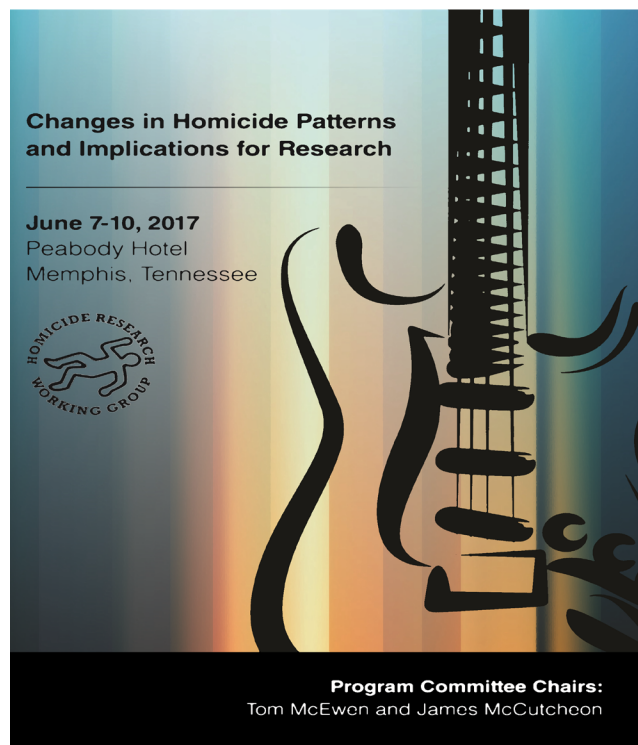# Changes in Homicide Patterns and Implications for Research: Proceedings of the 2017 Meeting of the Homicide Research Working Group

Memphis, Tennessee

Changes in Homicide Patterns
and Implications for Research

June 7-10, 2017
Peabody Hotel
Memphis, Tennessee

Program Committee Chairs:
Tom McEwen and James McCutcheon

Dr. Lin Huff-Corzine (Editor)

University of Central Florida

Homicide Research Working Group Goals

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.

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The views expressed in the Proceedings are those of the authors and speakers, and not necessarily those of the Homicide Research Working Group or the co-editors of this volume.

Homicide Research Working Group

Annual Meeting

June 7-10, 2017

Peabody Hotel

Memphis, Tennessee

Program Overview

Wednesday, June 7, 2017

6:15 p.m. – 9:00 p.m.   ***Opening Reception—Louis XVI Room***

         Open bar and hor d'oeurves begin at 6:15 p.m.

6:45 p.m. – 7:00 p.m.   ***Welcome***
Dr. K.B. Turner
Department of Criminology and Criminal Justice
University of Memphis

7:00 p.m. – 8:00 p.m.   ***Plenary Speaker***
Director Michael W. Rallings
Memphis Police Department
"Homicides in Memphis"

9:00 p.m. – 12:00 a.m.   ***Hospitality Room Open (Room number to be announced)***

Thursday, June 8, 2017

7:00 a.m. – 8:30 a.m.   Breakfast—Forest Room

8:30 a.m. – 8:45 a.m.   Introductions—Venetian Ballroom

8:45 a.m. – 9:00 a.m.   Announcements

9:00 a.m. – 10:45 a.m.   **Panel Session #1**   **Chair: Tom McEwen**

Homicide Trends and Investigations
Reflecting on Recent Homicide Trends and Rate Changes:
Patterns and Implications

Shila Hawk

John Jarvis

Homicide Investigations in Context: Exploring Explanations for the Divergent Impacts of
Victim Race, Victim Gender, Elderly Victims, and Firearms on Homicide Clearances
Wendy C. Regoeczi
John Jarvis
Ashley Mancik

Effective Homicide Investigation Outcomes: What is there besides clearance?
or
Through the eyes of the beholder:

The investigator's view of the good homicide investigation
Richard Hough
Kimberly McCorkle

10:45 a.m. – 11:15 a.m.   **Break**

11:15 a.m. – Noon   **Business Meeting 1**
Greg Weaver

Noon – 1:00 p.m.   **Lunch—Forest Room**
1:00 p.m. – 2:30 p.m. Panel Session #2 Chair: Lin Huff-Corzine

Domestic Violence and Homicide Victimization

The Influence of Domestic Violence in Homicide Cases

Amaia Iratzoqui

James C. McCutcheon

Social Media in Domestic Homicide
Morag Kennedy

Developing a Measure Model of Potential Homicide Victimization
Kat Albrecht

2:30 p.m. – 2:45 p.m.   **Break**

2:45 p.m. – 4:15   **Panel Session #3**   **Chair: Wendy Regoeczi**

Research on Serial Killers

A Forensic Leisure Science Analysis of the BTK Serial Murders: New Questions and Insights on Multiple Homicide
D J Williams

Serial Killers and Serial Rapists: An Analysis of Two Violent Crimes
Lauren Wright
Emily Strohacker

Regional Differences of Serial Killer Victims
Ketty Fernandez
Jolene Vincent

4:15 p.m. – 5:15 p.m.   **Panel Session #4**   **Chair: Dwayne Smith**

Panel Session

The 20th Anniversary of Homicide Studies: A Discussion of the Journal's Past, Present, and Future

Organizer
Dwayne Smith, Founding Editor

Participants
Jay Corzine, 2nd editor (with Tom Petee)
Wendy Regoeczi, 4th editor
Candice Batton, past HRWG treasurer

9:00 p.m. – 12:00 a.m.   *Hospitality Room Open*

Friday, June 9, 2017

7:00 a.m. – 8:00 a.m..   **Breakfast—Forest Room**

8:00 a.m. – 10:00 a.m.   **Panel Session #5   Chair: Richard Hough**

Homicide Victims and Investigations

*The same but not equal? How do the victim characteristics
influence the investigators involvement in the case*

Paweł Waszkiewicz

*Voluntary civilian help in homicide investigations: the need for a policy
for Armchair Detectives*

Piotr Karasek

American Indian Homicide

Jolene Vincent
Lin Huff-Corzine

*Homicidal Violence and its Connection to Hunger and Food Scarcity in
the Ojibwe Nation from 1850-1930*

Jeffrey Mathwig
Dallas Drake

10:00 a.m. — 10:30 a.m.   **Break 10:30 a.m. – Noon**

Panel Session #6   Chair: Tom McEwen

Emerging Concepts on Homicide Research

*Re-conceptualizing Concentrated Disadvantage: Disadvantage by
Inequality Interaction (the Concentration of Disadvantage)*

Bert Burraston
James C. McCutcheon
Stephen Watts
Karli Province

Homicide and the Effect of Racial and Ethnic Heterogeneity: Determining Individual Homicide Rates within the Aggregate Population
Kayla Toohy
James C. McCutcheon

A Phenomenological Perspective of the Motive for Dismemberment Homicide: Piecing it All Together

Dallas Drake

Noon. – 1:00 p.m.   **Lunch—Forest Room**

1:00 p.m. – 2:00 p.m.   **LPS Panel**   **Chair: James McCutcheon**

2:30 p.m. – 4:00 p.m.   **Excursion Options**
     Option 1: Ell Persons Lynching Site Marker
     Option 2: Downtown Lynching Site Tour
     Option 3: The Civil Rights Museum at the
          Lorraine Hotel (General Admission: $15.00)
9:00 p.m. – 12:00 a.m.   *Hospitality Room Open*

Saturday, June 10, 2017
8:00 a.m. – 9:00 a.m.   **Breakfast—Forest Room**

9:00 a.m. – 10:30 a.m.   **Panel Session #7**   **Chair: Tom McEwen**

Potpourri 1

The Homicide of Transgender People in the U.S.: A Descriptive (Baseline) Study
Kim Davies
Melissa J. Tetzlaff-Bemiller
Dallas Drake

Gangs, Homicide, Music and the Mediatization of Crime: Expressions, Violations and Validations
Craig Pinkney
Shona Robinson-Edwards

Faith after Murder: Religion in the Lives of Offenders Convicted Of Homicide Offences
Shona Robinson-Edwards

10:30 p.m. – 11:30 p.m.　　　　　**Panel Session #8**　　　　　**Chair: James McCutcheon**

Potpourri 2

Merging FBI and Census Bureau Data by County Codes
Jolene Vincent
Jay Corzine

Structural Factors Associated with Line of Duty Deaths of Law Enforcement Officers
Melissa J. Tetzlaff-Bemiller
Greg S. Weaver
J. Amber Scherer
Davis Shelfer
Lin Huff-Corzine

11:30 a.m. - Noon　　　　　**Business Meeting 2 and Final Announcements**

　　　　　　　　　　　　　　Greg Weaver

Posters

Thursday, 9 a.m. – 5 p.m.

Friday, 9 a.m. – 5 p.m.

Human Trafficking and Homicide
Madelyn Diaz

Comparison of Databases on Police Shootings of Civilians
Tom McEwen

Restaurants

Memphis BBQ

The Pig on Beale	167 Beale St.	$$
B.B. King's Blues Club	143 Beale St.	$$
Rendezvous	52 S. 2nd Street	$$
Cozy Corner	7335 North Parkway*	$

Pizza/Italian

Capriccio Grill	149 Union Avenue	$$$
Aldo's Pizza Pies	100 S. Main Street.	$$

Burger's and Beer

Flying Saucer	130 Peabody Place	$$
Kooky Canuck	87 S. 2nd St	$$
Huey's Downtown	77 S. 2nd St	$$
Sam's Hamburgers and More	3 S. Main Street	$$

Steak and From the Grill

Texas de Brazil	150 Peabody Pl # 103	$$$
Mesquite Chop House	88 Union Ave	$$$
Flight	39 S. Main Street	$$$
The Majestic Grille	145 S. Main Street	$$$
McEwens Southern Fusion Food	120 Monroe Avenue	$$$

Eastern Cuisine

Yao's Downtown China Bistro	113 S. Main Street #101	$$
Bangkok Alley	121 Union Avenue	$$
Bluefin	135 S. Main Street	$$

Mexican		
Agave Maria Kitchen and Cantina	83 Union Ave	$$

Activities

Thursday, June 8, 2017

Norah Jones Concert	Mud Island Amphitheatre	8:00 p.m.
Robert Randolph and the Family Band	New Daisy Theatre	8:00 p.m.
Breakfast at Tiffany's (Summer movie series)	Orpheum Theatre	7:00 p.m.
Peabody Rooftop Party	Peabody Hotel	6:00 p.m. - 10:00 p.m.(free for hotel guests before 7:00)
Live Music on Beale	Beale Street	All Night, Every Night

Friday, June 9, 2017

Memphis Redbirds Baseball	AutoZone Park	7:05 p.m.
Chris Stapleton	Bank Plus Amphitheater (Southaven, MS)	7:00 p.m.
Live Music on Beale	Beale Street	All Night, Every Night

Places of Interest

Lorraine Motel National Civil Rights Museum	450 Mulberry St	9:00 a.m. -5:00 p.m.
Graceland	3765 Elvis Presley Blvd*	9:00 a.m. -5:00 p.m.
Sun Studio	706 Union Ave	10 a.m. – 6 p.m.
Memphis Bass Pro Pyramid Shops	1 Bass Pro Drive*	8:00 a.m. - 10:00 p.m.

PLENARY SPEAKER

Director Michael W. Rallings
Memphis Police Department

On February 12, 1990, **Michael W. Rallings** joined the Memphis Police Academy. After graduation, he served as a Patrolman and was promoted to the rank of Sergeant in 1996; the rank of Lieutenant in 2001; the rank of Major in 2008; appointed to the rank of Colonel in 2009; and appointed to the rank of Deputy Chief in September 2009, where he commanded Uniform Patrol Division District II, the Special Operations Division, and Uniform Patrol District I. Mayor Jim Strickland appointed Deputy Chief Michael Rallings as Interim Director of Police Services in February 2016 and Director of Police Services in August 2016.

Throughout his 27 years of service, Director Michael Rallings has worked in the Organized Crime Unit, the North Precinct, East Precinct, Central Precinct, South Precinct, Firearms Training Unit, General Investigations Bureau, Felony Response Bureau, Fraud and Document Bureau, Entertainment District Unit, Training Academy, Mt. Moriah Station, and Executive Administration.

Director Rallings is a native Memphian who graduated from Wooddale High School, attended Memphis State University and earned an Associates of Arts Degree from Shelby State Community College.   He is a graduate of the 228th Session of the FBI National Academy.

Director Rallings is also a retired 30-year Veteran of the U.S. Army and U.S. Army Reserve.

Table of Contents

Reflecting on Recent Homicide Trends and Rate Changes:

Patterns and Implications

Facilitated by

Shila Hawk

Applied Research Services, Inc.

John Jarvis

Federal Bureau of Investigation

This session is designed as a throwback to some original purposes of the HRWG. That is to get some feedback from experts in the field as to available data and related research questions. Specifically, this is oriented toward a group debate pertaining to the meeting theme: "changes in homicide patterns and implication for research." The intent is not a presentation of research but more of a consideration of a practical question: "What do these data say about trends in homicide and what, if anything, should an agency garner from this data relative to strategies to curb such trends?

As such, the guided discussion will start with a review of recent fluctuations in homicide rates and rate changes across the US. Working from a table of 60 large cities' 2012 to 2016 homicide counts, rates, rate changes, and comparative rankings, the group will focus on identifying underlying causes and correlates of the trends that the data seem to exhibit. What do we know about causal factors; how well do they explain the current patterns; and, what other hypotheses are relevant – criminal and systematic, micro and macro? What are the cities' attributes and policing climates? What do we know and not know? Participants will be asked to consider the rates and rankings of those cities in light of general violence reduction programs, trends in other Part I crimes, and/or prisoner reentry efforts. Teasing out the contours of these issues will lead to the final part of the session where participants will be asked to consider future research, practice, and policy efforts to inform decision-makers in policing and criminal justice. The success of this effort lies with you and your colleagues in this meeting of the HRWG.

Shila René Hawk, Ph.D.

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Homicides in Large US Cities: 2012 to 2016 (sorted by 2016 Population, decending)

City	Count					Population				
	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016
New York	419	335	333	352	335	8,289,415	8,396,126	8,473,938	8,550,961	8,550,405
Los Angeles	299	251	260	282	294	3,855,122	3,878,725	3,906,772	3,962,726	3,971,883
Chicago	500	414	411	478	762	2,708,382	2,720,554	2,724,121	2,728,695	2,720,546
Houston	217	214	242	303	302	2,177,273	2,180,606	2,219,933	2,275,221	2,296,224
Philadelphia	331	247	248	280	273	1,538,957	1,553,153	1,559,062	1,567,810	1,567,442
Phoenix	123	118	114	113	146	1,485,509	1,502,139	1,529,852	1,559,744	1,563,025
Las Vegas	76	97	122	127	166	1,424,583	1,483,047	1,500,942	1,519,053	1,562,134
San Antonio	89	72	103	94	151	1,380,123	1,399,725	1,428,465	1,463,586	1,469,845
San Diego	47	39	32	37	49	1,338,477	1,349,306	1,368,690	1,400,467	1,394,928
Dallas	154	143	116	136	172	1,241,549	1,255,015	1,272,396	1,301,977	1,300,092
San Jose	45	38	32	30	47	976,459	992,143	1,009,679	1,031,458	1,026,908
Austin	31	26	32	23	39	832,901	859,180	903,324	938,728	931,830
Jacksonville	93	93	96	97	117	840,660	845,745	856,021	867,258	868,031
Indianapolis	97	129	136	144	149	838,650	850,220	858,238	863,675	853,173
Columbus	91	75	83	99	106	809,798	823,253	835,957	847,745	850,106
Fort Worth	44	48	55	61	65	770,101	789,035	812,238	829,731	833,319
Charlotte	52	59	47	61	67	808,504	837,638	856,916	877,817	827,097
Denver	39	40	31	53	53	628,545	648,981	665,353	682,418	682,545
Detroit	386	316	298	295	302	707,096	699,889	684,694	673,225	677,116
Washington, DC	88	103	105	162	135	632,323	646,449	658,893	672,228	672,228
Boston	57	39	53	38	49	630,648	643,799	654,413	665,258	667,137
Memphis	133	124	140	135	190	657,436	657,691	654,922	657,936	655,770
Nashville	62	35	41	72	83	620,886	635,673	647,689	658,029	654,610
Oklahoma City	85	62	45	73	78	595,607	605,034	617,975	630,621	631,346
Baltimore	218	233	211	344	318	625,474	622,671	623,513	621,252	621,849
Louisville	62	48	56	81	117	666,200	671,120	677,710	680,550	615,366
Milwaukee	91	104	90	145	154	599,395	600,805	600,374	600,400	600,155
Albuquerque	41	37	43	42	61	663,684	558,165	559,721	559,721	559,212

Homicides in Large US Cities: 2012 to 2016 (sorted by 2016 Population, decending)

City	Count					Population				
	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016
Tucson	43	47	35	31	31	531,353	525,486	525,796	529,675	531,641
Fresno	51	40	47	39	39	506,011	508,876	513,187	520,837	520,052
Sacramento	34	34	28	43	41	476,557	478,182	482,767	489,717	490,712
Kansas City, Mo	105	99	78	109	127	464,073	465,514	468,417	473,373	475,378
Long Beach	32	34	23	36	33	469,893	469,665	471,123	476,318	474,140
Mesa	14	22	13	16	19	451,391	456,155	462,092	471,034	471,825
Atlanta	83	84	93	94	111	437,041	451,020	454,363	464,710	463,878
Colorado Springs	18	26	20	25	22	432,287	436,108	444,949	452,410	456,568
Raleigh	17	12	16	17	23	420,594	428,993	431,746	439,896	451,066
Omaha	41	42	32	48	29	417,970	425,076	438,465	452,252	443,885
Miami	69	71	81	75	60	414,327	418,394	421,996	437,969	441,003
Oakland	85	90	80	85	85	399,487	403,887	409,994	419,481	419,267
Minneapolis	39	36	31	47	38	390,240	396,206	404,461	413,479	410,939
Tulsa	42	60	46	54	70	398,904	394,498	399,556	401,520	403,505
Wichita	23	15	26	27	34	382,368	386,486	388,413	389,824	389,965
New Orleans	139	156	150	164	173	362,874	377,022	387,113	393,447	389,617
Cleveland	84	55	63	121	132	393,781	389,181	388,655	396,815	388,072
Aurora	29	23	13	24	22	336,952	343,484	353,381	360,237	359,407
St. Louis	113	120	159	188	188	318,667	318,563	318,574	317,095	315,685
Pittsburgh	41	45	69	57	59	312,112	307,632	307,613	306,870	304,391
Anchorage	15	14	12	26	34	299,143	299,455	301,306	301,239	298,695
Cincinnati	46	70	60	66	62	296,204	296,491	297,671	298,478	298,550
Newark	96	112	93	106	95	278,906	278,246	249,110	277,140	281,944
Orlando	24	17	15	32	85	246,513	253,238	159,675	268,438	270,934
Buffalo	48	47	60	41	44	262,434	258,789	258,419	258,096	258,071
Buffalo, NY	48	47	60	41	44	262,434	258,789	258,419	258,096	258,071
Norfolk	34	28	25	28	41	245,303	247,303	247,078	245,400	246,393
Richmond	42	37	41	43	61	207,799	212,830	216,747	220,802	220,289
Birmingham	67	63	52	79	104	213,266	212,001	212,115	212,291	212,461
Rochester	36	42	27	33	43	211,993	210,562	210,347	209,922	209,802
Syracuse	14	21	20	22	30	145,934	143,834	144,534	144,027	144,142
Hartford	23	23	19	32	14	125,203	124,927	124,943	124,553	124,006
Total	5565	5171	5162	6006	6773	49,455,771	49,882,780	50,314,826	51,113,731	51,048,676

* data were derived from multiple sources; primarily from the FBI, US Census Bureau, PDs, and media searches

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APPLIED RESEARCH SERVICES, INC.

Homicide Rates in Large US Cities: 2012 to 2016 (sorted by 5-year Differnce, decending)

Rates (Per 100,000 Residents)

City	2012	2013	2012-'13 Change	2014	2013-'14 Change	2015	2014-'15 Change	2016	2015-'16 Change	5-year Difference
St. Louis	35.46	37.67	2.21	49.91	12.24	59.29	9.38	59.55	0.26	24.09
Orlando	9.74	6.71	-3.02	9.39	2.68	11.92	2.53	31.37	19.45	21.64
Birmingham	31.42	29.72	-1.70	24.52	-5.20	37.21	12.70	48.95	11.74	17.53
Baltimore	34.85	37.42	2.57	33.84	-3.58	55.37	21.53	51.14	-4.23	16.28
Cleveland	21.33	14.13	-7.20	16.21	2.08	30.49	14.28	34.01	3.52	12.68
Syracuse	9.59	14.60	5.01	13.84	-0.76	15.27	1.44	20.81	5.54	11.22
Milwaukee	15.18	17.31	2.13	14.99	-2.32	24.15	9.16	25.66	1.51	10.48
Louisville	9.31	7.15	-2.15	8.26	1.11	11.90	3.64	19.01	7.11	9.71
Chicago	18.46	15.22	-3.24	15.09	-0.13	17.52	2.43	28.01	10.49	9.55
Memphis	20.23	18.85	-1.38	21.38	2.52	20.52	-0.86	28.97	8.45	8.74
Richmond	20.21	17.38	-2.83	18.92	1.53	19.47	0.56	27.69	8.22	7.48
Tulsa	10.53	15.21	4.68	11.51	-3.70	13.45	1.94	17.35	3.90	6.82
Anchorage	5.01	4.68	-0.34	3.98	-0.69	8.63	4.65	11.38	2.75	6.37
Pittsburgh	13.14	14.63	1.49	22.43	7.80	18.57	-3.86	19.38	0.81	6.25
Washington, DC	13.92	15.93	2.02	15.94	0.00	24.10	8.16	20.08	-4.02	6.17
New Orleans	38.31	41.38	3.07	38.75	-2.63	41.68	2.93	44.40	2.72	6.10
Indianapolis	11.57	15.17	3.61	15.85	0.67	16.67	0.83	17.46	0.79	5.90
Las Vegas	5.33	6.54	1.21	8.13	1.59	8.36	0.23	10.63	2.27	5.29
Cincinnati	15.53	23.61	8.08	20.16	-3.45	22.11	1.96	20.77	-1.35	5.24
Atlanta	18.99	18.62	-0.37	20.47	1.84	20.23	-0.24	23.93	3.70	4.94
Albuquerque	6.18	6.63	0.45	7.68	1.05	7.50	-0.18	10.91	3.40	4.73
Kansas City, Mo	22.63	21.27	-1.36	16.65	-4.61	23.03	6.37	26.72	3.69	4.09
San Antonio	6.45	5.14	-1.30	7.21	2.07	6.42	-0.79	10.27	3.85	3.82
Rochester	16.98	19.95	2.96	12.84	-7.11	15.72	2.88	20.50	4.78	3.51
Houston	9.97	9.81	-0.15	10.90	1.09	13.32	2.42	13.15	-0.17	3.19
Norfolk	13.86	11.32	-2.54	10.12	-1.20	11.41	1.29	16.64	5.23	2.78
Wichita	6.02	3.88	-2.13	6.69	2.81	6.93	0.23	8.72	1.79	2.70

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Homicide Rates in Large US Cities: 2012 to 2016 (sorted by 5-year Differnce, decending)

City	Rates (Per 100,000 Residents)									5-year
	2012	2013	2012-'13 Change	2014	2013-'14 Change	2015	2014-'15 Change	2016	2015-'16 Change	Difference
Nashville	9.99	5.51	-4.48	6.33	0.82	10.94	4.61	12.68	1.74	2.69
Jacksonville	11.06	11.00	-0.07	11.21	0.22	11.18	-0.03	13.48	2.29	2.42
Fort Worth	5.71	6.08	0.37	6.77	0.69	7.35	0.58	7.80	0.45	2.09
Charlotte	6.43	7.04	0.61	5.48	-1.56	6.95	1.46	8.10	1.15	1.67
Denver	6.20	6.16	-0.04	4.66	-1.50	7.77	3.11	7.77	0.00	1.56
Columbus	11.24	9.11	-2.13	9.93	0.82	11.68	1.75	12.47	0.79	1.23
Sacromento	7.13	7.11	-0.02	5.80	-1.31	8.78	2.98	8.36	-0.43	1.22
Phoenix	8.28	7.86	-0.42	7.45	-0.40	7.24	-0.21	9.34	2.10	1.06
Raleigh	4.04	2.80	-1.24	3.71	0.91	3.86	0.16	5.10	1.23	1.06
Mesa	3.10	4.82	1.72	2.81	-2.01	3.40	0.58	4.03	0.63	0.93
Dallas	12.40	11.39	-1.01	9.12	-2.28	10.45	1.33	13.23	2.78	0.83
Colorado Springs	4.16	5.96	1.80	4.49	-1.47	5.53	1.03	4.82	-0.71	0.65
Austin	3.72	3.03	-0.70	3.54	0.52	2.45	-1.09	4.19	1.74	0.46
Long Beach	6.81	7.24	0.43	4.88	-2.36	7.56	2.68	6.96	-0.60	0.15
San Diego	3.51	2.89	-0.62	2.34	-0.55	2.64	0.30	3.51	0.87	0.00
San Jose	4.61	3.83	-0.78	3.17	-0.66	2.91	-0.26	4.58	1.67	-0.03
Los Angeles	7.76	6.47	-1.28	6.66	0.18	7.12	0.46	7.40	0.29	-0.35
Newark	34.42	40.25	5.83	37.33	-2.92	38.25	0.91	33.69	-4.55	-0.73
Minneapolis	9.99	9.09	-0.91	7.66	-1.42	11.37	3.70	9.25	-2.12	-0.75
Oakland	21.28	22.28	1.01	19.51	-2.77	20.26	0.75	20.27	0.01	-1.00
New York	5.05	3.99	-1.06	3.93	-0.06	4.12	0.19	3.92	-0.20	-1.14
Buffalo	18.29	18.16	-0.13	23.22	5.06	15.89	-7.33	17.05	1.16	-1.24
Buffalo, NY	18.29	18.16	-0.13	23.22	5.06	15.89	-7.33	17.05	1.16	-1.24
Boston	9.04	6.06	-2.98	8.10	2.04	5.71	-2.39	7.34	1.63	-1.69
Oklahoma City	14.27	10.25	-4.02	7.28	-2.97	11.58	4.29	12.35	0.78	-1.92
Tucson	8.09	8.94	0.85	6.66	-2.29	5.85	-0.80	5.83	-0.02	-2.26
Aurora	8.61	6.70	-1.91	3.68	-3.02	6.66	2.98	6.12	-0.54	-2.49
Fresno	10.08	7.86	-2.22	9.16	1.30	7.49	-1.67	7.50	0.01	-2.58
Miami	16.65	16.97	0.32	19.19	2.22	17.12	-2.07	13.61	-3.52	-3.05
Omaha	9.81	9.88	0.07	7.30	-2.58	10.61	3.32	6.53	-4.08	-3.28
Philadelphia	21.51	15.90	-5.60	15.91	0.00	17.86	1.95	17.42	-0.44	-4.09
Hartford	18.37	18.41	0.04	15.21	-3.20	25.69	10.48	11.29	-14.40	-7.08
Detroit	54.59	45.15	-9.44	43.52	-1.63	43.82	0.30	44.60	0.78	-9.99
Total	11.25	10.37	-0.89	10.26	-0.11	11.75	1.49	13.27	1.52	2.02

