

# HOMICIDE RESEARCH WORKING GROUP

## Annual Summer Conference

Conference Theme:  
**"Connecting Research to Practice:  
New Directions in the Study of Homicide and Violence"**

**Richmond, Virginia  
June 8-11, 2006**

**Thursday, June 8**

- 9:45 a.m.-  
2:30p.m.**      **Preconference Workshop: Death Investigation**  
Arthur E. Westveer, Jr., Virginia Commonwealth University (FBI-Retired).  
*To be held at VCU Commons, 907 Floyd Avenue.*
- 7:00 p.m.-  
9:00 p.m.**      **Opening Reception**  
*To be held at the Scott House, 909 West Franklin Street.*

**Friday, June 9**    *VCU Commons, 907 Floyd Avenue*

- 9:00 a.m.**      **Announcements and Introductions** (30 minutes)
- 9:30 a.m.**      **Panel Session: Issues in Homicide Clearance** (50 minutes)
- Session Chair:** *Carolyn Rebecca Block, Illinois Criminal Justice Information Authority*
- Homicide Clearance Rates: Have We Ignored the Role of Cognitive Variables in the Investigative Process?**  
*Mark Zelig, Forensic Psychologist*
- A Descriptive Analysis of Victims and Offenders in the Hits 1981-1995 Data Set and The Effect of Race, Gender, Age, and Distance on Case Solvability in Murder Investigation.**  
*Katherine Brown, Kristen Welch, Sam Houston State University, and Robert Keppel, Seattle University*
- Recorder:** *Wendy Regoeczi, Cleveland State University*
- 10:20 a.m.**      **Break** (10 minutes)
- 10:30 a.m.**      **Panel Session: NIBRS Data and the Analysis of Violent Crime** (50 minutes)
- Session Chair:** *Lisa Wagner, JRSA*
- Homicide, Serious Assault, and Victimless Crime: Linkages Suggested by NIBRS Data.**  
*Roland Chilton, University of Massachusetts at Amherst, and Wendy Regoeczi, Cleveland State University*

**Are Unknown Victim-Offender Relationship Homicide Cases More Like Stranger, Family, or Acquaintance Homicides?**

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

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

**11:20 a.m.**      **Break** (10 minutes)

**11:30 a.m.**      **Catered Lunch & First Business Meeting** (90 minutes)

**1:00 p.m.**      **Panel Session: International and Comparative Analyses of Homicide I** (75 minutes)

**Session Chair:** *Jay Corzine, University of Central Florida*

**The Effects of Neighborhoods' Levels of Social Cohesion and Socio-economic Disadvantage on Homicide Risks.**

*Paul Nieuwebeerta and Henk Elffers, Netherlands Institute for the Study of Crime and Law Enforcement*

**South African Homicide: Internalised Violence, Justified Homicide.**

*Doug Thomson, University of Toronto*

**The Homicide Index of England and Wales.**

*Brian J. Francis and Katharina Gruenberg, Lancaster University*

**Recorder:** *Dallas Drake, Center for Homicide Research*

**2:15 p.m.**      **Break** (15 minutes)

**2:30 p.m.**      **Panel Session: Race, Ethnicity, and Homicide** (50 minutes)

**Session Chair:** *M. Dwayne Smith, University of South Florida*

**Intraracial Rates of Latino Homicide in Comparison with Rates of African-American Homicide.**

*Erin Fishburn, George Washington University*

**Racial Differences in Intimate Partner Homicide in Two Cities.**

*Lisa Tichavsky, Katrina Bloch, Kylie Parrotta, North Carolina State University, and Margaret Zahn, Research Triangle Institute, Center for Crime, Violence, and Justice Research*

**Recorder:** *To be determined*

**3:20 p.m.**      **Break** (10 minutes)

**3:30 p.m.**      **Poster and Literature Session** (45 minutes)

**Literature Display: The Institute for Public Safety Partnerships in Chicago: A Decade of Supporting Innovative Policing in Illinois**

*Robert P. Boehmer, Sandra Kaminska Costello, and Jason Stamps, Center for Research in Law and Justice*

**Poster: Sexual Homicide: Differentiating Crime Scene Actions**

*Jisun Park and C. Gabrielle Salfati*

**Poster: “Death by Other Violence”: Homicide Classification in South Africa 1968-1994**

*Douglas Thomson, University of Toronto*

**Literature Display: Justice Research Statistics Association: Resources and Networking Opportunities**

*Lisa Walbolt Wagner and Elizabeth Sanberg, JRSA*

**Poster: Using NIBRS to Examine Parricide**

*Lisa Walbolt Wagner and Elizabeth Sanberg, JRSA*

**Poster: 911-What is your Emergency: An Analysis of Verbal Linguistic Patterns in Homicide Calls**

*Susan Adams, Tracy Harpster, and John Jarvis, Federal Bureau of Investigation*

**4:15 p.m. Panel Session: International and Comparative Analyses of Homicide II (75 minutes)**

**Session Chair:** *Paul Nieuwbeerta, Netherlands Institute for the Study of Crime and Law Enforcement*

**Canadian and United States Homicide Trends.**

*Thomas Marvell, Justec Research*

**Victimization of Large Scale Human Rights Abuses: Two Case Studies from Southern Sudan and Rwanda.**

*Catrien Bijleveld and Mathilde Huikeshoven, NSCR Institute for the Study of Criminality*

**Change and Stability in the Characteristics of Homicide Victims, Offenders, and Incidents During Rapid Social Change.**

*William Pridemore, Indiana University*

**Recorder:** *To be determined*

**5:30 p.m. Break for Dinner.**

**Saturday, June 10<sup>th</sup> VCU Commons, 907 Floyd Avenue**

**8:30 a.m. Announcements (30 minutes)**

**9:00 a.m. Panel Session: Victimization Across the Lifecycle (75 minutes)**

**Session Chair:** *Candice Batton, University of Nebraska-Omaha*

**Explaining Child Homicide: Integrating Theoretical Traditions.**

*Marc Riedel, Southeastern Louisiana University*

**A Three-City Analysis of Elder Homicide.**

*Victoria Titterington and Napoleon Reyes, Sam Houston State University*

**When An Elderly Person is Murdered: Circumstances of Homicides Against the Elderly in Chicago, 1965 to 2000.**

*Carolyn Rebecca Block and Michelle Repp, Illinois Criminal Justice Information Authority*

**Recorder:** *To be determined*

**10:15 a.m.**      **Break** (10 minutes)

**10:25 a.m.**      **Panel Session: Homicide and Violence in Differing Contexts** (75 minutes)

**Session Chair:** *To be determined*

**Differences Between Convicted Violent Offenders: Completed and Attempted Homicides and Serious Assaults.**

*Paul Smit, Ministry of Justice, the Netherlands, and Catrien Bijleveld, NSCR Institute for the Study of Criminality*

**The Nature of Homicides in Washington, D.C., 1990-2002.**

*Tom McEwen and Elizabeth Groff, Institute for Law and Justice*

**Analysis of Violent Burglary Offenses.**

*Cynthia Barnett-Ryan and David Etnoyer, Federal Bureau of Investigation*

**Recorder:** *Jenny Mouzos, Australian Institute of Criminology*

**11:40 a.m.**      **Committee Meetings** (30 minutes)

**12:10 p.m.**      **Lunch** (95 minutes)

**1:45 p.m.**      **Panel Session: Serial Homicide** (50 minutes)

**Session Chair:** *Thomas A. Petee, Auburn University*

**Profiling Serial and Sexual Homicide: An Update of the Research.**

*C. Gabrielle Salfati, John Jay College of Criminal Justice*

**An Examination of Serial Murder in Australia.**

*Jenny Mouzos, Australian Institute of Criminology, and David West, New South Wales Police*

**Recorder:** *To be determined*

**2:35 p.m.**      **Break** (10 minutes)

**2:45 p.m.**      **Panel Session: Firearms and Homicide** (50 minutes)

**Session Chair:** *Elizabeth Groff, Institute for Law and Justice*

**The Availability of High Lethality Weapons and the Homicide Rate: Controlling for Unemployment and Drug Arrests.**

*Matt Graham, University of Central Florida*

**Evaluating Chicago Ceasefire: A Work in Progress.**

*Richard Block, Loyola University, and Wesley Skogan, Northwestern University*

**Recorder:** *To be determined*

**3:35 p.m.**      **Break** (10 minutes)

**3:45 p.m.**      **Panel Session: Homicide and History** (75 minutes)

**Session Chair:** *William Pridemore, Indiana University*

**The Proof is in the Penmanship: Convicting Three of America's Earliest Serial Murderers – Holmes, Fish, and Hickey.**

*Vance McLaughlin, University of North Carolina-Pembroke*

**Violent Death in Omaha: Historical Trends in Lethal Violence Since the 1930's.**

*Pete Simi and Candice Batton, University of Nebraska-Omaha*

**Defining Socially-Sanctioned Homicide in the United States.**

*Paul H. Blackman, Independence Institute*

**Recorder:** *Victoria Titterington, Sam Houston State University*

**5:00 p.m.**      **Panel Session: An Update on the FBI's Serial Murder Symposium** (60 minutes)

**Panelists:**      *C. Gabrielle Salfati, John Jay College of Criminal Justice*  
*John P. Jarvis, Federal Bureau of Investigation*  
*Lin Huff-Corzine, University of Central Florida*  
*Jay Corzine, University of Central Florida*  
*Thomas A. Petee, Auburn University*  
*And others?*

**Recorder:** *To be determined*

**6:00 p.m.**      **Break for Dinner.**

**Sunday, June 11<sup>th</sup>**      *VCU Commons, 907 Floyd Avenue*

**8:30 a.m.**      **Panel Session: Different Approaches to the Study of Homicide** (75 minutes)

**Session Chair:** *Catrien Bijleveld, NSCR Institute for the Study of Criminality*

**The Challenge of Homicide as a Public Health Problem.**

*Virginia Powell, Office of the Chief Medical Examiner, Virginia Department of Health, Commonwealth of Virginia*

**Victims of Criminal Homicide: A Test of Sociological and Forensic Approaches.**

*Sean Goodison, George Washington University*

**Integrating Distance Into Mobility Triangle Typologies.**

*Elizabeth Groff and Tom McEwen, Institute for Law and Justice*

**Recorder:** *Chris Fisher, John Jay College of Criminal Justice*

**9:15 a.m.**      **Break** (15 minutes)

**9:30 a.m.**      **Second Business Meeting** (90 minutes).

**11:00 a.m.**      **Adjournment**

**Lethal Violence Trends in Three Midwestern Cities:  
The Cases of Kansas City, Omaha, and St. Louis, 1900-2000.**

**Candice Batton and Pete Simi, University of Nebraska, Omaha**

While homicide declined in the last decade of the twentieth century a preoccupation with lethal violence persists among the general public as well as scholars who seek to understand patterns of violence in hopes of more accurately predicting future trends (Blumstein 2006). Much of the literature, however, is confined to studies of the past two decades and thus ignores longer term trends (Monkkonen 2001a.). In addition, the majority of lethal violence research within the field of criminology has focused on homicide. However, in his landmark work *Violent Death in the City* (1999), Roger Lane expanded the definition of lethal violence to include suicide and accidental death as well as homicide. In this study we use three Midwestern cities: Kansas City, Omaha, and St. Louis to examine historical trends in lethal violence over the twentieth century employing Lane's expanded definition of violent death. Our study is exploratory and descriptive in that our primary goal is to document trends in violent death patterns in each of the three cities and then to compare and contrast them with one another. In addition to assessing the extent to which lethal violence patterns in these three Midwestern cities are similar we also compare the observed trends to what is known about national levels of violent death during the twentieth century.

### **CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK**

Given the descriptive and exploratory nature of this study, it is perhaps not surprising that this research is not guided by any of the traditional theoretical frameworks often found in criminological research. A number of researchers have studied historical trends in violence in the United States. Some of the most well known studies have been conducted by Roger Lane (1999) on 19<sup>th</sup> century Philadelphia, Eric Monkkonen (2001b.) on New York City, and Ted Robert Gurr (1989) on long-term trends in European and U.S. violence levels. Focusing on the more recent past, Batton and Jensen (2002) and Zahn and McCall (1999) examine patterns of homicide rates in the 20<sup>th</sup> century United States.

One of the most promising developments in the study of the historical trends in violent death is an on-going interdisciplinary project at the Ohio State University's Criminal Justice Research Center which is developing a collaborative database on the history of violent crime and violent death (see Roth 2001). At this point researchers associated with the project have examined homicide in rural Ohio, 1798-1880 (Wheeler 1997), homicide in Louisiana during the mid-and late-1800s (Vandal 2000), and spousal and child murder in New England during the 1700 and 1800s (Roth 2001, 1999).

A number of researchers have examined homicide rates during the early twentieth century with some reporting significant increases (Adler 2001; Lane 1999, Monkkonen 2001a.) while others portray this as a statistical artifact related to changes in death categorization (Eckberg 1995). In this study of three Midwestern cities we attempt to determine the extent to which patterns of violent death mirror those of the United States as a whole.

### **DATA AND METHODOLOGY**

One of the most widely discussed methodological issues in historical studies of violent behavior is the availability, validity, and reliability of data. In comparison to other violent crimes (i.e., assault, rape, robbery), homicide is advantageous as an historical indicator of levels of violence because it is less subject to definitional ambiguity, it is more likely to be reported to authorities, and it is an offense that indexes other forms of violent behavior (Blumstein 2006; Monkkonen 2001a.; Gurr 1981). While U.S. homicide data are available from both the National Center for Health Statistics in their vital statistics reports and the Federal Bureau of Investigation in the *Uniform Crime Reports*, we use the former because of our interest in both criminal and non-criminal forms of violent death and our focus on city and county-

level data. NCHS mortality data is compiled from coroner and medical examiner reports. As some observers have correctly pointed out both sources of data have several flaws (Zahn and McCall 1999; Riedel 1999). Early twentieth century homicide data are problematic in that there are often inconsistencies across time due to changes in coding procedures, and inconsistencies in data quality across jurisdictions due to differences in the training, funding, and practices of the local offices from which the data originate (for a more complete review of the quality of U.S. homicide data, see Zahn and McCall, 1999; Cantor and Cohn, 1980).

There are both validity and reliability problems with early twentieth century mortality data. With respect to reliability, varying categories of violent death were employed by NCHS over time. Suicide was used as a category for the entire study period; however, homicides and accidents were not. Instead, a variety of categories was used at different points in time including: “other violence,” “ill defined causes,” and “violent deaths (suicide excluded)”. It was not until the 1920s that the categories suicide, homicide, and accident were consistently employed in the national mortality reports.

There are validity issues too. The majority of data on twentieth century violent deaths for Kansas City, Omaha, and St. Louis came from mortality tables compiled by the National Center of Health Statistics available on the NCHS website. More specifically, the data for 1900-1936 came from annual volumes of *Mortality Statistics* and data for 1937-1993 were extracted from annual volumes of *Vital Statistics of the United States*. Data for 1994-2000 were provided by the Nebraska and Missouri state vital records offices. The categories of violent death classification changed over time; the following categories of violent death were employed during the study period (see Table 1.1):

**Table 1.1**

<b>Year</b>	<b>Death Classification Categories</b>
1900-1909	Suicide, other violence, ill defined causes
1910-1920	Suicide, violent deaths (suicide excluded)
1921-1922	Suicide, homicide, other external causes
1923-1936	Suicide, homicide, other external causes, motor vehicle accident
1937-2000	Suicide, homicide, motor vehicle accident, other Accident

In order to examine violent death at the city-level during the twentieth century, we collected mortality data for counties that are currently part of each city’s standard metropolitan statistical area (SMSA). The rationale for this strategy is that the area of a city may change significantly over time due to annexations but the boundaries of each county remain constant.

One of the strengths of this study is that analyzes historical trends in violent death at the city and county-level. This is important as the nation’s largest cities have a significant impact on homicide rates. For example, in 1991, New York City accounted for 9% of the total homicides in the U.S. (Blumstein 2006). This suggests that comparing national trends in violent death with those found in medium-sized cities may reveal interesting differences. Research using national measures is unable to detect local variations that are nested within larger historical trends (McKanna 1997). Focusing on violent death at the city-level allows us to examine the relationship between shifts in different types of violent death and both local and national social change.

**Plan of Research**

Patterns of violent death will be analyzed both within and across cities. For each city, we will begin with an examination of the violent death trend lines and an assessment of the extent to which the

different types of violent death change proportionately over time. In other words, we want to determine if the proportion of violent deaths comprised of homicides is the same in the early 1900s as it is in the latter 1900s for each of the three study cities. We are interested in proportionality in two senses: 1) the proportion of violent death that is homicidal, suicidal, or accidental over time, and 2) the proportion of all deaths that are violent in nature. Following descriptive information for each city, we will conduct across city comparisons to ascertain the extent to which the patterns of proportionality are similar across each of the three cities. In other words, is the proportion of violent death in Omaha and Kansas City similar to that in St. Louis for the same historical period? Is the proportion of violent death comprised of homicide similar across all three cities? Finally, we will compare and contrast the patterns of violent death observed for the three study cities during the twentieth century with patterns for the entire United States.

## REFERENCES

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## DEFINING SOCIALLY-SANCTIONED HOMICIDE IN THE UNITED STATES

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### ABSTRACT

During the past five centuries in what is now the United States, a significant minority – in some periods a majority – of intentional killings were not treated as contrary to the norms of the killer’s society. But preliminary to any study of such socially-sanctioned homicides is trying to decide which sorts of killings qualify. Some – acts of war, summary and legal execution, self-defense killings – are obvious. Other deaths – in some riots and lynchings, those incidental to war, vigilante activities – are less clear cut. Some killings that are not state sanctioned may be socially sanctioned, with governments unable to punish the killer. Recognizing the need to understand such variables as society, homicide, and sanctioning, this paper hazards to define the term “socially-sanctioned homicide in the United States” for group discussion and revision.

### INTRODUCTION

As with most criminological studies, an initial issue is clearly defining what it is that is to be studied. Unfortunately, in the case of socially-sanctioned homicide in the United States from the 16<sup>th</sup> through the 20<sup>th</sup> centuries, almost every word in the subject requires the imposition of some clarity. The definitional issue is complicated by the fact that the availability of data affects what can be studied. Among the obvious questions are what is meant by homicide, what is meant by social sanction, and what is meant by the United States, with part of the definition determined by the availability of data. This effort to define terms is tentative.

### “SOCIALLY”?

When first contemplated, the topic was “state-sanctioned” homicide, but that seemed to narrow the field where it was clear that society had no interest in punishing a killing even if there were laws against it and even if there was some pretense by government to enforce those laws. One clear example would be Redfield’s (1880/2000) complaint about 19<sup>th</sup>-century homicides in the South where prosecution was all but automatically unsuccessful so long as it was a mutual conflict between Whites. Even more obvious would be the traditional response of Southern grand juries that lynchings were criminal homicides but by person or persons unknown, with no effort to determine who those persons were – even if, in fact, everyone knew.

Another complicating factor is determining whose society is involved. In some ways, officially, the society involved in the South during the Civil War was the duly-constituted authority recognized by the United States. As a practical matter, it was the governments and societies of the Confederacy. Similar conflicts could occur wherever there was some dispute as to the official governing body in a particular area at a particular time. Tentatively, this study considers the actual prevailing society with which the killer is associated as the society for sanctioning purposes. A disadvantage of this definition would be that several of the societies extant in the United States over the centuries did not keep anything approaching records of killings. In particular, the killings by or of Indians were generally unknown unless Europeans were at least tangentially involved.

Nonetheless, despite the partial problem with data, a homicide may be socially-sanctioned from the killer’s point of view, if his society is unlikely to punish the killing under something akin to criminal procedure. This does not mean that some other society may not, in a sense, punish it. Examples abound from the colonial era. Thus, with Indians as one society, which, with its democratic tradition, rarely punished individuals for killing outsiders, an Indian killing a white settler would be a socially-sanctioned killing even if the colonists responded by killing the offending Indian – and

possibly many others besides, in killings approved by the colonial society. The same, of course, would be true of white colonists initiating the private slayings of Indians without fear of repercussion from their own society. In war, of course, either side, doing that which was not merely sanctioned but ordered by their societies, might be retaliated against, or, in rare instances, officially punished by the other society for complying with the orders of their own. And some slayings that are unpunished under the criminal law might result in other forms of disapproval that fall short of criminal punishment, such as investigations, civil suits, and the like.

On the other side of this broad definition of society would be the need to narrow it to that which would normally be perceived as a society rather than just a group at odds with the place where they live. Thus slaves would not constitute a society capable of sanctioning a slave revolt – except perhaps as the “maroon” societies of escaped slaves living independently – perhaps along with some Indians – of the White societies on whose frontiers they organized.

“SANCTIONED”?

Technically, the word sanction could be considered a Janus-word capable of opposite meanings, covering both punishment and approval. Here, of course, it is understood as indicating an unwillingness to punish, as the type of killing ranges from that ordered by the state (war, capital punishment), to that expressly approved in law (justifiable and excusable homicide), to that which is arguably illegal but unlikely to be thoroughly investigated or punished (some riots and lynchings, duels, vigilante activities).

Again, the sanctioning envisioned in this research is that of the society in which the killer lives – both literally and temporally. Arguably, it could also be based on a reasonable expectation by the killer at the time he killed, but that is problematic. While, in general, East coast Indian tribes would not punish their members for private killings of outsiders, under some circumstances, the tribes were forced by colonial societies either to punish the killer or to turn him over to the Europeans for punishment as a common killer (Steele, 1994). Similarly, Confederate generals in charge of killings by their men were doing that which was sanctioned by their society even if the victorious Union later either contemplated or actually punished them for wrongdoing.

Temporally, sanctioning – expected or actual – would mean that a dramatic change in society did not really indicate that the prior sanctioning had not occurred. The murder of Medgar Evers and the Birmingham church bombing should probably be considered socially-sanctioned even though what became, essentially, a different society in the same place decided decades later to punish. In addition, killers might suffer in ways short of successful criminal prosecution, including demotions or civil suits; for the killing of a human being, relatively minor inconveniences probably should not be undermine the view that a homicide has been socially sanctioned.

On the other hand, it would probably be going beyond any chance at objective study to expand sanctioning to what have been called “omission-implicit” or even “omission-explicit” failures by society to prevent homicides (Kauzlarich, Mullins, & Matthews, 2003). To some extent, this exclusion is related to the understanding of “homicide” (*infra*). Thus, too much political and ideological subjectivity would seem to be inserted into any such research if one considered a homicide socially sanctioned because the government had failed to provide adequate educational and job opportunities, for example, to persons who later went on to kill, or if society provided arguably inadequate police protection prior to killings, or punishment after, sufficiently to prevent or deter criminal homicides. It is unclear precisely how to count killings which are opposed by government and society, but which government and society are both fearful of attempting to punish, as with some mob-related killings particularly during the Prohibition era but continuing with similar organized-crime killings later in that century.

This still would appear to be imprecise as to what might be considered sanctioning. It may be clear that a killing is sanctioned if, no matter how hard a prosecutor tried, it was obvious that the society in question would refuse to convict (Redfield, 1880/2000). Of course, it would not constitute sanctioning if someone got away with murder simply because of a lack of evidence or a jury’s not utterly unreasonable willingness to accept the evidence when, after all, the legal tradition requires that doubts be resolved in favor of the accused. But it would be easy to envision instances where an argument might ensue between those who believed a person got away with murder because of deliberate efforts by prosecution to make conviction unlikely, thus constituting sanction, versus those who would see some other reason for

the failure to punish.<sup>1</sup>  
“HOMICIDE”?

Homicide is the taking of a human life, but the word alone does not indicate intention. In law, intention – *mens rea*, especially – matters. But social sanctioning generally means that the legal definition of murder and manslaughter does not apply. On the other hand, it would broaden the scope of a study of socially-sanctioned homicide tremendously if the only concern was whether death occurred as a result of a socially-sanctioned action. Perhaps a satisfactory approach would be to describe a death as socially-sanctioned if, absent societal approval, it might reasonably be prosecuted as criminal homicide – murder or non-negligent manslaughter, perhaps including deaths occurring as a result of reckless disregard for the result of dangerous behavior actions. Such a definition would exclude unpunished accidents, whether committed by the authorities or by private persons with societal acceptance (as in boxing rings, hunting, but not all motor-vehicle accidents).

American history abounds in instances of unintentional deaths that society clearly will not punish, but probably do not reasonably constitute socially-sanctioned homicide due to the lack of any intention. Including French colonists, mostly in what became Canada but with occasional activities in what became the United States, one would find Catholic priests who quite literally loved to death the persons they were trying to convert, tenderly treating their souls and bodies for the ravages of the diseases with which they had unintentionally infected the Indians, rejoicing particularly when they could save an infant’s eternal life even as he lost his temporal one (Parkman, 1865-93/1983). There was not even reckless disregard for the welfare of the Indians so far as the missionaries knew.

On the other hand, there are instances where disease was used intentionally to kill and, approved by the society of the person thus employing it, would arguably qualify as a socially-sanctioned homicide. Among the best known examples were the use by Lord Amherst of smallpox infected blankets against Indians (Steele, 1994, p. 239), a method used by others during the 18<sup>th</sup> century (Parkman, 1865-93/1983), including the British, during the American Revolution, sending infected slaves back to their owners with the intention of infecting the rebels (Quarles, 1961/1996, pp. 141-42).

Death by deprivation would be another instance where there could be disagreement as to whether it constituted a socially-sanctioned homicide. During the early settlement of Virginia, “feed wars” involved deliberate efforts by the colonists to kill the Indians by starvation, by destroying the crops on which their lives depended – an approach not averse to the Indians either (Steele, 1994). On the other hand, while General William Sherman and his associates were attempting to use total war and the destruction of crops to make Southern civilians unhappy with the effects of war, their intention was to produce only misery rather than the occasional deaths that may have occurred (McPherson, 1989). Similarly, for the most part, the rather high death rate in Civil War prisons, especially Confederate prisons, were generally not intended, simply slightly amplified results of universal lack of adequate food, clothing, and medical care (McPherson, 1989). In a few instances, however, one could at least argue that the treatment of prisoners constituted, at the very least, reckless disregard as to whether death was likely to result from the treatment, and that such deaths

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<sup>1</sup>A well-known if poor example – in terms of suggesting social sanctioning – would be the prosecution and acquittal of O.J. Simpson for the murder of his wife and another man. The prosecution deliberately held the trial where the jury pool would be biased in Simpson’s favor – presumably because they thought they had an air-tight case against him and that a Black jury would obviate any post-conviction claims of racial bias rather than because they wanted him acquitted – but the prosecution clearly was not condoning the killing, and the jury would insist that there was insufficient evidence, not that they were sanctioning murder.

constituted examples of socially-sanctioned homicides.

War presents various problems since, while the emphasis is on fighting, through the 19<sup>th</sup> century, at any rate, the death toll from illness was often higher and, of course, there were additional accidental deaths – as when boats sank while returning Union prisoners to the North following the Civil War (McPherson, 1989). These premature deaths undoubtedly occurred as a result of war, a socially-sanctioned activity, but the particular deaths were apparently not intended by any particular participant nor by society or the government as a whole, nor with any obvious reckless disregard by, for example, captain or crew.

“IN THE UNITED STATES”?

The study period covers five centuries, during over half of which there was nothing known as the United States. Ideally, the geographic area covered would be what is now the United States of America. But data are missing for those geographic areas until there is some European involvement, mostly British, French, or Spanish, but with a few other countries involved here and there. Europeans are needed for any information on killings to be known – for example, Indians killing Indians from another tribe might be known if it was as potential concern of Europeans involved with one or the other tribe, but not likely otherwise.

This argues for some geographic limitation, in addition to ready acknowledgment that nothing is apt to be known of those territories that became the United States until there was such involvement. One possibility is to include only those geographic areas where such involvement occurred for most of the five-century period, which would argue for leaving out what became Hawaii and Alaska. And, of course, it would require acknowledging limited information on especially the upper Midwest and West since the initial European involvement heavily emphasized the eastern seaboard and the South and Southwest. Perhaps the territory covered should be limited to where there is European involvement so that the geographic area covered will expand with European settlement.

An additional issue is how to define borders where killings overlapped. Early settlements, especially by the French and British on what is now the U.S.-Canadian border, were not bound by those borders. And battles and skirmishes between the French and English settlers, along with their various Indian allies, did not hew to future boundaries. In addition, naval conflicts occurred in lakes and oceans rather than on any jurisdiction's land. Treating as socially-sanctioned homicides all killings involving those who generally lived in America would involve purely foreign wars (World War I, for example) that are in no way “in the United States.” Even with wars primarily on U.S. territory, there were a few socially-sanctioned deaths elsewhere, such as those credited to John Paul Jones in and near Great Britain during the Revolutionary War.

One approach would be to count those homicides occurring in the territory that is now the United States or near enough so that it might be the equivalent of “hot pursuit.” This would mean counting the U.S.-resident involved socially-sanctioned homicide near the Canadian and Mexican borders, making it less essential to try to determine precisely where the deaths occurred. But it would leave out those that clearly involved activities well beyond what became America’s borders, such as British colonial attacks on Quebec and Nova Scotia, particularly in the 18<sup>th</sup> century, and well into Mexican territory during the 19<sup>th</sup>.

## CONCLUSION

Subject to modification or greater precision, a socially-sanctioned American homicide would then tentatively be an intentionally-caused death – or one caused by a deliberate reckless act – known, because of European proximity, to have occurred with the formal or informal approval of the killer’s society during the half-millennium of European involvement in what is now the United States of America.

