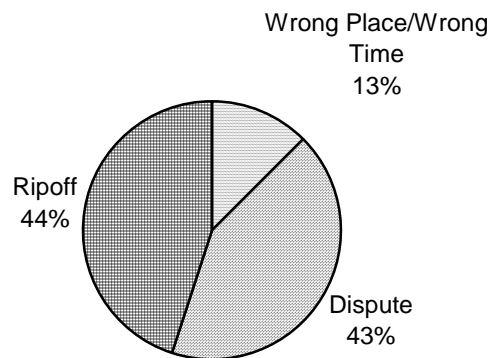


**Rochester SACSI Research  
Working Paper # 2001-04 June 15, 2001**

**Three Kinds of Murder**

The goal of this paper is to empirically examine the three types of homicide that were originally identified through the review of all year 2000 homicides. In that review, all 40 homicides could be placed into these types. The types have also been relevant to the cases described in subsequent reviews. Given the small number of cases (n=40) caution should be taken in interpreting these results. Data tables are in the appendix.

**Types of Homicide, Yr. 2000**



Typology based on Victim Involvement (Year 2000 Homicides)

A. Wrong Place/Wrong Time. N= 5 (12.5% of total)

These cases include instances in which the behavior of the victim appears to not to have contributed significantly to the homicide.

B. Dispute, Victim could have anticipated problem. N= 17 (42.5% of total)

These cases involve disputes in which one party is murdered.

C. Rip-offs, Victim involved in illegal behavior N= 18 (45% of total)

In these cases the victim was robbed and killed as a result of engagement in some illegal activity, usually the sale of drugs.

## Basic Conclusions:

1. The sort of random violence, which is most frightening, happens rarely even in those sections of the city with high homicide rates, and even among those with the demographic characteristics associated with high homicide rates.
2. In the vast majority of homicide cases, victim and offender were engaged in some sort of relationship or behavior that raised the risk of violence.

## Further Analysis of Each Type

### A. Wrong Place/Wrong Time. N= 5 (12.5% of total)

These cases include instances in which the behavior of the victim appears not to have contributed significantly to the homicide. The year 2000 cases in this category included:

1. Child victim (1 case)
2. Wrong place at wrong time (1 case)
3. Robbery victim (3 cases)

### Data Analysis

1. These homicides, though small in number (5), are spread out across the police sections of the crescent, across seasons, and across weekdays.
2. Victims in these cases have minor or no criminal records.
3. Identified suspects (3/4) in these cases tend to have serious criminal records with prior violent (3/4) arrests but not prior gun (1/4) or prior drug (1/4) arrests.
4. The weapon used in these cases varied across all weapon types.

## Summary

These homicides are rare and the data on the cases show that they appear to be more random than the other two types of cases. Suspects in these cases appear to have significant criminal histories.

## Additional Research Issues

1. From the victim perspective these homicides appear nearly random. However, examination of the suspects raises the question of whether they are identifiable early through intelligence, identification from review of criminal histories, or the case review process.

2. The criminal histories of suspects also raise the question of whether these offenders are best viewed as similar to the rip-off offender group.
3. While these 2000 cases did not involve people on probation or parole, the criminal records suggest greater attention to those possible connections.

#### Action Issues

1. Given the small number of these cases, separate interventions for this group may not be feasible.
2. Interventions designed to identify and control high rate offenders may have an effect on this category of murders.

#### **B. Dispute Homicides. N= 17 (42.5% of total)**

These cases involve disputes in which one party is murdered. In the cases the victim or suspect could probably have anticipated the potential for violence. The year 2000 cases in this category included:

1. Short term dispute (5 cases)
  1. Domestic violence (4 cases)
  2. Long running dispute (6 cases)
  3. Past rip-off/bad debt (2 cases)

#### Data Analysis

1. The dispute cases appear to be most common in Clinton Section (8/13) and they are the most common type of homicide in Clinton Section (8/17).
2. These cases are spread across all seasons and all days of the week.
3. They involve male victims (14/17) although most of the female homicide victims (3/5) fell into this category.
4. Most victims are Black (11/17) although the greatest number of Hispanic victims (5/7) are in this category.
5. Victims in this category are older than expected, with 13 of 17 being over 25 years old and 5 being over 40. Thirty-one to 35 was the largest age category accounting for 6 of 17 murders in this category.
6. Victims and Offenders in dispute cases have similar criminal histories. In fact more victims (6/17) than suspects (3/12) fell into the serious criminal history category as shown below. Specific history variables are presented below.

