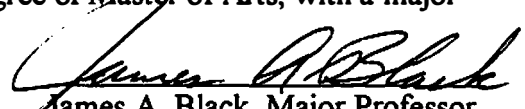
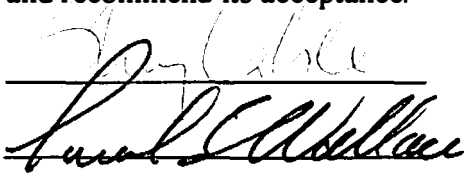


To the Graduate Council:

I am submitting herewith a thesis written by Nicole Madonna Corsaro entitled "Murder for Hire: Event Characteristics and Causal Implications." I have examined the final copy of this thesis for form and content and recommend that it be accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts, with a major in Sociology.


James A. Black, Major Professor

We have read this thesis
and recommend its acceptance:



Accepted for the Council:


Associate Vice Chancellor and
Dean of The Graduate School

**MURDER-FOR-HIRE:
EVENT CHARACTERISTICS AND CAUSAL IMPLICATIONS**

**A Thesis
Presented for the
Master of Arts
Degree
The University of Tennessee, Knoxville**

**Nicole Madonna Corsaro
August 1998**

DEDICATION

**This thesis is dedicated to anyone who has inspired me to do better than my best,
especially my mother.**

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ABSTRACT

The problem of criminal homicide has been extensively studied. A productive way to examine it has been through detailed analysis of homicides as criminal events. There are a number of characteristics that are common to all homicide events, such as background circumstances, participant characteristics, and interrelationships of offenders. However, murder-for-hire events contain distinctive interactive features that are not present in other types of criminal homicide, i.e. solicitor, hitman, and target scenarios and that have not received empirical attention. Using trial transcripts, news reports, pre-sentence investigations, and Tennessee Department of Correction records, 30 murder-for-hire events have been identified involving 60 individuals convicted of solicitation and/ or conspiracy to commit murder or attempted murder in Tennessee. In this study, details about these murder-for-hire events are explored in terms of the following variations: race, age, and sex of solicitor (s), hitmen, and targets across events; method, place of occurrence, time, and type of interpersonal relationship among participants. The results are compared with existing information on these characteristics for typical homicide events. The data suggest that murder-for-hire events involve different offender-victim profiles from those found in typical homicides. Implications of these differences for causal explanations of homicide events are explored.

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

Violence, especially criminal violence, has been extensively studied. Because homicide data tend to be among the most stable and reliable sources of information about criminal violence, much has been learned about the demographics of offender-victim characteristics (Miethe and Mc Corkle, 1998; Pokorny, 1965; Wolfgang, 1958; Zimring and Hawkins, 1997) and about the structure of situations and circumstances surrounding homicide (Luckenbill, 1977; Weiner, Zahn, and Sagi, 1990). This has led to the establishment of profiles of offenders, victims, and circumstances (Miethe and McCorkle, 1998) of these types of violent events.

Recent shifts in the focus of research on criminal violence have opened new areas of inquiry raising important issues about the crimes on which these profiles are based and the overall accuracy of the profiles themselves. The remainder of this chapter will focus on these issues in the framework of existing criminal homicide information, legal categories of lethal violence, and unique features of conspiracy and solicitation to commit murder as violent crimes.

Criminal Homicide: Existing Information

Wolfgang's seminal work on homicide set the stage for all subsequent research (Wolfgang, 1958) on homicide events. His detailed analysis of homicide studied race, sex, age, previous criminal record of participants, method, degree of violence, and victim-offender relationships. Pokorny expanded on Wolfgang's work to examine

homicide characteristics in the city of Houston. Pokorny analyzed victim/ offender demographics, situation circumstances, and interpersonal relationships (Pokorny, 1965).

From these early works, a rather substantial body of research findings has expanded our knowledge of the characteristic features of homicide (Decker, 1993; Zimring and Hawkins, 1997). Currently, among the major demographic categories that are consistently examined are age, race, and gender (Wolfgang, 1958; Zimring and Hawkins, 1997; Pokorny, 1965; Miethe and Mc Corkle, 1998). Research findings generally suggest the view that the demographics of an offender profile are male (90%), African American (58%), between the ages of 15-34 years old (78%), and a prior arrest record (68%). The demographics of a victim tend to be quite similar: male (77%), African American (49%), and between the ages of 20 and 34 years old (47%). About nine out of every 10 homicides are intra-racial (Miethe and Mc Corkle, 1998).

Research findings also support the view that there are circumstance characteristics that are common to all homicide events, such as location, time, method of killing, and interpersonal relationships among participants. Based on the accumulated evidence, the typical homicide occurs between 8:00 p.m.- 1:59 a.m. (49%), at the victim's home (49%), and with a firearm (three-fourths in murders with strangers and about half with family members).

Luckenbill found:

social occasions which encompass transactions ending in murder shared several features. First, all such transactions occurred in occasions of non-work or leisure time. Second, occasions of murders were 'loose' informal affairs

permitting a wide range of activities definable by members as appropriate. A third feature of such occasions was their population by intimates (offender/victims related by marriage, kinship, friendship, or acquaintances)(1977:176-186).

As informative as this information is, it has contributed little to our overall understandings of criminal homicide in America. Problems persist in identifying the complexity of the contexts in which violence occurs and in generalizing to these contexts from existing knowledge.

Lethal Violence

Much of the existing research on criminal violence is clustered around a somewhat narrow range of legally designated crimes that are broadly classified as violent (e.g., murder or attempted murder, aggravated assault, robbery, rape). When the focus shifts to "...using the risk of death as a primary organizing principle," (Zimring and Hawkins, 1998: 66) then our interest is on the more general problem of the lethal outcomes of violence. The term "lethal violence" is used to cover the entire range of criminal offense categories that have a lethal outcome. This enables us to ask questions about the demographic characteristics of categories of Americans engage in "lethal violence". It also enables us to raise questions about the profiles of offenders in these more general categories of lethal violence. To find answers, researchers have increasingly shifted toward focusing on crime categories other than those historically used to generate data on criminal homicide as measures of lethal violence. Zimring and Hawkins, for example, investigate this question through an examination of the risk death by "lethal

violence” as a feature of crime categories. They:

...explore the link between different types of violent crime in the United States and the risk of homicide resulting from each form of violent act: While there is novelty in using the risk of death as a primary organizing principle in considering the range of crimes of violence, this strategy emerges naturally from the study’s special emphasis on lethal violence. What types of violent conduct produce the distinctively high rates of U.S. homicide? What forms of criminal activity are most dangerous to their victims? (Zimring and Hawkins, 1997: 66)

From this line of inquiry, they argue for research into separate demographically clustered characteristics or “layers” of lethal violence:

Much, but not all, of the higher death rate produced by American violence occurs in the demographic clusters where the most lethal strands of violence are visibly concentrated. It is at least plausible that much of the rest of the difference in death rates from American violence could be attributable to separate layers of lethal violence involving white male offenders in non core city environments, but this separate layer may be difficult to distinguish from the less dangerous varieties of assaultive behavior attributable to the same population (Zimring and Hawkins, 1997:70).

Consistent with Zimring and Hawkin’s suggestion that risk of death be used as the organizing principle in studying lethal violence. It is possible to extend research to provide detailed examinations of offense patterns that are not normally included in the categories of criminal violence. Two such offense categories are solicitation and/or conspiracy, otherwise known as “murder-for-hire” crimes. While these are criminal acts in and of themselves irrespective of whether murders are actually committed (Shuy,

1996), they carry the very real threat of murder and, as such, require study to expand our knowledge of the social contexts in which homicide and the threat of homicide occurs. Murder-for-hire offending, along with a growing list of other types of violent offending (e.g. serial murders), is a type of violence that might well constitute one of the separate layers of lethal violence in America mentioned by Zimring and Hawkins.

Murder for Hire: Existing Information

Information about murder-for-hire ranges from anthologies of fiction (Hopler, 1996) to actual case studies of hitmen (Levi, 1981). Antidotal information from news accounts on programs such as Dateline to nonfiction novels about murder-for-hire killings (Griffins, 1995; Lewis, 1975; Mc Ginniss, 1989; Porch and Easley, 1997), and from numerous fictional movies to made-for-television dramas. Frequently, murder-for-hire scenarios are woven into sources as a “bit part” in movies and books with a larger theme or focus (The Autobiography of Miss Jane Pittmann, 1973; Derber, 1996).

Murder-for-hire has even worked its way into defense strategies to create “abuse excuses” for defendants charged with murder (Dershowitz, 1994). There is, finally, even technical information that provides instructions on how to carry out a murder-for-hire (Feral, 1983). Together, these sources constitute a sparse and generally unscientific base of knowledge from which to establish an understanding of these types of violent crimes. With rare exception, they do not constitute the types of data sources that serve as a basis for comparisons with other type of homicides.

This study seeks to address the issue of the separate layers of lethal violence by

focusing on solicitation and conspiracy to commit murder as two potentially “lethal” crime categories. The question raised is *where are the most “lethal” strains of violence demographically clustered when these other crime categories are examined?* There are empirical grounds for exploring these relationship clusters outside the bounds of traditional violent crime categories. They stem from the increase in the “unknown category” in crime statistics:

To estimate the total volume of stranger homicides in the U.S. as about 14 percent is certainly an undercount because the police report that they cannot identify the relationship between victim and offender in 39 percent of all homicides. But a controversy has emerged regarding how to treat the “relationship unknown” group of cases when estimating the total proportion of lethal violence that does not involve prior acquaintances (Zimring and Hawkins, 1997:63).

