

Homicides Connected to Other Homicides
An Examination of the Chicago Homicide Dataset, 1965-2000¹
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The Chicago Homicide Dataset (CHD), one of the largest and most detailed datasets on violence ever collected in the United States, contains information on every homicide in police records from 1965 to 2000 — over 200 variables and over 27,000 homicides. Unburdened by many of the limitations inherent in national statistics (the Supplementary Homicide Reports of the UCR), the CHD is organized so that questions about victims, offenders, or incidents (and inter-relationships among them) can be answered. With the CHD, it is possible to conduct analyses of homicide in Chicago for specific racial/ ethnic, age, and gender groups, within specific community areas or geographic patterns, across 36 years, and also to analyze homicides connected to other homicides.

The Chicago Homicide Dataset has been compiled over many years by Carolyn Rebecca Block of the Illinois Criminal Justice Information Authority and Richard L. Block of Loyola University Chicago, working in close cooperation with the Chicago Police Department. The data collection was initially established in 1967 by Richard Block and Franklin Zimring of the University of Chicago Law School, working with the Chicago Police Department. Subsequent contributions were made by Margo Wilson and Martin Daly of McMaster University. Support for the Chicago Homicide Project has been provided over the years by the Illinois Criminal Justice Information Authority, Loyola University Chicago and the University of Chicago Law School under grants from the National Institute of Justice, Ford Foundation, Bureau of Justice Statistics, National Institute of Mental Health, Harry Frank Guggenheim Foundation, National Institute of Occupational Safety and Health, and the Joyce Foundation. Since 1979, the Chicago Homicide Dataset has been maintained by the Illinois Criminal Justice Information Authority.

The Chicago Homicide Dataset for 1965-1995 has been deposited in the National Archive of Criminal Justice Data, Inter-university Consortium for Political and Social Research (ICPSR), University of Michigan, and is available from the Archive. An updated edition of their NIJ Violence Data CD-ROM is currently under production. The revised 1965-2000 dataset will be archived after cleaning is completed. For more information about the archived CHD, see the NACJD Web site, "Homicide Data User Resource Guide," at: <http://www.icpsr.umich.edu/nacjd>

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Since the beginning of the CHD data collection, information has been collected linking one homicide victim to another. These links have included not only victims killed in the same incident (multiple-victim homicides), but also other connections between homicide incidents, such as homicides committed by the same offender. In addition, the un-archived version of the dataset contains narrative comments written by homicide detectives in the Murder Analysis Report. These comments are not available to the public, for confidentiality reasons, but in cleaning the data we have created a number of variables based on the narrative information. The purpose of this paper is to describe the characteristics of these multiple-victim and other connected homicides, using all these sources of information.

There has been quite a bit of previous analysis in the literature of multiple-victim and other connected homicides, but much of it has been from the offender perspective, developing profiles of serial and other multiple-victim offenders (see Holmes & Holmes, 2001 or Fox & Levin, 1998, for a review). In contrast, this paper is written from the victim's perspective. Instead of the offender-based or the incident-based Chicago Homicide Dataset, the foundation of the analysis presented here is the victim-based CHD. In the victim-based data, there is one record for each of the 27,345 victims. All analysis is victim-based. This means that individual offenders are often represented more than once, especially in an analysis of multiple victims. However, to counter-balance much of the current literature, which is written from the offender's viewpoint, and because the CHD is collected at the victim level, this initial descriptive analysis is victim-based.

Though the CHD contains information on every homicide victim known to the police, the extent of information on offenders and their motives is not complete. Some cases are uncleared. Other cases are cleared after the police Murder Analysis Report (MAR) is completed, and the report is never updated. In addition, because the CHD does not contain offender identifiers, positive linking of offenders across cases depends on the information written in the MAR narrative. The detail of information in the narrative tends to differ from year to year, probably according to the enthusiasm for detail of the detective assigned to the task. Therefore, we must assume that many links between homicides are missing in the following analysis.

The following, then, is a descriptive analysis of multiple-victim and homicides connected to other homicides in Chicago. Of the 27,345 victims in the CHD from 1965 to 2000, 1792 were killed in an incident where at least one other person was killed, and 731 were killed in a homicide incident with another connection to another homicide (such as having the same offender). Of the 1792 multiple-victim homicides 71 were also connected to another homicide. The analysis devotes a section to multiple-victim homicide and a section to other connected homicide. For each of these, we identify several specific types of homicide, describe the characteristics of each, and compare the characteristics across types.

Multiple Victims in a Single Incident

Of the 27,345 victims in the CHD 1965-2000, 1792 were killed in a multiple-victim homicide incident. We have found six general types of multiple-victim homicide.

1. Gang-motivated homicide (gang motivation, regardless of gang membership). Of the 3379 victims killed in a gang motivated homicide, 231 (7%) were killed in a multiple-victim incident. Gang-motivated homicide accounts for 13% of the 1792 victims killed in a multiple-victim homicide. The maximum number of victims killed in a gang-motivated homicide was four. Of the 3379 gang-motivated homicide victims, 200 (6%) were killed in a two-victim gang homicide, 27 (0.8%) were killed in a three-victim gang homicide, and four (0.1%) were killed in a four-victim gang homicide.

2. Arson homicide (primary cause of death of the victim). Of the 313 arson homicide victims in the CHD, 215 (69%) were killed in a multiple-victim incident. Arson homicide accounts for 12% of the 1792 victims killed in a multiple-victim homicide. Two victims were killed in a multiple-victim homicide that was gang-motivated and where the primary cause of death was arson. The maximum number of victims of a single arson homicide from 1965 to 2000 was 23. Of the 313 arson homicide victims, 34 (11%) were killed in a two-victim arson homicide, 33 (11%) were killed in a three-victim arson homicide, 58 (19%) were killed in a four-victim arson homicide, and the remaining 90 (29%) were killed in an arson homicide with five or more victims.

3. Familicide (O killed at least two of O's family members in the same incident). By definition, all of the 200 victims of familicide in the CHD were killed in a multiple-victim incident. Familicide accounts for 11% of the 1792 victims killed in a multiple-victim homicide. (In addition, 11 victims were killed in a homicide where the offender inflicted a non-lethal injury upon one or two other family members.) There was no gang-motivated familicide in the CHD. However, arson was the primary cause of death for 22 (11%) of the 200 familicide victims. The maximum number of victims in a familicide was seven. Of the 200 familicide victims, 126 (63%) were killed in a two-victim incident, 54 (27%) were killed in a three-victim incident, eight (4%) were killed in a four-victim incident, five (2.5%) were killed in a five-victim incident, and seven (3.5%) were killed in a seven-victim incident.