	Victims	Suspects
No (0) FIFs	65%	58%
Prior Violent crime Arrest	41%	50%
Prior Drug Arrest	47%	42%
Prior Gun Arrest	24%	17%

7. In dispute cases handgun was the most common weapon accounting for 41% of cases (although handguns accounted for 60% of all homicides). The remaining dispute cases were split nearly evenly among long-guns, knives and blunt force.

Distinguishing between domestic violence cases and other disputes.

The dispute category includes 4 cases involving domestic violence and 13 other disputes. When these cases are examined separately the non-domestic cases involve younger victims, greater likelihood of FIFs, and more serious criminal records especially for violence and drug offenses. This suggests that for some purposes the domestic violence cases should be separated from the other disputes.

## Summary

The dispute related homicides make up nearly half of Rochester's murders. These are most likely to be in Clinton section and to involve similar victims and suspects with similar moderately serious criminal histories. Victim and suspects are more likely to be Hispanic than is expected.

## Additional Research Issues

1. Is there some historical, demographic or other reason why these homicides are most common in Clinton Section?
2. How widely are these disputes known among family, neighbors, police or others before they become lethal?
3. Are participants responsive to deterrence measures or to dispute resolution procedures?
4. Do suspects, friends, family members or others have ideas as to what may have prevented the dispute from becoming lethal?
5. Do people with expertise in domestic violence have information that may be helpful in understanding and addressing other categories of disputes?

## Action Issues

1. Are there ways to identify these disputes before they become lethal? For example through street workers, neighborhood leaders, hot lines or others.

2. What resources do we have to intervene in disputes to prevent them from becoming lethal if we learn about them?
3. Do we have an intelligence network that can provide information to police or others who might intervene?
4. Are there dispute resolution methods that can address illegal issues that may underlie some disputes?
5. Since dispute victims and suspects have similarities with regard to criminal records are they identifiable targets for deterrence through notification meetings?

**C. Rip-off Homicides. N= 18 (45% of total)**

In these cases the victim was robbed and killed as a result of engagement in some illegal activity, usually the sale of drugs. The year 2000 cases in this category included:

1. Drug-related street robbery (3 cases)
2. Other robbery of illegal gains (2 cases)
3. Drug house robbery/assassination (13 cases)

Data Analysis

1. These homicides are most likely to occur in Maple Section (10/18) and are the most common type of homicide in Maple Section (10/15).
2. One third of these homicides occur on Friday and a total of over two thirds occur on the weekend. This is the only strong day-of week pattern in the homicide data..
3. The Rip-off homicides also show a seasonal pattern favoring Spring (5/18) and Summer (6/18).
4. These homicides also show a strong association with age of victim. In 2000, 50% of the victims were in the 16-20 year old age group.
5. There is also a strong relationship with age of suspect.. Of 8 suspects in Rip-off cases 6 were between 16 and 20 years of age and one was 24 years old.
6. Handguns were also the overwhelming choice for weapon in these cases. Fully 83% of cases (15/18) involved handguns compared with just over 60% for all homicides.
7. As the data below show, victims and suspects in the Rip-off cases had the most serious criminal records and suspects tended to have more serious records than victims. Ten of 18 Victims and all (6/6) suspects in the Rip-off cases had moderate or serious criminal records.

	Victims	Suspects
No (0) FIFs	33%	67% %
Prior Violent crime Arrest	50%	100%
Prior Drug Arrest	56%	83%
Prior Gun Arrest	33% %	67% %

## Summary

The rip-off homicides account for almost half of Rochester murders and are most prevalent in Maple Section. They are most likely to occur on weekends and they involve the victims and suspects with the most serious criminal records. Suspects and victims are also very young.

## Additional Research Issues

1. Why are these types of homicide so prevalent in Maple Section?
2. How representative are the victims of other drug sellers? Are sellers usually so young? Why are victims so young? Does youth make them easy targets?
3. What explains the seasonal and day-of-week variation? Is it that drug markets work like liquor stores and restaurants- busy on weekends?
4. Do efforts to control drug markets have positive, negative or no effect on drug related violence?
5. Were the drug houses where murders occur identified as drug houses before the homicides?
6. How are drug houses identified and what is done about them when identified?