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**When an Elderly Person is Murdered:  
Circumstances of Homicides Against the Elderly in Chicago, 1965 to 2000  
Carolyn Rebecca Block and Michelle Repp  
Homicide Research Working Group, 2006 Annual Workshop  
Richmond, VA. June 8-11**

**ABSTRACT**

This paper discusses the patterns and circumstances of homicide victimization in Chicago against the elderly for the years 1965 to 2000, using the Chicago Homicide Dataset (CHD). Male and female elders in this country experience unique vulnerabilities to victimization, unlike any other time in the life course. For example, the elderly have been found to be more likely to die from theft-related homicides, while younger victims are more likely to be killed in conflict-related circumstances. The elderly are also more vulnerable to violence at the hands of "other" relatives (other than intimate partners or parents), compared to younger individuals. While the consequences of sustaining a violent attack are significant for all victims, recent research has found that the consequences are even more extreme for the elderly. Research has shown that the elderly have a higher risk of death from assault than younger age groups, and that elderly arson homicide victims are more likely to suffer lingering deaths. Violent victimization also has been shown to increase the risk of nursing home placement, despite controlling for other variables.

In Chicago from 1965 to 2000, 31 people between ages 90 and 103 were murdered, 69 people between 85 and 89, 129 people between 80 and 84, 227 people between 75 and 79, 277 people between 70 and 74, 405 people between 65 and 69, and 603 people between 60 and 64. Thus, depending on how you define "elderly," the CHD contains detailed circumstances for the homicides of 456 people aged 75 or older (241 men and 215 women), 682 aged 65 to 74 (515 men and 167 women) and 603 aged 60 to 64 (472 men and 131 women). The typical circumstances of these murders vary widely by the victim's gender and age group. Contrary to commonly-held beliefs, not all elderly homicide victims are the victims of caretaker abuse. Some are killed by their intimate partner, some are killed in street robberies or robberies of stores where they are working, some are killed in home invasion robberies, some are killed in arsons, and some are killed by prostitutes or casual sex partners. Further, the typical means of death vary by age group, gender, and circumstance. For example, arson and strangulation are particularly common with older age groups, women, and people killed by a sex partner. Elderly people killed in a street robbery or while tending a store are more likely to be killed by a knife or gun. In addition, elderly people may be tied up during the robbery, and die of shock or suffocation from the gag. They may be more likely than others to die as a result of being punched or knocked to the sidewalk. In this paper, we will outline and discuss the most common types of elderly homicide, according to the victim's gender, age group and the circumstance. We will then discuss the implications of these findings for intervention and prevention of specific types.

**INTRODUCTION**

The natural progression in any line of inquiry into elder abuse is to lethal violence against the elderly. According to the Bureau of Justice Statistics, in the year 2000, there were nearly three homicides for every 100,000 persons age 50 years and older.<sup>2</sup> In Chicago that year, the homicide rate was twice as high at six per 100,000 persons age 50 years and older. Between 1976 and 2000, the national homicide rate for individuals age 50 years and older decreased 63 percent. During that time, homicides of individuals age 50 years and older in Chicago decreased 68 percent.

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<sup>2</sup><http://www.ojp.usdoj.gov/bjs/homicide/tables/vagetab.htm>

In addition to exploring homicide rates by racial and ethnic group, by age cohort and gender and the circumstances under which elder homicides occurred, we sought to discover whether or not the conclusions reached in the literature on elder homicide were borne out in the CHD. The literature on elder homicide indicates that elders at a high risk of becoming a victim of homicide during a robbery or during the commission of another crime.<sup>3</sup> Also, murder-suicides among elders are reportedly on the rise. One study suggests that elder homicide victims are often murdered in their own homes by strangers, while another contends that elders are murdered in equal proportions by strangers, acquaintances and family members.

This analysis is based on the Chicago Homicide Dataset (CHD), using data from 1965-2000, and demographic data provided by the City of Chicago. Collected with the close cooperation of the Chicago Police Department (CPD) over many years, and containing detailed information on every homicide recorded by the police from 1965 to 2000, the CHD is the largest, most detailed dataset on violence available in the United States.<sup>4</sup> For the current analysis, we selected, from the 27,345 victim records in the CHD, the 1,741 victims aged 60 or older at the time of the fatal incident (Table 1).<sup>5</sup> Because elders are defined as persons age 60 years and older by the Chicago Department on Aging, the remaining portion of our analysis will focus on individuals in that age bracket. The oldest homicide victim was age 103 (a woman stabbed to death in a home invasion robbery by a young stranger); 108 victims were aged 60 to 69, 504 aged 70 to 79, 198 aged 80 to 89, and 100 aged 90 to 103. These data, then, represent the universe of people aged 60 or older who were murdered in Chicago from 1965 to 2000.

Note that older cases are more likely to be solved than newer cases owing to the passage of time and the increased number of hours spent on the older cases throughout the years. Also, updated data on clearance statuses was not always available.

## TREND ANALYSIS

Between 1965 and 2000, 1,741 Chicagoans age 60 years or older were homicide victims. The rate of homicide among the elderly in Chicago decreased 53 percent between 1965 and 2000, while the elder population decreased 24 percent. Homicides of individuals age 60 years and older comprised 6 percent of all homicide victims in Chicago between 1965 and 2000.

The homicide data was organized into age cohorts for comparison to demographic data. Among those 60 years and older, those between the ages of 60 and 64 comprised the highest percentage of homicide victims, 35 percent. Elders between the ages of 65 and 69 years comprised 23 percent of homicide victims between 1965 and 2000, and individuals between the ages of 70 and 74 years comprised 16 percent of homicide victims. Individuals between the ages of 75 and 79 years and 80 years and older each account for 13 percent of elder homicide victims. This is expected since the population decreases as it ages. The homicide rate for all cohorts decreased between 1965 and 2000, with the homicide rate of elders age 65 and 69 decreasing the most at 60 percent.

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<sup>3</sup>Greg S. Weaver, Cathy D. Martin, Thomas A. Petee, (2004) Culture, Context, and Homicide of the Elderly. *Sociological Inquiry* 74:1, 2-19

<sup>4</sup>Beginning in 1968 with the collection of 1965 data and continuing today, the Crime Analysis Unit of the Chicago Police Department has assisted and advised Richard Block, Carolyn Block and others in the Chicago Homicide Dataset project. The Illinois Criminal Justice Information Authority has supported and maintained the Dataset since 1979. The Joyce Foundation supported collection and archiving of 1991-1994 data. Funding for earlier data collection and analysis was provided by the Harry Frank Guggenheim Foundation, Loyola University of Chicago, the Ford Foundation, the University of Chicago, the Bureau of Justice Statistics and the National Institute of Mental Health. Data from 1965 through 1995 are available, and an updated and expanded 1965-2000 CHD will soon be available, from the Inter-university Consortium for Political and Social Research. For details of the dataset, see Block & Block (1993).

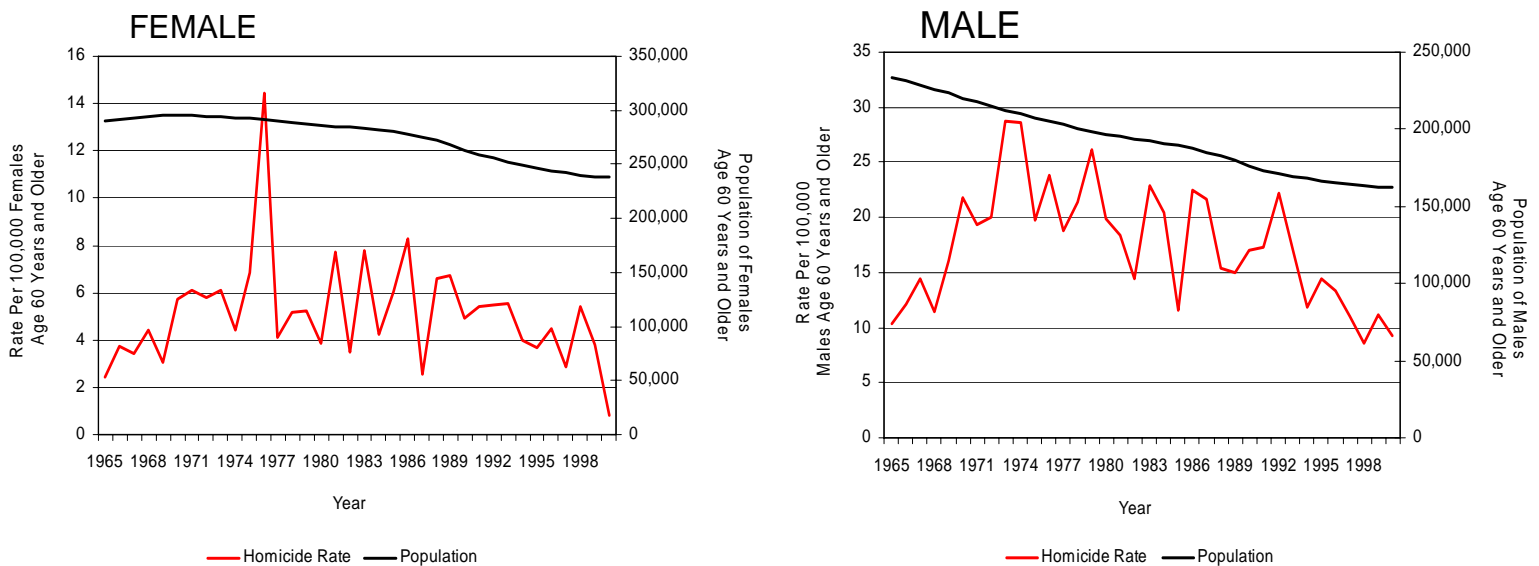
<sup>5</sup>Age is missing for 37 homicide victims. Of the 26,432 victims for whom age is known, people age 60 or older comprise 6.4% from 1965 to 2000 overall, ranging from 11.1% in 1976 to 2.7% in 2000. The proportion age 60 or older fell gradually across the decades, from 7.6% in 1965-1974, to 7.4% in 1975-1984, to 5.7% in 1985-1994, to 3.8% in 1995-2000.



In comparing the proportion of elders age 65 to 69, the most notable finding is that the proportion of homicide victims decreases from 26 percent of all elder victims in 1965 to 12 percent in 2000, while the proportion this age cohort comprises of the elder population decreases from 32 to 25 percent.

Twenty-nine percent of elder homicide victims were female, and 70 percent were male. Over time, the rate of female elder homicides increased, while the rate of male elder homicides decreased. The proportion of female elder homicide victims compared to the proportion female elders comprise of the population of individuals age 60 years and higher is low (Figure 1).

**Figure 1**  
**Rate of Elder Homicide Victims and Elder Population in Chicago by Gender, 1965 –2000**



Of all elder homicides that occurred in Chicago between 1965 and 2000, 40 percent of the victims were non-Latino white or of other racial/ethnic groups, 56 percent were non-Latino African-American, and 3 percent were Latino.

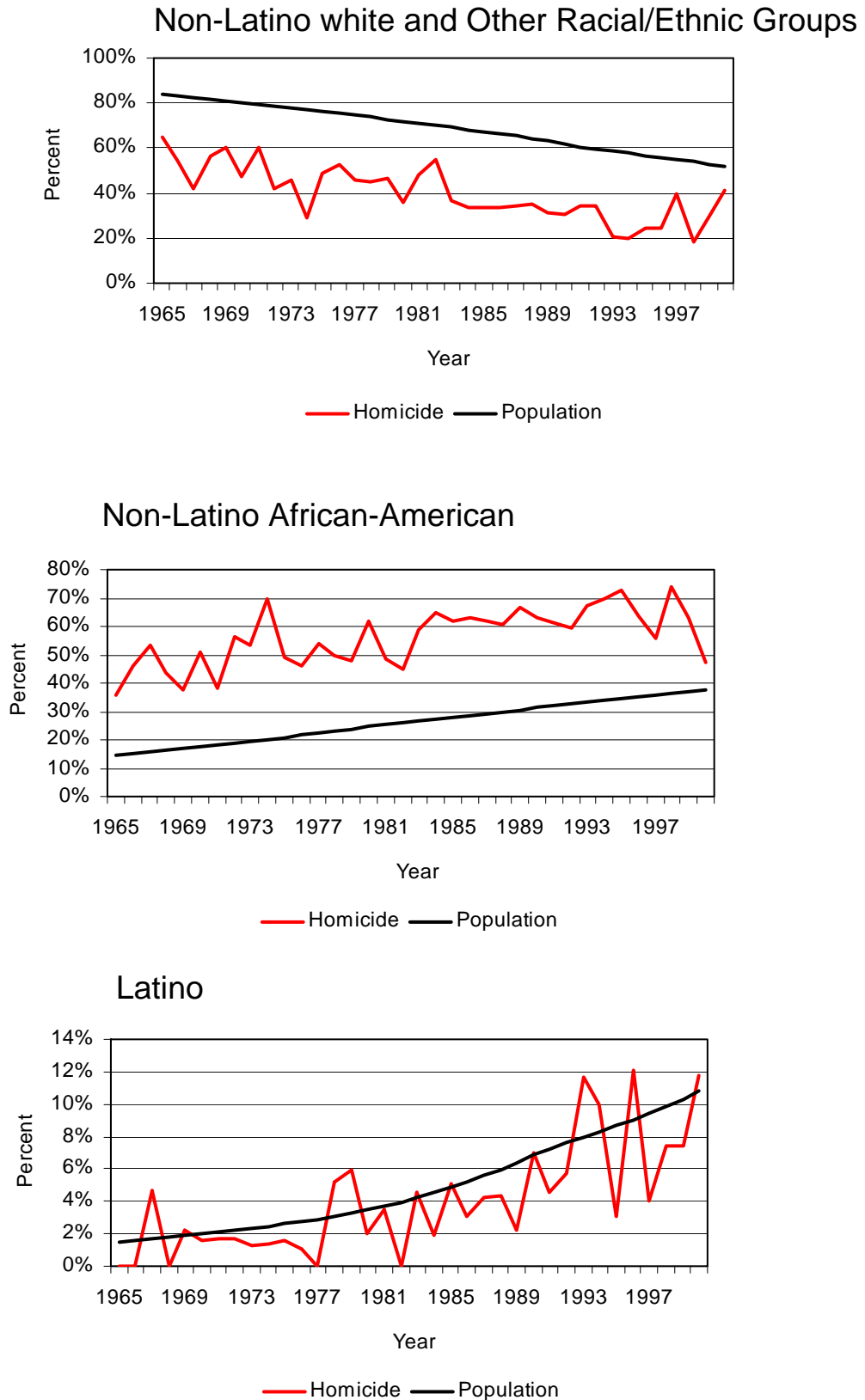
The homicide rate for all racial and ethnic groups varies widely. The rate of non-Latino white and other racial/ethnic group elder homicide decreased 26 percent between 1965 and 2000. Although the proportion of elder homicides accounted for by non-Latino African-American victims increased during between 1965 and 2000, the elder non-Latino African-American homicide rate decreased 63 percent. Between 1967, the first year the murder of an elder Latino was recorded in Chicago, and 2000, the rate of elder Latino homicides decreased 80 percent.

Figure 4 depicts the proportion of the population and homicide victims comprised by each of the three racial and ethnic groups. The proportion of the elder population comprised of elder non-Latino white and other racial/ethnic groups was larger between 1965 and 2000 than the proportion of homicides accounted for by victims in this category, while the proportion of homicides involving non-Latino African-American elders was higher than the proportion of non-Latino African-Americans in the elder population. The

proportion of homicides involving elder Latino victims and the Latino population were similar.

Figure 4

Proportion of Elder Population and Elder Homicide Victims by Racial and Ethnic Group in Chicago, 1965-2000



Among the three racial and ethnic groups, robbery, undetermined causes, and domestic altercation were the three leading causes of homicide. Among the non-Latino whites and other racial/ethnic group, 65 percent of the elders were murdered during a robbery, for an undetermined cause, or in a general domestic altercation, among Non-Latino African-Americans, 66 percent were murdered under these three circumstances, and among Latinos, 61 percent were murdered under these three circumstances. For all racial and ethnic groups, armed robbery as opposed to strongarm robbery comprised a larger percentage of all murders involving robbery.

### **CIRCUMSTANCES UNDER WHICH THE ELDERLY ARE MURDERED**

As previous research has found, the circumstance under which the highest percentage of people ages 60 or older were murdered was armed or strongarm robbery. Overall, 49.9 percent of older victims were killed as a result of an armed (38.2 percent) or strongarm (11.7 percent) robbery. In contrast, robbery accounted for only 14.8 percent of the motives for homicides of people aged 59 or younger. Elderly victims are much less likely to be killed in a gang-motivated homicide, compared to younger victims (0.6 percent versus 12.9 percent), much more likely to be killed in their own home (46.1 percent versus 14.9 percent), less likely to be killed in a traffic altercation (0.2 percent versus 0.6 percent), more likely to be killed because of an offender's mental disorder (4.0 percent versus 1.1 percent), more likely to be killed at their workplace (8.9 percent versus 3.3 percent), more likely to have been killed in a burglary (1.3 percent versus 0.3 percent) or to have been surprised and killed by a burglar (2.2 percent versus 0.2 percent), and somewhat more likely to be killed in a sexual assault (2.2 percent versus 1.7 percent). A higher proportion of older than younger people were killed by a caretaker (3.4 percent versus 0.0 percent), or killed by the person the victim was caring for, such as a mentally ill adult child (1.1 percent versus 0.1 percent).

However, the circumstances under which older people are killed vary strongly with the person's age group and gender. Homicide victims in their sixties are killed in different circumstances than victims in their seventies, eighties or nineties. For example, the proportion of victims killed by a caretaker increases from 0.6 percent at age group 60-64, to 1.0 percent at 65-69, 1.9 percent at 70-74, 4.3 percent at 75-79, 11.3 percent at 80-84, 21.8 percent at 85-89, and 22.7 percent of victims aged 90 to 103. Similarly, the proportion who are murdered by the person they were caring for increases from 0.4 percent for victims aged 60 to 64 to 4.5 percent for victims aged 90 to 103. This differs by gender. For men under age 80, it is very rare to be killed by a caretaker, but four of the 70 men aged 80 or older (5.7 percent) were killed by a caretaker. In contrast, the proportion of women victims killed by a caretaker increased from 2.1 percent at age group 60-64, to 3.2 percent at 65-69, 5.1 percent at 70-74, 10.5 percent at 75-79, 15.5 percent at 80-84, 37.5 percent at 85-89, and 38.5 percent of women killed at age 90 to 103..

Similarly, the proportion who are killed in a robbery homicide also increases with age, from 44.7 percent for victims aged 60-64, to 65.2 percent for victims aged 90 to 103. This pattern holds for both men and women, with the highest percent of victims killed in a robbery (72.7 percent) occurring for the eleven women aged 90 to 103.

Contrary to popular opinion, older people are sometimes killed in an intimate partner homicide. For men aged 60 or older, 6.2 percent were killed by a woman and 0.3 percent were killed by a man. For women aged 60 or older, 11.4 percent were killed by a man and 0.2 percent were killed by a woman. This varies strongly by age, however. For example, the proportion of women homicide victims killed by a male intimate partner decreased from 22.0 percent at age group 60-64, to 10.3 percent at 65-69, 12.0 percent at 70-74, 4.8 percent at 75-79, 10.3 percent at 80-84, and to zero at the older age groups.

Only one older man was killed in a sexual assault from 1965 to 2000, but 7.1 percent of the 425 older women victims. The proportion did not vary by the woman's age, except that it was very high for the oldest women victims, 12.8 percent of the women aged 85 or older.

## **SUMMARY**

In Chicago, the homicide rate for individuals age 60 years and older decreased more between 1965 and 2000 than the population of those age 60 years and older. We found that the proportion of homicide victims age 65 to 69 decreases notably from 1965 to 2000, while the proportion this age cohort comprises of the elder population does not show a proportional decrease. Over time, the rate of female elder homicides increased, while the rate of male elder homicides decreased. Elder females comprise a disproportionate percentage of elder homicide victims compared to their male counterparts. The proportion of the elder population comprised of elder non-Latino white and other racial/ethnic groups was larger between 1965 and 2000 than the proportion of homicides accounted for by victims in this category, while the proportion of homicides involving non-Latino African-American elders was higher than the proportion of non-Latino African-Americans in the elder population. The proportion of homicides involving elder Latino victims and the Latino population were similar. The homicide rates for all racial/ethnic groups decreased between 1965 and 1995, although the proportion of elder homicides accounted for by non-Latino African-American victims increased during between 1965 and 2000. In addition, only a small percentage of murder-suicides occurred among individuals age 60 and older, and murder-suicides remained level between 1965 and 2000. All age cohorts, racial and ethnic groups, and genders were most likely to be murdered during the commission of a robbery, and more died during an armed robbery than a strongarm robbery. Approximately half of elder murders occurred during the commission of another crime.

A DESCRIPTIVE ANALYSIS OF VICTIMS AND OFFENDERS  
IN THE HITS 1981-1995 DATASET  
AND THE EFFECT OF DISTANCE  
ON CASE SOLVABILITY IN MURDER INVESTIGATIONS

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A Paper Presented to  
The Homicide Research Working Group  
Annual Meeting 2006, Richmond, Virginia

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by  
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June, 2006

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## Introduction

This paper will provide an overview of descriptive information about the victims, offenders and other factors affecting murder investigation solvability by examining variables in the Homicide Investigation Tracking System (HITS) 1981 to 1995 Dataset. The dataset included 3,355 murders which occurred in the Pacific Northwest between 1981 and 1995. The characteristics of the victims and offenders will be examined, including a description of the victim-offender relationship. Information relating to the victim's cause of death and offender's crime scene behavior will also be presented. In addition, the effect of distance relationships between murder incident component pairings on case solvability will be presented. The solvability rate for murder investigations was 76.8%.

### Victim Characteristics

The typical murder victim was a white (60.8%) male (66.5%), approximately 32-years-old ( $M = 32.29$ ). Black victims made up only 19.5% of cases and Hispanic victims comprised 8.9%. Only 33.4% of the victims were female. Less than 20% of victims were 19 and younger and approximately half (49.8%) of the victims were under the age of 30. The mean age of victims was 32.29. The youngest victim was less than one-year-old and the oldest victim was 101.

Victims predominantly lived in a single-family dwelling (60.1%) and were single (58.5%). Most did not lead an "at risk" lifestyle which may have contributed to the murder. However, approximately one-third of the victims had a gang affiliation (32.8%). Most of the victims were heterosexual (97.8%) with only 2.2% identified as being homosexual and .9% identified as bi-sexual. Only 2.4% of the victims were involved in criminal activity at the time of the extant murder; an additional 3.2% were involved in prostitution, and 1.3% were involved in a drug deal when they were murdered.

A relatively small amount of victims were unemployed at the time the murder was committed (7.9%). The most common occupations for victims included laborers (31.8%), student (10.1%), and sales (8.6%), with only 6.0% of victims identified as professionals. Approximately 6.7% of victims were employed in agricultural or farm work. An additional 11.8% of victims were involved in the criminal occupations of prostitution (6.4%) and drug dealing (5.4%). Table 1 illustrates victim demographics and characteristics.

**Table 1**

#### *Victim demographics*

Race	%	Gender	%	Age*	%	Marital	%
White	60.8	Male	66.5	0 to 19	19.4	Single	58.5
Black	19.5	Female	33.4	20 to 29	30.4	Married	25.2
Hispanic	8.9			30 to 39	22.4	Divorced	12.6
Other	10.2			40 to 49	13.0		
				50 and over	13.8		

$N = 3,355$

\* Victims' age was unknown in 1.0% of cases.

### Offender Characteristics

While it is important for law enforcement to identify the type of individuals who may be at risk of being murdered in order to protect them, it is imperative that law enforcement be aware of the characteristics of individuals who might be potential offenders. The typical offender was a white male, approximately 30-years-old ( $M = 30.27$ ). Male offenders made up 76.7%, while female offenders comprised a mere 7.7%. The race of identified offenders was predominately White (49.8%). An additional 20.1% of offenders were Black, and the remaining 13.4% were other racial/ethnic groups. The mean age of offenders (30.27 yrs.) was slightly lower than the victims mean age (32.29 yrs.). Approximately 57.9% of the offenders were under the age of 35. The oldest offender was 91 with the youngest offender being 7.

Offenders were overwhelmingly single. Only 22.0% of the offenders were married at the time they committed the murder. Another 10.4% were divorced. Known residential status of the offenders was varied with

only 2.7% living alone, 2.5% living with parents, and 6.9% living with a significant other (spouse, girlfriend, or boyfriend) or child. Table 2 indicates the offender demographics and characteristics.

**Table 2**

*Offender demographics*

Race	%	Gender	%	Age*	%	Marital	%
White	49.8	Male	76.7	0 to 19**	13.8	Single	65.7
Black	20.1	Female	7.7	20 to 29	32.6	Married	22.0
Other	13.4			30 to 39	20.1	Divorced	10.4
				40 to 49	8.8		
				50 and over	5.2		

N = 3,355

\* Offenders' age was unknown in 18.7% of cases.

\*\* Only 1.5% of offenders were 14 years-old or under.

Most of the offenders (96.2%) were not engaged in criminal activity at the time of the murder. Approximately .4% of offenders were involved in prostitution and 1.3% of offenders were involved in a drug deal when they committed the murder. Very few (4.1%) of the offenders were unemployed at the time the murder was committed. The offenders, who were employed, were employed in mostly unskilled and non-professional occupations. Offenders were most commonly employed as laborers (31.0%), agriculture/farm worker (6.4%), military (5.3%), professionals (4.9%), and students (4.8%). Another 4.8% of offenders were drug dealers.

**Offender Motivation and Victim Cause of Death**

Most victims were killed by a family member or intimate (26.0%), rather than a friend or acquaintance (16.1%), or a stranger (14.3%). Of the offenders, 9.4% murdered a spouse and 4.2% murdered a lover, compared to 1.5% that murdered an estranged or ex-spouse and 1.7% that murdered an ex-lover. Approximately 4.9% of the offenders had a parent/child relationship with their victims. Offender motivation for the murder varied; however almost one-third of the murders (31.1%) were committed by the offender in the "heat of anger." An additional 20.3% of murders were domestic related. Few murders were committed to prevent testimony or identification (1.9%) or to conceal evidence of another crime (1.8%). Offenders did not indicate a sexual component to their motivation to kill. A mere 4.6% of murders involved sexual assault. Of the cases involving sexual assault, 29.5% involved antemortem sexual assault with postmortem sexual assault occurring in 8.4% of cases. There was physical evidence of semen recovered in only 7% of cases.

Death by firearm was the leading cause of death for victims (49.6%) followed by stabbing/cutting (20.5%) and blunt force trauma (16.2%). Strangulation only accounted for 7.1% of victim deaths. Poisoning or death by chemical means was rare, occurring in only 1.0% of cases. Offenders did not inflict major trauma to the body of their victims in the majority of cases (72.9%). However, when trauma to the body was inflicted, it was inflicted most often on the victim's head (11.3%). Weapons were recovered at the scene of the murder in 15.7% of cases and elsewhere in an additional 22.9%. Weapons were not recovered in 35.7% of investigations. Of the weapons recovered, 35.4% were firearms and 9.9% were a type of knife. Offenders brought their weapon to the crime scene in 29.8% of cases and used weapons of opportunity in 14.1% of the murders.

**Crime Scene Behaviors by Offender**

Offenders only moved the body of their victim from the Murder Site to the Body Recovery Site in 17.3% of cases. Offenders chose suburban areas for the body disposal location in approximately one-half of all cases. The offender was unconcerned with the body disposal location in the majority of the murders (76.7%). Offenders concealed the victim's body in 13.6% of cases. Approximately three-fourths of the victims (77.3%) were dressed when the body was discovered. The remaining victims were either nude (11.2%) or partially undressed (11.5%).

Murderers bound their victims in only 5.3% of the cases. In addition, offenders rarely used gags (2.3%) and blindfolds (.8%) on their victims.

The victim's body was staged or posed in only 2.4% of the cases. Staging is an attempt by the killer to misdirect the investigation or to direct attention away from the offender. Posing may or may not accompany a staged murder. Posing is the intentional arranging of the victim's body by the killer so that the victim will be found in a certain position with the intent to shock whoever finds the body. The rarity of binding, staging and posing may be indicators to police investigators that a particular murder may be part of a series.

The most common crime scene behavior was the taking of significant items by the offender. Trophies were taken by the offender in 12.9% of cases and other items were missing from the body recovery site in 9.2% of cases. In addition, some unusual crime scene behaviors were present such as face covering (3.1%), redressing of victim (1.1%), foreign object insertion (.3%), and mutilation of victim's face (.1%). The rarity of certain crime scene behaviors by offenders is useful knowledge in determining if a murder case might be part of a series by an unknown offender.

### **Distance Between Murder Incident Components**

Each murder incident includes multiple sites or locations of contact between the offender, or a witness, and the victim. The types of information crucial to the investigation in order of their usual occurrence within the murder event are: (1) where and when the victim was last seen, (2) where and when the offender initially contacted the victim, (3) where the murder took place, and (4) where and when the body was recovered. The distance between the murder incident component pairs, if known, was examined.

The distance between the Victim Last Seen Site and the Murder Site was less than 200 feet in 79.7% of murder cases in this dataset. The offender transported the victim more than three-fourths mile from where the victim was last seen in only 19.0% of cases. The victim was transported under three-fourths mile in 80.9% of cases. The victim's body was recovered at a distance of over three-fourths mile in only 21.7% of the cases. The victim's body was recovered within 200 feet in 74.8% of cases.

The victim's body was predominantly recovered less than 200 feet from the Initial Contact Site (80.1%). The victim's body was recovered over one and one-half miles away from where the initial contact with the offender occurred in only 14.0% of cases. The distance between the Murder Site and the Body Recovery Site was less than 200 feet in 87.2% of the cases. This information indicates that the Murder Site and the Body Recovery Site were the same location in the majority of murders indicating the presence of vital evidence in the murder investigation at the scene of the body recovery site.