Roger Lane in Murder in America (1997) identifies some of the specific problems connected with the controversy over the “relationship unknown” category:

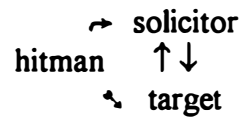
All of us meanwhile fear the unknown and during the 1990's one of the biggest categories in the FBI's list of motives and relationships has been just that: 'unknown'. This is a category that did not even exist in 1974; it now contains well over a quarter of all homicides: victims of robbery? revenge? thrill seekers? drug dealers? And its size reflects another ominous trend: the fact that the percentage of killings 'cleared by arrest' has been dropping steadily over the decades. Homicides among family, friends, and acquaintances have always been easy to solve ('slam dunks' in detective jargon), but part of the fear inspired by most other kinds is that they are not. The clearance rate in 1974 was 80%, a percentage already well down from the mid century record of about 90% in most big city departments. By 1994 it had fallen to 64 percent (1997: 322).

This passage poses an intriguing question for criminologists: *Are homicide profiles consistent across the full range of traditional and lethal violent offense categories?* Murder-for-hire events might well involve different offender-victim profiles than those found in typical homicides. Given the questions raised about the unknown category of victim-offender relationships, and the paucity of information about certain “lethal strains” of American violence, there is an opportunity to examine in a search for answers. Such an investigation will provide detailed information on a little known layer of potentially violent crimes and generate findings about murder-for-hire events that can be compared with existing information on the characteristics of typical homicide events.

Murder for Hire: Unique Features of Conspiracy and Solicitation to Commit Murder

A murder-for-hire event is *a continuous sequence of interactions by one or more persons in which one person(s) (solicitor) solicits another person(s) (hitman) to have someone else (target) killed for gain, monetary or otherwise. An event begins with the initial exploration of the possibility of having someone killed and terminates with a murder, attempted murder, or police intervention* (Black and Corsaro, 1997). A murder-for-hire is different from a typical criminal homicide in that the causal chain of the actions of participants follows a pattern different from that of a typical offender-victim homicide. In murder-for-hire events, a new dynamic is introduced. The linear equation between the offender (solicitor) and victim (target) is interrupted by the hitman. The event is more complex than that found in a simple linear offender- victim

equation:



Murder-for-hire crimes raise basic questions about the lethal layer in which they occur and about the demographics and circumstances comprising the profiles of participants in violent events in that layer. *Can our standing knowledge of the characteristics of traditional homicide events be generalized to lethal strains of violence represented by murder-for-hire crimes?* This issue can be examined by looking at the characteristic features of conspiracy and solicitation to commit murder crimes.

CHAPTER TWO

METHODOLOGY

Introduction

To explore the general questions raised in this study, age, sex, and race, and criminal record of the solicitor and hitman were examined. Target's age, sex, and race were explored, as well. The method of killing used, time and place of occurrence, and results of the crime were investigated. The relationship between the solicitor and hitman "offenders" and the relationship between the solicitor "offender" and target were determined. Profiles were also generated and compared with typical homicide profiles. In addition to the statistical information, the dynamics of the interaction between the solicitor and the hitman were explored with additional data from interviews and court documents to describe the depth of interpersonal relationships. This chapter presents information on the unit of analysis, sources of data, and procedures for coding and analyzing event characteristics.

Unit of Analysis

A common problem encountered in researching criminal homicide involves determining the unit of analysis to be investigated. Two ways in which criminal homicide have been examined are by using criminal events (Wolfgang, 1958; Pokorny, 1965; Zimring and Hawkins, 1997) and situated transactions (Luckenbill, 1977) as the unit of analysis. Luckenbill examined homicides as situated transactions:

Criminal homicide is the culmination of an intense interchange between an offender and victim. Transactions

resulting in murder involved the joint contribution of the offender and victim to the escalation of a 'character contest' a confrontation in which at least one, but usually both, attempt to establish or save face at the other's expense by standing steady in the face of adversity. Such transaction additionally involved a consensus among participants that violence was suitable if not required means for settling the contest (1977: 176-186).

Because a murder-for-hire contains distinctive interactive features that are not present in other types of criminal homicide, i.e. solicitor, hitman, and target scenarios, not all the participants will contribute to the critical elements of "face" and "character contests" required when situated transactions are the unit of analysis. To examine murder-for-hire events will be examined in terms of the variations of demographics and circumstances, murder-for-hire crimes will also be examined as lethal criminal events, with the events as the unit of analysis.

Sources of Data

Data for the present study were generated from a larger murder-for hire project (University of Tennessee IRB # 5244B), a study involving those incarcerated in Tennessee's adult prison system on January 1, 1997 for solicitation and/ or conspiracy to commit murder or murder or attempted murder with a murder-for-hire element to them. Pre-sentencing investigation reports, Department of Corrections TOMIS (Tennessee Offender Information System), court transcripts and other related court documents, newspaper articles, and selected information from taped interviews constitute the basic sources from which the data have been drawn for this study. A total of thirty separate

murder-for-hire events have been identified for examination.

Collecting data on the murder-for-hire events required the use of multiple sources. Pre-sentencing investigation reports provided demographic information, names of co-defendants, and the county where the offense occurred. There, court records and documents were located which enabled the reconstruction of events. County and appellate courts were visited and documents from court files were scanned into Logitech Paper Master. This enabled the collection of large quantities of data through storage in a filing system within the computer.

Prior to each interview, an initial meeting with each prisoner was arranged by the Classification Coordinator at that prison. The study was explained and consent forms were distributed so prisoners could voluntarily agree or refuse to participate in the study. Initial interviews were then set up with the consenting participants. Interviews are being transcribed and entered into Ethnography v 4.0 for analysis. This phase of the project is still in process.

From these various sources, information about each event was constructed on: participants (solicitor, hitman, and target), charge, sentence, status (prison, expired sentence, parole), DOB, sex, race, prior record, target, method, results, and interpersonal relationships. TOMIS (Tennessee Offender Information System) and newspaper articles were also used to obtain information.

Procedures for Analyzing Event Characteristics

Much about how murders are arranged can be learned from a careful analysis of various court documents (Zimring and Hawkins, 1997 and Jackson and Oates, 1998). Examining evidence, reviewing trial transcripts, sorting through appellate issues, and otherwise shifting through the documentation accumulated during the legal life of a case can provide rich and revealing information. Court documents are, in fact, a vital repository of many kinds of details needed to reconstruct the sequence of actions engaged in by the participants in murder-for-hire schemes. They are equally as important in identifying the participants and how they are linked socially as well as criminally to the crimes with which they are being charged. Contained within these documents, also, is much information about demographics of participants and circumstances of the events.

Data were identified from thirty events involving sixty participants, seventeen women and forty-three men. From previous research, there is evidence that age, sex, race, and criminal record are important components in offender and victim profiles (Wolfgang; 1958; Zimring and Hawkins, 1997; Pokorny; 1965; Miethe and Mc Corkle, 1998). The following demographic variables and their categorization were selected for examination regarding solicitor, hitman, and target in each event:

- 1. age** - not grouped,
- 2. sex** - male or female,
- 3. race** - white or black,
- 4. criminal record** - prior record, no prior record, or unknown.

In some events there were multiple solicitors, hitmen, and targets. For those occurrences, a primary participant was identified for each category and demographics for that participant were recorded. The selection for solicitors and hitmen was based on the knowledge of events obtained from project documents. The primary target was determined by the closeness of the target's relationship to the solicitor.

The circumstances common to all homicide events are: method, time and place of occurrence, results, and interpersonal relationship. The following variables were chosen and categorized accordingly to examine these characteristics:

5. method - stabbing, shooting, drowning, other, or undercover agent,

6. results - murder, attempted murder, police intervention, or murder and attempted murder,

7. occurrence - house, highway, taproom, other commercial place, or other away from home,

8. time - 8:00p.m. – 1:59 a.m., 2:00 a.m.- 7: 59 a.m., 8:00 a.m.- 1:59 p.m., and 2: 00 p.m. – 7: 59 p.m., or undercover agent ,

9. interpersonal relationship between solicitor and hitman and solicitor and target - marriage, kin, friendship, acquaintance, stranger, or paramour- sex relationship.

Data on these variables for each event were coded and entered for analysis in SPSS Base 8.0 Statistical Package (see Appendix A). The findings were then compared to previous work done on homicide event characteristics.

In addition, certain salient features of the dynamics of murder- for-hire events

were explored: how they were initiated, the interaction between the solicitor and hit men, how the events were terminated, and the extensiveness of the contracts between participants. At this point, a qualitative approach was a prudent way to proceed. “A number of researchers point to the importance of qualitative research methods for a more accurate understanding of the meaning attached to a violent episode and the context in which it occurred.” (Jackson and Oates, 1998: 145). Dobash and Dobash (1983) accentuated the importance of qualitative research, although not rejecting quantitative data, as sighted in Jackson and Oates, emphasizing the use of historical analysis, examination of police and court records, and in-depth interviews (of two to twelve hours duration). Zimring and Hawkins share the emphasis for rich case level research, as well. The findings from this study are only provisional. The population of events used in the examination of variables do not constitute a representative sample of murder-for-hire events. Therefore, generalizations are inappropriate.

CHAPTER THREE

FINDINGS

Introduction

This chapter presents information on demographic characteristics of solicitor, hitman, and target, circumstance characteristics, (see Appendices D-G), profile comparisons, and rich descriptions of murder-for-hire events. In events that involved undercover agents, demographics were harder to obtain on victims. In these events, too, certain circumstance, such as, method, time, and place of occurrence, were often not discussed before an arrest was made.