* data were derived from multiple sources; primarily from the FBI, US Census Bureau, PDs, and media searches

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Homicide Rate Rankings in Large US Cities: 2012 to 2016 (sorted by 2016 Rank, highest rate)

City	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2014 to '15 Change	2015 to '16 Change	5-year Difference
St. Louis	3	4	1	1	1	5	41	1
Baltimore	4	5	5	2	2	1	58	4
Birmingham	6	6	6	6	3	3	2	3
Detroit	1	1	2	3	4	41	36	60
New Orleans	2	2	3	4	5	18	18	16
Cleveland	9	26	17	7	6	2	14	5
Newark	5	3	4	5	7	33	59	45
Orlando	36	42	31	28	8	21	1	2
Memphis	11	11	10	13	9	53	4	10
Chicago	14	21	22	19	10	22	3	9
Richmond	12	16	15	16	11	38	5	11
Kansas City, Mo	7	9	16	11	12	8	13	22
Milwaukee	21	17	23	9	13	6	27	7
Atlanta	13	12	11	15	14	49	12	20
Syracuse	37	25	24	25	15	29	7	6
Cincinnati	20	7	12	12	16	24	53	19
Rochester	18	10	25	24	17	19	9	24
Oakland	10	8	13	14	18	35	43	47
Washington, DC	23	19	18	10	19	7	56	15
Pittsburgh	25	24	9	17	20	58	33	14
Louisville	38	39	34	29	21	13	6	8
Indianapolis	27	23	20	21	22	34	34	17
Philadelphia	8	20	19	18	23	25	49	58
Tulsa	30	22	26	26	24	26	10	12
Buffalo	16	14	7	22	25	59	29	49
Buffalo, NY	17	15	8	23	26	60	30	50
Norfolk	24	28	29	32	27	31	8	26

Homicide Rate Rankings in Large US Cities: 2012 to 2016 (sorted by 2016 Rank, highest rate)

City	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2014 to '15 Change	2015 to '16 Change	5-year Difference
Miami	19	18	14	20	28	56	55	56
Jacksonville	29	29	27	34	29	46	19	29
Dallas	26	27	33	37	30	30	16	38
Houston	34	32	28	27	31	23	46	25
Nashville	33	51	47	35	32	10	23	28
Columbus	28	33	30	30	33	27	35	33
Oklahoma City	22	30	41	31	34	11	37	52
Anchorage	54	54	53	39	35	9	17	13
Hartford	15	13	21	8	36	4	60	59
Albuquerque	49	44	37	43	37	47	15	21
Las Vegas	52	45	35	40	38	43	20	18
San Antonio	46	52	42	51	39	51	11	23
Phoenix	41	37	39	46	40	48	21	35
Minneapolis	32	34	38	33	41	12	54	46
Wichita	50	56	44	49	42	42	22	27
Sacromento	44	40	48	38	43	17	48	34
Charlotte	47	41	49	48	44	28	31	31
Fort Worth	51	48	43	45	45	37	39	30
Denver	48	47	51	41	46	15	44	32
Fresno	31	36	32	44	47	55	42	55
Los Angeles	43	46	46	47	48	39	40	44
Boston	39	49	36	53	49	57	26	51
Long Beach	45	38	50	42	50	20	51	41
Omaha	35	31	40	36	51	14	57	57
Aurora	40	43	56	50	52	16	50	54
Tucson	42	35	45	52	53	52	45	53
Raleigh	57	60	55	56	54	45	28	36
Colorado Springs	56	50	52	54	55	32	52	39
San Jose	55	57	58	58	56	50	25	43
Austin	58	58	57	60	57	54	24	40
Mesa	60	53	59	57	58	36	38	37
New York	53	55	54	55	59	44	47	48
San Diego	59	59	60	59	60	40	32	42

* data were derived from multiple sources; primarily from the FBI, US Census Bureau, PDs, and media searches

Homicide Investigations in Context:

Exploring Explanations for the Divergent Impacts of Victim Race, Victim Gender, Elderly Victims, and Firearms on Homicide Clearances

by

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Over the last two decades there has been a considerable increase in studies examining what factors influence the clearance of homicide cases. This literature has produced some consistent findings with respect to the impacts of being a child victim, circumstances, and location on clearing a case. For other victim and incident characteristics, the conclusions have been far more varied. This is particularly the case with respect to the effects of victim gender, victim race, elderly victims, and firearms on the likelihood of clearance. Using homicides reported to the National Incident-Based Reporting System between 2008 and 2012, the current study employs Conjunctive Analysis of Case Configurations (CACC) to analyze the combinations of victim and incident attributes that are most likely to lead to cleared homicides. In doing so we seek to assess the variability in impacts of victim gender, victim race, elderly victims, and firearms across contexts as a means of understanding their inconsistent effects in the prior literature.

Introduction

Over the last several decades, a growing body of literature has emerged that has sought to understand what factors influence the likelihood that homicides will be solved. Using various local and national datasets, researchers have built a set of findings that provide insight into what types of cases are easiest and/or quickest to clear in terms of the characteristics of the victim, incident, and occasionally the community. Among the more consistent findings in the clearance literature is that homicides committed with contact weapons (i.e. weapons that bring the victim and offender into close contact with each other such as fists, knives, or blunt instruments)

increase the likelihood of clearing the case (Addington, 2006; Mouzos & Muller, 2001; Puckett & Lundman, 2003; Roberts, 2007). Additionally, felony- and drug-related homicides have been found to have lower clearance rates (Cardarelli & Cavanagh, 1994; Lee, 2005; Litwin, 2004; Mouzos & Muller, 2001; Regoeczi & Jarvis, 2013; Regoeczi et al., 2000; Riedel & Rinehart, 1996; Rinehart, 1994; Roberts, 2007), and homicides occurring indoors are more likely to be cleared (Addington, 2006; Litwin, 2004; Litwin & Xu, 2007; Mouzos & Muller, 2001; Wellford & Cronin, 1999).

The consistency of the findings with respect to child victims, contact weapons, offense location, and felony-related circumstances across studies lends significant credibility to the existence of these patterns. What is perplexing is the variability of findings with respect to other key theoretical variables in the homicide clearance literature, particularly victim gender, race, elderly victims, and firearms. For example, some studies have found that homicide cases involving female victims have an increased likelihood of homicide clearance (e.g. Regoeczi et al., 2000). In others, males have a greater likelihood (e.g., Litwin & Xu, 2007). Still others find no significant effect for gender on homicide clearance (Addington, 2006; Jarvis et al., 2017; Mouzos & Muller, 2001). Similar sets of mixed findings exist with respect to victim race (Litwin & Xu, 2007; Mouzos & Muller, 2001; Regoeczi et al., 2000), elderly victims (Addington, 2006; Lee, 2005; Puckett & Lundman, 2003; Regoeczi et al., 2000; Roberts, 2007; Roberts & Roberts, 2016) and the use of a firearm (Litwin, 2004; Marché, 1994; Mouzos & Muller, 2001; Regoeczi et al., 2000).

A potential explanation for the inconsistent findings is the application of a "direct effects" model to analyses of homicide clearance data. This type of model assumes that each of these characteristics has the same impact on homicide clearances across all contexts. For example, when using logistic regression or Cox proportional hazards models to predict the likelihood of clearing a homicide or the time to homicide clearance, the variables included in the models are treated solely as having a main effect on the outcome of clearance. Thus, the impact of having a female victim on the likelihood of clearance is presumed to be the same regardless of whether the female is young or old, black or white, killed with a firearm or other weapon, killed during an argument or felony, or killed in a home or elsewhere. To assess whether this assumption is valid, it is necessary to determine whether homicides involving female victims always have a higher likelihood of clearance than homicides of males (regardless of the other characteristics of the victim or incident) through an examination of the clearance rate of different female victim homicides with different combinations of victim and incident attributes. In doing so we can assess whether female victim homicides have a greater likelihood of clearance in some contexts than others, or whether female victim homicides have a greater likelihood of clearance in some contexts and a lower likelihood of clearance in others. The existence of either pattern of variation in the likelihood of clearance for female victim homicides could then shed light on the lack of clear picture in the existing literature on whether and how having a female victim influences case clearance. Further, it would provide insight into the question of under what conditions the homicide of a female is more likely to be cleared. Deriving this type of information by running traditional main effects models would simply not be possible, as it would require including more interaction terms than the model could handle. We use an alternative technique, Conjunctive Analysis of Case Configurations (CACC), to examine the contextual

variation in homicide clearances across victim and incident characteristics. CACC is a crosscase comparative method for identifying and testing causal relationships among multiple categorical variables (Miethe, Hart, & Regoeczi, 2008). Application of this method shifts the study of homicide clearances from a variable-focused to a case-focused approach.

Methodology

Data

The current study uses five years of data from the FBI's National Incident-Based Reporting System (NIBRS) for the years 2008 to 2012 obtained from the Inter-university Consortium for Political and Social Research (ICPSR). During this time period, a total of 9,392 homicides were reported to NIBRS. Removing cases with missing data on the key variables in the analysis resulted in a final dataset of 7,967 cases.

Measures

CACC requires the construction of dichotomous variables for the variables of interest. For the key characteristics of gender, race, elderly victim, and firearm, we included dichotomous variables of female/male, white/non-white, elderly victim (age 65 and over)/non-elderly victim (under age 65), and firearm/non-firearm. We also included three other variables that are likely to impact whether the case is cleared given their significant effects in prior studies: child victim (under 10 years of age), residential location, and whether the homicide resulted from an argument. The dependent variable in the analysis is whether the case was cleared by arrest or uncleared (exceptional clearances are excluded). Descriptive statistics for all variables used in the analysis are displayed in Table 1.

Table 1

Descriptive Statistics for Homicides Reported to NIBRS, 2008-2012 (N=7,967)

Characteristic	Frequency	Percent
Victim Sex		
Female	2,016	25.3%
Male	5,951	74.7%
Victim Race		
White	3,739	46.9%
Non-White	4,228	53.1%
Elderly Victim		
Age 65 & Over	453	5.7%
Under 65 Years	7,514	94.3%
Child Victim		
Under 10 Years 11	405	5.1%
Years & Over	7,562	94.9%
Firearm		
Firearm Non-	4,928	61.9%
Firearm	3,039	38.1%
Location		
Residence	4,738	59.5%
Non-Residence	3,229	40.5%
Circumstances		
Argument	2,440	30.6%
Non-Argument	5,527	69.4%
Clearance		
Cleared	3,983	50%
Uncleared	3,984	50%

Results

The first step in the conjunctive analysis was to create a data matrix of all possible combinations of case configurations by examining all possible combinations of the seven independent variables in terms of the outcome of case clearance. Of the 128 possible profiles (2^7), 83 occurred in the data. Case configurations varied widely in their relative proportion of cases cleared from 0 percent to 100 percent cleared. We also observed substantial situational clustering within the data; 10 profiles account for 58 percent of the cases.

Table 2 shows the descriptive statistics for the contextual variability of the main effects of each group difference in the likelihood the case will be cleared for the four key variables of interest in this study.

Table 2

Descriptive Statistics for Contextual Variability in Main Effects

Variable	Mean	Median	Range
Female vs. Male Victim	.02	-0.01	-.50- to 1.00
White vs. Non-White Victim	.11	.07	-.40 to 1.00
Elderly vs. Non-Elderly Victim	-.01	-.02	-.81 to 0.65
Firearm vs. Non-Firearm	-.17	-.17	-1.00 to 0.43

The results in Table 2 reveal that the firearm variable has the largest main effect on clearing homicide cases. Across all contexts, clearances were 17% lower on average for cases involving firearms compared to other weapons. However, Table 2 also indicates that there is considerable variability across contexts in the impacts of these variables on clearance status. As can be seen in Column 4 of Table 2, for example, although the average effect of being elderly on homicide clearance is very small, the difference between elderly and non-elderly victims on the percent of homicides cleared ranges anywhere from 81 percent lower to 65 percent higher. The boxplot in Figure 1 provides a visual display of this contextual variability for the four variables of interest in this study.

Figure 1

Boxplot Displaying Contextual Variability in the Effects of Victim Gender, Race, Elderly Victim, and Firearms on Homicide Clearance
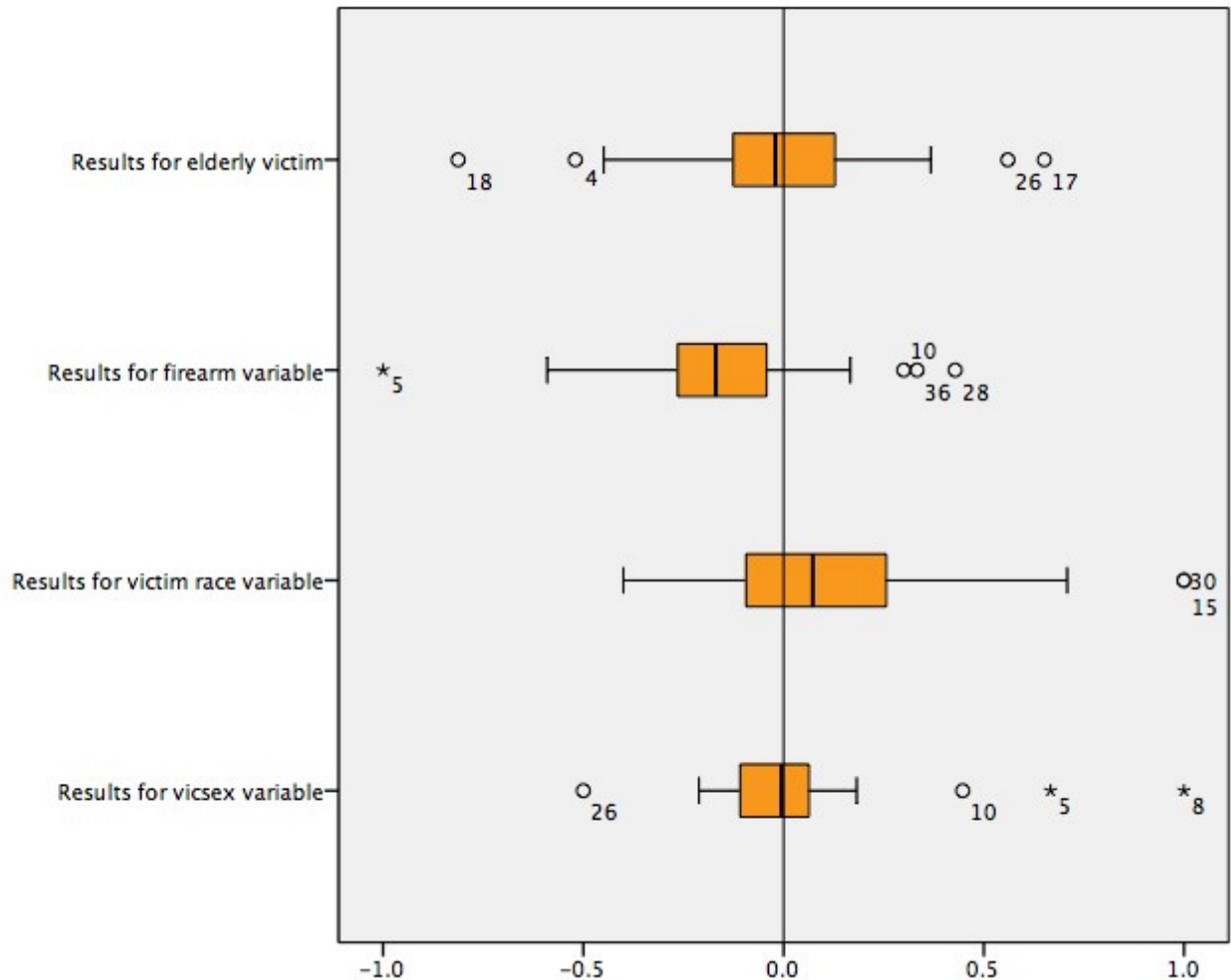
Discussion

This study uses Conjunctive Analysis of Case Configurations to explore the possibility that significant contextual variability in the effects of victim sex, victim race, elderly victim, and firearms on homicide clearance explains the varied findings with respect to these variables in the literature to date. Our findings provide support for this argument by demonstrating that there is considerable variation in the effects of these variables, particularly for victim race and elderly victims.

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Effective Homicide Investigation
Outcomes: What is there besides
clearance? or

Through the eyes of the beholder:

The investigator's view of the good homicide investigation

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The project outlines a comparative examination of homicide investigators and investigations in the U.S. and the UK. This research project focuses on what is considered a "successful" investigation absent clearing the homicide by an arrest. The study examines the views of investigators along with agency resource and structural factors. Homicide clearance rates have continued a half-century decline in the United States. While criminal homicide as a number and a rate are comparatively far less in the United Kingdom, the "clear-up rate" remains around 90%. The research differentiates case clearance as sole outcome measure from thoroughly or competently following all applicable procedures as a viable measure of agency and investigator accountability.

Introduction

In the 1960s homicide cases in the U.S were cleared at a rate of around 90%. By 2015 this rate had dropped to 61.5% (FBI, 2016). In England and Wales, statistics showed up 21% from 2015 to 2016, increasing from a total of 576 to 697.

Homicide detectives in the U.S and U.K.

Person and process. These two are not the same but they are inextricably bound in performance of a homicide investigation. The investigator may be seen as helpful to provide a starting point to examine the investigation itself, including the outcome. Relatively stable characteristics of the person and that person's work habits have long been examined in the literature, but will not be explicitly examined here. We use descriptive terms to elicit a construct of the person. She is hard-working, tenacious, bright, detail-oriented; he is bad at this job, he's lazy. Some confusion arises between what is a trait and what is an acquired approach. These semantics highlight a criticism of the trait approach when trying to adapt it to serve as a divining rod for individuals to fill roles such as business CEO or leaders. This also gets to the point of debate over whether detection, and certainly homicide detective performance, is art, craft, science, or an adaptable mixture that coalesces into its proper proportions as the detective meets and moves with the individual aspects of each case.

This project looks at the *views* of detectives about what constitutes a successful homicide investigation. Yet it is important to note the specific human offering the view or opinion and also remember the context within which the investigator offers that opinion. The use of Brookman and Innes' four definitions allows an attempt to gain an initial sense of the field about outcome success before following subsequent inquiries regarding case or agency structural factors or parsing individual personality orientation from success definition. In their 2013 work, they outlined the categories this way:

(i) outcome success, (ii) procedural success, (iii)community impact reduction success and (iv) preventative success (p. 292).

Homicide, murder, and death investigations – functions of the investigator.

In the U.S. the detective may be a specialized detective (homicide), or a "general assignment" detective who handles any assigned investigation from theft to murder. This distinction is often dictated by agency size. The vast majority of U.S. policing agencies is not large. 49% of departments have fewer than ten full-time officers (bjs.gov). Approximately 13,500 local police and sheriff's departments may investigate homicide in their jurisdictions. In some areas that lack resources, or by mutual aid agreement, a state agency may conduct such inquiries. In Britain some police forces have dedicated murder squads whilst others have major crime teams. In the latter, detectives are often detailed from the criminal investigation division (CID) to assist with homicide investigations.

 Research question: what is a good homicide investigation?

While the lingua franca of effective homicide investigations revolves around case clearance, there are a number of lenses through which to view the processes and outcomes of such inquiries. A language capable of describing various assumptions by various stakeholders in the homicide inquiry is useful for continued dialogue about sustaining and improving methods of investigating serious violent crimes. A priori assumptions can be in tension with empirical observations leading to investigator bias in the inclusion and exclusion of information based on such bias. In addition, a comprehensive consideration of defining success will necessarily include diverse perspectives both inside the agency and in the external environment.

Investigators and law enforcement employees of various ranks, including supervisors, managers, and department administrators must be considered. The opinions and views of external stakeholders and observers including prosecutors, politicians, the media, and certainly the citizenry must be taken into account.

Brookman and Innes observe that detectives routinely assess the quality of their work in unique ways. How investigators perform this assessment reveals much about the investigative process overall and perhaps within discrete agencies. Recognizing that many homicide investigations fall into two categories of easy/hard to solve, also informs what we know about outcome assessment. Major crime investigation has changed and benefitted from the use of various technologies, both forensic and case management software. Some studies have examined

the impact of these advancements on case clearance and these considerations serve the various outcome categories identified by Brookman and Innes (2013).

Research design

In this mixed-method approach, some quantitative data will emerge largely concerned with descriptions of the investigators along dimensions of experience in law enforcement, in detective work, and in regard to personal demographics. This largely qualitative research project examines the views, opinions, and insights of current and former homicide detectives and a sampling of others as to what constitutes a good investigation. The epistemology that frames the world of the homicide investigator inextricably links the detective's view of what is true and what counts as they consider the knowledge that they build with the information they gather during an investigation. The axiology that can perhaps be applied to such investigations would include the belief by law enforcement officials in the value of forensic evidence, testimonial evidence, and the assemblage of a compelling story of the homicide event.

The methodological assumption of qualitative interviews of investigators is linked to the desired outcomes of not only gaining insight into the investigators methods informed by his view of the good investigation, but the intention to raise the metacognitive reflections of investigators, agencies, prosecutors, and the public to better understand the dynamics of homicide investigations. Data collection methods used in this study will be a brief questionnaire to gather information about the agency and jurisdiction size as well as the current outcome measure, followed by an in-depth semi-structured interview of the subjects. The interviews will be coded and subsequently analyzed using a constant comparative approach across the several focal topics. Exploring tacit beliefs in this way may again benefit first the investigators and second, potentially the investigative processes of agencies tasked with homicide investigation.

The subcultural identity development of the detective, partly formed through prior police service, arises as well from immersion in the processes and behaviors of fellow investigators. Yet applying different lenses of supervisors, administrators, prosecutors, and the public can significantly complicate the focal view of the detective in defining success. This research will in large part replicate and extend the work of Brookman and Innes by comparison to a sample of U.S. homicide investigators. The extension will come in part through examination of nondetective others.

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The Influence of Domestic Violence in Homicide Cases

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Involvement in domestic violence may be less representative of a specialized violence and more indicative of a tendency for involvement in general violent behavior. The current paper explores this issue with a sample of a single year of homicide cases in a Mid-South city. From this sample, findings revealed significant overlap in general and domestic violence homicide cases. Domestic violence history, as a victim or perpetrator of domestic violence, was a significant factor in both domestic violence and general homicide cases. Further implication of these findings within the context of law enforcement strategies and responses to domestic violence are discussed.

Introduction

Criminological research has identified several consistent predictors for violence, including gender, age, race, and ethnicity (DeLisi & Vaughn, 2016). These factors are similar for both violent victimization and offending (Braithwaite, 1989). Patterns of repeat behavior are also similar for violent forms of victimization and offending; those who have a history of victimization or offending are largely at risk for either event, such that (1) victims of crime are more likely to have a higher risk of offending, (2) offenders have a higher vulnerability to victimization, and (3) individuals may be equally likely to be victims or offenders within a single event (Gottfredson, 1981; Jennings, Piquero, & Reingle, 2012; Mustaine & Tewksbury, 2000).

Domestic violence, however, has largely been studied independently as a unique form of violence since there is evidence of both differences (e.g., gender), as well as similarities (e.g., a bidirectional relationship between victimization and perpetration) between this and general forms of violence (Gover, 2004; Tjaden & Thoennes, 2000). Although the concept of domestic violence has been operationalized in many different ways, the current paper uses the blanket term "domestic violence" to refer to either victimization by or offending against a spouse or romantic partner, unless otherwise specified. A full comparison between general and domestic types of violence, however, is still warranted, particularly in terms of the ultimate form of violence, homicide. That is, the possibility that domestic violence may hold broader implications for violence treatment and prevention is largely unexplored. Consequently, the lack of consensus on this issue leaves the issue of whether criminological theories, and the policies inspired by empirical testing of these theories, should treat domestic violence as a unique phenomenon or within a general discussion on understanding violent behavior. The current study examines the extent to which there is overlap in predicting domestic violence and general homicide cases to

better understand this issue, using a sample of a single year of homicide cases in a MidSouth city in the United States.

Literature

General and Domestic Types of Homicide

The similarities between general and domestic forms of homicide are not clear. For homicide in general, additional factors beyond the correlates of crime that increase the likelihood of lethal outcomes include domestic violence histories, background criminal record for the offender/victim, and a prior relationship between the victim and the offender (Broidy et al., 2006; Dobrin, 2001). In cases in which the homicide involved a known offender, gun ownership was also a positive contributor to homicide (Siegel, Negussie, Vanure, Pleskunas, Ross, & King, 2014). Nevertheless, certain factors predicting domestic violence homicide are relatively consistent with the factors known for homicide outcomes. Analyses of domestic homicide report similar characteristics, and also focus on gun use as the weapon of choice in these homicides and a prior romantic relationship between victim and offender, especially for women (Campbell, Glass, Sharps, Laughon, & Bloom, 2007; Catalano, 2013; Tjaden & Thoennes, 2000).