## Action Issues

1. Weekends may be particularly dangerous times for these crimes and thus also appropriate times for intervention efforts.
2. Can potential victims of these crimes be protected without supporting the drug trade?
3. These victims and suspects and suspects have serious criminal records. Are they identifiable early and amenable to deterrence models such as notification meetings.
4. Are there emergency or short-term steps, which are independent of drug control strategies, and which can be developed to address these types of homicides?

## Overall Conclusions and Recommendations

Three types homicide were identified in the Year 2000 case review and appear to be relevant to understanding subsequent case reviews. Those three types are supported as distinct from each other through the analysis of statistical data on the events. Wrong Place/Wrong Time, Disputes and Rip-offs provide descriptions of different types of homicide. For some purposes, however, it may also be helpful to separate the domestic violence cases from the other disputes.

These types of homicide thus present opportunities for intervention. The greatest impact would lie in addressing the dispute and rip-off types of cases. These may involve targeting different interventions in different sections.

As we move forward with additional research that focuses on these types murders, the Scope Team should begin to discuss movement toward interventions designed to address the problems of disputes and drug house rip-offs.

**Table 1- Section By Type**

**Crosstab**

			Type of Victim Involvement			Total
			No Victim Involvement	Dispute-Victim could have known	Robbery-Vitim inv. in Illegal Activity	
SECTION	Clinton	Count	1	8	4	13
		% within Type of Victim Involvement	20.0%	47.1%	22.2%	32.5%
	Genesee	Count	2	2	3	7
		% within Type of Victim Involvement	40.0%	11.8%	16.7%	17.5%
	Goodman	Count	1	2		3
		% within Type of Victim Involvement	20.0%	11.8%		7.5%
	Highlan	Count		1		1
		% within Type of Victim Involvement		5.9%		2.5%
	Lake	Count			1	1
		% within Type of Victim Involvement			5.6%	2.5%
	Maple	Count	1	4	10	15
		% within Type of Victim Involvement	20.0%	23.5%	55.6%	37.5%
Total		Count	5	17	18	40
		% within Type of Victim Involvement	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

**Table 2: Season by Type**

**Crosstab**

			Type of Victim Involvement			Total
			No Victim Involvement	Dispute-Victim could have known	Robbery-Vitim inv. in Illegal Activity	
SEASON	1	Count	2	3	5	10
		% within Type of Victim Involvement	40.0%	17.6%	27.8%	25.0%
	2	Count		6	6	12
		% within Type of Victim Involvement		35.3%	33.3%	30.0%
	3	Count	2	3	3	8
		% within Type of Victim Involvement	40.0%	17.6%	16.7%	20.0%
	4	Count	1	5	4	10
		% within Type of Victim Involvement	20.0%	29.4%	22.2%	25.0%
Total		Count	5	17	18	40
		% within Type of Victim Involvement	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%



**Table 3: Day of Week by Type**

**Crosstab**

			Type of Victim Involvement			Total
			No Victim Involvement	Dispute-Victim could have known	Robbery-Vitim inv. in Illegal Activity	
DAYOWEEK	Sun.	Count	1	4	3	8
		% within Type of Victim Involvement	20.0%	23.5%	16.7%	20.0%
	Mon.	Count	1	3	1	5
		% within Type of Victim Involvement	20.0%	17.6%	5.6%	12.5%
	Tues.	Count	1	3	1	5
		% within Type of Victim Involvement	20.0%	17.6%	5.6%	12.5%
	Wed.	Count		1	2	3
		% within Type of Victim Involvement		5.9%	11.1%	7.5%
Thurs.	Count		3	2	5	
	% within Type of Victim Involvement		17.6%	11.1%	12.5%	
Fri.	Count	1	1	6	8	
	% within Type of Victim Involvement	20.0%	5.9%	33.3%	20.0%	
Sat.	Count	1	2	3	6	
	% within Type of Victim Involvement	20.0%	11.8%	16.7%	15.0%	
Total	Count	5	17	18	40	
	% within Type of Victim Involvement	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	