4. Other mass murder incidents. Holmes and Holmes (2001:54) define mass murder as "the killing of a number of people at one time and in one place. In their review of the literature, they find that most scholars define "number of people" as a minimum of either three or four (Duwe (2007) argues for four). Here, we define mass murder as the killing of three or more victims. For the sake of comparative analysis between types of multiple-victim homicide, we exclude gang-motivated homicide, arson homicide, and familicide. Thus, this analysis considers "other mass murder" to be killings of three or more victims in one incident, other than gang-motivated, arson or familicide. The 172 victims of mass murder in the CHD by this definition account for almost 10% (9.6%) of the 1792 multiple-victim homicides. The maximum number of victims in any mass murder incident was eight. Of the 172 mass murder victims, 114 (66%) were killed in a

three-victim homicide, 50 (29%) were killed in a four-victim incident, and the remaining eight (5%) were killed in the eight-victim incident.

5. Other multiple-victim homicides (not mass murder, gang-motivated, arson or familicide. These 996 homicides constitute the majority (56%) of the 1792 multiple-victim homicides (56%). They are all two-victim homicides, by definition, since homicides with three or more victims are considered mass murder or one of the other types.

There is a group of homicides that could be classified as either multiple-victim or not. These are incidents in which the victim and offender kill each other. Indeed, the MAR classifies these sometimes as two incidents, with the victim and offender interchanged, and sometimes as one incident. The most frequent scenario when classified as a single incident is that an aggressor is also killed in self defense by his or her intended victim. Of the 27,345 homicide victims in the CHD, there were 52 killed where the offender and victim killed each other and the incident was coded as a single victim, and 30 where the offender and the victim killed each other and the incident was coded as two separate homicide victims. This unique type of multiple-victim homicide will be discussed below, under “other connected” homicides.

Characteristics of multiple-victim versus single-victim homicides

Although multiple-victim homicides share some commonality, each of the five types has its own set of typical characteristics – its own profile (see Table 1). To describe the characteristics of each of the five types of multiple-victim homicide, we look at percents for a selection of key variables. Significance tests are based on a separate comparison of each type to the 25,553 single-victim homicides. Percents that are significant are presented in **BOLD** if the percent for that type of homicide is higher than for single-victim homicides, and in *ITALIC* if the percent is lower.

The only homicide characteristic that is significantly different from single-victim homicides across all types of multiple-victim homicides is that the victim is less likely to be non-Latino black. This is not consistently true for black offenders, however. Multiple-victim homicides are significantly less likely to have at least one black offender when the homicide is gang-motivated, a familicide, or a mass murder, but not when the homicide is an arson or another multiple-victim homicide. Although victims of multiple-victim homicide are significantly less likely to be non-Latino black, moreover, the victims who are most at risk of multiple-victim homicide depends on the type of homicide. For gang-motivated homicides, victims are more likely to be Latino and less likely to be white. For all multiple-victim homicides except gang-motivated, victims are more likely to be non-Latino white. For arson and mass murder, victims are more likely to be Asian or other compared to single-victim homicides.

Table 1
Characteristics of Multiple-Victim Homicide Types (percent)

Homicide Characteristics²	Gang-related motive (N = 231)	Familicide (N = 200)	Arson (N = 215)	Mass Murder (N= 172)	Multiple-victim (other) (N= 996)	Single-victim (N =25,553)
Victim characteristics						
Female	8.7***	63.0***	48.4***	41.3***	26.1***	17.2
Child < 15	6.9*	34.0***	32.4***	9.9***	2.7*	4.2
Adult > 59	.0***	15.0***	17.8***	5.8	6.2	6.3
Non-Latino Black	64.1**	63.5**	52.6***	58.7***	69.0*	71.9
Non-Latino White	9.1*	26.0***	29.6***	20.9**	18.9***	13.7
Latino/Latina	26.4***	9.0	13.8	12.8	11.6	13.5
Asian/Other	.4	1.5	3.8***	7.6***	.5	.8
Offender characteristics						
Age 16 or younger (at least one O)	25.1***	2.0***	12.8	2.6**	5.6***	9.9
Prior record (at least one O)	86.3***	61.1*	70.4	86.8***	79.0***	69.2
Suicide after committing homicide	.0	22.8***	1.7	3.8	1.1	1.5
Location						
Victim's home	2.6***	88.0***	73.3***	49.3***	34.5***	28.8
Victim's workplace	1.7	.0**	1.9	8.7***	6.6***	3.7
Victim's auto	23.3***	.1***	.0***	4.1*	13.1***	8.5
Tavern, liquor store	5.2	.0**	7.0*	1.7	6.7***	4.2
Street, alley, sidewalk	42.4*	.0***	.0***	7.0***	15.7***	35.2
Causative factor						
Robbery	1.7***	2.0***	2.8***	29.1***	23.7***	13.8
Altercation over money	4.3**	13.5	7.0	16.3**	10.5	10.2
Drug motive	13.9***	4.0	6.6	28.5***	13.0***	5.7
O's mental disorder	.0	26.0***	5.2***	4.1***	1.8**	1.0
Rape (female V only)	.0	1.6**	1.9*	12.7	6.2	6.8
Home invasion	1.3	4.5**	.9	16.3***	9.1***	2.0
Intimate partner altercation	.0***	61.0***	11.3	12.8	5.8***	12.5
Retaliation/vengeance	55.0***	25.5***	53.5***	8.1**	11.9**	14.7
Weapon (cause of death)						
High caliber semi-automatic	46.8***	4.5***	.0***	21.5***	20.0***	12.4
Case outcome						
Cleared by arrest	86.1***	72.5	86.9***	76.7	71.0	71.2
Cleared exceptionally	3.5	27.5***	1.4**	11.6**	8.2*	6.4
Not cleared	10.4***	.0***	11.7***	11.6***	20.8	22.4

Significance of each type of multiple-victim homicide, compared to single-victim homicide: *Chi square significance $\leq .05$; **Chi square significance $\leq .01$; ***Chi square significance $\leq .001$.

² See Appendix for definitions.

Gang-related motive.

In general, the characteristics of gang-motivated homicides stand out from all other types of multiple-victim homicide. At least one offender in gang-motivated homicides is likely to be a juvenile (16 or younger), but the opposite is true for familicides, mass murders and other multiple-victim homicides. Multiple-victim gang-motivated homicides are significantly less likely to occur at the victim's home, but the opposite is true for all other types of multiple-victim homicide. In fact, on many homicide characteristics, single-victim and multiple-victim gang-motivated homicides do not differ much from each other (see Table 2). For victim and offender characteristics, only victim's gender, whether the victim was non-Latino white, and offender's prior record differ significantly. The only significant difference for causative factor is drug motive. However, certain locations differ significantly between single-victim and multiple-victim gang-motivated homicide. Multiple-victim homicides are more likely to occur in the victim's auto or in a tavern or liquor store, and less likely to occur on the street, than single-victim gang-motivated homicide. However, multiple-victim gang-motivated homicides are still much more likely to occur on the street compared to single-victim homicides (table 1). Like mass murder and other multiple-victim homicides, the weapon in multiple-victim gang-motivated homicides is significantly more likely to be a high caliber semi-automatic (47% versus 33%). Like arson homicide, the case is significantly more likely to be cleared by arrest in multiple-victim versus single-victim gang-motivated homicides.

