ acceptance and support (five items),

  ~ emergency help (four items), and

  ~ access to resources (three items).

The SSN has been widely used in studies by other researchers, is archived in the Health and Social Instruments (HaPI) database, and now exists in three languages: English, Spanish and Tagalog.

Psychometric Properties: Validity and Reliability

In the CWHRS, the Social Support Network scale had a reliability coefficient Alpha = .8359, which is consistently high for women in all three racial/ethnic groups, .8087 for African/American/Black women, .8474 for Latina/ Hispanic women, and .8568 for white or other women. The reliability of the three components of SSN is also high. The reliability of the five items in the acceptance and support component is Alpha = .8202 for all abused women, .8492 for Latina women, .8036 for black women and .7842 for white or other women. The reliability of the four items in the emergency help component is Alpha = .7574 for all abused women, .7679 for Latina women, .7183 for black women and .8053 for white or other women. The access to resources component is the weakest, with Alpha = .4522 for all abused women, .5193 for Latina women and .3287 for white or other women, but it is not reliable for black women (Alpha = .0256).

The construct validity of SSN is high. For the 497 abused women in the clinic/ hospital sample, SSN is correlated significantly with having a personal income she controls (r = .188), not being depressed (r = -.320), not having a PTSD diagnosis (r = -.321), general health in the past month (five-point scale)(r = .267), and not being a homemaker (r = -.321). Women who have lived in Chicago all her live have a higher mean SSN (9.39) than women who have lived in Chicago only three or four years (5.65). Women born in the US have a higher SSN (9.14) than women born elsewhere (6.03). Latina women who interviewed in English have a higher SSN (8.67) than Latina women who interviewed in Spanish (5.96).

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[14]The CWHRS collaborators who took greatest responsibility for developing the SSN were Nanette Benbow, Carolyn Rebecca Block, Jacquelyn Campbell, Alice J. Dan, Barbara Engel, Eva Hernandez, Holly Johnson, Debra Kirby, Leslie Landis, Gloria Lewis, Sara Naureckas and Stephanie Riger.

The twelve items in the SSN are the following:

Acceptance and Support

1. Someone I'm close to makes me feel confident in myself;
2. There is someone I can talk to openly about anything;
3. There is someone I can talk to about any problems in my relationship;
4. Someone I care about stands by me through good times and bad times;
5. Someone I know supports my decisions no matter what they are.

Emergency Help

6. I have someone to stay with in an emergency.
7. Someone I know will help me if I am in danger.
8. I have someone to borrow money from in an emergency.
9. I have someone who will be there for me in times of trouble.

Access to Resources

10. It is difficult for me to ask for help because people don't always speak my language.
11. I would know where to tell a friend to get help if they were harmed or beaten by their partner.
12. I hesitate to tell anyone about my problems because I am worried that the authorities, like DCFS or immigration, may find out.

For the 497 abused women, the reliability coefficient Alpha is .8451 for all 12 items (.8576 for Latina women, .8107 for black women. and .8318 for white or other women). The reliability of the three components of SSN is also high. The reliability of the five items in the acceptance and support component is Alpha = .8202 for all abused women, .8492 for Latina women, .8036 for black women and .7842 for white or other women. The reliability of the four items in the emergency help component is Alpha = .7574 for all abused women, .7679 for Latina women, .7183 for black women and .8053 for white or other women. The access to resources component is the weakest, with Alpha = .4522 for all abused women, .5193 for Latina women and .3287 for white or other women, but it is not reliable for black women (Alpha = .0256).

VIOLENT VICTIMIZATION OF WOMEN: THE FACTORS CONTRIBUTING TO LIFE OR DEATH OUTCOMES.

Janice E. Clifford, Auburn University, Lin Huff-Corzine, University of Central Florida

John P. Jarvis, Federal Bureau of Investigation

Greg S. Weaver, Auburn University

Jay Corzine, University of Central Florida

Thomas A. Petee, Auburn University

Despite the rather substantial body of literature regarding violence against women, to date, little research has been conducted on understanding the dynamics of violent encounters involving women as victims.

The present study draws from the criminal event perspective (Meier, Kennedy & Sacco, 1996; 2001), which focuses on those contextual conditions which lead up to the occurrence of a crime (see Marshall, 2004).

The criminal event perspective simultaneously examines the impact of the victim, the offender and the context on the outcome of a criminal act.

The present research is an extension of our research on violent encounters (see Weaver, et al., 2004) in which we examine the violent victimization of women.

The present study employed National Incident-Based Reporting System data for the years 1995-2000

The dependent variable in the present analysis is whether the outcome of a violent encounter involving a female victim was either an aggravated assault (non-lethal) or a homicide (lethal).

Victim factors included in the analysis were victim age and victim race. Offender factors were offender age, sex and race. We also included the victim-offender relationship (family, acquaintance, stranger and unknown).

Contextual factors included the circumstances of the offense, the offense location, the time the violent encounter occurred, and the weapon used.

Table 1: Logistic Regression of Violent Outcome (0= aggravated assault; 1=homicide) Regressed on Select Victim, Offender, and Circumstance Indicators

Variable	B	S.E.	Wald	Odds Ratio
Victim Age	.010*	.003	8.043	1.010
Black Victim	-.230	.157	2.152	.795
Offender Age	.020*	.003	44.889	1.020
Black Offender	-.148	.153	.927	.863
Male Offender	.602*	.147	16.720	1.826
Robbery	4.344*	.424	104.946	77.027

*: p < .05

Table 2: Logistic Regression of Violent Outcome (0= aggravated assault; 1=homicide) Regressed on Location Indicators

Variable	B	S.E.	Wald	Odds Ratio
Commercial/Retail	-.191	.357	.286	.826
Bar	-.118	.417	.080	.889
Office	.381	.289	1.735	1.010
Street/Parking Lot	-.045	.131	.117	.956
School	-1.152	1.006	1.312	.316
Restaurant	.472	.407	1.343	1.603
Other Outside Location	1.762*	.238	55.030	5.826
Other	.463*	.142	10.693	1.589

*: p < .05 Note that home is the omitted reference category

Table 3: Logistic Regression of Violent Outcome (0= aggravated assault; 1=homicide) Regressed on Time, V-O Relationship and Weapon Indicators

Variable	B	S.E.	Wald	Odds Ratio
Gun	2.490*	.100	623.90	12.067
Knife	1.180*	.119	98.226	3.256
Acquaintance	-.155	.083	3.468	.857
Stranger	-.832*	.224	13.825	.435
Unknown	-.275	.204	1.825	.759
Midnight to 6:00 AM	-.514*	.114	20.512	.598
Noon to 6:00 PM	-.527*	.109	23.287	.590
6:00 PM to Midnight	-.928*	.106	76.536	.395

*: p < .05   Family, and 6:00 AM to Noon were the contrast categories

OPEN DISCUSSION

Recorded by Candice Batton, University of Nebraska

Battered Women Seeking Help: Police Contact and Experiences

Davies, Kim , Carolyn Rebecca Block, and Jacqueline Campbell.

Kathleen Heide: Are there any measures of animal cruelty or harm to other kids?

Response: One of the "harassment" questions asks if abuser ever threatened to harm a pet and if s/he ever actually harmed a pet. This was added in the last year. In the danger assessment, is more discussion on how to ask about child abuse; needed because of reporting requirements. Instead, we asked if the abuser was ever arrested for child abuse and if the abuser ever threatened to harm kids if the woman tried to leave. Plus, there are open-ended questions that give opportunity to talk about this. Many women have lost their kids to social services. In sum, there is more information on these things, but much of it is in narrative form. Also have a calendar history.

Marc Riedel: Would you say that more power and more control means more severe violence?

Response: These were associated; hard to look at separately.

Marc Riedel: Did you talk to the police about what they did? Or get information from women only on what police did?

Response: We spoke only with the women; data represent her perspective.

Marc Riedel: Why is suicide threat by abuser important?

Response: Important because of data on what we know about murder-suicides and the participants in these situations.

Vance McLaughlin: Concept of immediacy doesn't necessarily exist. There may be 3-5 days before a restraining order is put into effect. During this time, the threat of a restraining order could trigger the offender and/or send a signal to police to be on alert.

Response: In Augusta, need to have an attorney in order to get a restraining order.

Chris Fisher: What was current Chicago police policy?

Response: They don't have one. Are a lot of women in the sample who say that they escaped violence by moving to Chicago.

Roland Chilton: Am I correct in assuming that information on dead women came from others? No - it cam from the woman herself, but also from some proxies for relatives and friends of those dead. Also, talking about abuser's power and control over the woman by the abuser (not her own power and control).

Violent Victimization of Women: The Factors Contributing to Life or Death Outcomes

Clifford, Janice E., Lin Huff-Corzine, John P. Jarvis, Greg S. Weaver, Jay Corzine, and Thomas A. Petee

Becky Block: How many cases were robbery related vs. assault?

Response: Will have to look up after presentation.

Becky Block: Are you familiar with my analysis of age disparity done with Todd Shackelford? May want to look at this.

Response: Yes, age disparity would be interesting to look at.

Dick Block: Correct in interpreting log odds for robbery that it means it is 77 times more likely to happen?

Response: Yes, it is odd. Suspect that cases with robbery related incidents were small in number and had a lot of lethal outcomes. Very few that did not have lethal outcomes.

Dick Block: In Chicago in any year there are about 30,000 aggravated assaults and 20,000 robberies and maybe 15% of the robberies involved homicide. Your sample must be nonurban.

Response: Yes, it is a nonurban sample.

Chris Dunn: What was the analytical base?

Response: Single victim, single offender incidents involving either robbery, aggravated assault, or homicide.

Vance McLaughlin: Often have men using crack and threatening their girlfriends for money or drugs.

Response: Coding of robberies falls to the officer.

Vance McLaughlin: Use code builder to define file?

Response: Yes, used incidents.

Marc Riedel: I did a study a few years ago on workplace violence. Found that for women, restaurant workers had high violence rates and other women who had high public exposure in their jobs.

Roland Chilton: Are 1995-2001 all added together?

Response: Yes.

Roland Chilton: NIBRS data range from very small to large cities. It is not accurate to refer to NIBRS data as a smalltown sample. More accurate to say large cities are excluded.

Becky Block: Why did you use only single victim, single offender incidents? Especially with female victims there may be multiple victims - cases where entire family is killed. How hard is it to add this in with NIBRS data?

CHAPTER TEN
CORRELATES OF HOMICIDE

Moderator: Roland Chilton, University of Massachusetts

Presenters:

The Impact of County-Level Prison Population Growth on Homicide Rates:
Evidence from Panel Data for 58 Florida Counties, 1980 to 2000.
> Tomislav V. Kovandzic, University of Alabama at Birmingham

The Relationship Between Drug Use and Murder Among Arrestees.
> Kaye Marz and Christopher D. Maxwell, National Archive of Criminal Justice, University of Michigan and the School of Criminal Justice, Michigan State University

Latino Homicide Victimization: The Effect of Residential Segregation.
> Mark Foxall, University of Nebraska at Omaha

Recorder: Kim Davies, Augusta State University

THE IMPACT OF COUNTY-LEVEL PRISON POPULATION GROWTH ON HOMICIDE RATES: EVIDENCE FROM PANEL DATA FOR 58 FLORIDA COUNTIES, 1980 TO 2000

Tomislav V. Kovandzic, University of Alabama at Birmingham

ABSTRACT

This paper revisits the relationship between prison populations and homicide rates using regression procedures similar to those used in prior state-level panel studies, but with data aggregated to the county-level. The rationale for using counties as the unit of analysis is clear. Counties exhibit greater within-unit variability in both incarceration rates and homicide rates, all of which would be squandered away in a national time series or state panel study. Specifically, we conduct a county-level panel-data analysis using annual homicide and prison population data for 58 of Florida's 67 counties from 1980 to 2000. Florida provides a perfect test site for reassessing the prison-homicide link because the state and the rest of the U.S. have witnessed similar changes in both prison populations and homicide during the time period covered. This is important because if a panel data analysis of Florida counties produces homicide elasticities for prison population significantly lower than those reported by Marvell and Moody (1994) and Levitt (1996) using state panel data then this suggests the latter studies probably suffer from omitted variable bias. That is, by aggregating the homicide and prison data to the state-level, these authors may have mistakenly attributed drops in homicide to prison population growth that were really due to some unmeasured factor not explicitly controlled for in the regression model. This is the same explanation used by Levitt (2001) and Spelman (2000) but with regards to the reason for the large differences between national and state panel studies.