**Table 4: Weapon by Type**

**Crosstab**

			Type of Victim Involvement			Total
			No Victim Involvement	Dispute-Victim could have known	Robbery-Vitim inv. in Illegal Activity	
WEAPON#	Hand Gun	Count	1	7	15	23
		% within Type of Victim Involvement	20.0%	41.2%	83.3%	57.5%
	Long Gun	Count	1	3	2	6
		% within Type of Victim Involvement	20.0%	17.6%	11.1%	15.0%
	Knife	Count	2	3		5
		% within Type of Victim Involvement	40.0%	17.6%		12.5%
	Blunt Force	Count		2		2
		% within Type of Victim Involvement		11.8%		5.0%
Physical Force	Count	1	1	1	3	
	% within Type of Victim Involvement	20.0%	5.9%	5.6%	7.5%	
Other (Veh)	Count		1		1	
	% within Type of Victim Involvement		5.9%		2.5%	
Total	Count	5	17	18	40	
	% within Type of Victim Involvement	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	

**Table 5: Victim Race by Type**

**Crosstab**

			Type of Victim Involvement			Total
			No Victim Involvement	Dispute-Victim could have known	Robbery-Vitim inv. in Illegal Activity	
VICRACE# Black	Count	4	11	10	25	
	% within Type of Victim Involvement	80.0%	64.7%	55.6%	62.5%	
Hispanic	Count		5	2	7	
	% within Type of Victim Involvement		29.4%	11.1%	17.5%	
White	Count	1	1	5	7	
	% within Type of Victim Involvement	20.0%	5.9%	27.8%	17.5%	
Asian	Count			1	1	
	% within Type of Victim Involvement			5.6%	2.5%	
Total	Count	5	17	18	40	
	% within Type of Victim Involvement	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	

**Table 6: Victim Age by Type**

**Crosstab**

			Type of Victim Involvement			Total
			No Victim Involvement	Dispute-Victim could have known	Robbery-Vitim inv. in Illegal Activity	
victim age (broad categories)	0-9	Count	1			1
		% within Type of Victim Involvement	20.0%			2.5%
	16-25	Count	1	4	9	14
		% within Type of Victim Involvement	20.0%	23.5%	50.0%	35.0%
26-40	Count	2	8	7	17	
	% within Type of Victim Involvement	40.0%	47.1%	38.9%	42.5%	
over 40	Count	1	5	2	8	
	% within Type of Victim Involvement	20.0%	29.4%	11.1%	20.0%	
Total	Count	5	17	18	40	
	% within Type of Victim Involvement	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	

**Table 7: Suspect Age by Type**

**Suspect Age in 5yr Inc. \* Type of Victim Involvement Crosstabulation**

			Type of Victim Involvement			Total
			No Victim Involvement	Dispute-Victim could have known	Robbery-Vitim inv. in Illegal Activity	
Suspect Age in 5yr Inc.	16-20	Count % within Type of Victim Involvement	1 33.3%	4 33.3%	6 75.0%	11 47.8%
	21-25	Count % within Type of Victim Involvement	1 33.3%	2 16.7%	1 12.5%	4 17.4%
	31-35	Count % within Type of Victim Involvement	1 33.3%	1 8.3%		2 8.7%
	36-40	Count % within Type of Victim Involvement		1 8.3%		1 4.3%
	41-45	Count % within Type of Victim Involvement		2 16.7%	1 12.5%	3 13.0%
	over 45	Count % within Type of Victim Involvement		2 16.7%		2 8.7%
	Total	Count % within Type of Victim Involvement	3 100.0%	12 100.0%	8 100.0%	23 100.0%

**Table 8: Suspect's Criminal History by Type**

**Suspect's criminal history \* Type of Victim Involvement Crosstabulation**

			Type of Victim Involvement			Total
			No Victim Involvement	Dispute-Victim could have known	Robbery-Vitim inv. in Illegal Activity	
Suspect's criminal history	None	Count % within Type of Victim Involvement		2 16.7%		2 9.1%
	Minor	Count % within Type of Victim Involvement	1 25.0%	6 50.0%		7 31.8%
	Moderate	Count % within Type of Victim Involvement		1 8.3%	1 16.7%	2 9.1%
	Serious	Count % within Type of Victim Involvement	3 75.0%	3 25.0%	5 83.3%	11 50.0%
Total	Count % within Type of Victim Involvement	4 100.0%	12 100.0%	6 100.0%	22 100.0%	