The similarity between predictive factors in predicting general and domestic homicide offending and victimization suggests two possibilities. First, the shared risk for victimization and offending may be more representative of an underlying danger or risk for any type of homicide to occur (Broidy et al., 2006). Second, domestic violence histories, as victim or offender, may contribute to the risk for all types of homicide offending/victimization. That is, the missing element in examining commonalities between domestic homicide and general homicide may be the consideration of domestic violence histories. While domestic violence is a known predictor of both general and domestic violence-related lethal outcomes, most of these cases have been examined piecemeal, such that analyses either (1) look only at either general or domestic violence homicides; (2) examine both general and domestic homicides, but not domestic violence histories; or (3) examine both general and domestic homicides and account for domestic violence histories. Research on the latter category, as described above, is relatively limited, leaving the true extent of their overlap is unknown. Given that histories of domestic violence perpetration are representative of violence beginning in the home, domestic violence can potentially be a precursor to more serious and lethal forms of violence, of all types. The current study examines the presence of domestic violence histories as a correlate of homicide outcomes. Specifically, we ask:

1. To what extent are domestic violence histories present in homicide outcomes?

2. Are domestic violence histories, and other risk factors, similar in domestic violence and general homicide cases?

Data

The data utilized in the analysis of homicide in respect to previous domestic violence history came from a single city's police department within the MidSouth United States. The current analysis directly examines homicide incidents at the incident-level. Cases are identified by using the secure Memphis Police data portal, where a wideband search was conducted.

Search terms included homicide, murder, and manslaughter. The search returned 158 incidents.[1] Once the search was complete, descriptive details were taken from each incident. A dataset was constructed from this data that included the name(s) of the homicide offender(s) and victim(s), descriptive information, female victim count, the type of the offense, and the closest descriptor of the relationship between the offender(s) and victim(s). The final sample represented **Analysis**

A logistic regression is utilized to determine if the effect of drug history on whether the case was a domestic violence homicide or not. Each homicide case underwent a reverse record check to determine if the offenders or victims of homicide had a recent domestic violence history. Name and date of birth for each individual were entered into a crime history database with the 2014-2015 time range (up until the homicide offense) to gather previous domestic violence related events for victims and offenders. *DV Categorization* was a categorical variable created from each possible type of homicide.[2] Categories ranged from 0 (homicide victim or suspect had no domestic violence history and the case was not a domestic violence case) to 4 (homicide victim or suspect had a domestic violence history and it was a domestic violence case). This measure is utilized in a multinomial logistic regression to gain further insight on detailed differences in types of homicide.

Results

A total of 45 percent of homicide cases had domestic violence histories. Out of these a total of 51 percent of disagreement homicide, 45 percent of gang homicide, 55 percent of robbery homicide had either a suspect or victim with a previous domestic violence offense (as either the victim or suspect) in the previous year. Table 1 shows the logistic regression. Female victim count, suspect age, and suspect count were the three significant measures predicting whether the homicide was domestic or not. A smaller suspect count was associated with domestic violence homicides. Table 2 shows a multinomial logistic regression. The only significant results come from the DV History/DV Case category. As compared to the reference group, No DV History/Not a DV Case, both female victim count and suspect age are significant in the analysis.

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[1] Some cases missing from our sample were those being investigated by the Sheriff's Department and other federal agencies. Additionally, there were 30 total cases where there was not enough information to properly code or determine the case. These cases were dropped as they could not be categorized for our final analyses.

[2] One limitation is that our analysis did not specify whether the homicide victim or suspect was a victim or suspect in the prior domestic violence case. While the current analysis attempted to capture prior exposure to violence, a more nuanced examination of the victim/offender overlap from domestic violence to homicide may be warranted.

Table 1: Logistic Regression for Predicting Domestic Violence Homicide (N = 98)*

Variables	OR
Domestic Violence History	1.31
Victim Sex	6.79
Victim Count	.01
Suspect Count	.14
Female Victim Count	159.35**
Suspect Age	1.07*
Weapon Used	2.60
R^2	

$*p < .05, **p < .01, ***p < .001$

Table 2: Factors Associated with Domestic Violence Homicide*   (N = 105)*

Risk Factors	No DV History/ DV Case	DV History/ Not DV Case	DV History/ DV Case
	RRR	RRR	RRR
Victim Sex	.00	.81	20.21
Victim Count	.00	2.15	.01
Female Victim Count	.00	.56	155.31**
Suspect Age	1.04	.97	1.08*
Victim Age	1.04	1.05	.97
Suspect Count	.00	1.37	.32
Weapon Used	2.01	.95	4.16

* DV history/not DV case is reference group

$*p < .05, **p < .01, ***p < .001$

Discussion

Nearly 50 percent of cases had an offender or victim who had been involved in a domestic violence incident within the previous year. Suspect age and female victim count increased the relative risk of the homicide being domestic violence related and either the offender or victim having prior domestic violence history. A significant limitation of the analysis is that the categorization used to classify domestic violence based on the case and the victim(s)/suspect(s) history is that it does not distinguish between domestic violence victimization or perpetration.

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Social Media in Domestic Homicide

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New and innovative digital communication media form the technological backdrop to life in twenty first century society. Within this context, 'Facebook Murder' has emerged as a contemporary, headline grabbing media construct.

There are a plethora of news reports problematizing social networking sites (SNSs), using the terms such as 'Facebook Killer' and 'Facebook Predator', reporting upon cases within which this SNS is reported to have played a role, however central or peripheral. It is believed that 'Facebook murders' are a growing trend, with individuals believing that there is the propensity to get away with murder (Wiederhold, 2013). Whilst there is an array of media coverage on the topic of contemporary homicide and Facebook, academic research is limited, both in depth and in quantity - emerging in parallel but very much separately from within the fields of criminology, media and cultural studies (Barlett, 2014; Duthiers, 2012; Sloane, 2013). As such, research has been carried out into why people use Facebook but very few researchers have explored SNSs in the context of homicide. In a very brief research paper, four cases since 2011 are outlined where reactions to content on Facebook have spurred individuals to conspire and commit murder (Wiederhold, 2013). In a larger scale study, two renowned researchers provide an overview of 48 homicide cases which have a Facebook element to them, and identified six typologies of perpetrators, each demonstrating a unique usage of this SNS (Yardley & Wilson, 2015). The aim is to build upon the existing conceptual framework in terms of domestic homicide and Facebook. Other SNSs will also be considered such as Twitter in an attempt to examine whether the victim and perpetrator's use on these sites acts as a medium for the escalation of domestic violence to domestic homicide. My study will be based on primary research using mixed methods, for an in-depth and meaningful approach (Bryman, 2012). Secondary research will also be included in the form of court transcripts. The intention is to interview male offenders who have used social media as a way of exhibiting homicide. The research team at HMP Grendon will be approached for potential interviewees. In a similar vein, the victims' families will be contacted to build a picture of the role SNSs played within the victim's life.*

Literature Review

Domestic Abuse, Domestic Violence & Intimate Partner Violence (IPV)?

This presentation will briefly consider the spectrum of abuse, domestic homicide and its relation to space and place. In terms of the spectrum of abuse, it is important to firstly define abuse in its simplest form. This, of course, is as oxymoron as abuse is far from simple to define.

Straus and Gelles (1990: 467) define abuse as an "act carried out with the intention or perceived intention of causing physical pain or injury to another person". While this definition goes some way to explaining domestic violence, its sole focus is on the physical elements of abuse. Thus overlooking the other forms of abuse. This is one of the many problems there appears to be in terms of defining particular facets of domestic violence and, indeed, intimate partner violence (IPV). In one sense, this definition represents how abuse was seen up until the 1990s (Stark, 2007). It was not until the 1970s and 80s that terms such as 'wife-abuse', 'battered women' and 'domestic violence' emerged (Tyner, 2012). At this time, it only referred to heterosexual abuse. In a similar vein, there appears to be little consensus on what the term IPV incorporates. This term is used extensively to describe physical, psychological, emotional and sexual violence within an intimate relationship (Tyner, 2012). Levy (2008) suggests the main component of IPV is to exert and maintain control by micro-regulating the victim's everyday life. It is important to note that even with IPV there is still a manifestation of rationality and legitimisation amongst the perpetrators, which is typical of other crimes: "justification of wife abuse occurs in every society, with significant variations depending on sociocultural context" (Lawoko, 2008: 1057). In light of this, our understanding of violence is very much dependant on its spatial context especially with regards to culture. Gender roles, expectations and enforcement of violence can certainly be influenced by culture.

The Yale Trauma Studies examined the nature of domestic violence assaults by examining hospitals visits by abused women (Stark & Flitcraft, 1998). 9% of these assaults included no injury at all while 58% involved 'contusions, abrasions or blunt trauma', 'lacerations' and 'sprains or strains' (Stark, 2007). As blunt trauma involves a blow that does not break the skin these assaults are considered minor in comparison to injuries which draw blood (Stark, 2007). The importance of these statistics debunk the age old debate regarding the notion that physically visual injuries equate to harm.

Emotional domestic violence and, indeed, coercive control appears to be at the forefront of reform campaigns in the UK given the new legislation which came into effect in 2015:

> "Controlling or coercive behaviour is defined under section 76 of the Serious Crime Act 2015 as causing someone to fear that violence will be used against them on at least two occasions, or generating serious alarm or distress that has a substantial effect on their usual day-to-day activities" (Bowcott, 2015: 1).

Amnesty International have even argued that psychological abuse is comparable to torture (NiCarthy, 1986). Likewise, comparable techniques used within coercive control have also been used in concentration camps; on hostages, prisoners and on POW (Stark, 2007). Furthermore, Marshall (1994) has suggested that physical abuse may be used as an attempt to dominate a victim when other psychological forms of domination have failed.

Clearly, there are a number of inconsistencies around the definitions of abuse especially in relation to emotional abuse and coercive control. It must, therefore, be noted that this very brief overview of the literature on IPV is barely scratching the surface in terms of our understanding of IPV.

Domestic Homicide

This begs the question as to whether a previous history of intimate partner violence (IPV) involving physical and/or emotional violence possibly involving some level of coercive control is an indicator of domestic homicide. According to Dobash and Dobash (2015) murders involving women appear to have attracted little research in the last 25 years. Research carried out has focused on women as the perpetrators rather than the victims of crime. In fact, IPV and, indeed, domestic homicide is a further neglected field of research (Dobash & Dobash, 2015). Brookman (2005) believes domestic homicide tends to stem from both sexual and familial intimacy. The perpetrators of such crimes are overwhelmingly male with the victims primarily being female (Brookman 2005; Yardley & Wilson 2015). The victims tend to fall into one of three categories: partner; former partner or acquaintance (Yardley & Wilson, 2015). This extends to boyfriends or to couples co-habituating (Dobash *et al*, 2009; Goussinsky & YassourBorochowitz, 2012; Holtzworth-Munroe, 1994). Other victims may include extended family such as the victim's children, parents or new partner. Dobash and Dobash (2015) term this 'collateral killing'.

More often than not the murder occurs within the victims' home with the method of killing being shooting, stabbing or strangulation (Aldridge & Browne, 2003; Cazenave & Zahn, 1992; Dobash & Dobash, 2015; Sebire, 2013; Yardley & Wilson, 2015). The bedroom is often mistakenly identified as the location in which the assaults take place (Dobash & Dobash, 1984). The assumption being that all assaults in the context of IPV have a sexual element to them. However the assaults are more likely to occur in the living room or hallway - perhaps as these are the closest rooms to the exit (Dobash & Dobash, 1984). Not surprisingly, the assaults are most likely to occur late evening and into the early hours of the morning, between 10pm and 2am mostly on a Friday or Saturday (Cazenave & Zahn, 1992; Dobash & Dobash, 1984).

These murders are often a result of a number of contextual factors such as jealousy, possessiveness, separation or even previous violence (Dobash & Dobash, 2015). These behaviours can be perpetuated either offline or online.

Space, Place and Violence

As previously mentioned, space plays a very influential role with regards to IPV and domestic homicide. In recent years, it appears that the 'playing field' for all forms of violence has moved to the virtual plains. Coercive control seems to be at the forefront of this new movement. Previously the physical 'home' was the location of violent episodes whereby patriarchy dominated the household (Tyner, 2012). Women are often taught to be vigilant in public places and to be mindful of strangers. However, in reality, women are at their most vulnerable and are most at risk within their own homes (Stanko, 1990). This is certainly true within the physical sense. Gillian (1997:5) suggests 'the use of violence as a means of resolving conflict between persons, groups, and nations is a strategy we learn first at home'. This, of course, has a huge bearing on intimate partner violence.

Social media including text, MSN and What's App messages as well as Social Networking Sites (SNSs) such as Facebook, Twitter and Instagram have become another way of exerting coercive control in relationships effected by IPV. These SNSs in particular allow partners, ex-partners or acquaintances to monitor or 'survey' their victim's behaviour (Cole,

2004; Southworth, 2005; Wallace, 2000). This, in turn, broadens the perpetrator's scope for abuse.

Methodology

This presentation will explore my methodology in-depth. This study is based on primary research using mixed methods (Bryman, 2012). It is anticipated that twenty interviews will be conducted: ten with the perpetrators and ten with the victims' families. In addition to the interviews, four high profile case studies will be considered as a way of further examining the victim and perpetrator's use of Social Networking Sites (SNSs)**. The aim of this doctoral research is to examine the meaning and significance of SNSs for victims and perpetrators. Semi-structured interviews will be adopted to allow the researcher to probe further around the subject area (Walsh & Wigens, 2003), whilst still allowing for comparability (Kothari, 2004). There is also less risk of interviewer bias (Mitchell & Jolley, 2012). During the interview, participants will be given the opportunity to elaborate if they wish. These will be recorded and transcribed verbatim. Although interviews allow the researcher to discover unexpected or unforeseen information, they can be very time consuming, inconvenient and somewhat difficult to analyse (Walsh & Wigens, 2003). However they do ensure all questions are attempted.

Secondary research will also be included in the form of court transcripts, coroner's records and police reports where access allows. By using case material the hope is to build up a picture of the relationship between the victim and perpetrator prior to the homicide. This case study type approach will hopefully identify where social media became problematic within the relationship (Caulfield & Hill, 2014). Employing both primary and secondary research methods will allow for triangulation of the data. Ultimately, making the data more valid and reliable (Caulfield & Hill, 2014). It is anticipated that court transcripts will give additional information regarding the events leading up to the murder from witnesses or other interested parties. And lastly, police reports will be useful in identifying the severity of IPV prior to the homicide.

Thematic analysis will be used to interpret the data from the interviews. This method of data analysis has been chosen as the researcher already has an awareness of the potential literature surrounding this field. This approach draws 'themes' or patterns from the data (Braun & Clarke, 2006; King & Horrocks, 2010). Qualitative content analysis will be used to analyse the data obtained from secondary sources. Similar to thematic analysis, qualitative content analysis searches for themes within the data (Caulfield & Hill, 2014; Flick, Kardorff & Steinke, 2004).

Conclusion

This presentation aims to outline and briefly discuss the literature surrounding IPV and domestic homicide as well as its relation to space. Furthermore, it will consider two of the four case studies in detail focusing on the relationship between the victim and perpetrator; the role of SNSs within their relationship as well as, lastly, taking into account the meaning and significance of SNSs for the victim and perpetrator.

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* This is a revised and updated version of a presentation at the 2015 Murder: Moral Panic, Mythos, Modernity Conference, Oxford.

** Two of these case studies will be discussed at the HRWG Conference in Tennessee.

__Developing a Measure Model of Potential Homicide Victimization__

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Working Summary for HRWG

Current homicide statistics and data models focus on homicide events where intended victims actually die as a result of a murderous assault. I argue that this excludes a subset of crimes that may have homicidal intent, but were interrupted by a variety of structural, temporal, or location-based factors external to the criminal act itself. To better understand this disparity, I propose an intended victimization process model that analyzes aggravated assault, attempted homicide, and traditional homicide statistics. I hypothesize that this new model will reveal nuances in demographic and geographic trends in intended homicide victimization that will challenge current understandings of homicidal violence. Using an exhaustive dataset of filings and dispositional data from the state of Florida I am able to construct an intended victimization process model. In this ongoing project I will use both filed charges and convicted charges statues as a proxy for criminal intent with the additional benefit of linking filings and convictions to evaluate plea deals. Further, I will link this dispositional data to individual offender level data available from the Florida Department of Corrections to construct individual-level and geographiclevel models. This project advocates new data interpretation techniques, larger dataset construction, and has out-of- academia impacts for policing, policy, and individual understandings of homicide-related crimes in communities.

Introduction

In this summary paper (and the forthcoming presentation) I have several responsibilities.

First, I have to convince you that the current iterations of homicide data can be misleading. Second, I have to convince you there is some element of randomness in the difference between attempted homicide and completed homicide. I am not referring to pure randomness, I only mean that the actions of the criminal assailant do not always determine a death outcome. For example, if an assault occurs very close to a hospital, perhaps the victim is less likely to die than if the same assault were perpetrated somewhere else. In this case a structural factor intervened on the likelihood of a death outcome. Third, I aim to convince you that the way we currently conceptualize and measure homicide is limiting while advancing a new logical model. Fourth, I evaluate the likelihood of measurement given the realities of homicide data.

Only after completing these conceptual tasks can I turn to the data and try to understand why some groups of people are more likely to be charged with homicide than others, i.e. why some victims of violence are more likely to die. The last of these goals is incomplete at the time

of this summary, but will be elaborated and expanded upon during the presentation at the Homicide Research Working Group.

Homicide and the Media

Homicide is one of the most sensationalized crimes in society (Schildkraut and Donley 2012; Soothill et al. 2002). News of homicide can be transmitted via media, official statistics, neighborhood profiles, and through cultural exchanges. Media headlines are an especially salient place to find crime-based headlines. Potter and Kappeler (2006) argue that the media is a powerful interpreter of crime data. Weaver (2007) explains that "Media can facilitate a fictitious crime rise through biased coverage or highly visible crimes (234). As we well know, just because something is reported in the media does not mean it is 1) unbiased or 2) representative of reality. Despite these problems homicide data are thought to be among the least biased crime data. Weaver (2007) refers to the homicide rate as "…by far the most unbiased measure of violent crime" (234). Since homicide rates are used as research baselines, it becomes especially important to understand how we conceptualize homicide.

Towards a New Theory of Conceptualization

I argue that our current conceptualization of homicide operates according to a necessary and sufficient definition. In order to be found guilty of a homicide I establish three criteria that are representative of current homicide statistics. First, I consider the criteria of a murderous assault (an injurious event that could result in death). Second, I propose the criteria of initiative in order to rule out killings deemed justifiable or in self-defense. Third, I confront the most problematic of these criteria: a death outcome. *Figure 1* demonstrates how this definition might be constructed based on Goertz's (2005) necessary and sufficient models using the logical 'AND' operand to establish a definite group of cases.

Figure 1: Necessary and Sufficient Model of Homicide
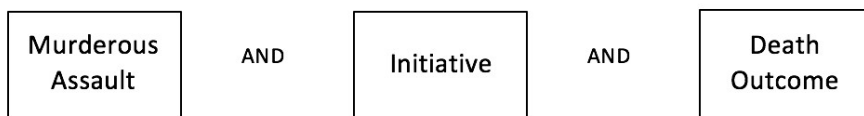
In this project I argue that there the outcome phase is un-necessarily rigid in this definition. Additionally, I argue that this leaves us with a very heterogeneous group of crimes that are 'not homicides.' Instead, I propose a model like the one represented in Figure 2 below.

**Figure 2: Potential Homicide Victimization Model**
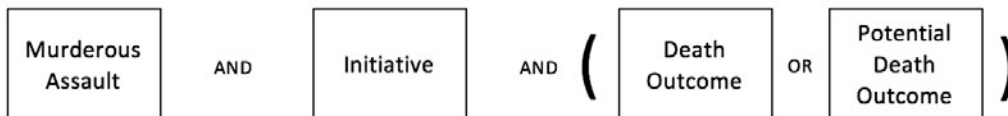
This model would allow for flexibility in the presence of a death outcome without compromising the action required by the criminal assailant. In this way, the narrative of an event

focuses on the intention and potential homicide victimization in a given case, rather than a death outcome. I believe this will construct a more accurate measure of similar crimes.

Measurement

This reconfigured model presents several challenges to measurement. An 'ideal type' for this form of analysis would be a process model of homicide (see an example in Figure 3). This would provide data on different stages of crime (conspiracy and attempted murder) that for some reason do not result in a completed homicide. In an ideal world, this type of model could be constructed from information about both offenders and victims.

Figure 3: Data for Potential Homicide Victimization Model
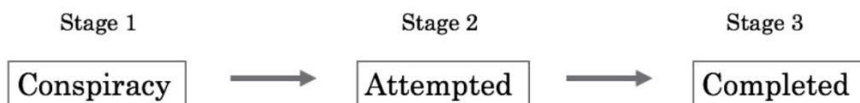
Unfortunately, reality rarely provides data so conveniently. For that reason, I propose to use legal data to act as a proxy for criminal intent. While it is impossible to know the essence of someone's intentions, the legal system at least provides some systematic criteria for determining intent. I propose to use three primary statues of data for this analysis: 1) homicide data 2) attempted homicide data and 3) aggravated assault data.

Data

The data for this project is drawn from legal record data from the state of Florida from 1989 – 2017. This data contains charge-by-charge information at multiple points in the court process. For instance, it contains initial arrest data, filing charge data, and court decision data. After extensive cleaning, I extracted the subset of cases that were that contained charged homicide, attempted homicide, or aggravated assault statues for initial arrests, filing charges, or court decision data. This analysis focuses on 62,661 recorded homicide cases and 722,770 recorded aggravated assault cases. A fair amount of movement between charges was found during the court process, with over 5% of homicide charges migrating to assault/battery charges by the time of the court decision. A much smaller number of aggravated assaults (~839) migrated to homicide charges.

The next phase of this analysis will answer the following questions:

1) Are offenders who get charged with aggravated assault structurally different from those who are changes with homicide or attempted homicide?
   a. Are they more likely to be a certain age, race, or socio-economic demographic?
2) Is there a spatial difference between crime sites of aggravated assault, attempted murder, and completed murder?
   a. How do factors like medical response times or legal response times play out on this map.
3) How do these findings challenge current beliefs about where/to whom homicide happens?

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A Forensic Leisure Science Analysis of the BTK Serial Murders:

New Questions and Insights on Multiple Homicide

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Forensic experts and a small number of leisure scientists have suggested that serial murder may be a potential form of recreational leisure. However, such suggestions remain largely unexplored both theoretically and empirically. Given the absence of scholarship on this possibility, this project explored and analyzed the structure and function of leisure activities and experiences within an unusual case (Dennis Rader) of serial homicide. The Rader case was selected for thorough analysis due to both its intrinsic and instrumental properties, which potentially could generate new insights and guide future research with larger sample sizes. Analysis of case documents revealed that murder was a form of leisure with the potential for optimal psychological experience (flow), and that various leisure activities functioned in specific ways within the overall serial murder process. Project-based leisure, with attributes of both serious and casual leisure, structured specific killings; benefits of this form of leisure help answer lingering questions regarding puzzling cognitive features displayed by the offender. Current research, based on findings of this case, is underway to explore specific features of leisure associated with serial homicide.

Leisure science is a small, distinct multidisciplinary field of study that grew from sociology and social psychology. Leisure scholars are interested in matters such as what people choose to do for enjoyment and pleasure (and why); benefits that occur from such leisure engagement; and how people select and manage their lifestyles. Thus, contemporary leisure science draws from not only sociology and psychology, but also knowledge from disciplines such as biology, health, anthropology, cultural studies, and economics (Walker, Scott, & Stodolska, 2016).

There are, of course, important studies within the social and behavioral sciences that have focused on topics of crime relating to leisure. Halleck (1971) acknowledged multidisciplinary social and behavioral science approaches to crime, while then focusing on psychological traits related to the initiation of criminal activity and the role of stress as a predisposing factor. In responding to stress, Halleck (1971) noted that alloplastic adaptations are often associated with criminal activity, which in the case of serial homicide, may be expressed in gratifying drives and expressing creativity. From a sociological perspective, O'Malley and Mugford (1994) discussed crime as reactions against secular rationality and the mundane,

including how modernity (overly) structures social spaces. Similarly, Ferrell (2004) observed that boredom has been institutionalized in everyday living, thus producing Mertonian strain, which may contribute to seeking excitement via leisure and sometimes criminal activity.

Some leisure scholars recognize that some forms of expressive criminal activity, including serial murder, seem to function as deviant recreational leisure (Gunn & Caissie, 2006; Rojek, 1999; Williams & Walker, 2006). Drawing on decades of research by Robert Stebbins (2005, 2012) on the classification of specific leisure activities on a continuum from casual (spontaneous, playful, requiring little or no skill) to serious (requires skill, effort, perseverance, is career-like, is part of identity), serial homicide has been classified as being a criminal, intolerant, serious form of deviant leisure (Williams & Walker, 2006). Like all forms of leisure, it has been suggested that many serial murderers may experience an optimal psychological state of flow (Csizkszentmihalyi, 1997) when there is a balance of skill level to challenge in murder-as-leisure (Williams, 2016). Despite the handful of accounts that serial murder may be a form of deviant leisure, empirical research on this topic is virtually nonexistent. **Case Study Method**

As a starting point to (a) explore the potential role of leisure in a particularly atypical case of serial murder, and (b) subsequently lead to new directions of research, an analysis of leisure pertaining to the Dennis Rader ("BTK Strangler") serial murders that occurred in the area of Wichita, Kansas was conducted. This exploration was primarily an intrinsic case study, yet it also has instrumental elements, which can help guide future research (Stake, 2000).

Rader had spent four years in the military, worked for ADT Security Services, and was a leader in his church congregation and the local youth scouting program. On January 15, 1974, he murdered Joseph and Julie Otero, along with their young children, Josephine (age 11) and Joseph Jr. (age 9). On April 4, 1974, Rader murdered Kathryn Bright and also shot her brother, Kevin, who survived. Nearly three years later, Shirley Vian was murdered, followed by the killing of Nancy Fox several months later. Rader did not kill again until April 27, 1985, when he strangled a neighbor, Marine Hedge. His ninth victim, Vicki Wegerle, was murdered on September 16, 1986; and his last killing, that of Dolores Davis, occurred on January 9, 1991. The BTK (BindTorture-Kill) case is unusual in several respects, including extraordinarily long time intervals between several murders, and crimes were organized but also showed significant features of disorganization (Douglas & Dodd, 2008). Rader was a meticulous diarist and accumulated a massive collection of journals, drawings, photographs, and other materials related to his crimes. He had an insatiable desire for attention and thus taunted news media and police. Rader managed to elude apprehension for three decades.