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN DRUG USE AND HOMICIDE AMONG ARRESTEES

(A Work in Progress)

Kaye Marz, National Archive of Criminal Justice Data, University of Michigan,

and School of Criminal Justice, Michigan State University;

Christopher D. Maxwell, School of Criminal Justice, Michigan State University, and National Archive of Criminal Justice Data, University of Michigan

Abstract

The widespread belief that illicit drugs are closely associated with crime, particularly violent crime, has contributed to Americas ᴀWar on Drugs@ and the attendant increases in arrests, convictions, and prison populations. Despite voluminous literature, the different paths into both drug use and crime appear to vary depending on which subgroups of criminals and drug users are studied as well as the time period and specific drug of concern. This paper further explores the nexus between drug use and crime, with a focus on the relative contributions of drug use to homicide and on whether this ᴀnexus@ is constant or depends upon ecological or temporal contexts. Based upon Goldstein's (1985) tripartite model that posits three possible links between drug use and violence, and using data collected over 14 years by the National Institute of Justice=s Drug Use Forecasting (DUF)/Arrestee Drug Abuse Monitoring (ADAM) Programs, this paper describes the patterns of drug use by violent crime type over time.

Introduction

- To determine the extent and the relative contribution of illicit drug use among a population of booked arrestees charged with a "predatory" offense.

- To explore using the Goldstein typology to see if homicides are more of one of his three types than other forms of violent crime.

- In both of the above, to examine change over time as a key issue, i.e., does time matter

Prior Research

Drug Use and Homicide

Goldstein's typology of drug-related homicide (1985) is one of the most often cited models for connecting drug use to violent crime. Goldstein's model proposes three connections: (1) a psychopharmacological relationship exists between drug use

and violent behavior resulting in a homicide as a consequence of short- or long-term ingestion of specific substances by the perpetrator or victim in the event, with one or more of the actors becoming excitable, irrational, and violent, or drug use by the victim may provide a docile target for violent predators. (The psychopharmacological relationship is the focus of our current work-in-progress); (2) an economic-compulsive relationship exists when drug users participate in economically-oriented violence in order to support costly drug use; and (3) a systemic relationship between homicide and drug use exists within the system of drug use and distribution (i.e., drug market interactions).

There are several empirical tests of Goldstein's psychopharmacological relationship. For instance, Cohen (2000) used data from a sample of adults arrested in Washington DC from July 1, 1985 to June 30, 1986 (focused on drug users only, not contrast between users and nonusers). Cohen found heroin use inhibited arrest rates for predatory, drug, and public order/vice offense and had no effect on property/theft; cocaine use inhibited arrest rates for personal-violence, property/theft, and drug offenses; and, PCP use increased arrest rates for personal violence, predatory, drug, and public order/vice offenses; arrest rates declined for property offenses.

Another related study by Lattimore et al. 1997 investigated homicide trends between 1985 and 1994 in eight cities (Washington, D.C., Atlanta, Detroit, Tampa, New Orleans, Richmond, Indianapolis, and Miami). They concluded from their analysis of DUF data linked to other data that drug consumption is related to the level of violent crime and homicide in six of those cities: there is a relationship between cocaine use among arrestees and homicide trends, and the relationship between heroin use and homicide trends was confounded by heroin users being a subgroup of cocaine users. Drugs other than cocaine ("crack") were not associated with homicide trends.

Recommendations Made for Future Research

Both Cohen and Lattimore made several recommendations for future research that we believe could be addressed with existing data.

1.   Cohen's data were from a single city during one time period; we could look at multi-site and time periods to address changes in illicit drug consumption for more generalizability of the results (bullets 1-3).

2.   Focus on arrestees (Lattimore et al. 1997) due to low prevalence of drug use among the general population and arrest is a key point of intervention

These recommendations are data driven and we determined that the DUF/ADAM data in the NACJD could be used to test drug use and homicide using these recommendations.

- Multi-site
- Multiple time periods
- Real world patterns of illicit drug consumption and offending
- Focus on the higher risk population of arrestees

Analysis of the DUF/ADAM Data

- Collected annually from 1987 to 2003: DUF 1987-1997, ADAM 1998-2003, sponsored by the National Institute of Justice

- Collected in 35 sites

- Focused on the three most prevalent drugs: Marijuana, Cocaine, and Heroin

- Relied on the drug use that is independently measured through urine tests

- Selected on the 23 sites with data between 1988 and 2003 and cases with drug test screens. Used any positive marijuana screen even though there was a change in 1998 to a lower level. A comparison of two years of data with both levels indicates about 6% more positives because of the lower level.

- Selected cases with "predatory" offenses resulted in 165,787 cases (41% of all DUF/ADAM interviews), 16 years of data, 3,827 cases for individuals arrested for homicide.

Table 1. Distribution of Predatory Offenses

	N	%
Property	80028	48%
Assault	62139	37%
Robbery	15887	10%
Sex Assault	3906	2%
Homicide	3827	2%

Three Descriptive Questions

- What is the extent of drug use by seriousness of the offense?
- Has the extent of drug use changed over time within offense type?
- Has the relative relationship of drug use and offense seriousness changed over time?

Distribution and Rates of Drug Use Among Arrestees by of Offenses by Time

Figure 1 shows the offenses in the underlying sample over time. Overall, there is about a 20% drop in property offenses, a 25% increase in assault offenses, a 5% drop in robbery, and a slight decrease of sexual assaults and homicide, with homicide dropping more than sexual assault.
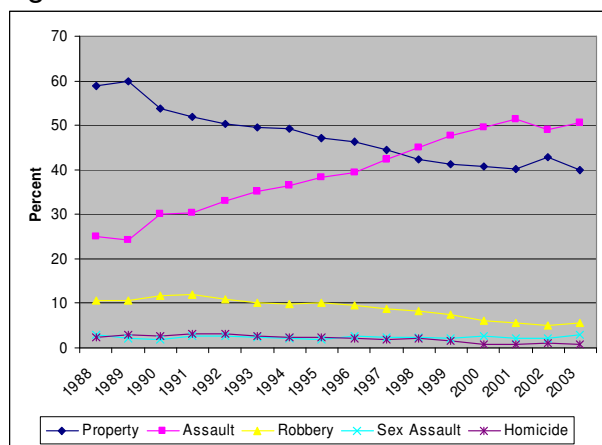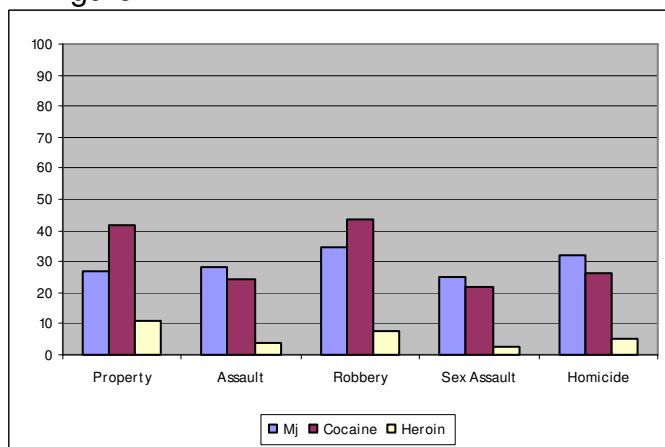
Figure 1

Figure 2

Rates of Drug Use Among Arrestees by Type of Crime, 1988-2003

Figure 2 reports that use of drugs by type of crime during the entire observation period. Marijuana use is higher than cocaine use among those arrested for sexual assault and homicide, while cocaine use is more prevalent for property and robbery. All of the comparisons are statistically significant, even heroin use rates, but this should not be surprising given the number of cases in the analysis.

Our primary interest in this paper is to investigate the change over time and neither absolute nor aggregated values. Accordingly, in the following three figures we present results from these data that display the rate of testing positive for our three key drug use measures over time and by offense. With only a few exceptions, the figures demonstrate that between the late 1980s and early 2000s the majority of arrestees do not test positive for any drugs. The exceptions to this conclusion are for the homicide and robbery arrestees: a slight majority among both groups tested positive for marijuana use during 2000 and 2003 (Figure 3). However, this switch during the later years actually began in 1991. In fact, aggregate marijuana use rose among all offenses starting 1991, about the time homicide rates started to decline. For two of the most serious offenses (robbery and homicide), a spike in use occurred during 1994-1995 and then during the next eight years began to level off even though there was a change the measurement of marijuana use in 1998.
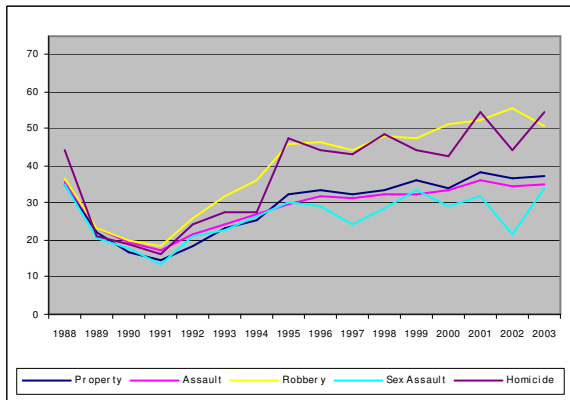
Figure 3

Figure 4

Figure 5

In contrast to marijuana, cocaine use went down among all offense types at a constant slope (Figure 4), although aggregate use among those arrested for property and robbery always remained above the use rates when compared to the other crimes. Heroin use was low and stayed low during the entire observation period (Figure 5). Similar to the cocaine use patterns, the use of heroin is highest among the property crime and robbery arrestees, but their aggregate use patterns are still largely indistinguishable from the others for heroin.

Relative Relationship between Drug Use and Offense Severity

While these descriptive results are useful, a more accurate test of change over time and difference between drugs needs to be performed before reaching any conclusion about the relative degree that drug use contributed to the change in violent crime. Accordingly, we conducted an ordered logistic regression model within each year and then plotted the results for the use measures in Figure 6. The dependent measure was a 5-category measure of crime seriousness, with homicide as the excluded crime category. Besides measures for marijuana, cocaine, and heroin, the regression models included the arrestees' age, sex, and race. Positive values (e.g. drug positives) increase the likelihood of committing a more severe offense, while negative relationships decrease

the likelihood. As depicted in the figure, positive tests for marijuana use always increased the likelihood of a more serious offense. During the same time, a positive test for cocaine use decreased the likelihood of a more serious offense (same as Cohen study). This is similarly true for heroin use (same as Cohen study). Thus, more serious drug use lowers the relative risk of more serious offenses (although Cohen found PCP use increased arrest rates for personal violence).

Figure 6

Three Descriptive Questions

• What is the extent of drug use by seriousness of the offense? The extent of drug use varies by drug type, offense type, and by time.

• Has the extent of drug use changed over time within offense type? Yes, by drug type as well, with cocaine going down and marijuana use rising, particularly among homicide offenders.

• Has the relative relationship of drug uses and offense seriousness changed over time? Yes, over time the more serious offenses are less like to involve cocaine users. Furthermore, by the end of the observation period a smaller percentage of homicide offenders are using cocaine then at any time since the late 1980s. However, the contribution of marijuana use to the likelihood of a more serious offense has not changed much between the late 1980s and early 2000s. Not only is there not much change, but over the entire observation period, those testing positive for marijuana are more likely involved in more serious offenses then those testing negative. For a few years (1994-1995) the use of marijuana raised the risk of a more serious offense by nearly 20%.

Conclusions

• While cocaine use has dropped among all crimes, it is increasingly less relevant among the more serious offenses. There was a smaller pool of homicide offenders by 2003, and of those, fewer are using cocaine.