Finally, the distance between the murder incident component sites was examined in relation to the other murder incident component sites. The distance between the Murder Site and the Body Recovery Site was less than 200 feet in 87.2% of the cases. The distance was greater than three-fourths mile between the Victim Last Seen Site and Murder Site in only 19.0% of cases. Only 21.7% of the cases showed a distance of greater than three-fourths mile between the Victim Last Seen Site and the Body Recovery Site. A distance of less than 200 feet between the Initial Contact Site and Body Recovery Site occurred in only 16.1% of the cases.

### **Solvability**

Once general descriptives were run for the HITS dataset, certain variables were examined in relation to their effect on case solvability. Solvability is the ability of investigators to identify the perpetrator of a crime. For this research, solvability was defined as the status of a murder case at the time it was coded. The rate of unsolved murder cases in the dataset was 23.2%, compared to 76.8% of solved cases. The association between case solvability and the distance between the Initial Contact Site and the Body Recovery Site was negatively associated with case solvability as indicated by a significance of less than .001. The analysis indicated that the distance between where the victim and offender first met and where the victim's body was recovered had a significant impact on case solvability in murder investigations. As the distance increased between the murder incident components, case solvability decreased. Therefore, the distance between the Initial Contact Site/Body Recovery Site murder incident component pairing has a statistically significant impact on case solvability.

The relationship between case solvability and the distance between where the victim was last seen and where the victim's body was recovered was shown to have a significant association. The distance interval with the highest solvability percentage in this pairing was the 0 feet to 199 feet interval (83.7%). This was a significant increase over the sample solvability rate of 76.8%. The case solvability decreased as the distance between the murder incident component pairings increased. The distance between the Murder Site and the Body Recovery Site was shown to have a significant association with case solvability. The analysis indicated that the distance between the location of the murder and the body recovery had a significant association with case solvability. The distance



interval with the highest solvability percentage in this pairing was the greater than 12 miles to 70 miles interval (90.9%). Every distance interval showed a significant increase over the sample solvability rate of 76.8% except for the greater than 70 miles interval.

#### **Conclusion**

The findings from this research study provide valuable information relating to murder investigations which should be explored in further detail. In addition, the information obtained from this preliminary analysis of the HITS 1981-1995 dataset will prove useful for law enforcement personnel investigating murders. It is imperative that data from murder investigations be further explored in order to give police a larger arsenal of investigative tools and parameters for murder investigations. The information obtained from this study is also a valuable resource which will enable the police and public to better understand the complex nature of these types of investigations.

**HOMICIDE, SERIOUS ASSAULT, AND VICTIMLESS CRIME:  
LINKAGES SUGGESTED BY NIBRS DATA**

**Roland Chilton University of Massachusetts-Amherst**  
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**Introduction**

One argument that is frequently relied upon for the existence and enforcement of laws prohibiting crimes against society concerns their connection to more serious forms of criminal activity, especially violence. Those taking such a position claim that offenses like prostitution, pornography, gambling, weapons, and drug offenses are not merely nuisance behaviors but are linked to much more harmful crimes such as assaults, robberies, and even murder. For example, Goldstein (1985) argues that drug offenses are related to violence in three ways: pharmacological violence, systemic violence, and economic compulsive violence. The first two types of violence may manifest themselves in homicides and serious assaults while the latter frequently takes the form of robberies. In this paper we use NIBRS data to explore what, if any, linkages exist between crimes against society and serious violence (murder, serious assaults, and robbery) by examining the frequency with which both types of offenses are reported in the same incidents.

**Methodology**

The approach taken involved selecting all incidents in which society was listed as the victim of a specific crime in the NIBRS data for 2003. There are five different offenses in NIBRS where society is considered a victim: prostitution, pornography, gambling, drugs and weapons offenses. Incident numbers for these crimes were used to locate other victim records for these incidents, allowing us to determine the number and percentage of each type of crime against society that also involved murder, aggravated assault, and robbery.

**Results**

**Prostitution, Gambling, and Pornography Offenses**

In NIBRS 2003 there were a total of 3,900,097 victim records. Of these, 8,319 were situations where society was the victim of a prostitution offense (Table 1). In 178 of these incidents, there was an additional victim. Two were murder victims, eleven each were victims of aggravated assault and rape, and eight were victims of robbery. Other forms of violence, including simple assault, intimidation, forcible fondling, and statutory rape, were reported in less than one percent of cases. That society was the only victim in 98 percent of cases underscores the lack of a link between prostitution and serious violent offenses.

Gambling offenses also show virtually no linkage to violent offenses. Pornography offenses show no connection to murders or robberies but several rapes and other violent offenses are reported in connection with these incidents.

**Table 1**

**Number and Percent of Victimization Reported for All Incidents that had at least One Gambling Victimization, One Prostitution Victimization, or One Pornography Victimization in the NIBRS 2003 Data**

	Gambling*		Prostitution**		Pornography	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Murder	0	0.00	2	.02	0	0.00
Agg.Aslt	3	0.37	11	.13	5	0.29
Robbery	3	0.37	8	.10	0	0.00
Rape	0	0.00	11	.13	36	2.09
Oth.Viol.	4	0.49	71	.85	118	6.86
Property	11	1.35	75	.90	25	1.46
Victimless	794	97.54	8,148	97.94	1542	89.75
Total	814	100.00	8,319	100.00	1718	100.00

\* Includes betting, operating or promoting, equipment, and sports tampering

\*\* Includes prostitution and assisting or promoting

Note: The bottom line shows the number of victim records used. Column totals may exceed this number because a victim record can include a property offense and a violent offense or some other combination of property, violence, and non-predatory offenses.

Source: Unpublished NIBRS data provided by the Criminal Justice Information Services Division of the FBI.

### Drug Law and Weapons Law Violations

The number of murders (40), aggravated assaults (2,130), robberies (509) and rapes (91) were significant among incidents where society was the victim of a drug offense (Table 2). However, when these counts are compared to the very large total number of drug law violation offenses in NIBRS in 2003 (304,939), we see that they constitute a relatively small percentage of the full set of incidents (about one percent for the four violent offenses combined). Although another two percent of drug law violation incidents involved some other kind of violence, we do not find a strong connection between drug and violent offenses.

In contrast, weapons offenses do show some linkage to violent offenses, particularly aggravated assaults and robberies. Of the 58,322 NIBRS incidents involving a weapons law violation, there were 129 murder victims, 5,000 aggravated assault victims (862 of which involved a serious injury), and 2,252 rape victims. Of all of the crimes against society we examine, the percent involving only society as the victim is lowest for weapons law violations (about 75 percent).

**Table 2**  
**Number and Percent of Victimitizations Reported in All Incidents that had at least**  
**One Drug Law Victimitization or One Weapons Law Victimitization in**  
**NIBRS 2003 Data**

	Drug Law Violations *		Weapons Law Violations	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Murder	40	0.01	129	0.22
Agg.Assault	2130	0.70	5,000	8.57
Robbery	509	0.17	2,252	3.86
Rape	91	0.03	30	0.05
Other Violence	5,977	1.96	2,936	5.03
Property	14,920	4.73	5,288	9.07
Victimless	282,325	92.58	43,699	74.93
Total	304,939	100.00	58,322	100.00

\* Includes drug and drug equipment violations.

Note: See notes for Table 1.

### Burglary and Larceny

Table 3 provides a comparison of the extent of the linkages between crimes against society and violent crimes by showing similar distributions for burglary and larceny. For incidents involving burglary, 31 murders were reported, resulting in an identical percentage to that of drug use (.01 percent) and showing more of a connection to murder than either gambling or pornography (both of which were not linked to any murders). The percent of aggravated assault incidents linked to burglary offenses (0.69) was also very similar to that for drug offenses (.70). These results indicate that drug use is no more closely linked to serious violence than burglary and that burglary shows a greater connection to violence than either gambling or prostitution.

The results for larceny indicate that there is very little connection between larceny and violent crimes of any type. In

over 99 percent of larceny incidents the only type of victimization involved is property.

**Table 3**  
**Number and Percent of victimizations Reported in All Incidents that had at least**  
**One Burglary Victimization or One Larceny Victimization in the NIBRS 2003 Data**

	Burglary		Larceny*	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Murder	31	0.01	8	0.00
Agg.Assault	2,671	0.68	1,810	0.14
Robbery	1,732	0.44	264	0.02
Rape	248	.06	108	0.01
Other Violence	5,915	1.50	8,087	0.62
Property	389,053	98.94	1,299,183	99.16
Victimless	1,611	.41	6,251	0.48
Total	393,207	100.00	1,310,154	100.00

\* Includes pocket picking, purse snatching, shoplifting, motor vehicle theft, and theft from buildings, coin operated machines, and motor vehicles.

Note: See notes for Table 1.

#### Discussion

The results in these tables raise two major questions: (1) what explanation underlies the lack of linkage to violent crimes for prostitution, gambling, and pornography and the relatively low linkage for drug offenses? and (2) how do we explain the relatively sizable link between weapons offenses and serious violence? We believe the answer to both questions can be found in police practice. In particular, law enforcement approaches to crimes against society are largely proactive, with the exception of weapons offenses. The police become aware of most victimless crimes through actions they themselves initiate. In contrast, we believe that a considerable number of weapons offenses become known to police through their responses to other crimes, many of which involve violence. Overall, what is clear from the results presented here is the lack of support for the claim of a strong connection between crimes against society and serious violence.

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### **Summary of Intraracial rates of Latino Homicide in comparison with Intraracial Rates of African-American Homicide for the Homicide Research Working Group Conference, June 8-11<sup>th</sup>, 2006.**

**Erin Fishurn, George Washington University**

#### **INTRODUCTION**

The research question for this study is how do the intraracial rates of African-American homicide compare to the intraracial rates of Latino homicide in Chicago? This question is important to sociological research because the

population of Latinos has now increased beyond the population of African-Americans. "Data from the 2000 Census indicate that the Latino population more than doubled since 1980, to 35.3 million from 14.6 million, and now comprises a similar population proportion as African-Americans" (Martinez, Nielson, et al., 2003). African-American homicide and crime is over studied. There is a lot of literature on intraracial African-American homicide and interracial African-American homicide. Most interracial analyses compare African-Americans to Whites, but the influx of Latinos in the United States has largely been ignored in social science literature. There is a stereotype in criminology of the "criminal immigrant." My study hopes to show that the reasoning behind high Latino homicide rates is similar to that of high African-American rates, therefore being correlated with poverty and instability along with subcultural violence that all lead to an increase in crime.

The project intends to use Anderson's *Code of the Street* (1999) for the analysis of culture in African American communities. Anderson suggests that there is a code of the street implicit in structurally disadvantaged, poor urban communities. This code recommends the use of violence liberally to prove oneself as a means of protection and earning respect on the street. Anderson found that two major types of inner-city urban killings are gang and drug homicide. Therefore, two of the types of homicide analyzed in this research project will be gang, and drug homicide.

In Martinez's book, *Latino Homicide*, he found that a major cause of Latino homicide was an argument or conflict that escalated. In Latino communities, there are disproportionate rates of escalation homicide. Therefore, escalation homicide will also be analyzed.

## **DEFINITIONS**

Since the analysis in this study will be limited to Chicago, Latinos are defined as those Mexican's and Puerto Ricans who have been included in the Block and Block dataset. African-Americans are defined as those who are included in the Block and Block dataset for Chicago, 1965-1995 (Block and Block, 1992).

Gang murder is defined as those homicides in which a gang or gang member is the victim of a killing or the suspect(s). Drug murder is defined as a killing in which obtaining drugs was a motivation for the homicide. It is also defined as those homicides that the sale, purchase, or lack of a sale or purchase was a motivation for the killing. Escalation homicides are killings that were caused by the escalation of some previous conflict, either domestically or in society.

## **THEORY**

Typically, there are three theoretical approaches that are utilized in the literature. These approaches will be examined thoroughly within the analysis of this project. The first is opportunity structure theories. Opportunity Structure theories outline Merton's theory of strain. Merton's theory says if those who are in disadvantaged communities focus on material goods that they cannot attain; they will commit crime to obtain the goods that they want. This theory usually relates to instrumental killings because they are property crimes. It can also be seen in expressive crime as well because the person could be frustrated, so they therefore commit a homicide or some other type of crime because they are frustrated from experiencing this type of inequality.

Much of the literature reviewed initially for this project supports the opportunity structure theory for both African-American and Latino homicide. Disadvantage, expressive crime, and deprivation are common themes to the problem of inner city homicide.

The second theoretical perspective is the cultural perspective. This perspective states that those who reside in disadvantaged communities with structural problems have status systems that are different from middle class norms, and have gravitated toward a culture of opposition. The culture of opposition should encourage higher rates of crime. This definition of cultural perspective is elementary, and I intend to expand the analysis later within this project.

In examining both *The Code of the Street*, Anderson (1999), and *In Search of Respect*, Bourgois 2003, it is evident that regardless of race or ethnicity, there is a possibility that there is a subculture of violence and a code of the street that makes respect a central theme and tolerates violence for survival in inner city communities.

Finally, the third theory that is often utilized is social disorganization theory. Social disorganization theory says that there are a lack of formal social controls in the community and the breakdown of these social controls contribute to disorganization and to structural problems that cause crime.

There is a lot of evidence that social disorganization theory is prevalent in African-American communities, but it will have to be further analyzed in this study to determine if it is prevalent in Latino communities. Latino communities tend to have better formal social control units, and a better sense of community which may provide evidence that suggests social disorganization is not prevalent in their communities.

## **DATA/METHODS**

As a result of Latino and African-American homicide being higher in urban places that have a larger number of residents, this study intends to use Block and Block's homicide data from Chicago 1965-1995 (Block and Block, 1992). Since border cities experience less crime and immigration is not significantly linked to crime, this serves an additional justification for the usage of the Block's dataset.

The dependent variable for this study is intraracial rates of African-American and Latino homicide. The Latino killings in the Chicago dataset are higher than the intraracial homicide rates of Whites in the dataset, but they are not quite as numerous as African-American intraracial homicides. 75% of Latino homicides and 97% of African-American homicides in Chicago are intraracial. The dependent variable will be disaggregated in terms of types of homicide drug, gang, and escalation homicides will be examined.

The independent variables are the structural and cultural problems that are prevalent in disadvantaged communities. In analyzing whether or not Latinos and African-Americans have comparable amounts of intraracial drug, gang, and escalation homicides, it may suggest a correlation in the cultures or the "code of the street" used by residents of these communities for survivals. In addition, 2000 census data might be needed to estimate relative deprivation or poverty levels within these communities to define the independent variables fully. A spatial analysis of the proximity of the neighborhoods to one another, or segregated from one another might also be used to determine the relative segregation and homogeneity of the neighborhoods.

### **HYPOTHESIS/CONCLUSION**

The hypothesis is that intraracial rates of Latino homicide and African-American homicide will be comparable to one another, and that the correlation for these comparable rates will be structural and cultural problems related to disadvantaged communities. African-Americans will exhibit higher rates of drug homicide, Latinos will exhibit higher rates of both gang and escalation homicide. Although the motives may not be exactly correlated, the corroboration of the poverty and deprivation of the community and similar rates of intraracial homicide would show that each community has similar cultures and that structural disintegration contributes to crime.

## **Victims of Criminal Homicide: A Test of Sociological and Forensic Approaches**

**Sean Goodison, George Washington University**

Homicide has always been a subject of great interest throughout history, but the recent era has provided a previously untapped ability to obtain, categorize, and compute empirical data. New avenues of research opened to those wanting to research homicide and willing to navigate the flood of information available, with various disciplines offering perspectives. Two of these modern perspectives which study homicide are seen in the sociological and forensic approaches. However, these two fields often work entirely independently; while homicide is a rich topic, the practicality of disciplines overlapping and borrowing outside concepts is evident.

Studies of victim traits and victimology provide an interesting insight to the recent development of the sociological and

forensic literatures. Much of the sociological interest has been focused on structural factors, such as race, gender, and neighborhood, when examining victims. Forensic studies examine victims as a furtherance of investigative theories. While the justifications for each discipline's approach are apparent, the fact is that the conclusions are often quite divergent. Sociology explores disaggregated homicide most often within the largest victim population (young, black males), whereas forensics more often will use a specific victimology to help generate a determination of homicide type and thereby treat each disaggregated homicide category as having distinct victim patterns. Other differences exist in scholarship, namely that the sociological literature often "reinvents the wheel" on homicide topics that have a long history of development in forensics, and the forensic literature often fails to critically analyze assumptions and theories in light of tools that are standard in sociological studies of homicide.

The aim of this work is to demonstrate the usefulness of a cross-disciplinary, collaborative approach to homicide studies by comparing sociological and forensic victim predictions. Sociological predictions were generated from a survey of trends within the literature, with the primary finding being that studies exhaustively examine young, black male victims killed with handguns (Messner and Golden, 1992; Blumstein and Rosenfeld, 1998; Blumstein et al, 2000; Ousey and Lee, 2002; Kubrin and Wadsworth, 2003). Forensic predictions were compiled using the Crime Classification Manual (CCM) developed by Douglas et al. (1997). It was developed during the 1980s and 1990s through the partnership of F.B.I. agents and criminal profilers. The CCM was formulated through inductive reasoning after the accumulation and comparison of case data. The sociological and forensic approaches are examined with a dataset commonly used in the sociological literature, Chicago homicides from 1965-1995 utilized by Block et al. (1996), in order to compare sociological and forensic predictions of victimology across disaggregated homicide types.

Special attention is given to victim traits of domestic and contract homicides, as such predictions in the CCM vary greatly from the sociological victim focus, and it can be argued that both homicide categories are understudied in terms of victimology when compared to the literature on other types (e.g., drug or gang homicide). The CCM defines contract homicides as a type of criminal enterprise homicide in which the victim is killed by secret or surprise, for a profit, and there is a lack of relationship between the immediate offender and victim. The specific victim characteristic set predicted by the CCM as most likely in such a homicide is an older white male killed by a weapon that decreases personal interaction (such as a high-powered firearm, distance killing, rapid-fire attack – essentially, an attack that will not leave evidence of the victim on the offender). As for domestic homicide, it is defined as a type of personal cause homicide motivated by interpersonal aggression (not for material gain, sex, or sanctioned by a group) when the victim is a member of the family or household. The specific victim characteristic set predicted by the CCM as most likely is young or old, with a prior history of violence/abuse, and the death occurs through a weapon of immediate opportunity (such as a blunt force object or a knife).

From this conception, two "sociological" hypotheses are generated – first, young black males killed with handguns (the YBMH victimology set) are more likely to represent the victims of contract homicide than the CCM victimology set for contract killings; second, the YBMH victimology set is more likely to represent victims of domestic homicide than the CCM victimology set for domestic killings.

The forensic approach, represented by the CCM, would suggest that each disaggregated homicide has its own set of unique victim characteristic sets. Therefore, two opposing hypotheses can be generated – the CCM victimology set for contract killings (older, white, male, killed with weapon that decreases personal interaction) is more likely to represent the victims of contract killings than the YBMH victimology set, and the CCM victimology set for domestic homicide (younger and older, prior history of violence, killed with weapon of immediate opportunity) is more likely to represent the victims of domestic homicide than the YBMH victimology set.

Using these traits, three independent variable indices were created to represent the sociological and forensic perspectives of homicide victimology. Homicide was disaggregated according to a "causal factor" variable within the dataset.

Through comparing proportions of victims across homicide type, distinct trends in the data exist across homicide categories when looking at the sociological and forensic victim profiles, as distributions change dramatically depending on the victimology profiled used. Trends are also seen when distributions across particular types of homicide (e.g. contract and domestic) are compared to baseline measures, represented by total homicide distribution, within each set of victim traits. While the forensic predictions performed well, certain trend clusters within the sociological approach provide an interesting perspective on the state of research in the discipline. The overall results both yield support for forensic models and demonstrate the potential usefulness to the sociological conception of homicide victimization, as well as establish a purpose in further cross-discipline endeavors.

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Running head: HIGH LETHALITY WEAPONS AND THE HOMICIDE RATE.

The Availability of High Lethality Weapons and the Homicide Rate:  
Controlling for Unemployment and Drug Arrests.

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#### Abstract

Very few studies have explored the relationship between the availability of high lethality firearms and the homicide rate. Research by Koper (2001) discovered that the availability of more lethal types of firearms were directly related to an increase in homicide rates for Dallas. However, this study did not take into account certain sociological variables that may strengthen or weaken the determined relationship. This study will replicate the methodology from Koper's (2001) previous research but control for drug arrests (for juveniles and adults) and unemployment levels. The results will help ascertain to what extent the impact of high lethality weapons on the homicide rate is contingent on contextual factors.

### The Availability of High Lethality Weapons and the Homicide Rate: Controlling for Unemployment and Drug Arrests.

The increase in homicide rates during the mid 1980's and early 1990's has received much attention from researchers. While there are no notable trends during this time period, there was an increase in the homicide rate that led to record highs by 1992 (Blumstein & Cork, 1992). Furthermore, not all segments of the population were affected equally during this time period. Youthful offenders and victims far outnumbered those of the older population.

From 1985 to 1992, both the number of juvenile perpetrators and victims of homicide increased substantially. After 1985, the homicide arrest rate for juveniles tripled, whereas the homicide arrest rate for the older population showed only small increases (Zimring, 2004). In addition, this trend is coupled with an increase in youth and young adult homicide victimization rates (Blumstein, Rivera, & Rosenfeld, 2000). As a result, researchers have attempted to identify contributing factors that contributed to the number of murderous youth during this time period.

Blumstein et al. (2000) attribute these significant increases in homicide rates to firearms and the illicit drug trade. The authors note that the adoption of handguns used in homicides increased rapidly from 1985 to 1991. This trend occurs while the rates of non-gun homicides remain relatively stable. Also, the drug arrest rate for juveniles and adults increased during this time period. Perhaps there is a connection between these two acts of criminality, i.e., as more people engage in the illicit drug industry, the homicide rate increases.

The connection between the growth in the illicit drug trade and the increase in handgun perpetrated homicides is not surprising and is supported by multiple studies. Guns appear to be a necessary tool for the illicit drug trade (Blumstein, 1995; Blumstein & Cork, 1996). Data from six U.S. cities shows that the majority of drug dealers carry guns, with a third of them having used their gun in a crime (Riley, 1998). This may contribute to an elevated homicide rate as felonious activities and drug deals have high rates of lethality (Weaver et al., 2004). If violent criminals (particularly those involved with the illicit drug trade) are likely to carry guns, the availability of more guns may contribute to an increase in homicide rates.

Hoskin (2001) states that countries with ethnically heterogeneous populations, conservative welfare states, and mass amounts of privately owned guns produce high rates of lethal violence. The author notes that these characteristics describe the United States, where the number of privately owned firearms far surpasses that of other countries. However, research on the availability of firearms and its influence on the homicide rate is inconsistent and afflicted with methodological weaknesses (Kleck, 2004).

Despite these inconsistencies, there seems to be two dominating hypotheses in the scholarly literature. Stolzenberg and D'Alessio (2000) refer to these opposing hypotheses as the objective dangerousness hypothesis, which suggests that crime is correlated with the availability of firearms, and the self-defense hypothesis, which suggests that the availability of firearms deters crime because criminals fear confrontation with an armed citizen.

Consistent with the objective dangerousness hypothesis, Blumstein and Cork (1996) suggest that the availability of firearms is linked to the increase in juvenile homicides that occurred in the mid 1980's and early 1990's. The authors note that, during this time period, gun homicides doubled with no significant change in non-gun homicides. In addition, the use of guns to commit other violent acts shows an increase as well, which may be the result of an increase in gun availability (Cook & Laub, 1998).

However, these results which seem to support the objective dangerousness hypothesis may not be conclusive. Other research shows no relationship between overall gun density and the homicide rate (Koper, 2001). Stolzenberg and D'Alessio (2000) assert that conflicting outcomes have resulted in an inability to differentiate between the two opposing hypotheses. To test this theory, the authors separated gun availability into two categories: (1) legal gun availability and (2) illegal gun availability. The results show that legal gun availability has no significant impact on the homicide rate. In contrast, illegal gun availability has a significant impact on the violent crime rate, gun crime rate, and youth crime rate. While dismissing the self-defense hypothesis, the authors provide a more comprehensive understanding to this ongoing debate. However, additional factors that affect this relationship may also lie in the type of firearms used by criminals.

Very little research has been done to ascertain the effect of more lethal types of firearms on the homicide rate. In an analysis of gun type and lethality, Koper (2001) identifies several gun characteristics that may contribute to an increase in homicides. From 1980 to 1992, there was an increase in the availability of more powerful firearms, which the author believes contributed to the inflation of homicide rates. Other research has shown similar results. In Houston from 1989 to 1992, the use of high caliber handguns and automatic rifles shows a threefold increase (Brewer, Damphousse, & Adkinson, 1998). This increase in more powerful types of firearms may be the result of criminals seeking high quality, reliable firearms, which may increase the lethality of gun assaults.

In a survey of criminals, Wright and Rossi (1994) discover that felons prefer large caliber handguns – defined as .32 calibers and larger. Other important characteristics are “accuracy, untraceability, and quality of construction” (p. 15). In addition, it appears that the price of the gun is of little concern to felons; these factors indicate that criminals will seek out weapons of choice. Therefore, overall gun availability may be of little concern when more powerful firearms are obtainable.

The purpose of this study is to test the relationship between the availability of several classifications of firearms and the homicide rate. When controlling for certain sociological variables, it may strengthen or weaken the relationship found between the availability of more powerful firearms and the homicide rate. Using data previously analyzed by Koper (2001), this study attempts to provide a more comprehensive understanding of the relationships between unemployment, drug arrests, the availability of more lethal types of firearms, and the homicide rate.

#### Data Method

##### *Data*

The data for the present study uses gun data from the Dallas Police Department (DPD) and homicide data from the FBI’s Uniform Crime Reports<sup>9</sup> from 1980 to 1992. The DPD confiscated approximately 58,000 guns. These firearms were either found, turned in voluntarily by citizens, or obtained during arrests. To assess the impact of firearm type on the homicide rate, Koper (2001) grouped the guns into the following categories: weapons with high stopping power, semiautomatic weapons, weapons combining high stopping power and a semiautomatic firing mechanism, handguns with high stopping power, semiautomatic handguns, and handguns combining high stopping power and semiautomatic firing.<sup>10</sup>

The guns were classified and grouped into the previous categories based on several measures. Weapons with high stopping power were classified as .32 caliber or larger handguns, rifles having a caliber other than .22 and shotguns; semiautomatic weapons, which were simply firearms with a semiautomatic firing mechanism; and firearms that combined both high stopping power and a semiautomatic firing mechanism. There were no differences in the way the *handguns only* categories were grouped in regards to caliber and firing mechanism. Unfortunately, the data contained no information about other gun lethality measures such as ammunition type and barrel length. Thus, the categories were grouped to assess the impact of wounding potential, firing rate, and availability of these types of weapons on the homicide rate.

##### *Units of Analyses*

Koper (2001) notes that the dates of gun confiscation were absent for the larger part of the data prior to 1988, therefore, the data were aggregated into both bimonthly and quarterly time series databases. The quarterly analysis had lower rates of missing information, so this study will use the quarterly data.

##### *Measures*

The independent variables in this study will be semiautomatic weapons, weapons combining high stopping power and a semiautomatic firing mechanism, handguns with high stopping power, semiautomatic handguns, and handguns combining high stopping power and semiautomatic firing. For the dependent variable, the FBI’s Uniform Crime Reports will provide the homicide data.

Koper (2001) articulates that the inclusion of sociological control variables may weaken or strengthen the relationship between gun type/density and gun violence. Therefore, this study will include two control variables that have been linked to violent crime rates: unemployment and drug arrests. Unemployment data were gathered from the Bureau of Labor Statistics and drug arrests data were obtained through the Department of Public Safety of the State of Texas. The drug arrests are disaggregated into two categories: (1) juvenile and (2) adults.

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<sup>9</sup> The homicide data excluded justifiable homicides and negligent manslaughters.

<sup>10</sup> The author notes that the majority of firearm crime involves handguns. Thus, three separate categories that analyzed *handguns only* were created.

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## **Canadian and USA Homicide Trends, 1962-2004.**

**Thomas B. Marvell, Justec Research**

Several researchers have remarked on the similarity of Canada and USA homicide trends. The two increased through 1975, followed irregular plateaus to 1991, and declined there after. The year-to-year changes are often quite different, but the general trends are similar. As a contrast, homicide trends in Great Britain follow a very different path, increasing at a steady pace since the 1960's.

Why are trends in Canada and USA are so similar? In general, criminology researchers have had difficulty determining what causes crime trends. They failed to forecast the declines in the past 15 years, and they have advanced widely divergent ex post facto causes. Therefore, it is tempting to use the USA-Canada similarity as a tool for locating factors behind homicide trends. There have been a few attempts to use this strategy, but without much success.

In addition, homicide trends in the various states have been similar, so an initial assumption is that the factors are broad trends covering a very wide territory.

One can organize possible factors into two categories: 1) factors that occur separately and unconnected in both Canada and USA, but which are correlated, 2) factors that occur in one country, but affect crime in the other country, through movement of criminal across borders. As will be seen later, we find likely candidates for both.

The initial stage of analysis is to document the bivariate relationship between Canadian and USA homicide trends between 1962 and 2004, years for which Canadian data are available. Using raw numbers, the two are highly correlated (coef. = .87). Such correlations can be misleading because any two series that move in the same general direction can be highly correlated even if there is no relationship between them. Here, however, the correlation has meaning because the two series are cointegrated. This means that the two move together in the long run because when they depart for a period they snap back together, as if held together by an elastic band.