**Table 9: Suspect's Criminal History by Type**

**Suspect's criminal history \* Type of Victim Involvement Crosstabulation**

			Type of Victim Involvement			Total
			No Victim Involvement	Dispute-Victim could have known	Robbery-Vitim inv. in Illegal Activity	
Suspect's criminal history	None	Count % within Type of Victim Involvement		2 16.7%		2 9.1%
	Minor	Count % within Type of Victim Involvement	1 25.0%	6 50.0%		7 31.8%
	Moderate	Count % within Type of Victim Involvement		1 8.3%	1 16.7%	2 9.1%
	Serious	Count % within Type of Victim Involvement	3 75.0%	3 25.0%	5 83.3%	11 50.0%
Total	Count % within Type of Victim Involvement	4 100.0%	12 100.0%	6 100.0%	22 100.0%	

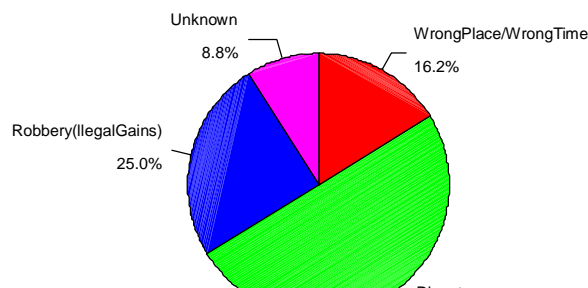
**Rochester SACSI Research  
Addendum to Working Paper # 8, October 22, 2001**

**Three Kinds of Murder**

This paper extends the examination of cases begun in Working Paper # 8, "Three Kinds of Murder." In preparation for the SACSI Intervention Retreat we reexamined all year 2000 and 2001 homicide cases. We began by considering whether the typology of cases developed out of the original grand review of cases was continuing to be useful in understanding homicide in Rochester. We then examined a variety of additional variables.

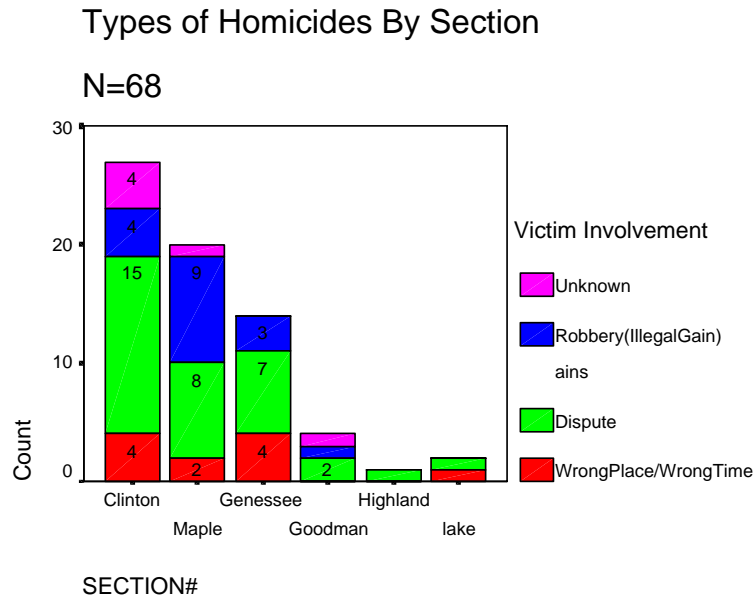
**Types of Homicide**

N=68



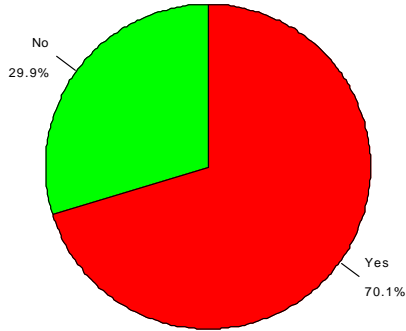
This chart shows that the original identification of types holds in the current data. Disputes remain the largest cause of homicides. Robbery of illegal gains has declined somewhat in 2001 but remains important. A small number of homicides fall into the Wrong Time/Wrong Place category.

The distribution of homicide across the police sections also remains consistent. Clinton Section accounts for 40% of all Rochester homicides and over 50% of dispute related murders. Maple section accounts for 20% of all murders but over 50% of drug robbery homicides.