• Policy choices depend on determining why it dropped. Our analysis shows that the

remaining homicides are less connected to cocaine then they were during the late 1980s and early 1990s. Thus, a continued focus on stopping the remaining cocaine use will result in less reductions in murder. If the drop is due mainly to selective incapacitation then continued focus on enforcement against cocaine use will pay fewer dividends. However, if enforcement created deterrence that in turn lead to a reduction in cocaine use, then there is a risk of reducing enforcement because cocaine use may return to higher levels.

Next Steps

- Finish the data standardization so we can repeat this analysis with interview variables and add the self-reported alcohol use measure as an additional drug of focus. However, because there are changes in the alcohol measure, we will need to make a choice about whether to look at measures that connect more to the typology but less to changes over time. There are better research questions in the later years, but we would then not be able to look across very many years.

- Investigate adding additional controls beyond age, race, and sex, e.g., education, employment, etc.

- Test whether results are evenly distributed across the 25 sites or dominated by some sites.

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Note: Data used in the analysis were a concatenated and restructured version of several data files available from ICPSR:

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OPEN DISCUSSION

Recorded by Kim Davies, Augusta State University

The Impact of County-Level Prison Population Growth on Homicide Rates: Evidence from Panel Data for 58 Florida Counties, 1980 to 2000.

Tomislav V. Kovandzic, University of Alabama at Birmingham

Dwayne Smith: Your implication is no change in rate of prison population in last 10 years but still crime has gone down. Are you comfortable with this?

Kovandzic: I believe the state level studies are flawed and the national are flawed. Mine is more sophisticated. I cannot find prison population matters statistically but of course I believe in prison.

Dwayne Smith: It is important to note that the increase in prison population is among drug users.

Dick Block: Lott and Mustard used pooled crime series analyses.

Kovandzic: This is a pooled county panel data set.

Dick Block: Why not spatial regression?

Kovandzic: It does.

Dick Block: You might want to look at weights around each case. Marvel hypothesis moving county to county using county weights scheme with distance or adjacency matrix.

Kovandzic: That is what I'm working on right now. I am trying to come up with this. Does anyone here believe that mobility is happening?

Roland Chilton: We were surprised when Marvel said at this meeting.

Kovandzic: The findings have been published and not really challenged. According to him, Montana is saving Florida lots of money.

Dick Block: Counties are closer to each other.

Kovandzic: I still don't think it will matter but I am looking at it. It is empirical.

Candace Batton: How test and account for autocorrelation?

Kovandzic: It is automated in STATA and corrected for heteroskedacity.   See handout. Assume first order correlation but does not matter.

Jay Corzine: I have seen many studies of crime rates in Florida and they are always odd and there is a systematic population bias because of tourists who show up in numerator but not in denominator. In Osceola County, more people go to sleep there every night than live there. Could use hotel night data – could be interesting.

Kovandzic: I could do that.

William Pridemore: Donor counties are also recipients so in/out as well. Similar to what Dwayne said. I agree with what you are finding but to be rigorous, you could look at imprisonment for violent crimes or homicide.

Kovandzic: Problem is criticism is criminals do not specialize and we will miss much.

William Pridemore: Violence may be one answer.

Latino Homicide Victimization: The Effect of Residential Segregation.

Mark Foxall, University of Nebraska at Omaha

Kevin Mullen: Whole state? Large cities?

Foxall: Yes

Richard Block: Any information on undercount of Latinos?

Foxall: No there is a problem with undocumented persons in my data.

Dick Block: They will show up in homicides but not in denominator. It will show up as over rate.

Mark Riedel: What you find is consistent with my California study. It surprised me that it was not all that common to have single parent families among Latinos. I found very low rate among Latina women. Do you have anything comparing women?

Foxall: National data with white shows women higher.

Glendene Lemard: You may want to consider political representation: Latino vs. Black representation. And my question is when you look at demographics, how did you work out black and non-black Latinos?

Foxall: Used census data.

Glendene Lemard: Where are the black Hispanics?

Foxall: Had all Latinos together. This will be especially important in the future.

Glendene Lemard: Be careful with white/black data to be sure not to have black Hispanics.

Roland Chilton: How many Hispanics are black?

Glendene Lemard: I don't know. The reports differ by researchers.

Tom Kovandzic: Is it safe to assume the dependent variable is logged?

Foxall: yes

Tom Kovandzic: R squared always goes down with disaggregated data and regression quality test may be good to see if coefficient is different across models.

Becky Block: What is poverty measure correlated with?

Foxall: All – everything.

Becky Block: Did you try some kind of scale?

Foxall: That will be next.

Becky Block: I suggest that you look at different types of homicide if you can. Mix if types may affect /govern results.

Foxall: I can and this is excellent idea. This will definitely be my next step.

Scott Rasmussen: How are you using GINI index.

Foxall: At city level.

Scott Rasmussen: Any idea of income level in those areas for those years?

Foxall: I'll talk to you after the session.

The Relationship Between Drug Use and Murder Among Arrestees.

Kaye Marz, National Archive of Criminal Justice, University of Michigan and the School of Criminal Justice, Michigan State University, and Christopher D. Maxwell, School of Criminal Justice, Michigan State University and the National Archive of Criminal Justice, University of Michigan

Kathleen Heide: I am glad you will add alcohol to your analysis.

Marz: Lab tests for alcohol were done only in 2003. In order to include alcohol for the years of our analysis we will need to use the self report variables, which are available for all years.

Kathleen Heide: My sense based on clinical sample studies is that it is multi-drug connection with marijuana and alcohol and not with marijuana alone. How will you determine economic versus pharmacological effects of these drugs?

Marz: The interview asked how often the arrestees most recently used each drug and if they felt dependent on the drug. If they reported dependence and use and then no use for a few days, the gap in use could indicate desperation. We are hoping to test to see if the variables can be used to measure this.

Dick Block: And systematic?

Marz: In 1998, ADAM started asking about drug market usage, for example, from the same supplier, trade versus cash. These will be drug market indicators hopefully.

Becky Block: What are the alcohol questions?

Marz: How many drinks in 30 days, 1 week, 72 hours were asked for all years. More variables were added in the last redesign, for example, 5 or more drinks over a specified time period. I will have to look at the codebook to list all of them.

Tom Kovandzic: The dependent variable has five categories. How did you do it with OLS and continuous?

Marz: I'm not sure. Chris ran the analysis.

Roland Chilton: I am concerned where this will lead with regard to marijuana and homicide.

Marz: We are wondering about that. We are looking for feedback from the group on what you think about this connection.

CHAPTER ELEVEN
APPROACHES TO VIOLENCE AND HOMICIDE RESEARCH

Moderator: M. Dwayne Smith, University of South Florida

Presenters:

Comparing Incarcerated Homicide Offenders and Non-Homicide Violent
 Offenders Using Personal Interviews: A Work in Progress.
        Leonore M.J. Simon, East Tennessee State University

The Prevalence of Guns: A New Approach to Alternative Measures.
        Gary F. Jensen, Vanderbilt University

Recorder:

Recorded by Janice Clifford, Auburn University

COMPARING INCARCERATED HOMICIDE OFFENDERS AND NON-HOMICIDE VIOLENT OFFENDERS USING PERSONAL INTERVIEWS

(A Work in Progress)

Leonore M.J. Simon, East Tennessee State University

Abstract

This work in progress compares incarcerated homicide offenders with non-homicide violent offenders using data obtained from personal interviews. The sample consists of 270 incarcerated offenders sentenced to prison for violent crimes. This population was selected because offenders sentenced to prison for a violent offense commit the most serious crimes typically threatening or actually harming their victims. Due to the low educational level of most inmates and to ensure complete and high quality data, this study relied on personal, confidential interviews instead of self-administered questionnaires often used in other surveys.

The sample was divided into two groups, homicide offenders and non-homicide violent offenders. Almost half (44%) of the inmates had been convicted of homicide, and 56% were convicted of a non-homicide violent crime. The results indicate that homicide and non-homicide violent offenders are almost identical on characteristics measuring demographic characteristics, attachment and social bonds, educational background and experiences, victim-offender relationships, versatility of offense behavior, juvenile and adult criminal records and other characteristics obtained through personal interviews. Implications of the results for future research and policy are explored.

Introduction

Past popular and scholarly conception of homicide offenders view them as distinct and more specialized than other types of offenders. In fact, specialized journals and books about homicide offenders abound, justifying the need to research them separately from other violent offenders (e.g., Smith & Zahn, 1999). Moreover, within homicide research, disaggregating data is advocated so as to develop typologies that explain different causes for different types of homicide (e.g., Flewelling & Williams, 1999).

Prior research in this area suffers from several problems. The most pronounced problem is that homicide offenders and crimes are typically studied as separate and distinct from general criminal violence. Consequently, little attention is given to the similarities between homicide offenders and other violent offenders (e.g., Marvell & Moody, 1999). Focusing on differences between subgroups often leads to narrow theories that emphasize the situational characteristics of the victim and the offender while ignoring more general theories of offending (e.g., Marvell & Moody, 1999).

This paper examines the assumption that homicide offenders differ substantially from non-homicide offenders in terms of specializing in homicide offenses; victim-offender relationships; demographic characteristics; past criminal records; age of first

involvement in crime and other adult behaviors such as smoking, auto accidents, and sexual behavior; past involvement in reckless, self-destructive behavior; interest in school; intelligence quotient; attachment to parents, teachers, wives, and children; and offense specialization. This assumption underlies most research on homicide.

Given the relatively low base rate of serious violent offenses including homicides, samples based exclusively on imprisoned violent offenders may be the most efficient method of studying the offenders deemed most serious in our society. Moreover, given the increasing number of uncleared homicides in our national data sets often associated with a delay in clearing stranger homicides (e.g., Riedel, 1999), a sample based on convicted homicide offenders provides an opportunity to ascertain the proportion of stranger homicide offenders convicted and incarcerated by the state.

An additional limitation of prior research is the problem of measuring the victim-offender relationship. Research on the victim-offender relationship is hampered by the fact that many essential relationship characteristics are not systematically or consistently collected . For example, many of the studies do not define any of the relationship categories, and if definitions are provided, researchers often fail to specify how the relationships that do not fall directly into one category are coded (e.g., Zahn & McCall, 1999). For example, it is not always clear how researchers distinguish between friend and acquaintance, acquaintance and stranger known by sight, or between complete strangers and strangers known by sight (e.g., Zahn & McCall, 1999).

Moreover, because the collection of data on the victim-offender relationship is fairly recent (Zahn & McCall, 1999), differences attributed to the change in the proportion of a certain category of offenses may be due to inconsistency in coding by local police departments. For example, Zahn and McCall (1999) analyze UCR data from 1963 to 1995 and find that family homicides dropped from 31% in 1963 to 11% in 1995. At the same time, they find that the percentage of homicides with known offenders–and thus, knowledge of the victim-offender relationship–has declined, with a pronounced increase in "unknown" relationships from 6% in 1963 to 39% in 1995. In their analysis based on the UCR, Zahn and McCall find the victim-offender relationships distribution for 1995 as 39% unknown, 32% as acquaintances, 15% strangers, and 11% family.

The applicability of control theory to the study of homicide is ignored by most homicide researchers in favor of social structural and cultural explanations (e.g., Corzine et al., 1999; Messner & Rosenfeld, 1999). Instead of differentiating homicide offenders as distinct, control theory identifies the similarities homicide crimes have with other types of crimes (e.g., Gottfredson & Hirschi, 1990). Like other crimes, homicides provide immediate and little gain to the offender. Typically, the gain to the offender is the removal of a temporary source of irritation or an obstacle to the achievement of some immediate end, such as a successful burglary or robbery. In fact, control theory indicates that far from being the most complex crime type, homicide is the most mundane and easy to explain.

According to control theory, homicide offenders have criminal records similar to those of other offenders, and there is considerable versatility in the types of offenses committed. Gottfredson and Hirschi indicate that the recidivism records of persons arrested for homicide tend to show fewer subsequent arrests than ordinary offenders,

but that these differences are attributable to differences in the length of imprisonment. The absence of specialization in offending suggests that homicide offenders and non-homicide offenders are identical in other ways such as demographic characteristics, past criminal records, behaviors analogous to crime, juvenile criminality, and attachment histories.