Familicide.

Victims of familicides, by definition multiple-victim homicides, are much more likely to be women and girls, children or elderly, compared to victims of single-victim homicides. They are more likely to be non-Latino white and less likely to be non-Latino black. None of the familicides in the CHD have more than one offender. The offenders are less likely to be juvenile or to have a prior record. Compared to any other type of multiple-victim homicide or to single-victim homicide, the offender in familicide is much more likely to commit suicide at the scene. The offender was a parent of at least one victim in 47 of the 200 familicides. In 38 of these, the offender was the father or stepfather, and in nine the offender was the mother. The offender was the child of at least one victim in 27 familicides. Six of the victims were the offender's mother and father, and four were the mother and stepfather. Ten familicide victims were adult caretakers killed by the adult person being cared for, 53 familicide victims were children under 15 killed by a parent or other caretaker, and eight were teenage children killed by a parent or other caretaker.

It is not surprising that the location of familicide tends to be the victim's home. Only 20 familicides occurred anywhere else (in four, the location was unclear), and the most common places were the family vehicle, the offender's home, and the lake. It is also not surprising that the motive is likely to be an intimate partner altercation or home invasion. In addition, frequent motives in familicide are the offender's mental disorder, rape, or retaliation. The weapon is significantly less likely to be a high-caliber semi-automatic. In fact, the weapon is significantly less likely to be a firearm at all (39.5%

Table 2
**Single-victim versus Multiple-victim Homicides,
for Gang-motivated and all other Homicide Incidents**
Percent having each characteristic

Homicide Characteristics³	Gang-Motivated Homicide Victims		All Other Homicide Victims	
	Single-victim N = 1,561	Multiple-victim N = 231	Single-victim N = 22,406	Multiple-victim N = 1,561
Victim Characteristics				
Female	5.6*	8.7*	18.8***	35.4***
Child < 15	6.1	6.9	4.0***	11.0***
Adult > 59	.3	.0	7.1**	8.8**
Non-Latino Black	61.9	64.1	73.3***	64.6***
Non-Latino White	5.8*	9.1*	14.8***	21.6***
Latino/Latina	31.9	26.4	11.0	11.9
Asian/Other	.4	.4	.9***	1.9***
Offender characteristics				
Age 16 or younger (at least one O)	28.8	25.1	7.1	5.6
Prior record (at least one O)	79.6*	86.3*	67.6***	76.7***
Suicide after committing homicide	.1	.0	1.7***	5.6***
Location				
Victim's home	4.1	2.6	35.3***	51.3***
Victim's workplace	.5*	1.7*	4.1***	5.4***
Victim's auto	14.7***	23.3***	6.8	7.9
Tavern, liquor store	1.4***	5.2***	4.6	5.4
Street, alley, sidewalk	59.6***	42.4***	31.8***	10.8***
Causative factor				
Robbery	1.2	1.7	15.6***	18.9***
Altercation over money	2.7	4.3	11.2	11.4
Drug motive	9.4*	13.9*	5.2***	13.0***
O's mental disorder	.0	.0	1.2***	5.6***
Rape (female V only)	1.1	.0	7.8*	5.3*
Home invasion	.5	1.3	2.2***	8.2***
Intimate partner altercation	.0	.0	14.3	13.5
Retaliation/revenge	55.8	55.0	9.0***	17.9***
Weapon (cause of death)				
High caliber semi-automatic	33.0***	46.8***	9.4***	15.7***
Case outcome				
Cleared by arrest	76.8***	86.1***	70.4**	73.7**
Cleared exceptionally	4.6	3.5	6.7***	10.1***
Not cleared	18.6**	10.4**	22.9***	16.1***

Significance of each type of gang-related multiple-victim homicide compared to gang-related single-victim homicide, and all other multiple-victim homicide compared to all other single-victim homicide:
*Chi square significance $\leq .05$; **Chi square significance $\leq .01$; ***Chi square significance $\leq .001$.

³See Appendix for definitions.

versus 65.2%, Chi square = 57.51, sign \leq .001). In addition to the 39.5% of familicide victims in which the primary weapon was a firearm, 21.0% were killed by a knife or sharp instrument, 9.5% by a club or blunt instrument, 11.0% by arson, 9.0% by another type of weapon, and 10.0% by the offender's hands, fists or feet. Nine percent were strangled or smothered. Because of the high offender suicide rate, familicide is significantly more likely to be cleared exceptionally than single-victim homicide. However, the remaining familicide cases were cleared by arrest; none remained uncleared. Relatively few familicide offenders try to escape.

Arson.

Like familicide, victims of arson multiple-victim homicide are more likely to be women and girls, children, or elderly, compared to victims of single-victim homicides. Victims are more likely to be non-Latino white or Asian/other and less likely to be non-Latino black. Compared to single-victim homicides, arson homicides and mass murders are much more likely to have Asian or other victims. None of the offender characteristics for multiple-victim arson differs significantly from single-offender homicide. Not surprisingly, the location is much more likely to be the victim's home, though some multiple-victim arson homicides occur in a tavern or liquor store. Retaliation or revenge is significantly more common, with a level similar to the level for gang-motivated homicide. In addition to retaliation, the offender's mental disorder is significantly more likely to be a causal factor for arson homicide, and robbery is less likely to be a motive. Clearances by arrest are more common, but exceptional clearances are less common.

Other mass murder.

Victims of mass murders are more disproportionately Asian or other than any other group. They are also relatively more likely to be non-Latino white, and less likely to be non-Latino black. Women and girls, and children are also relatively more likely to be victims of mass murder, compared to single-victim homicides. Offenders in mass murder are less likely to be juveniles, but are much more likely to have a prior record. Mass murders are more likely to take place in the victim's home or workplace, and less likely to take place in the victim's auto or on the street. Compared to single-victim homicide, the motive for mass murder is much more likely to be robbery, an altercation over money, a drug motive, or home invasion, and more likely to be the offender's mental disorder, and less likely to be retaliation or revenge. The weapon is more likely to be a high caliber semi-automatic. The case is more likely to be cleared exceptionally, and less likely to be uncleared.

Other multiple-victim

The remaining multiple-victim homicides are, in general, similar to the other types of multiple-victim homicide, except gang-related homicide. Children are unlikely to be either a victim or an offender in these homicides. Location is important, with disproportionate numbers occurring at the victim's home, workplace or auto, or in a tavern, and fewer occurring on the street. A robbery motive is almost as likely as in mass murder, and a high caliber semi-automatic is almost as likely to be the weapon as in mass murder. Clearances are quite similar to clearances for single-victim homicides, except that exceptional clearances are somewhat more common.