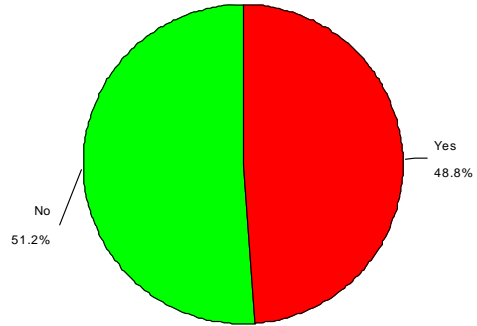


We also examined whether the murder victims and suspects lived in the section where the murder occurred. Both tend to live in the section although the relationship is stronger for victims. This also holds for all types of homicide.

Did the Victim Live in the Section  
Where the Homicide Occurred? N=67



Did Suspect Live in Section  
Where Homicide Occurred? N=41



When the victim and suspect information are combined, however, it reveals that in only 36% of cases do the parties live in the section where the homicide occurred. Closer examination does reveal, however that suspect often live in nearby sections, with Maple being the most likely after the section where the offense occurred.

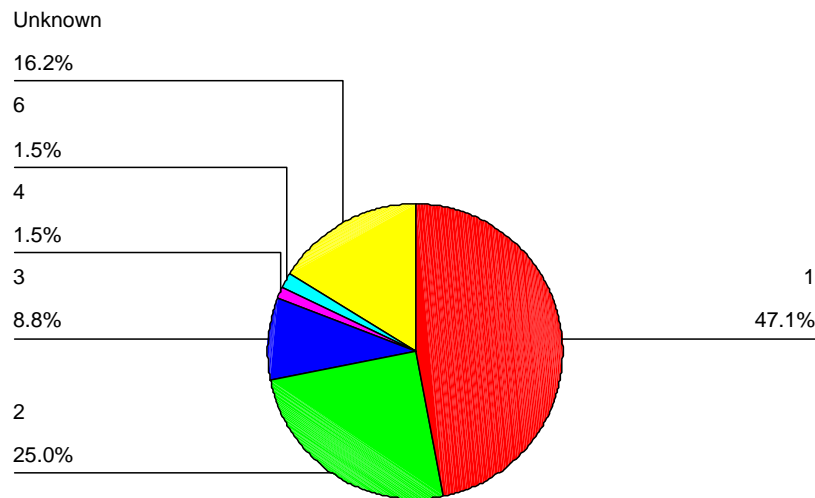
Do Victim & Suspect Live in Section Where Homicide Occurred?

Did Victim Live in Section?	Yes	27%	36%
	No	24%	12%
		No	YES
		Did Suspect Live in Section?	

We also examined whether the cases involved a single suspect or a group and what the size of that group was. The chart below shows that more than one person was identified as involved in over a third of all homicides and over 44% of those with known suspects.

### Size of Suspect Group

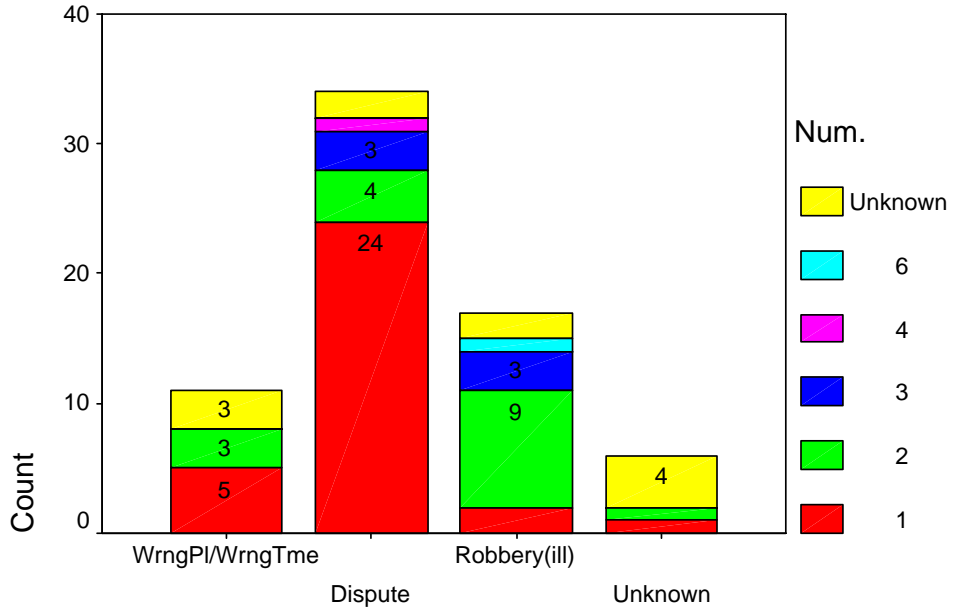
N=68



The chart below shows that more than one individual was most likely to be involved in the drug related robbery murder category and least likely to be involved in the dispute homicides. Further analysis shows that dispute homicides that result from personal arguments, and drug related disputes, often involve more than one individual suspect.