Outside of academia, criminal justice professionals view homicide cases and offenders as distinct and develop separate, specialized investigative units to solve homicides. The focus of law enforcement homicide squads on homicide offenders as specialists may be partly reflected in the increases, over the years, in homicides uncleared by arrest.

Until the institution of coding for the victim-offender relationship in national data sets, homicides were assumed to be a stranger phenomenon. Recent analyses of the UCR show just how far from the truth that assumption was. Cases in which the victim-offender relationship is not known to law enforcement constitute 39% of all homicides. Acquaintances constitute the largest category (32%) of known killers, followed by strangers (15%), and family (11%). Thus, of cases in which the victim-offender relationship is known, 43% are family members and acquaintances, and only 15% are strangers. Although some contend that the majority of unknown relationship cases may be strangers, that remains an open question.

The argument for specialization of homicide offenders extends to the victim-offender relationship. For example, domestic violence related homicide offenders are often viewed as specialists in domestic violence. However, what little research exists on the rap sheets of domestic violence offenders shows that up to 80% of them have committed non-domestic violence crimes. Specialization of domestic homicide offenders has long been assumed by corrections professionals, who, for years, have suggested that domestic homicide offenders in prison are model inmates and unlikely to recidivate because in killing their domestic partner, they removed the irritation.

In contrast to the traditional view of the homicide offenders as specialist, control theory posits that homicide offenders are no different from other non-homicide offenders. Control theory identifies similarities between homicide and other crime types. After analyzing the empirical research on what crimes including homicide have in common, control theory indicates that crimes generally provide immediate gratification for the offender (for homicide offenders, the immediate gratification is the removal of the irritation or obstacle to another end in robberies). The benefit from committing crimes and homicides is small. Offenders, including homicide offenders have varied criminal records with few violent crimes and many nonviolent, property crimes and misdemeanor offenses. Crimes, past and present, are mundane and easily explainable. Control theory recognizes that there are individual differences in self-control, the tendency to commit crimes and other destructive or self-destructive behaviors without weighing the consequences. Examining individual differences is a psychological approach and foreign to criminology, traditionally based on sociology. To the detriment of advancing the field, control theory is often ignored in homicide research. Instead, homicide research tends to emphasize social structural and cultural theories of homicide, sociological variables that ignore individual differences and psychological constructs.

This paper examines the traditional assumption specialization of homicide offenders. Specialization is defined as committing one crime type at a high rate. Given the low base rate of violence and homicide in the population, the most efficient manner of studying the topic is the use of inmates incarcerated for violent and homicide offenses. Such data allow for the examination of similarities and differences between homicide and non-homicide violent offenders including the opportunity to determine what proportion of homicide and non-homicide violent offenders are strangers. Homicide and violent offenders are examined on a wide variety of variables from criminal history to attachment and social bonds.

Method

The data were collected as part of a broader study examining victim-offender relationships in crimes of violence. A sample of 270 incarcerated, sentenced offenders who committed homicides or non-homicide violent crimes was recruited from among all the male prison inmates admitted to the Arizona Department of Corrections over a two-year period. This population was selected because of the obvious efficiencies it provides. General population samples and even samples of offenders as a whole provide adequate numbers of violent offenders and offenses only when they are extremely large and expensive.

A crime of violence was defined as an attempt or completed attack against another, with or without a weapon, for which the inmate was convicted. The term attack included attempted or completed acts of homicide, forcible rape and sexual assault of an adult, kidnapping, assault, and robbery. Inmates in all custody levels were interviewed, including inmates in maximum and super-maximum security. They were told that the study was interest in why they committed their crime or were accused of committing it. Participation was strictly voluntary and no payment or benefit accrued to those who chose to be interviewed.

Confidential Interviews

Due to the low educational level of most prison inmates and to insure complete and high-quality data, this study relied on personal, confidential interviews instead of the self-administered questionnaires that have been used in other prisoner surveys (e.g., Peterson & Braiker, 1980; Peterson et al., 1982). This allowed the interviewer to develop a personal rapport with the respondent, ensured that inmates understood the questions, and allowed interviewers to probe further when responses were vague or incomplete. Interviewers were undergraduate and graduate students at a local university who were trained to conduct the interviews and supervised on an hourly basis.

Participation Rate

Of 341 inmates who were approached and asked to volunteer, 273 consented to being interviewed, and 68 (20%) declined. The prison provided access to the records of

those who declined so that comparisons could be made between participants and nonparticipants. Except for a few variables, no significant differences were noted between the two groups. The two groups did not exhibit statistically significant differences in race, educational level, marital status, first offender status, drug and alcohol abuse, type of crime, acceptance of a plea-bargain, length of sentence, or number of disciplinary problems in prison. However, nonparticipants were more likely to be older, less educated, to have victimized strangers, and to have fewer solitary confinements in prison.

Survey Instrument

A structured interview was developed for the overall study that incorporated portions of the first Rand (Peterson and Braiker, 1980) survey and the Richmond Youth Project (Hirsch, 1969). Other questions in the survey measured variables anticipated, after review of past literature, to be associated with social bonds and criminality. The interview was eighteen pages long and took about an hour to administer. Among the questions asked were queries about what crimes and antisocial acts they had committed during a three-year reference period prior to incarceration. Among other queries, inmates were asked about their relationships to their wives, children, schools, and parents.

Subject recruitment began by identifying eligible inmates through the central computer of the Arizona Department of Corrections. If the inmate was sentenced to prison for more than one violent offense, the most serious offense was selected. The hierarchy of seriousness consisted of murder, manslaughter, negligent homicide, rape and sexual assault, kidnapping, aggravated assault, and robbery.

Detailed data on the victim-offender relationship were collected. Most non-robbery violent crime including homicide is committed by family members and acquaintances. Consequently, differences in the victim-offender relationship between homicide and non-homicide offenders are examined.

Results

Quality of Interview Data

A prior study analyzing these data comparing official record information to self-report found high validity and reliability of inmates self-report for data in official records. The data analyzed in this paper was obtained from personal structured interviews with the inmates that, for many variables, cannot be found in the records. Consequently, the validity and reliability of interview data can be expected to yield the level of high quality data that was obtained for data compared to record data and found to be high quality in the prior study. Moreover, the interview data presented in this paper is valuable in terms of yielding information from inmates about their lives and perceptions.

The Victim-Offender Relationship

Table 1 and 2 show a frequency distribution of the victim-offender relationship of homicide and violent offenders. Violent offenders are almost twice as likely to victimize their girlfriends in the commitment offense compared to homicide offenders who are more likely to kill/victimize parents and children. More than half of the violent offenders victimize strangers compared to more than a third of homicide offenders who are more likely to victimize family members and acquaintances.

Characteristics of Homicide and Violent Offenders

Table 3 reveals few differences between the two groups of offenders. Homicide and violent offenders do not differ on age, race/ethnicity, education, IQ, years spent incarcerated, ages when they committed their first crime, were first arrested, or where first found guilty, ages for their first sexual experiences, first experience driving, first cigarette, first dating experience, whether they have children, whether they were involved in car accidents as juveniles and adults, alcoholism, drug addiction, and whether they smoke cigarettes. However, homicide offenders are almost twice as likely to be married compared to violent offenders.

In fact, the two groups are practically identical in their personal and criminal characteristics. Table 3 indicates that both groups begin committing crimes as young as 3-5 years of age. Moreover, the data show that there is a two-year lapse between first crime commission and first arrest, and first arrest and first finding of guilt. On the average, before the offenders are held accountable in the legal system, they have been committing crimes for four years without consequences. At the same time that the offenders are actively committing crimes, only slightly more than a quarter actually graduates from high school.

As Table 3 indicates, half (46% of homicide and 59% of violent) of the offenders have a juvenile record, and almost three quarters (70%, 73%, respectively) possess an adult record. A substantial number (20%, 28%, respectively) have served a prior prison term. Fewer than half of the offenders experience disciplinary problems in prison. Approximately a quarter of both offenders groups perceive that the victim of their offense attacked first. Not surprisingly, homicide offenders are substantially less likely to plea bargain that are violent offenders.

Table 3 details the entrenched criminal background of both groups of offenders. Both groups have an extensive arrest history, have served jail terms numerous times, have been on probation more than once, and approximately a quarter has served prior prison terms.

Criminal Record and Commitment Crime Characteristics

Commitment Charges and Convictions

Table 4 shows the commitment charges and convictions for the two groups of

offenders. In addition to the violent crimes used to sample, the commitment charges and convictions reflect a wide variety of crimes that are not violent such as theft, burglary, conspiracy, and drug crimes.

Adult Criminal Records of Offenders

Table 5 shows the adult criminal records of both types of offenders. Although both groups are in prison for a violent crime, their rap sheets indicate that they do not specialize in violent crimes. In fact, there are few violent crimes in the rap sheets. Instead, the criminal records of both groups are replete with property, drug, alcohol and misdemeanors crimes such as burglary, theft, disorderly conduct, DUI, drug offenses, traffic offenses, fraud, and conspiracy. There are almost no homicides in the background of both groups. Assault, the prototypical violent crime, is equally present in the rap sheets of both groups.

<u>Attachment Characteristics</u>

Table 6 indicates that the attachment characteristics are almost identical between the two groups. Only 60% have people visit them in prison. Although almost half of both groups report having children, almost 70% of them have had no contact with them and were unable to answer questions about their attachment to their children. The absence of relationships with their children may be the best measure of attachment, showing that offenders do not attach themselves to their children and do not seek them out. In terms of social bonds to school, although offenders rated their school ability highly, only half liked school or cared what the teachers thought of them.

Table 6 indicates the offender's relationships to their parents. Approximately a quarter of the offenders had no father figure. Offenders are almost twice as likely to have had a biological mother at home than a biological father at home. At age 16, fewer than half of all offenders wanted to be like their mother, and almost two-thirds wanted to be like their fathers.

Discussion

The results of this study indicate that homicide offenders are almost identical to violent offenders in demographic, attachment, and criminal history characteristics. One of the few differences between the two groups was the victim-offender relationship. Homicide offenders were more likely to have killed a family member of acquaintance. Violent offenders were more likely to victimize strangers. Although both groups were incarcerated in prison for a violent offense, they had few violent offenses in their rap sheets. Instead their rap sheets were filled with property, drug, alcohol, traffic, and theft offenses. Both groups experienced a two-year lapse between committing their first crime, their first arrest, and their first conviction. By the time they were convicted, they had been actively committing crimes with impunity for an average of four years.

The finding of few differences between homicide and violent offenders indicates that homicide offenders do not specialize in homicide crimes. According to control

theory, offenders are versatile and commit a wide variety of crimes. Moreover, the motives for committing homicides are not different from the motives for committing other crimes. Killers and other offenders derive immediate gratification from their offenses and do not consider the long-term consequences of their behavior.

The implication of the findings for investigation of homicides is substantial. Many police departments have specialized homicide squads that investigate homicides. Moreover, law enforcement is generally looking for a suspect that has a background of homicides or other violent behavior. The high percentage of uncleared homicides may be the result of excluding suspects with nonviolent rap sheets from consideration. It is likely that the killers in many uncleared homicides are or have been in prison or jail for nonviolent offenses.

The implication for specialized homicide research is awkward to discuss at a meeting of homicide researchers since this is the bread and butter of many of the attendees. The suggestions would be that the knowledge base of homicide research could be enriched by adopting control theory's approach using individual differences in self-control to explain homicides and incorporating what we know about general criminal offending in our research of homicides.