Research Questions

The primary research questions addressed in this study were: (a) Can the serial murder process itself be understood as leisure, and if so, what form of leisure? (b) What specific leisure activities were part of the murder process and how did these function to facilitate murder? and (c) Was there evidence to support the application of flow theory to serial murder? In particular, murder cases were assessed regarding levels of control maintained by the offender, and also the balance (or lack of balance) of skill level to challenge in relation to the apparent killing satisfaction of each case.

Qualitative Analysis

Court documents (*The State of Kansas* v. *Dennis L. Rader*) were analyzed, along with a text (Douglas & Dodd, 2008) that included historical background information, copies of communications that Rader sent to the media and police, and an interview recorded with Rader at El Dorado Correctional Facility. These documents provided first-hand narratives of both Rader and law enforcement personnel. Explanations by Rader were essential in assessing murder-asleisure from an internal vantage point (Kleiber, et al., 2011). The analysis process included searching for a wide range of terms that pertain to leisure common leisure activities and experiences. The discussions of such terms were analyzed in an open-coding manner (Berg, 1995) regarding what was being described and how such activities might function with respect to the overall case. Notes on in-text discussions were taken by the researcher, which were assessed an re-assessed in relation to how the entire case unfolded. Regarding the application of flow theory, words for "skill" and "challenge" were sought, along with descriptions that signified a change in skill or challenge, respectively. Other aspects of flow, including perceptions of control, were similarly investigated.

Findings

There is little, if any, doubt that the serial murder process was experienced as recreational leisure by Rader. Multiple times, Rader mentions his trolling and stalking occurred around his other responsibilities, which is how free time and leisure typically are structured in western societies. He stated, *"I had a family, a wife, I had to work, you know…when you live at home with a wife, you can't go out and prowl 'til three or four in the morning – without your wife being suspicious."* He also stated that his job and family responsibilities likely prevented him from committing more murders.

He also compared murdering people to going fishing*, "I think it can be that a man goes fishing and sometimes he's not very lucky…it may be some social issues, busy at home or work. I'm sure that I was probably trolling and stalking, it (killing) just never—it just never happened."* He also discussed how he imagined himself as a spy as he planned and carried out his murders. He decided in 1977 that St. Patrick's Day would be a day for murder, and noted, *"I think they were having a parade downtown."* Since others were enjoying leisure on that day, he seemed to think he was entitled to his own particular form of leisure, too.

In addition to the continuum of casual to serious leisure, Stebbins (2005) described a third type of leisure, project-based leisure, which is a one-time or occasional creative leisure endeavor that requires extensive planning and preparation, such as hosting a party, putting on a play, or organizing a volunteer event. Rader discussed each of his murders as specific, highly detailed "projects," and he planned, organized, and carried them out as such. Project-based leisure has elements of both casual and serious leisure (Stebbins, 2005), which matched the murder process for Rader. His trolling reflected casual leisure but subsequent stalking, planning, and preparation reflected a shift to serious leisure. Legitimate forms of project-based leisure often have social rewards, including participating with others in the project, group accomplishment, and contributing to the group (Stebbins, 2005). By structuring his murders as complex projects that involved many participants (victims, media, law enforcement), Rader came to believe that he had closer social relationships with those involved than he actually did,

which explain his unusual interactions with law enforcement upon his arrest. Murder as project-based leisure also seems to lengthen time segments between murders (cooling off period), depending how each murderous project is structured. Rader explained to detectives that he was planning an 11th murder along with a *final curtain call* for police:

> *I was basically going to do this like a play production. I was going to write down a list of the characters, you know, and you know, down at the bottom "BTK Productions," or something like that; some wild thing like that. It was basically going to have all you guys, anybody that ever ran in the paper that had any connections, your name was going to show up there and what—basically what you did. Like Ken (Landwehr), you know, the main BTK investigator. All the way back, you know, boom.*

Findings supported evidence for the applicability of flow theory to murder-as-leisure.

Rader said of his first murders*, "The Oteros, I was after her* (Julie) *and the daughter* (Josephine) *and I wasn't after the guys* (Joseph and Joseph Jr.)*, but they just happened to be there."* He admitted*, "I didn't have real good control of the family; they were freaking out and stuff. So I bound them as best I could."* He also did not have sufficient control of his second murder, that of Kathryn Bright, because her brother, Kevin, was unexpectedly present. He lacked experience and these situations presented challenges that exceeded his skill level, thus, as flow theory would predict, he experienced frustration. Subsequently, in order to reduce challenges, he tried *to "stay away from the males as much as possible to make it easier."* He improved his skill by being more careful and detailed in stalking, and he used a rubber ball to strengthen his grip to become more proficient at strangling victims. Consistent with flow theory, there was a better balance in the challenge and skill level (and Rader reported having more perceived control) with the murder of Nancy Fox. He stated that this was one of his "*more enjoyable kills"* and it *"went the way I wanted it."* Similarly, as his skill level increased, the challenge would also need to increase proportionally in order to experience flow, and he described the murder of Marine Hedge as *"one of my most complicated hits."* His murder of Hedge involved sneaking away in the middle of the night from a scouting activity, committing murder, then transporting the body to his church and photographing it before dumping the body.   **Conclusion**

Approaching serial homicide from a leisure science perspective appears to offer new insights regarding how particular offenders structure and experience their crimes. While scholars have suggested that many cases of serial murder appear to play out as serious deviant leisure (Gunn & Caissie, 2006; Williams & Walker, 2006), other serial murder cases, perhaps reflecting higher levels of crime scene disorganization, may play out as casual leisure or perhaps project based leisure (as in the case herein). A reasonable hypothesis supported by the BTK case is that the type of murder-as-leisure is likely correlated, to some degree, with cooling off period. In other words, cases reflecting project-based leisure or mostly serious leisure would have longer cooling off periods than serial murder cases that are more casual. The particular benefits of each type of leisure also speak to specific motivations and appeal for structuring homicide in specific ways. For example, the general benefits of project-based leisure filled specific psychological needs for Rader. Finally, the case study here provided strong evidence for the application of flow theory, and flow can occur across all types of leisure. Based on the results of this case study, more research into these possibilities using larger samples is warranted.

Note: A full-length version of this study recently appeared (2017) in the *Journal of Forensic Psychiatry & Psychology, 28,* 24-37.

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Serial Killers and Serial Rapists: An Analysis of Two Violent Crimes

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Sensationalized crimes such as mass shootings and serial killing have long been the subject of mass media fascination, despite research consistently finding that these types of crimes are infrequent. On the other hand, crimes such as sexual assault, while incredibly prevalent, have extremely high underreporting rates, with anywhere between 64% and 96% not reported to the proper authorities. (Lisak & Miller, 2002; Fisher, Cullen, & Turner, 2000; Perkins & Klaus, 1996). This underreporting results in less media exposure than more sensationalized crimes. The current study aims to examine the crime of serial rape in comparison to serial killers in regard to style and victimology. Findings suggest that the sensationalized crime of serial killing produces not only fewer offenders, but far fewer victims than serial rapists. Results indicate that more attention should be focused on rape and sexual assault than other, less common crimes.

The fascination with serial killers has spanned not only decades, but centuries. Beginning with Jack the Ripper in 19th century and continuing on into modern times with popular television shows such as Criminal Minds, the world has tried to understand, at length, the way the minds of these individuals work. There is a morbid appeal with death and the macabre that has lent itself to a wide body of literature.

On the other end of the spectrum, the discussion of rape in society as a whole is often seen as taboo. Rape, often considered one of the more serious crimes, is also one of the most underreported, with anywhere between 64% and 96% not reported to the proper authorities. (Lisak & Miller, 2002; Fisher, Cullen, & Turner, 2000; Perkins & Klaus, 1996). While not necessarily popular in the social world, single-victim rape has been widely researched in an attempt to understand a crime that many do not want to discuss.

However, one crime has been almost completely ignored in both the social and academic realms. Serial rape is a crime that is only discussed in brief within the literature and only discussed socially when the crime is occurring. Until recently, the discussion of serial rape in the literature consisted of a few studies with very small sample sizes; the largest sample size being n=72. (Woodhams & Labuschagne, 2012; Park, Schlesinger, Pinizzotto, & Davis, 2008; Beauregard, Proulx, Rossmo, Leclerc, & Allaire, 2007; Santtila, Junkkila, & Sandnabba, 2005; Graney & Arrigo, 2002; McCormack, Rokous, Hazelwood, & Burgess, 1992; Hazelwood &

Warren, 1990). Problematic as well, within these studies, is that definitions for what constitutes a serial rapist is different within each study. Small sample sizes and inconsistent definitions do not make for highly generalizable findings.

Due to the discrepancies listed above, a research study was undertaken to fully understand the topic of serial rape. Wright & Vander Ven, (2016) created an all-inclusive definition of serial rape that would be used to identify cases of serial rape in the United States spanning across seven decades. The completion of this study has allowed for a variety of comparison studies to be completed to better understand not only the crime of serial rape but serial murder as well.

It is not only important to understand these crimes separately, but understanding them in comparison to one another could be incredibly beneficial for the research community, police departments, and policy makers in regards to dealing with these especially heinous and violent offenses. Why is there such a fascination with serial killers but not serial rapists? How do the two crimes compare to one another? The purpose of this study is to explore the similarities and differences that exist between the two crimes and create a deeper understanding of these crimes, including both offender and victim profiles, as well as ways in which the offenders commit their crimes.

There are stark differences in the percentages of females committing the crimes in both groups. Only two out of the 1,037 offenders from the serial rape dataset were women and both of these women were committing these crimes in tandem with a male counterpart. The reason for this may revolve around the sheer nature of the crime of rape. Rape, while it can include male on male crime and female on male crime, is often a male to female crime. These facts may contribute to the lower rates of female serial rapists compared to serial killers.

Another interesting finding exists in the data surrounding the victims. Serial killers have a much smaller victim count than do that of serial rapists. The reasons for these may be two-fold. It is possible that due to the sheer nature of the crime of serial murder, that the offender may be caught sooner due to police work. When there is a murder, there is a body missing. While many victims are often groups on the fringes of society, this is not always the case. Police may be more prone to putting in the work to finding the offender of someone that has been murdered.

It is also possible that serial rapists have more victims due to the sheer nature of this crime as well. As discussed previously, rape is a severely underreported crime. Victims may be scared to report the crime until they learn that there are other victims involved, leading to a longer criminal career for the offenders. However, Clay-Warner and McMahon-Howard (2009) found that victims that were attacked in their home or a public place by a stranger, were more than twice as likely to report the rape to authorities. More research needs to be conducted on stranger rape in order to better understand this phenomenon.

While rates of adult and elderly victimization for both crimes are relatively similar, serial rapists have a much higher child victimization rate. One possible explanation for this finding may be a combination of style of attack the offenders use and the inability for a child to be their own capable guardian. As discussed previously, routine activity theory posits that having capable guardianship can help prevent a crime from occurring. While it is not often

discussed, a person has the ability to be their own capable guardian. Those who are weak and vulnerable, such as children, lack this self-guardianship and may be put at a bigger risk from offenders. Also, the specific style of attacks used by offenders may aid in the increased percentage. The con approach centers on manipulating the potential victim and children can be very easily manipulated.

As the findings demonstrate, serial rapists have not only a higher average victim count per offender, but also higher victim counts in general. These findings are of particular importance. Research and the media have focused for so long on this sensationalized crime of serial murder, when compared to serial rape, the numbers are just not there. While some may argue that murder is a more serious crime, as it takes an actual life; rape is just as serious and has the potential to leave the victims with long-term psychological trauma. Not only are there more serial rapists than killers, but there are more victims. Research needs to focus on this crime, police departments and prosecutors need to spend more energy invested in finding these offenders. When a report of a rape comes in, especially by a stranger, investigators should not dismiss it as a single-victim offense, as there are likely more victims. Society allows the media to construct our view of what is real and what is dangerous in the world. The media leads us to believe that criminals such as serial killers and mass shooters are abundant and something we should fear, when the research demonstrates otherwise.

Regional Differences of Serial Killer Victims

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As ongoing homicide research continues to investigate trends, characteristics and patterns, regional differences are not often studied. By utilizing Dr. Eric Hickey's Serial Killer data (n=128), this paper will examine different variables to see if there any differences depending on the region where the crime took place. More specifically, this paper will address whether there are particular groups, i.e. prostitutes, women, men etc., killed at a higher rate than others throughout the United States. Besides studying whether there are differences of victims killed regionally, methods of killing will also be investigated analyzed.

Introduction:

Over the years, interests in homicide, particularly serial killers, have spiked and gained much needed attention in the public eye. Although research shows homicide rates have decreased since the 90s, media portrays homicide and serial killing occurring frequent and often creates vivid myths and false illusions. To be considered a serial killer, he/she must have killed three or more individuals with a cool down period in between victims, in which may vary from days, weeks, or months (Forsyth, 2015; FBI). Given that media may lead the public to believe that serial killers are quite common, it is actually a rare occurrence and one about which it is difficult to obtain an accurate estimate, and those consisting of female serial killer estimates are much less (Knoll, 2006). Serial murders overlap with homicidal characteristics and patterns. However, in regard to regional differences, research lacks in focusing on regional differences of serial killer victims. By utilizing the Consolidated Serial Homicide Offender Dataset, the following paper will analyze regional differences of serial killer victims. Seeing if there are any victim differences based on region will add to the current literature and may benefit future research. *Reasons to Kill*

Though it is believed that there are many reasons as to why one might kill, it is important to keep in mind that reasons vary. Although research might suggest several reasons and studies have been conducted, there is yet a serious need and limitation to better explain why (Knoll, 2006). According to Knoll (2006), research have found numerous of social, psychological, and biological common characteristics that may affect why one might become a serial killer. They have found that common psychological diagnosis such as: antisocial personality, psychopathy, sexual sadism and other paraphilia are present. Ressler, Burgess, and Douglas (1988) found that substance use was an issue in the offenders' household while growing up and reported substance use prior to their offenses.

Other common abnormalities studies show among sadistic sexual offenders include temporal lobe and neurological defects (Knoll, 2006). Research also suggests that exposure to violence in the early years of life may influence an individual as he/she transforms into adulthood. Not only have researchers questioned whether violence video games and fantasies affect, they also suggest that there is a correlation with child abuse. "When the FBI studied 36 serial murderers, many of them had a history of either abuse of neglect: 43% reported a history of childhood sexual abuse and 74% reported having a history of psychological abuse" (Knoll, 2006). Hickey (2010) suggests that serial killers pick victims "who are easily dominated because their systemic issue is power and control" (p. 302). Others are selected based on the offender's fantasies or sexual appeals. "Sometimes offenders are drawn to victims who represent what they consciously or subconsciously desire for themselves" (p. 302).

Lastly, another interesting and much needed factor to focus on for future studies includes cultural and subcultural experiences (Smith & Zahn, 1999; Hickey, 2010; DeFronzo & Prochnow, 2004). Given that there are regional homicide differences, cultural, subcultural and regional components are interesting factors to look into to determine if this factor is a significant variable in serial killing differences. DeFronzo and Prochnow (2004), suggests that psychiatric explanations are not enough to explain serial homicide and therefore should include subcultural elements as well when addressing serial homicide and regional difference. "The findings indicate that a substantial amount of the variation in state rates of male serial killer activity can be accounted for by cultural characteristics of the states" (p. 107). Though there are studies on regional differences, research lacks comprehensive studies of regional differences of serial killer victims. *Victims*

Time and time again, research shows that women are majority of serial killer victims, and most likely to be prostitutes (Forsyth, 2015; Quinet, 2011; Hickey 2010). Quinet's study (2011) analyzed serial murder victims and found that prostitute victims accounted for 32% of all U.S. serial murder cases from 1970-2009. Egger (2003) also suggest that "65% of serial murder victims are female and nearly 78% of female victims of serial murderers are prostitutes" (Quinet, 2011, p. 75). In regard to prostitute victims, Hickey (2010) considers that prostitutes are most vulnerable because they are easily accessible and the disposing of their body would be easier. As Quinet (2011) explains, because prostitutes are described as the "missing missing," researchers believe they are at higher risk because they will usually never be reported as missing and therefore law enforcement may never be aware of the issue.

Another common population mentioned throughout research are the African-Americans and young women. Over the years, there has been an interesting shift among African-Americans. African-Americans at one point were overrepresented in normal homicide cases and less represented in serial homicide. However, Forsyth (2015) claims that African-American serial killers have increased from 10% (1975) to over 20% by 2012. Whether this was because of data collection, definition change, or racial injustice, it is something to look further into. Data and

Methods:

The dataset that will be used for this paper is the Consolidated Serial Homicide Offender Database. It obtains over 13,000 victim characteristics and 4,000 serial killers. The dataset is compiled of numerous researchers' data that was combined into one dataset. Given that generally speaking obtaining data related to homicide is difficult to obtain, it is harder to obtain an accurate estimate of male serial murderer and even harder to obtain data on female serial killers. This paper will only focus on victims killed in the United States from 2000-2010.

Dependent Variable:

The dependent variable for this paper will consists of regions of the United States. Regions will be separated by North East, South East, Midwest, North West and South West.

Independent Variable:

The independent variables for this paper are gender, race, and if possible, methods of killing and victim typology, i.e. prostitute, hitch hiker, family, homeless etc.

In the coming weeks, I will be analyzing the data and preparing the results for presentation at this year's annual meeting.

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The 20th Anniversary of Homicide Studies:
A Discussion of the Journal's Past, Present, and Future

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Candice Batton, past HRWG treasurer

University of Nebraska Omaha

Homicide Studies, the official journal of the Homicide Research Working Group (HRWG), recently completed its 20th year of publication (February 1997 – November 2016). A panel of HRWG members who have been associated with the journal share their thoughts and stories about the journal's history, its financial impact on the HRWG); the journal's present status, and possibilities/challenges it faces for the future. Audience members will be invited to share their thoughts on the journal, organized around the theme of "where do we go from here?" Information presented during the discussion includes the following metrics that have been generated by the journal during its 20-year existence. Key Impact Metrics of *Homicide Studies (HS)*

Total citations to *HS* publications*: 10,505

Citations per year*: 525

h index*: 51

g index*: 75

Impact Factor, 2015**: .878

5-Year Impact Factor, 2011-2015**: 1.170

Range of Impact Factors, 2007-2015**: 1.455 (2010) - .500 (2007)

*SOURCE: Harzing, A-W. (2017). *Harzing.com*. Access: http://www.harzing.com/home. Statistics are as of 5/01/2017.

**SOURCE: Thomson Reuters. (2017). *InCites™ journal citation reports*. Access: https://jcr.incites.thomsonreuters.com/JCRJournalProfileAction.action?pg=JRNLPROF&journal

ImpactFactor=0.878&year=2015&journalTitle=Homicide%20Studies&edition=SSCI&journal=

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American Indian Homicide

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Lethal violence has been historically studied and researched analyzing White and African American populations and studies addressing this issue among American Indians have been relatively rare (Lanier & Huff-Corzine, 2006). But, of the research that has been conducted, studies have examined American Indian homicide within specific locations, such as reservations or states, or have focused on particular nations. Interestingly, American Indians experience violent crime at rates far greater than the general population (Rosay, 2007). The American Indian male violent crime victimization rate was more than double to the rate for all males and the rate of violent crime victimization rate for American Indian females was more than twice as high as all women in the population (Riley, 2000). The Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (2016) reported homicide to be the third and fifth leading cause of death for American Indians ages 10 to 24 and 25 to 34, respectively in 2014. Therefore, it is imperative to study the conditions in which American Indians live that may make them more vulnerable to being involved in violent crimes; specifically, homicide. We are duplicating Christina

Lanier and Lin Huff-Corzine's study, "American Indian Homicide: A CountyLevel Analysis Utilizing Social Disorganization Theory" that was published in Homicide Studies in 2006 based on American Indian homicides from 1986 to 1992. The findings of their study need to be updated with recent data on homicide and sociodemographic characteristics to see if their results still hold true. In this current study, we update this research by analyzing American Indian homicide victims between 2007 and 2013.

INTRODUCTION

Studies addressing lethal violence among American Indians have been relatively rare (Lanier & Huff-Corzine, 2006), however, American Indians experience violent crime rates far greater than the general population (Rosay, 2007). American Indian men and women experience violent crime victimization rates that are more than double those of all men and all women, respectively (Indian Health Service, 2017). We update the Lanier and Huff-Corzine (2006) study that was based on American Indian homicides from 1986 to 1992 by analyzing American Indian homicides between 2007 and 2013.

Historical and Current Context

During the Colonial era of the 1700s, many American Indians were forced to relocate and into the 1800s, in some parts of the country, the children were forced to attend boarding schools where they were not allowed to wear clothing or speak the language of their culture

(McDade, 1997). The treatment of American Indians is often described as a "Holocaust," an enslavement of the people and an annihilation of American Indian culture (Poupart, 2002), which some have analyzed as linked to their current high levels of certain forms of violence such as homicide and suicide (Braveheart & DeBruyn, 1998; Duran & Duran, 1995; Whitbeck, Adams, Hoyt, & Chen, 2004). An analysis of the past treatment of American Indians lead Braveheart and DeBruyn (1998) to claim that the social problems they face today are the "product of a legacy of chronic trauma and unresolved grief across generations" (p. 56).

Thus, the colonization and forced assimilation policies must be considered as contextual background when analyzing the present conditions in which many American Indians live; conditions that include economic marginalization, domestic violence, high rates of alcoholism, poor health, and high rates of suicide and homicide (Bachman, 1991b; Lanier, 2010). Compared to all other races in the United States (U.S), American Indians face a higher poverty rate: 28.3% compared to the national average of 15.5% in 2014 (U.S. Census Bureau, 2015), and a higher unemployment rate: 11.3%, almost double the national rate of 6.2% in 2014 (U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2015). Conditions such as these factors fuel feelings of frustration and blame for their situation viewed as caused by factors external to themselves and out of their control. In such contexts, people are likely to engage in aggressive, violent behavior with their targets being those they are close to either physically or emotionally. The result is high rates of violent behavior including homicide (Unnithan, Huff-Corzine, Corzine, & Whitt, 1994). Using social disorganization theory as our guide we hypothesize that the high rates of homicide among American Indians are caused by structural disadvantages, e.g., high rates of unemployment, poverty, single parent families and other factors that contribute to a weakening of social ties and social control leading to increased risks of violence (Bachman, 1991a; Lanier & Huff-Corzine, 2006).

DATA & METHODS

This study analyzes homicides during the years 2007-2013 at the county level. Data on homicide, the main dependent variable of interest, were obtained from the Supplementary Homicide Reports (SHR) from the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI). Data for the independent variables were assembled from the U.S. Census on American Fact Finder using the American Community Survey 5-year estimate for 2010, chosen because it is the midpoint of the 6 years of research interest. STATA was used to conduct all of the analyses.

Analytic Sample

After merging the six years of SHR data and the 2010 census data, a sub-sample was created for the analysis. Following Lanier & Huff-Corzine (2006), U.S. counties having an American Indian population of at least 1%, a percent that reflects the national average were chosen. The data for 2007-2013 were pooled together because of the statistical rarity of homicide, and having a larger range would deliver more accurate results. The SHR has data on race coded as A=Asian or Pacific Islander, B=Black, I=American Indian or Alaskan Native, U=Unknown, and W=White, which is a problem as the aim is to analyze only American Indian populations. Thus, Hawaii and Alaska were excluded in an effort to reduce the Alaskan Natives.

Dependent Variables

The dependent variable for this analysis is the number of American Indian homicides that occurred between 2007 and 2013 in the 440 continental U.S. counties having at least 1% American Indian population, according to the U.S. Census Bureau. After transforming the SHR incident-based data to county level (from the census), NAHomVic, the total number of American Indian homicide victims for each county. The number of homicides is used rather than a rate so that counties with smaller American Indian populations will not disproportionally impact the model. Also, a considerable number of counties had no homicides making negative binomial regression the technique of choice (Osgood 2000).

Explanatory Variables

As noted above variables derived from social disorganization theory are used for this study.

Control Variables

The control variables are included because past studies indicate that they influence homicide rates. Included are the Number of American Indian homicides victims per county, the estimated % of American Indians who are below poverty line, percent of county population over age 5 that lived in the same state but a different county in past year, size of county population in 2010, % of the population aged 15-29, the effect of population mobility on the number of American Indian Homicide Victims and if this effect is different at different values of the moderator (Aged 15-24).

Description of Counties in the Analysis

The current study has 440 counties of the 3,143 U.S. counties and county-equivalents included in the analysis. Table 1 & 2 (Appendix) feature the frequency distribution of American Indian homicides and the means and standard deviations of all the variables in the final model, respectively.

<div align="center">RESULTS</div>

Table 3 includes the coefficient values and Table 4 includes the incidence rate ratios (IRR) for all the variables in the model (see Appendix). The prob>chi2 is .000, which is the probability of obtaining this chi-square statistic (72.66), if there is no effect from the predictor values. The Pseudo R^2 is .08, but this does not tell us much as negative binomial regression does not have an equivalent to the R-squared measure found in OLS regression. The alpha value is the estimate of the dispersion parameter, which is obtained by exponentiating /lnalpha. Since the dispersion parameter is significantly greater than zero, it suggests that negative binomial is better than a Poisson regression because the data are over dispersed.

Table 4 shows the significant variables in the model include poverty, population, and percent aged 15-24. For every one unit increase in poverty, the difference in the logs of expected counts of NAHomVics is expected to increase by .0173, given the other variables are held constant (p=.020). For every one unit increase in population, the difference in the logs of expected counts of NAHomVics is expected to increase by .0000021, given the other variables

are held constant (p=.001). For every one unit increase in percent aged 15-24, the difference in the logs of expected counts of NAHomVics is expected to increase by .2686, given the other variables are held constant (p=.009).