Demographic Characteristics of Participants

Solicitor

Although the ages of solicitors ranged from sixteen to fifty-three years old, seventy-five percent were between the ages of nineteen and forty-one years old (Appendix D, Figure D-1). Ages of solicitors were most frequently clustered between twenty-nine to thirty-nine years old. The modal age was twenty-nine and the median was thirty-six (Table H-1). Ninety three percent of the solicitors were white (Appendix D, Figure D-3). Fifty-three percent of the solicitors were males and forty-seven percent were females (Appendix D, Figure D-3). Fifty-five percent of the solicitors had a prior arrest record (Appendix D, Figure D-4).

Hitman

The hitmen's ages ranged from sixteen to forty-eight years old (Appendix E, Figure E-1). Seventy percent of the hitmen were between the ages of sixteen and thirty years old. The most frequent age of the hitmen was twenty-five years old. The hitman's modal and median age was twenty-five years old (Appendix I, Table I-2) Ninety-seven percent of the hitmen were males and three percent were females (Appendix, Figure E-2). Ninety percent of hitmen were white and ten percent were black (Appendix E, Figure E-3). Fifty percent had an arrest record (Appendix E, Figure E-4). Thirty-seven percent of the hitmen were undercover agents. In one event, a female agent portrayed the hitman (Appendix E, Figure E-4).

Target

The victim ages ranged from twenty-five to sixty-seven years old (Appendix F, Figure F-1). Of those, sixty percent were between twenty-six and forty-five years old. Ten percent of the victims were twenty-five years old. The modal age for the victim was twenty-six years old and the median was forty-one years old (Appendix J, Table J-1). Sixty-six percent of the victims were male and thirty-five were female (Appendix J, Figure F-2). Ninety percent of the victims were white and ten percent were black (Appendix F, Figure F-3).

Circumstance Characteristics of Murder for Hire Events

Thirty-five percent of the events involved an undercover agent. Thirty-three percent were shootings, thirteen percent were stabbing, three percent were drowning, and

thirty –five percent involved another method (Appendix G, Figure G-1). The other category consisted of events that contained more than one method (e.g. a shooting and a stabbing or a shooting, a stabbing, and a beating).

Forty-three percent of the events occurred between 2:00 a.m. and 7:59 a.m. (Appendix G, Figure G-2). Thirty-six events occurred between 8:00 p.m. and 1:59 a.m. and twenty-one percent between 2:00 p.m. and 7:59 p.m.

Sixty-three percent of the events happened at the victim's house, either in the kitchen, bedroom, garage, or on the grounds (Appendix G, Figure G-3). Twenty-five percent occurred away from the home, either, in a car, the woods, a river, or a remote place. Six percent took place on a highway. One event happened outside a populated mall-parking lot.

Forty-five percent of the events ended with a murder, ten percent with an attempted murder, and three percent with a murder and an attempted murder (Appendix G, Figure G-4). Forty-one percent of the events resulted in police intervention. In these incidents, the event was terminated before anyone was killed.

In thirty-one percent of the events, people solicited strangers to commit their crimes (Appendix G, Figure G-5). In twenty-four percent, the nature of the relationship between the solicitor and hitman was friendship. In twenty one percent the solicitor and hitman were kin or involved in a sexual relationship. In three percent the interrelationship between solicitor and hitman was an acquaintanceship.

Sixty-six percent of the solicitors and the targets were married and ten percent were related (Appendix G, Figure G-6). In fourteen percent, the nature of the relationship between participants was acquaintances and seven percent was friendship. In three

percent of the events the solicitor and target were involved in a sexual relationship. Solicitors most frequently solicited strangers to kill spouses, ex-spouses, or relatives. (Appendix K, Table K-6 and K-7).

Comparison Profiles

Based on the data, findings showed the typical profile for a solicitor was male, white, between the ages of nineteen and forty-one, with a prior arrest record (Appendix C, Table C-1). The typical profile of a hitman was male, white, between the ages of sixteen and thirty, with an arrest record (Appendix C, Table C-1). The typical profile for a victim was male, white, and between the ages of twenty-six and forty-nine (Appendix C, Table C-2). The typical circumstance profile for an event involved a shooting, between 2:00 a.m. and 7:59 a.m., at the victim's house, ending with a murder. The offenders (solicitor and hitman) were strangers and the solicitor and target were married (Appendix C, Table C-3).

As summarized by Miethe and Mc Corkle (1997), homicide offenders are male, African American, between the ages of 15-34 years old, and with a prior arrest record. Homicide victims are male, African American, and between the ages of 20 and 34 years old. The typical homicide occur between 8:00 p.m.- 1:59 a.m., at the victim's home, with a firearm (three-fourths in murders with strangers and about half with family members), and involve a non-stranger as the offender.

In the solicitation and conspiracy crimes analyzed for this study, a variation in offender and victim profiles were shown to differ from profiles found for typical

homicides. The offenders and victims were more frequently white. Almost half of the solicitors were females. In regards to the offenders (solicitor and hitman), less than nine percent of the participants were black. These findings raise serious questions about generalizing to murder-for-hire crimes from profiles of typical homicide.

Rich Description of Events

Various sources were used to obtain qualitative information on these events. Interviews and court documents provided insights about how the events were initiated, the interaction between solicitors and hit men, how the plan was terminated, and the extensiveness of contacts between the participants. The following are excerpts from interviews and court transcripts that provide rich detail about the dynamics of the events.

(S = solicitor; H = hit man; sv.event= solicitor's version; hv.event = hitman's version;)ⁱ

Initiation of Murder for Hire

Each of the events begins with a specific solicitation in the form of a request or statement in terms of wanting someone killed.

Excerpt: sv.event 1

H He said that you needed something.
S Yeah, I want a guy killed.
H Why?
S Fucking around with my wife; threatening to kill me over my wife. He won't even let me see my kids; padlocked my home.
H He padlocked your home?
S Told me if I come down there he'd have me killed.
H What do you want done about it?
S I don't want to hear him dead; I want to see him dead.

ⁱ Expanded and revised version of data from Black and Corsaro, 1997.

- H Do you want to be there? Do you want something to do with or do you want to do it?
- S I'd rather have somebody do it. I wanted to see what you charge--what they charge first.

Excerpt: hv.event 2

H Anyway, I think you asked the question how the whole thing got started. She would ask him (person's name) the question, do you know anybody that would kill people for money And anyway, I believe that's how it got started, because he came to me and said do you know that (person's name) and he said you won't believe what she asked me. What she asked you? He said, you know, if you knew anybody or if I knew anybody that would that would kill somebody. So we talked about it. We talked about it for a few weeks. We thought it was kind of strange that she was asking. I really had no idea what was involved at the time. Kill somebody. So we talked about it. We talked about it for a few weeks. We thought it was kind of strange that she was asking. I really had no idea what was involved at the time.ⁱⁱ

Dynamics of Interactions Between the Solicitor and Hitman

In each of the events the solicitation is followed by a series of interactions over time focused on the technical problems connected to accomplishing the task. There is considerable variation in the degree of detail and planning of the killing.

Excerpt: hv.event 2

H The money, we had debated on twenty- five thousand dollars, ten thousand up front, fifteen thousand after it happened.

Excerpt: sv.event 1

- H You're serious about this?
- S I'm serious.
- H You got money?
- S Five hundred dollars.
- H I'll give you three of it tomorrow.
- S You don't care how its done?
- H I don't care how its done as long as its done.

Excerpts: hv. event 4

ⁱⁱ The hitman is approached by the solicitor's girlfriend, who acts as a go-between for the solicitor and hitman. The girlfriend was charged and convicted for her role in the crime.

Q She told, she got, she said if you don't do what.
A Get rid of her dad.
Q What did she mean by you gettin rid of her dad? What do you think she meant
A Do I have to say it?
Q Yeah, What do you think she meant by gettin rid of her dad.
A Kill him.
Q What.
A Kill him.
Q When you all were talking in the bedroom, tell me in her own words, as best as you can, what she said.
A She was laying there, she was telling me, are you gonna do it, I said I don't want too.

Q When was the next time she talked about that?
A It was practically, just about every day after that. I mean she never would skip about four or five days and say something else. It was just about every day. Nearly every day something like that.iii

In some incidents the details cover all aspects of the operation up to and including notification that the killings have occurred

Excerpt: hv.event 2

A And we finally by the end of November, the plan had been set, all of them.
Q It was going to happen on a Friday night?
A Or Saturday.
Q Or Saturday night early Saturday morning sometime.
A We had drilled it the night it happened, when I found out it was happening, which I hardly found out before hand, cause they wouldn't tell me..and after.. ah I was suppose to page him and on his pager enter the number 86.iv

Frequently, the technical details are not carefully reviewed. Beyond knowing who is to be targeted, little else is specifically explored. This raises questions about classifying

iii Both solicitor and hitman are teenagers in this event. The solicitor 's father had over 73,000.00 in life insurance, in which she was the sole beneficiary.

iv In this event, the solicitor owned a restaurant and the hitman worked in it. In the restaurant business when an item has sold out it is referred to as 86. It means the item is finished for the day.

all murders-for -hire in terms of an explicit contract. Some events are based on an implicit understanding of a pay-off.

Excerpt: hv.event3

- Q Did you consider, seriously consider, killing (name)?
- A I didn't like the idea, but I was doing it for her?
- Q Why would you consider killing a man for her?
- A At the time I didn't, but she kept coming to me and crying and crying. I just said I would do it.
- Q When you told her you would do it what would she say?
- A It was like all right. She started coming to me and telling me stuff.
- Q What stuff?
- A About different ways to do it and what we are going to do about it, and what we are going to get out of it.
- Q What did she tell you – what kind of ideas did she give you, if any, about how it could be done?
- A She said she could call me. If he was there by himself, I could do it. I could be sitting at the house waiting on him to come to the house, or she could beep me and tell me where he was at and I could go to where he was at.
- Q Did she ever say anything to you about what would happen after you killed (name)?
- A Yes. She said she would get her money back, and that we would live happily ever after and have a family.
- Q Did she ever indicate to you how she intended to get her money back once (name) was dead?
- A Insurance policy.
- Q She told you she had an insurance policy on (name)?
- A When I called out there, her and (name) were getting insurance policies. She said I was going to be her beneficiary and she was going to be (name's.) Me and (name) was going to be her beneficiary and she was going to be (name's) beneficiary. I said okay. After I killed him to make it look like an accidental death, she would get her money back that way.v

v The hitman in this event was sixteen years old. He was in a sexual relationship with a thirty-six year old woman who solicited him to kill her live-in companion. After the hit he took full responsibility for the crime. After he was charged and the woman was not helping him like she promised, he testified for the state at her trial. The solicitor did not want to participate in the study. She did not give any explanation.