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Table1. Victim-offender relationship categories

_____

1__Spouse
2__Ex-wife
3__Girlfriend, living together
4__Girlfriend, but not living together
5__Ex-girlfriend
6__Close friend--communicated with that person at least once a week or more for a
      period of, at least, three months
7__Casual friend--communicated with that person at least once a week or less for a
      period of three months or less.
8__Co-worker, customer, business contact, employee, co-defendant
9__Schoolmate, student, teacher
10__Casual acquaintance who used same facilities such as transportation, parks,
      restaurants, or bars
11__Child--Offender's child, step-child, child of girlfriend
12__Parent--Offender's parent
13__Brother/Sister
14__Other relative
15__Neighbor--resided in same building or block, but not in the same household
16__Non-relative acquaintance
17__Stranger--completely unknown--one with whom no previous contact existed
18__Stranger known by sight only--never said more than hello to him/her
19__Other--does not fit into any of other 18 categories

Table 2. Frequency distribution of the victim-offender relationship

	Homicide (120)		Violent (150)	
	f	%	f	%
Spouse	4	3.3	2	1.3
Girlfriend	7	5.8	17	11.4
Child	3	2.5	0	0
Parent	4	3.3	0	0
Close friend	14	11.7	6	4.0
Casual friend	8	6.7	6	4.0
Work/school	16	13.3	14	9.4
Neighbor	6	5.0	2	1.3
Casual acq	4	3.3	2	1.3
Stranger/sight	7	5.8	7	4.7
Comp strang	46	38.3	83	55.7
Other	1	0.8	0	0

Table 3. Characteristics of homicide (n=120) and violent offenders (n=150)

	Homicide offenders %	Violent offenders %
Age:		
15-17	7	13
18-21	17	22
22-25	22	22
26-30	22	17
>30	33	27
Race:		
White	55	53
Black	16	21
Latino	26	20
Other	3	6
H.S. grad.	31	26
Married	46	29
Have kids	44	48
Juv. Acc	39	35
Adult acc	53	52
alcoholic	48	53
addict	48	51
smoke	64	70
Jav. rec.	46	59
Adult rec	70	73
Prior prison	20	28
Disciplinary	43	43
Solitary	55	47
Off. high	47	39
Off. weap.	60	61.0
Viced. high	57	20
Vict. Weap.	19	8
Plea bargain	68	84
Felony murder	5	0
Arm rob charge	18	57
Victim attack first	25	23

Table 3 (cont). Characteristics of homicide (n=120) and violent offenders (n=150)

	Homicide offenders %	Violent offenders %
Number lifetime arrests		
1	18	6
2-3	18	17
4-6	23	27
7-10	13	13
11-15	9	9
16 or more	20	27
Number jail terms		
0	14	12
1-2	57	52
3-5	18	23
6-10	6	9
11 or more	4	5
Num. times on probation		
0	35	25
1-2	47	59
3-5	13	13
6-10	4	1
11 or more	1	1

Table 3 (cont). Characteristics of homicide (n=120) and violent offenders (n=150)

	Homicide offenders %	Violent offenders %
Number prison terms		
0	76	70
1	18	18
2	3	7
3	1	2
4	1	1
5	1	1
more than 5	1	1
Number times parole revoked		
0	87	79
1	9	12
2	2	5
3 or more	3	5

Table 3 (cont). Characteristics of homicide (n=120) and violent offenders (n=150)

	Homicide offenders %				Violent offenders %			
	Min	max	mean	sd	min	max	mean	sd
age	15	66	28	10	15	58	28	9
# times got away	0	300	7	31	0	200	7	24
years incarcer	0	25	4	4	1	35	5	6
# crimes not arrested	0	45	4	8	0	57	8	12
longest no crime	0	48	5	9	0	36	4	6
IQ	65	134	105	14	72	139	103	12
Age first sex	5	21	14	3	4	23	14	3
Age first drive	6	20	14	2	0	22	14	3
Age first cigarette	6	42	14	3	0	32	14	5
Age first dating	7	21	14	3	4	20	13	3
Age first crime	5	65	16	10	3	53	15	7
Age first arrest	6	65	18	10	6	44	16	6
Age first guilty	6	66	20	9	9	54	19	7

Table 4. Charges and convictions of homicide offenders and violent offenders

	Homicide offenders		Violent offenders	
Offense	% Charge	% Convict	% Charge	% Convict
Rape	9.0	8.3	15.0	12.0
Kidnapping	14.3	9.0	20.9	15.5
Armed robbery	27.6	21.8	42.7	36.4
Agg. assault	33.1	28.6	36.4	27.7
Burglary	13.5	8.3	24.8	12.1
Conspiracy	2.3	2.3	1.5	0.5
Weapon	2.3	1.5	1.5	0.5
Endangerment	1.5	2.3	3.4	3.9
Other sex. off.	3.8	2.3	5.3	2.9
Drug crime	1.5	1.5	5.8	3.9
Dis. conduct	0.8	0.8	0.5	0.5
Dom. violence	1.5	0.8	1.5	0.5
Trespassing	2.3	1.5	0.5	0.5
Escape	3.0	1.5	7.8	4.4
Theft	10.5	5.3	11.2	7.3
Fraud	0.8	0.8	0.5	0.5
RSP	1.5	1.5	1.0	1.0
Vandalism	0.8	0.8	4.4	3.4
Parole vio.	0.8	0.8	1.5	1.0

Table 5. Adult crimes in the records of homicide offenders[1] and violent offenders

	Homicide offenders			Violent offenders	
Offense	% Charge	% Convict		% Charge	% Convict
Alcohol	12.0	6.9		7.8	5.4
Arson	0.8	1.5		0.0	0.5
Assault	30.8	17.3		32.7	20.6
Burglary	18.8	11.3		32.7	24.0
Car theft	8.3	5.3		6.8	2.0
Conspiracy	2.3	0.8		2.4	0.0
Contempt	3.8	2.3		3.9	2.5
Corrupt. minor	0.8	0.8		1.0	1.0
Deportation	0.8	0.8		0.0	0.0
Dom. violence	2.3	0.8		0.0	0.0
Dis. conduct	20.3	12.8		22.4	14.9
Drug offenses	16.5	9.2		26.3	19.8
DUI	21.1	14.4		22.9	19.8
Endangerment	0.0	0.0		3.4	2.0
Escape	5.3	3.0		8.8	5.4
Fraud	9.0	9.0		12.2	8.8
Failure to appear	9.0	3.1		11.7	4.9
Kidnaping	3.8	1.5		6.3	2.9
Murder	0.8	0.8		2.0	0.5
Manslaughter	0.8	1.5		0.5	0.5
Neg. Hom.	1.5	1.5		0.5	0.5

Table 5 (cont.). Official Record of Adult Crimes[2]

	Homicide offenders			Violent offenders	
Offense	% Charge	% Convict		% Charge	% Convict
Prob. or par. viol.	7.5	5.3		6.3	4.4
Rape	5.3	3.1		4.9	1.5
Resisting arrest	4.5	1.5		6.3	4.4
Robbery	16.7	10.7		12.8	10.8
RSP	9.0	6.8		8.8	3.4
Sexual offense	6.0	4.5		6.8	1.5
Theft	24.8	17.3		31.2	21.6
Threats	1.5	1.5		2.9	1.5
Traffic offense	15.0	11.4		19.0	11.8
Trespass or B & E	8.3	6.8		14.1	9.3
Vandalism	7.5	3.8		4.4	3.4
Weapon offense	15.8	10.0		15.1	9.3

[1]84.2% of the homicide offenders and 92.2% of the violent offenders had a prior adult record; 47.3% of the homicide offenders and 57.7% of the violent offenders had a prior record as a juvenile.

[2]84.2% of the homicide offenders and 92.2% of the violent offenders had a prior adult record; 47.3% of the homicide offenders and 57.7% of the violent offenders had a prior record as a juvenile.

Table 6. Attachment Characteristics Homicide and Violent Offenders.[3]

	Homicide Offenders %	Violent Offenders %
Visits in prison	62	61
Wife know where	83	83
Wife know who	84	77
You share feelings	81	81
Talk future plans	76	80
Wife explain feel	80	81
Attachment kids[4] Note: 69% of inmates not able answer bec no contact w/kids		
Explain rules	93	80
Explain questions	98	96
Explain feelings	67	67
Future plans	62	64
Kids want to be you	77	82
Social Bonds School		
Liked school	57	54
Cared what teachers thought	53	55
Ability was at least average	87	88
Teachers picked on me	13	11
I felt nervous	28	26
Smoking not school bus.	55	61
Before 18, who Dad		
Real, at home	45	46
Real, not home	5	5
stepfather	16	19
foster father	4	3
grandfather	4	4
Other relative	4	4
Other Adult	1	1
No one	25	23
Before 18, who Mom		
Real, at home	80	80
Real, not home	1	2
stepmom	3	5
foster mother	5	1
grandmother	3	5
Other relative	5	1
Other Adult	3	1
No one	8	5

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[3]If you were married or were living with someone when you were out on the street, did your (wife, girlfriend) know where you were when you were away from home?

[4]If you have children, when you were out on the street, when your children did not understand a rule, did you explain it to them?

Table 6 (cont). Attachment Characteristics Homicide and Violent Offenders.[7]

	Homicide Offenders %	Violent Offenders %
Attachment to Dad		
at 16, Dad knew where	72	70
at 16, Dad knew who	78	77
at 16, Dad explain rules	63	56
at 16, Dad explain things	61	63
at 16, Dad explain feelings	47	43
at 16, you explain future	48	48
you share feelings	48	41
at 16, want to be like	67	63
Attachment to Mom		
Know where you are	69	74
Who you were with	78	77
at 16, Mom explain		
Rules	62	60
things	70	67
Mom explain feelings	65	58
You share future	54	56
You share feelings	52	50
at 16, want to be like	45	47
Attachment to School		
Liked school	57	71
Care what teachers		
thought of you	57	55
Ability average or better	87	88
Teachers picked on me	13	11
Nervous in school	27	28
Smoking not school		
business	54	61

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[7]If you were married or were living with someone when you were out on the street, did your (wife, girlfriend) know where you were when you were away from home?

OPEN DISCUSSION

Recorded by Janice Clifford, Auburn University

Mapping the Firearm Landscape: Understanding the Behavior of Proxies in Research on Guns
Presented by Gary Jensen

Joe Shulka:	Did you pull data on hunting licenses? Measures of prevalence do not correlate with this measure of gunshots.
Jay Corzine:	There is an old article by BobYoung that shows differences in gun ownership by region. The south has higher rates of gun ownership. Women are more likely to own guns. A suggestion is to look at gun ownership by sex. Not much difference between males in regions, but women's greater ownership in the South.
Gary Jensen:	This information may be available in CDC data.
Jay Corzine:	Yes.
Roland Chilton:	What are some other characteristics of gun culture states? Rocky mountain areas, smaller states, areas with lower minority populations.
Gary Jensen:	I looked at minority population in each state. Gun cultures – stable over time. Change in possibly prevalence overtime. Cross-sectional research difficult because some states have history of stable gun culture.
Dick Block:	Is the h and gun culture of concern? For example, gangs, or urban areas.
Gary Jensen:	Analysis was done based on the work of Dugan and Cook. Replication of results attempted to validate some relationships. Can I reconcile measures of inversely related characteristics that relate to gun homicide in different ways?
Dick Block:	Are suicides committed with long guns?
Gary Jensen:	The data does not include suicides.
Dick Block:	Firearm suicides need measures independent of hand gun ownership.
Gary Jensen:	Law that lead to Brady Bill…all gun controls.
Dick Block:	What about a variable to measures urbanality?
Gary Jensen:	Cook talks about studying a rural tradition, not specifically handguns. Urban areas have the highest rates of homicide. Need fewer guns, but look at data with high homicide rates, not high prevalence of guns.
Becky Block:	Percent black rate is an important rate. A better way to do the analysis is to instead disaggregate homicides. Predict back gun homicides to see if rate drops out.

Gary Jensen: Disaggregate data into all types of combinations. Entered handgun homicides, but not looked at yet.

Tomislav Kovandizic: Regress gun availability. Which way does the relationship run?

Gary Jensen: Can you untangle causal relationships?

Tomislav Kovandizic: People who live in areas with higher crime rates may be more likely to own guns.

Gary Jensen: Used Dugan's data for research.

Tomislav Kovandizic: Need more ecological research in this area. Need to look at macro level to get net affect.

CHAPTER TWELVE
POSTERS, DEMONSTATIONS AND LITERATURE DISPLAYS

Presenters:

Teaching About Lethal Violence

 Candice Batton, University of Nebraska

Resources of ICPSR and NACJD.