When expressed as percent annual changes, the two series are not significantly correlated (coef. = .17), but when the USA homicide change variable is lagged one year, the correlation is fairly strong (coef. = .43). In sum, this implies that there are either 1) factors in the USA and Canada that affect homicide trends and that are themselves very closely tied together, with movements taking place first in the USA, or 2) factors that affect criminals in the USA and these criminals later move to Canada.

The next question explored is whether the similarities in homicide trends also apply to other crimes. We have data for robbery, assault (including rape), burglary, larceny, and auto theft. It turns out that the Canadian and USA trends here are even more similar. When graphed, the trends show little departure, with the usual pattern of increases through 1990, and declines thereafter. Correlations between these Canadian and USA crimes much higher than for homicides, but the variables are not cointegrated. Also, unlike the homicide situation, these crimes expressed as percent changes are highly correlated for the current year (as well as when the USA variables are lagged). For these five crime types, therefore, year-to-year changes are extremely similar, but there is nothing holding the trends together in the long term.

In sum, this simple correlation analysis suggests that there are extremely broad factors behind crime trends, which drive crime in the USA and Canada (as well as in the individual states). But the underlying mechanism differs between homicides and other crimes: for homicides there is a strong long-term relationship and a moderate short term relationship when USA homicides are lagged one year. For the other crimes, there is no long term relationship but a very strong short term relationship, which operates both in the current year and with a lag.

We also correlated Canadian homicides changes with individual state homicides changes. The resulting pattern was interesting: most states where significant correlations occur are in a corridor starting in Texas and running up the Midwest to Illinois, Michigan, and Ohio. Perhaps the annual Northward migration of labor to work on farms as crops are ready for harvest brings criminals into Canada.

Finally, we regress various factors on Canadian and USA crime rates. These factors include are those commonly studied, limited of course by the availability of data. They include age structure, economic variables, and criminal justice variables. The analysis is done with percent change variables. With respect to homicides, the only significant variables are unemployment rates and USA prison population. The latter, when entered into the Canadian homicide regression, is much more important than Canadian prison population (Canadian prison data, however, are not always consistent from year to year). This implies that active criminals regularly move across the boarder, and it might explain why Canadian and USA murder rates are cointegrated. For the other crimes, USA prison population is also very important. The only other consistently important variable is inflation (Canadian and USA inflation trends are

virtually the same).

**SUMMARY**  
**Exploring the Spatial Configuration**  
**of**  
**Places Related to Homicide Events**

Tom McEwen and Elizabeth Groff, Institute for Law and Justice  
Introduction

This research provides the first comprehensive exploration of the spatial etiology of homicide in Washington, D.C. Three basic elements of convergence (victim home, offender home and homicide location) and three associated measures (i.e., the relative distances between each of those locations) are analyzed. All six elements are explored both individually and jointly in order to increase our understanding of homicide. The initial analysis focused on the patterns of the three locations separately and then examined the distances between each of the locations. The second phase analyzed the spatial interactions among victims and offenders through the application of both traditional and distance spatial typologies<sup>11</sup>. Finally, a comprehensive exploration of point, line, and area techniques for visualizing these distributions and relationships was undertaken. In sum, this research fills a gap in the criminological literature by: (1) disaggregating homicide events to provide a more exact analysis of movement for each particular type; (2) exploring the distance to homicide for both offenders and victims; (3) describing the relationships between offenders, victims, and places through a comparison of two mobility triangle typologies; and (4) applying various cartographic methods for representing the interaction between offender, victim, and place.

We focused on three specific research questions:

- 1) What are the distance distributions by type of homicide and victim and offender characteristics?
- 2) What is the spatial relationship between the victim's home address, the offender's home address and the homicide event location?
- 3) What cartographic techniques could be used to represent these spatial relationships?

The first two are reported in the final report and the third is addressed in a separate document.

Methodology

This research uses homicide data from the Metropolitan Police, District of Columbia (MPDC) for the thirteen-year period 1990 – 2002. Prior to this grant, the principal investigators were involved in the preparation of the homicide database under a series of contracts awarded by the MPDC to the Institute for Law and Justice, Inc. during the years 1999 to 2003. Those contracts included a review of all homicide cases over the 13-year period, development of a case management system for the Homicide Division, annual analyses of homicide trends for the city council, and preparation and submission of homicide data to the FBI's Violent Criminal Apprehension Program (ViCAP). A case management system was developed for the Homicide Division that included ViCAP information along with locally beneficial information such as detectives assigned to cases and district of occurrence. On a periodic basis, the MPDC transmitted records to the FBI for inclusion in the national ViCAP system, which is accessible by police departments across the country to identify homicide trends and serial incidents.

The FBI provides a ViCAP coding booklet that can be completed on each homicide. The booklet has sections for victim information, offender/suspect information, offender's *modus operandi*, cause of death, sexual activity, weapon information, and vehicle information. These booklets were completed for the 4,552 homicides occurring in the District during the 13-year period. At the time of the study, 2,311 homicides had been closed for a clearance rate of 58.4 percent, while 1,644 (41.6 percent) remained open. These rates are as of our cutoff date of March 2003. The coding took over one year using ten coders. Most coders were retired investigators from the MPDC. The source of information was the master case jackets maintained in the Homicide Division on all homicides. The master case jacket includes the original homicide report, autopsy, investigative narratives, and arrest information. After each homicide was coded into a booklet, data entry personnel entered in the information into the case management database that had been developed by ILJ under contract to the MPDC.

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<sup>11</sup> This portion of the research is contained in a separate document called "Visualizations of Spatial Relationships in Mobility Research: A Primer" (Groff & McEwen, 2005).



## Analysis of Distances

### Victim's Distance to Incident

We were able to determine the distance from the victim's house to the incident for 3,955 victims. The overall mean distance was 2.68 miles (standard deviation of 6.94 miles) with a median of .54 miles. The distribution of distances is obviously skewed as reflected by the differences between the mean and median. The medians are instructive in providing further insight into the results. For example, the median distance for female victims was .06 miles, which indicates that most females are killed in their homes, while the distance for male victims was .69 miles. Open cases had a median distance of .64 miles compared to .47 miles for closed cases. Homicides involving firearms had a median distance of .73 miles, compared to .12 miles for homicides with other weapons.

### Offender's Distance to Incident

The dataset for this analysis consisted of 3,293 offenders for which distances from offender home to incident could be calculated. The overall mean distance was 2.66 miles (standard deviation of 8.89 miles) and a median of .71 miles. As with the victims, the data are highly skewed and the medians are more reflective of the distribution. Homicides in which the offender and victim are intimate (e.g., husband and wife) have a median distance of zero, meaning that the majority of these homicides took place in the home. The median increases to .64 miles for acquaintance homicides (e.g., friends or neighbors), and to 1.16 miles for stranger-to-stranger homicides. The medians varied by motive with a range of .10 miles for domestic violence homicides to 1.02 miles for gang-related and robbery motives. Offenders who used firearms in their homicides traveled a median of .87 miles, compared to .34 miles for offenders who used other weapons.

### Distances Between Residences

This analysis is based on the 2,773 homicides for which the distance between the offender's residence and the victim's residence could be determined. Analysis of these distances provides some idea of the 'space' between the victim and offender prior to the incident. Overall, the distance between the residences averaged 4.32 miles (standard deviation of 10.95 miles) and a median of 2.01 miles. Further analysis showed that in 2,383 homicides (85.9 percent), the distance between residences was between .01 and 10 miles.

### Spatial Typologies of Homicide

Following Block et al (2004) we refer to the complete set of homicide location, offender home and victim home as a triad.<sup>12</sup> By using the three distances, we were able to develop 2,773 triads for the homicides. More than one triad is possible for a homicide incident in which there are multiple offenders. Geometrically, a triad is a space defined by the three distances. Measuring the perimeter of the triads gave an overall mean of 9.55 miles (standard deviation of 22.20 miles) and a median of 4.92 miles.

During the analysis we discovered that the triads could be divided into three geometries: dots, lines, and triangles. *Dots* are the simplest case and occur when the victim and offender lived together and the homicide occurred in their home, giving all three components a common location. Only 4 percent of triads were dots. *Lines* are formed when two of the components share the same location. Almost 21 percent (N=578) of triads were lines. *Triangles* result when all three components have non-coincident locations. They were the largest category with approximately 74 percent of triads in the triangle category.

The characteristics of the homicides were significantly different by dot, line and triangle classification. If broken down by motive, domestic violence homicides had the highest proportion of dots (34 percent) and the second highest proportion of lines (20.8 percent). Argument homicides had the next highest proportion of dots (5.8 percent). Lines accounted for approximately 20 percent of triads among argument, domestic violence, drug, and robbery homicides. Triangles were the most frequently occurring type of geometry for all motives except domestic violence. One interesting finding concerns the relatively high percentage of lines in robbery motive homicides (23.2 percent). Since it is unlikely that cohabitants are robbing each other or that offenders are robbing victims who come to visit them, the remaining explanation is that line robbery homicides are occurring at or very near the victim's home address. This hypothesis is supported by Block, Galary and Brice's (2004) finding that 20.4 percent of robberies in Chicago took place at the home of the victim.

In addition to the motives, the demographics are different for each type of geometry. Male victims are far more likely to be involved in triangle homicides than any type. Female victims are involved in dot homicides at four

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12 To review, the 2,773 homicide triads were generated from the 3,955 victims and 3,293 offenders that could be successfully geocoded. Three geocoded locations are required in order for the triad to be analyzed.

times the rate of males and twice as likely to be part of a line homicide. As victims, African-Americans are more likely to be part of a triangle than are Whites but less likely than Hispanics. However, racial differences were not significant. Until age fifty, victims are approximately three times as likely to be part of a triangle; afterwards they are more likely to be part of a line.

Suspects look very similar to victims. Males are overwhelming involved in triangles (76.4 percent) while females are most likely to be in lines followed by triangles. As with female victims, female suspects are seven times more likely to be part of a dot than males. Racial differences are significant for suspects. The breakdown for African-American suspects matches that of African-American victims. White suspects are more likely than African-American suspects or White victims to be part of a line (55 percent) rather than a triangle (45 percent). No white suspects were part of a dot. Beginning with age 35, suspects tend to be involved in fewer triangles and more lines and dots.

### Mobility Triangles

Our analysis of mobility triangles begins with the traditional typology developed by (Normandeau, 1968). In this typology the spatial relationships are expressed through the neighborhood in which the three addresses are located. In a *neighborhood triangle*, all three addresses fall within the same neighborhood. A *victim mobility triangle* occurs when the homicide and the offender residence are in the same neighborhood but the victim lives in a different neighborhood. The *offender mobility triangle* involves the purposeful travel by the offender to the neighborhood where the victim lives and the homicide occurs. If the offender and victim live in the same neighborhood but the homicide occurs in a different neighborhood, the event is classified as an *offense mobility triangle*. Finally, if all three addresses are in different neighborhoods, the event is a *total mobility triangle*.

One of the main focuses of our research was to examine the application of distances, rather than neighborhoods, to classify the spatial relationships among locations. Using a distance of a half-mile, we found that virtually of our triads could be classified into five types of distance mobility triangles:<sup>13</sup>

- **Neighborhood:** All three distances are with .5 miles of each other (663 homicides)
- **Offender Mobility:** The victim's distance to the incident was less than .5 miles, while the offender lived more than a half mile from the victim and from the incident (665 homicides).
- **Victim Mobility:** The offender's distance to the incident was less than .5 miles, while the victim lived more than a half mile from the offender and from the incident (566 homicides).
- **Offense Mobility:** The offender and victim lived within .5 miles of each other, but the homicide took place at a distance greater than .5 miles from both residences (67 homicides).
- **Total Mobility:** All three distances are greater than .5 miles (784 homicides).

A multinomial logistic regression was performed separately for the traditional and distance mobility triangle typologies. In a multinomial logistic regression, a single regression applies to the five categories in a typology, and the regression determines the most significant variables that differentiate cases across the five categories. The independent variables for the regressions include victim variables (age, race, sex), offender variables (age, race, sex), motives (argument, domestic violence, drug-related, gang-related, retaliation, and robbery as dichotomous variables), use of firearm (yes/no), and relationship (intimate, acquaintance, and stranger).

For the most part, the two different regressions identified the same independent variables as important. There were, however, some differences as reflected in the following list:

- For Neighborhood versus Victim, the distance typology includes two significant variables (victim's age less than 18 years and drug-related motive) not included in the traditional typology.
- Two additional variables (victim's age less than 18 years and African-American suspect) were also identified in the Neighborhood versus Offender categories.

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13 The final report includes an explanation for the choice of .5 miles and also compares this typology to the more traditional typology for triads.

- For the Neighborhood versus Offense categories, the two regressions identified completely different variables, with the traditional typology having seven significant variables, and the distance typology only two significant variables.
- For the Neighborhood versus Total categories, the distance typology includes three more significant variables—male victim, victim’s age less than 18 years, and suspect’s age 18 – 24 years.
- For the Victim versus Offender categories, the traditional typology has two additional significant variables—victim’s age 18 – 24 years old and domestic violence motive.
- For Victim versus Offense, the two regressions identified different variables with the exception of Intimate relationship.
- For Offender versus Offense, the regression for the traditional typology lists three significant variables, while the distance typology yielded only one variable (gang-related motive).
- For Offender versus Total, the traditional typology has two additional significant variables (victim’s age less than 18 years and victim’s age 18 – 24 years).

#### Visualizing Spatial Relationships

The mapping of crime data has a long and varied history. Early mapping efforts focused on where the criminals lived (Quetelet, 1842; Shaw & McKay, 1942) or where the crimes were committed (Boggs, 1965; Schmid, 1960b; Schmid, 1960a). These studies used choropleth maps to visualize the patterns of criminal residence and crime locations.<sup>14</sup> Other researchers were interested in developing spatial typologies of crimes that incorporated the relationship between offender and victim residence and the location of the crime. However, little explicit attention has been given in the criminological literature to the various methods available for visualizing the information contained in mobility triangles and other analyses of travel behavior.

This primer fills that gap by focusing on cartographic techniques that could be used to better visualize the information contained in a mobility triangle analysis. Capturing the dynamic elements of the convergence of victims and offenders in space and time often requires a combination of traditional techniques such as graduated symbol, pie chart, and choropleth maps with less known ones such as flow maps. This primer aims to provide an overview of the techniques available to (1) visualize the movement of offenders and victims among neighborhoods and (2) depict the relative relationships among locations that are captured in mobility triangle data.

#### Implications for Practice

Much attention has been focused on the crime of homicide because of its severity for the victim; impact on victim’s family and friends; and its affect on the ability to maintain a viable community (Wilson, 1975). These reasons make the results of this research endeavor important to police, community members and violence prevention practitioners. While the ability of police to prevent homicide has been hotly debated, results of a recent quasi-experimental study show a link between the implementation of problem oriented policing strategies and dramatic reductions in homicides (White, Fyfe, Campbell, & Goldkamp, 2003). Along the same lines, we now suggest how the advances in basic knowledge that were discussed in the previous section can be translated into recommendations for changes in policy and practice.

We anticipate two major uses of these insights: 1) informing the problem solving activities of patrol and 2) aiding in homicide investigations. One of the most fundamental aspects of problem solving is to disaggregate the problem and look intensely at its various facets (Eck & Spelman, 1987; Goldstein, 1990). In this research we are disaggregating homicides into event, victim and suspect characteristics and combining that analysis with another that focuses on the spatial configuration of known locations. By treating both space and characteristics simultaneously we can detect new information underlying homicide problems. This work also offers a starting point for detectives as they begin to create suspect lists for the crime. By combining the detectives known facts concerning the characteristics of the victim, event and suspect (if available) the detective will be able to ascertain the likely distance and direction traveled by an offender.

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14 See Harries (1999) for an excellent beginning level introduction to mapping crime.

### Applications to Problem Solving

Identification of the spatial typology at work in neighborhoods is essential to achieving a better understanding of the crime problem. The relatively simple classification scheme used by mobility triangles offers a handy tool to quantify the relationships between victim, offender and incident. In addition, situating offenders and victims within their resident neighborhood and the incident within a crime neighborhood sets the stage for further explorations to identify which neighborhoods are generating the offenders and victims that kill and are killed in the crime neighborhood (Groff & McEwen, 2005).

One straightforward application would be to include the spatial typology of crime when homicide profiles are developed by neighborhood. As demonstrated by the pie chart map of the distribution of mobility triangles, it is possible to determine the general type of homicide problem present. A simple table could also be used to identify neighborhoods in which there are high percentages of specific types of homicide triangles.

Different types of homicide triangles suggest different intervention and prevention strategies. In neighborhoods with high proportions of neighborhood triangles, violence reduction strategies could be organized that would concentrate on the residents of the neighborhood. Neighborhoods in which residents are killing each other in the neighborhood also require the application of strategies addressing both victims and offenders. Previous research has indicated that suspects and victims are often very similar (Kennedy & Forde, 1990). Thus it is probable that any homicide prevention efforts will impact both groups. Strategies such as enforcement of existing warrants and vehicle license checks have the potential to get violent individuals off the street so they will not become murderers or victims. Comprehensive strategies such as 'pulling levers' require intensive support by a wide range of agencies but have provided impressive results and strategies need to be targeted there as well as strategies that focus on the physical environment to reduce the opportunity for violence (Kennedy, 1997; Kennedy, 1998; Kennedy & Braga, 1998).

Examining the neighborhood profile of homicide events only provides a first view of the overall distribution of homicide triangle types. In order to better understand the particular situation in a neighborhood, it is necessary to drill down to the next level of specificity in the data. For example, if a neighborhood has a large proportion of offender triangles the offenders are from other neighborhoods. The next logical question is which other neighborhoods? The answer to this question would identify specific areas that are supplying offenders and could be displayed graphically<sup>15</sup>. These areas would be natural foci for both enforcement and prevention efforts. Enforcement efforts such as warrant enforcement could remove potential offenders. Social programs could be targeted to reduce violent behavior and increase opportunities for legal means of earning money. The same process would work to identify sources of victims in neighborhoods with a large proportion of victim mobility triangles. A possible response to prevent additional victimization could involve a public relations campaign to inform residents of the situation. As mentioned earlier, stepped up warrant enforcement is effective in reducing both the number of potential victims and potential offenders by getting crime-prone individuals off the street.

The physical environment of these neighborhoods is another potential intervention point that may be targeted to decrease the incidence of homicide depending on the particular situation. For instance, a problem with domestic homicides would not be very amenable to changes in the physical environment. Victim mobility homicides are another matter. If further analysis of the victim mobility homicides reveals the victims had traveled to that particular neighborhood in search of drugs, a variety of strategies are available to implement depending on the nature of the drug trade. If abandoned buildings are havens for drug dealing and drug use, then partnerships with code enforcement officials will aid in securing those buildings. Routine police tools such as license check points and drug task forces may be used to reduce both demand and supply. The license checkpoints deter both potential customers and dealers while the drug task forces reduce supply by arresting dealers.

In the case of a problem typified by total mobility triangle homicides, the overwhelming spatial commonality is the neighborhood in which the homicide occurs. This suggests some crime generator is attracting nonresidents to the neighborhood. Further analysis of the whole set of offender residence and victim residence neighborhoods may reveal significant overlap. If quite a few homicides also turn out to have gang-related motives the problem may be that the neighborhood is a disputed area that intersects two different gang territories. In this case, special gang task forces that utilize coordinated, multi-agency partnerships have been successful in reducing gang

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<sup>15</sup> The companion report to this document provides an in-depth examination of cartographic techniques related to the visualization of mobility data (McEwen & Groff, 2005).

activity (Kennedy & Braga, 1998). Whatever the initial type of triangle identified, it is critical that further analysis of the character of the homicides is conducted before deciding on a strategy.

#### Homicide Investigations

Combining spatial analysis with more traditional forms of crime analysis has the potential to provide important information to homicide investigators. Information that is principally important for homicides with no witnesses, where there is no prior relationship between the victim and the offender and there is very little physical evidence. These cases are particularly challenging to solve.

Development of suspect lists is a primary area where the geographic analysis of homicide case information may be particularly helpful. Most geographic analyses stop at the coarsest of levels. For example, a quick and dirty analysis of all homicides in Washington DC revealed that there was a little less than a fifty percent chance the offender lived in the neighborhood where the homicide took place. This fact would not be very helpful to homicide investigators since it represents odds of 50/50 that a suspect lives in the same neighborhood. However, by undertaking additional analyses we can generate more specific information.

Examining spatial typologies involves using information about victims, relative locations and event characteristics to narrow suspect lists. There are several findings that can inform this process. First, the relationship discovered between victim travel to crime and distance between the two homes will enable investigators to predict the likely distance the offender traveled to commit the crime. This relationship is particularly valuable because it uses two known pieces of information and thus can be applied to open cases. Investigators can use the projected distance to prioritize suspect lists based on whether the home address of the suspect falls within that distance.

Finally, the results of the multinomial logistic regression offer some interesting insights regarding the relationship of the joint mobility pattern in closed cases and the associated characteristics of victims and events. For example, homicides with female victims who are killed in their own neighborhood are likely part of a neighborhood triangle so the suspect may live in the same neighborhood. The age of the victim is also an important discriminator. Homicides with victims over the age of 35 are more likely to be victim or offense mobility triangles. Both of which involve an offender who resides nearby. The distance of the victim's home to the location of the homicide can be used to determine which type of triangle it is.

In sum, there is a whole host of potential applications for both investigations and problem-oriented policing from data generated to look at the joint mobility patterns of victims and offenders. A companion report goes into those applications and illustrates how the visual display of data can be used to better understand both offender and victim behavior and the role of places (Groff & McEwen, 2005).

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**Australian Government**  
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## **An examination of serial murder in Australia**

### **(Research in Progress)**

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### **Introduction**

Despite public fascination and interest in the serial murder phenomenon, little research on this topic has been undertaken in Australia. In order to inject some fact into this largely misunderstood area, the purpose of this research in progress is to examine the spatial and temporal aspects of serial murders that have occurred in Australia since the inception of the National Homicide Monitoring Program (NHMP) in July 1989.

There is a lack of consensus amongst academics and practitioners in the definition of serial murder. Disagreement centres on the number of victims, the presence/absence of a sexual element, and the common characteristics of victims (Egger 1984; Hickey 2002; Holmes & Holmes 1996; Dietz et al., 1990; Myers et al., 1993; Cantor et al., 2000). In order to include all types of serial killers, a broad definition of serial murder is used in this research. In accordance with the *Crime Classification Manual* serial murders are those that involve three or more separate events (Douglas, Burgess, Burgess and Ressler 1992), and most importantly are repetitive sequential homicides of any nature.

As the incidence of serial murder is often not clearly understood either by the community or law enforcement professionals, the information gleaned from this study will provide a greater understanding of the serial murder phenomenon and provide a sound basis for further study. It will also provide a 'reality check' on the current state of serial murder across Australia, which may be used in the formulation of future policy.

A linkage between serial murder and missing persons is hypothesised, in that victims of serial murderers may exhibit certain characteristics or traits which share in common with persons reported missing. These shared characteristics may make them more susceptible to predatory behaviour.

The research will attempt to identify significant characteristics of serial murder victims. A 'typical victim' may be identified based upon the consolidated criteria. The victimology profile may also be used to assess the likelihood of a reported missing person becoming a victim at the hands of a serial murderer.

Previous overseas research suggests that serial killers are mostly white males in their twenties and thirties, of above average intelligence, who usually commit intra-racial murders of strangers (Pakhomou 2004: 219). It also suggests that most serial homicides are sexual homicides (Ressler et al., 1988). However, in undertaking the current research, an important question sought to answer is whether these patterns hold for Australian serial killers?

### **Purpose of the Research**

The purposes of the research are to:

1. Identify the incidence of serial murder in Australia since 1989

2. Identify the characteristics of serial murder offenders, including their modus operandi, signature and antecedent behaviour
3. Compare and contrast serial murder with homicide in general
4. Examine spatial and temporal aspects of the victim(s) to develop a victimology matrix
5. Develop a victimology profile that can be used against existing missing persons' cases.

#### Data Sources

The research will use homicide data compiled by the Australian Institute of Criminology's National Homicide Monitoring Program (NHMP) database as the primary source. This will be supplemented with information from State and Territory based law enforcement organisations, specifically police officers involved in the investigation of these serial murders.

In brief, the NHMP collects information on all homicides coming to police attention across Australia since 1 July 1989. Information is collected on the circumstances and the characteristics of the homicide incidents (location, number of offenders, etc), victims and offenders (socio-demographic characteristics, illicit drug/alcohol involvement), and the relationship between the victim and offender.

#### Methods

In addition to the analyses of the data held by the NHMP, State and Territory based law enforcement agencies; a review will also be undertaken of the selected cases and follow up consultation with investigating officers and case managers.

#### Results

Preliminary results indicate that during the 15-year period under review, there were nine clusters of serial murders that can be linked to 11 different serial offenders. A total of 45 victims fell prey to a serial murderer during this time in Australia. There was one cluster of murders which were committed by four offenders acting in concert. This case is particularly unique as there have been no other serial murders committed by more than two offenders torturing and killing in harmony.

All the serial killers were male, ranging in age from 19 to their late fifties. The majority of the victims were female (69% n=31), and ranged in age from 9 years old to their late eighties. Most of the serial killers did not have a prior knowledge of their victims (i.e., strangers).

In all but two of the clusters of serial murders the victims were sexually assaulted, although there were other sexual overtones in the killings.

One cluster of serial murders (3 victims) were unsolved, although the available evidence indicates the murders are linked, with a high possibility the same offender is responsible for all three murders.

#### Policy Implications

The research is likely to assist law enforcement through a greater understanding of the nature of serial murder in Australia. The research seeks to provide academics, practitioners, law enforcement personnel and missing person's case workers with a true picture of this crime type.

Through the mapping out of a typology of serial murder and/or victimology matrix, this information may then be used in a predictive capacity to assist in the identification of potential victims of predatory type crimes, which with appropriate intervention strategies may reduce the incidence of this most serious crime type.



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## **Are Unknown Victim-Offender Relationship Homicide Cases More Like Stranger, Family, or Acquaintance Homicides?**

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Interest in the relationship between the victim and offender in homicide cases traces back to the pioneering work of Marvin Wolfgang in his *Patterns of Criminal Homicide* (1958). According to Wolfgang, for homicide, the victim-offender relationship played a more important role in understanding the reasons for the incident than for any other type of crime. Since the publication of Wolfgang's seminal work, the relational context of murder has become a recurring theme in the homicide literature, with the extant research exploring a wide variety of issues related to the relationship between the victim and the offender (see for example, Maxson, Gordon & Klein, 1985; Messner & Tardiff, 1985; Riedel, 1987; Zahn & Sagi, 1987; Decker, 1993; Riedel & Przybylski, 1993; Rojek & Williams, 1993; Bailey & Unnithan, 1994; Rojek, 1996; Sobol, 1997; Petee, Weaver, Corzine, Huff-Corzine & Wittekind, 2000; Regoeczi & Miethe, 2003).

Historically in the United States, it was far more likely that the victim of a homicide would be killed by a family member or acquaintance, even through the dramatic increase in murder that occurred in the 1960s and 1970s (Zahn & McCall, 1999). However, from around the mid-1980's, there has been a substantial increase in the number of "unknown" victim-offender relationship cases homicides (Bureau of Justice Statistics, 1988-1993; Lattimore, Trudeau, Riley, Leiter & Edwards, 1997). This change coincided with a decline in the clearance rate for homicide (Lattimore et al., 1997; Wellford & Cronin, 2000). From 1987 until the end of 1992 the clearance rate for homicide dropped almost 10% (Federal Bureau of Investigation, 1988-1993). Of course, a significant portion of "unknown" victim-offender relationship homicides are unsolved.

It is also likely that the nature of homicide changed as well. Whereas homicide had traditionally involved closer relational conflict situations, there is some evidence that the increase in the proportion of homicides reported as an "unknown" relationship between the victim and the offender may be the result of the illicit drug industry and robbery (Blumstein, 1995; Rojek, 1996).

Of course, unknown cases are so coded because investigators are unable to determine the relationship between the victim and the offender at the time the case is reported to the Federal Bureau of Investigation. It may be because the case has not been cleared at the time of reporting, or that it is unclear what the relationship was between a known offender and the victim. Obviously these cases really fit into one of the other relational categories. The purpose of this paper is to determine whether unknown cases are more like acquaintance, family or stranger homicides.

The present study makes use of National Incident-Based Reporting System data (hereafter NIBRS) to explore the similarities and differences between unknown victim-offender relationship homicides and the other relational categories. Demographic and situational characteristics such as victim and offender attributes, offense circumstances, weapon choice and temporal and spatial factors are used to compare unknown relationship homicides to family, acquaintance and stranger homicides. Multinomial logistic regression is used to analyze the data.

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**The Challenge of Homicide as a Public Health Problem**  
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## **I. Background/Context**

- Manage four surveillance/fatality review projects within the Virginia Department of Health in the Office of the Chief Medical Examiner:
  - i. Child Fatality Review
  - ii. Maternal Mortality Review
  - iii. Family and Intimate Partner Homicide Surveillance
  - iv. National Violent Death Reporting System
  - v. Adult Fatality Review (in process)
- Public health projects emphasizing prevention and intervention as basis for social change.
  - i. Every violent death is a premature death.
  - ii. Many deaths are preventable.
  - iii. Emphasis is on primary or fundamental prevention.
- Use death data to understand injury patterns and to identify strategies for social change.
  - i. Take advantage of sense of crisis and importance and of death investigation process.
- Identify and educate partners with public health interests.
  - i. Cultivate sense of importance and preventability.
  - ii. Partners include legislators, policy makers, injury prevention specialists and advocates.
  - iii. Generate empirically based ideas for intervention and public policy.
  - iv. Changes could be legislative, products, or public health campaigns.