Profiles of types of multiple-victim homicide

Though there are many exceptions, of course, the following general profiles of each type of multiple-victim homicide summarize the descriptions above. Because there is considerable diversity even within the types, we offer three examples of each.

Gang-motivated.

In the typical multiple-victim gang-motivated homicide, the victims are young Latino men, many killed by a juvenile offender. Most offenders have a prior record. The victims are killed sitting in their vehicle or on the street. Most of the homicides have a retaliation motive, and many have a drug-related motive. Many of the victims are killed with a high caliber semi-automatic weapon, and most of the cases are cleared by arrest.

Examples: Several young men were seated in a van, when the offender walked up to the vehicle & stated, "You're Folks." He then fired shots from a 9 mm semi-automatic (Tech 9) into the van, killing two victims and wounding another occupant.

Two boys, ages 14 and 15, were shot on school grounds because they refused to join the offender's gang.

Offenders drive by and shoot into a group of people on the street, killing two 16-year-olds. Neither victim was associated with a gang. These murders are believed to be retribution for a homicide that occurred seven days previously.

Familicide.

In a typical familicide, the victims are women or girls, and are disproportionately non-Latino white, children and the elderly. It occurs in the victims home with a single offender, who is likely to commit suicide at the scene. Causative factors include the offender's mental disorder, intimate partner altercation, and retaliation or revenge.

Examples: The offender was having domestic problems. His wife had asked him for a divorce the day before. He left and returned when the family was asleep. He poured gas over his wife and their 10-month-old son, who was sleeping in her arms, and lit them on fire. The baby died immediately, but the mom died after 45 days. Her 18-year-old daughter (offender's step-daughter) was also injured.

A nine-year-old (age 9) started a fire in his house in revenge for being spanked. Four people died in the fire - his mother, five-year-old brother, nine-year-old brother and his mother's boyfriend.

A mother and her two children were killed by the mother's common-law husband in a domestic dispute about sexual jealousy. She had accused him of seeing an old girlfriend, and an argument ensued. She threatened him, and he then picked up a tube sock from the floor and strangled all three, one after the other. The offender was the father of the infant and the stepfather of the seven-year-old.

Arson.

A profile of multiple-victim arson, in contrast to single-victim homicides, would disproportionately include victims who are non-Latino white or Asian/other, and women or girls, children and the elderly. The homicide would happen at the victim's home, and

the motive would likely be retaliation or revenge. A high proportion would be cleared by arrest.

Examples: In sexual rivalry over the affections between her boyfriend and another woman, the offender intentionally set a fire in which the three children of the other woman died (ages infant to 14).

The offender, a 21-year-old woman employed as a nurse's aide for the a nursing home, admitted that she was responsible for setting the fire in the closet that resulted in the deaths of 22 patients ages 65 to 94 and one nursing home employee. Thirteen died immediately, but the rest lingered for up to 19 days. The prosecution argued that the offender's motive was retaliation after being told she would be fired. However, the defense argued that her confession was coerced when she was in a state of temporary insanity immediately after the fire, and a jury found her not guilty.

The offender was drinking in a tavern and argued with another patron. An employee broke up the argument. The offender pulled a knife and it was taken from him. The offender left and bought two gallons of gasoline. He poured it around the entrance and set the tavern on fire. The fire killed thirteen victims, ages 22 to 44, seven men and six women, all non-Latino Black. Seventeen more victims were injured. He was found guilty on all counts.

Mass murder.

Mass murder (other than gang-motivated, familicide or arson) differs from those other types of multiple-victim homicide in that the motive is more likely to be robbery, or an altercation over money. Like gang-motivated homicide, there is commonly a drug motive, and the weapon is more commonly a high caliber semi-automatic. Although mass murder has the highest proportion of Asian or other victims of any type of multiple-victim homicide, and much more than single-victim homicide, only 13 of the 172 mass murders were Asian or other, and eight of these were killed in a single incident (see below).

Examples: In 1966, Richard Speck murdered eight Filipino student nurses who were living together in a townhouse. Two were stabbed, and the others strangled or suffocated. He was a stranger to all of the victims. The motive was sexual assault. One victim survived to identify him, and he was convicted and sentenced to death. He had a prior violent record, and had been a suspect in several deaths and disappearances of women. The death sentence was reversed on appeal, and he was re-sentenced to life. He died in prison.

The offender (age 20) and a victim (age 39) set up a deal to buy a half kilo of cocaine for \$11,000 from that victim and two associates (ages 19 and 20). All four are in a car. The three victims want to see money, and the offender wants to see the coke. One victim reaches under the seat. O feels he is about to be robbed and pulls a 45 caliber semi-automatic, shooting all three.

Three victims (all drug dealers) were killed in a home invasion "altercation over narcotics." One of the victims had been the offender in a gang-related execution killing three years earlier. Another victim had been the offender in a gang-related killing two years earlier.

Four victims, including a woman and her four-year-old daughter, were stabbed during the course of a home invasion by two offenders. The offenders ran out of cocaine, and decided to rob the victims. They were killed to eliminate witnesses. Both offenders were found guilty of murder.

Other multiple-victim.

All of these homicides have two victims, by definition. They are a diverse collection, but quite often involve robbery, a drug motive, or home invasion. They commonly take place in the victim's home, workplace or vehicle. In most, neither the victim nor the offender is a child.

Examples: A couple was parked in an alley, when two assailants, ages 17 and 19, shot them in an attempted robbery and rape.

Two Brink's truck drivers were shot in their truck after making a collection, by two offenders in an armed robbery.

The offender learned from his son that his mother-in-law had mistreated his son and another brother. He went to the mother-in-law and began beating her and stabbed her. His wife came out and saw him beating her mother and stabbed him in the back. He pulled the knife out of his back and began to chase his wife. A stranger tried to intervene at this point and was killed by the offender. The offender later died from his stab wound.

Other Connected Homicides

Of the 27,345 victims in the CHD 1965-2000, 731 were killed in separate homicide incidents that are connected to each other, for example, the offender later became a victim in another incident. (Some of these connected incidents were also multiple-victim.) Connections across incidents can be categorized into several types – the offender is the same in more than one incident, an offender becomes the victim of a later incident, a victim is killed in retaliation for another homicide but the victims and offenders are not the same, a witness to a homicide is later killed, people attending a funeral or wake of a homicide victim are killed. Though it could be included under either the multiple-victim or the other connected category, we will discuss here incidents where the victim and offender kill each other.