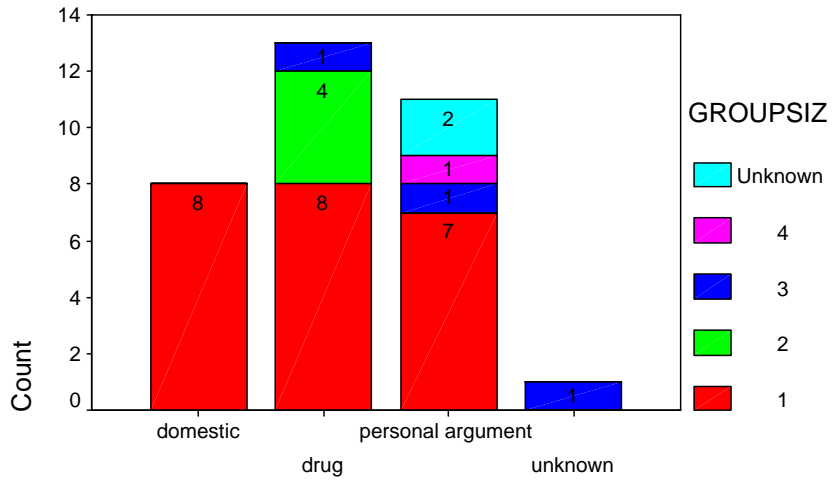
## Size of Suspect Group by Homicide Type

N=68



## Group Size by Type of Dispute

N=32



DTYPE

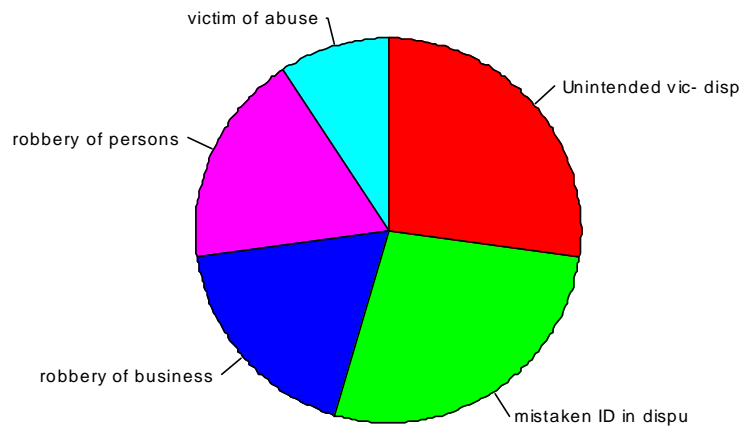
Review of Types of Homicide:



We also examined the three types of homicides more closely. Although Wrong/Place Wrong Time homicides are the least common, the analysis showed that half of them are actually tied the disputes as either mistaken identity cases or cases of unintended victims of disputes.

### Types of Wrong Place/ Wrong Time Cases

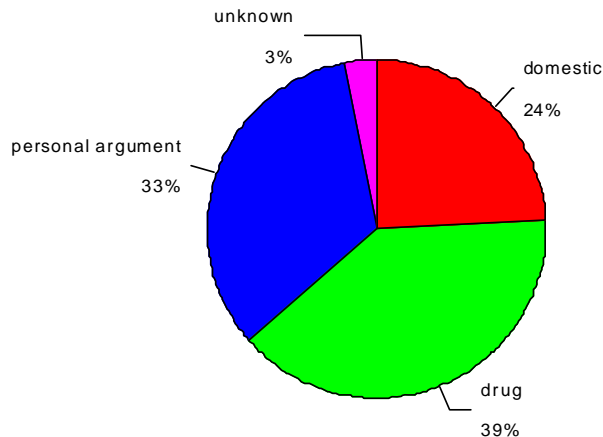
N=11



The disputes were also examined more closely and revealed that 24% involved domestic violence, 33% involved personal arguments and 39% involved drugs.