## **II. National Violent Death Reporting System (NVDRS)**

- Funded by the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention.
- A real-time surveillance system designed to provide timely, multidisciplinary information about violent death.
- Seventeen states currently contribute data to the NVDRS system.
- Data is multidisciplinary and drawn from death investigation records.
- Information provides demographic overview and circumstances of death event.

## **III. Homicide as a Public Health Problem**

- Homicide in Virginia
  - i. See Tables 1 and 2.
- Getting to Preventability
  - i. Audience attaches to certain kinds of homicide in the arena of domestic violence: elder, child, intimate partner (about one in three homicides).
  - ii. Do not attach to others: homicide between friends, acquaintances, and strangers.
- Barriers to Seeing these Homicides as a Public Health Problem
  - i. Perception that homicide is a law enforcement problem only.
  - ii. Perception that homicide is not preventable.
  - iii. Fear of crime and being a victim.
  - iv. Lack of empathy for victims of homicide.
  - v. Firearm issue is off the table.

- vi. Sense of powerlessness with regard to underlying problems:
  - 1. Housing
  - 2. Labor Market/Economy
  - 3. Education
  - 4. Poverty
- vii. Race and class; blaming the victims.
- viii. Race, class and gender: men are dispensable.
- ix. Invisibility of victim advocates.

**Table 1: Homicide in Virginia: Selected Characteristics, 2004  
N=406**

	Number	Percent	Rate*
<b>Sex</b>			
Male	301	74.1	8.2
Female	105	25.9	2.8
<b>Race</b>			
White	137	33.7	2.5
Black	256	63.1	16.9
Asian	8	2.0	2.2
American Indian	3	0.7	10.7
Unknown	2	0.5	-
<b>Ethnicity (Hispanic persons may be of any race)</b>			
Hispanic	23	5.7	5.4
<b>Age Group</b>			
<1	3	0.7	3.0
1-4	11	2.7	2.8
5-9	2	0.5	0.4
10-14	5	1.2	1.0
15-19	40	9.9	7.7
20-24	81	20.0	15.1
25-34	102	25.1	10.0
35-44	65	16.0	5.5
45-54	41	10.1	3.8
55-64	20	4.9	2.6
65-74	7	1.7	1.5
75-84	10	2.5	3.4
85 and older	5	1.2	4.9
<b>Medical Examiner District</b>			
Central	180	44.3	9.1
Northern	32	7.9	1.4
Tidewater	129	31.8	8.2
Western	65	16.0	4.1

\*Rate per 100,000.

**Table 1: Homicide in Virginia: Selected Characteristics, 2004  
N=406 (continued)**

Method of Fatal Injury			
Firearm	290	71.4	-
Sharp or Blunt Instrument	75	18.5	-
Hanging or Strangulation or Asphyxiation	15	3.7	-
Fire or Burns	3	0.7	-
Shaking	6	1.5	-
Poisoning	0	0.0	-
Personal Weapons	11	2.7	-
Intentional Neglect	0	0.0	-
Fall	1	0.2	-
Motor Vehicle	3	0.7	-
Other	0	0.0	-
Unknown	2	0.5	-

\*Rate per 100,000.

Source: National Violent Death Reporting System. Office of the Chief Medical Examiner, Virginia Department of Health. Information is based on 270 cases where homicide circumstances were known.

**Table 2: Characteristics of Homicide Events in Virginia: 2004**

Event Characteristics	Number	Percent
Argument, Abuse or Conflict	92	34.1
Argument over Money or Property	15	5.6
Mutual Physical Fight	13	4.8
Intimate Partner Violence Related	69	25.6
Intimate Partner Jealousy or Rivalry	15	5.6
Precipitated by Another Crime	62	23.0
Justifiable Self Defense	6	2.2
Drug Related	49	18.1
Gang Related	8	3.0
Random Violence	6	2.2
Drive-by Shooting	6	2.2
Mercy Killing	1	0.4
Mentally Ill Suspect	0	0.0
Hate Crime	0	0.0
Terrorist Attack	0	0.0
<b>Victim Characteristics</b>		
Used a Weapon	22	8.1
Bystander	8	3.0
Police Officer on Duty	1	0.4
Intervened to Assist a Crime Victim	3	1.1

*More than one characteristic may be noted for each homicide victim.  
Percentage totals will not equal 100.%*

Source: National Violent Death Reporting System. Office of the Chief Medical Examiner, Virginia Department of Health. Information is based on 270 cases where homicide circumstances were known.



**Change and stability in the characteristics of homicide victims, offenders,  
and incidents during rapid social change**

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*Acknowledgments.* I thank Vladimir Shkolnikov for providing the narratives, which were originally collected under United Nations Development Programme Project RUS/98/G51. Research support was provided to the current author by a seed grant from the American Sociological Association and National Science Foundation. Points of view do not necessarily represent the official position of these organizations.

***\*\*This paper is forthcoming in British Journal of Criminology\*\****

**Abstract**

The Russian homicide rate doubled during the 1990s and is now among the highest in the world. During this same period, Russian citizens experienced swift, widespread, and meaningful political, economic, and social change. It is likely that this profound transition altered structural conditions, cultural norms, and interpersonal relations in a way that led to changes in the nature of interpersonal violence. Taking advantage of a unique set of homicide narratives drawn from court and police records in the Udmurt Republic, this study examined stability and change in the distribution of Russian homicide victim, offender, and incident characteristics before and after the fall of the Soviet Union. Odds ratios obtained from logistic regression showed no change in victim characteristics, but substantial changes in several offender and incident characteristics. We discuss the potential mechanisms through which the structural and cultural shifts may be resulting in these changes and conclude that the ongoing transition is largely responsible for the changing nature of homicide in Russia. In doing so, we introduce the new term “criminological transition” and suggest that Russia (and perhaps other nations) may have experienced a change in its crime profile in much the same way as demographers discuss a “demographic transition” in terms of fertility and mortality profiles.

During the 1990s Russian citizens faced the effects of and tried to adapt to sweeping political, economic, social, and ideological changes. Such large-scale fundamental change has likely altered community and individual behavior and interpersonal relations. This study focused on one small but important aspect of such behavior, interpersonal violence. Specifically, we took advantage of a very unique and carefully collected set of homicide narratives to examine stability and change in characteristics of Russian homicide victims, offenders, and incidents over the course of the 1990s. An earlier article (Pridemore, 2006) described in detail these characteristics and the general associations between them. More interesting, however, is to determine if the major societal changes in Russia have resulted in changes in interpersonal interactions that in turn are leading to changing characteristics of violent incidents.

Examining these individual- and contextual-level characteristics of homicide participants and events can provide important information about both macro- and micro-level causes. At the structural-level, for example, given the significant increase in unemployment and poverty in Russia in the early to mid-1990s, we might expect a disproportionate increase in instrumental homicides with profit motives. Similarly, as a result of the exposure to criminogenic conditions of a much broader spectrum of the Russian population than in the past, the pool of homicide offenders may be decreasingly made up of serious and repeat offenders and instead becoming more representative of the formerly financially secure but now newly poor. At the contextual-level, the work of Luckenbill (1977) and Meier, Kennedy, and Sacco (2001) provide frameworks for understanding the dynamics of violent incidents, such as the role of victims, offenders, and bystanders and how characteristics of instrumental events differ from expressive homicides. Recent research of this type has studied the role of third parties in violent events (Planty, 2002), defensive gun use (Wells, 2002), and how the characteristics of the situation and the immediate environment can alter the outcome of alcohol-related violent events (Wells and Graham, 2003)

There is little doubt that cultural context and place-specific structural factors play a role not only in the level of violence but also in the distribution of the characteristics of violent victims, offenders, and incidents. It is thus important to push the envelope beyond what we have learned from studies in the United States and other Western nations. Not only will this provide information about the local situation, but it will help us determine the generalizability of criminological theories. Recent studies of homicide characteristics in other nations include those carried out in Japan (Finch, 2001), the Netherlands (Smit, Bijleveld, and Van Der Zee, 2001), Fiji (Adinkrah, 2003), and Pakistan (Hassan, Shah, and Bashir, 2005). Therefore it should be clear that this study of Russia is relevant not only parochially, but much more generally to how the micro-level characteristics of interpersonal violence can be altered by larger social, economic, and political change. Thus while the current study is largely exploratory in nature given the relative lack of prior research on this topic and in Russia, it provides important observations upon which to construct theoretical explanations for change and stability. For example, later in this paper we argue briefly that the changes discovered in the present analysis may indicate what we call a “criminological transition” in the crime profile of nations as they modernize, industrialize, democratize, or transition to a market economy.

### **Background**

At nearly 30 homicides per 100,000 residents annually, the Russian homicide victimization rate is among the highest in the world. More importantly for the current study, the rate nearly quadrupled between 1987 and 1994, and at the end of the 1990s the homicide victimization rate was about twice as high as it was at the beginning of the decade....

...It is interesting to point out the strong similarities between Russia and the U.S. in terms of the distribution of homicide victim-offender relationships and the proportion of (1) female victims who were victimized by men, (2) all homicides that were argument-related, and (3) all homicides that were felony-related and profit-motivated.

The task of the current study, however, was to examine *changes* in Russian homicide characteristics before and after the dissolution of the Soviet Union, specifically between the final years of the Soviet Union (i.e., 1989-1991) and 1998. Russian society faced massive and tumultuous change during this period that may have led to changes in the characteristics of victims and offenders and in the nature of the homicide event (Chervyakov et al., 2002)....

Aside from the specific and repeated political and economic crises, Russian citizens are facing more general and widespread social, economic, political, and ideological changes. A highly planned centralized economy is transitioning toward a market economy. A closed totalitarian government dominated by one party has become relatively more transparent and democratic, with multiple parties fielding candidates for elections. A culture with a centuries-long tradition of privileging the group is suddenly facing a milieu in which individualism is more important (Kharkhordin, 1999). In other words, the values that were championed less than a generation ago are now anathema, and vice versa. These truly fundamental changes in political and economic philosophies, as well as decreased formal social control, have likely created normative uncertainty. Further, Russians' aspirations are now less limited as a result of new individual freedoms and because a free market creates desires whereas totalitarianism and a planned economy stifles them. Similarly, conventional Soviet institutions are gone and enduring social institutions such as the family and education have been weakened by the ongoing changes and the collapse of the Soviet welfare system. Thus we might suspect that the more general (but swift) changes to the underlying fundamental institutions, together with specific changes in social structure and the repeated political and economic crises of the 1990s, might have led to changes in interpersonal behavior and/or changes in social conditions that have altered the balance of the characteristics of homicide victims, offenders, and incidents in Russia...

#### **Data and method**

These data come from a unique set of narratives extracted from homicide court verdicts in the Udmurt Republic in 1989-1991 (101 cases) and 1998 (124 cases). Udmurtia is a typical Russian industrial region (i.e., state) located in the western Ural mountains. It has a population of 1.6 million, a capital city (Izhevsk) of about 650,000, and 70% of the population live in urban areas. There is a smaller proportion of ethnic Russians (60%) in the region relative to the nation as a whole, but a little over 30% of the population are ethnic Udmurt, which is an eastern Finnish group with hundreds of years of history in Russian culture....

...Each of the 1-2 page narratives contains a description of the homicide event according to police and court records (often including firsthand reports taken from offenders and witnesses). Among other items, they usually contain information on the victim-offender relationship, motive, location, alcohol use, situational context, and type of weapon.<sup>1</sup> In order to ensure coding reliability, all narratives were extracted from the records by one Court secretary...

...Several characteristics were examined. Victim characteristics included the proportion of victims that were female and the proportion that were drinking at the time of the event. Offender characteristics were the same as for victims, as well as a measure of the proportion of offenders who had been previously convicted of a felony. For the purposes of the present study, incident characteristics included measures of the proportion of events (1) that were victim-precipitated (as gauged by the current author based upon the description of the event contained in the narratives), (2) in which the victim and offender were strangers (i.e., no prior contact at all between them), (3) in which the victim and offender were friends/acquaintances, (4) in which a firearm (long gun or hand gun) was the primary means of assault, (5) in which a blunt object or bodily force (including strangulation) was the primary means of assault, (6) that were profit-motivated, (7) that were premeditated, (8) that occurred outside in a public place, and (9) in which there was more than one offender.

In order to examine change and stability in these characteristics, we employed binary logistic regression to estimate crude odds ratios, with each characteristic acting as a single independent variable and year as a dichotomous dependent variable (i.e., year = 0 for 1989-1991 and 1 for 1998). We then estimated a full model that estimated adjusted odds ratios for each characteristic, controlling for the other victim and incident characteristics.

### Results

...Table 1 shows that there were no significant changes in victim characteristics between the two time periods. The proportion of victims that were female did drop from 45.5% in 1989-91 to 38.2% in 1998, but the p-value for the odds ratio shows this difference to be non-significant. The proportion of victims who had been drinking remained essentially unchanged between the two time periods.

Unlike victim characteristics, Table 1 shows that the homicide offender characteristics changed substantially during this time frame. Only about 1% of homicide offenders were women in 1989-91, but this increased to 10% in 1998. While the absolute number of women offenders in each of the time frames is small, thus resulting in a wide confidence interval, this still results in a significant crude odds ratio of nearly 12 ( $p=.012$ ). The results show an unexpected and significant decrease in the proportion of homicide offenders who were drinking at the time of the event, dropping from 77% in 1989-91 to 58% in 1998 ( $OR=0.44$ ,  $p=.004$ ). Finally, there appeared to be a significant decrease in the proportion of homicide offenders who had been previously convicted of a felony...

Homicide incident characteristics are shown at the bottom of Table 1. Crude odds ratios suggest stability between the two frames in terms of the proportion of homicides in which (1) the victim and offender did not know each other ( $OR=.88$ ,  $p=.626$ ) and (2) a gun caused the death of the victim ( $OR=.88$ ,  $p=.764$ ). In both years, about one-third of the events were stranger homicides and about 10% of the deaths were caused by firearms. The crude odds ratios suggest increases, however, in homicides where the victim and offender were friends or acquaintances ( $OR=1.54$ ,  $p=.103$ ), premeditated homicides ( $OR=1.61$ ,  $p=.089$ ), and homicides that occurred outside in a public place ( $OR=1.62$ ,  $p=.081$ ). Although these were not significant at the .05 level, the relatively small number of cases means standard errors will be larger, thus making it more difficult to find a significant difference between the two time frames even when the increases in these characteristics are fairly substantial (as suggested here by the odds ratios). Thus these traits may deserve closer scrutiny in future research. Finally, there were significant increases in the proportion of victim-precipitated homicides ( $OR=2.26$ ,  $p=.012$ ), homicides in which a blunt object or bodily force resulted in the death of the victim ( $OR=2.68$ ,  $p=.001$ ), profit-motivated homicides ( $OR=2.54$ ,  $p=.002$ ), and incidents with more than one offender ( $OR=3.89$ ,  $p=.002$ ).

The results presented thus far are based on crude odds ratios. The final two columns of Table 1 show the results when a final full model was estimated controlling for the other characteristics, thus providing adjusted odds ratios. Only victim and incident characteristics were employed in this model, since offender characteristics were estimated from the offender (as opposed to the victim) data base. Further, the "stranger" and "gun" measures were dropped from the full model because they are largely dependent upon the "acquaintance" and "blunt or bodily force" characteristics, respectively. The "premeditated" variable was highly collinear with the "profit-motivated" variable, so it was also dropped from the model. Controlling for the other variables in the model, the results show that the increases between 1989-91 and 1998 in victim-precipitated homicides (Adj.  $OR=2.56$ ,  $p=.010$ ), the use of blunt objects or bodily force (Adj.  $OR=2.67$ ,  $p=.001$ ), and profit-motivated homicides (Adj.  $OR=2.86$ ,  $p=.002$ ) remain significant and that the p-value for the increase in incidents with greater than one offender (Adj.  $OR=2.50$ ,  $p=.056$ ) is nearly significant.

### Discussion

The first interesting aspect of these results is that despite the substantial changes in the Udmurt Republic during the 1990s in offender and incident characteristics, the two victim characteristics examined (proportion female and proportion drinking at the time of the event) remained stable. This is even more curious since these two characteristics did exhibit significant

changes for homicide offenders. This suggests that offender and incident characteristics may be more sensitive to social change than victim characteristics. The absence of substantial change may also be tied to the nature of changing offender and incident characteristics. For example, the small but non-significant drop in the proportion of victims that were women may result partially from the increase in the proportion of offenders that were women, since generally and in this sample specifically (Pridemore, 2006), women most often kill men, usually intimates and usually as the result of an ongoing abusive relationship.

Offender characteristics showed significant change during the 1990s on the same traits that remained stable for victims. For example, the proportion of offenders who were female increased more than tenfold during this time. There may be several direct and indirect reasons for this increase. First, while Russian men have felt the most destructive force of the transition in terms of mortality, women have faced increasing stress from several fronts. Female unemployment rates increased substantially immediately following the breakup of the Soviet Union, since their traditional clerical and other peripheral jobs were among the first to be eliminated due to budget cuts and the new leaner model required by a developing market economy (Klugman, 1995). Similarly, occupations that employ a large number of women in Russia, such as education and healthcare, are still largely government-funded and thus substantially underpaid (World Bank, 1997). At the same time, women may be feeling the detrimental effects of the stress faced by their intimates, against whom they are normally striking back when they commit homicide. For example, recent evidence suggests that Russian males are more likely than females to drink heavily in the context of stress (Koposov, Ruchkin, Eisemann, and Sidorov, 2002). This self-destructive behavior on the part of men, and the potential violence associated with it (Pridemore, 2002a), may lead to a backlash effect by women who have been the victims of domestic violence. We might especially expect an increase in such events during a time of rapid social change, when traditional norms and values have been uprooted (Kharkhordin, 1999) and the distinction between right and wrong have been blurred, thus potentially opening the door for a retaliatory response. Finally, women may be reacting to the increasing difficulty of finding satisfaction from the criminal justice system when they have been victimized, thus making it necessary to respond to the desperate situation on their own. For example, Johnson (2005) has shown that meeting the legal elements necessary for prosecuting rape actually became more difficult under the new Russian Criminal Code, and Pridemore (2002b) has shown that official rape rates as reported by police decreased significantly during the 1990s while all other violent crimes increased significantly. This situation is likely mirrored in cases of domestic violence, as well. Given the failure of the law, the police, and the legal system as a whole to respond effectively to female violent victimization, women in desperate situations may be left with few alternatives, especially in the context of Russian housing shortages that often mean women have nowhere to go to escape the abuse...

...The final offender characteristic was the proportion of offenders who had a prior felony conviction. Although the substantial decrease in this characteristic was expected, we are wary of drawing strong conclusions based solely on these narratives, since the absence of mention of a prior felony conviction in the narrative probably does not always mean that one did not exist. Given that the data collection and coding process, as well as the single person creating the narratives from the available records, remained the same over the two time periods, however, this initial finding provides compelling evidence. Further, using more refined and complete official data from police and court records in the Udmurt Republic, Chervyakov et al. (2002) also found a significant drop in this offender characteristic. While this decrease may result from a variety of factors, several of them probably fall under a more general explanation. For example, as a result of the economic reforms known as *shock therapy* and the concomitant anomie resulting from the social, political, and ideological changes in the country, a large segment of the Russian population were abruptly faced with the criminogenic conditions of impoverishment and social disorganization (Walberg et al., 1998). This population had before been protected from the worst of such conditions by the all-encompassing social safety net provided by the Soviet government, but were suddenly and without warning faced with spreading unemployment, poverty, and the weakening or loss of the social and governmental institutions that had before shielded them. This increased the proportion of people

and communities exposed to stressful and anomic conditions, which likely resulted in a broadening cross-section of those taking part in crime and violence, thereby decreasing the proportion of hardcore offenders and recidivists. This is consistent with the results of Chervyakov et al. (2002), who found that the proportion of homicide offenders in the Udmurt Republic with a specialized secondary degree and with an incomplete secondary education was increasing. During the Soviet era, the latter were protected by the social safety net and the former had stable employment and relatively comfortable conditions. Similarly, Russian divorce rates increased and marriage rates decreased during the time of troubles in the mid-1990s, thus reducing the number of people afforded the protective effects of marriage against homicide that Pridemore and Shkolnikov (2004) found to be important in Russia.

Turning to the incident-level characteristics, these results suggest no changes during the 1990s in the use of guns, the proportion of homicides involving a victim and offender who were strangers, or homicide events occurring outside in a public place. The first is no surprise given strict gun control measures in Russia. It may be that gun use is more prevalent in areas with larger cities, such as Moscow or St. Petersburg, but in the Udmurt Republic there has not been a proportional increase in the use of firearms. Knives and other sharp instruments continue to be the favorite weapon of choice in lethal violence in Russia. Second, the stability of the proportion of stranger homicides is somewhat unexpected. Since instrumental events such as profit-motivated homicides are usually thought to occur among strangers, and since profit-motivated homicides have increased significantly, we might suspect that stranger homicides would have increased. Recent evidence suggests, however, that it is not necessarily the case that instrumental/profit-related violence occurs solely between strangers (Decker, 1996; Regoeczi and Miethe, 2003). In fact, examining the written narratives themselves shows that in several cases the profit-motivated homicides began with theft from or burglary of those with whom the offender was acquainted. Third, while the proportion of all homicides occurring outside in a public place did increase from 28% to 38% during this period, the adjusted odds ratio (Adj. OR=1.20,  $p=.549$ ) suggests this increase was not significant and was perhaps confounded with changes in other victim or incident characteristics.

The crude odds ratios reveal proportional increases in all the other incident-level characteristics. For example, the proportion of homicides involving friends or acquaintances rose from 34% in 1989-91 to 44% in 1998, though the  $p$ -value for the adjusted odds ratio (Adj. OR=1.54,  $p=.136$ ) for this trait indicates that this increase was not significant and was probably the result of changes in other characteristics. Nevertheless, given the outcomes for the other variables this finding may suggest that the stress faced by Russian individuals and communities during severe economic depression and social insecurity is resulting in interpersonal violence that is manifested against those that one knows and spends time with. This more general association between negative socioeconomic change and homicide rates has been found by Kim and Pridemore (2005), who showed that those areas that faced greater negative effects of socioeconomic change in Russia during the 1990s were those areas that experienced the greatest increases in homicide rates.

According to official figures (that probably underestimate the true level of economic insecurity), the economic problems left nearly 30% of the Russian population with incomes below subsistence minimum and over 13% of the working-age population unemployed in 1998 (Goskomstat, 2001), and that year saw yet another serious economic collapse in the country. Further, the social safety net that had formerly protected Russian citizens against hardships also disappeared, becoming a political football for politicians while citizens suffered (Cook, 2005). The rising prices and falling economic fortunes likely resulted in the increase found here in the proportion of homicides that were motivated by economic gain. The proportion of homicides that were profit-motivated rose from 16% in 1989-91 to 33% in 1998. The increase from 26% to 36% during this period in the proportion of homicides that were premeditated were also likely driven by similar forces. Again, an examination of the narratives reveals that many of the premeditated homicides in the latter period were part of schemes to rob someone or burglarize their home.

There was also a substantial increase in the proportion of all homicides that were carried out by more than one offender, rising from 6% to 20%. This was probably associated with the rise in profit-motivated and premeditated homicides, since the narratives reveal that most of the

incidents with more than one offender were of these types. This increase in multiple-offender homicides coincides with the Russian Ministry of the Interior's (2001) data for Russia as a whole, and with Chervyakov et al.'s (2002) findings from similar data for the Udmurt Republic. While it is tempting to suggest that this finding hints at the rise of violence by organized criminal groups, the qualitative narratives themselves provide a clearer picture of events than the coded data, and they show definitively that these incidents were not organized crime-related. Such a conclusion is only warranted for these data from the Udmurt Republic, however, and say little about such events in the rest of the country. Nevertheless, it is important to point out that while the behavior (including violence) of the mafia and organized crime in Russia has garnered considerable public attention, those studying homicide analytically in the country state clearly that such events are an extremely small and statistically unimportant proportion of the approximately 40,000 homicides in the country annually.

Next, the results show a significant proportional increase in victim-precipitated homicides (Adj. OR=2.56,  $p=.010$ ), even after controlling for other victim and incident characteristics. The proportion of all homicides that were victim-precipitated rose from 16% in 1989-91 to 29% in 1998. While it is difficult from these data and the qualitative narratives to discern a cause for this increase, it appears to be associated with the rise in homicides involving acquaintances. Though speculative, if we take into account (1) the earlier argument that a broader cross-section of the population is being exposed to difficult conditions that may increase their risk for involvement in crime and violence, (2) the increase in female-offender homicides, almost all of which were victim-precipitated by abusive intimates, and (3) the stressful and anomic conditions and blurred distinctions between right and wrong brought about by the massive and rapid social, ideological, political, and economic changes in the country (Kim and Pridemore, 2005), it may be that certain social situations are now (relative to the past) more likely to result in acute arguments between family or acquaintances that in turn are more likely to result in violent outcomes.

Finally, after adjusting for other victim and incident characteristics, there was a significant increase - from 19% of all homicides in 1989-91 to 38% in 1998 - in the use of blunt objects or bodily force as the means of assault in these homicide cases. Again, while difficult to find a direct cause for this change, it is likely the indirect effect of other shifting characteristics. The increases in victim-precipitated and acquaintance homicides, for example, suggest argument-related homicides. In such unplanned violent incidents, the offender is likely to use a weapon of opportunity: anything that is readily available to inflict physical damage. Further, a reading of the homicide narratives shows that many of the profit-motivated murders were not well-planned and premeditated, and thus offenders were likely to select opportunistic "weapons" to carry out the homicide. Finally, this change may be associated with the significant decrease in the proportion of offenders drinking at the time of the event, since a more detailed analysis of this overall sample has shown that those who were drinking were significantly more likely to use a knife (relative to other weapons) as the means of assault (Pridemore, 2006).

#### **A new hypothesis: Criminological transition?**

Although formal statistical comparisons between two different time frames have been made in this study, the analyses presented here are nevertheless largely exploratory and descriptive. This is due both to the relatively small number of studies that examine changes in homicide characteristics over time and to the very small number of studies of interpersonal violence in Russia, especially at the individual- and event-level. Yet if exploratory studies are to have any meaning, their descriptive results must serve as the initial observations upon which theory is developed. While I have made several speculative suggestions about the possible causes of the change and stability in homicide characteristics shown here, when taken together with findings from other research from other nations these results may serve as the foundation for a more formal hypothesis that I discuss briefly here.

The concept of a demographic transition has been very influential in international research in demography and related fields. In idealized form, the demographic transition model reveals the developmental paths taken by nations as they move from high birth and death rates to low birth and death rates. In general, nations tend to have fertility and mortality profiles that shift as they develop

from pre-modern to industrializing to industrialized to post-industrial nations. It is important to point out, however, that not all causes of death respond similarly to transition. Automobile accidents and some types of cancers, for example, may increase even as overall death rates decrease. The point is that multiple economic and health factors associated with development lead to the changes in a nation's fertility and mortality profiles. Though not without limitations, as well as exceptions to the general pattern outlined here, the idea of demographic transition has been extremely influential to several disciplines and has found substantial empirical support.

It may be that such a thing as a "criminological transition" also exists. By this I mean that, similar to a demographic transition, a nation's crime profile - including not simply its crime rate but characteristics of victims, offenders, and incidents - may change over time with modernization, industrialization, democratization, or (as used in the transitional nations of Eastern Europe) marketization. Initial historical work on changing victim, offender, and incident characteristics and on changing crime profiles over time suggest such a possibility. Potentially changing characteristics over time may include decreasing ages of violent offenders and victims (see Monkonen (1999) and Zahn and McCall (1999, especially Figure 2.3 on p. 14) for evidence of this in the United States, and Chervyakov et al. (2002) and Pridemore (2003) for evidence of this in Russia), increasing rates of violence in urban relative to rural areas (again, evidence of this exists from nations with high rates of violence like the U.S. and Russia), and an increase in profit-motivated violence (and thus probably an increasing distance in the victim-offender relationship). Recent research by Gruenewald and Pridemore (2005) using newly available historical data on Chicago homicides from more than 100 years ago also reveals significant changes in several victim, offender, and event characteristics over the course of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. This concept is not entirely new and is not unrelated to prior discussions of the response of crime to civilization, development, or modernization. Nevertheless, the idea of a criminological transition does provide a point of departure for further research as it relates to specific characteristics of victims, offenders, and events and how they may change together with shifts in social structure, culture, technology, and other aspects of society. Expanding discussion of this issue further is not appropriate for the current article, but a more complete and refined statement concerning this preliminary hypothesis will be forthcoming from the author.

### **Conclusion**

...Future studies should expand upon this research in at least two main ways. First, this study examined only one region of Russia and only those homicide cases in which a verdict was reached. To ensure that the changes outlined here are valid indicators of change taking place in the country as a whole, similar research should be carried out elsewhere in the vast country. Second, we have introduced briefly the idea of a "criminological transition." Future historical research that examines this issue more closely and within different nations may provide evidence for or against such a hypothesis.

Russia is a large industrialized nation in transition, making it a prime laboratory for the study of the impact of political and economic change on social institutions and on interpersonal behavior. Such a setting not only allows us to provide a test of the generalizability of theories developed to explain violence in Western nations, but also provides an exceedingly rare opportunity to test fundamental criminological and sociological theories about the effects of social change. Thus despite the limitations of this study, it is one of the first of its kind and provides an important glimpse at the changing nature of violence in Russia, using the specific example provided here to generate a new general hypothesis about the influence of social, economic, and political change on a nation's crime profile.