The prob>chi2, pseudo R2, and/ lnalpha values are the same in both Tables 3 and 4, as they both include the same variables, just a different way of interpreting them, and the significant variables for the fourth table were obviously the same as the third table. The IRR shows for every one unit increase in poverty, it is associated with an estimated .02% increase in NAHomVics, holding all other variables in the model constant (p=.020). Each unit increase in population is associated with a .00002% increase in NAHomVics, holding all other variables in the model constant (p=.001). In easier to conceptualize means, a population increase of 100,000 people, it would be associated with a 22% increase in the number of NAHomVics, holding all other variables constant. For each unit increase in percent of people aged 15-24, there is an associated 3% increase in NAHomVics, holding all other variables in the model constant (p=.009).

DISCUSSION

The purpose of this paper was to examine the relationships between social disorganization variables at the county-level and American Indian homicide victims. Counties with higher levels of social disorganization were predicted to also have higher levels of American Indian homicides.

Consistent with social disorganization theory, poverty had a significantly positive impact on American Indian homicide. Poverty was measured as the percentage of American Indians within each county living below the federal poverty line. Areas with greater percentages of American Indians living in poverty also had a higher homicide rate.

In support of social disorganization theory, the county population had an effect on American Indian homicide victims. Normally, an increase in people living in an area will increase the rate of homicide. The findings support this, but more specifically in counties with 1% of more American Indian population.

Finally, past findings suggest that younger people have higher rates of homicide than do people in older age groups (Bachman 1991). My research can also support this as an increase in percentage of people ages 15-24 living in a county would also increase their homicides.

Surprisingly, other social disorganization variables included in the study were not found to be significant. Population mobility, measured as the percentage of population age five or older who lived in the same state but different county, was not significant. This finding was unexpected because transiency makes cohesion among residents to gain or maintain informal social control over their community and its members (Bursik, 1988). Further analysis is necessary (refer to *Limitations* section below).

The interaction term was also not significant in the final model. When it was included by itself in the model with NAHomVic it was significant (p=.029), but most have lost significance when the other variables we added into the model (see Tables 3 & 4). This could be because poverty, population, and percentage aged 15-24 were more significant.

Compared to Lanier and Huff-Corzines's 2006 study that analyzed American Indian homicide victimization from 1986-1992 with 2000 census data, some inferences can be made.

Their prior study did not find poverty to be a significant variable impacting American Indian homicide victimization counts, as my analyses did at the .020 alpha level. Also, the prior study found that an increase in percentage of the population aged 15-29 was associated with a decrease in the number of American Indian homicide victims. This could be because of the data limitations; the 2010 census data was not able to be computed to capture this age range. Instead, this study had to the decision to change this variable to percentage aged 15-24. On the other hand, similar findings were also discovered; an increase in county population was found to also have an increased rate of American Indian homicide counts in both studies. Further analysis is warranted to include all of the variables that were included in initial study did (ethnic heterogeneity and female-headed households).

Strengths and Limitations

With any good study, also come limitations. The SHR is used as the data source for homicide counts-by-county. Unfortunately, the SHR, from the FBI, does not require all law enforcement agencies to report their crimes. This severely limits the available and accessible data on homicides; therefore, some counties may not be included in the analysis or the counties included may actually have had higher counts of homicide than the data shows. In addition, how the U.S. Census collects data on race, grouping American Indian and Alaskan Native together, limits the accuracy of specific studies like this one where I aim to analyze only American Indian homicide victims. To combat this limitation, I did not include Hawaii and Alaska (where most Alaskan Natives live), but some errors are still expected. In my analysis, population mobility was surprisingly not significant. This could be due to the measurement being intrastate (over 5 in same state but different county). The amount, distance, and period of moves could have an impact on the social disorganization of a county which may not be measured with the current variable.

Future Directions

In the future, I plan on adding more social disorganization variables to the analysis such as female headed households, ethnic heterogeneity, unemployment, education levels, etc. Adding these important variables could provide a better idea of what is occurring in these counties. Also, adding African American or White homicides to this analysis could provide some interesting findings by comparing racial groups living in similar conditions.

The relationship between police and American Indians is unknown, but could have huge implications of the violence exerted by American Indians. If American Indians feel they cannot trust local law enforcement or do not utilize their services, they are more inclined to handle issues in their own manner, which could result in death. This area of research would be interesting to also add in the analysis to test if police distrust could also be a factor in American

Indian's high homicide counts. If so, improving community relationships between American Indians and police could possibly lower the violence and in turn, the homicide counts of American Indian populations.

With further analysis, other policy changes could also be suggested. With American

Indians having such high numbers of homicides, more attention needs to be brought to this area. Social and economic conditions need to be improved which could be accomplished by strengthening family and moral values, providing more economic and educational opportunities, and having more resources available to them.

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APPENDIX

Tables

Table 1: Frequency Distribution of American Indian Homicides for Selected U.S. Counties, 2007 to 2013.   N=440.

Total Number of American Indian Homicides	n	%
0	335	76.1
1	42	9.6
2	25	5.7
3	15	3.4
4	9	2.1
5 or more	14	3.2

Table 2: Means and Standard Deviations for All Variables Within the Model, N=440.

Variable	M	SD
Native American Homicide Victims	.7636	3.05
Poverty	25.43	21.65
Population Mobility	4.09	2.37
2010 Population [a]	86,178.56	269106
Aged 15-24	12.93	3.19

Table 3: Results of Negative Binomial Regression for the 440 U.S. Counties with 1% or more American Indian Population Examining the Effect of Social Disorganization on American Indian Homicide, 2007 to 2013. N=440.

Model 1 Native American Homicide Victims				
Explanatory Variables	Coefficient	Standard Error	95% Confidence Intervals	
Poverty	.0173*	.0075	.0027	.0319
Population Mobility	.2685	.224	-.1705	.7075
2010 Population	2.21e-06**	6.39e-07	9.62e-07	3.47e-06
Aged 15-24	.2686**	.1032	.0664	.4709
Young & Mobile	-.0301	.0165	-.0624	.0022
Constant	-4.3581	1.3517	-7.007	-1.7089
/lnalpha	1.2736	.1679	-7.007	-1.7089
alpha	3.5736	.5999	2.5716	4.9659
Prob>chi^2	.0000			
Pseudo R Square	.0824			
Prob>=chibar2	0.000			

*p<0.05, **p<0.01

Table 4: Results of Negative Binomial Regression (with IRR) for Selected U.S. Counties   Examining the Effect of Social Disorganization on American Indian Homicide, 2007-2013,   N=440.

Model 2 Native American Homicide Victims				
Explanatory Variables	IRR	Standard Error	95% Confidence Intervals	
Poverty	1.0175*	.0076	1.0027	1.0325
Population Mobility	1.308	.293	.8432	2.0289
2010 Population	1.000002**	6.39e-07	1.0000	1.0000
Aged 15-24	1.3082**	.1350	1.0686	1.6014
Young & Mobile	.97035	.0160	.93951	1.0022
Constant	.0128	.0173	.00091	.1811
/lnalpha	1.2736	.1679	-7.007	-1.7089
alpha	3.5736	.5999	2.5716	4.9659
Prob>chi^2	.0000			
Pseudo R Square	.0824			
Prob>=chibar2	0.000			

*p<0.05, **p<0.01

Homicidal Violence and its Connection to Hunger and Food Scarcity in the Ojibwe Nation from 1850-1930

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Examining the role of food in historical context reveals how food scarcity and hunger contributed to many, if not most, Native American deaths that were due to lethal violence. Researchers obtained and collated homicides relating to Native Americans, specifically of the Ojibwe tribe, in Minnesota from 1850 to 1930. From this data, investigators empirically examined the relationship food played in the development of homicidal violence. The hypothesis was that, homicides committed against Native Americans (either by Europeans or Native Americans) were perpetrated as a result of underlying food scarcity or the looming threat of starvation. Qualitative and quantitative methods are used to analyze the 60 rediscovered homicide cases, as well as deaths from the Wisconsin Death March. These killings led to multigenerational effects of poor food access and starvation and resulting violence, the consequences of which undergird today's homicide trends. Results indicate that some homicides might be prevented by better access to food, as well as better nutrition, and increased attention to individual mealtime scheduling. Further research is needed to identify additional homicide cases and accompanying data descriptions.

Hunger is a universal concept, for when a group is in the midst of a famine or other state of food shortage, it impacts every aspect of life (Sorokin, 1942). Hunger can be exemplified as a craving or natural desire; by gastric pains, or as uncomfortable sensations in the stomach region; or as an assortment of feelings, states, and behaviors (Mayer, 1955; Cannon, 1915; Carlson, 1916; Janowitz & Grossman, 1949-50). Prior to European colonization, Ojibwe life was centered around a harmonious relationship with nature and food sources (Warren, 1885). Over-production or collecting food beyond one's own needs was highly discouraged (McLeod, 2014). As Europeans pushed farther west, they brought new cultural norms surrounding land usage. These practices were rooted in the Biblical idea of working the land to its fullest extent and for one's own benefit (Carlson, 1947). This notion was completely misaligned with Native American ideas which emphasized careful consideration of land use and harmony with nature. Europeans felt that *civilizing* Native people, through the instillation of Christian cultural ideals would allow

for superior land use (Herndon, 1999). For the purposes of this paper, the weaponization of food and the resulting concept of hunger are scrutinized in the historical context of Ojibwe Indian life from 1850 to 1930, with investigation into the possible development of homicidal violence.

However, there must first be a base understanding of Ojibwe culture with a context of food. Through the documentation of homicides and violence drawn from personal narratives, interviews and existing records, this research will address the plight of food scarcity and violence, while bringing to light the lives lost during this time period.

The North American Fur Trade began in the late 1600s and came to Minnesota in the 1650s. Over the course of nearly 200 years, Native Americans and fur trading companies traded amongst one another in the upper Mississippi River region. The Native Americans, French fur traders, and British merchants each contributed various products to be traded thus globalizing the fur trade (Native American Netroots, 2016). This new access to goods greatly changed the Native American traditional ways of living (Vennum, 1988; Warren, 1885). This increase beyond their subsistence had devastating implications on the food supply, especially concerning fur-bearing animals. Ojibwe tribes heavily relied on beaver, deer and, from time to time, the buffalo, for sources of food as well as clothing tools and shelter (Vennum, 1988; PBS, n.d.; Jawort, 2011). The wild buffaloes, for instance, were prominent game animals that mostly inhabited the topography of the prairie Ojibwe. The "protein-rich meat, hides, horns, hooves, and sinews…" provided the natives their daily sustenance of food and hunt (Kennedy, 1874; Jawort, 2011; Treuer, 2015). In conjunction with the new reliance on European trade goods, food scarcity and hunger in Ojibwe populations were exacerbated by 19th century treaties made with the United States government. For the purpose of this research, these agreements were categorized into two groups: *resource acquisition* and *removal prevention*. The Dawes Act divided communally held tribal lands into discrete *allotments* that were privately owned by individual members of the tribe (Dawes Act of 1887, 1887; Otis, 2014). The Dawes Act is considered a *resource acquisition* treaty because it allowed the United States government to purchase land from individual Native Americans. The *removal prevention* treaties worked to prevent future removals of Native Americans from their homelands, but also reduced the amount of land owned by natives. In the case of the Ojibwe, these treaties were motivated by the Removal Order of 1850 which attempted to relocate the Ojibwe from Wisconsin and the Upper Peninsula of Michigan to Minnesota. The Removal Order was rescinded in 1851 in order to prevent any other future removals from occurring. The Ojibwe sought to secure permanent residence on their homelands (Satz et al., 1996; Danziger, 1973). Attempted assimilation of Native American culture including that of food gathering practices was further facilitated by the establishment of federally funded, Christian-run boarding schools. The food supply within the schools was consistently lacking, causing malnutrition and disease to be endemic (Meriam, 1928). Besides poor access to food, children in schools frequently suffered abuse (Booth, 2010, p. 53, 56). The removal of Native American children from traditional family environments created a gap in knowledge surrounding food collection practices. Across entire communities of Native Americans, a generation of adults struggled to maintain the skills necessary to provide food for themselves and their families. Food-based violence, stemming from the boarding schools, was not limited to Native American adults, but also occurred within the schools themselves.

This project was funded by the Mille Lacs Band of Ojibwe, via Mille Lacs Corporate Ventures, through a grant given to the Center for Homicide Research for the purpose of

researching violence and homicides involving the Ojibwe peoples from 1850 to 1930. The researchers used a quantitative approach for this research through the use of documentation, data collection and the creation of a database for Native American Homicides from 1850-1930. A qualitative approach was also employed by interviewing members of Native American tribes, specifically Ojibwe members, and experts in the field of Native American culture and food sustainability. The researchers also used the Dakota County Historical Society, Hennepin County Medical Examiner's Office, Library of Congress, Mille Lacs Indian Museum and Trading Post,

Minnesota Historical Society, Hennepin County Library, Yellow Medicine County Historical Society, and additional electronic newspaper databases, and public government documents to supplement incident data. The criteria for case inclusion included any incident where a homicide occurred against an Ojibwe tribal member, a Native American whose tribe was not identified but occurred within Minnesota territory, or a Native American who committed an act of homicide which occurred in Minnesota territory. Proof and documentation of these incidents were stored in the research center's foundational files and were compiled, sorted and coded to prepare their input into a Native American homicide database. A database with various factors was created, and the cases were coded and entered into the database. The researchers interviewed Herbert J. Sam, Nick Boswell, and Ernest Whitman, members of the Ojibwe community. These individuals were interviewed at a local coffee shop popular in the Native American urban area in Minneapolis, Minnesota on July 15, 2016. In summary, the interviews conducted with Natives for this study were helpful in retrieving qualitative data for analysis. Overall, the interviewees mentioned the use of food as a weapon for homicide, or instances of violence due to a lack of food resources. There was a consensus over the role the government played in food insecurity and its devastating effect on Natives. The data collected helped the researchers gain insight into acts of homicide and violence, and determine a connection to hunger and food scarcity.

Researchers illustrate in the argument section of the paper the physiological aspects of hunger. This includes a biological analysis of hunger in order to better understand what hunger really is. Researchers identified conceptual hunger by classifying several key factors that relate to hunger. This includes the first factor, the required process of food consumption providing more nutrients than is immediately required (Friedman & Stricker, 1976, p. 410). The second factor, a lack of continuous food resources will result in consumption of those reserve energy sources (Friedman & Stricker, 1976). The third factor, the importance of insulin and glucagon as coordinated control over enzymes in the liver and adipose tissue" (Friedman & Stricker, 1976, p. 411; Schurgin, Canavan, Koutkia, DePaoli, & Grinspoon, 2004). The forth factor, the effect of metabolic fuels on the brain (Friedman & Stricker 1976; Owen, Felig, Morgan, Wahren, & Cahill, 1969; Sherwin, Hendler, & Felig, 1975). Last, the fifth key factor, the liver is not entirely dependent on activity in the tricarboxylic acid cycle for energy production (Friedman & Stricker, 1976, p. 412; Krebs, Williamson, Bates, Page, & Hawkins, 1971; Randle, Garland, Hales, Newsholme, Denton, & Pogson, 1965). In summation, energy metabolism is the flow of nutrients via exogenous and endogenous processes. The nutrients are gathered from food consumption (exogenous) into the intestines, and the nutrients are then utilized directly or stored in different tissues, such as adipose tissue, for future use (endogenous). Adipose tissue acts as an "energy buffer" by storing excess nutrients obtained from food consumption and sharing those stored nutrients when needed. The liver functions to maintain the supply of nutrients appropriately and efficiently in accordance with each tissues needs and "in satisfying those

needs, metabolic fuels are used interchangeably in peripheral cells, while the brain's special requirements for glucose and ketone bodies are accommodated by the economic utilization of these fuels by nonneural tissue" (Friedman & Stricker, 1976, p. 413). Famine on a widespread scale brings out the worst in a population, both on an individual and group level. The psychological state of many people during times of hunger is in flux, for "the cumulative stresses of semi-starvation result in emotional instability," as well as creating an atmosphere which undermines long-held

convictions and results in moral instability (Keys, A., Brozek, & Henschel, 1950, p. 835; Sorokin, 1975). During the course of the Minnesota study, researchers noted that frustration and irritability was a prevailing emotion. According to some of the researchers, frustration levels overpowered personality traits based upon the men's constant food deprivation (Guetzkow, & Bowman, 1946). According to Sorokin, the percentage of people who succumb to vicious moral acts, like homicide and cannibalism, will barely reach five percent of the population, even in times of dire need (1942, p. 81).

The weaponization of food against the Ojibwe during the period of study occurred through several concurrent and overlapping mechanisms, namely the fur trade, treaties with the United States government, and attempts to culturally assimilate the Ojibwe people. From nearly its first days, the North American fur trade worked to entrap the Ojibwe in an exploitative economic system that fostered a gradually, increasing dependency on European goods. At the same time efforts were implemented to actively change the way that the Ojibwe used the land and to assimilate them into mainstream, white culture. Although undoubtedly other forms of violence negatively impacted the Ojibwe population, the effects that the fur trade, treaties, and attempted cultural assimilation practices had on food supply and production caused enormous suffering for the Ojibwe people with reverberations that can still be felt to this day.

Due to time and resource restraints, this study contains several limitations. One main limitation of this study was lack of long-term exposure to Native American cultural practices. No member of the research team claims Native American heritage, nor has extensive background knowledge on Native American cultural practices. Thus, a large portion of the available time and resources were spent on researching the background and cultural practices of Native Americans, specifically the Ojibwe tribe. Furthermore, due to the lack of historical documentation and technology during the time period studied, Ojibwe homicide data was difficult to retrieve. Consequently, the sample size of historical Native American homicides was smaller than originally intended. Part of this lack of historical documentation was due to the settlers' bias during this time period in documenting Native American deaths. The combination of oral tradition and cultural divides between researchers and Native Americans led to further difficulties in collecting interviews for this time period. Native Americans practiced an oral tradition, leaving little documentation within the tribes themselves. Future research should consider the usage of the newly developed theoretical framework known as Environmental Victimology to further analyze the environmental impacts on Native Americans (Hall, 2013; White, 2015). Lastly, future research is encouraged to widen the scope of research about Native Americans in this historical context through the use of various theoretical lenses.

The cultural assimilation policies that defined America's Indian policy in the 19th century and beyond have had wide-ranging impacts on the contemporary life of all Native peoples. The boarding schools of this era exemplify these practices. While children traditionally spent their days learning time-honored practices and oral histories from their elders, the boarding

schools broke the generational chain of traditions. This has left children in a "void between two cultures," where they are neither Indian nor white, and cannot function in either culture (Shkilnyk, 1985, p. 34). Similarly, the government required Native Americans on reservations to be dependent on outside sources for a variety of needs, including food. This system of dependency hampers self-determination and the survival of native cultures and food practices. Many problems plague the Native American community, yet perhaps none hold such sway in inducing poor life circumstances as the breakdown of familial and community bonds. The loss of traditional roles, like that of food provider, diminishes Native culture, and further exacerbates isolation associated with contemporary Native American life. Native Americans are attempting to stimulate interest in traditional foods. For example, the *Sioux Chef* has proposed a *Precolonization* food restaurant in the Twin Cities (Dean, 2015; Graslie, 2014). Nationally, groups like the *Native American Food Sovereignty Alliance* are also fighting to reintroduce traditional foods back into indigenous communities faced with food insecurity and hunger (Native American Food Sovereignty Alliance, 2012). Although revitalization efforts to try and undo the effects of cultural assimilation and community breakdowns are growing, limitations exist and further research improving upon previous findings is still needed.

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Re-conceptualizing Concentrated Disadvantage: Disadvantage by Inequality Interaction (the Concentration of Disadvantage)

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There is a large body of research that shows that concentrated disadvantage (e.g. poverty, unemployment, percent female headed households, percent Black…) is related to crime. However, most of this research focuses on disadvantage rather than the concentration of disadvantage. In this paper we reconceptualize concentrated disadvantage by hypothesizing that there is an interaction between disadvantage and inequality (GINI coefficient). We expect the disadvantage coefficient predicting homicide to vary by levels of inequality. We expect the disadvantage coefficient to be at its largest level when inequality is low and disadvantage is high (i.e. census tracts were disadvantage is concentrated). We expect that the relationship between disadvantage and homicide will be somewhat weaker when both disadvantage and inequality is high because in those areas disadvantage is not as concentrated. We tested our hypothesis using the National Neighborhood Study 2000-2002 (NNS) and then replicate our findings using 2010-2012 UCR county level homicides for the USA. We utilize zero-inflated negative binomial models to test the interaction effect. We find the interaction effect between disadvantage and inequality is significant in predicting homicides both at the census tract level in cities (NNS) and county level in the USA. We find that the coefficient for disadvantage predicting homicide is strongest at low levels of inequality.
Introduction

Both relative and absolute deprivation have been connected to physical and psychological well-being, financial and basic soundness, access to solid nourishment and different assets, and criminal behavior (Block and Block 1992; Bradshaw et al. 2010; Eberts and Schwirian 1968; Hsieh and Pugh 1993; Ladin et al. 2010; Land, McCall and Cohen 1990; Lhalia et al. 2010; McCall, Land and Parker 2011; Saito et al. 2014). This means relative and absolute deprivation are multidimensional in explaining not only crime, but also other social issues (Crosby 1976; Runciman 1966). Ravallion (2010) study suggested that relative deprivation has the strongest influence on criminal and social issues in urbanized areas where resources are disproportionately accessible. One enduring concern in criminology is where absolute deprivation intercedes in the relationship between relative deprivation and crime. The majority of the research explains the impact each concept has separately and not collectively. The present study tests the effect income inequality and economic disadvantage have on violent crime rates. In addition, the current study examines if income inequality and economic disadvantage interact well when explaining violent crime rates.

Relative Deprivation and Crime

Prior relative deprivation studies are examined on a small and large scale (Yitzhaki, 1979; Kawachi, Kennedy, and Wilkinson, 1999; Chamberlain and Hipp, 2015). Relative deprivation holds that individuals compare their self to a certain reference group within society versus the society at large (Runiman, 1966). In other words, people residing in neighborhoods or communities effectively contrast themselves with larger gatherings of people in their own neighborhood or encompassing areas (Agnew, 1999). This is similar to the concept of anomie/strain theory but the comparison group is more defined (Agnew 1992; Agnew et al. 1996; Baumer and Gustafson 2007). Relative deprivation utilizes various forms of measurement to explain crime (Agnew et al. 1996; Baron 2003; Baumer and Gustafson 2007). Finding the best measure of relative deprivation to explain violent crime is a consistent problem. Due to the various measures of relative deprivation, researches continue to interpret this concept (Pridemore 2011).

Income inequality continues to be a central measure of relative deprivation (Elgar and Aitken 2010; Krohn 1976; Messner 1982; Pridemore 2011). However, when income inequality predicts property and violent crime, results have been inconsistent (Hagan and Peterson 1995; Messner, Raffalovich and Shrock 2002). While some scholars identify income inequality as a highly predictable measure of homicide at the macro level (Krohn, 1976; Messner, 1982), others find it to distinctively vary. Income inequality will vary on the type of government in where it is being measured at (Krahn et. al., 1986) and also by the quality and consistency of this measure when examining longitudinal data (Messner, et. al., 2002). Given the conflicting results, more research is needed looking at income inequality as a measure of relative deprivation and its impact on crime.

The Combination of Relative Deprivation and Absolute Deprivation

After the mid-1970s, absolute deprivation consistently is correlated and predictive of violent crime in macro-level research (Pridemore 2011). From a meta-analysis of social disorganization literature, Pratt and Cullen (2005) found that the most consistent measure of absolute deprivation predicting violent crime is poverty at the macro-level. For over thirty years, poverty stands as a reputable prediction measure for violent crime (Land et al. 1990; McCall et al. 2010). However, relative deprivation has shown to be overall inconsistent when predicting crime (Messner and Rosenfeld 1999; Pridemore 2011).

Testing relative and absolute deprivation together often results in a diminished relationship to crime, others instances show an enhanced relationship to crime. A study by Sigfusdottir, Kristjansson, and Agnew (2012) suggested that context matters when studying the impact of economic deprivation and it works best in a context of high inequality. A similar study by Bernburg, Thorlindsson, and Sigfusdottir (2009) show evidence to support this suggestion. Both studies show that when measuring the impacts of individual-level economic deprivation, an economically diverse community is best suited. On that account, relative and absolute deprivation are not at odds with one another, rather they are compatible to influence crime. The current study intends to explore the relationship between poverty and income inequality and its influence to violent crime.

Methods

Measures

Dependent Variable Homicide. The dependent variable is homicide counts at the county-level for all counties in the USA from January 2010 through December 2012. We used the three-year average of the homicides to smooth year-to-year fluctuations. The county-level homicide data was extracted from the ICPSR data library.

Income Inequality. The GINI coefficient for each county from the U.S. Census 2010 is used as the measure of inequality. The GINI coefficient ranges from 0 (complete income equality) to 1 (complete income inequality), and is one the most commonly used measures of inequality (Kaplan et al. 1996; Lynch et al. 1998). We used the z-scores of the GINI coefficient.

Disadvantage. The most common measures of disadvantage are percent in poverty, percent unemployed, and percent female-headed households (Morenoff, Sampson, and Raudenbush 2001; Samson and Wilson 1995; Wilson 1987; 1997). In addition, percent of population age 25 or older without a high school degree or GED and median family income (reversed) are also common measures of the construct disadvantage (Krivo, Peterson, and Kuhl 2009). Our measure disadvantage is an index of the average *z*-scores of the five U.S. Census items: percent in poverty, percent unemployed, percent female-headed households with a child under 18, median family income (reversed), and percent of population age 25 or older without a high school degree or GED (reliability α = .85). We used the *z*-scores of disadvantage.

Racial and Ethnic Heterogeneity and Residential Mobility. Data on race and ethnicity were gathered from the U.S. Census to control for heterogeneity (Vandeviver, Van Daele, and Vander Beken 2014). This measure of racial and ethnic heterogeneity was developed by Blau (1977). The heterogeneity measure is calculated by taking one minus the squared proportions of the population in each racial and ethnic group producing a range from 0 to 1. The racial groups included non-Hispanic White, non-Hispanic Black, non-Hispanic Asian, non-Hispanic American Indian/Alaska Native, non-Hispanic Native Hawaiian/Other Pacific Islander, and non-Hispanic other racial groups. The ethnic group is Hispanic, any race. The variable Residential Mobility comes from the American Community Survey (ACS) and is the percent of the county population who lived in a different house the previous year.