Termination of Murder for Hire

Soliciting and conspiring to have someone killed, as a murder-for-hire, does not always end with the expected outcome. In some incidents, the event is stopped before anyone is killed. In other incidents, the wrong person is killed. In others, there is an attempt to short-circuit the intended killing, but it is unsuccessful.

Excerpt: sv.event 1

H I promise you I won't hurt your wife or your kids, but are you sure you want this done?
S I want this done.
H Okay.
S If I didn't want it done I wouldn't be paying you.
H Well, I understand that. Shit someone is following us. Let's pull up right here. Sit tight a second.
S Oh, fuck, god damn.
H Police officer, come out of there with your hands on the car. Let's go. Move. Hands on the car. Feet back. Get your hands up.vi

Excerpt: hv.event 2

H I walked up the steps and they had french doors..her boyfriend (name), he opened the doors..and I was just staring at him. I had no choice I had to shoot him. He didn't have much time, he might take a step back. I raised the gun and pulled the trigger and like I said it was one of the first times I ever shot a gun..As soon as I shot him, he fell down I heard her screaming and I ended up... I walked in and she was laying... half inside the closet... with her hands over her head screaming. I think I fired two shots in that direction and as soon as I walked over there and I fired three times in the back of the head I didn't hear her screaming anymore. He was still laying there and so my ears were ringing and I could smell the gun smoke... I put the gun in my pocket, walked out if the steps, and went to the 'frigerator and had a coke and walked right out to my car and left.vii

Excerpt: sv.event 3

S I made a mistake several months ago when I thought my wife was taking my children away from me. I did conspire to have my wife put to death. I called it off and

vi The hitman was an undercover agent. The solicitor was arrested and charged with solicitation to commit murder.

vii In this event, the target survived with multiple head wounds to the head. A companion was killed.

my wife and I reconciled. (name) went ahead with the plan, even though I had asked him not to. He went ahead with it a month and a half later. I deeply regret my involvement in it. I'll live the rest of my life trying to live up to her expectations.viii

viii This man solicited a friend to kill his wife. She was stabbed at 5:00 a.m. outside her home. He refused to be interviewed, said "it was too painful to talk about." This was the "Defendant's Version" from his PSI.

CHAPTER FOUR

DISCUSSIONS AND IMPLICATIONS

Introduction

Based on findings presented in the previous chapter, murder-for-hire demographic and circumstance findings in comparison to typical homicide will be discussed. Questions raised by murder-for-hire events and implications of findings on future research will be addressed, also.

Discussions

Throughout the study, two central questions were continuously raised about murder-for-hire crimes. *Was there a distinctive lethal layer of American violence exposed in solicitation and conspiracy to commit murder crimes and were the demographic and circumstance profiles different in murder-for-hire events than in typical homicide?* Evaluating the age, sex, race, and criminal record on participants and the method of killing, time and place of occurrence, results, and interpersonal relationships on each event made it possible to answer these questions, at least for the murder-for-hire events studied.

Looking first at the question of participant characteristics of murder-for-hire offenders, demographics varied from the typical homicide profile. Solicitors and hitmen were most frequently white. The solicitor's age was repeatedly older than the hitman's. Neither the hitman's nor the solicitor's age fit the age profile of a typical homicide

offender. With regards to the sex of offenders, males and females almost equally solicited for murder. Hitmen were more frequently male. More than half of the offenders had a prior arrest record. The demographics of typical homicide offenders, therefore, can not be generalized to the murder-for-hire offenders in this study.

The targets in the events were most frequently male, white, and twenty-six years old. Forty-seven percent of the targets were between the ages of twenty-five and forty years old. The target's ages differed from those of typical homicide victims. Ten percent of the victims were black, which is not typical in homicides. In murder-for-hire events, the frequency of female victims was greater than typical homicide. The target profile of a typical homicide cannot be generalized or to murder-for-hire crimes, at least not the ones studied here.

The circumstances of the murder-for-hire events studied were similar to that of a typical homicide with respect to method of killing, place of occurrence, and interpersonal relationship between solicitor and target. Murder-for-hire events most frequently transpired at the victim's home, with a firearm, and involved a non-stranger as the solicitor of the offender. In over seventy-five percent of the events, the solicitors and targets were either married or related. The relationship between offenders and victims in the events was consistent with those found in typical homicides. Solicitor most frequently solicited strangers to commit the murders. The most frequent time murder-for-hire killings occurred was between 2:00 a.m. and 7:59 a.m., as opposed to 8:00 p.m. and 1:59 a.m. in typical homicide. The circumstance characteristics show that murder-for-hire

crimes are similar to typical homicides generalizations can be applied to with respect to method of killing, place of occurrence, and interpersonal relationship between solicitor and target. What differences there were are likely due to the different ways the events are planned than to any inherent features.

More complex and difficult to answer is the question of whether solicitation and conspiracy to commit murder crimes constitute a distinctive lethal layer of criminal violence. While suggestive, the data simply does not permit a definitive answer to this question. More research must be done on the nature of these murder-for hire events to obtain data pertinent to the issue

Implications for Research

The findings point clearly to the need for more extensive study of murder-for-hire events. Especially relevant from the standpoint of event characteristics, are more findings on the demographics of this type of lethal offending. As the information on the dynamics of solicitor-hitman interaction suggests, the degree to which these events represent explicit or implicit arrangements is also in need of further study. Finally, data on many more such events need to be accumulated if the larger question of whether this type of criminal violence constitutes a distinctive vein of American lethal violence that requires explaining. Judging from the findings with respect to the demographic characteristics of the participants in murder-for-hire crimes, there is at least preliminary, though highly provisional, evidence that this might well be the case.

If that is the case, does the explanation for such a lethal level of violent crime lie

in the very value system of American society? American cultural values and the American character have certainly been mentioned in this regard (Derber, 1996; Messner and Rosenfeld, 1997; Weiner, Zahn, and Sagi, eds., 1990).

Derber in The Wilding of America , addressed criminal violence in American society and its affect on the basic foundation of the social fabric. Derber reported on one of the first murder-for-hire events publicized in the media. Robert Marshall solicited and conspired with a stranger to kill his wife and make the crime look like a robbery for 1.5 million dollars in life insurance. Derber wrote:

Rob got into trouble only because his dreams finally outstripped his own formidable capacities. He probably would not have killed Maria if he had not fallen so deeply into debt, and he might not have gotten into such debt if he had not been lured by the bigger dreams and looser moral sensibilities that his friends said had gotten under his skin and now possessed him. The reckless and grandiose entrepreneurial culture of Toms River that would later sweep across America released the extremes in Rob's personality, nurturing his sense of himself as a legend in his own time, free to make his own rules and look after number one first. When he got into deep financial trouble, the culture that should have restrained him was instead unleashing his deep-seated potential for wilding (1996:23).

Wilding refers to "self-oriented behavior that hurts others and damages the social fabric." (Derber, 1996: 9) Wilding is a concept of behavior that purely promotes fun, emotive gratification, career advancements, or other calculable personal gain over traditional core values (Derber, 1996). Murder-for-hire events take a lethal idea that most people will not admit ever thinking about , a behavior society deems unacceptable and punishable by law, and turns it into a lethal act grounded in some of our societies

most prized values. Does society, as Derber suggests, unleash the wilding in people instead of restraining it? The murder-for-hire events examined here suggest this might just be so.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A
CODE NAMES, LABELS, AND CATEGORIES

Code Names, Labels, and Categories

1. sage	solicitor's age	no categories
2. ssex,	solicitor's sex	male [1] female [2]
3. srac	solicitor's race	white [1] black [2]
4. srec	solicitor's criminal record	prior [1] no prior [2] unknown [3]
5. tage	target's age	no categories
6. tsex	target's sex	male [1] female [2]
7. trac	target's race	white [1] black [2] missing data [99]
8. hage	hitman's age	undercover agent [98]
9. hsex	hitman's sex	male [1] female [2]
10. hrac	hitman's race	white [1] black [2]
11. hrec	hitman's criminal record	prior [1] no prior [2] unknown [3] undercover agent [98]
12. meth	method	stabbing [1] shooting [2] drowning [3] other [4] agent [5] missing data [99]
13. res	results	murder [1] attempted murder [2] police intervention [3] murder and attempted murder [4] missing data [99]
14. shrel	solicitor and hitman interpersonal relationship	marriage [1] kin [2] friendship [3]

		acquaintance [4] stranger [5] paramour, sex relationship [6] missing data [99]
15. strel	solicitor and hitman	
	interpersonal relationship	marriage [1] kin [2] friendship [3] acquaintance [4] stranger [5] paramour, sex relationship [6] missing data [99]
16. occ	place of occurrence	house [1] highway [2] taproom [3] other commercial place [4] event involving agent [5] missing data [99]
17.time	time of occurrence	8:00 p.m. and 1:59 a.m. [1] 2:00 a.m. and 1:59 p.m. [2] 2:00 p.m. and 7:59 p.m. [4] agent [5] missing data [99]

APPENDIX B
INTERVIEW GUIDELINES

I. Introduction

Explain the project

Present and review Informed Consent form

II. Background

Review information on event from other sources

Inquire about additional transcripts, etc.