Table 1. Proportion of victim, offender, and incident characteristics and odds of characteristic being present in 1998 relative to 1989-1991.<sup>a</sup>

Characteristics	Proportion		OR (95% CI)	p-value	Adj. OR (95% CI)	p-value
	1989-91	1998				
Victim						
Female	45.5	38.2	0.74 (.45-1.23)	.246	0.92 (.51-1.65)	.772
Drinking	42.6	40.8	0.92 (.55-1.56)	.776	1.13 (.63-2.02)	.677
Offender						
Female	0.9	10.1	11.87 (1.54-91.78)	.018		
Drinking	76.7	57.6	0.44 (.25-.77)	.004		
Priors <sup>b</sup>	27.1	5.0	BBB	BBB		
Incident						
V-precipitated	15.6	29.4	2.26 (1.19-4.26)	.012	2.56 (1.26-5.20)	.010
Stranger	33.0	30.1	.88 (.51-1.50)	.626		
Acquaintance	34.0	44.1	1.54 (.92-2.58)	.103	1.54 (.87-2.70)	.136
Gun	10.8	9.6	.88 (.39-2.02)	.764		
Blunt or bodily force	18.9	38.2	2.68 (1.49-4.83)	.001	2.67 (1.46-4.88)	.001
Profit	15.8	32.5	2.54 (1.41-4.57)	.002	2.86 (1.45-5.63)	.002
Premeditated	26.1	36.3	1.61 (.93-2.79)	.089		
Outside public place	27.9	38.2	1.62 (.94-2.77)	.081	1.20 (.67-2.14)	.549
> 1 offender	6.3	20.1	3.89 (1.63-9.29)	.002	2.50 (.98-6.38)	.056

<sup>a</sup>Offender-specific data used for offender characteristics (n=107 in 1989-1991 and n=139 in 1998). Victim-specific data used for victim and incident characteristics (n=112 in 1989-1991 and n=136 in 1998).

<sup>b</sup>Prevalence of priors is given for descriptive purposes only since in most cases information is missing (i.e., the way the narratives are constructed, one is unable to discern if no information means no prior convictions or if information about prior convictions is unknown)

## CHILD HOMICIDES:

### A POWER-DEPENDENCE APPROACH

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#### An Overview

One of the persistent characteristics of homicide is the role of power in the causation of the phenomena. With respect to infants, the helplessness of newborns or very young children is seen to make the power of the lethal parent obvious. It is noteworthy that power is important in a very different kind of homicide: that between intimate partners. Yet, for all that the role of power has not been systematically used to understand homicides.

This paper explores a view of power-dependence that was initially formulated by Richard M. Emerson (1962) and has subsequently been incorporated in exchange theories (Kivisto, 2001). Emerson points to the common fallacy that power is viewed as an attribute of individuals or groups. We talk about individuals and groups as power holders. We say that a particular employer is a powerful person or a particular labor union is a powerful group. Emerson suggests that power is not an attribute, it is a property of a social relation. Another way of putting it is that “*power resides implicitly in the other’s dependency.*” (Emerson, 1962, p. 32) In short, if you are not dependent on any person, no one has power over you.

Exchange theory has been used to explain violence and homicide (Gelles, 1983; Rodriguez & Smithey, 1999). The difficulty that contemporary versions of exchange theories face is an assumption of exchange that is not applicable outside of teenagers or adults. For example, Gelles (1983 p. 157) writes that:

. . . human interaction is guided by the pursuit of rewards and the avoidance of punishment and costs. . . . An individual who supplies reward services to another obliges him to fulfill an obligation, and thus the second individual must furnish benefits to the first. . . . If reciprocal exchange of rewards occurs, the interaction will continue. But if reciprocity is not received, the interaction will be broken off.

This seems to assume a level of articulation that is largely absent with infants and young children. Because Emerson incorporates in his framework the view that nonverbal interaction occurs in power-dependence relations, interaction occurs when an infant screams because he or she needs their diaper changed or they are hungry. The mother’s knows to reciprocate by feeding the infant and/or changing the diaper. The interaction is not at the same level as a parent-adolescent negotiation of the use of the family car because it relies on attributions of the mother: perceptions based on preparation and experience that lead her to interpret the baby’s crying. After feeding or diaper change, the infant quiets down which the mother takes as rewarding the child while her reciprocal reward is the peace and quiet that follows. Unless mothers make attributions, why would research be relevant that shows infant homicide is related to the inability of mothers to deal with dependence?

In addition, existing versions of exchange theory assume that one party has alternatives to continuing this exchange; until at least age six, children do not have these alternatives. At the same time, when caregivers other than the mother interact with the infant and small child, there is a greater risk of violence to the infant and small child because there is not the same type of reciprocity that exists with mother and child.

This paper explores power-dependence relations in explaining homicide from newborns to about age 12. A subsequent paper will draw upon contemporary versions of exchange theory to explain the 13 - 17-year-old homicides.

One characteristic that will shift circumstances of theory is that, generally, adults kill children up to about age 12 while children kill children from 13 to 17 (Finkelhor & Asdigian, 1996). While the contexts of older children are certainly different from the context of infants and younger children, the common thread is that children in both groups are involved in power-dependence relations.

#### Power-Dependence Relations

Power is based on mutual dependence. Let us suppose we have two criminologists of similar rank, experience, and background in a department occupied by sociologists of other specialities. The Chair tells the two criminologists they are responsible for recommending to him or her the courses that are to be taught each semester. Both detest teaching the required course in criminological theory and both love teaching the required course in

criminal violence. To avoid the problems of both refusing to teach the criminological theory and both teaching criminal violence, they work out a power dependence relationship. Professor A will teach criminological theory and Criminal Violence in the Fall if Professor B agrees to teach both in the Spring semester.

While this simple example is one of cooperation based on self interest, it illustrates a mutual dependence in which both are in a position to hinder the goals or gratification of the other. What happens if Professor A is in a position to teach criminal violence every semester and makes Professor B teach criminological theory every semester moves our analysis beyond what is needed here. Likewise, we will leave the authority of the Chair out of this discussion for now.

Before turning to the use of this theory in explaining homicides, we will formalize the definitions, beginning with a definition of dependence.

*Dependence (Dab)*. The dependence of actor A upon actor B is (1) directly proportional to A's *motivational investment* in goals mediated by B, and (2) inversely proportional to the *availability* of those goals outside of the A-B relation. (Emerson, 1962, p. 32)

Emerson uses the term goals to refer to gratifications sought as well as unconscious rewards obtained in the relationship. The availability of goals outside the relationship of the A-B relationship includes other relationships. For example, a wealthy person (A) may be less dependent on others than someone less wealthy because he or she can use their wealth to more easily meet goals outside of the present relationship. The use of the expression, (Dab) refers to the dependence of A over B.

If dependence is the basis of power, then power is defined as potential influence.

*Power (Pab)*. The power of actor A over actor B is the amount of resistance on the part of B which can be potentially overcome by A. (Emerson, 1962, p. 32)

The author notes that, first, power is manifested if A makes some demand on B and it is resisted. Second, resistance refers to any domain of action. To use Emerson's example, A may be dependent on B for love and respect, because of that dependency, B may draw A into criminal activity which A would normally resist. (Pab) is the power of A over B.

The premise that we will start with is that the power of A over B is equal to and based on the dependence of B upon A. Since the equality is reciprocal, we have two equations.

$$P_{ab} = D_{ba}$$

$$P_{ba} = D_{ab}$$

The next section describes the span of age ranges to which this theory will be applied.

#### Child Homicides from Birth to Age Twelve

What is most striking is that age-specific homicide rates consistently define at least three victimization trends. There seems to be a consensus that age-specific child homicide rates are a bimodal curve (Adler & Polk, 2001; Chew et al., 1999; K. K. Christoffel, 1984; Finkelhor, 1997b; Finkelhor & Ormrod, 2001; Lewit & Baker, 1996; Lord et al., 2002).

The bimodal curve found by previous investigators is similar to Figure 1.

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 Figure 1 about here  
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To illustrate the stability of the bimodal pattern, California age-specific homicide rates for 1996 through 2000 are superimposed on U.S. homicide rates derived from the Supplementary Homicide Reports (SHR) of the FBI<sup>16</sup>.

In Figure 1 both the state and the nation curves are very similar and appear to be divided into three segments. The age group 0-4 is one of high homicide rates during the first year of life followed by a decline to about age five. The age-specific rates are comparatively low and flat from age 6 through age twelve. Beginning at age thirteen, age specific rates began a steep climb to age 17. Both for California and the U.S. the sharp increase begins at age 13, but, as Figure 1 shows, the rate is higher for California than the U.S.

This paper focuses on power-dependence relations and homicide for two of three age categories. Following a classification similar to Finkelhor (1997b), the first category are infants and young children (0-5) while the second are school age (6-12).

#### Infants and Young Children

Its useful to look at the two equations again and discuss how they apply in the normal case of parent-infant relations.

$$(1) P_{ab} = D_{ba}$$

$$(2) P_{ba} = D_{ab}$$

In written form, the first equation (1) says that the power of parent over child is equal to the dependence of the child upon the parent. Because this is a reciprocal relationship, then equation (2) says that the power of the child over the parent is equal to the dependence of the parent upon the child.

Most previous theories of homicide of infants and small children describe the enormous dependence of the newborn child on parents ( $D_{ba}$ ). Finkelhor (1997b p 93) "*Children have comparatively little choice over whom they associate with, less choice perhaps than any segment of population besides prisoners*" (Emphasis in the original). This would mean the parents would have near absolute power over the child ( $P_{ab}$ ) because theoretically, the parent could overcome any resistance or demands of the child upon Actor A, the parent. Stated in exchange terms, this circumstance should make violence and homicide toward infants and young children much more frequent than is the case. But if the relations are reciprocal and balanced, what is the dependence of the parent upon the child? Put another way, what is in it for Dad and Mom?

What Dad and Mom are getting out of it are offspring to carry on a family name, the pleasure of children, and other factors that lead people to procreate. The view of parents as all powerful overlooks that for a majority of births and children, parents have an equally large motivational and emotional investment. One need only be around

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<sup>16</sup>Bureau of Justice Statistics, Homicide Trends in the United States, [www.ojp.usdoj.gov/bjs/homicide/homtrnd.htm](http://www.ojp.usdoj.gov/bjs/homicide/homtrnd.htm) Source: FBI, Supplementary Homicide Reports 1976-2000.

the parents and households of infants to realize the enormous emotional involvement in the child. The entire routine of the household is reorganized around the new arrival; the entire day and much of the night is consumed with dutiful and willing, if not enthusiastic, tending to the needs of the infant. So much so that the substantial sibling rivalry of older children has its origins here as they suddenly feel “left out” by arrival of a younger brother or sister.

One answer to the extreme dependence that an infant presents is that both parents invest in the emotional relationship with the child. Rather than a power-dependence relation of the child with the mother and the father, balance in the relationship is achieved in a group-person relation; the parents are a kind of “collective actor” in a mutual dependence relationship. It is worth noting that infant homicide is rare where both parents are actively present.

One might object to the equality of the second equation. While it would be relatively easy for a parent to kill an infant, it would be impossible for an infant to kill an adult. If it is so easy to kill an infant, why isn't it done more often? As Emerson makes clear, dependence and power comes in many forms. Additionally, it seems to this writer that it helps to explain how power-dependence relations becomes unbalanced and violent by starting with the balanced instance. Thus, while there might be an inclination to view the preceding description as somewhat idealistic, I would argue that it probably represents a majority of parent-infant relationships. To do otherwise is to try to understand why there is not more violence and homicide with infants as victims.

Given the state of dependence of infants, it is important to recognize the power of the mother and father is not distributed equally. The father has more alternatives available to him and is more able to resist the demands of mother and child. The reason that the father has more power is that cultural norms place a much heavier responsibility for the welfare of the child on the mother. Rodriguez and Smithey (1999) discuss the social demands that represent maternal attachment although there is no parallel discussion of paternal attachment. Thus, a mother who abandons her child at birth is viewed much more negatively by society than a father who may not play any role in the birth of the child or later.

With respect to the child, the father may simply reject all demands placed on him and the infant is powerless to seek other alternatives. Put in terms of our definition of dependence, the dependence is “inversely proportional to the *availability* of those goals to A (infant or mother) outside of the A-B relation.” (p. 32) Where the father either disappears or has nothing to do with the child or the mother, the mother ideally has a few alternatives with respect to being dependent on the father. The mother can invoke legal help to compel the father to provide economic resources. These and similar alternatives are, of course, only modestly successful. It is in this latter sense that Gelles (1983, p. 157) is correct: “people hit and abuse other family members because they can.”

The dependence of infants and small children is a constant. By this I mean they need amounts of food, care, and shelter that they cannot obtain themselves nor are alternatives to their mothers available. While mothers have fewer cultural alternatives than fathers, they also vary in meeting the dependence of the child according to the economic resources available to them. There is no doubt that some single mothers have been remarkably successful at holding down two low-paying jobs and successfully raising a child, but it is also true there is a marked difference in the relation to their child due to economic resources according to whether the single mother is in a well paid profession or has two jobs both paying minimum wage.

A third factor entering the power-dependence relation is the capability of people outside the relationship to view the power-dependence relation of mother and child, in particular. Boudreaux, Lord, and Jarvis (2001) are correct in asserting that societal members not only care deeply for their own offspring but also for the offspring of others. However, the capability of people to detect victims of homicide or violence varies according to the age of the child. Surveillance is difficult, if not impossible, with infants. Gelles (1983 p. 159) notes that family privacy reduces access to outside agencies.

“Neighbors who report that they overhear incidents of family violence also say that they fear intervening in another person's home.” On the other hand, one of the reasons homicide rates are very low in middle childhood is the abundance of surveillance as the child attends school and a variety of activities outside the home.

In summary, we have begun with a somewhat idealized version of parent-child relations beginning with infants. Infants are highly dependent, but it is a reciprocal relationship: generally both parents respond with an enormous investment of time, effort, and resources into the rearing of children. The reciprocity of this balanced relationship can vary within certain parameters: rich parents can provide elements of care to a child that middle class and poor parents cannot. In short, this balanced relationship is always going to be shaped by the available resources

of the mother, the investment of the father, and amount of surveillance as the infant moves into childhood and beyond. What goes wrong?

### Infant and Young Children Homicides

#### *Neonaticides*

The dependence of a newborn is greatest on the mother. In most cases, she reciprocates with an amount of time, care, and resources that have led researchers to discuss, as we have noted, the strength of the maternal attachment. There are two ways in which mothers overcome the dependence of the infant.

First, homicides occur because the mother resists the demands of the dependent infant by simply denying the existence of the child. The expectant mother is fearful and concerned what her parents and friends will think, overwhelmed by guilt and shame, she denies the pregnancy until she is faced with the newborn child. Kelleher (1998) has suggested that in such cases are the result of dissociative disorders. According to Kelleher (1998) dissociative amnesia is an inability to recall important information, usually of a traumatic or stressful nature. Confronted with the undeniable fact of a newborn infant, rather than acknowledging what happened, she disposes of the baby as quickly as possible.

Second, while the latter explains a limited number of neonaticides, a more frequent reason is that the mother either does not know or is not prepared to accept the dependence imposed by the birth of a child. A study by Overpeck, Brenner, Trumble, Trifiletti and Brendes (1998 p. 1211) linked together 34,895,000 birth and death certificates for the period 1983-1991 to study 2776 homicides during the first year of life. They found a number of factors indicating that parents, particularly the mother, was simply unprepared to deal with the dependence of an infant; a kind of resistance by default.

Half the homicides occurred by the fourth month of life. The most important risk factors were a second or subsequent infant born to a mother less than 17 years old (relative risk, 10.9) or 17 to 19 years old (relative risk, 9.3), as compared with a first infant born to a mother 25 years old or older; a maternal age of less than 15 years, as compared with an age of at least 25 years (relative risk, 6.8); no prenatal care as compared with early prenatal care (relative risk, 10.4); and less than 12 years of education among mothers who were at least 17 years old (relative risk, 8.0), as compared with 16 or more years of education.

The latter results refer to the first year of life while research by Kunz & Bahr (1996) indicates that 90.5% of the offenders during the first week of life are mothers. Unfortunately, most research does not compare the first week with the remaining times in detail although it does seem likely that the most of the victims during the first year of life are killed by their mothers.

An important factor that would account for the high rates found in Figure 1 for infants is the ease with which a homicide can occur. Given the physical vulnerability and dependence of infants, it is no surprise that Rodriguez and Smithey (1999) and Boudreaux, Lord, and Jarvis (2001) found that blunt weapons and personal weapons were frequently used to kill infants. When the latter is combined with the privacy of the home, as well as the difficulty in diagnosing cause of death, infant homicides are under reported in significant numbers (Ewigman, Kiviahah, & Land, 1993; Herman-Giddens, Brown, Verbiest, Carlson, Hooten, Howell, et al., 1999; Finkelhor, 1997b).

African-American mothers are more likely to overcome the resistance of infants because of a lack of economic and social resources than either Hispanic or white mothers. Figure 2 gives the age and race/ethnic specific rates of children in California from 1987 through 2002 (Riedel, 2003).

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 Figure 2 about here  
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African-American mothers are more likely to be affected by an relative absence of social and economic resources. Overpeck, Brenner, Trumble, etc. (1998) found the relative risk for infant homicides among was over three times higher for blacks and American Indians in comparison to whites. There are two lines of evidence that suggest African-American mothers may be differentially involved in infant homicides in comparison to other race/ethnic groups because of social and economic factors.

First, for all groups, there are few victim gender differences in the killing of infants. Riedel (2003) found little difference in gender-specific rates and Boudreaux, Lord, and Jarvis (2001, p. 62) found that male children from

birth to age four were at “slightly higher risk of homicide” than females. The victimization of both genders at relatively similar rates suggests that social and economic factors may be operative.

Second, the preceding does not explain the *differential* victimization of African-American infants in comparison to Hispanics, in particular, as well as whites. While white infant homicides are the lowest, Hispanic rates are about the same as white rates in the youngest ages (See Figure 2). The reason is that in Hispanic families fathers as well as mothers may be present which would reduce the amount of resistance that mothers overcome with infants and the greater acceptance of dependence. In a study of Latino victimization, Riedel (2003, p. 49) found that the immigrants:

carry with them their cultural values with respect to family and the role of women. Among poor Latinos, two-parent families are not unusual. In examining research on Latinos, Moore and Pinderhughes (1993, xvi) note, “The evidence on familism was skimpy, but there was good reason to believe in many areas Latino families still operate to support and control their members.”

#### *Beyond Birth to Age Five*

Figure 1 shows that age-specific rates from newborns to about age five to be very high. Although these rates are declining, Bourdreaux, Lord and Jarvis (2001) point out that children in that age range have homicide rates that are as high as those found in the 13 - 17 range.

Until about age six, power-dependence relations are shaped primarily in the first few weeks of life by the relationship to the mother. While the child is still very dependent in the age range from one to four years, the power-dependence relations shift to the family and caretakers where the mother is not the traditional stay-at-home type. This includes fathers, stepfathers, partners, grandparents, siblings, daycare workers, and babysitters.

This has two conflicting consequences. First, the mother can achieve a measure of balance in the relationship because she can alternate the demands of caring for the child with other members of the family. Second, other members of the family do not have the same depth of reciprocity with the dependent child as the mother. Hence, they are likely to have more power, that is, they are more likely to resist the demands of the dependent child.

Because other family members are more likely to resist the demands of the dependent child, they more frequently become offenders in child homicide. The child may display behavior such as colic which other caretakers are not aware of or have the patience to endure. After the first week, according to Kunz and Bahr (1996) fathers come to play more of an equal role in killing the child. The difficulty is that their research did not include offenders outside of the father such as boyfriends or stepparents.

While the research is scarce, a study done by Stiffman, Schnitzer, Adam etc. (2002 p. 615) carried out a study using data from the Missouri Child Fatality Review Panel system. They categorized households based on the adult residents’ relationship to the deceased child. Cases were maltreatment injury deaths among children under five years old. A control group were randomly selected from natural cause deaths during the same period (1992-1994) and frequency matched on age. The results are:

Children residing in households with adults unrelated to them were 8 times more likely to die of maltreatment than children in households with 2 biological parents (adjusted odds ratio [aOR]): 8.8. . . . Risk of maltreatment death was elevated for children residing with step, foster, or adoptive parents (aOR: 4.7) and in households with other adult relatives present (aOR: 2.2). . . . Risk of maltreatment death was not increased for children living with only 1 biological parent (aOR: 1.2). . . .

This research suggests that high risks of homicide for the post-birth to age five group occur where the offender finds it comparatively easy to resist the demands of the children. Infants and young children are demanding and their demands can be exceeded by conditions such as colic, difficulties with toilet training, psychological problems, etc. Adults that are not biologically related to the child have many more alternatives and repetitive and fatal violence can be a way of dealing with a frustrating and largely unwanted child. While the strictures attached to the norm of family privacy and non interference still exist in these instances, they are less compelling than with younger children and biological parents.

While Stiffman and his colleagues did not include weapons in their analysis, Bourdreaux, Lord, and Jarvis

(2001) report on research by Crittenden and Craig (1990) that indicates while neonates were drowned, suffocated, or died from exposure, older children (13 months to 5 years) were more likely to die from beatings.

#### Homicides of Middle Childhood

The nature of dependence-relations changes from about age six to age twelve. Prior to age six, the child is heavily dependent on parents and caregivers; beginning at school age, the child begins to have other alternatives which lessens the dependence on the former. In addition to developing reciprocal relations with friends and playmates, the child develops alternatives to parents and caregivers with other adults such as teachers.

Thus, while the child still has power-dependence relations with others, no single person has the amount of power implied by the extreme dependence of infants and those under six. For example, a child that is frustrating to a parent now spends a large portion of his or her day in school away from the parent. There are two characteristics that shape the power-dependence relations of this age group as well as explaining the low homicide rates. First, Boudreaux, Lord, and Jarvis (2001) point out that societal members care deeply not only for their own children, but the offspring of others. Second, children in this age group engage in behavior with adults in which they are not aware of the consequences to them.

In a broader context, the fact that societal members care for the offspring of others is an expression of increased surveillance in general for this age group.

As Adler and Polk (2001 p. 142) have noted, “. . . the web of social protection becomes particularly dense in these middle years of childhood.” These authors point out that homicide rates for middle childhood in Australia, England and Wales, and the United States are lower than for any other age in the human life span!

While the family retains responsibility for the child, the school provides an added layer of protection. For example, schools have clear rules about who has contact with the child during school hours and equally clear rules about who picks the child up at the end of the school day (Adler & Polk, 2001).

The existence of the rules reflect the reciprocal relations expressed by teachers as an important form of professionalization. The claim of professionalization by teachers is that they are educated and committed to relating to children in this age group. Finkelhor (1997b) also notes an interest in children and child victimization has been increased by the entry into professions of larger numbers of women. In addition to teachers, there are increased numbers of women police officers, prosecutors, and judges.

Children in this age range predominantly, although not exclusively, engage in what Emerson (1962, p. 35) calls “cost reduction.” This is a process involving a change in values chiefly on the part of the child that “reduces the pains incurred in meeting the demands of the powerful other.” This means that the child tries to obey teachers, parents, or adults which will balance the relationship between the child and caregiver. If the child is successful, the relationships are balanced; failing that the child may seek other alternative relations.

The difficulty is that the cost reduction children engage in is a process where they are not aware that the consequences may be misinterpreted and injurious or fatal to them; in other words, children at this age are naive and trusting of adults.

For example, a recent New Orleans Times-Picayune article described a \$656 million dollar industry that sells sexually suggestive T-shirts to 8-12-year-old girls. The messages on the shirt include, “Wanna Get Lucky with this Ducky” which portrayed a winking duck in front of a giant heart, rainbow, and flowers. Another declared the wearer was “Spicy and Juicy” while still another, a pink tank-top, had the message, “I take candy from strangers” (Stokes, 2006)

In Finkelhor and Asdigian (1996) naivete is consistent with their concept of target gratifiability. According to these authors, there are some victim characteristics that increase risk because victims have some quality, possession, skill, or attribute that the offender wants to obtain. Target gratifiability is most appropriate for naive victims because, while the homicide rates are low, they are at risk for abduction and murder (Finkelhor, 1997a; Finkelhor & Ormrod, 2001).

Boudreaux, Lord, and Dutra (1999) analyzed 550 child abduction cases from FBI files. While cases of alleged child abduction are present in all age groups under 17, the largest number (165) were found in ages 6-11.

“Sexually motivated crimes dominated this age group.” (Boudreaux et al., 1999 p. 549) In these abductions, 88% of the victims were female and Caucasian (80%). While offender race typically followed national demographic distributions, male offenders predominated. Strangers were the most common offenders (51%), followed by acquaintances (40%), and family members (9%).



The issues are stated by an irate father who wrote the following letter about sexy T-shirts to the editors of the Times-Picayune on May 17, 2006:

Unless my 10-year-old daughter pulls a pistol out of her Bugs Bunny purse, I am not about to buy her clothing with a sexually suggestive message on it. Any adult worthy of the title of parent will refuse to clothe his or her children in garments that dangerously hasten their sexualization, whether by design, style or messages on them. Any parent with an I.Q. over 60 knows there are people who eye our children up and down as objects of perverted desire (Meisner, 2006, p. C6).

The fact that children of this age are exploring other alternative dependencies also means they become accidental victims of other conflicts. Unlike dependent victims who are killed by hand, about half of those age 5-12 are victimized by gunshots. A significant number of middle childhood victims are negligent gun homicides.(Finkelhor, 1997a). Crittenden and Craig (1990) found that two-thirds of school-age children in Dade county were victims of gunshot wounds. But they also indicate that many of these deaths were the result of accidentally fired guns by other children, victims were hit by stray bullets, and because they witnessed adult murders.

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*Homicide Research Working Group Annual Meeting, Richmond, VA, June 2006*

## **Profiling Serial and Sexual Homicide: An Update of The Research**

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### **Introduction**

The current talk aims to give an overview of the most up to date findings, and ongoing work, of a number of inter-related projects relating to empirical research on offender profiling in relation to serial and sexual homicide crime scene analysis.

Much of the work that will be presented has aimed to test some of the key beliefs held about serial and sexual homicide, in particular related to offender profiling. In particular this focuses on establishing clear definitions of both serial and sexual homicides. Other issues include whether serial offenders are different from other homicides in terms of the crime scene activities they engage in, the aetiology of demographics of both offenders and victims and the inter-relationship between the two, whether they are consistent across their crimes and engage in similar actions across their series, and whether there is evidence that they use signature behaviour, and if so, what these consist of. Other issues which are currently key in the profiling literature, will also be discussed, such as whether serial homicides are mainly sexual, and what a sexual homicide consists of, over and beyond overt sexual behaviours, such as covert behaviours which are associated with sexual motivations but do not present as such on a behavioural level. Other work includes the evaluation of the link between criminal histories and crime scene behavioural patterns, and differences in patterns across different nations.

Offender Profiling is a very new field of psychology, and the empirical research thereof even more so. As yet, a number of key crucial questions that will allow the reliability and validity of this method to be tested, have not been satisfactorily explored. With the increasing popularity and use of offender profiling in both investigations and recently, with the pressure to use it as evidence in court, it is of utmost importance that an in-depth investigation is made into its validity and that it is backed by sound empirical research. The goal of the ongoing research agenda is to address some of the more fundamental aspects of these issues in order to establish offender profiling firmly as a scientifically sound method.

### **The Research Program**

The current program involves a number of inter-related studies, all focusing on developing a greater understanding of serial and sexual homicide. The primary focus is on developing a model of serial homicide and serial sexual assault offending behavior that effectively distinguishes between groups of serial offenders based on the behavioral theme the offenders employ during their series of homicides. In order to test the viability of using this work actively for police investigations, the work actively explores whether offenders are consistent in the aggressive theme performed across all offences in their series, and if inferences can reliably be made regarding the likely characteristics of the offenders based on knowledge of which aggressive theme they perform throughout their series. This research is helping to develop a much needed empirically validated literature on both serial crime, and more generally, on the validity of behavioral consistency of criminal behavior over time, as well as providing the basis for a more valid tool for police investigations of serial crimes.

The talk will outline this research program as a whole in more detail and will outline completed and ongoing studies part of this research program as outlined below.

1. Exploring the aetiology of serial homicide as a group in terms of the variety of crime scene behaviours engaged in by offenders, the nature of victims targeted and the demographics of the offenders as a whole.
2. This study aims to add to the literature by outlining
3. Demographics of serial homicide offenders and victims
4. Thematic Subtypes of Victims in Serial Homicide
5. Thematic sub-types of Serial Homicide
6. Using Post-mortem Behaviours in Serial Homicide for Linking
7. Gender and Serial Homicide
8. Serial and Spree murder: A Comparison
9. Serial and Single homicide: A comparison
10. Medical Serial Murders
11. Behavioural Consistency Across Crime Scenes in Serial Homicide
12. Thematic Consistency Across Crime Scenes in Serial Homicide
13. Exploring the Existence of Signatures in Serial Homicide
14. Defining Serial Homicide and Using The Optimum Number of Crime Scenes For Linking
15. Criminal Histories of Serial Homicide Offenders
16. Geographical Patterns of Serial Homicide Offenders
17. Exploring the Extent of Sexual Behaviour and Motivation in Serial Homicide
18. Understanding Prostitute Victims as a Sub-group of Serial Homicide
19. Serial Homicide in Other Countries and Cultures
20. Serial Rape, Rape, Sexual Homicide and Serial Sexual Homicide

## **Racial Differences in Intimate Partner Homicide in Two Cities**

Lisa Tichavsky, Katrina Bloch, Kylie Parrotta, and Margaret Zahn

### ***Long Abstract***

#### ***Introduction***

Many researchers have recognized the importance of disaggregating homicide by victim-offender relationships and circumstances surrounding the homicide finding differences between characteristics of victims and offenders according to relationship type (Brookman 2004; Kubrin 2003; Wolfgang 1958; Zahn & Sagi 1987; Williams & Flewelling 1988; Decker 1993). When homicide cases have been disaggregated, differences are found between those that kill acquaintances or strangers and those that kill intimate partners. Some studies have focused on individual characteristics of the offender and found differences in motives and weapons (Dobash et. al. 2004; Decker 1996; Block & Christakos 1995) while others have structural characteristics of the neighborhood and found differences in predictor of intimate partner homicide and other types of homicide (Kubrin 2003; Fry & Wilt 2001; Steffensmeir & Haynie 2000).