Rural counties. A county was classified as rural if it was not part of a either a Metropolitan Statistical Areas (MSA) or a Micropolitan Statistical Areas (MicroSA). The MSA and MicroSA population classifications come from the American Community Survey (ACS), and the ruralurban continuum codes from the United States Department of Agriculture (USDA).

Analytic Strategy

Prior to running the final models, we first performed a Variance Inflation Factor (VIF) analysis to be certain that there was no significant multicollinearity among the independent variables; all VIFs were under 2.00. Next, we tested for significant nesting at the State and/or MSA levels. One of the challenges with this data is that counties are nested within States and some counties are also nested within MSAs. If significant, each level of nesting can influence the results of a regression equation. Therefore, we used Multilevel Mixed Effects Negative Binomial Modeling in STATA (Rabe-Hesketh and Skrondal 2008) to examine the extent of

nesting (clustering) of counties by State and MSA to test our hypothesis. For the county-level analysis we found significant nesting at both the State and MSA levels; therefore we used a three level Mixed Effects Negative Binomial Modeling Mode l (3LMENBM) with a State level, MSA level, and county level.

To test the hypothesized interaction between inequality and disadvantage we controlled for the natural log of population, racial heterogeneity, residential mobility, and the dummy variable rural. If the hypothesized interaction is significant in the context of the control variables then the relationship between inequality and homicide counts varies by levels of disadvantage, and vice versa, as hypothesized.

Results

The results of the 3LMENBM are shown in Table 1. The interaction between income inequality and disadvantage is significant therefore model 2 is superior to model 1 and the relationship between income inequality and homicides varies by levels of disadvantage. Figures 1 is a graph of the interaction between income inequality and disadvantage predicting homicides, plotted at the mean levels of the control variables and for non-rural counties. In Figure 1, Extreme disadvantage 2.5 standard deviations above mean of disadvantage (representing 85 counties), very high disadvantage is 2 standard deviations above mean of disadvantage (representing 178 counties), high disadvantage is 1 standard deviations above mean of disadvantage (representing 631 counties), mean disadvantage is plotted at the mean of disadvantage (representing 1233 counties), low disadvantage is 1 standard deviations below mean of disadvantage (representing 920 counties), and very low disadvantage is 2 standard deviations below mean of disadvantage (representing 114 counties). The extreme disadvantage line does not start until GINI equals 1.25 because there were no extreme disadvantaged counties with standardized GINI scores less than 1.25 (each line is plotted within range of the data).

Table 1. Three Level Mixed Effects Negative Binomial Models of County Homicide Counts

	Model 1	Model 2
	Coefficient	Coefficient
	(Standard Error)	(Standard Error)
	(0.022)	(0.023)
Income Inequality (z-score)	0.102***	0.108***
	(0.019)	(0.019)
Interaction (Disadvantage X Inequality)	-----	-0.045***
		(0.014)
Racial Heterogeneity	0.243***	0.237***
	(0.023)	(0.023)
Residential Mobility	0.002	-0.004
	(0.018)	(.018)
Rural	-0.041	-0.049
	(0.046)	(0.046)
North East	-0.333**	-0.339**
	(0.112)	(0.111)
Midwest	-0.191*	-0187*
	(0.091)	(0.090)
West	0.207*	-0.205*
	(0.094)	(0.093)
Natural log Population	1.158***	1.159***
	(0.018)	(0.018)
Constant	-11.067***	-11.049***
	(0.208)	(0.207)
Natural log alpha	-1.508***	-1.515***
	(0.075)	(0.075)
Random Effects		
Within State Variance	0.041	.039
	(0.012)	(0.011)
Within MSA Variance	0.034	0.033
	(0.012)	(0.012)
Disadvantage (z-score)	0.351***	0.379***

Note in Figure 1 that as disadvantage increase the y-intercept for income inequality increase dramatically but as disadvantage increases the slope for income inequality decreases. At the county level, income inequality's relationship with homicides is at its strongest at low levels of disadvantage; while at very high levels of disadvantage income inequality is not related to homicides.

Figure 1. Moderating Relationship between Disadvantage, Inequality, and Homicide Counts for Non-Rural Counties in the USA
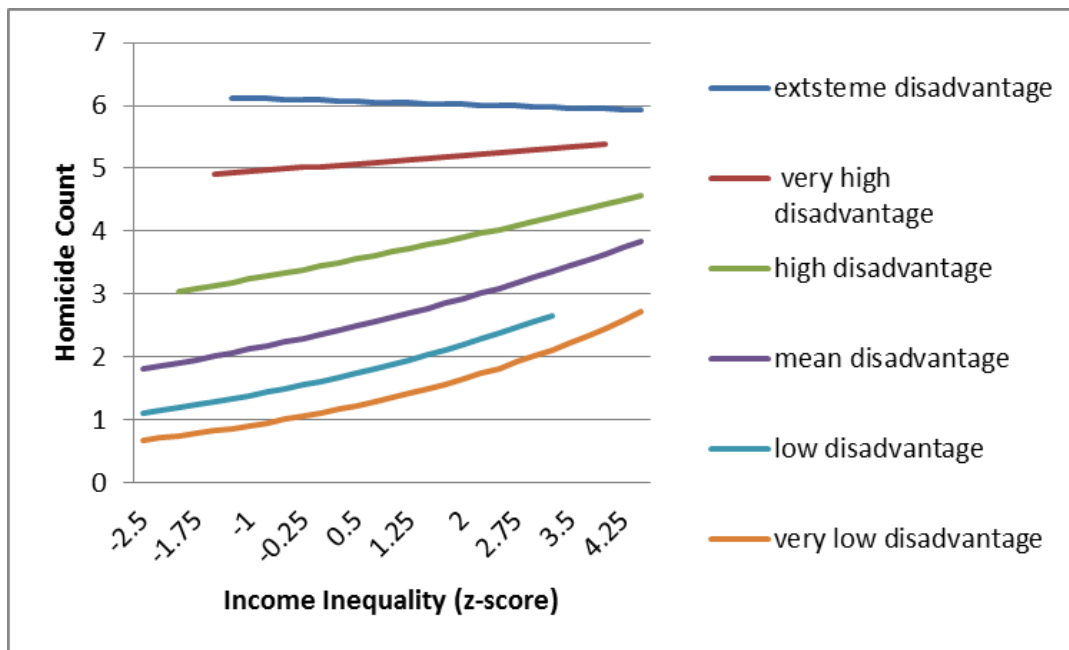
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Homicide and the Effect of Racial and Ethnic Heterogeneity:

Determining Individual Homicide Rates within the Aggregate Population

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Recent literature has suggested that the effect of racial and ethnic heterogeneity on homicide varies at different levels of aggregation. The current study intends to fill an important gap in the currently existing literature. We intend to cultivate a better understanding of how racial and ethnic heterogeneity affects homicide through comparison of data in four different levels of aggregation in Chicago. To do this we will examine racial and ethnic heterogeneity at the zip code, census tract, and block group levels of analysis. We will utilize data coming from the Chicago Data Portal and the American Community Survey. The Chicago Data Portal will provide crime data used in this study. In addition, our economic measures will come from the American Community Survey. Our final measure will be completed utilizing Geographic Information Systems technology to aggregate homicides and racial and ethnic heterogeneity at different levels of analysis. We posit that the effect of racial and ethnic heterogeneity on homicide will differ based on the level of aggregation.

Introduction

The existing literature on this topic has pointed to positive correlations between racial and ethnic heterogeneity and rate of homicide (Avison & Loring, 1986; Boesson & Hipp, 2015). The argument behind this is that crime will be greater where there are numerous ethnic groups (Avison and Loring, 1986; Boesson & Hipp, 2015). This study will look at two different levels of aggregation in an attempt to determine the effect of racial and ethnic heterogeneity on homicide. A comparison of racial and ethnic heterogeneity at the block group and census tract levels of analysis will be useful in showing relationships between racial and ethnic heterogeneity and homicide count. This is supported by research done by Boesson and Hipp in 2015. Their research finds that those blocks with a higher degree of racial and ethnic homogeneity have the most crime and shows that scale is particularly crucial for racial and ethnic heterogeneity, inequality, and other distributional measures because they are dependent on comparisons between groups of people. Boesson and Hipp (2015) suggest using various levels of analysis to

measure the effects of racial and ethnic heterogeneity on crime because the findings may be different based on level of analysis.

Some of the more interesting effects that have been documented in previous literature suggest that stable highly Latino communities exhibit protective effects against violence (Boggess & Hipp, 2010; Feldmeyer, B., Harris, C. T., & Scroggins, J., 2015). This is similar to another finding on immigration as a protective effect on violence. On the opposing side, some authors have found that neighborhoods with higher Hispanic and African-American concentrations also had higher homicide rates (Jones-Webb, R., & Wall, M., 2008). Segregation effects within communities seem to also increase levels of homicide within an area (Krivo et al., 2015).Though this research will be primarily focused on understanding the effects racial and ethnic heterogeneity has on homicide in the aggregate populations specified, it would be interesting to see whether or not the assertions above are supported by the findings of this study. When composing our scores of disadvantage and racial and ethnic heterogeneity, previous research will guide us. When considering factors to include in our disadvantage score, the disadvantage score composed by Browning et al. (2010) performed well in analysis in previous research. This disadvantage score was composed of percent population aged 16 to 64 who are unemployed or out of the labor force, percent of persons aged 16 and older who are working in professional or managerial occupations, percentage of the population age 25 or older who are college graduates, percentage of household with female headed families, percentage of the unemployed civilian population age 16 or older who work in the six occupations with the lowest average incomes (secondary sector workers), and percentage of the population below the poverty line. Our disadvantage score will not be exactly like the one above, but some of the same components will be combined to represent concentrated disadvantage within communities. The standard measure of heterogeneity in current criminological research was first introduced to criminology by Blau (1977). This measure of heterogeneity came from the Simpson's Diversity Index which was originally used in ecology to quantify the biodiversity of a habitat. The original Simpson's Diversity Index took into account the number of species present and the abundance of each species in a habitat. The diversity index has since been adapted to measure the probability that any two residents, chosen at random, would be of different ethnicities. This was done by Blau and is now known as Blau's Index. This index of diversity is used to determine the variation in categorical data. One of the most common measures used was created by Gibbs and Martin (1962) consisting of urbanization, technology, and division of labor. In this measure a perfectly homogenous population would have a diversity index score of 0 and a perfectly heterogeneous population would have a diversity index score of 1. This pertains to the research at hand because this measure is commonly used to take a measure of the racial diversity within a city.

Lee's (2000) results indicated that the actual spatial isolation of poor city residents from non-poor residents is a strong, consistent, and primary determinant of homicide levels. This relationship is not race specific; it is based on location and spatial factors such as spatial clustering. The spatial clustering of urban poor populations is a factor that influences the rise of urban homicide rates. On the other hand, Boessen and Hipp (2015) find that those blocks with a

higher degree of racial and ethnic homogeneity have the most crime. The current study seeks to tests the assertions made by these authors in order to establish the effects that racial and ethnic heterogeneity have on various levels of aggregation in relation to homicide.

Methodology

The data collected in this study has come from a variety of places in order to incorporate the most comprehensive and accurate data for the topic at hand. We have used the Census TIGER files in order to gather the necessary shape files, the Census data to obtain the demographic information for our population, the American Community Survey was used to gather our economic measures, and the Chicago Data Portal in order to gather the necessary information on homicides occurring in Chicago. This information has been used in order to create crime maps in ArcGIS at two different levels of aggregation during three years (20132015) at the census tract and block group levels. This is done to show the effects of racial and ethnic heterogeneity on homicide within Cook County, IL. We posit that based off of level of aggregation, the effect of racial and ethnic heterogeneity will differ in relation to homicide.

Results

Table 1 shows model 1 and 2. Model 1 demonstrates a negative significant effect between racial ethnic heterogeneity and homicide at the block group level. All other controls in model 1 are significant. The second model is the census tract level model. In the model the main explanatory variable fails to gain significance, while all other measures are significant.

Table 1: Negative Binomial Regression of Racial Heterogeneity on Homicide (Model 1, N=3984; Model 2, N=1315)*

Variables	Model 1 Block Group Level	Model 2 Census Tract Level
	Coefficient (Beta)	Coefficient (Beta)
Racial/Ethnic Heterogeneity	-.86*** (.18)	.00
Poverty	4.60*** (.28)	.07*** (.00)

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Unemployment	7.02***	.10***
	(.68)	(.01)
Population	Offset	Offset
Constant	-9.78***	-10.93***
R^2	.11	.15

*p < .05, **p < .01, ***p < .001

Discussion

Future exploration of racial/ethnic heterogeneity index in relation to homicide is warranted. Various levels of analysis in different cities are to be explored to determine the appropriate use of the measure and what it might mean at a theoretical level.

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A Phenomenological Perspective of the Motive for Dismemberment Homicide:

Piecing it All Together

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Much of today's criminology focuses on macro level analyses of homicide. In this paper the particular crime scene behavior of human body dismemberment is examined to evaluate possible motives. Data was collected using over 300 cases identified from media reports, and supplemented by other publicly available data. The results reveal dismemberment's strong correlation with a sexual motivation, including those which are intimate-partner homicides. This helps to explain why offenders choosing to dismember, typically kill within a single gendered category. Results have important implications for homicide investigators working unsolved dismemberment homicides.

Introduction

One of the most gruesome crime scene behaviors in homicide is body dismemberment. Yet, the phenomenon of dismemberment is not well understood. Academic investigation of dismemberment has been focused primarily on forensic science analysis of bone saw marks in effort to identify the offender. Case studies of dismemberment have been published from many countries, though mainly Germany. Few papers investigate *dismemberment homicide* and therefore lean toward case study methodologies (Hyma & Rao, 1991, Quarterhomme, 2007). Reasons for the act of dismembering are not well understood.

Dismemberment can be defined as removing the arms and legs, sometimes referred to as the "limbs" of the body (Di Nunno, et al., 2006, p. 1). A more liberal perspective also includes removal of the head (beheading) and amputation of any one or more protruding body parts. These might include, ears, nose, tongue, nipples, breasts, fingers, toes, penis, or scrotal sac, (Quarterhomme, 2007) and in the female, labia, clitoris, or entire vaginal opening. Konopka, Strona, Boechala, & Kunz (2007) also include extraction of internal organs. Removals tend to occur in clusters, with several members being removed during an incident. Dismemberment is considered one form of mutilation (Rajs, Lunström, Broberg, Lidberg, & Lindquist, 1998) and

sometimes is also termed "discreation" (Preuß, Strehler, Dressler, Riße, Anders, & Medea, 2006, p. 55).

The unit of analysis for this investigation is the dismembered victim. Any incident may provide one or multiple victims, over the course of a single or series of incidents. Although series events of dismemberment are common, occasionally it is sometime committed as a singular event, never to occur again.

The desire to better understand dismemberment is multi-faceted. First, it is rooted in the yearning to protect families from the indignity and desecration of having their loved one's remains mutilated, and disposed of in a way that makes proper funeral rites difficult (Maples & Browning, 1995). Secondly, as a society we attempt to achieve psychic power and control over these monstrous acts to protect ourselves from the fear and pain such intense betrayals promote (Nazaretyan, 2005).

From an entirely investigative perspective, however, identifying the motivation of dismembering behavior serves fundamental goals. It can help lead to faster arrest of perpetrators, thereby preventing multiple or series offending. Identifying motive could also help investigators focus in on particular pools of perpetrators, and in some cases, may point to the only available perpetrator (Turvey, 2003).

A better understanding of dismemberment homicide may aid in speeding discovery of the remains, helping to preserve evidence that could tie a suspect to the crime. Remains might contain offender DNA or unique saw or other tool marks which could be used to link to an offender. Although motive is not necessary to prosecute a homicide, it is instrumental to unifying a theory of the crime, which could ultimately help ensure a sustainable conviction.

Explanations for Dismembering

Instrumental Explanations

Defensive dismembering has been conceptualized as a way of protecting one from apprehension by law enforcement by destroying and concealing the body (Smerling, 1974; Dogan, Demirci, Deniz, & Erkol, 2010; Konopka, Strona, Bolechala, & Kunz, 2007; Rajs, et al., 1998). Interestingly, rarely has a person who died of natural causes or unrelated to a homicide been dismembered (Gerchow, 1978; Rajs, et al., 1998). Murdered bodies are most problematic when they occur at the domain of the offender, thus pointing to the identity of the probable offender (Drake, 2017a; Di Nunno, et al., 2006). This would imply that deaths occurring elsewhere perhaps need not require body dismemberment, and should not be expected. Accordingly, the act of dismembering a body is a lot of work (Quatrehomme, 2007; Draper, 2012) and is best planned in advance (Di Nunno, et al., 2006).

Dismemberment offers an offender an advantage in considering ease of transport (Di Nunno, et al., 2006; Dogan, Demirci, Deniz, & Erkol, 2010). First, it must be assumed that

transport is necessary. One might be seen or discovered transporting and so disposal can be a risky event. Cutting up the body reduces the overall size of "packages" to be transported (Di Nunno, et al., 2006, p. 307). In this usage of dismemberment, one might expect remains to be found and recovered all in a single location. The more locations remains are placed, however, the more likely someone might discover them. This might also suggest that small people would less frequently be dismembered. Remains, overall, are often found clustered or dispersed (Rajs, et al., 1998; Konopka, Bolechala, & Strona, 2006).

Another common attribution for dismemberment is that it was necessary to fit the body into a restricted space (Quarterhomme, 2007) such as a barrel, a suitcase, or a box. As with other panoramic choices, why must the corpse be encased at all? Why not a large box? Why not individually wrap its component parts into small packages?

Souvenir collection by humans has been known to occur (Di Nunno, et al., 2006). This is more common when there is a "close relationship" (p. 311). Sometimes however, body parts are removed by third parties. For instance Young (2010) discusses how bystanders of lynch mobs would cut souvenirs of a victim's fingers or toes. Other forms of this include the practice of scalping or of mounting heads on poles to warn off potential intergroup aggressors.

Dismemberment, as can be imagined, is an extremely unpleasant affair. "J[effrey] D[ahmer] consistently used alcohol as a means to garner sufficient mental resources to carry out homicide and dismembering, activities that he found relatively unpleasant" (Silva, Ferrari, & Leong, 2002, p. 9). This quite interestingly is in contrast to the fact that Dahmer had spent time in his father's butcher shop cutting up animal flesh. Park Elliot Dietz (Draper, 2012) reports that some offenders may be exploring, or there may be some rare "psychological gratification" (p. 1.)

Mentally Ill Disorganized Offender

Hirose (1979) suggests that in one instance, "the homicide and dismembering act were done under an uncontrollable emotional state and clouding of consciousness." Other case examples clearly blame a form of schizophrenia:

> On Dec. 30, 2005, Miles stepped out onto the back deck of his father's Burnsville home and said he'd just killed his stepmother. Burnsville police found the decapitated body of [the victim] in the kitchen, her head in the bottom rack of the dishwasher, facing backward.

The offender in this case was judged insane. Although mentally ill since age six, he was only diagnosed with schizophrenia in October 2005 (Mello, 2010, p. 1). Dogan, et al. (2010) describes cases of schizophrenic sons killing and dismembering their mothers. Almost no cases exist of sons doing the same to fathers however, and many mother attacks occur in the bedroom of the family's home.

Bromberg (1951) describes some cases in "acute alcoholic psychotics" as being caused by "guilt arising from disturbances of the psychosexual organization (homosexuality and perversions) in alcoholism is defended against by projection to external persons who may then

be aggressively attacked" (p. 118). Indeed, this points toward a disinhibition allowing for the release of some deeply seated motivation for such an act.

Offensive Dismembering

Di Nunno, et al. (2006) list a kind of dismemberment called offensive dismembering. They argue that offensive or aggressive dismemberment occurs when motivated by hatred or resentment. However, they also note that in these cases a focus of the mutilation is often of the dead victim's genitalia. They concede however that some attacks are sadistic in nature, such as when offenders dismember a live victim. Other descriptions name overkill or extreme fury as a component of the killing. Overkill might be a common crime description of the anger-excitation rape murderer or biastophile (Drake, 2017b). Rajs, et al. (1998) describe it as "offensive mutilation," but must be initiated prior to death (p. 564).

A Sexual Explanation for Dismembering

Some necrophiles participate in what is termed "non-sexual necrophilia." They occasionally desire to dismember bodies and will handle or "gaze at" the remains (De Wet, 2005, p. 61; Fromm, 1973, 433). "Mutilation and torture often occur together. In these cases mutilation is usually directed towards the genitals of the victim" (De Wet, 2005) thereby suggesting a sexual motive.

Another indicator or sexual component is weapon selection. "Cutting or stabbing…is found in 28.5% of sexual assault murders (Drake, 2017a, p. 287; Greenfeld, 1997). Cutting is a necessary component of dismembering a murder victim, even in the case of a dismembered infant.

Geberth (2003) includes "intimate partner homicides as sex-related homicides (pp.311312)" (Drake, 2017a, p. 276). The word "intimate" can be understood as "a euphemism for sex" (Drake, 2015, p. 315). However, little research has focused on intimate-partner dismemberment specifically.

Ressler and Schachtman (1992) list dismembering a corpse as a sign of "organized, nonsocial offenders" (p. 64). Others, such as Dogan, et al. (2010) maintain that homicides ending in dismemberment of the corpse "are almost always committed by a person close to, or at least acquainted with the victim" (p. 544). This does not negate the possible predatory nature of the act.

Serial sexual homicides have not typically been labeled as intimate partner. Gerson Kaplan (1991) described one case of serial homicide saying, "Jeffrey Dahmer has also stated that he had sexual contact with the dead victims and their dismembered bodies. This can be understood as a way of reliving the sexual contact he had with the victims before he killed them. The body part represents the victim, just as another man might use a woman's underwear to

represent the woman and then masturbate with the underwear" (p. 231). The police often judge partners as intimate if they have cohabitated for a year or more.

There also are cases where the homicide offender engaged in *offensive dismemberment*, meaning he killed so that he could carry out the dismemberment. Killing is secondary, dismembering is primary. In a German case, the dismembering was alleged to have facilitated an episode of cannibalism (Wirth, 2008). Dismemberment and cannibalism are known to occur within a constellation of what has been euphemistically labeled as "lust murder," lust being a euphemism for sex (Crespo-Fernández, 2015) and is in fact perhaps only one type of sexual homicide (Arrigo & Purcell, 2001; Purcell & Arrigo, 2006). The motive explains the danger of such dismemberment repetition in that no one wants to have sex just once in their lifetime (Drake, 2015, Purcell & Arrigo, 2006).

Harris & Pontius (1975) try to make sense of a dismemberment alleging that "acts of dismemberment attempt to disintegrate the most important object representation in order to reconstitute it in a subjectively more meaningful way." In one of their cases, a man has anal sex with an unsuspected transgender woman. After a second romp she exposes her transgender nature, and "he slowly wraps his hands around her neck" and proceeds to strangle and dismember her. He also disembowels her and proceeds to experiment with and play with her body parts. In the second case study the victim is a woman who offers him sex for $20. He eventually amputates "breasts and vagina" as well as other parts, and he engages in cannibalism (p. 10), an act commonly linked with sexual homicide.

Methodology

This paper mixes quantitative and qualitative methodologies. Phenomenology is the study of acts at the micro level intended to determine their subjective meaning. Skrapec (2001) used it to study the motives of serial offenses saying it is a method of inquiry to "elucidate what the repeated acts of killing mean to the killer and, in so doing, reveal the motive forces that drive the behavior" (p. 53). This also allows for the induction of our own insight if we remain open in what is referred to as the "epoche," following which "we close in on the meaning of the phenomenon as it appears in our own experience or in our consciousness" (Hoffman, 2014, sl. 6).

Data were identified using open source data collection techniques. Internet search engines were employed using the terms "dismember" and "murder." The first 30 pages of results were scoured for dismemberment homicides occurring within the United States. Once exhausted, a year was added and staff worked backward from the present. The current search resulted in identification of several hundred dismemberment cases from news reports. Although media reports have been criticized previously by criminologists (Miethe & Regoeczi, 2004), their careful use is laid out by Buck, Yurvati, and Drake, (2013).

Findings

Data to be revealed at presentation.

Discussion

The main question I would like to pose is whether all dismemberment homicides are sexual in nature, considering such large portions are explicitly sexual. If not all, then what portion can be considered motivated by sex or be labeled sex-related?

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The Homicide of Transgender People in the U.S.: A Descriptive (Baseline) Study

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There appears to be an increase in the murders of transgender people; or at least greater acknowledgement of such homicide in the media. Yet, research on the murder of Trans men and women is limited to nonexistent, and thus our understanding of such crimes is inadequate; potentially hindering criminal investigations and the prevention of such homicide. This study serves as a descriptive or baseline analyses of homicides in which transgender people are the victims. Using data from the Center for Homicide Research, we present a descriptive analyses of the patterns and characteristics of homicide in which the victim is a transgender person. We include data about the victim-offender relationships, the circumstances, information about the offenders, and how often the cases are cleared as well as demographic and any available occupational data on both offenders and victims. Implications and next steps in the research will be left open for discussion.

With women like Laverne Cox and Caitlyn Jenner topping news stories and Twitter feed in the mid-2010s, it might seem like we have made much progress in our society for Transgender awareness. Yet, at this same time, there has also been the bathroom wars and what appears to be an increase in the killing of trans woman. Many stories in recent newsfeeds such as one in the Daily Beast ask "Why Have There Been So Many Trans Murders This Year?" (Allen 2017). In this article, the author pointed out that there had been seven reported murders of transgender women (six black and one Native American) in the first 60 days of 2017. Chay Reed, another transgender woman of color was murdered in Miami on April 24, 2017 making headlines as the 9th Black Trans Woman Killed this Year (McBride 2017). The authors of these articles indicate that if the rate continues in 2017, we would expect over 40 transgender murders by the end of 2017 in comparison to 27 murders of transgender killings in 2016 (Allen 2017). The authors are astute enough to point out that it is unclear whether the murder rate is really

increasing or if with the greater awareness and in some places, acceptance of transgender people, we might be getting better at identifying transgender killings. Either way, transgender people feel under attack and LGBT Leaders such as Chad Griffin of the Human Rights Campaign have called antitransgender violence an "urgent crisis for our country" and have asked for elected leaders, the media, and the LGBT community to address the epidemic of violence (Allen 2017). As HRWG members who are familiar with the study of homicide, we decided to learn what we could about transgender murder to help inform the conversation and potentially help with prevention and investigations.