In 249 homicides, the motive was retaliation for a previous homicide (176 cases), or the homicide was revenged by a later homicide (73 known cases). An additional 62 homicides, not included here, could possibly been motivated by revenge for another murder (31 cases) or possibly were revenged by a later homicide (31 cases). In some retaliation homicides, the victim in the later homicide was the offender who committed the previous homicide (46 cases) or the offender later became a victim (28 known cases). However, not all homicides where an offender is later killed are revenge homicides. In many cases, the previous homicide and later homicide are unrelated, except that the offender who becomes a victim leads a risky life, such as robbery or gang banging. We checked the MAR narrative of each offender-became-victim homicide to determine whether or not the later homicide was revenge for the previous homicide. In

addition to revenge killings of the actual offender responsible for the previous homicide, retaliation homicides also include killings of another person killed in revenge for a homicide. For example, the offender in the revenge homicide might kill a relative of the offender in the previous homicide, or the offender might shoot into a group of people in the previous offender's neighborhood. In gang-motivated revenge, the offender or offenders might do a drive by shooting in the rival gang territory. Retaliation against someone else for a previous murder accounts for 130 cases, in eight of which the victim was killed in retaliation for another homicide and then the offender in that homicide was killed later. In 45 homicides for which we have information, a later homicide was committed in retaliation, with the victim someone else than the offender in the first homicide.

In 228 homicides, the offender is the same in more than one incident. In two of these, the offender later became a homicide victim; one was a retaliation homicide and the other was a possible retaliation homicide. The most common types of "repeat offender" homicides are serial and spree. In their excellent discussion of the definition of serial murder, based on a five-day symposium of experts, Morton and Hilts (2008: 11-12) conclude that serial murder includes two or more victims killed in separate incidents, at different times, and that the "time period between murders separates serial murder from mass murder." suggests that serial murder. Lester (2004:9) defines spree murders as occurring less than 30 days apart, but "more than a day or two." The classic distinction is that spree murders occur with no cooling-off period. Based on a review of the literature, we decided to define spree homicides as those committed by the same offender and not part of the same incident, but occurring within 48 hours of each other. Serial homicides are all other homicides committed by the same offender in more than one incident. By these definitions, 169 of the 228 "repeat offender" homicides were serial murders and 59 were spree murders. Six of the 228 were (known) contract killings. In addition to these six, there were 79 other homicides known to have been contract killings, but there is not enough information about the offenders in those homicides to link them with any other murder.

In 217 homicides, the offender was killed in a later homicide (111 cases), or the victim had been an offender in an earlier homicide (106 cases). The numbers do not match, because some MAR narratives say that the victim had been an offender or was killed later, but do not identify the specific homicide. Also, some of the homicides in which an offender is later killed are justifiable and therefore not in the CHD. As discussed above, some of offender-became-victim homicides were retaliations for the earlier homicide. This accounts for 28 known cases where the offender was killed in a later homicide and 46 where the victim had been an offender in an earlier homicide. In six of these 217 homicides, the offender was an offender in more than one homicide, plus the offender later became a homicide victim. Aside from retaliation against the offender for the previous homicide, a second common scenarios in offender-became-victim homicides is the offender's risky life. For example, the offender could be a serial robber who is killed in one of the robberies, a drug dealer, a gang banger, or a contract killer. Many are killed by a criminal associate, accidentally in crossfire, in a conflict over proceeds, or because the person was attracting the police by his behavior.

In 82 homicides, the victim and offender killed each other. There was one case where the victim and offender killed each other, plus the offender was an offender in another homicide. Only three of the 82 were suicide pacts. In most of the seven suicide pacts in the CHD, one person (the offender) killed the victim and then committed or attempted to commit suicide. Instead of being suicide pacts, most of the homicides where the victim and offender killed each other were “shoot-outs” on the street, or situations where the victim resisted a robbery (14 cases) or cases where a police officer or other Good Samaritan came to the aid of a victim (six cases). In 19, the motive was armed robbery; in one other case, a robber killed another robber. Six of these robberies occurred at the victim’s workplace; the victim killed the offender in self defense.

Finally, there are several other ways in which a homicide can be connected to another homicide, each accounting for a relatively small number of cases. In 22 homicides, a witness to an earlier homicide was later killed. In a few cases, the offender who committed the first homicide killed the witness, and in other cases, another person was responsible for the second murder. In four homicides, a victim was killed while attending the funeral or wake of a previous victim. In 25 cases, the circumstances of the homicide seem similar or even identical, suggesting that the homicides are connected, but there is not enough information in the CHD to be certain. In five additional cases, the same weapon was used in more than one homicide, but the other information is insufficient to link them.

Characteristics of connected versus single-victim not-connected homicides

Like multiple-victim homicide, types of homicide connected in other ways share a certain amount of commonality, but also have distinctive profiles (Table 3). To describe the characteristics of each of the four most frequent types of other connected homicide, we look at percents for each of the variables analyzed in Table 1, adding “gang-related motive.” In addition, we look at percents for multiple-victim not connected homicides (multiple-victim homicides minus the 71 that are also connected in other ways). Significance tests are based on a separate comparison of each type to single-victim not connected homicide. Percents that are significant are presented in **BOLD** if the percent for that type of homicide is higher than for single-victim homicides, and in *ITALIC* if the percent is lower.

In contrast to multiple-victim homicides, only one of the four types of other connected homicides, those with a repeat offender, was more likely to have a victim who was a girl or a woman. In many characteristics, repeat offender homicides are similar to multiple-victim not connected homicides. Both of them, compared to single-victim not connected homicides, are more likely to take place in the victim’s home or the victim’s workplace. Both are more likely to involve home invasion, and both are more likely to involve robbery or a drug motive. Both are more likely to be cleared by arrest. In contrast, the characteristics of homicides where the offender became the victim and homicides motivated by retaliation against an earlier homicide or where the homicide was followed by a revenge killing are similar to each other.

Table 3
Characteristics of Other Connected Homicides (Percents)