For intimate partner homicides, Angela Browne and Kirk Williams (1993) acknowledged the importance of disaggregating factors within intimate partner homicide finding that the decline in intimate partner homicides was being driven by reductions in the numbers of male victims. The authors demonstrated the importance of disaggregating intimate partner homicides by gender and relationship in order to detect important differences. However, intimate partner homicide research, disaggregated by race *and* sex, is less prevalent in the homicide literature.

Studies which have examined intimate partner homicide disaggregated by race and gender have found that African American women committed about 73% of the female-male homicides in dating relationships, concluding that homicides among cohabitating couples are more likely to be committed by women than by men (Rodriguez & Henderson 1995). That African American women have higher numbers of intimate partner homicide than do White women has been found in studies which examine spousal numbers of killing across races.

Wilson and Daly (1992;190) define the spousal ratio of killing as the number of “homicides perpetrated by women per 100 perpetrated by men”. While both the overall rate of intimate partner homicides and the SROK have decreased from 1976 into the 90’s, this has largely been the result of a decrease in the killing of white men and African Americans (Browne and Williams 1993; Browne, Williams, and Dutton 1999; Dugan, Rosenfeld and Nagin 2003; Puzone, Kresnow, Thompson and Mercy 2000).

Examining the intersection of race and gender for intimate partner homicides uncovers a complex story. In the United States, while there has been a decrease in intimate partner killings amongst African Americans since the late 1970’s, the ratio of spousal killing, or the average SROK, for African Americans is much higher than that of Whites (Gauthier and Bankston 1997; Paulsen and Brewer 1999; Wilson and Daly 1992) and higher than that of Hispanics (Block and Christakos 1995; Paulsen and Brewer 1999; Riedel and Best 1998). Additionally, African American women are more likely to kill their male partner than are White women to kill their partner (Block and Christakos 1995; Paulsen & Brewer 1999; Chilton 2003; Plass 1993).

A number of explanations for this difference suggest that homicide may vary across racial groups because of differences in types of conflict between partners in different racial groups and in availability of resources to deal with conflict. There is limited information on the role of infidelity as a motive distinguishing between African American and White killing, and despite general literature suggesting that disparities between partners, (e.g. age or employment), relate to more conflict, how these affect homicide in different racial groups is unknown. Further, although domestic violence literature has examined alcohol effects on violence, little is known about alcohol’s relationship to intimate partner homicide in varying racial groups. These issues are addressed in the current study.

#### ***Method***

Data were collected from a dataset originally generated in a National Institute of Justice funded project headed by Margaret Zahn (1998). The project utilized complete homicide case files from the Philadelphia police department for the years 1980 – 1994 which were coded by trained and supervised graduate students in each city. Similar data for St. Louis were provided by the St. Louis Homicide Project (headed by Richard Rosenfeld and Scott Decker).

We use subsets of these data which contain only intimate partner homicides for Philadelphia (N=507) and St. Louis (N=216). “*Intimate Partner*” homicides include homicides involving husbands, wives, ex-husbands, ex-wives, girlfriends, boyfriends, ex-girlfriends, and ex-boyfriends. Same-sex partner homicides were not included in this study as the numbers were too small for any meaningful analysis. We also limit our analysis to African American and White victim/offender dyads.

Address data from these subsets were geo-coded to get latitude and longitude, which was subsequently GIS shape mapped to the 1980 and 1990 census data to get the census tract for each case. Then, census data for 1980 and 1990 were collected at the tract level using the 1980 and 1990 STF3s (Summary Tape File 3). Because census data is not available for individual years, homicide cases from 1980 – 1984 were connected to 1980 census data while cases from 1985-1994 were connected to 1990 census data. Consequently, only cases with addresses that were successfully geo-coded and mapped to the census tract were included in the analyses. Additionally, only African Americans and White offenders were included in the final cases for analysis for Philadelphia (n = 433) and St. Louis (n = 214). A total of 76 cases between the two cities were excluded in the final analyses by excluding cases without mapable addresses and by excluding other races.

The dependent variable is the race/sex categories, white male, white female, and black male with black female as the reference category. Variables used to examine individual characteristics of the offender were collected from the police case files and include *sex of the offender*, *race of the offender*, *motive*, *method*, *marital status*, and *age disparity* between victim and offender. The variable *Method* indicates whether or not the victim was Shot, Stab/Slashed, or killed by another method (e.g. beaten, strangled, poisoning, intentional drug overdose, pushing from a high place, arson, etc.). *Motive* indicates whether or not infidelity was listed in the police records as a primary cause of the homicide.

Two variables were used to test for racial differences associated with alcohol. The first was the medical examiner’s report of the victim’s blood alcohol content (BAC) and the second was police or witness reports in the homicide case files that either the offender or the victim had been drinking. Finally, socioeconomic and demographic variables for the neighborhoods were gathered from the census data and include *percent married*, *percent African American*, *percent renter occupied housing*, *percent with a high school education or higher*, and *ratio of male-female employment*. A variable controlling for whether or not the year was before or after 1985 was created. 1980-1984 or 1985-1994 was also created.

### ***Analysis***

Due to the nominal and categorical characteristics of the majority of the variables, non-parametric method of analysis are well suited for exploring the initial differences among racial groups. Therefore, data comparing White and African American offender characteristics were tested with chi-square and examined. Variables which proved to differentiate between African Americans from Whites were then included in a multinomial regression model. Since our dependent variable has more than two categories that are not ordered, multinomial logistic regression is best suited as an analysis strategy (Borooah 2002). Two multinomial regression models were run for each city; one using individual offender characteristics and another including characteristics of the neighborhood where the crime occurred.

## **Results**

### ***Descriptive***

Descriptive statistics appear in Table 1. Of the 433 intimate partner homicides committed between 1980 and 1994 in Philadelphia, African Americans were 85.2% of the offenders compared to White offenders (14.8%). Among African American offenders, 56.6% are male and 43.4% are female compared to White offenders of which 64% were male and 36% were female. Of the 214 intimate homicides in St. Louis, African Americans were 79.9%

of the offenders and Whites were 20.1%. Of White offenders, 70% are male and 30% female which is in contrast to the proportion of African American male offenders (51%) to female offenders (49%).

For African Americans in Philadelphia, the mean age for both victims and offenders is 36 years old. For Whites in Philadelphia, the mean age for offenders is 43.5 years old while the mean age for White victims is 42 years old. In St. Louis, the mean age for African American offenders is 35 years old compared to the mean for victims of 37 years old. The mean age for White Offenders is 42 years old and for White victims, the mean age is 40 years old.

-Table 1 about here-

The more interesting result of the analysis of offender-victim relationship by race and gender is found when comparing the total number of intimate partner homicides committed by African American females in comparison to White females. Beneath the individual relationship totals for both races across both cities are the combined percentages of females who killed a male partner and males who killed a female partner. The difference between the sexes is much smaller for African American intimate partner homicides than for Whites. Similarly, the spousal ratio of killing (SROK) in each city is calculated. By dividing the number of female perpetrated homicides by the number of male perpetrated homicides and multiplying by 100, the SROK ratio is given for each city by race in Table 2a. The SROK for Whites in St. Louis is 43 female perpetrators for every 100 male perpetrators compared to the SROK for African Americans of 97 female perpetrators for every 100 male perpetrators. In Philadelphia, the SROK for White is 56:100 and for African Americans, 77:100.

-Table 2a. about here-

Table 2b. shows the relationship of the offender to the victim by race for both cities. In Philadelphia, nearly equal proportions of African American (23.3%) and White women (25%) killed their husbands, yet a larger proportion of African American women (17.3%) than White women (10.9%) killed their boyfriends. The proportion of African American women killed by their boyfriends (22%) was similar to those killed by a husband (24.7%), but the same was not true for White women who were disproportionately killed by their husbands (42.2%) compared to boyfriends (15.6%).

In St. Louis, 31.6% of African American intimate partner homicides were women killing their boyfriends compared to 7% of White intimate partner homicides involving girlfriends killing boyfriends. Additionally, 23% of African American boyfriends killed their girlfriends compared to 14% of White boyfriends killing their girlfriends. For White intimate partner homicides in St. Louis, the largest percentage of cases are of men killing their wives (44.2%).

-Table 2b. about here-

In Philadelphia, a relationship was found between the offender's race and *motive* (infidelity versus other) when controlling for gender. A weak effect for gender is found in the significant relationship between motive and race for males ( $p = .089$ )\* but not for females. Intimate partner homicides committed by African American males are slightly more likely to involve fidelity as a motive than are homicides committed by Whites or African American females. No effect relationship was found between motive and race of offender in St. Louis.

The offender's race and the method of killing in Philadelphia was compared and found to be significantly different between the two races. Shooting was the major method of attack for White offenders (56.3%) while the methods of shooting (40.4%) and stabbing (43.6%) were nearly equal for African American offenders. When controlling for gender, the difference in method type show statistically significant differences for females but not for males. Shooting was more common among White female offenders (52.2%) while stabbing was more frequent with African American female offenders (67.5%).

For both White and African American offenders in St. Louis, the majority of homicides were committed with a gun (White - 58.1%; African Americans - 54.4%). African American offenders were far more likely to stab their intimate partners (34.5%) than White offenders (14%), and a larger number of White offenders employed methods other than shooting or stabbing to kill their partners (27.9%) compared to African American offenders (11.1%). These differences were statistically significant ( $p = .003$ ). When controlling for gender, the differences are significant for males ( $p = .046$ ) but not for females ( $p = .530$ ), which is opposite to the findings in Philadelphia. However, since St. Louis contained fewer cases than Philadelphia, several cells had counts below the expected count and therefore the  $X^2$  statistic may not be reliable.

Comparisons were made between the victim's blood alcohol content (BAC) in Philadelphia (BAC records

not available in St. Louis data) and for the variable *drinking* (reports of alcohol use by either the victim or offender) in Philadelphia and St. Louis. However, for both variables, the number of unknown cases amounted to nearly half of all cases. The offender's race compared to victim's BAC or with reports of *drinking* was not found to be statistically significant in either city.

Significant differences were found for marital status with a larger percentage of African American killing single partners (75.3%) in comparison to married (24.7%). The distribution for White offenders is nearly split with offenders killing their single partners only slightly less (45.3%) than married partners (54.7%).

### ***Multinomial Analysis***

Preliminary analyses reflect interesting racial differences for female offenders with African American women committing more intimate homicides per every one hundred intimate homicides committed by African American men than White women commit to every one hundred homicides committed by White men. Using multinomial regression we compare white females to African American females with regards individual characteristics of the offender and in the context of community effects of the neighborhood in which the crime took place.

In St. Louis, the offender's characteristic multinomial model which included motive, method, and victim's marital status showed only marital status to be statistically different between White and African American offenders, (with White females more likely to be married than African American females). Similarly, marital status was significantly different between White and African American offenders in the model for Philadelphia. However, in Philadelphia, significant differences were found in method. No difference was found in motive.

The neighborhood model, which included percent black, percent with high school education or higher, percent renter occupied, ratio of male to female employment, ratio of percent of married males to percent of married female, and the control for year. In Philadelphia, the only variables which proved to be significantly different for White compared to African American female offenders were the variables percent black, percent renter occupied, and the ratio of percent of married males to percent of married female. In St. Louis, significant differences between White and African American female offenders were found for percent black.

Models including an age disparity variable are still in progress as are additional analysis and interpretation of the findings.





**A THREE-CITY ANALYSIS OF ELDER HOMICIDE**  
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**ABSTRACT**

Growth in the proportion of U.S. elderly has been accompanied by an increase in scholarly focus upon crime involving older persons. This study examines lethal violence in the cities of Chicago, Houston and Miami for the period of 1985 through 1994. Using the National Consortium on Violence Research (NCOVR) Multi-city Homicide File, we focus upon homicide victims and offenders age 65 or older, by comparing characteristics of incidents involving this age group to those involving younger victims and offenders. In doing so, this analysis contributes to the research literature on the unique aspects of lethal violence among the elderly that has typically focused upon national-level data. This, in turn, increases the information available to criminal justice practitioners, social service providers and public policy-makers.

**INTRODUCTION**

Violent crime victimization of the elderly has been historically one of least studied areas in criminology (Bachman, *et al.*, 1998; Chu & Kraus, 2004). This may be due to the fact that the elderly – those who are 65 years of age or older – comprise the smallest segment of the population (Bachman, *et al.*, 1998) and are the least victimized of all age groups (Eve, 1985; Fattah, 1993; Kennedy & Silverman, 1990; Johnson-Dalzine, 1996). It is well established that the elderly experience relatively low rates of victimization despite their high levels of fear of violent crime (Kennedy & Silverman, 1990).

Recently, increased attention has been given to the elderly as victims of crime, abuse, and exploitation. This is not without reason: the number of those who are aged 65 or older is steadily rising, with this being the fastest growing age group in the United States (Stevens, *et al.*, 1999). In 1970, one out of ten Americans were older than 65, the ratio had increased to one out of eight in 1990. Projections are that this ratio will be one in five within the next 20 years (Bachman, *et al.*, 1998).

With this increase in the number of seniors, it is expected that the incidence of violent crime victimization of the elderly may also increase (Chu & Kraus, 2004). This will in turn exact greater toll in terms of “costs for medical treatment, lost time away from work, long-term care, and loss of independent living, as well as the financial burden to care for those without insurance” (Chu & Kraus, 2004, p. 72).

**RELATED LITERATURE**

**Homicide Incidence**

FBI Supplementary Bureau of Justice Statistics estimate that about five percent of all homicides are of persons age 65 or older, with males slightly more likely than females to be homicide victims. Chu and Kraus (2004), using the National Injury Mortality Statistics of the Centers for Disease Control, note that elderly homicide rates in

the United States have been declining since 1980, with about 3 to 4 homicide victims per 100,000 elderly every year.

#### Circumstances, Relationships, Locations

Some studies of age-specific homicides suggest that the elderly are more likely to be killed by family members in or near their homes (Cohen & Felson, 1979; Messner & Tardiff, 1985). This is because they spend more time in their homes and interact mainly with family members. “While their routine activities protect them from strangers and predatory crime, they do not thwart family (and perhaps friends) who would prey on their vulnerability” (Kennedy & Silverman, 1990, p. 309).

A somewhat larger body of research indicates that the elderly are disproportionately victimized in felony-related homicides (Copeland, 1986; Silverman & Kennedy, 1987; Maxfield, 1989; Kennedy & Silverman, 1990; Nelsen & Huff-Corzine, 1998; Chu & Kraus, 2004). Kennedy and Silverman (1990) report that the elderly are more than twice as likely as those who are younger to be killed during a felony event, and that they are most at risk for theft-related victimization, especially in their homes. Similarly, Chu and Kraus’ (2004) analysis indicated that elderly victims were more likely than younger victims to be killed at home, in a business or store, and outdoors; and that felony-related circumstances were more likely to precede elderly homicides than arguments. Nelsen and Huff-Corzine (1998) posit that this high risk of felony-related victimization is related to their routine activities/lifestyle wherein they spend more time at home and may lack capable guardianship.

Nelsen and Huff-Corzine (1998), using Chicago homicide data for 1975-1981, found that older homicide victims were more likely to be socially distant from their offenders than were younger victims. Bachman, *et al.*, (1998) disclose that individuals older than 65 are just as likely to be killed by strangers as by someone known to them. In a survey of the data on homicides from the National Center for Health Statistics from 1987 to 1996, Stevens, *et al.*, (1999) observe that a total of 50 percent of older adult homicide victims were killed by a person they knew, 25 percent by a family member, and 25 percent by an acquaintance. These relative proportions were similar to the proportion for all homicides in the United States (Stevens, *et al.*, 1999).

Among the oldest old, those age 80 and older, Chicago data indicate that for the period of 1965 to 2000, the vast majority of homicide victims were killed in their own homes. Specifically, 67 percent of the 101 male victims and 74 percent of the 128 female victims aged 80 or older were killed in their own homes (Block, 2006).

#### Methods of Killing

Studies on elderly victimization show that a firearm is the weapon most commonly used in elderly homicides (Stevens, *et al.*, 1999; Safarik, *et al.*, 2002), while strangulation is rarely used (Fox & Levin, 1991; Stevens, *et al.*, 1999). The 1996 Supplementary Homicide Reports indicate that a total of 35 percent of homicides among older adults for that year involved firearms, with 72 percent of these involving a handgun. The report likewise shows that the other most common methods of homicide used for that year were cutting (23 percent), blunt objects (14 percent), bodily force (11 percent), and strangulation (4 percent). Other unspecified means accounted for 13 percent of all homicides. According to NCHS data, these relative proportions changed only slightly from 1987 to 1996 (Stevens, *et al.*, 1999).

#### Sex and Race

Notwithstanding the overall decline in crimes rates in the United States, crime remains a major problem for African American elderly (Johnson-Dalzine, *et al.*, 1996). This is believed to be related to the deteriorating conditions in many of their neighborhoods and their close proximity to African American men aged 20 to 29 – a population that has been found to be disproportionately involved in violent crimes. According to Johnson-Dalzine, *et al.*, (1996), the U.S. Department of Justice statistics for 1994 indicates that older African Americans were

victimized at a rate twice that reported for White American seniors in several crime categories, including community and household crimes. The overall rate of violent crime victimization among African American elderly was 7.6 per thousand, compared to 3.6 per thousand for White American elderly. With respect to violent household crime victimization, the rate for the former was 154.1 per thousand and only 70.9 per thousand for the latter.

Using data from the National Incident-Based Reporting System (NIBRS) for the period 1995 to 1996, Chu and Kraus (2004) studied the factors that could explain death as the outcome of assault with particular attention to the elderly age group. Among other things, they found that elderly Whites were slightly more likely than elderly African Americans to be homicide victims; also, that the assault fatality rates (number of deaths per 100 assaults) for elderly victims were much higher than victims younger than 65 regardless of their relationship to the offender and weapon used.

Homicide of elderly women is generally a rare phenomenon (Safarik, *et al.*, 2002). In 1999, elderly female homicides that were reported to the police made up a little over three per cent of all homicides in the United States (Safarik, *et al.*, 2002). Uniform Crime Report data show this percentage to have been fairly stable over the past decade.

## **DATA & METHODS**

Data for this project are taken from the cities of Chicago, Houston and Miami. A multi-city homicide data file for 1985-1994 was compiled under the auspices at the National Consortium on Violence Research (NCOVR) Data Center at Carnegie-Mellon University. The creation of this database was preceded by independent data collection efforts of researchers in the respective cities. Details of homicide incidents for each city were extracted from a combination of police murder logs and narratives, personal interviews and newspaper accounts. While many of the data elements extracted from these city-level sources are found in official FBI data (for example, homicide motive, victim-offender relationship and type of weapon used) this NCOVR file provides otherwise missing data in some cases and more details on motives and situational contexts of homicide in others, overcoming these typical data limitations encountered when using the FBI's Supplementary Homicide Reports. The resulting three-city data file includes 14,443 cases of homicide, including 537 victims and 146 offenders age 65 or older.

Descriptive statistics are calculated, to determine the comparative frequencies of homicide offending and victimization for persons age 65 or older and younger age categories of persons. Cross-tabulations are then computed to determine the significance of any differences in the characteristics of homicide victimization between the younger and older age groups. The same is done to analyze any notable differences in eldercide across these three cities for the ten-year period under investigation.

## **RESEARCH QUESTIONS**

For the period of 1985-1994, in the cities of Chicago, Houston, and Miami:

- 1) How does the incidence of homicide involving persons age 65 or older compare to that of younger age groups?
- 2) How do the circumstances of elder homicide compare to those of younger age groups?
- 3) What are the sex- and race/ethnicity-specific characteristics of homicide among older persons?

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## **The Proof is in the Penmanship: Convicting Three of America's Earliest Serial Murderers: Holmes, Fish, & Hickey**

**Vance McLaughlin, Ph.D.**

This paper focuses on letters/postcards written to the parents of victims by three infamous murderers who would be classified as serial: H.H. Holmes, Albert Fish, and J. Frank Hickey. In each case, written documents were the major clues that lead to their arrests. Holmes' demise was hastened by the discovery of a victim's letters. In the cases of Fish and Hickey, it was their own correspondences that lead to their downfall.

Each murderer and his crimes will be briefly discussed. The letters and/or postcards they sent to a parent of one of their victims will be examined. Holmes' motive for writing a letter to the mother of three of his victims is fairly obvious. The motivation behind Hickey and Fish's correspondence is more speculative.

### The Killers

Each of these men had many things in common and some striking differences. They all were white males, less than 5'8" tall, and under 160 pounds. These killers relied on their personality and façade to maneuver victims into their control. They were all well dressed and had committed cons and swindles before they began to kill. A difference was in motive. Holmes' motive was primarily greed, while Hickey and Fish both were stimulated by the act of murder.

#### H.H. Holmes

H.H. Holmes was born Herman Webster Mudgett in New Hampshire in 1860. Throughout his life, he would use many aliases, with Holmes being the one he became infamous for. Holmes graduated from the University of Michigan's Medical School. During his time in medical training, he completed a number of successful swindles involving corpses including insurance fraud. Holmes would fall into the category of a "comfort" serial murderer, who kills to improve their status in life (Holmes, DeBurger, Holmes, 1988).



Holmes built a three story building in Chicago that was referred to as the "murder castle" after his arrest. The construction was designed to help him commit murder in the most effective and efficient way possible. He had chutes that allowed gravity to transport the bodies to the basement where he had had a crematorium and dissecting lab.

Holmes confessed to twenty-eight murders but it is felt that he was being overly conservative in his estimate. After a six day of trial, the jury deliberated for a minute, but stayed out for two and a half hours for appearance sake. He was found guilty and hanged in 1896 (Geyer, 1896; Larson, 2003).

H.H. Holmes was quite careful about not writing anything incriminating on paper. What lead to his downfall were letters written by one of his victims, fifteen year old Alice Pitezel. Alice had written letters to her mother while she and her younger brother and sister were in the care of Holmes. Holmes demanded custody of each letter and promised to mail them, which he never did. A detective, Frank Geyer found these letters in one of Holmes's residences while he was in jail for insurance fraud. Geyer read the letters and saw that Alice had consistently written the date and city she was in before she discussed daily events. Geyer and an associate went to each of these cities and traced the movements of Holmes. Holmes killed the boy in Indianapolis and the two girls in Toronto, Canada. Geyer found the burned remains of the boy and the bodies of the girls (Larson, 2003). Holmes did write one letter to

the mother of the children, Carrie A. Pitezal dated June 17, 1895. The letter was not a short missive from jail but a 2266-word composition.

The letter is a tour de force written by a desperate man who realizes that Carrie may be the key to his survival in court. If she could be convinced to take the stand and tell the jury that it is impossible that friend with the character of Holmes could have hurt her children, the jury may not convict him. To briefly sum up what Holmes said, the following are key points he related:

1. My accusers are crueler to you than me. I tried to get you bail as I have always tried to help you.
2. Your husband, Ben, was a drunk and bigamist. He constantly squandered money that you needed. I tried to stop him.
3. *Holmes goes into intricate details of his travels during the time the murders were supposed to be committed.*
4. "I was as careful of the children as if they were my own, and you know me well enough to judge me better than strangers here can do...Knowing me as you do, can you imagine me killing little and innocent children, especially without motive?"
5. Your children are safe in London but the woman who has them won't come forward because she fears for her safety.
6. If exonerated, he then will be allowed to continue to take care of her and her family again, as he has done in the past.

Holmes does a masterful job of trying to convince her he is innocent. He also tells her that she has the right to obtain Alice's letters and they are at city hall. He knows that the only hope of acquittal is if Carrie gets on the witness stand and appeals to the jury that he is innocent.

### J. Frank Hickey

J. Frank Hickey was born on October 29, 1865. Hickey worked a number of different jobs and was self-educated. He easily passed himself off as an electrician or engineer.

Hickey killed a man and two boys with a minimum of nine years between each murder. It is probable that he killed others, including a woman.

Hickey was tried in 1912 and the jury took 25 hours to reach a compromise verdict of 2<sup>nd</sup> degree murder. The judge was required to sentence ]



ears to life in


prison. He died before his minimum sentence was reached.

Hickey was a prolific writer of anonymous correspondence, usually in the form of postcards. He wrote postcards to the father of his seven-year-old victim, Joey Joseph, and then to the Chiefs of the Lackawanna and Buffalo Police Departments in New York. During the next few months, George Joseph received more correspondence from the anonymous author. George Joseph received three pieces of anonymous correspondence from Boston on the same day, Monday, November 11, 1912. The first were two postcards dated November 9, 1912. They often referred to sexual acts that had been performed on Joey before he was murdered. The beginning of the end for Hickey came when photographs of the postcards were published on the front page of the *Buffalo Evening Times*. A friend who read the newspaper and then went to the police department recognized Hickey's handwriting. Once the police had

the name of the anonymous writer, they then found signed correspondence Hickey had sent to others with a postmark of Whiting, New Jersey. Hickey was arrested at the Keswick Colony, a retreat for alcoholics, near Whiting within a week.

### Albert Fish

Hamilton “Albert” Fish was born in Washington, D.C. on May 19, 1870. When his father died when he was six, he was sent to an orphanage. He later would work as a painter.

Fish preyed on children and in a number of cases would dismember their bodies and prepare elaborate dishes of their body parts for consumption. His trial The trial for the murder of Grace Budd lasted ten days and the jury reached its verdict in less than an hour.  1936.

Albert Fish sent a letter to the mother of Grace Budd shortly after her murder describing her death, dismemberment, and how he enjoyed consuming a meal consisting of some of her cooked body parts. The envelope that contained the letter had been embossed with an emblem. A police detective, King, was able to determine the emblem represented the New York Private Chauffeur’s Benevolent Association. With the cooperation of the membership, King found a janitor who admitted to stealing some of the stationery and giving it to Frank Howard, which was one of Fish’s aliases. This clue lead to Fish’s arrest.

### Why Did They Write to a Parent?

Holmes wrote a letter to Carrie Pitezel in an attempt to save himself from imprisonment or death. The more difficult question of motivation concerns the writing of correspondence by Hickey and Fish to the parent of a victim. While it is impossible to determine their motivation with certainty, the following explanations are offered, chiefly based on what they wrote.

Avinoam Sapir developed a technique called Scientific Content Analysis (SCAN) for interpreting written statements made by those accused of crime. According to Sapir, at least 90% of statements made are truthful, and most people do not attempt to lie directly. Instead, they hedge, omit crucial facts, feign forgetfulness, and pretend ignorance. The reason for this is that liars are reluctant to commit themselves to their deceptions, instead preferring to use conversational tricks to avoid damaging admissions.

Sapir’s method is controversial and the technique is used during a meeting with the suspect and the police. But his central theme, that guilty people unconsciously reveal parts of their crime, seems valid. The anonymous correspondence of Hickey and Fish seem to be more difficult to understand because they consciously wrote and mailed them to parents. It appears to some that they want to be arrested.

Whitman and Akutagawa (2004) focus on the damaged conscience of serial killers.

“In the descriptions of serial murderers, the possible role of guilt is usually denied and even ridiculed. The concept of sociopathy is generally described as antisocial impulses without presence of guilt. However, in most child upbringing, teaching of right and wrong is involved even if it is miniscule and rare. Therefore, presence of guilt is likely to be there and may even emerge briefly in the overall behavior although the deviant action is dominant. Guilt and shame may be involved in such patterns although they may be much more subtle and hidden than a “wish to be caught.” In serial killers, the conscience structure is fragmentary, poorly integrated in the personality, and of limited capacity for control and guidance.”

Hickey not only wrote postcards to the father of one of his victims, but also wrote at least sixteen others to the police. It may be that it was not so much of a guilty conscience that sparked their desire to write, though Hickey said his postcards were to “help the Joseph family” with their grief. Fish had been arrested before for sending obscene letters.

A more likely explanation for the motivation of Hickey and Fish was that they both received pleasure from the thought of a parent reading a graphic description of their child’s murder. Both had reached the stage of paraphilia where they needed additional stimulation to attain similar euphoria when reliving the initial rush when they killed these children. They could now add this imagined emotional outpouring of an adult to their continually dimming pleasure of the killing. This combination of events produced pleasure. Concomitantly, their sense of omnipotence would be increased.

### Conclusion

All three serial murderers wrote letters to a victim’s parent. Holmes was motivated by self-preservation. Hickey and Fish tried to feed their sense of pleasure by producing pain. An examination of their correspondence offers insights into the motivations of serial murderers that will enhance our understanding of similar crimes.

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## **Homicide clearance rates: Have we ignored the role of cognitive variables in the investigative process?**

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Homicide clearance rates have dropped precipitously in the past forty years (e.g., Regoecki, Kennedy, & Silverman, 2000). This decline has occurred despite the advent of forensic technologies that are able to analyze physical evidence that heretofore was not interpretable. For example, from 1961-1991 unsolved homicide rates within the United States increased from seven to 33% (Cardarelli & Cavanagh, 1992). The trend has continued: By 2004, the uncleared rate increased to 37% (FBI, 2004). During the same period, the frequency of stranger homicides increased, leading various commentators to attribute decreased clearance rates to serial offenders (e.g., Ressler, Burgess, & Douglas, 1988), contract killings (Schlesinger, 2001), the increased use of firearms (e.g., Riedel & Przbyski, 1993), and various other criminological or sociological factors (e.g., Regoecki et al. 2000). Responsibility for this trend has clearly been assigned to sociological variables, such as those previously noted. Universally, researchers have paid little attention to investigator factors, almost suggesting that this is a static, unchangeable variable. This was underscored in one study, where the authors opined that “pressure and criticism

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<sup>1</sup> This article was originally presented at the Homicide Research Working Group, Summer Conference, in Richmond, Virginia, on June 9, 2006, with joint sponsorship from the Federal Bureau of Investigation. The author's contact information is 3760 Highland Drive, Suite 500, Salt Lake City, Utah 84106-4260. Phone 801-273-3365 email: [dr.zelig@att.net](mailto:dr.zelig@att.net). The author retired from the Salt Lake City Police Department as a command-level officer. While employed as a police officer, he took a leave of absence and obtained a Ph.D. from the University of Alabama. He has a national independent practice, based in Salt Lake City, where he provides continuing education, general forensic consulting, and consulting to defense and prosecution teams on suspected criminal homicides.