Turning to the existing literature, we find little help. Not surprisingly, there has been little published on trans murders. We were able to locate only one article on "transphobic" murders in Italy by Prunas et al (2015) which focused on 20 murders of trans women in Milan during the years 1993 to 2012. The women were described as biological males presenting as women with varying degrees of "feminization" and they were noted to be mostly immigrants and several of the victims (19) were sex workers. Thirteen of the killers were identified and they were all males with a wide age range (17 to 63). In all but one instance, there was only one killer (when the killer was known). In 5 cases (38% of known killers) the murderer was the victim's partner or former partner and thus the killing could be considered an IPV case. The circumstances varied and are difficult to align with how we categorize cases in the U.S. with 5 crimes of passion (we are guessing these are the IPV cases), 2 monetary issues, 3 "futile motives"; 4 self-defense against robber, and 1 casual presence. Still, the authors noted that there was "overkill" in eight cases indicating that the cases may have fit with hate crime motives. This study by Prunas and colleagues (2015) is important in that it is one of the first, if not the first to study the murder of transgender people. It is notable that all cases are of transwomen and that many of the women were immigrants and sex workers, thus at the margins of society and not just due to their gender status, which likely could have increased their risk for homicide. Our work, like theirs, seeks to offer an overview of murders of transgender persons including determining how many may be considered hate crimes. However, we are focusing on the United States. We were unable to locate any academic articles that focused on the murder of trans individuals in the United States. The closest we found was the work of Gruenewald and Kelley (Gruenewald 2012; Gruenewald & Kelley 2014; Kelley Gruenewald 2015). Gruenewald and Kelley's work is important on its own and relevant to ours in that they make a case for using open-source data. Rather than relying on official data sources such as the Supplementary Homicide Reports or NIBRS that may miss cases of LGBT murders, Gruenewald relied on a systematic search of sources such as advocacy group reports (Human Rights Campaign, National

Gay & Lesbian Task Force, and Southern Poverty Law Center); and printed news sources using Lexis Nexis. Gruenewald makes the case that this is the best way to make sure that cases involving LGBT people are included. We agree and employ The Center For Homicide Studies Data that has been carefully collected in just this way. So while our method is the same, we use a different data set and thus add to the studies Gruenewald and Kelley have completed on LGBT homicides.

In the earliest article Gruenewald compares LGBT and non-LGBT homicides for the years 1990 to 2008 to determine whether LGBT Homicides are somehow different from non-LGBT homicides. Using their open source data file of 120 cases of "sexual orientation bias murders" (15 transgender and did not say whether men or women) and comparing to SHR data, they found Anti LGBT offenders more likely white and young and less likely to use firearms than non-LGBT murders. But they were no more likely to be strangers. More importantly for our present study however, it that Gruenewald indicated that "While the proportion of homicides targeting transgender victims is relatively substantial, many homicides of transgender individuals were excluded from the study due to a lack of clear indicators of anti-LGBT bias." (Page 3609). So, while he set out to study LGBT homicides, he often left the "T" out and did not present data in a way we could determine what was happening uniquely or similarly for the trans individuals.

In Gruenewald and Kelley's other two articles they create a typology of LGBT murders which they illustrate with five case studies. The typology is based on victim selection which is divided into predatory and responsive which are further broken down as follows:

Predatory

1. Representative: Seek out victim to communicate symbolic hate message to all

2. Instrumental: LGBT

                                 Seek out victim for gain such as robbing the victim

Responsive

1. Gay Bash   Felt threatened or disrespected; not premeditated

2. Undesired   Real or perceived sexual

Romantic/Sexual   Mistaking the sex of the victim and finding out after involved

3. Mistaken Identity

While these categories seem to hold up to their own analyses, it would be interesting for us to test this with our data culled from similar sources but over a longer time period. But even more important, Gruenewald and Kelly note that "Violence against transgender victims is inordinately complex and unique from violence against gay and lesbian victims in many ways. Future research should be careful to study anti-transgender violence as its own phenomenon, rather than collapsing it within research focusing primarily on anti-sexual orientation bias crimes" (Gruenewald & Kelly 2015; 25). We could not agree more though this is a very difficult task, but one that we are commencing to take on with this work.

While analyzing data from The Center for Homicide Studies, we discovered that even their extensive database had key components missing for trans individuals murdered. The entire dataset contained only 37 trans individuals who were murdered. Unfortunately, many of these cases were not completed and had very high rates of missing data. We were able to find the following Characteristics:

- 36 were male to female

- 1 was female to male

- Victim ages ranged from 17 years old to 70 years old

- Most common killing method was shooting, followed by stabbing

- Only 4 offenders were convicted

- Overkill was not found in any of the incidents

- Six of the victims were prostitutes

While some of these findings are interesting, we have decided to go a step further. We plan to fill in the blanks for the The Center for Homicide Studies data and add to it by building a database specifically focused on the murdering of trans individuals using several additional sources of data.

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Gangs, Homicide, Music and the Mediatization of Crime:
Expressions, Violations and Validations

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The way in which criminologists understand, contextualise and theorise around gangs, gang violence and homicide within a mediatized world has raised some critical new questions. This paper reports on qualitative research which looks at the ways in which some forms of social media are utilised by gang members. Gang research in the main is predicated on the notion that gangs are deviant products of social disorganisation, however there is little written on the 'specific' forms of expression used by those associated with gangs. The lyrical content of three music videos from artist in both the United Kingdom and the United States of America has been analysed using narrative analysis. Music videos have been used as a form of expression for decades. More recently in some cases they have been used as a tool to document homicides, violent behaviours, send threats, promote gang culture and flaunt illegal substances, which is fairly a new concept, in the United Kingdom at least. Social media and music videos are not the sole reason why there has been a rise in violence and homicide amongst young people, however this article aims to further explore some of these notions. Our intention is not to further criminalise young people, but to seek understanding and explore the phenomenon of music videos and its position in homicide and gang research.

Craig Pinkney is a Criminologist, Urban Youth Specialist, Lecturer and Director of Real ActionUK, a charitable, outreach organisation based in Birmingham, UK, which specialises in working with disaffected youth. Craig has over 14 years of experience as an outreach worker, transformational speaker, gang exit strategist, mediator, mentor and filmmaker. He is well known for working with some of Birmingham's most challenging young people, potentially high-risk offenders, victims of gang violence and youth who are deemed most hard to reach.

Craig Pinkney is also the UK lead for the EU Gangs Project, a full-time lecturer at University College of Birmingham, specialising in youth violence, urban street gangs, extremism, trauma and Black men's desistance. Craig's current research focuses on social media and the impact it has on young people in relation to knife and gun crime in the UK. His recent publication 'Social Media, a Trigger and Catalyst for Youth Violence' (2017) explores the links between young people's use of social media and youth violence. Whilst social media platforms are being used to glamorise, display and incite serious acts of violence, this content currently drifts under the radar of responsible adults and organisations which have the potential to respond to and challenge this behaviour.

The paper that will be presented at the HRWG annual meeting titled 'Gangs, Music, and the Mediatization of Crime: Expressions, Violations and Validations' (2017) reports on qualitative research which looks at the ways in which some forms of social media are utilised specifically by gang members. Gang research in the main is predicated on the notion that gangs are deviant products of social disorganisation, however there is little written on the 'specific' forms of expression used by those associated with gangs. The lyrical content of three music videos has been analysed using narrative analysis. Music videos have been used as a form of expression for decades. More recently in some cases they have been used as a tool to send threats, promote gang culture and flaunt illegal substances, which is fairly a new concept, in the United Kingdom.

Firstly the presentation will explore social media and the use of such platforms by street gangs. Research including interviews and data from surveys contend that gangs are online and using social media (see King, Walpole, and Lamon, 2007; Decary-Hetu & Morselli, 2011; Knox, 2011; Decker and Pyrooz, 2011, 2012; Van Hellemont, 2012; Pyrooz et al., 2015). Gang members like anybody else use the internet for a number of reasons, which include making remarks or threats to rival gangs, promoting gang culture, recruitment, flaunting illegal substances or weapons (see Womer and Bunker 2010; Decary-Heru and Morselli, 2011; Decker and Pyrooz, 2011; Hanser, 2011; Sela-Shayovitz, 2012; Patton et al., 2013; Patton et al., 2016;). Gangs have used social media platform such as YouTube to promote gang music videos for decades (see Haut, 2014; Johnson and Schell-Busey, 2016). Currently, in the UK and the US, these videos typically sit within the music genres of 'drill' or 'trap-rap' (Densley, 2012a; Storrod and Densley, 2016; Irwin-Rogers and Pinkney, 2017). The majority of videos are filmed at night, either in areas associated with the gang or in a rival's territory, identifiable through the inclusion of street signs or local landmarks in the video shots.

Such videos often attract both local and national attention, not only from gang rivals, but also from impressionable young people that find such videos entertaining (Irwin-Rogers and Pinkney, 2017). Moreover as gangs utilize social media as a means to maintain virtual presences, to communicate about their activities, and to establish an identity, criminal justice agencies in recent times have used gang material on social media to help incarcerate gang members (IrwinRogers and Pinkney, 2017). Within the major cities across the UK, gang taskforces have been set up to disrupt gang activity, reduce the threat of violence that gangs pose, work

alongside police, local authorities, criminal justice agencies, to better manage individuals involved in gang activity

(Home Office, 2015). This multiagency approach, according to the 'Ending Gangs and Youth Violence Report' (Home Office, 2015), asserts that in order for there to be a reduction of violence within gangs and gang impacted environments, better communication and appropriate dissemination of gang intelligence gathered by gang taskforces needs to be more transparent between agencies.

Secondly the presentation will explore the globalisation of Drill music and its link between gangs and social media, as it has been a significant point of interest by many researchers and practitioners (Irwin - Rogers and Pinkney, 2017). Drill music is a style of Hip Hop music that originated in the Southside of Chicago. Drill broke into the mainstream in mid - 2012 with the success of rappers like Music Video 1, Lil Durk, Fredo Santana and Lil Reese, all of whom were established on their strong local followings and internet presence. Although in spite of having much economic success and signing to many of the major labels in America, drill rappers were being criticized as the style of music was getting a lot of media attention for the graphic imagery and lyrical content. Drill music was linked to a spate of gangland shootings and murders as it was said to be perpetuating the youth in Chicago to be violent. The lyrics of drill rap tend to mainly focus on the harsh and dangerous experiences of life for residents of Southside Chicago. It is widely argued that hip hop as a genre historically has always featured artists highlighting the social reality of people in a range of socio-economic environments. However in drill rap, although a more contemporary facet of Hip-Hop, the overt explicit nature of content/imagery i.e. imagery of young men holding automatic weaponry, live drive-by shootings, discussions of violence and unsolved murders either by the artist or by a member of the gang is different (Irwin-Rogers and Pinkney 2017). Using narrative analysis, the phenomenon of Drill music within the UK will be illustrated by presenting three music videos by artists 'Chief Keef' (Chicago, USA), '67 – LD' (London, UK) and 'Lynch' (Birmingham, UK) with the links to violence and homicide in UK.

Lastly the presentation will explore the concept of narcissism and the amplification of violence via social media. Research suggests that young people's constant use of social media has a strong connection with narcissism. Narcissism according to Panek, Nordis and Konrath (2013) is an affinity to believe oneself to be superior over others, to increasingly pursue adoration from others, and to participate in egotistical thinking and behaviour. Carpenter (2012) expresses the notion that young people have become obsessed with taking and posting 'selfies' on social media platforms, similarly gangs utilize these platforms for the very same reasons. The lust for adoration sees young people thriving on the idea that they are important based on the volume of 'likes' and comments received on personal profiles (Carpenter, 2012). Alloway, Runac, Qureshi and Kemp (2014) assert that narcissism in relation to the aforementioned use of social media, damages people's abilities to shape healthy, mutually beneficial relationships.

As drill music has become a popular genre of choice for many young people, gang members alike have taken advantage and utilized social media platforms, thereby attracting

attention from people within the music industry, their fans, rival groups and criminal justice agencies by default. With the constant increase of video views, alongside comments and 'likes' for the drill/trap rapper, this becomes the motivation to want/or need to make more content to appease their audiences (Irwin-Roger and Pinkney, 2017). This by default has created a paradigm shift in the way artists make music, as well as the way in which the viewer's decide whether the content they view is good enough. Therefore, where viewers would traditionally listen to music and analyse the content of forms of expression, the difference with 'drill music or 'trap' rap now means that viewers are making judgements based on whether the artist is projecting true content, and whether this can be verified. If an artist professes that he/she is a gang member, who has committed a series of stabbings and shootings, the audience in a sense demands some type of proof. Although the artist may be lyrically talented, the talent of such an individual will be tainted if the claim cannot be supported.

Irwin-Rogers and Pinkney (2017) suggested that violence within inner cities is increased when 'beef' is uploaded on the internet. The volume of viewers and comments from both supporters and opposing groups amplify the violence because the constant narrative of 'will you do, what you say in your raps', puts the victim in a position where their credibility and livelihood is at stake. Although this may be seen as entertainment for those viewing robberies, assaults and other forms of violence, the victims themselves feel they have a duty to respond due to the narcissistic thinking social media has created (Carpenter, 2012). In many cases where certain areas within the major cities across the UK have witnessed spats of violence, it is important to note the significance of the adverse impact that comments from viewers on social media platforms have on individuals that are victims to some sort of violence (Irwin-Rogers and Pinkney, 2017). This discourse highlights new elements within gang research that explore not only what triggers gang members to be violent but rather the discourse about narcissism, social media and its relation to gang violence.

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Faith after Murder:

Religion in the Lives of Offenders Convicted Of Homicide Offences

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Arguably the current state of the Criminal Justice System (CJS) in relation to homicide offenders is challenging in its nature. Consequently understanding offenders, especially those convicted of homicide offences raises a host of complexities. This thesis seeks to explore *the maintenance, discovery and rediscovery of religion* – engaging with participants who identified with particular belief systems before their offence. Those who potentially lapsed from religion prior to their offence, but rediscovered religiosity following their conviction. Along with those who engaged with a particular belief system for the first time whilst incarcerated. This solely qualitative piece explores the role of religiosity in the lives of homicide offenders, further exploring the concept of identity, gender, age, race, and class.

Shona Robinson – Edwards is a PhD Researcher and Assistant Lecturer in criminology at Birmingham City University. Shona has a Masters Degree in Criminology and an Undergraduate Degree in Criminal Investigation. Offending, Rehabilitation, Religion and Desistance are Shona's areas of interest. Shona's current PhD looks at the role of Religion in the Lives of Offenders Convicted of Homicide Offences. Arguably the current state of the Criminal Justice System (CJS) in relation to homicide offenders is challenging in its nature. Consequently understanding offenders, especially those convicted of homicide offences raises a host of complexities. This thesis seeks to explore *the maintenance, discovery and rediscovery of religion* – engaging with participants who identified with particular belief systems before their offence. Those who potentially lapsed from religion prior to their offence, but rediscovered religiosity following their conviction. Along with those who engaged with a particular belief system for the first time whilst incarcerated. This solely qualitative piece explores the role of religiosity in the lives of homicide offenders, further exploring the concept of identity, gender, age, race, and class.

The thinking and motivation behind choosing, 'Faith after Murder: Religion in the Lives of Offenders Convicted of Homicide Offences' is based on the lack of scholarly insight in this particular area of research. This thesis is not examining why men and women commit homicide offences, rather it explores the role of religiosity in the lives of individuals. Investigating and

exploring the narration of stories, looking at: How storytellers present stories about their lives and the lives of others? Why do they tell the stories in the way that they do? What characters do they portray? For those convicted of homicide offences, the characters or labels such as

'murderer' and 'killer' are strong ones. For these individuals, their experiences of religiosity will be unique to other offenders and as such, this group are deserving of specific focus.

Criminology is a rendezvous discipline, held together by a substantive concern: crime (Walkgate, 1998). This thesis engages with both macro and micro social phenomena, indeed religion is both a social institution and a personal experience. To date criminologists have struggled to bridge the 'epistemological imbalance' between macro and micro phenomena – where those studying at the macro level have difficulty engaging with the micro implications of their work and vice versa (Messner, 2012) . This thesis is therefore unique in this respect, but would harness the work of Yardley and Wilson (2015), who established the concept of institutional mediation – the mediating role of institutions with regards to the nature and extent of their influence upon individual choices and actions. This thesis aims to create some clarity of understanding the complex nature of religiosity; narrative; identity and rehabilitation. Whilst critically examining elements of social identity that may restrict, or enhance this process.

This presentation will explore how past and current writings have explored the concept of religiosity. Due to the limitation of literature around religiosity and homicide offenders, in some areas literature is explored from various academic disciplines. The context of this literature review is to 'continue the discourse centring on criminologist desire to examine, explain and explore' (Glynn 2014, p.12). Whilst it is acknowledged that past research pertaining to religiosity and incarceration has been conducted, the lack of attention placed on the role of religion in the lives of homicide offenders would suggest that this area within criminological research is incomplete. Six main concepts within the literature will be discussed, the first, *Religiosity, Spirituality and the Practical Difficulties*. Within this thesis the importance does not lie in defining the term 'conversion' rather exploring the concept highlighted by (Snow and Machalek, 1983), what changes when individuals convert to religion. Having said this, it is important to acknowledge some of the challenges in relation to defining the key terms. The relationship between religion and spirituality is complex and in need of clarification (Hill et al., 2000; Jang & Franzen, 2013; Schmidt, 2011). However this thesis does not intend to draw comparison between the two, rather religiosity in this thesis includes both corporate religiosity and private spirituality as two dimensions of religiosity. (Giordano et al, 2008).

Secondly, *Homicide in England and Wales*. Research suggests that individuals face various challenges and have significant criminogenic needs before they choose to offend and whist incarcerated. Gendreau, Little and Goggins (1996) have identified major risk factors associated with criminal conduct: 'antisocial/ procriminal attitudes, values, and beliefs; procriminal associates; temperament and personality factors; a history of antisocial behaviour; family factors; and low levels of educational vocational or financial achievements' (cited in Latessa and Brian, 2010, p.207). Grendreau et al (1996) work primarily looks at high risk and low risk offenders (Latessa and Brian, 2010, p.207), with no clear specification into types of

offences. To date no clear research surrounding the criminogenic needs of homicide offenders is available. Homicide offenders are of interest in academia and beyond. For instance writers make reference to homicide offenders, for example Yardley and Wilson (2015) '*Female Serial Killers in Social Context*', Hickey (2015) *'Serial Murderers and Their Victims'* and Flowers (2003) *'Male crimes and deviance exploring its causes, dynamics and nature'*. If homicide is not a significant or current issue relating to offenders then why is there such a prefix within the contexts of murder? There is an interest in homicide offenders however arguably the importance of rehabilitation, identity, intersectionality, desistance and faith are somewhat overlooked in this process by academia, National Offender Management (NOMS) and Ministry of Justice policy.

Thirdly, Secularism, Religion and Faith Based Intervention. Halman and Draulans (2006) explores the question how secular is Europe illustrating that over the years a body of literature has developed suggesting that religion (in general) and Churches and Church leaders in particular have lost their once dominant position in contemporary Europe. 'The findings provide evidence in favour of secularization theories and in contradiction to rational choice theories. In Europe, religious pluralism produces not higher levels, but lower levels of religiosity' (Halman and Draulans 2006, p. N/A). The debate regarding whether the UK should be qualified as secularized in terms of religious beliefs remains unclear. Cerrah and Hill (2013) make reference to the notion of secularism within the United Kingdom. Hill agrees that Britain is in some ways a more secular society than it once was, but it is not a secular state. This statement has been echoed

by The House of Lords select Committee (2004) on religious offences who state 'The constitution of the UK is rooted in faith- specifically the Christian faith, exemplified by the established status of the Church of England and they affirm that the UK is not a secular state' (Arther and Lovat, 2013, p.67).

Fourthly, Narrative Accounts of Offenders, It is anticipated that for individuals convicted of homicide offences, religiosity is not simply a tool to prevent reoffending but an integral part of sense-making around narrative identity - the stories that individuals tell about their lives. Narrative accounts of offenders or ex-offenders are crucial in the criminological research process, alongside the impact of self-image on the creation of narratives (Brookman, 2015). Brookman (2015) illustrates how narratives can shift between different discourses, therefore interviewing inmates cannot be looked at, at face value, as there are a range of 'multi lingual and seemingly contradictory accounts' (2015, p.208). The shift of narrative highlights a number of implications for narrative criminology (Brookman, 2015); 'if the narratives of violent offenders are constantly shifting, how can we make sense of past and (potentially) future offending' (Brookman, 2015, p.208). It is documented that offenders present themselves in a 'multitude of ways' (Brookman, 2015). Literature to some extent has focused upon this, for example how some offenders excuse or justify offending behaviour and in turn present positive self-image, (see Scott and Lyman 1968; Sykes and Matza, 1957; Maruna & Copes, 2005).

Moving on, Prison Conversions, Offenders who convert or revert to religion whilst in incarcerated is documented, interestingly the psychological study of religious conversion has had

a privileged place in the history of psychology (James, 1902/1985; Starbuck, 1899), which has arguably received less attention in recent decades (Mahoney & Pargament, 2004). There is a need to explore the role which religion plays in the lives of those who identify with forms of religiosity. Maruna (2006) states that 'The jail cell conversion from "sinner" to true believer may be one of the best examples of a "second chance" in modern life, yet the process receives far more attention from the popular media than from social science research' (Maruna et al 2006: 161). In some cases offenders whom convert to religion from unbelievers to believers can be viewed as a cliché. Additionally homicide offenders, who claim to be reformed, can be quite a difficult concept for many to accept, understand or even welcome.

Lastly Religiosity and Crime, Religion and crime are 'independent subjects' (Johnson and Schroeder, 2014, p.1) which have received attention in global society. The media tend to focus on crime, be it fictional or factual cases. However Johnson and Schroeder, (2014) state that 'we do not have an extensive or well-developed research literature examining the direct and indirect ways in which these two topics relate to each other' (2014, p.1). Some rationalise the concept of religion and crime as positively going hand in hand, for example the more religious a person is then the likelihood of he or she participating in crime is low. Tittle and Welch (1983) argue that religiosity 'cannot in and of itself be conclusively held as a deterrent for delinquency' cited in (VanVleet, Cockayne and Fowles 1999, p.3). Literature will be discussed and critiqued further. *This presentation will further explore the methodological process*. Prison research is a valuable tool and in some cases provides prisoners with a platform to express their thoughts and lived experiences. A prisoner's lived experience will be more vivid, than that produced by even the most dedicated of 'academic tourist' (Reuss, 2000). I anticipate that for individuals convicted of homicide offences, religiosity is not simply a tool to prevent reoffending but an integral part of sense-making around narrative identity - the stories that individuals tell about their lives. Insights into this study require an anti-positivist epistemology and engage with both macro and micro social phenomena, indeed religion is both a social institution and a personal experience. This study will explore previous and current research relating to prison, rehabilitation and religious conversions, many of which have taken place in the United States of America. The aim of this thesis is to explore the role of religion in the lives of offenders convicted of homicide offences, from a UK context.

It is anticipated that participants will be from different backgrounds, for example varying in age, gender, race and religion. This study will utilise semi structured interviews, which enable the interviewee to respond and explore more 'spontaneously to open ended questions' (Steven' 2013, p.7), this enables participants to explore and reveal their thoughts, opinions and stories whilst 'prioritising issues of real symbolic value to the interviewee' (Gubrium 2004 & Lofland et al 2006, cited in Stevens, 2013, p.37). This presentation will argue that research in relation to homicide offenders and religiosity is largely under researched, which emphasises the importance of academic research in this area. To put this into context, research in regards to Faith based intervention and faith based programmes have been explored to some extent. For example, *The Effectiveness in Faith Based Treatment Programmes* (Johnson & Larson, 2003) and *The Role of Religion in Coping with Imprisonment* (Koening, 1995). With this in mind, there is very little

scholarly insight into the role that religion plays in the construction of individual offender social realities. As aforementioned there is very little understanding into the role religion plays in the lives of offenders. For example it is known that some offenders convert or revert to religion whilst incarcerated, however this is not explored in depth. I seek to identify the nature of religiosity, exploring the role of religion in the self-narrative of a sample of convicted homicide offenders in England and Wales. This will be done to develop insights into lived experiences, critically considering the extent to which religiosity is important in desisting from crime and building a 'Good Life'.

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The same but not equal? How does the victim characteristics influence the investigators involvement in the case.

1. Special victims among special crime?

It is an universal trend that is being present probably in every culture, nation, community and also since the beginning of civilization that murders are type of crime that draw unproportionally much attention of media, politicians, public opinion (Silverman and Kennedy, 1993). Homicides are the most often reported of all crimes (except treason and kidnapping), being even labelled 'the most newsworthy of all crimes' (Johnston et al. 1995). There are several reasons of such 'inordinate attention' (Lundman 2003) in them. Their ultimate character, level of violence or for the most part close ties between the offenders and victims. 'If it bleeds, it leads'. However it is not equal distribution of interest among all fatal crimes. Some homicides draw more attention than others. Mass shootings, serial murderers as particularly deadly and scary events. Cases when victims are celebrities like Charles Augustus Lindbergh Jr. or JonBennet Ramsey. Statistically deviant features or sensational elements in most cases will be newsworthy (Gekoski et al. 2012).

That is no wonder if it was limited only to general 'lay' public including reporters. However common knowledge and case studies reveal the (informal) classification of victims among homicide detectives, like dividing them for: 'true victims', 'dead dope boys' and 'real thugs' (Simmon, 1999). Also inquiry into prioritizing cases in metropolitan homicide bureau reveals patterns not corresponding to official policy of treating all cases equal (Hawk and Dabney, 2014). The classification their survey revealed was consisting of such categories as: 'true victim', 'good victim', 'victim victim', 'real victim' and 'solid citizen' vs 'deserving victim' (Hawk and Dabney, 2014). Even in the times of almighty statistics detectives (more or less

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consciously) decide to focus always to scare resources on some particular type of cases. The common trait is victim characteristic as 'ideal victim' (Christie, 1986), especially their gender and age.