 Kaye Marz and Christopher Maxwell, National Archive of Criminal Justice Data

State to State Differences in Homicide, and Property and Violent Crime: A Test of Three Criminological Theories

 Lauren Watanabe and Jana L. Jasinski, University of Central Florida

JRSA's Incident-Based Reporting Resource Center

 Lisa Walbolt Wagner, Justice Research and Statistics Association

Spatial and Temporal Change in Chicago Violent Crime

 Richard Block, Loyola University of Chicago

VIOLENCE IN THE CLASSROOM: READINGS FOR COLLEGE LEVEL COURSES ON LETHAL AND NONLETHAL VIOLENCE

Candice Batton, University of Nebraska

Abstract

Courses on violence in general, and lethal violence in particular, are increasingly being taught on college and university campuses across the U.S. The popularity of these courses reflects the popularity of interactive violent video games and television programs focusing on violent crime investigations, such as *CSI, Cold Case,* and *Without a Trace*. A challenge for instructors who teach violence courses is the identification of interesting yet informative readings that are appropriate for undergraduate students. This can be a difficult task given the specialized nature of much violence research and academic writing. This poster contains a list of texts (both monographs and edited volumes) with potential value for college level courses on violence, lethal violence, or murder. With few exceptions, the texts have publication dates of 1990 to the present. The poster also includes examples of topics that could potentially comprise the curriculum in such courses.

If you are interested in the list of potential topics or the list of monographs and edited volumes identified as appropriate readings for violence courses, please contact the author. Candice Batton is an assistant professor in the Department of Criminal Justice at the University of Nebraska. Most of her research focuses on historical trends in crime and violence rates in the United States.

RESOURCES OF THE INTER-UNIVERSITY CONSORTIUM FOR POLITICAL AND SOCIAL RESEARCH (ICPSR) AND THE NATIONAL ARCHIVE OF CRIMINAL JUSTICE DATA (NACJD)

Kaye Marz, National Archive of Criminal Justice Data

Christopher Maxwell, Michigan State University and NACJD

Abstract

Approximately 115 collections in the National Archive of Criminal Justice Data (NACJD) have data about various aspects of homicide. The NACJD exhibit included a table top display and handouts about the NACJD and available products, with emphasis on resources for research on homicide. We explained how to locate these resources, learn more about their contents and structure, and described how to download these data to the researcher's computer for statistical analysis. Some of these data sets are also available on the NACJD Web site for use with an on-line statistical analysis program. These data can be used to answer inquiries about homicide and to create instructional exercises. Information about data on homicide, including those on-line for analysis can be access through the Homicide Data Resource Guide on the NACJD Web site at http://www.icpsr.umich.edu/NACJD/HOMICIDE/index.html.

STATE-TO-STATE STATISTICS: A TEST OF THREE CRIMINOLOGICAL THEORIES

Lauren Watanabe, University of Central Florida

Introduction

Crime is prevalent. The media displays it, the police and other investigators try to solve it, and researchers try to understand and analyze its elements in order to help prevent recurrences. Criminologists attempt to find alternative reasons that crimes occur, accounting for social aspects such as race, economic status, and percent of juveniles in a given area. They also cover demographic qualities such as how long property is left unattended and how well areas are supervised. Many theories have evolved trying to explain the reasons why crimes occur. The ones that are tested in this examination of the United States are routine activities theory, social disorganization theory, and strain theory.

Routine Activities Theory

In order for a crime to occur, there must be three elements: motivated offenders, suitable targets of criminal victimization, and a lack of capable guardians for both persons and property. The theory gets its name from the fact that Cohen and Felson believed that these elements were related to normal, legal, and "routine" activities of potential victims and guardians. They hypothesize that changes in certain daily activities since World War II have put people in places that increase their chances of becoming victims and keep them from guarding their homes and possessions.

Motivation has a greater effect on violent crime, whereas guardianship tends to have a greater effect on property crime (Sloan III & Stahura, 1988). However, guardianship shows to negatively deter crime, so areas having more police officers actually have higher crime rates (Greenburg, Kessler, & Loftin, 1983). This may not necessarily mean that increasing the number of police officers would increase crime rates, because in areas with higher crime rates, police employment is positively affected (Greenburg, Kessler, & Loftin, 1983). Also, more crimes become known to the police force when more officers are added to each community (Sloan III & Stahura, 1988). Since officers are employed to protect citizens, people often see them as the only form of supervision. This is not always the case because according to Felson (2000), the best guardian against crime is someone like a close friend or relative. Even in the study by Sloan III and Stahura (1988), which took 676 suburbs that had crime statistics available through the UCR, found that all three components have some direct or indirect effect on crime, but that guardianship was found to have a positive effect, as opposed to the predicted negative effect.

It seems as though "change in opportunities is the primary determinant of change in property crimes" (Sloan III & Stahura, 1988). These opportunities are what create the motivation. Employment is also an indicator of criminal motivation because it is an opportunity for people to reach monetary goals in a socially approved manner. If employment becomes less accessible, it increases the likelihood for society members to turn to illegal activities and become motivated offenders, in order to achieve material rewards (Sloan III & Stahura, 1988). Many advances in technology (cars, small power tools and weapons, telephones, etc) have provided these motivated offenders with the ability to overcome their targets as well as supplied the targets with proper protection for their property or themselves (Cohen & Felson, 1979). Although, if people are not there to make use of their forms of protection, those forms then become fairly worthless. Daily activities such as work and school, separate people from the those they trust their valuable property, which increases crime opportunities (Cohen & Felson, 1979). Even physical characteristics of crime sites such as architectural and environmental design can decrease suitability and increase guardianship and criminals take these factors into account as well as day and hour patterns (Cohen & Felson, 1979).

A target that is suitable for crime includes both people and inanimate objects waiting to be stolen. These objects are evaluated by the acronym VIVA (value, intertia, visibility, and access) (Felson, 2000). Depending on the intentions of the offender, a target that is too heavy to move or a large person willing to put up a fight is less likely to be seen as a target. That also depends on whether the value is worth that risk, meaning that the object is high in monetary value or is a person the offender would like to kidnap (Felson, 2000). Also, the more visible something or someone is to an offender, the more likely they are to become a target (Felson, 2000). Overall, the routine activities approach to crime prevention suggests that the more supervision one has over other people and their property, the less likely that they will become suitable targets for motivated offenders.

General Hypothesis

The states with higher numbers of motivated offenders and suitable targets and lower numbers of capable guardians will have higher rates of crime.

Specific Hypotheses

The states in which residents report longer travel times to work will have higher rates of property crime, violent crime, and homicide.

Mean travel time to work- travel time to work refers to the total number of minutes that it usually took the person to get from home to work each day during the elapsed time. It includes time spent waiting for public transportation, picking up passengers in carpools,and time spent in other activities related to getting to work (Census).

The states with lower police expenditures will have higher rates of property crime, violent crime, and homicide.

Expenditure- includes only external cash payments made from any source of moneys, including any payments financed from borrowing, fund balances, intergovernmental revenue, and other current revenue. It excludes any intragovernmental transfers and noncash transactions, such as the provision of meals or housing of employees. It also excludes retirement of debt, investment in securities, extensions of loans, or agency transactions. Total expenditures for all government functions do include interest payments on debt, but the justice expenditure data do not (Statistical Abstract, table 341).

The states with higher percentages of males to females will have higher rates of property crime, violent crime, and homicide.

Percent male- the data on sex were derived from answers to a question that was asked of all people. Individuals were asked to mark either "male" or "female" to indicate their sex.

The states with higher percentages of people under the age of 18 will have higher rates of property and violent crime

Percent under the age of 18- age classification is based on the age of the person in complete years as of April 1, 2000 (Census).

The states with higher percentages of people between the ages of 15 and 24 will have higher rates of property and violent crime and homicide.

Percent between 15 and 24- age classification is based on the age of the person in complete years as of April 1, 2000 (Census).

The states with lower numbers of sworn police will have higher rates of property crime, violent crime, and homicide.

Number of sworn police- uniformed sworn officers whose regular duties included responding to citizen's calls for service (Albany sourcebook, table 1.25).

The states with higher numbers of female labor force participation will have higher rates of property crime, violent crime, and homicide.

Female labor force participation- all females 16 years old and over who were either (1) at work- those who did any work at all during the reference week as paid employees, worked in their own business or profession, worked on their own farm, or worked 15 hours or more as unpaid workers on a family farm or in a family business; or (2) were with a job, but not at work- those who did not work during the reference week, but who had jobs or busineses from which they were temporarily absent because of illness, bad weather, industrial dispute, vacation, or other personal reasons. Excluded from the employed are: people whose only activity consisted of work around their own house (painting, repairing, or own home housework) or unpaid volunteer work for religious, charitable, and similar organizations. Also excluded are all institutionalized people and people on active duty in the United States Armed Forces (Statistical Abstract, table 572).

As is mentioned in social disorganization and strain theories, states with lower employment rates will have higher rates of property crime, violent crime, and homicide.

<u>Employment rate</u>- all civilians 16 years old and over who were either (1) at work- those who did any work at all during the reference week as paid employees, worked in their own business or profession, worked on their own farm, or worked 15 hours or more as unpaid workers on a family farm or in a family business; or (2) were with a job, but not at work- those who did not work during the reference week, but who had jobs or businesses from which they were temporarily absent because of illness, bad weather, industrial dispute, vacation, or other personal reasons. Excluded from the employed are: people whose only activity consisted of work around their own house (painting, repairing, or own home housework) or unpaid volunteer work for religious, charitable, and similar organizations. Also excluded are all institutionalized people and people on active duty in the United States Armed Forces (Census).

Social Disorganization Theory

Disorder and malintegration lead to crime and deviance. The more disordered a community is, the higher its crime rates. The inner city neighborhoods tended to have the most physical decay, poor housing, incomplete and broken families, high rates of illegitimate births, and an unstable heterogeneous population. Having these conditions, the types of neighborhoods bred crime and deviance and passed it on from one generation to the next. The further that one got from the inner city, the lower the crime rates.

Transiency and instability cause very unorganized communities and lack legal channels to successful lifestyles. All of which add to the discontentment of the youth within that community (Clowards & Ohlin, 1960). These people suffer breakdowns with relationships and it is not always the case that migrants cause the crimes in these communities. It is often the native of that particular area (Crutchfield, Geerken, Gove, 1982). In fact, Bursik (1988) found that homicide rates in places that originally had migrant populations predicted the rate in new communities. The types of families that live in these highly mobile places are oriented with the present and with survival. There are virtually no aspirations for them to move upward in the social order because they are trying so hard to simply stay afloat (Cloward & Ohlin, 1960). This, however, does not mean that these areas breed crime. Crime requires just as much organization and structure as does any successful legitimate goal. Criminal outcasts live in these types of slums and the attitudes are too individualistic to focus on stable crime subcultures (Cloward & Ohlin, 1960).

General Hypothesis

The states whose communities are disorderly and have weak ties among their members will have higher rates of crime.

Specific Hypotheses

As is mentioned in strain theory, the states with more food stamp recipients will have higher rates of property crime, violent crime, and homicide.

Food Stamp recipients- to qualify for the program, a household must have less than $2,000 in disposable assets ($3,000 if one member is aged 60 or older), gross income below 130 percent of the official poverty guidelines for the household size, and net income below 100 percent of the poverty guidelines. Households with a person aged 60 or older or a disabled person receiving SSI, social security, state general assistance, or veterans' disability benefits may have gross income exceeding 130 percent of the poverty guidelines. All households in which all members receive TANF or SSI are categorically eligible for food stamps without meeting these income or resource criteria. Households are certified for varying lengths of time, depending on their income sources and individual circumstances (Statistical Abstract, Table 569).

As is mentioned in strain theory, the states with a higher percentage of individuals with a Bachelor's degree or higher will have lower rates of property crime, violent crime, and homicide.

Percent of persons with a Bachelor's degree or higher- those who have received a bachelor's degree from a college or university, or a master's, professional, or doctorate degree (Census).

As is mentioned in strain theory, the states with a higher dropout rate will have higher rates of property crime, violent crime, and homicide.

Percent of high school dropouts- individuals who were enrolled in school at some time during the previous school year and were not enrolled at the beginning of the current school year, and have not graduated from high school or completed a state or district approved educational program, and do not meet any of the exlusionary conditions: transfer to another public school district, private school, or state or district approved educational program, temporary absense due to suspension or school-excused illness, or death. The calculation for the dropout rate is as follows: (Number of October 1st 9th through 12th grade dropouts)/ (October 1st 9th through 12th grade enrollment count) (National Center for Education Statistics, table 2).