Homicide Characteristics ⁴	Other Connected Homicides				Multiple-victim not connected (N = 1722)	Single-victim not connected (N =24,892)
	Repeat offender (N = 228)	Offender became victim (N = 217)	Homicide Retaliation (N = 249)	V & O killed each other (N = 82)		
Victim characteristics						
Female	45.6***	7.4***	5.6***	12.2	32.1***	17.1
Child < 15	3.9	1.8	2.8	.0	10.6***	4.3
Adult > 59	8.8	1.4**	.8***	12.2*	8.0**	6.3
Non-Latino Black	65.4*	82.9***	69.9	68.3	64.5***	71.9
Non-Latino White	26.3***	5.5***	4.0***	13.4	20.3***	13.7
Latino/Latina	8.3*	11.5	26.1***	15.9	13.4	13.5
Asian/Other	.0	.0	.0	2.4	1.7***	.8
Offender characteristics						
Age 16 or younger (at least one O)	5.0*	11.1	18.6***	1.2**	8.2*	9.9
Prior record (at least one O)	89.4***	79.9***	88.6***	67.1	77.4***	68.7
Suicide after committing homicide	1.6	.0	.0	1.3	5.2***	1.5
Location						
Victim's home	22.6*	12.6***	6.6***	26.0	43.9***	29.4
Victim's workplace	8.4***	.9*	1.6	11.0***	4.8**	3.7
Victim's auto	6.2	15.8***	22.3***	.0*	10.4**	8.3
Tavern, liquor store	2.6	1.8	2.4	17.1***	5.3*	4.2
Street, alley, sidewalk	22.4***	51.6***	48.2***	20.7**	14.3***	35.1
Causative factor						
Gang-related motive	9.6	36.4***	70.3***	4.9*	12.3	11.7
Robbery	21.9***	8.8*	2.0***	24.4**	16.4**	13.9
Altercation over money	9.2	4.1**	2.8***	9.8	10.9	10.3
Drug motive	18.0***	17.1***	7.2	9.8	12.9***	5.5
O's mental disorder	7.0***	.0	.0	.0	4.9***	1.0
Rape (female V only)	34.6***	25.0**	7.1	.0	4.5*	6.9
Home invasion	5.7***	1.4	.8	.0	7.6***	2.0
Intimate partner altercation	6.6**	3.2***	.4***	14.6	11.6	12.8
Retaliation/revenge	12.3	51.6***	83.9***	9.8	22.1***	14.0
Weapon (cause of death)						
High caliber semi-automatic	14.5	36.4***	38.6***	8.5	19.3***	12.0
Case outcome						
Cleared by arrest	79.8**	44.2***	74.7	11.0***	75.4***	71.5
Cleared exceptionally	7.9	38.7***	12.4***	89.0***	9.0***	5.9
Not cleared	12.3***	17.1*	12.9***	.0***	15.6***	22.6

Significance of each type of other connected homicide, plus multiple-victim non connected homicide, compared to single-victim not connected homicide:

*Chi square significance $\leq .05$; **Chi square significance $\leq .01$; ***Chi square significance $\leq .001$.

⁴ See Appendix for definitions.

Both are relatively likely to occur in the victim's auto or on the street, both are likely to have a gang-related motive and to involve retaliation, and both are relatively likely to have a high caliber semi-automatic weapon. The 82 homicides in which the victim killed the offender have their own set of characteristics.

Repeat offender.

Like most types of multiple-victim homicides, the 228 repeat offender homicides are significantly more likely to have a woman or girl victim. In addition, sexual assault is a causal factor in almost 35% of these homicides where the victim is a woman or girl, much higher than single-victim non-connected or any kind of connected homicide. Also, non-Latino white victims are disproportionately likely. Repeat offender homicides are significantly less likely to have a Latino or Latina victim, and this is true for both Latinos and Latinas. The offender is significantly less likely to be a juvenile, and more likely to have a prior record. The location is less likely to be the victim's home or a street, and more likely to be the victim's workplace. The motive is much more likely to be robbery, a drug motive, or the offender's mental disorder, and significantly less likely to be home invasion or an intimate partner altercation. Although these homicides are more likely to be cleared, and less likely to be uncleared, we must remember that offender links in the CHD are based on only those cases with information, and cleared cases have information.

Repeat offender homicides, however, are a combination of two types of homicide, serial and spree. The distinction is the length of time between the homicides, with spree homicides occurring within 48 hours of each other. Of the 288 repeat offender homicides, 169 are serial and 59 are spree. Do serial and spree homicides have different sets of characteristic? In Table 4 shows the predominant characteristics of serial and spree homicides, with significance tests comparing them to each other. They do share quite a bit of commonality, but there are differences. The victim of a serial homicide, compared to a spree homicide, is significantly more likely to be a woman or a girl, more likely to be non-Latino white, and less likely to be non-Latino black. Spree homicides are significantly more likely to have at least one juvenile offender, to occur at the victim's workplace, the victim's vehicle, or in a tavern or liquor store, and the offender's mental disorder is more likely to be a causal factor. Serial homicides are more likely than spree homicides to remain uncleared.

Offender becomes a victim.

The 217 cases where the offender later became a victim or the victim had been an offender differ from most of the multiple-victim homicide types and from repeat-offender homicides in that women and girls are significantly less likely to be a victim. Like almost all types of other connected homicides, the offender is significantly more likely to have a prior record. Half of these homicides occur on the street, and almost half are motivated by retaliation or revenge, and a third have a gang-related motive. Like revenge homicides, offender-became-victim homicides are significantly more likely than single-victim not connected homicides to occur in the victim's vehicle. They are significantly much more likely to have a drug motive. Of the 16 offender-became-victim homicides of a woman or girl, four were motivated by sexual assault, and all four were the initial homicide, not the one where the offender became the victim.

Table 4
Characteristics of Spree and Serial Homicide
(percents)

Homicide Characteristics⁵	Serial (offender is an offender in at least one other homicide, separate incidents) N = 169	Spree (offender commits at least two homicides within two days, separate incidents) N = 59
Victim Characteristics		
Female	50.3**	32.2**
Child < 15	3.6	5.1
Adult > 59	10.1	5.1
Non-Latino Black	70.4**	50.8**
Non-Latino White	23.1**	35.6**
Latino/Latina	6.5	13.6
Asian/Other	.0	.0
Offender characteristics		
Age 16 or younger (at least one O)	2.1**	12.3**
Prior record (at least one O)	90.8	86.0
Suicide after committing homicide	2.2	.0
Location		
Victim's home	25.7	12.8
Victim's workplace	6.0*	15.3*
Victim's auto	4.1*	12.8*
Tavern, liquor store	.6***	8.5***
Street, alley, sidewalk	23.7	18.6
Causative factor		
Gang-related motive	10.1	8.5
Robbery	18.9	30.5
Altercation over money	7.1	15.3
Drug motive	18.9	15.3
O's mental disorder	4.7*	13.6*
Rape (female V only)	36.5	26.3
Home invasion	6.5	3.4
Intimate partner altercation	5.9	8.5
Retaliation/vengeance	11.8	13.6
Weapon (cause of death)		
High caliber semi-automatic	14.8	13.6
Other firearm	27.2***	54.2***
Knife	16.6	10.2
Strangulation	30.2**	10.2**
Case outcome		
Cleared by arrest	78.1	84.7
Cleared exceptionally	6.5	11.9
Not cleared	15.4*	3.4*

Significance of serial versus spree homicide: *Chi square significance $\leq .05$; **Chi square significance $\leq .01$; ***Chi square significance $\leq .001$.

⁵See Appendix for definitions.

Unlike repeat-offender homicides, the weapon in the offender-became-victim homicides is significantly more likely to be a high caliber semi-automatic, compared to single-victim non-connected homicides. Since the offender becomes a victim, by definition, the case is much more likely to be cleared exceptionally.

Homicide revenge.