1a. *Effective homicide investigation* research project

The important part of the *Effective homicide investigation* research project that has been conducted by author in United States (2014-2016) was to identify the ways in which homicide detectives perceive their own investigative actions, also regarding the profile of the victim and how does it influence their activities. The semi-structured interviews with 32 experienced homicide detectives (minimum 5 years of experience in investigating homicides) working in 3 different law enforcement agencies offers insight into their perception of own work.

Since the main goal of the *Effective homicide investigation* research project was to determine the most effective investigative techniques there was not much emphasis on the victimology itself.

Therefore only one (out of 50) questions referred to the specific characteristic of victims and how they may influence the investigative actions:
Does the age and sex of the victim affect the course of a criminal investigation? If yes, then how?

Both parts of the questions were answered in quite similar manner. At the beginning most detectives were stressing that in general all homicide cases are equal, no matter the age or sex of the victim what corresponds to official law enforcement agencies' policies. Only when they start elaborating possible or real differences the narrative of half of them changed.

2. *Victims age*

Doesn't matter - all cases equal –

45%[1] Does matter - only

investigative – 30%

Does matter - for detectives themselves - 25%

2a. Doesn't matter - all cases equal

In that group of answers it was strongly emphasized that all cases are being investigated equal, no matter the age, sex or other characteristic of the victim.

No it does not... because the law is cut straight... it's a ... it's... one line and that's it...it's just... like uh... like religion. Detective 3

In some cases the detectives even stressed that their try to work on every cases as if it was their family member or fellow cop

I know for me no matter what the age or sex is we gonna do what we do on every job. we investigate it as it was you know family member fellow cop, same steps will be taken no shortcuts. Detective 6

2b. Does matter - only investigative

In that group of answers were included these that were focusing on the victimology including age as one of the possible leads. Age of the victim was linked to different scenes of crimes that are most often involving different age groups or the direction of the initial investigative response.

So the age doesn't matter. It just gives us the direction. Detective 2

When we approach the investigation, it should not be affected. <u>*However, the path of the investigation will be certainly affected.*</u> Detective 20

Detectives were also mentioning that the age of the victim may heavily influence the cooperation from witnesses.

2c. Does matter - for detectives themselves

1 in every 4 detectives explicitly confirmed that age of the victim makes a difference for him/her 1 N=32

and it does influence his/her approach and undertaken actions. In particular the young victims – children were making them work more.

I'm not gonna say a little more attention given to them but there's <u>a lot more priority given to younger people.</u> Detective 1

it seems to catch the more attention of the investigators cause <u>they fell it's more of a heinous</u> <u>crime you know.</u> Detective 9

3. Victims sex

Doesn't matter - all cases equal –

55% Does matter - only

investigative – 30%

Does matter - for detectives themselves - 15%

According to these results the sex of the homicide victim does not influence that much the actions of detectives investigating it as the age of such victim, or at least they don't perceive it as such strong indicator. However, it may be still an important element that to some degree influences their perception and actions.

3a. Doesn't matter - all cases equal

Likewise to the answers on the former part of the question (about age of the victim) in that group of answers it was strongly emphasized that all cases are being investigated equal, no matter the age, sex or other characteristic of the victim.

No matter what person is black, white, Chinese… you know male, female it's just doesn't, just… what it does it will say OK - a female was killed vs a male was killed. What's the difference, there is no difference. They still shouldn't be killed. Detective 10

3b. Does matter - only investigative

In that group of answers were included these that were focusing on the victimology including sex as one of the possible leads. Sex of the victim was linked to different scenes of crimes or the direction of the initial investigative response. Especially the fact that females are more often victims of their dating partners than gang members was mentioned.

if you have the female one of the first things we are obviously looking at is… (...) you are looking now who she had a dating relationship with. (...) If the male is the gang member - your suspect list just rose by 100 thousand you know. Detective 12

3c. Does matter - for detectives themselves

Not that many as in the former part of the question (referring to victims age), but still 1 in every 6 detectives explicitly confirmed that sex of the victim makes a difference for him/her and it does influence his/her approach and undertaken actions. In particular the female victims were making them work more.

it's more of a crime against the humanity and some may say go an extra mile or they just, they more, show maybe more emotion towards it Detective 9

4. Other victims' characteristics

Interesting finding may be that there was no question about race included in the survey however several times race was mentioned by detectives themselves when speaking of 'all cases treated equal'

5. General findings vs official policy

Findings from the *Effective homicide investigation* research project confirm that not only public opinion, media or politicians but also homicide detectives themselves differentiate between victims and prioritize some of them (on the possible cost of others). The pattern was present in every agency that was included in the survey. That corresponds to the findings of Hawk and Dabney (2014). The homicide detectives are of course not to blame for their 'human nature'. Only it is to be stated that the official policy of their law enforcement agencies is hard to implement since at least 15%[2] detectives explicitly acknowledged that they treat some cases - depending on the victims characteristics (age or sex) differently than others.

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Voluntary Civilian Help in Homicide Investigations:
the Need for a Policy for Armchair Detectives by

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Pawel Waszkiewicz

Homicide investigations carried out by professional law enforcement agencies understandably draw vast public attention due to the importance and socio-psychological impact of such crimes. Hence the existence of a non-professional, 'civilian' factor in homicide investigations is unsurprising. Help, in various forms, is often provided by civilian volunteers who wish to assist the law enforcement either on their own volition or following a call for help issued by the investigators themselves. Help provided is not limited to being a witness or a confidential informant who shares their first-hand knowledge about what has happened. Especially in the modern era of easy communication and open source information gathering, ordinary members of society often try to independently gather and process meaningful data and become so-called 'armchair detectives'. Such activity has the potential to help move a homicide investigation forward, allowing to uncover otherwise unknown information. At the same time, however, it may cause an inappropriate use of resources by the law enforcement or even result in vigilante-like incidents and privacy infringements. Given the fact that in modern times homicide investigations raise even more visible public interest than ever before, at least partially because of its presence in the contemporary mass-culture, sound and thorough internal policies governing the use of civilian help should be adopted within the law enforcement agencies to address the issues it creates.

Despite of its actual existence and impact on various homicide investigations, the armchair detectives phenomenon has not yet been properly recognized by academics. Previous research on civilian participation in criminal investigations focused mostly on issues related to problem-oriented and community policing (Weisburd et al., 2010, Lawrence and McCarthy 2013), Neighborhood Watch (Rosenbaum 1987, Kang 2015, Kelly and Finlayson 2015), private investigators (Gill and Hart 1997, Beaton 2010), and officer's contact with interviewed witnesses (Kebbell and Milne 1998, Abbe and Brandon 2014). While these are certainly important issues concerning the cooperation of non-professionals with the police, almost no attempt has been made to analyze the armchair detectives phenomenon as a stand-alone issue. Only a basic definition along with an initial classification of different types of 'armchair detectives' has been proposed so far (Karasek and Waszkiewicz 2015). An in-depth analysis of the phenomenon has still not been performed, which creates a blind spot in the law enforcement capabilities in conducting and managing homicide investigations.

As a first step in creation of a proper scientific description of the phenomenon, a at least a basic definition of the ones called 'armchair detectives' is necessary. The term itself has its roots in XIXth century literature (Sullivan 1999), however, it is possible to define a set of features constituting a contemporary, real-life armchair detective. To differentiate between

armchair detectives and e.g. professional investigators, pro-active witnesses, and private investigators, the term may be only applied to someone who: (a) at the time of their activity does not work at a law enforcement agency, (b) was not involved in the events associated with the investigated

homicide in any capacity, (c) aims to help the professional investigators discover the truth without a hidden agenda, and while doing so (d) uses solely intellect, knowledge, personal experience, and generally accessible information in accordance with the law (Karasek and Waszkiewicz 2015). Such working definition allows to begin the academic description of armchair detectives activities and to assess the risks and possibilities resulting from the actual occurrence of the phenomenon.

Regardless of the inexistence of a complex academic description, the armchair detectives are real and evolving, especially in times when 'traditional' public interest in homicide investigations is enhanced by the products of mass culture. Contemporary television series, movies, podcasts, and novels very often take the subject of homicide investigations. High popularity of such media products is attributed to creating a *CSI Effect*, causing (among other effects) an increased curiosity and will among civilians to not only 'watch' but also to 'participate' in solving criminal mysteries (Merry 2014). This may be easily illustrated by the events accompanying the highly popular *Serial* investigative podcast, presenting in detail the circumstances of the Hae Min Lee murder in 1999. All the people and events described in *Serial* are real, which made a large number of viewers look for additional information about the case, including personal data, and publish them causing psychological damages in those involved in the events.

Apparently the awakened will to participate in criminal investigations is nowadays further enabled by the availability of sufficient tools for amateur sleuthing. Advent of the digital era means of communication and information gathering, as well as the popularity of social networks (Dean 2014), allows armchair detectives to truly 'stay in their armchairs' while solving mysteries. Especially useful in their work may be the Social Media Intelligence (SOCMINT) gathering techniques. Due to the observable tendency among the social media users to 'overshare' private information (Paullet and Pinchot 2012), SOCMINT is highly effective (Arslan and Yanuk 2015). Such techniques, combined with the easiness of forming semi-anonymous online groups and the unprecedented access to open source information, creates a perfect mixture for armchair detectives who have all the necessary tools for their actions.

In fact, a number of homicide cases investigations were at least accelerated thanks to a submission by an armchair detective (or their group). Note-worthy examples include the case of Abraham Shakespeare homicide in 2009, when information on real-estate transactions found online by armchair detectives helped to bring the case to an end, or online-based communities of volunteers who successfully help identify bodies of the unknown homicide victims (Halber 2014). Of course, help was provided by armchair detectives even before the Internet era. For example, when skills of amateur cryptoanalysts allowed to decipher letters of the Zodiac Killer published in the *San Francisco Chronicle* in 1969, which unfortunately did not lead to disclosure

of the killer's identity, but made it possible to read his messages. These are only few out of many examples of armchair detectives helpful actions in homicide cases.

However, encouraging independent civilian activity may lead to undesirable effects or simply hinder professionals investigative capabilities. The latter is especially visible in cases with extensive media coverage. When police openly ask for civilian help, is often flooded with more or less reasonable clues and theories which need to be verified using valuable police time and resources (Staples 2005). Other problems resulting from the unchecked armchair detectives activity may be even more difficult to manage. Awakened public curiosity in a homicide case creates space for uncontrollable behaviors resembling rather a witch hunt than an investigation, as it happened shortly after the Boston Marathon bombings in 2013. Resulting privacy infringements, as seen during the height of *Serial* podcast popularity, are no less troubling (Feran 2014, Dean 2014). Moreover, by making the details of an unsolved homicide publicly known in hope of receiving civilian help, the police unwillingly provides guidelines on how to commit an unsolvable crime for potential future perpetrators (Soothil 1998).

Despite many instances of armchair detectives activity and its various results, the law enforcement agencies very rarely try to channel their efforts in an organized manner. Such approach so far was adopted in missing people search and corpse identification with the creation of NamUs.gov database by the US Department of Justice in 2008. The website allows anyone to contribute to a search for a missing person or an attempt to identify anonymous homicide victims (Baraniuk, 2014). The Department of Justice also recommends the creation of groups of former officers with access to the case files whose task is to analyze 'cold', unsolved cases in order to find new leads (Turner and Kosa 2003). Of course, access to the original case files and history of employment in the law enforcement does not void such detectives 'armchair' status as long as they were not active law enforcement professionals conducting the original investigation. No known official guidelines or policies have been created, however, in order to manage civilian interest in ongoing homicide investigations.

Existence of armchair detectives trying to help solve homicide cases is apparent, but the phenomenon needs to be kept in check in order to seize the opportunities and avoid risks it brings. Even if only because of the aforementioned risks of inappropriate use of police resources, vigilantism, privacy infringements, and the risk of providing guidelines to future perpetrators, allowing public help in an investigation should be conducted in accordance with a complex internal policy. Such policies adopted within law enforcement agencies should especially describe how and when to call for civilian help and what information about a specific case can be shared via mass media. As every good policy, it should consider the ratio between the possible risks and opportunities associated with the involvement of armchair detectives in homicide investigations. At present armchair detectives involvement in corpses identification remain the only semi-regulated area of their activity, and it is important to remember that the creation of effective guidelines and policies in these areas was made possible only after the preceding appropriate academic research. This sets a clear path for future research in the armchair detectives subject: the existence and actions of contemporary, real life armchair detectives should be recognized and appropriately described by the academic community in

order to design a sound, thorough, evidence-based, and above all, effective policies on their involvement in ongoing homicide cases.

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Merging FBI and Census Bureau Data by County Codes

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Aggregate-level studies on homicide frequently merge data from the Federal Bureau of Investigation's (FBI) Supplementary Homicide Report (SHR) with enumerations from the United States Bureau of the Census, typically the American Community Survey. A problem occurs when attempting to combine data from the SHR and the Census as the state codes used by the FBI are identical to the Census, but the county codes are not. This problem has been addressed through cross-walk programs and other strategies, including makings the changes by hand. In this paper, we provide an easy solution though a small number of recode statements using IBM's Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS) statistics program. We cannot claim originality for this approach to resolving the difference in county codes between the FBI and the Census Bureau, but to our knowledge it has not appeared in the literature.

Introduction

Studies of crime that focus on explaining rates calculated across governmentally defined units of analysis, including counties, cities, census tracks, and block groups, typically must merge data on the numbers of one or more criminal offenses with socioeconomic and demographic characteristics of the geographical units. There are some data sources, for example the Chicago Data Portal, that include both crime and a plethora of other measures on block groups, census tracks, and so on, but these are, to our knowledge, restricted to a city or metropolitan area. A common source of data on geographical units used in criminological research is the American Community Survey available through the U.S. Census Bureau.

Merging data from different sources can usually proceed easily if two or more sets share a common variable that can be used for their linkage. In the absence of a common variable, the process can be tedious and labor intensive. In homicide research, a problem is that while the state codes used by the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) are identical to FIPS codes used by the Census Bureau and other federal agencies, (e.g., the National Weather Service), the county codes are not. This problem is usually addressed by use of a crosswalk program (Bureau of Justice Statistics, 2004) or in some cases making changes in the FBI county codes by hand. In this research note, we further discuss FIPS codes and national sources of homicide data obtainable through the FBI, then we offer a simple formula for conversion of FBI county codes to their FIPS equivalent.

FIPS Codes

The Federal Information Processing Standard (FIPS) code is a five-digit number that provides a unique identifier for each county and county equivalent in the U.S. and some U.S. territories. The first two digits identify the state number. States are arranged alphabetically, so that the state code for Alabama is "01" with each succeeding state assigned numbers in sequence, for example Florida is "12" and West Virginia is "50". The third through fifth digits of the FIPS codes identifies the county or county equivalent (e.g., census area in Alaska, parishes in Louisiana, independent cities). The first county in each state is designated "1" and following numbers are assigned in increments of two, so that with a few exceptions, FIPS county codes are odd numbers. The one-digit gap between assigned county codes allows for new counties to be added, and a few counties are not in alphabetical order because of name changes.

FBI County Codes

The state codes used by the FBI are identical to those in the FIPS system, and merging data across FBI and census sources is straightforward if done at the state level. At the county level, however, there are problems. The FBI uses a different system of county codes than FIPS. Specifically, within each state, counties are ordered alphabetically and assigned sequential numbers beginning with "1". So for Florida which has 67 counties, the first county arranged alphabetically has a county code of "1" and the last county has a county code of "67". Only for the first county arranged alphabetically in each state are the FBI and FIPS county codes identical. The discrepancy between FBI and FIPS county codes noted above affects all attempts to merge data from the two sources, but as this paper is intended to be presented at a homicide conference so that is the topic we will focus on today. Homicide data compiled by the FBI is available annually through three sources, *Uniform Crime Reports (UCR), Supplementary Homicide Report (SHR),* and the *National Incident-Based Reporting System (NIBRS).* NIBRS data provide the most thorough information on homicide cases in the U.S. but an important drawback is that they cover only about 30 percent of the U.S. population. UCR data are based on the aggregate number of homicide victims but additional information on cases is sparse. Although we know of no source of empirical support, our viewpoint is that the SHR is the most used data source by homicide researchers studying the U.S. It is a frequent data source for empirical investigations appearing in Homicide Studies (Braga, Piehl, & Kennedy, 1999; GallupBlack, 2005; Roberts & Willits, 2015). There is also a significant literature focused on identifying and, when possible, correcting sources of error in the SHR (Loftin, McDowall, & Xie, 2008, 2017). Error in the SHR is beyond the scope of the current paper with our focus on merging FBI data with that organized by FIPS codes.

Merging FBI and FIPS County Codes

Although the FBI and FIPS county codes are inconsistent, they both follow a distinct pattern with a few exceptions. Changing codes by hand is time intensive and unnecessary. Cross

walk files are effective but also cumbersome. What we present in this paper is a strategy for changing FBI county codes to FIPS codes through a small number of recode statements that can be easily completed in either SPSS or STATA. We cannot claim originality for this approach because others may have discovered it prior to us. To our knowledge, however, it has not appeared in the literature prior to this research note.

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Structural Factors Associated with Line of Duty Deaths of Law Enforcement Officers

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This research extends our prior work on line of duty deaths, which focused primarily on officer- and incident-related characteristics as they related to circumstance of death. The present study will examine how department composition and location-specific variables, including factors identified by Kenneth Land and colleagues (Land, McCall, and Cohen (1990); McCall, Land, and Parker (2010)) in their seminal research, may be related to circumstances of the LODD. Data for the present study for 2012-2015 include officer and incident characteristics derived from Officer Down Memorial Page (ODMP), county-level data from the *Uniform Crime Reports* and U.S. Census, along with state-level data on law enforcement training compiled by the Institute for Justice Education Reform. Particular attention will be given to examining differences between municipal and county agencies.

INTRODUCTION

According to the Officer Down Memorial Page[3], as of 28 May 2017, for the year there have been 53 line of duty deaths (LODD) of law enforcement officers in the United States (see

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[3] www.odmp.org (Last Accessed 1 June 2017)

Figure 1 below). As disturbing as this figure seems, if the current pace continues, the annual total would not surpass the 2016 total, when 145 line of duty deaths occurred. Also of interest is the upturn in firearm-related deaths since 2013.

Figure 1: Line of Duty Deaths, 1970-2017 (through 28 May)
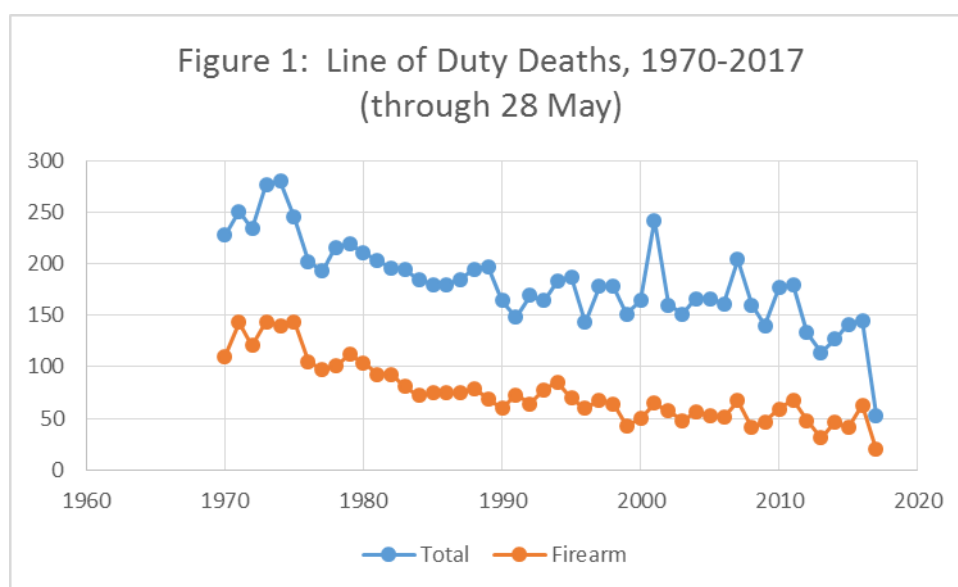
In our ongoing research, we have explored a number of factors related to line of duty deaths, including impact on survivors (family, friends, co-workers, etc.), as well as officer characteristics (e.g. age, gender, years of service, and marital status). In part, our findings were consistent with other studies, such as the work of Gibbs, Ruiz, and Klapper-Lehman (2014), who found that among line of duty deaths in Baltimore, marital status was a significant predictor of LODD, whereas years of experience and having children were not significant (at the $p<.05$ level). There remains, however, gaps in understanding the dynamics of line of duty deaths, particularly in terms of factors that transcend officer- and incident-level characteristics.

To that end, one objective of the current study is to examine whether factors commonly identified as being related to homicide generally are also important in understanding line of duty deaths as well. The work of Kenneth Land and colleagues ((Land, McCall, and Cohen (1990); McCall, Land, and Parker (2010)) serves as our guide. In what is arguably one of the most important studies of homicide in decades, Land et al. (1990) conduct an extensive assessment of homicide research to date, which sought in part to reconcile divergent findings in the literature. They identify a number of important factors shown to consistently influence homicide rates in different time periods and across different units of analysis, including: Population Composition,

Resource Affluence/Deprivation, Divorced Males, and South region. In McCall et al. (2010) the authors revisited the original study, which re-iterated the importance of these variables to the macro-level picture of homicide.

Gibbs et al. (2014) correctly note that the police culture emphasizes the importance of experience, but empirically, its value is less demonstrable. Frequently, years of service is used as a proxy for experience, but they are not necessarily equivalent. In no way are we discounting the importance of experience, but it may be an asset or a liability, depending on the individual or on the departmental environment. As a result, there has been an increased emphasis on training, but standards vary greatly across jurisdictions, be it in terms of academy requirements, field training, and continuing training/education requirements. For example, according to information compiled by the Institute for Justice Education Reform, the average length of an academy course is 667 hours (ranging from 0 state-mandated hours in Hawaii to 1126 in Maryland), and only seven states mandate a minimum number of field training hours (sometimes referred to as the FTO period), ranging in length from 2 hours (California and Oregon) to 240 hours (Maryland). Furthermore, there is a great deal of variation in the level of continuing training/education required across states.[4] As a result, the nature, content, and quality of training is often left to the discretion of the department or agency. The importance and impact of training is substantial, be it generally to better prepare officers for her/his job, but also as it relates to this study, in a specific sense to reduce the likelihood of duty-related injuries and deaths. Robbs (2015) suggests that an emphasis on training can be most effective in the areas of non-emergency automobile crashes, health issues (particularly physical fitness and stress as factors associate with heart attack), and gun/drug interdiction.

DATA AND METHODOLOGICAL APPROACH

The variables included this study are compiled from a variety of sources. The first primary data source consists of information compiled from the *Officer Down Memorial Page*. For the years of 2012-15, incident summaries of line of duty deaths are used. Dependent variables are compiled from ODMP incident summaries, consisting of dichotomous measures identifying whether the LODD was the result of a firearm (coded 1=Yes and 0=No) and if the circumstances of the incident reflect an intentional death (also coded 1=Yes and 0=No). Because the dependent variables are dichotomous, logistic regression analysis will be used.

As mentioned previously, key independent variables utilized in the present study are informed by the work of Kenneth Land and colleagues Land et al. 1990; McCall et al. 2010). These variables are included at the county level (where the LODD occurred) and are obtained from 2010 Census data. They include the following: 2010 Population; South Variable (coded

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[4] According to an incomplete list, state-mandated (25 states shown) available at https://www.policeoneacademy.com/accreditation/, continuing training/education hours range from 8 (New Hampshire) to 40 (Tennessee, Texas, Utah) annually.

1=Yes and 0=No)[5]; Median Family Income; Percent Black; Percent Poverty; GINI Index of Inequality.[6] For a subset of cases, departmental information consisting of the number of sworn and non-sworn employees will also be utilized.

Another independent variable consists of the mandatory basic training requirements in the state where the LODD incident occurred. This information is derived from a compilation from the Institute for Justice Education Reform[7], an advocacy group for increasing and improving training standards for criminal justice system personnel. The final variable is a dichotomous measure indicating whether the officer served in a municipal or county department (1=Municipal; 0=County).

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[5] Based on Census Regions and includes the following: AL, AR, DC, DE, FL, GA, KY, LA, MD, MS, NC, OK, SC, TN, TX, VA, WV

[6] GINI Index is for 2015

[7] www.ifjer.org (Last Accessed 27 May 2017)

Posters

Human Trafficking and Homicide Madelyn
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As a whole, research on human trafficking is relatively scarce even though as the years progress, more and more individuals become interested in becoming involved to combat this form of modern day slavery. Challenges encompassing research in this area of interest primarily result in lack of documentation of active cases of human trafficking, prosecution barriers that elude successful convictions under HT statues combined with a limited source of researchers focused on this problem. To expand on limited existing literature on human trafficking, my research question involves exploring a possible correlation between areas of violent crime rates and if it can act as a predictive measure to locate areas of human trafficking. This relationship will be investigated through looking into court actions filed by prosecutors between 2012-2015 and comparing it to violent crime rates of 21 counties within the state of Florida. It is hypothesized that areas with violent crime rates will possess the most documented cases of human trafficking. Although, it is important to go into this study with an open mind being that the hidden nature of human trafficking could reveal results different than what would be expected.

Comparison of Databases on Police Shootings of Civilians

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In recent years, data on police shootings of civilians have been collected by several media outlets and private organizations. The Washington Post's database, started in 2015, is one of the most frequently cited dataset primarily because its developers were awarded a Pulitzer Prize for their journalism on police shootings, including the database. Because of the manner in which the data were collected, the database is considered to contain virtually all the police shootings of civilians since January 2015. Another source of data for police shootings is the Supplementary Homicide Reports (SHR) developed by the FBI. However, that database is incomplete because not all police departments contribute to SHR. It is therefore a sample of the entire population of shootings. For this paper, **assume** that the Washington Post database does, in fact, contain all the shootings. This assumption provides a rare opportunity to determine the extent to which the SHR dataset for 2015 is representative of the entire population in regard to police shootings. I compare basic tabulations on sex, race, age, and geographic area between the two datasets as

measures of congruence. A policy question is then addressed on whether it is advisable to expand SHR's data collection on police shootings to the entire country or improve the quality of data from those departments that currently contribute.

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