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aimed at law enforcement agencies. . . . are misguided. Our results signify that the odds of clearing a case are, for the most part, substantially affected by whether the homicide is crime-related” (Regoecki, et al., 2000, p. 155). Other than the book by Keppel and Birnes (2003), which attributed delayed closure of several high profile serial killer cases on the failure of investigative teams to possess sufficient information management skills, the focus on identifying factors responsible for unsolved cases has remained on variables largely out of the control of investigators. In their book, those authors noted that investigators failed to realize that they already had the identity of the killer within their data bases. With such emphasis given to sociological variables that predict clearance rates, it is little surprise that no attention has been devoted to examining psychological and cognitive variables that impact an investigator’s ability to accurately classify evidence and other forms of information. As a result, the ability of an investigator to evaluate competing hypotheses may suffer when confronted with a challenging case. The author, who has concurrently served as a law enforcement officer and a forensic psychologist, has been troubled by two related observations, which are pertinent to the role of human decision making and bias in challenging cases:

First observation: In the context of providing homicide consultations – or profiles as they are referred to in the media – I found that they were embraced or discarded depending on how consistent my opinion was with the pet theory of the case manager or investigator. Indeed, members of homicide teams, who may work the same case for

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months or years, become very biased toward their favorite theory. In this sense, they are not unlike scientists who claim to be open to alternative explanations, yet whose investment in their particular theory is virtually unshakeable (see Mahoney & DeMonbreun, 1978). Such bias is understandable, and helpful, if their theory is ultimately correct. I am not protesting that some of my agencies have not received my proposals with applause, but it is evident that by the time a consultation is requested from a forensic psychologist, an interesting paradox is present: They have exhausted leads and are desperate for help, yet have sometimes closed their mind to alternative hypotheses before ruling them out. To deal with this resistance, I have found it helpful to elaborate competing hypotheses to explain the evidence, and to specify the strengths and weaknesses of each hypothesis. Such discussion lowers resistance, removes bias, and sometimes stimulates thought in new directions that is helpful, even if the hypothesis that prompted the new line of exploration is ultimately shown to be incorrect.

Second observation: In professions other than police work, there is much greater recognition of the role of cognitive bias in problem solving and classification of data than in police work. Cognitive errors and bias are given serious consideration, such as in aviation safety and healthcare. In healthcare, where the rates of correct diagnostic classification have also not improved despite more sophisticated diagnostic technologies (e.g., Ermenc, 1999), scrutiny has been applied to the factors believed responsible for misdiagnosis or impaired clinical judgment.

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Such advances in providing decision makers with knowledge of normal human cognitive biases and useful heuristics have escaped application in the criminal investigative professions. While there are clearly differences between the classification tasks of a health care professional and a homicide investigator, some of these tasks are strikingly similar. For this reason, some of the lessons learned from healthcare may be directly applicable to those who work in an investigative milieu. And of course, I acknowledge that health care professionals have a huge advantage in honing their decision making skills because they appear more likely to receive definitive feedback about their performance than an investigator working a low-solvability case. With awareness that criminal investigation is unique in some ways, I will now proceed, discussing factors that are likely to be applicable in the investigative context.

**Cognitive errors that may thwart progress in homicide investigations:**

<b>Cognitive Error</b>	<b>Medical/Psychological Diagnostic Implication</b>	<b>Homicide Investigation Implication</b>
Confirmatory bias (Bærum, Otto, & Gelding, 1993)	Once the clinician decides that he or she has correctly diagnosed the disorder, they tend to ignore data inconsistent with their hypothesis	Once the investigator decides that he or she has correctly identified the motive and/or perpetrator, they tend to ignore data inconsistent with their crime hypothesis.
Premature closure	A type of confirmatory bias, once the clinician believes they have a satisfactory explanation they stop looking for other factors.	Once the investigator decides that he or she knows who the correct suspect(s) are, they stop considering competing hypotheses and looking for evidence inconsistent with their theory.

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<b>Cognitive Error</b>	<b>Medical/Psychological Diagnostic Implication</b>	<b>Homicide Investigation Implication</b>
Failure to consider base rates and known probabilities	When psychologists predict low base behaviors, or classify a patient as having a rare disorder, their classification decision is less likely to be correct than if a higher base rate classification is selected.	Homicide investigators, sometimes unduly biased by unusual aspects of the crime scene, may forget to rule out the highest base rate scenarios first, before considering low probability scenarios (e.g., Geberth, 1996)
Over confidence in one's ability to detect deception.	Many forensic psychologists believe they are better than the average person at detecting deception, yet controlled research indicates a psychologist's ability to detect deception is not better than lesser trained groups (e.g., Eckman & O'Sullivan, 1991)	Many investigators believe they are adroit at detecting deception, yet controlled research indicates a police investigator's ability to detect deception is not better than lesser trained groups (e.g., Eckman & O'Sullivan, 1991 <sup>2</sup> ). With such unwarranted confidence, some investigators, especially with limited time, may not corroborate the explanations given by suspects who appear to be truthful.
Failure to manage data	In medicine and psychological the limitations of a practitioner to engage in "configural analysis" has resulted in recognition that the "more data the better" may result in decreased diagnostic accuracy. There is an optimal amount of data that can be meaningfully interpreted by a single individual.	The investigator needs to be an expert in managing and simplifying data, especially in high profile cases. Keppel and Birnes (2003) believe that many serial killer investigations were unduly protracted due to poor data management.

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<sup>2</sup> While these data are humbling for professionals who rely on their ability to detect deception, one limitation of such research is that the experimental subjects are only being exposed to brief statements from the sender. It is possible that in circumstances where exposure is extended, such as during testimony or repeated police interviews, that detection accuracy increases. Nevertheless, many investigative decisions have been made on the basis of contacts no longer than those in these experiments. In clinical psychology, decision errors are found when the clinician gives too much weight to an interview and not sufficient weight to corroborative sources of information (e.g., see Cunningham & Reidy, 1999).

<b>Cognitive Error</b>	<b>Medical/Psychological Diagnostic Implication</b>	<b>Homicide Investigation Implication</b>
Erroneous belief in covariation, or overestimating correlation between two observations	The clinician may place increased confidence in their diagnosis, upon noting the presence of two or more symptoms, without realizing that the two symptoms are so highly related, that one is unlikely to present without the other. As a result, the symptoms are given undue weight in clinical decision making	Investigators may over value correlations and may fail to recognize other important correlations. For example, an investigator whose victim was raped, may erroneously believe that only rapists rape, and he or she may exclude suspects with non-rape sexual offense history. In truth, sex offenders are more likely to have 2-3 other paraphilias than a single one (e..g, Abel & Osborn, 1992).
Over reliance on unique data (Prentice & Miller, 1992)	The clinician, when confronting unique or unusual data, may place greater weight on that observation, when in fact, the observation is not more important than other commonplace data.	There is a myriad of reasons why a suspect may leave pieces of unexpected evidence. Giving unusual evidence greater weight in the development of the investigation may divert an investigation from the path that represents the most logical explanation of all of the totality of evidence.

### Discussion

Based on this research, the following questions are offered as a checklist for investigators and psychological consultants, as a means of countering the effects of human bias that left unchecked, may hinder an investigation:

*1. What are the arguments that you can provide that tend to disprove your hypothesis?*

This is especially useful when the investigator strongly believes they have identified the perpetrator. Such questioning poses a win-win proposition: One may find an alternative hypothesis that is more reasonable. If not, this exercise will better prepare this witness to defend the investigative theory in court. Note: Research conducted on physical and

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psychological scientists indicated a strong preference toward collecting evidence to *confirm* one's hypothesis, rather than considering evidence that would *disconfirm* the hypothesis (Mahoney & DeMonbreun, 1978). Thus, even disciplined scientists have difficulty adopting the scientific method as a means of guiding their thinking.

2. *If I were on the other side (defense or prosecution), what weaknesses would be seen in my theory or explanation?*

3. *Am I making assumptions about unproved relationships between events or evidence because I have to achieve closure in a case?*

4. *Did I eliminate suspects because they sounded as if they were telling the truth? Did I obtain corroborative evidence to support their denials (or admissions)?*

5. *Am I placing undue weight on unusual pieces of evidence to the extent that I am not considering more reasonable or parsimonious explanations of the events (i.e., Ockham's razor)?*

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# Describing the Chicago CeaseFire Evaluation

**The object of this presentation is to describe and discuss an ongoing evaluation, not to give results. Please feel free to comment and question**

**Richard Block**  
**Wesley Skogan**

# **Chicago Ceasefire As Described by the Project**

**It is theoretically and  
operationally very different than  
Boston Ceasefire. It is based on  
Spergel's Area Four Project**

# The Five Core Components of the CeaseFire Strategy

- Community Mobilization
- Faith Leader Partnership
- Criminal Justice Collaboration
- Public Education
- Outreach

# Cardinal Francis George and U.S. Rep. Danny Davis at a shooting response



CeaseFire: The Campaign to STOP the Shooting

# Criminal Justice Cooperation

## Types of Cooperation

- DOC meetings

- **The police believe that the Deployment Operations Center accounts for Much of the downturn in violence.**

- Police presence at activities/responses

# Messengers

- Outreach workers
- Volunteers
- Clergy







# Stop. Killing. People.

Look back and look at these events. Take their toll.  
Hopes, fears, families and hearts.

If you're sickened by the violence that's destroying our  
community, killing our kids, and robbing our streets —  
do something. Join us, as together we can end it. Now.

**Give it up for life.**

[www.ceasefirechicago.org](http://www.ceasefirechicago.org)

312-355-0206





# STRONG HEARTS. SAFE STREETS.

Join CEASEFIRE:  
The Campaign to STOP the Shooting.

Fed up with the violence?  
Tired of our kids getting killed?  
Together we can stop it. Now.



CALL 1-866-TD-CEASE

[ceasefirechicago.org](http://ceasefirechicago.org)

Supported by BACARDI. © 2011 CEASEFIRE

**¿Está su hijo en una ganga?**



**Pregúntale antes de que  
sea muy tarde.**

**Unase a CeaseFire**

**866-TO-CEASE**

**[ceasefirechicago.org](http://ceasefirechicago.org)**



# **Outreach: Two Types**

**Outreach workers to supply  
alternatives**

**Violence Interrupters (former  
gang members) to stop  
immediate threats of violence.**

**Violence Interrupters are the most unique and most  
controversial element of the program.**



**Internal Evaluation demonstrates  
remarkable success,  
but many other programs to  
reduce violence are also  
operating in many of the same  
areas.**

**Can CeaseFire account for all of  
the violence reduction?**

## Shootings and Killings in CeaseFire Zones, 2003 - 2004

	Community	Beats	Shootings			Killings		
			2003	2004	Change 03-04	2003	2004	Change 03-04
CeaseFire Zones with Outreach	Southwest	(823, 825)	34	23	-32%	8	5	-38%
	Auburn Gresham	(611, 612)	33	20	-39%	5	4	-20%
	West Humboldt Park	(1111, 1112)	43	22	-49%	11	9	-18%
	West Garfield Park	(1114, 1115)	31	16	-48%	5	2	-60%
	Logan Square	(1413, 2525)	33	12	-64%	12	1	-92%
	Rogers Park	(2422, 2424, 2431, 2432)	26	14	-46%	5	3	-40%
	Maywood		58	22	-62%	20	10	-50%
	Rockford		27	26	-4%	12	8	-33%
CeaseFire Zone Start-ups	Roseland	(511, 512)	52	22	-58%	15	3	-80%
	Englewood	(733)	31	22	-29%	1	9	800%
	Brighton Park	(912, 913)	38	38	0%	6	2	-67%
	East Garfield Park	(1123, 1124, 1125, 1133, 1134, 1135)	111	54	-51%	23	7	-70%
	Belmont Cragin	(2511, 2512, 2522, 2524)	41	29	-29%	6	4	-33%
	CF Zones with Outreach*		200	107	-47%	46	24	-48%
	Start-up CF Beats*		273	165	-40%	51	25	-51%
	Total CF Beats		473	272	-42%	97	49	-49%
	Chicago Total without CF Beats		2498	1509	-40%	502	395	-21%

Data Source: Chicago Police Department's Research and Development Unit. A shooting is defined as an Aggravated Battery with a Firearm. The Police Department Revised the Definition of an Aggravated Battery with a Firearm in July 2003. Maywood data provided by the Maywood Police Department. Created by the Chicago Project for Violence Prevention, 02/03/05.

\* Does not include Maywood and Rockford for purposes of analysis.



**Reductions in Shootings in CeaseFire Zones 2000-2004  
(versus neighboring beats, comparison beats, and the city)**

CeaseFire Community	Beat	'99	'00	'01	'02	'03 <sup>1</sup>	'04	First Year of Implementation	Since Implementation	Neighboring Beats (1st implementation year)	Comparison Beats 2 (1st implementation year)	City (1st implementation year)
W. Garfield Park	1115	44 → 14	15	21	15	9	-68%	-80%	-18%**	-19%**	0%**	
Auburn Gresham	611 & 612	42	54 → 42	45	33	20	-22%	-63%	-16%	+29%*	0%	
W. Humboldt Park	1111 & 1112	85	61	75 → 52	43	22	-31%	-71%	-13%	-20%	-6%	
Southwest Chicago	823 & 825	30	42	55	72 → 24	23	-67%	-68%	-39%*	-30%**	-24%**	
Logan Square	1413 & 2525	30	52	47	50 → 33	12	-34%	-76%	-37%	-7%	-24%	
Average % change							-44%	-71%				
Chicago		4038	4170	4179	3921	2971	1781					
Chicago (minus CF beats)		3807	3947	3945	3681	2823	1695					

Source: Chicago Police Department (CPD) Research and Development Division. This data is based on police reports of crimes and is subject to reporting artifacts.

Shooting refers to an aggravated battery in which a firearm was used.

<sup>1</sup> CPD revised the distinction between assault & battery data definitions as of July 1st 2003.

<sup>2</sup> Comparison beats are police beats with shooting rates similar to the CeaseFire zone the year before CeaseFire is implemented in that zone.

\* p < .05    \*\* p < .01

→ Full CeaseFire implementation with 4 or more outreach workers

**Estimated cost savings of CeaseFire 2004 and 2000-2004  
(medical and criminal justice costs)**

		Estimated number of shootings prevented	Medical Savings <sup>2</sup>	Criminal Justice Savings <sup>3</sup>	Total Cost Savings
2004 <sup>1</sup> Estimates	Est. 1	99	\$3,853,090	\$13,528,647	\$17,381,737
	Est. 2	124	\$4,826,092	\$16,944,972	\$21,771,064
	Est. 3	181	\$7,044,538	\$24,734,193	\$31,778,731
2000-2004 <sup>4</sup>		461	\$17,942,166	\$62,997,033	\$80,939,199

<b>CeaseFire Community</b>	<b>Beats</b>	<b>'00</b>	<b>'01</b>	<b>'02</b>	<b>03</b>	<b>Cumulative</b>
W. Garfield Park	1115	29	28	24	28	<b>109</b>
Grand Blvd +	211 & 221		33	59	--++	<b>92</b>
Auburn Gresham	611 & 612		11	7	18	<b>36</b>
W. Humboldt Park	1111 & 1112			22	26	<b>48</b>
Southwest	823 & 825				36	<b>36</b>
Logan Square	1413 & 2525				16	<b>16</b>
<b>Cumulative</b>		<b>29</b>	<b>72</b>	<b>112</b>	<b>124</b>	<b>337</b>

\*Assumes shootings would have remained constant at pre-CeaseFire implementation levels. **The Chicago Police Department revised the definition of a shooting in July 2003. No estimation of the effects on the data of this change have been done at this time.**

Data source: Chicago Police Department, Research and Development Division. Shooting refers to an aggravated battery in which a firearm was used.

+ Housing changes also a factor.

++ CeaseFire Program in Grand Boulevard ended in 2002.



**Laura Bush endorses Chicago CeaseFire. An independent evaluation is funded by NIJ**

# The Evaluation

**“CeaseFire Presents many difficult evaluation challenges. This is fundamentally a non-experimental, after-only evaluation of the effects of a decentralized and heterogeneous intervention aimed at reducing furtive activities by a hard to reach population being fostered by violent criminal organizations. “**

**The same beats that CeaseFire serves are also served by many other social service agencies and by police efforts at violence suppression.**

**It is a typical Chicago intervention: community based and contractual service delivery coalition.**

# **Two Phase Evaluation Quantitative, Qualitative and Ethnographic**

- **Process Evaluation: How the program works in 14 sites. 11 are contractual**
- **Impact Evaluation: Five Levels**
  - **Area Level Impact on Criminal Incidents**
  - **Area Level Impact on the community**
  - **Gang Level Impact**
  - **Impact on individual gang members**
  - **Cost effectiveness**

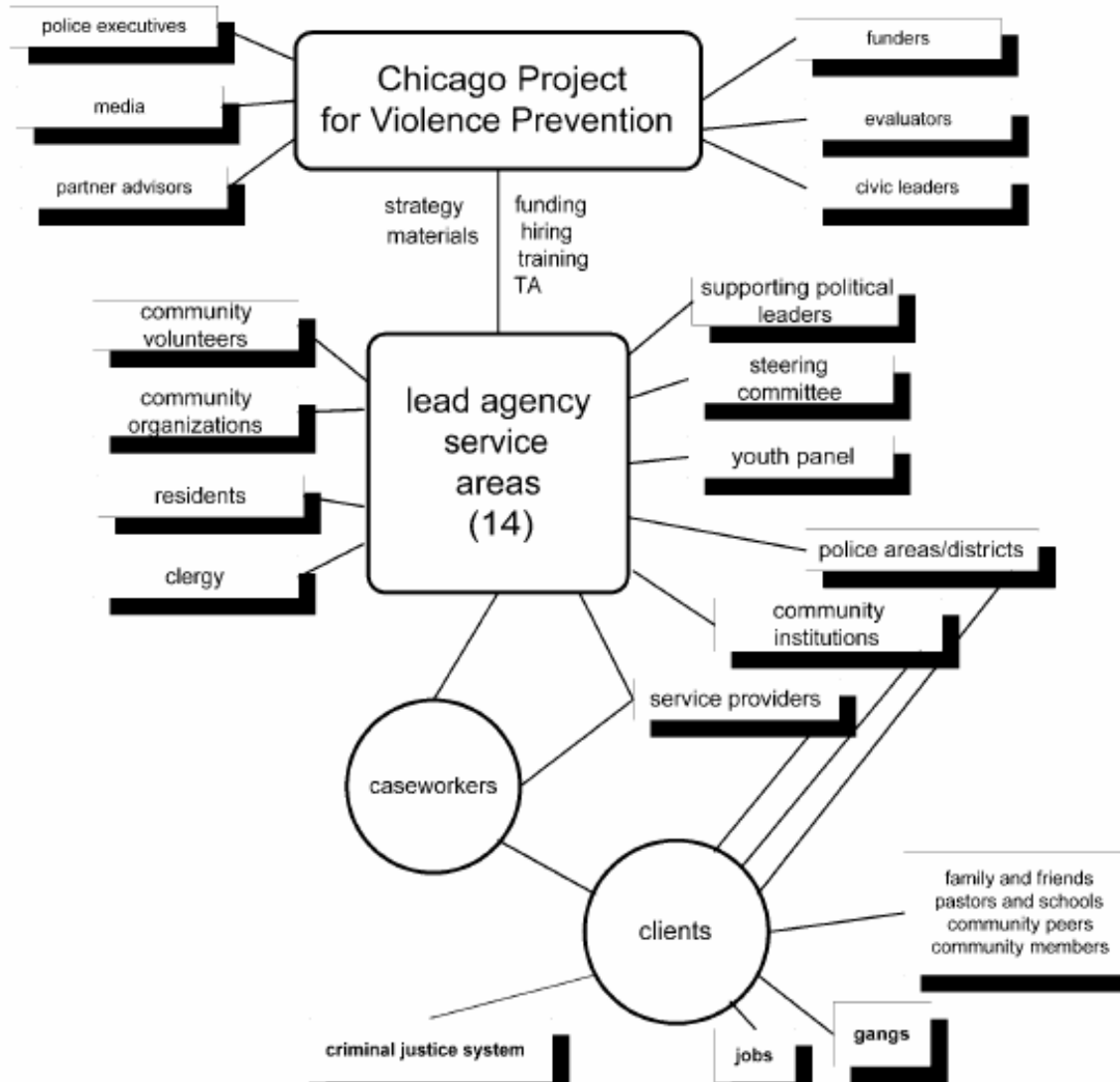
# Process Evaluation

- **Description of the Logic Model. Describe the linkages between program activities and violence reduction.**
- **Independently document program areas at the service-area and outreach-worker level. What is the “real” program?**
- **How do the 14 programs differ? Analysis of the network within and among projects.**

# Chicago CeaseFire's Complex Organization

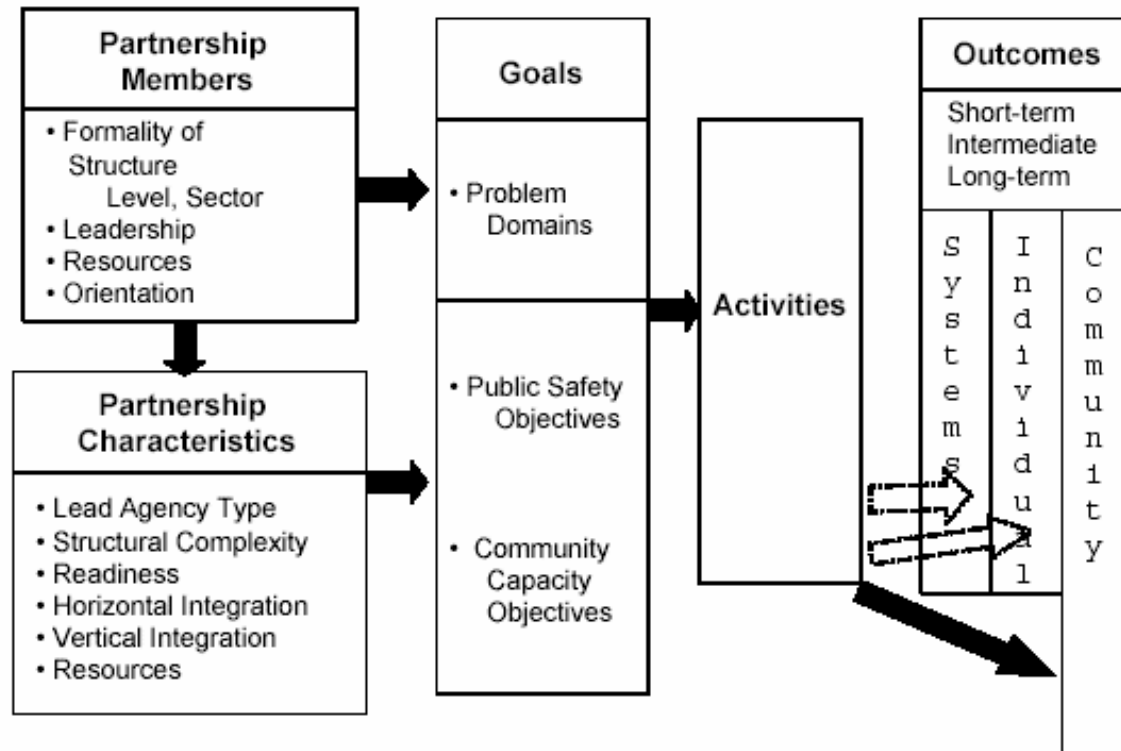
Figure 1

CeaseFire Organization Chart





# Assess the ability of partner's capacity thru a community justice model



**Figure A. Conceptual Framework of Partnership Capacity**

## Understanding Community Justice Partnerships

### Assessing the Capacity to Partner

**Author(s):** Caterina Gouvis Roman, Gretchen E. Moore, Susan Jenkins, Kevonne M. Small

**Other Availability:** [PDF](#) | [Order Online](#) | [Printer-Friendly Page](#)

**Posted:** May 24, 2002

**Citation URL:** <http://www.urban.org/url.cfm?ID=410789>

# **Impact Evaluation**

- **Area Level Impact on Criminal Incidents**
- **Area Level Impact on the Community**
- **Gang Level Impact**
- **Impact on Individual Clients**
- **Cost-Effectiveness Analysis**

# **Area Level Impact on Criminal Incidents**

- **Interrupted program-area time series with a matched comparison—Box-Tiao.**
- **Shots fired and public violence with a firearm.**
- **Long time series of individually geo-coded incidents is available (1991-2005)**
- **But comparison areas will be difficult to find—will require research on the ground.**
- **Violent crimes averted will be used in cost-effectiveness analysis**

# **Area Level Impact on the Community**

- **Goal: Improve the quality of life in Chicago's poorest communities.**
- **Survey reanalysis: Since 1993, CAPS has been evaluated using surveys. These surveys can be used pre and post for the CeaseFire Evaluation.**
- **Structured observation at beat meetings**
- **Ethnographic research focused on groups and organizations and the "real" program. Church groups are a problem.**

# **Gang-Level Impact**

- **Drawn from ethnographies, police data, and interviews with police, violence interrupters and outreach workers.**
- **A formal network analysis of dyadic conflicts based on archival data.**
- **Track CeaseFire interventions**
- **Comparison to matched gangs**
- **In depth interviews**
- **Account for neighborhood context**
- **Impact of DOC Interventions??**

# **Impact on Individual Clients**

- **CeaseFire reports serving 800 or 900 clients. Are they successfully served?**
- **Strategy 1: Comparison of criminal histories of clients versus a matched sample of non-participants.**
- **Strategy 2: Personal Interviews with a sub-sample of participants and non-participants. Concentrate on desistance and CeaseFire.**
- **Finding them is a major problem.**
- **Dosage is also a problem.**

# **Cost-Effectiveness Analysis**

- **Not cost-benefit analysis.**
- **Does not purport to measure the dollar value of benefits. What is the value of a life?**
- **Good measures of cost are available through CeaseFire.**
- **Identify unit prevention costs— estimate the number of violent crimes that were prevented per \$10,000 spent.**

# Can the results be generalized?

- **Is Chicago representative of most major U.S. cities? Probably not. Gangs are larger. Crime is more localized.**
- **But the structure of community and organizational activity to prevent gang violence is common to many cities.**
- **Knowledge of the successes and failures of Chicago CeaseFire can be generalized.**



# HOTEL DIRECTIONS

## FROM RICHMOND INTERNATIONAL AIRPORT – 10 MILES

Take I-64 west to exit 190, merging onto I-95 south. On I-95 south take exit 74A onto I-195 (toll road). Then take the Canal Street exit and pay the toll (\$0.20). Turn right onto 10th Street. Turn right at the light onto Cary Street. For self parking, take an immediate right into the James Center underground parking. For valet parking, take an immediate right onto 12th Street and into the hotel motor entrance.

**Taxi:** Approx. \$20 per cab

**Groome Transportation:** Approx. \$16 one person each way/ \$23 for two people

## FROM NEWPORT NEWS-WILLIAMSBURG INTERNATIONAL AIRPORT – 71 MILES

Take I-64 west to exit 190, merging onto I-95 south. On I-95 south take exit 74A onto I-195 (toll road). Then take the Canal Street exit and pay the toll (\$0.20). Turn right onto 10th Street. Turn right at the light onto Cary Street. For self parking, take an immediate right into the James Center underground parking. For valet parking, take an immediate right onto 12th Street and into the hotel motor entrance.

## DIRECTIONS FROM THE NORTH – VIA I-95 SOUTH

Take exit 74A (Downtown Expressway.). Take the Canal Street exit and make right onto 10th Street, then a right onto Cary Street. Turn right onto 12th Street and make an immediate right into the hotel entrance.

## DIRECTIONS FROM THE SOUTH – VIA I-95 NORTH

Take I-95 north to exit 74A onto I-195 (toll road). Then take the Canal Street exit and pay the toll (\$0.20). Turn right onto 10th Street. Turn right at the light onto Cary Street. For self parking, take an immediate right into the James Center underground parking. For valet parking, take an immediate right onto 12th Street and into the hotel motor entrance.

## DIRECTIONS FROM THE EAST – VIA I-64 WEST

Take I-64 west to exit 190 merging onto I-95 south. On I-95 south take exit 74A onto I-195 (toll road). Then take the Canal Street exit and pay the toll (\$0.20). Turn right onto 10th Street. Turn right at the light onto Cary Street. For self parking, take an immediate right into the James Center underground parking. For valet parking, take an immediate right onto 12th Street and into the hotel motor entrance.

## DIRECTIONS FROM THE WEST – VIA I-64 EAST

Take I-64 east to exit 75 merging onto I-95 south. On I-95 south take exit 74A onto I-195 (toll road). Then take the Canal Street exit and pay the toll (\$0.20). Turn right onto 10th Street. Turn right at the light onto Cary Street. For self parking, take an immediate right into the James Center underground parking. For valet parking, take an immediate right onto 12th Street and into the hotel motor entrance.