These 249 homicides include 46 where the offender in the previous homicide was killed in revenge, 28 where the offender later was killed in revenge, 130 where the revenge homicide was committed against another victim, and 45 homicides that were later revenged against another victim. These homicides specifically involve revenge against homicide, in contrast to the “Retaliation” causative factor, which involves any kind of retaliation. Revenge homicides are significantly less likely to have a woman victim, but much more likely to have a Latino victim, compared to single-victim not connected homicides. In fact, this type of connected homicide is the only one in which Latino victims are over-represented. Only one type of multiple-offender homicides had an over-representation of Latino victims – those with a gang-related motive. Offenders in revenge homicides are much more likely to be juvenile and more likely to have a prior record. Half of them occur on the street, and a fifth in the victim’s vehicle. Not surprisingly, 70% have a gang-related motive, and 84% are motivated by retaliation. The percent motivated by retaliation is less than 100%, because the initial homicide was not always motivated by retaliation. For example, an offender kills a victim in a gang-related turf war, and then is killed later in revenge. The proportion of high caliber semi-automatic weapons (39%) is the second-highest in this analysis, following that of gang-related multiple-victim homicide (47%). The percent cleared exceptionally is significantly high, reflecting the offenders who were killed later.

Victim kills offender.

The 82 homicides in which the victim and offender kill each other have a set of characteristics that differ from other types of connected homicides. They are the only type to have a disproportionate number of older victims. This reflects both the small number suicide pacts and the robberies of store owners, who are often elderly, where the victim resists. Thus, a disproportionate number of victim-kills-offender homicides occur in the victim’s workplace or in a tavern or liquor store, and a disproportionate number have a robbery motive. As might be expected, 89% are cleared exceptionally, because the offender is dead. The 11% cleared by arrest reflects those offenders who are wounded at the scene and die later, after arrest.

Multiple-victim not connected.

These 1722 homicides are the aggregate of all four types of multiple-victim homicides (table 1), with the connected multiple-victim homicides removed. There are many significant relationships, partly because the numbers are so high that relatively small associations can achieve significance. Compared to single-victim not connected homicides, victims are more likely to be women or girls, children, elderly, non-Latino white, and Asian or other. Offenders are more likely to have a prior record and to commit suicide at the scene. None of the types of connected homicides were likely to have an offender commit suicide – this seems to be true only of multiple-victim homicides. Multiple-victim not connected homicides were disproportionately likely to happen in every location except the street, which was

significantly less likely. They were significantly more likely to involve robbery, a drug motive, the offender's mental disorder, home invasion, or retaliation, and the weapon was more likely to be a high caliber semi-automatic. They were significantly more likely to be cleared, either by arrest or exceptionally.

Profiles of types of connected homicides

As with multiple-victim homicide, there are many exceptions to any attempt to describe a "typical" set of characteristics for any of the four types of connected homicides. The following presents a short profile for each type, and then, to point out the diversity, we offer three examples of each type.

Repeat offender.

Both serial and spree homicides, but especially serial homicides, are disproportionately likely to have a woman victim, and when a woman is the victim, both serial and spree homicides are likely to involve sexual assault. Serial homicides are more likely than spree to have an elderly victim, and a non-Latino black victim, but spree homicides are more likely to have a non-Latino white victim. Compared to serial homicides, spree homicides are more likely to have a juvenile offender, and both are disproportionately likely to have an offender with a prior record. Both are likely to take place in the victim's home. Spree homicides are likely to take place in the victim's workplace, the victim's auto, or a tavern. Both are likely to have a robbery motive or a drug motive, or involve home invasion. Spree offenses are especially likely to involve the offender's mental disorder.

Examples of serial homicide: The victim, age 17, and her boyfriend had cooperated with police in an earlier homicide committed by this homicide's second offender. The offenders abducted the victims, drove them to an alley, and shot them. The victim was killed but the boyfriend managed to escape. Both victims and offenders are members of the Conservative Vice Lords.

The victim, a 32-year-old-woman, was found in bushes disrobed, sexually molested and strangled. Three women were killed by same offender, a 30-year-old man with no prior record, in a space of 22 days.

An offender who had been previously charged three separate times with murder or voluntary manslaughter beat his wife to death when she refused to go home with him. He was found guilty and sentenced to 4-to-10 years in prison.

The victim, a 28-year-old woman, was attacked by the offender, a 49-year-old man, in a park district restroom. He stabbed her repeatedly about the neck and chest. The attack was sex motivated. The victim's husband had been waiting outside the restroom, holding their baby, and he and park employees apprehended the offender on the scene and held him for police. The offender had previously killed three other women in the same park over a period of three years. He was arrested and committed to the Department of Mental Health.

Examples of spree homicide: A housekeeper at YMCA, aged 59, was fatally stabbed nine times in the a hallway. Twenty-five hours later, the same offender fatally stabbed a 69-year-old man, a stranger to the offender, on the sidewalk in front of his home. The offender, a 17-year-old runaway, was found incompetent to stand trial, and turned over to the Department of Mental Health.

A 16-year-old offender shot a 13-year-old acquaintance on the porch of his home, and the shot a 23-year-old victim six hours later. In the second murder, the offender claims that the gun accidentally went off as he was trying to give the gun to the victim.

In a work dispute with a 57-year-old co-worker in a factory, the offender shot and killed the co-worker. He then went home and fatally assaulted and stabbed his wife and daughter, a 7-week-old baby. The bodies were found when homicide detectives went to their apartment in an effort to locate the offender. The offender was arrested and found not guilty by reason of insanity.

Offender becomes a victim.

These homicides tend to occur on the street, and to be motivated by retaliation, a gang-related motive, or both. The weapon in the majority of offender-becomes-victim homicides is a high caliber semi-automatic firearm. The victims are predominately men or boys, and non-Latino black, and have a prior record.

Examples: The victim, a 60-year-old woman, was found fatally strangled in her apartment. She had been sexually assaulted. Two months later, the suspect, a 49-year-old stranger to the victim, was beaten by the victim's son. He died of his injuries three months later.

The victim and his friend were sitting in a car, when two offenders walk up to the car and one opens fire, killing the victim and wounding his friend. Evidence disclosed that there was a power struggle going on between different factions of Vice Lords to take control of the entire gang. The victim had been sent by one leader to kill one of the offenders, and had fired shots into the offender's auto, but had missed him. The offender vowed revenge and was identified by several witnesses as one of the offenders in this homicide. The offender himself was later found fatally shot in his car.

A 26-year-old man with no prior record was shot on street with a .38 revolver by a 36-year-old offender. The causative factor was narcotics. The offender was killed in an unrelated incident 23 months later. In that incident, the motive was retaliation for his attempted murder of the offender's brother.

Homicide revenge.

Over a quarter of the victims of revenge homicide are Latinos, about the same as for homicides with a gang-related motive, and higher proportions than any other type of connected or multiple-victim homicide. Revenge homicides are disproportionately likely to have a juvenile offender and an offender with a prior record, and they are likely to take place on the street or in the victim's vehicle.