The states with lower rates of employment were previously mentioned in routine activities theory.

The states with lower marriage rates will have higher rates of violent crime and homicide.

Marriage rates- the individuals who stated that they are married (Census).

The states with higher divorce rates will have higher rates of violent crime and homicide.

Divorce rates- the individuals who stated that they are divorced (Census).

As is mentioned in strain theory, the states with lower per capita income as compared with the United States will have higher rates of property crime, violent crime, and homicide.

Per capita income- the mean income computed for every man, woman, and child in a geographic area. It is derived by dividing the total income of all people 15 years old and over in a geographic area by the total population in that area. Note: income is not collected for people under 15 years old even though those people are included in the denominator of per capita income. This measure is rounded to the nearest whole dollar (Census).

As is mentioned in strain theory, the states with lower median household income will have higher rates of property crime, violent crime, and homicide.

Median household income- the sum of money income received in calendar year 1999 by all household members 15 years old and over, including household members not related to the householder, people living alone, and other nonfamily household members.

Included are in the total are amounts reported separately for wage or salary income; net self-employment income; interest, dividends, or net rental or royalty income or income from estates and trusts; Social Security or Railroad Retirement income; Supplemental Security Income (SSI); public assistance or welfare payments; retirement, survivor, or disability pensions; and all other income (Census).

As is mentioned in strain theory, the states with higher rates of people below poverty will have higher rates of property crime, violent crime, and homicide.

Level of poverty- families and persons are classified as below poverty if their total amfily income or unrelated individual income was less than the poverty threshold specified for the applicable family size, age of householder, and number of related children under 18 present (see table below for poverty level thresholds). The Census Bureau uses the federal government's official poverty definition (Census).

Family of 4 with 2 children under the age of 18- $16,895 (threshold)

1 person household under the age of 65- $8,667 (threshold)

The states with lower homeownership rates will have higher rates of property crime, violent crime, and homicide.

Homeownership rate- a housing unit is owner-occupied if the owner or co-owner lives in the unit, even if it is mortgaged or not fully paid for. The homeownership rate is computed by dividing the number of owner-occupied housing units by the number of occupied housing units or households (Census).

As is mentioned in strain theory, the states with higher rates of renter occupied housing will have higher rates of property crime, violent crime, and homicide.

Renter occupied- all occupied housing units that are not owner occupied,whether they are   rented for cash rent or occupied without payment of cash rent, are classified as renter occupied. Housing units in ''continuing care'' or life care facilities are included in the ''rented for cash rent'' category (Census, summary file 1).

Strain Theory

An integrated society is one that keeps a balance between approved social means and approved goals for obtaining those means. Anomie is social malintegration in which successful goals are not matched equally by a strong emphasis of approved means of obtaining goals. Since worth is judged by material success and things like competitiveness are glorified by the public, Americans often get caught up in wanting everything at any cost. This leads them to break the law in order to achieve success. Many times, as well, disadvantaged minority groups are socialized to hold these same goals in mind, but are blocked off from socially approved means of obtaining those goals. This produces a strain on those types of groups to do whatever it takes to get the American dream, even if it means that they must do it illegally. This type of strain increases crime rates.

Successful people are generally very visible to the public, whether they received that status through legitimate means or not. Especially in impoverished areas, the youth look up to those who have gotten themselves out of poverty and see the criminal ways of achieving their success as a goal. They "…want to be a big shot…Have all the guys look up to [them]. Have a couple of Lincolns, lots of broads, and all the coppers licking [their] shoes" (Cloward & Ohlin, 1960). These successful criminals become role models for the disadvantaged youth.

One of the more common strain responses is that of the corner boy. The corner boy accepts his situation and tries to make the best of it. This does not necessarily make him a delinquent because his delinquency is a response to middle class norms that aren't delinquent. The corner boys don't want to conform to values that don't belong to them. It's actually an American concept to seek to be "as good as" or "better than" anyone else, not a working class concept (Cohen, 1955).

General Hypothesis

The states in which there are higher numbers of disadvantaged groups and whose incomes are lower than the general population will have higher rates of crime.

Specific Hypotheses

The states with more food stamp recipients were previously mentioned in social disorganization theory.

The states with a higher percent of individuals with a Bachelor's degree or higher were previously mentioned in social disorganization theory.

The states with higher drop out rates were previously mentioned in social disorganization theory.

The states with lower employment rates were previously mentioned in routine activities and social disorganization theories.

The states with higher percentages of nonwhites will have higher rates of property crime, violent crime, and homicide.

Percent nonwhite- a person having origins in any place other than the original people of Europe, the Middle East, or North Africa. It does not include people who indicate their race as "white" or report entries such as Irish, German, Italian, Lebanese, Near Easterner, Arab, or Polish (Census).

The states with lower per capita income as compared to the United States were previously mentioned in social disorganization theory.

The states with lower median household income were previously mentioned in social disorganization theory.

The states with higher percentages of people who are foreign born will have higher rates of property crime, violent crime, and homicide.

Percent foreign born- all people who indicated they were either a U.S. citizen by naturalization or they were not a citizen of the United States. Persons born abroad of American parents or born in Puerto Rico or other U.S. Island Areas are not considered foreign born (Census).

The states with higher rates of people below poverty were previously mentioned in social disorganization theory.

The states with higher rates of renter occupied housing were previously mentioned in social disorganization theory.

The states with lower numbers of community hospitals will have higher rates of homicide.

Number of community hospitals- short term (average length of stay less than 30 days) general and special (e.g., obstetrics and gynecology; eye, ear, nose and throat; rehabilitation etc. except psychiatric, tuberculosis, alcoholism and chemical dependency). Excludes hospital units of institutions (Statistical Abstract, table 172).

The states with lower numbers of hospital beds will have higher rates of homicide.

Number of hospital beds- measured in thousands (Statistical Abstract, table 172).

The states with lower numbers of doctors per 100,000 people will have higher rates of homicide.

Number of doctors- measured per 100,000 people. It also excludes doctors of osteopathy, federally-employed persons, and physicians with addresses unknown. Includes all physicians not classified according to activity status (Statistical Abstract, table 163).

Measures

1 Census
2 United States Statistical Abstract
3 National Center for Education Statistics
4 Albany sourcebook

Then main table.**Measures**

Number	Information Source
1	Census
2	United States Statistical Abstract
3	National Center for Education Statistics
4	Albany sourcebook

Variable	Element(s) Measured
Mean travel time to work (1)	Suitable targets, capable guardians
Police expenditure (2)	Capable guardians
Percent male (1)	Motivated offenders
Percent under 18 (1)	Motivated offenders
Percent 15 to 24 (1)	Motivated offenders
Number of sworn police (4)	Capable guardians
Female labor force participation (2)	Capable guardians
Employment rate (2)	Stability (Social Disorganization) and economic strain and financial frustration (Strain)
Food stamp recipients (2)	Disorderly individuals (Social Disorganization) and poverty (Strain)
Percent with a Bachelor's degree or higher (1)	Stability (Social Disorganization) and disadvantaged groups (Strain)
Percent high school dropouts (3)	Stability (Social Disorganization) and disadvantaged groups (Strain)
Marriage rate (2)	Stability of the family
Divorce rate (2)	Breakdown of the family
Per capita income (1)	Economic stability (Social Disorganization) and economic strain (Strain)
Median Household	Economic stability (Social Disorganization) and economic

Income (1)	strain (Strain)
Level of poverty (1)	Those who live in socially disorganized areas (Social Disorganization) and members in society whose economic means cannot match their socially approved goals (Strain)
Homeownership rate (1)	Stability
Renter occupied (1)	Transiency (Social Disorganization) and economic strain (Strain)
Percent nonwhite (1)	Disadvantaged groups
Percent foreign born (1)	Stability (Social Disorganization) and disadvantaged groups who have the same socially approved goals as the majority, but lack the same opportunities to obtain them (Strain)
Number of community hospitals (2)	Economic stability of the community (Strain)
Number of hospital beds (2)	Economic stability of the community
Number of doctors (2)	Economic stability of the community

Data and Methods

The purpose of this study is to both examine relationship between the violent and property crime rates of 1999, 2000, and 2001 among the sixty-seven counties in Florida and also to test the reliability of three criminological theories; Routine Activities, Social Disorganization, and Strain. In order to accomplish these objectives, several official sources of data were used to gather this information including, Florida Statistical Abstract, Florida Census Data Center, Florida Department of Law Enforcement, and U.S. Census 2000. The information was then entered in and S.P.S.S. file and correlations were run to find out if any of the variables were significant.

Conclusions

Routine Activities Theory

The results indicated fairly strong support for Routine Activities theory with regard to property and violent crime rates**.** With property crime, the variables mean travel time to work, percent male, percent of people under 18, and percent of people between 15 and 24 were all significant and consistent with the hypotheses. For violent crime, the variables mean travel time to work and percent of people under 18, were both significant and consistent with the hypotheses. The variables percent male, percent of people between 15 and 24, and the number of sworn police were all significant, but were inconsistent with the hypotheses. For homicide rates the variables mean travel time to work, percent of people under 18, and employment rate were all significant, but only mean travel time to work was consistent with the hypothesis. This variable discussing the number of sworn police may not necessarily mean that increasing the

numbers of officers will increase the crime rates because more officers could have been added to the force as a reaction to increasing crime rates, as was found by Greenburg, Kessler, and Loftin (1983).

Social Disorganization Theory

There was fairly strong support for Social Disorganization theory as well. The significant variables that were consistent with the hypotheses for property crime were number of food stamp recipients, divorce rate, percent of people below poverty, dropout rate and employment rate. Inconsistent with the property crime hypotheses were percent of people with a four-year degree and percent renter occupied. For violent crime, the variables for dropout rate, employment rate and marriage rate were all consistent with the hypotheses, while percent with a four-year degree, percent of people below poverty level, and percent renter occupied were inconsistent. For homicide, percent with a four-year degree, divorce rate, and percent of people below poverty were all consistent with the hypotheses, but employment rate was not.

Strain Theory

The results for Strain theory also showed fairly strong support. For property crime, employment rate, number of community hospitals, and percent renter occupied were not consistent with the hypotheses. Percent foreign born and number of doctors, however, were consistent. The only variables for violent crime that were inconsistent with the hypotheses were number of community hospitals and number of doctors. Dropout out rate, percent nonwhite, foreign born, and employment rate were inconsistent. Only four variables were significant for homicide, employment rate, percent foreign born, percent renter occupied, and the number of doctors per 100,000 people. The only variable that was consistent with the hypothesis was employment rate. The inconsistent variables included percent foreign born, percent renter occupied and number of doctors.

Limitations

The fact that existing statistics were used could have resulted in some error. Some of them may not have been reported accurately and if a survey was used to collect the data, then an accurate sample of the population may not have been drawn. Also, the variables definitely varied more on a smaller level, such as a county or city level, but the project was designed as an expansion of a previous study.

As for Routine Activities theory, the variable measuring the number of sworn police was inconsistent. This may not necessarily mean that increasing the number of police officers will increase crime rates because more officers could have been added as a result of higher crime.

The fact that Social Disorganization and Strain theories had many of the same variables made it so that the project did not cover as wide a range as it should have. In the future, the theories should not be as closely related.

Although there were some drawbacks, this research study contributed some more weight to each of the theories and explored new variables that may have otherwise been overlooked.

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JRSA'S INCIDENT-BASED REPORTING RESOURCE CENTER

Lisa Walbolt Wagner, Justice Research and Statistics Association

The Justice Research and Statistics Association's Incident-Based Reporting Resource Center provides comprehensive information on accessing and using incident-based reporting data for the analysis of crime and reporting of justice statistics. The goal of the Center, which is supported by the Bureau of Justice Statistics, is to facilitate the use of state incident-based reporting (IBR) systems and the National Incident-Based Reporting System (NIBRS) by crime analysts, researchers, and other justice professionals. The Center seeks to put practical analytical information and tools into the hands of analysts who want to work with incident-based data, and to provide a forum where analysts can exchange information and ideas about using IBR data.