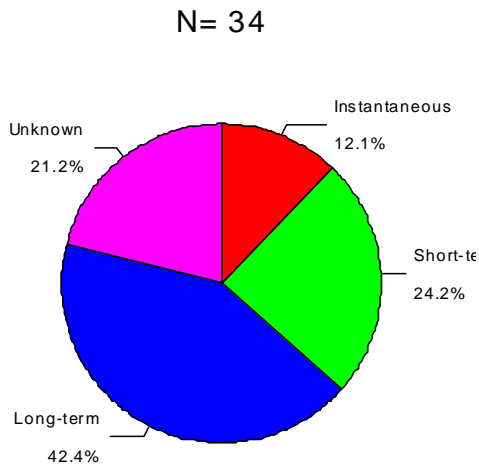
### Types of Disputes

N=34

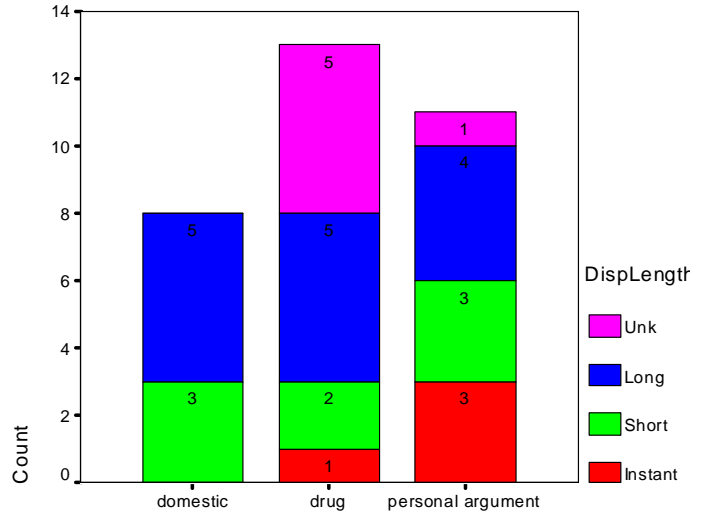


We examined the length of disputes and found that most lasted considerable time with 24% lasting between 1 and 10 days and 42% lasting more than 10 days. This distribution also held for each type of dispute.

Length of Dispute in Dispute Homicid



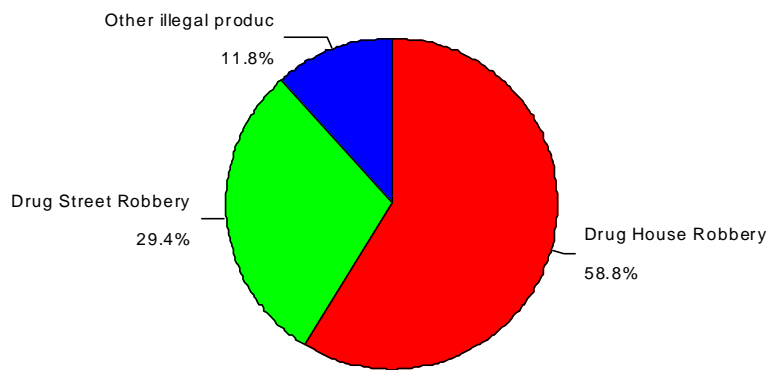
Length of Dispute by Type of Dispute



The final type of homicide, the Robbery of Illegal Gains category could be divided as follows. Drug house and drug street robbery account for almost all of these cases.

Types of Robbery Homicides (Illegal Proceeds)

N= 17



## Conclusion

The continuing analysis of Rochester homicides supports the original description of three main types of events, WrongPlace/WrongTime cases, Disputes and Robbery of Illegal Gains . Of those disputes remain the most common and even appear to account for some cases in the other categories. The new analyses show that most homicides are very local events with victim or suspect or both living in the police section where the event occurred. The data also show that a significant number of homicides involve a group associated with the key suspect. The data on dispute related murders also show that a large number of the underlying disputes go on for a long period of time before the homicide event.

Overall, the data on residence, group affiliation, length of dispute, and type of robbery all support the focus on developing interventions to address disputes in Clinton Section and drug related robbery homicides in Maple Section.