Examples: In the first homicide of this series, the 26-year-old victim's auto was struck by the offender's auto. Words were exchanged and an occupant in the offender's auto opened fire with a Tech 9, striking the victim. The victim's auto then struck a light pole. Investigators found 240 bags of rock cocaine in the victim's coat pockets. The victim and offender had been members of the same Four Corner Hustlers faction. About a year before this homicide, the offender had joined another faction, and they had been feuding since. In the second homicide, 19 days later, the 35-year-old offender (soon to be the victim) was walking down the street, when a 22-year-old offender, also a member of the Four Corner Hustlers, drove by and opened

fire on the V, killing him. In a third homicide, the offender in the second homicide was himself killed eight months later in an “unrelated homicide.” He was shot while sitting in his vehicle. This was “in retaliation for an earlier shooting” but a different shooting than the above. He was shot by a Conservative Vice Lord; “Their gangs are feuding over drug territory.”

The victim (age 23) and offender (age 25) were in an apartment, and an argument broke out. The offender beat the victim, and the victim apparently jumped out of the window to avoid being assaulted by the offender. Nine days later, the offender was beaten to death on the street by two offenders in retribution for this homicide.

In a drunken fight between two friends in an apartment, one shot the other. Investigation revealed that the motive was revenge for a murder the victim had committed in Mexico several years ago.

Victim kills offender.

These homicides contain a few suicide pacts, but are mostly instances of either “mutual combatants,” or self defense against a predatory crime.

Examples: On the Fourth of July, a 24-year-old offender with a prior record entered a snack shop and attempted to rob it with a .38 caliber revolver. The day before, the offender had held up a bar, shooting and killing one of the patrons. The store clerk, a 49-year-old woman, reached for the revolver in the kitchen. The offender shot her and the victim returned fire, killing the offender. The victim lived until August 31, then died of her wounds.

In an armed robbery of a grocery store by two offenders ages 19 and 25, the proprietor of the store, a 61-year-old man, was shot and killed with a .38 revolver. The owner’s son shot and killed one of the offenders. The other offender was apprehended, and charged with murder and armed robbery.

The offender appeared outside the home of the victim and his wife and began to serenade the victim’s wife with a love song in Spanish. The victim got out of bed, dressed, and went outside to argue with the offender. The offender pulled a gun and shot the victim, then the victim got the offender’s gun and shot the offender dead. The victim died shortly thereafter.

Discussion and Implications for Practice

Although quite a lot has been written on mass murder and on serial and spree murder, much of it is written about the offenders, not the victims. This analysis of the 27,345 victims in the Chicago Homicide Dataset attempts to describe the circumstances under which homicide victims died as part of a multiple-victim or other connected incident. We propose five major categories of multiple-victim homicide, and four major categories of other connected homicide, and systematically describe the characteristics of each.

We find that multiple-victim homicides, in general, are quite different from single-victim homicide and from homicides connected in other ways, but that there are important differences with the multiple-victim group. Multiple-victim homicides with a gang-related motive, familicides, and arson have their own set of characteristics, and prevention and intervention attempts should approach each differently.

Similarly, the four types of other connected homicides, especially repeat offender homicides and homicides where the victim kills the offender, form distinct groups.

Some readers, noting the abundance of specific information about relatively rare types of homicides in this analysis, may have been thinking that the authors are compulsive and obsessed with detail – and they would be right. However, it is important to realize that homicides are not all alike. Life is complex, and so is violent death. A research analyst or homicide investigator who assumes that all multiple-victim homicides incidents follow the same pattern would be wrong. Repeat offender homicides are not the same as revenge homicides. If we are to develop a successful plan to prevent multiple-victim homicides or repeat offender homicides or revenge homicides, we must build that plan on a foundation of accurate information about the characteristics of each individual type. In homicide prevention, one size does not necessarily fit all.

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Appendix 1 Definitions of Homicide Characteristics

Victim and Offender Characteristics.

Race/ethnicity: Black and White are Non-Latino Black and Non-Latino White.

When death is delayed, victim's age and offender's age are the age at the time of the lethal incident.

Offender age and offender prior record are usually not known if the case is uncleared. Percents are based on known cases. Also, this victim-level analysis uses aggregate data across all offenders in the incident – at least one offender was a juvenile; at least one offender had a prior record.

Suicide: The offender died of an injury self-inflicted at the scene, though the death may have been delayed. Includes only suicide at the scene, not suicide later. Attempted suicide is not included. In multiple-offender cases, at least one of the offenders committed suicide at the scene.

Location.

Victim's home location: includes people who were abducted from their home and then killed; does not include a temporary home, such as a hotel room; does not include areas of the residential building outside the victim's apartment.

Tavern, liquor store location: also includes the doorway of the tavern and the street directly outside the tavern.

Street location includes street, alley, sidewalk, parkway (the area between the sidewalk and the street), and bus stops on the street.

Causative factor.

Robbery: includes both armed and strongarm.

Altercation over money: includes any argument or fight over money or property, such as an altercation over a debt, child support, an alleged theft, one person begging money from the other, or a gambling altercation. Does not include robbery.

Drug motive: homicide motivated by the business of drugs (such as eliminating the competition, collecting on a drug debt, or a fight over deceptive practice), an argument over drugs (such as drug possession or use, or a wife trying to get her husband to cut down on drugs), getting money to buy drugs or getting drugs for your own use, or other drug involvement (such as drugs used to lure a woman for a sexual assault/homicide or to set someone up for robbery, preying on people parked at a drug market, home invasion robbery of a drug dealer, arson murder of a family because O was "mad about a narcotics purchase," self defense against a dealer operating out of your house, suspect being arrested for drug dealing shoots police officer, baby of crack addict starves to death). "Probable" drug motive, where there is only circumstantial evidence, is not included. Whether or not the victim or offender were using drugs is independently coded from drug motive.

Intimate partner altercation includes any type of intimate partner (husband/wife, common-law husband/wife, boyfriend/girlfriend, homosexual couples, former or estranged couples, casual sex partners, victims killed in sexual pursuit). It also includes any victim killed in an intimate partner altercation, not only the intimate partner, such as a teenage child defending his mother.

Mental disorder. Includes cases where police investigation considers the offender's mental disorder to be a causative factor. For example, a son who is diagnosed as schizophrenic is on leave home from the hospital and kills his parents, or a patient in a mental hospital kills another patient. It does not include offenders who are called "depressed" in the MAR narrative, or a "drug-induced" or "alcohol-induced" mental disorder.

Weapon.

High caliber semi-automatic weapons include any semi or fully automatic weapon higher than a .32 caliber, such as a 9 mm semi-automatic, a 45 caliber semi-automatic, a 380 caliber semi-automatic, or a 7.62 mm long rifle (AK-47).