The JRSA tabletop exhibit will have information about the IBR Resource Center, as well as handouts about JRSA and its products. JRSA is a nonprofit organization of state **Statistical Analysis Center (SAC)** directors, researchers, and practitioners throughout government, academia, and criminal justice organizations. Among its many activities, JRSA maintains *The Infobase of State Activities and Research*, an online searchable database of state criminal justice research and programs; publishes *Justice Research and Policy*, a peer-reviewed journal, *The Forum* newsletter, and a wide range of resource materials for practitioners; and provides training and technical assistance to state and local agencies. For more information, visit JRSA on the Internet at www.jrsa.org.

SPATIAL AND TEMPORAL CHANGE IN CHICAGO VIOLENT CRIME

Richard Block, Loyola University of Chicago

In this poster, Chicago Police incident information is used to look at changes in violent crime from 1991 to 2003. Robbery, Aggravated Assault, and Homicide all decline over time and the declines parallel each other. However, as demonstrated by the Pareto curves, which compare the percentage of population in a census tract to the percentage of robberies and aggravated assaults in the tract, risk is substantially greater in some areas than others. Further, even with the absolute decline in violence, the relative dangerousness of neighborhoods remained constant. The major exception to this was the south side area which included two major public housing projects in 1991. These were destroyed over the next ten years. In these neighborhoods, the decline in population was mirrored in a decline in violence.

APPENDIX A
PROGRAM OF THE 2005 HRWG WORKSHOP, ORLANDO, FL

HOMICIDE RESEARCH WORKING GROUP
Annual Summer Conference

Conference Theme:
"Homicide Research: Past, Present and Future"

Orlando, Florida
June 3-6, 2005

Thursday, June 2

For early arrivals, there will be an excursion to the Cape Canaveral National Seashore followed by dinner at a restaurant on the coast on Thursday, June 2nd. The National Seashore features the most pristine beach near Orlando, and a wildlife area. Persons interested in signing up for this trip or obtaining more information should contact Jay Corzine at hcorzine@mail.ucf.edu no later than May 31st. The group will leave Orlando at approximately 2:30 p.m.

Friday June 3

8:30 a.m.-   Preconference Workshop: Understanding and Analyzing National-Incident Based

5:00p.m.   Reporting System Data.   University of Central Florida, CL1-219.

John Jarvis, Federal Bureau of Investigation

Thomas Petee, Auburn University

Roland Chilton, University of Massachusetts

Lisa Walbolt Wagner, JRSA

Kaye Marz, ICPSR

7:00 p.m.-   **Opening Reception: To be held at the home of Jim Wright, 4219 Vinita Court,**

9:00 p.m.   **Winter Springs, FL. (Transportation will be provided from the Holiday Inn-UCF at**
   6:30 p.m. with return to the Holiday Inn from Jim's house at 9:00p.m.)

Saturday, June 4

   All sessions held in the Cape Florida Room A-D of the Student Union at the University of Central Florida. Transportation from the Holiday Inn to the UCF Student Union will begin at 7:45 a.m. and end at 8:30 a.m.

8:15 a.m.-   **A light breakfast will be served**
9:00 a.m.

9:00 a.m.   **Announcements and Introductions** (30 minutes)

9:30 a.m.   **Panel Session: Homicide in the Past and Present** (60 minutes)

   Session Chair: *Thomas A. Petee, Auburn University*

   Thirty Years of Homicides in Buffalo, New York: 1905-1935.
   Vance McLaughlin, University of North Carolina-Pembroke

   Homicide in San Francisco's Chinatown 1860-1930.
   Kevin J. Mullen

   A Circumplex Model of Genocide
   Mark A. Winton

   Recorder: *Bill Edison, San Jacinto College North*

10:30 a.m. **Break** (15 minutes)

10:45 a.m. **Panel Session: Factors Associated with Homicide and Violence** (60 minutes)

Session Chair: *Richard Block, Loyola University*

Violence Prevention: The Confluence of Critical Events Lowering Chicago's Homicide Rate in 2004.

Charlie Ransford, The Chicago Project for Violence Prevention, UIC – School of Public Health

Factors Associated with the Extent of Injury in Non-Lethal Incidents of Violence.

John P. Jarvis, Federal Bureau of Investigation, Thomas A Petee, Auburn University,

Janice E. Clifford, Auburn University, Lin Huff-Corzine, University of Central Florida,

Greg S. Weaver, Auburn University, and Jay Corzine, University of Central Florida

Recorder: *To be determined*

11:45 a.m. **Poster, Literature Display Session** (45 minutes)

Poster: Teaching About Lethal Violence. *Candice Batton, University of Nebraska*

Literature Display: Resources of ICPSR and NACJD. *Kaye Marz and Christopher Maxwell, National Archive of Criminal Justice Data*

Poster: State to State Differences in Homicide, and Property and Violent Crime: A Test of Three Criminological Theories. *Lauren Watanabe and Jana L. Jasinski, University of Central Florida*

Literature Display: JRSA's Incident-Based Reporting Resource Center.

Lisa Walbolt Wagner, Justice Research and Statistics Association

Spatial and Temporal Change in Chicago Violent Crime

Richard Block

12:30 p.m.   **Lunch**   (60 minutes)

1:30 p.m.   **Panel Session: Economic Issues and Homicide** (60 minutes)

       Session Chair: *Candice Batton, University of Nebraska at Omaha*

Economic Inequality, Legitimacy, and Cross-National Homicide Rates.

Mitchell B. Chamlin, University of Cincinnati, and John K.
Cochran, University of South Florida

Negative socioeconomic change and homicide in transitional Russia.

William Alex Pridemore, Indiana University, and Sang-weon Kim, Dong Eui University,
Busan, Korea

       Recorder: *Thomas A. Petee, Auburn University*

2:30 p.m.   **Break** (15 minutes)

2:45 p.m.   **Panel Session: Issues in Homicide Clearance** (60 minutes)

       Session Chair: *Kathleen Heide, University of South Florida*

Clearing Murders: Is It About Time?

Wendy Regoeczi, Cleveland State University, John P. Jarvis, Federal Bureau of Investigation, and Marc Riedel, Southeastern Louisiana University

Clandestine Homicide Victims: Exploring for Missing Persons, Lost Bodies & Dead Spaces.

Dallas Drake and Joseph Shulka, Center for Homicide Research

Recorder: *Kimberly A. Vogt, University of Wisconsin-La Crosse*

3:45 p.m.   **Break** (15 minutes)

4:00 p.m.   **First Business Meeting** (60 minutes)

5:00 p.m.   **Panel Session: Homicide and Law Enforcement** (60 minutes)

Session Chair: *Christine Lanier, University of Delaware*

A Study of Agreement between Police Justifiable and Legal Intervention Homicides.

Marc Riedel, Southeastern Louisiana University, and David Rozhon, Southern

Illinois University

Forming Research Partnerships with Law Enforcement: Using GPR to locate Graves of Homicide Victims.

John J. Schultz, University of Central Florida

Recorder: *Dallas Drake, Center for Homicide Research*

6:00 p.m.   **Break until Dinner. Transportation from the UCF Student Union to the Holiday Inn will begin at 6:00 p.m. and end at 6:30 p.m. For dinner you can sign-up for**

the planned dinner, or venture out on your own. There are a number of restaurants in the general vicinity of the Holiday Inn.

8:15 p.m.   Dinner at Il Pescatore Restaurant. Transportation arrangements to be announced.

Sunday, June 5

All sessions held in the Cape Florida Room A-D of the Student Union at the

University of Central Florida. Transportation from the Holiday Inn to the UCF

Student Union will begin at 7:45 a.m. and end at 8:30 a.m.

8:45 a.m.-   A light breakfast will be served
9:30 a.m.

9:30 a.m.   Announcements (15 minutes)

9:45 a.m.   Panel Session: Crime Scene Analysis of Homicide Using the Homicide Profiling Index   Part I (60 minutes)

Session Chair: *C. Gabrielle Salfati, John Jay College of Criminal Justice*

The Homicide Profiling Index (HPI) – A Tool for Measurements of Crime Scene Behaviors, Victim Characteristics, and Offender Characteristics.
C. Gabrielle Salfati, John Jay College of Criminal Justice

A Behavioral Comparison of Single and Serial Homicide.
Steve Hoover and C. Gabrielle Salfati, John Jay College of Criminal Justice

Recorder: *To be determined*

10:45 a.m.   **Break** (15 minutes)

11:00 a.m.   **Panel Session: Crime Scene Analysis of Homicide Using the Homicide Profiling Index   Part II** (60 minutes)

Session Chair: *C. Gabrielle Salfati, John Jay College of Criminal Justice*

Intrafamilial versus Stranger Homicides: The Difference in the Offender Demographics and Crime Scene Actions.
Jisun Park and C. Gabrielle Salfati, John Jay College of Criminal Justice

Analyzing multiple-offender bias-motivated homicides.
Chris Fisher, John Jay College of Criminal Justice

Recorder: *Wendy Regoeczi, Cleveland State University*

12:00 Noon **Committee Meetings and Poster, Literature Display** (60 minutes)

1:00 p.m.   **Lunch** (60 minutes)

2:00 p.m.   **Panel Session: Violence Against Women** (60 minutes)

Session Chair: *Chris Rasche, University of North Florida*

Battered Women Seeking Help: Police Contact and Experiences.
Kim Davies, Augusta State University, Carolyn Rebecca Block, Illinois Criminal Justice Information Authority, and Jacquelyn Campbell, The Johns Hopkins University School of Nursing

Violent Victimization of Women: The Factors Contributing to Life or Death Outcomes.
Janice E. Clifford, Auburn University, Lin Huff-Corzine, University of Central Florida, John P. Jarvis, Federal Bureau of Investigation, Greg S.

Weaver, Auburn University, Jay Corzine, University of Central Florida, and Thomas A Petee, Auburn University

Recorder: *To be determined*

3:00 p.m.   **Break** (15 minutes)

3:15 p.m.   **Panel Session: Correlates of Homicide** (90 minutes)

Session Chair: *Roland Chilton, University of Massachusetts*

The Impact of County-Level Prison Population Growth on Homicide Rates: Evidence from Panel Data for 58 Florida Counties, 1980 to 2000.
Tomislav V. Kovandzic, University of Alabama at Birmingham

The Relationship Between Drug Use and Murder Among Arrestees.
Kaye Marz, National Archive of Criminal Justice, University of Michigan and the School of Criminal Justice, Michigan State University, and Christopher D. Maxwell, School of Criminal Justice, Michigan State University and the National Archive of Criminal Justice, University of Michigan

Latino Homicide Victimization: The Effect of Residential Segregation.
Mark Foxall, University of Nebraska at Omaha

Recorder: *Kim Davies, Augusta State University*

4:45 p.m.   **Break** (15 minutes)

5:00 p.m.   **Panel Session: Approaches to Violence and Homicide Research** (60 minutes)

Session Chair: *M. Dwayne Smith, University of South Florida*

Comparing Incarcerated Homicide Offenders and Non-Homicide Violent Offenders Using Personal Interviews: A Work in Progress.

Leonore M.J. Simon, East Tennessee State University

The Prevalence of Guns: A New Approach to Alternative Measures.

Gary F. Jensen, Vanderbilt University

Recorder: *To be determined*

6:00 p.m. **Break until Dinner. Transportation from the UCF Student Union to the Holiday nn will begin at 6:00 p.m. and end at 6:30 p.m. For dinner you can sign-up for the planned dinner, or venture out on your own. There are a number of restaurants in the general vicinity of the Holiday Inn.**

7:15 **Dinner at Don Pepe's (Cuban restaurant). Transportation arrangements to be announced.**

Monday, June 6

Transportation from the Holiday Inn to the Technology Demonstration Site will

begin at 8:00 a.m. and end at 8:45 a.m.

8:45 a.m. **Technology Demonstration: Use of GPR in Finding Human Remains**
(60 minutes)

John J. Schultz, University of Central Florida

10:00 a.m. **Second Business Meeting** (90 minutes). **University of Central Florida, CAS 192.**

11:30 a.m. **Adjournment**

APPENDIX B
PARTICIPANTS IN THE 2005 HRWG INTENSIVE WORKSHOP
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