III. Murder-for-hire event

A. Initiation

When was crime initially conceived?

Who was involved in discussion?

How were they involved?

Why did murder-for-hire choice get made?

B. Target

Who was target, specifically?

Any others?

Why that target?

Why murder-for-hire for that target?

C. Contacts

How were contacts with other participants made?

How long did these contacts go on?

Where did they take place?

Who did they involve?

How was information passed?

Any changes over time in these contacts?

D. Contract

What was agreed to about the murder?

How were these agreements reached?

Who was involved in the contract arrangements?

How long did it take to agree to a contract?

What signified the completion of the contract arrangements?

When was the killing to occur?

Where was the killing to occur?

How was the killing to occur?

Who decided these things?

E. Execution of the contract

What specific preparations were made for the crime (time, place, weapons, participants, other details)?

Describe how actual attack took place

What happened when crime was over?

Discuss any problems connected with the contract's execution

F. Aftermath

What was to signal the completion of the killing?

What led to getting caught?

What are thoughts about crime now?

Are these the same thoughts as before getting caught? Explain

IV. General

How is murder-for-hire like other crimes you have committed?

How is it different?

Does it take a certain kind of person to do murder-for-hire crimes? Explain

Does it take a certain type of person to request a killing? Explain

APPENDIX C
MURDER-FOR-HIRE PROFILES

Table C-1. The Offenders Profile in Murder-for-Hire Events

<i>Solicitor</i>	<i>Hitman</i>
Sex ⇒ Male (53%)	Male (97%)*
Race ⇒ White (93%)	White (90 %) *
Ages ⇒ 19 - 41(75%)	Ages 16-30 (70%)
Prior Arrest Record ⇒ (55%)	Prior (50%)
* percentages were rounded	

Table C-2. The Victim Profile in Murder-for-Hire Events

<i>Target</i>
Sex ⇒ Male (65 %)
Race ⇒ White (90%)*
Ages ⇒ 26- 49 (70%)
* percentages were rounded

Table C-3. Circumstances in Murder-for-Hire Events

Method ⇒ Shootings (35%)*
Results ⇒ Murder (45%)*
Time ⇒ 2:00 a.m.- 7:59 a.m. (43%)*
Occurrence⇒ House (63%)*
Offenders relationship⇒ stranger (31%)*
Offender/ Victim Rel. ⇒ marriage (66%)
*percentages were rounded

APPENDIX D
SOLICITOR (OFFENDER) DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS

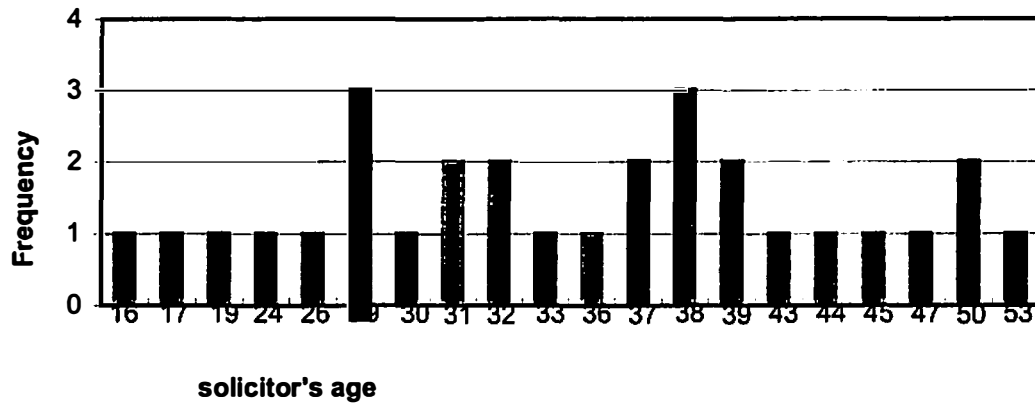


Figure D-1. Solicitor's Age

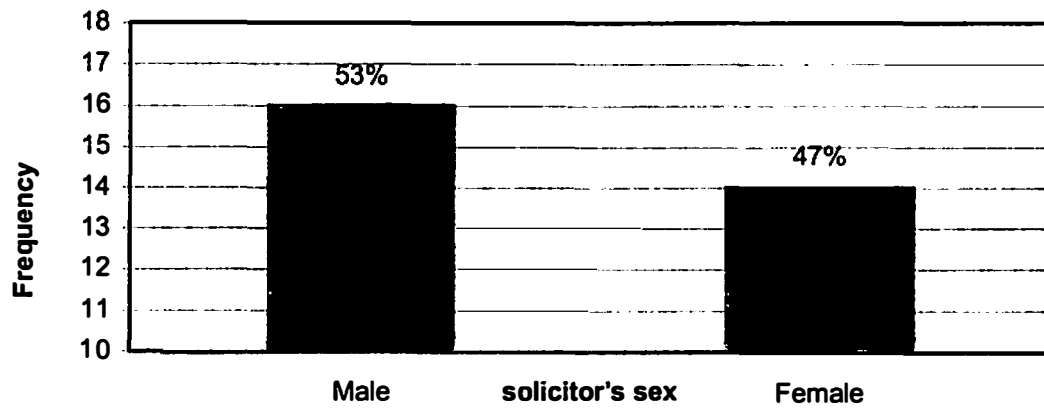


Figure D-2. Solicitor's Sex

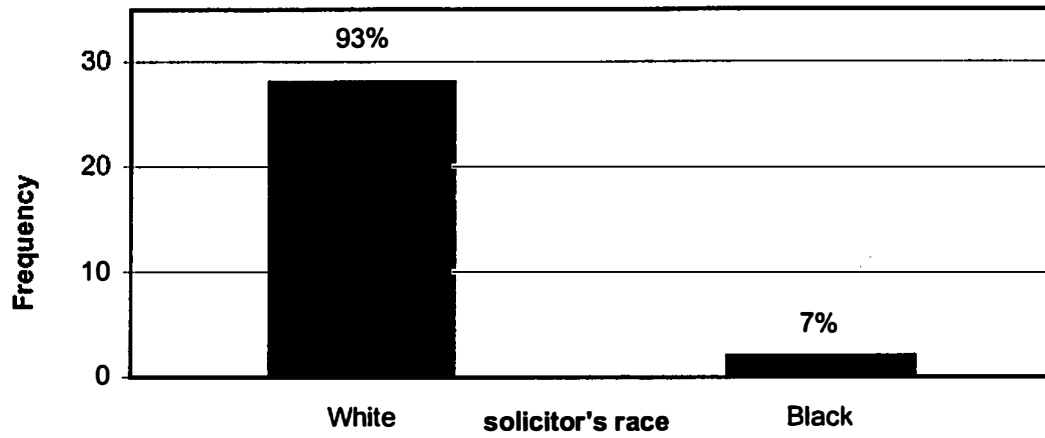


Figure D-3. Solicitor's Race

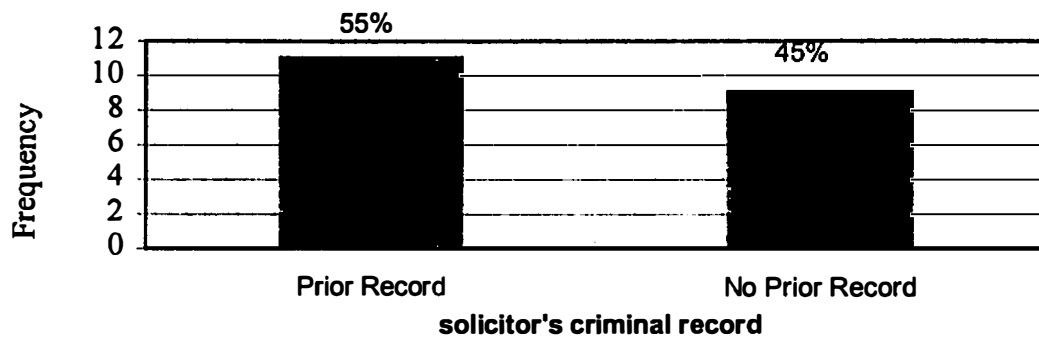


Figure D-4. Solicitor's Criminal Record

APPENDIX E
HITMAN (OFFENDER) DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS

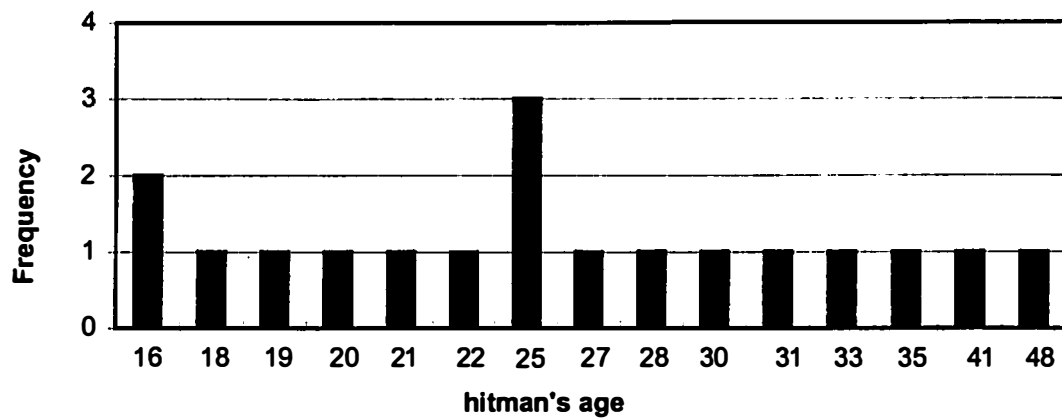


Figure E-1. Hitman's Age

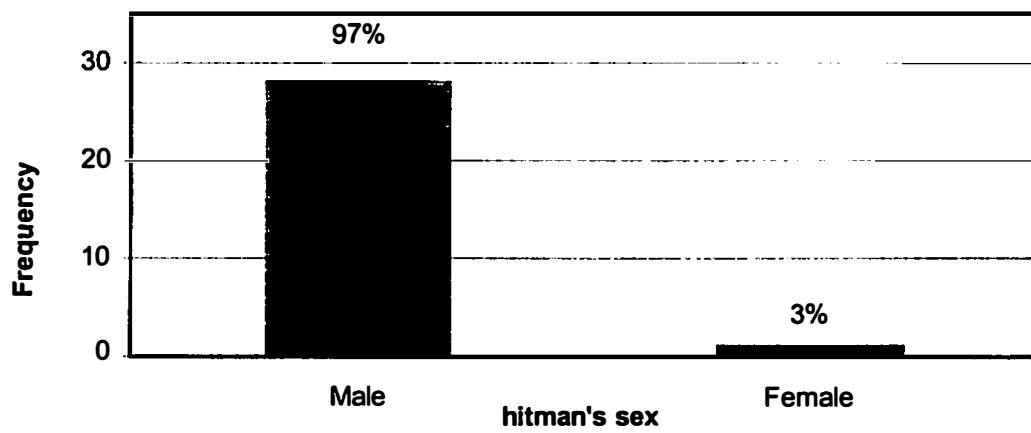


Figure E-2. Hitman's Sex

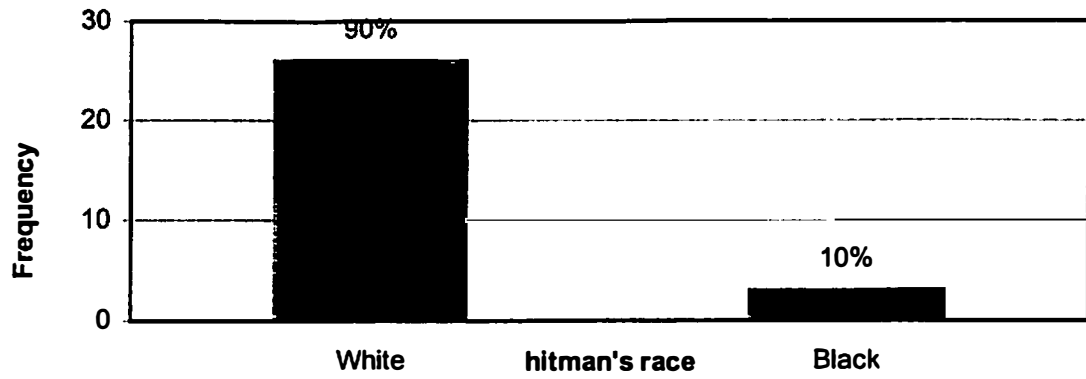


Figure E-3. Hitman's Race

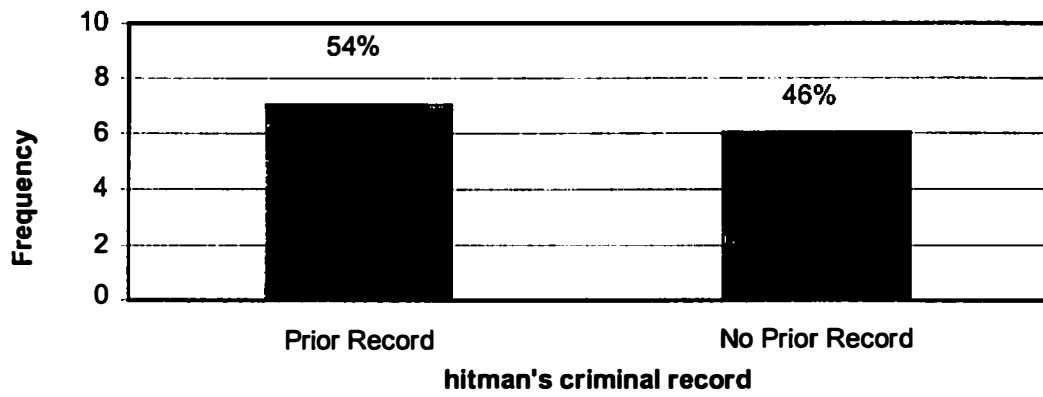


Figure E-4. Hitman's Criminal Record

APPENDIX F
Target (victim) Demographic Characteristics

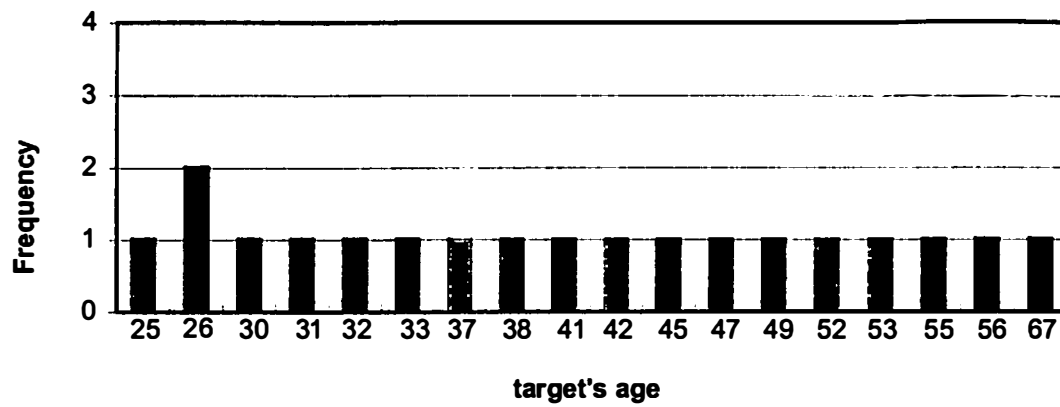


Figure F-1. Target's Age

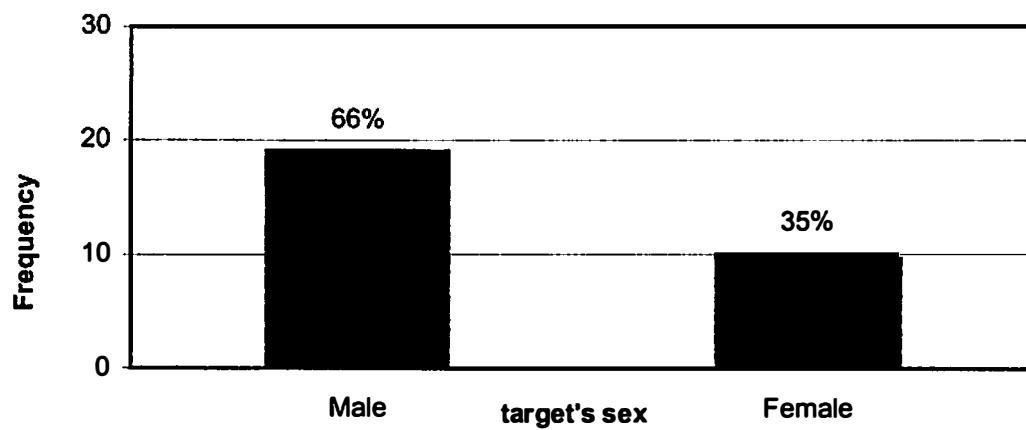


Figure F-2. Target's Sex

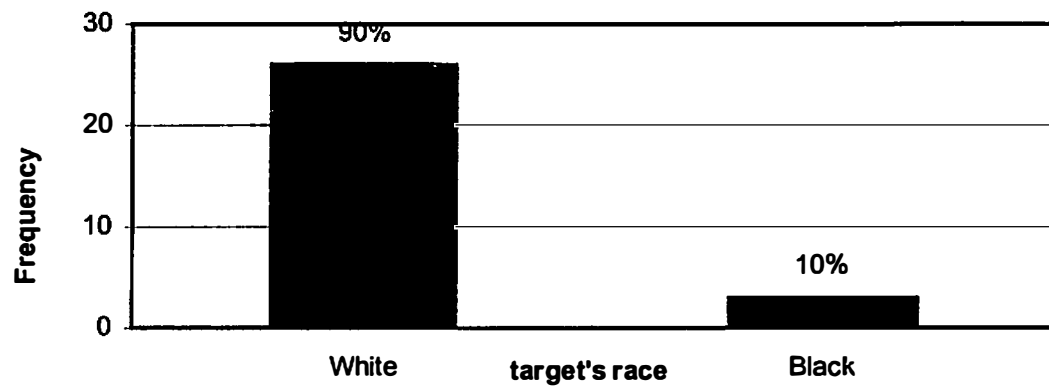


Figure F-3. Target's Race

APPENDIX G
CIRCUMSTANCE CHARACTERISTICS OF EVENTS

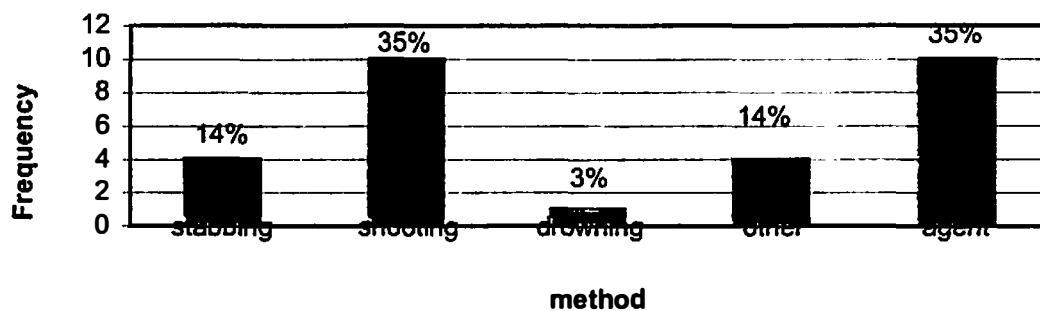


Figure G-1. Method of Killing

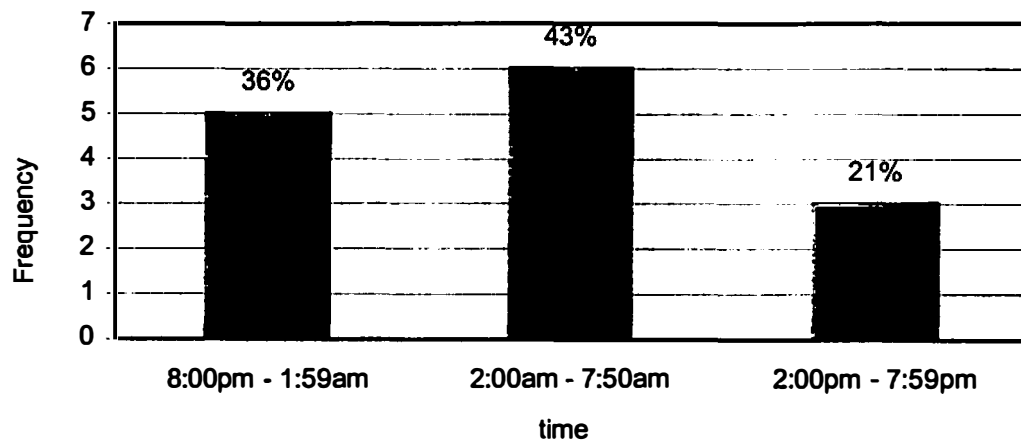


Figure G-3. Time of Occurrence

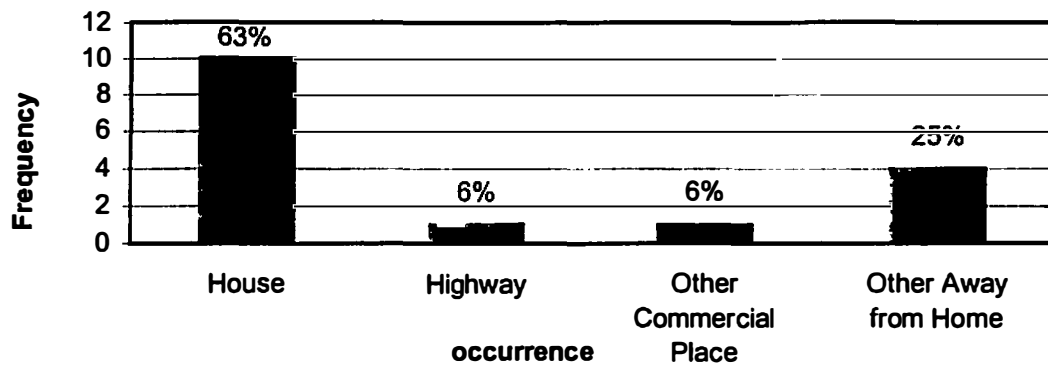


Figure G-3. Place of Occurrence

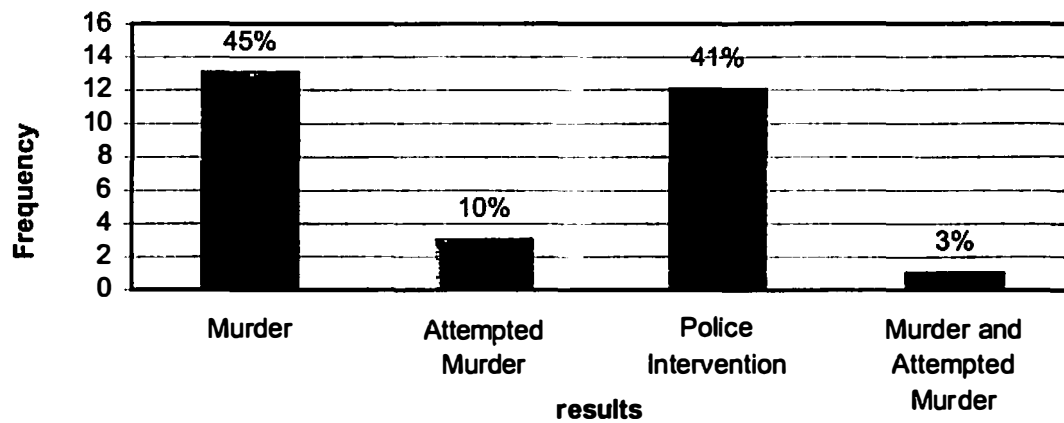


Figure G-4. Results of Events

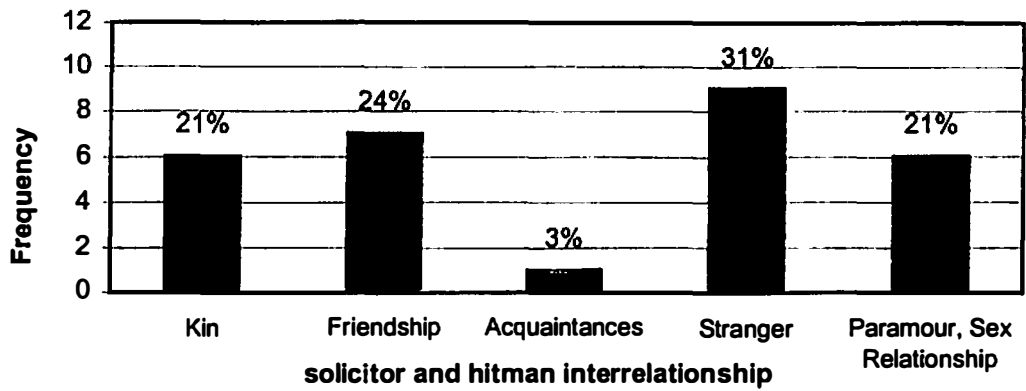


Figure G-5. Solicitor and Hitman Interrelationship

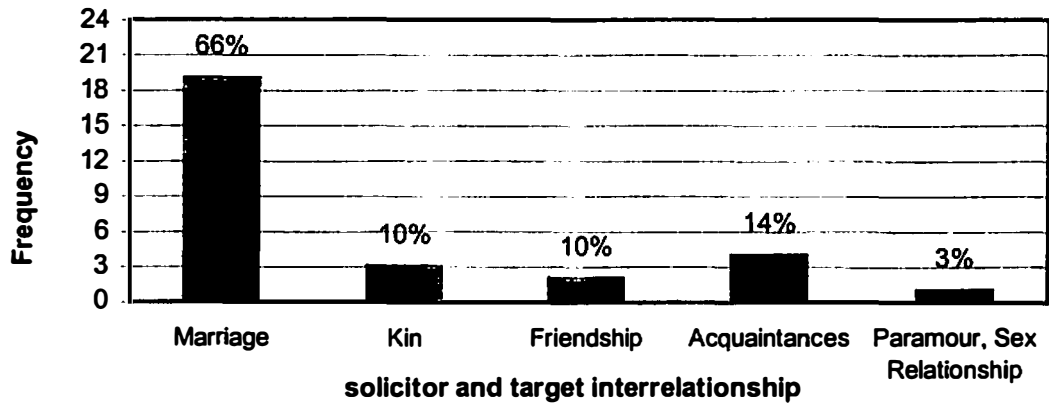


Figure G-6. Solicitor and Target Interrelationship

APPENDIX H
SOLICITOR FREQUENCIES AND TABLES

Table H-1. Solicitor Frequencies

Statistics

		Solicitor's Age	Solicitor's Sex
N	Valid	29	30
	Missing	1	0
Mean		34.8966	1.4667
Std. Error of Mean		1.7758	9.264E-02
Median		36.0000	1.0000
Mode		29.00 ^a	1.00
Std. Deviation		9.5631	.5074
Variance		91.4532	.2575
Range		37.00	1.00
Minimum		16.00	1.00
Maximum		53.00	2.00
Sum		1,012.00	44.00
Percentiles	10	19.0000	1.0000
	20	29.0000	1.0000
	25	29.0000	1.0000
	30	30.0000	1.0000
	40	32.0000	1.0000
	50	36.0000	1.0000
	60	38.0000	2.0000
	70	39.0000	2.0000
	75	41.0000	2.0000
	80	44.0000	2.0000
	90	50.0000	2.0000

Statistics

		Solicitor's Race	Solicitor's Criminal Record
N	Valid	30	20
	Missing	0	10
Mean		1.0667	1.4500
Std. Error of Mean		4.632E-02	.1141
Median		1.0000	1.0000
Mode		1.00	1.00
Std. Deviation		.2537	.5104
Variance		6.437E-02	.2605
Range		1.00	1.00
Minimum		1.00	1.00
Maximum		2.00	2.00
Sum		32.00	29.00
Percentiles	10	1.0000	1.0000
	20	1.0000	1.0000
	25	1.0000	1.0000
	30	1.0000	1.0000
	40	1.0000	1.0000
	50	1.0000	1.0000
	60	1.0000	2.0000
	70	1.0000	2.0000
	75	1.0000	2.0000
	80	1.0000	2.0000
	90	1.0000	2.0000

a. Multiple modes exist. The smallest value is shown

Table H-2. Frequency of Solicitor's Age

Solicitor's Age

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	16.00	1	3.3	3.4	3.4
	17.00	1	3.3	3.4	6.9
	19.00	1	3.3	3.4	10.3
	24.00	1	3.3	3.4	13.8
	26.00	1	3.3	3.4	17.2
	29.00	3	10.0	10.3	27.6
	30.00	1	3.3	3.4	31.0
	31.00	2	6.7	6.9	37.9
	32.00	2	6.7	6.9	44.8
	33.00	1	3.3	3.4	48.3
	36.00	1	3.3	3.4	51.7
	37.00	2	6.7	6.9	58.6
	38.00	3	10.0	10.3	69.0
	39.00	2	6.7	6.9	75.9
	43.00	1	3.3	3.4	79.3
	44.00	1	3.3	3.4	82.8
	45.00	1	3.3	3.4	86.2
	47.00	1	3.3	3.4	89.7
	50.00	2	6.7	6.9	96.6
	53.00	1	3.3	3.4	100.0
	Total	29	96.7	100.0	
Missing	99.00	1	3.3		
Total		30	100.0		

Table H-3. Frequency of Solicitor's Sex

Solicitor's Sex

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	male	16	53.3	53.3	53.3
	female	14	46.7	46.7	100.0
	Total	30	100.0	100.0	

Table H-4. Frequency of Solicitor's Race**Solicitor's Race**

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid white	28	93.3	93.3	93.3
black	2	6.7	6.7	100.0
Total	30	100.0	100.0	

Table H-5. Frequency of Solicitor's Criminal Record**Solicitor's Criminal Record**

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid prior record	11	36.7	55.0	55.0
no prior record	9	30.0	45.0	100.0
Total	20	66.7	100.0	
Missing 3.00	10	33.3		
Total	30	100.0		

APPENDIX I
HITMAN FREQUENCIES AND TABLES

Table I-1. Hitman Frequencies

Statistics

		Hitman's Age	Hitman's Sex
N	Valid	18	29
	Missing	12	1
Mean		26.6667	1.0345
Std. Error of Mean		2.0372	3.448E-02
Median		25.0000	1.0000
Mode		25.00	1.00
Std. Deviation		8.6433	.1857
Variance		74.7059	3.448E-02
Range		32.00	1.00
Minimum		16.00	1.00
Maximum		48.00	2.00
Sum		480.00	30.00
Percentiles	10	16.0000	1.0000
	20	18.8000	1.0000
	25	19.7500	1.0000
	30	20.7000	1.0000
	40	23.8000	1.0000
	50	25.0000	1.0000
	60	27.4000	1.0000
	70	30.3000	1.0000
	75	31.5000	1.0000
	80	33.4000	1.0000
	90	41.7000	1.0000

Statistics

		Hitman's Race	Hitman's Criminal Record
N	Valid	29	13
	Missing	1	17
Mean		1.1034	1.4615
Std. Error of Mean		5.755E-02	.1439
Median		1.0000	1.0000
Mode		1.00	1.00
Std. Deviation		.3099	.5189
Variance		9.606E-02	.2692
Range		1.00	1.00
Minimum		1.00	1.00
Maximum		2.00	2.00
Sum		32.00	19.00
Percentiles	10	1.0000	1.0000
	20	1.0000	1.0000
	25	1.0000	1.0000
	30	1.0000	1.0000
	40	1.0000	1.0000
	50	1.0000	1.0000
	60	1.0000	2.0000
	70	1.0000	2.0000
	75	1.0000	2.0000
	80	1.0000	2.0000
	90	2.0000	2.0000

Table I-2. Frequency of Hitman's Age

Hitman's Age

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	16.00	2	6.7	11.1	11.1
	18.00	1	3.3	5.6	16.7
	19.00	1	3.3	5.6	22.2
	20.00	1	3.3	5.6	27.8
	21.00	1	3.3	5.6	33.3
	22.00	1	3.3	5.6	38.9
	25.00	3	10.0	16.7	55.6
	27.00	1	3.3	5.6	61.1
	28.00	1	3.3	5.6	66.7
	30.00	1	3.3	5.6	72.2
	31.00	1	3.3	5.6	77.8
	33.00	1	3.3	5.6	83.3
	35.00	1	3.3	5.6	88.9
	41.00	1	3.3	5.6	94.4
	48.00	1	3.3	5.6	100.0
	Total	18	60.0	100.0	
Missing	undercover agent	11	36.7		
	99.00	1	3.3		
	Total	12	40.0		
Total		30	100.0		

Table I-3. Frequency of Hitman's Sex

Hitman's Sex

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	male	28	93.3	96.6	96.6
	female	1	3.3	3.4	100.0
	Total	29	96.7	100.0	
Missing	99.00	1	3.3		
Total		30	100.0		

Table I-4. Frequency of Hitman's Race**Hitman's Race**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	white	26	86.7	89.7	89.7
	black	3	10.0	10.3	100.0
	Total	29	96.7	100.0	
Missing	99.00	1	3.3		
Total		30	100.0		

Table I-5. Frequency of Hitman's Criminal Record**Hitman's Criminal Record**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	prior record	7	23.3	53.8	53.8
	no prior record	6	20.0	46.2	100.0
	Total	13	43.3	100.0	
Missing	3.00	6	20.0		
	undercover	11	36.7		
	Total	17	56.7		
Total		30	100.0		

APPENDIX J
TARGET FREQUENCIES AND TABLES

Table J-1. Target Frequencies

Statistics

		Target's Age	Target's Sex	Target's Race
N	Valid	19	29	29
	Missing	11	1	1
Mean		41.3158	1.3448	1.1034
Std. Error of Mean		2.7435	8.983E-02	5.755E-02
Median		41.0000	1.0000	1.0000
Mode		26.00	1.00	1.00
Std. Deviation		11.9585	.4837	.3099
Variance		143.0058	.2340	9.606E-02
Range		42.00	1.00	1.00
Minimum		25.00	1.00	1.00
Maximum		67.00	2.00	2.00
Sum		785.00	39.00	32.00
Percentiles	10	26.0000	1.0000	1.0000
	20	30.0000	1.0000	1.0000
	25	31.0000	1.0000	1.0000
	30	32.0000	1.0000	1.0000
	40	37.0000	1.0000	1.0000
	50	41.0000	1.0000	1.0000
	60	45.0000	1.0000	1.0000
	70	49.0000	2.0000	1.0000
	75	52.0000	2.0000	1.0000
	80	53.0000	2.0000	1.0000
	90	56.0000	2.0000	2.0000

Table J-2. Frequency of Target's Age**Target's Age**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	25.00	1	3.3	5.3	5.3
	26.00	2	6.7	10.5	15.8
	30.00	1	3.3	5.3	21.1
	31.00	1	3.3	5.3	26.3
	32.00	1	3.3	5.3	31.6
	33.00	1	3.3	5.3	36.8
	37.00	1	3.3	5.3	42.1
	38.00	1	3.3	5.3	47.4
	41.00	1	3.3	5.3	52.6
	42.00	1	3.3	5.3	57.9
	45.00	1	3.3	5.3	63.2
	47.00	1	3.3	5.3	68.4
	49.00	1	3.3	5.3	73.7
	52.00	1	3.3	5.3	78.9
	53.00	1	3.3	5.3	84.2
	55.00	1	3.3	5.3	89.5
	56.00	1	3.3	5.3	94.7
	67.00	1	3.3	5.3	100.0
	Total	19	63.3	100.0	
Missing	99.00	11	36.7		
Total		30	100.0		

Table J-3. Frequency of Target's Sex**Target's Sex**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	male	19	63.3	65.5	65.5
	female	10	33.3	34.5	100.0
	Total	29	96.7	100.0	
Missing	99.00	1	3.3		
Total		30	100.0		

Table J-4. Frequency of Target's Race

Target's Race

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	white	26	86.7	89.7	89.7
	black	3	10.0	10.3	100.0
	Total	29	96.7	100.0	
Missing	99.00	1	3.3		
Total		30	100.0		

APPENDIX K
CIRCUMSTANCE FREQUENCIES AND TABLES

Table K-1. Circumstance Frequencies

Statistics

		Method	Time	Occurrence	Results
N	Valid	29	14	16	29
	Missing	1	16	14	1
Mean		3.2069	2.0714	2.5000	2.0345
Std. Error of Mean		.2910	.3050	.5553	.1889
Median		3.0000	2.0000	1.0000	2.0000
Mode		2.00 ^a	2.00	1.00	1.00
Std. Deviation		1.5671	1.1411	2.2211	1.0171
Variance		2.4557	1.3022	4.9333	1.0345
Range		4.00	3.00	5.00	3.00
Minimum		1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00
Maximum		5.00	4.00	6.00	4.00
Sum		93.00	29.00	40.00	59.00
Percentiles	10	1.0000	1.0000	1.0000	1.0000
	20	2.0000	1.0000	1.0000	1.0000
	25	2.0000	1.0000	1.0000	1.0000
	30	2.0000	1.0000	1.0000	1.0000
	40	2.0000	2.0000	1.0000	1.0000
	50	3.0000	2.0000	1.0000	2.0000
	60	4.0000	2.0000	1.2000	3.0000
	70	5.0000	2.0000	3.8000	3.0000
	75	5.0000	2.5000	5.5000	3.0000
	80	5.0000	4.0000	6.0000	3.0000
	90	5.0000	4.0000	6.0000	3.0000

Statistics

		Solicitor and Hitman Interrelationship	Solicitor and Target Interrelationship
N	Valid	29	29
	Missing	1	1
Mean		4.0690	1.8276
Std. Error of Mean		.2804	.2534
Median		5.0000	1.0000
Mode		5.00	1.00
Std. Deviation		1.5102	1.3646
Variance		2.2808	1.8621
Range		4.00	5.00
Minimum		2.00	1.00
Maximum		6.00	6.00
Sum		118.00	53.00
Percentiles	10	2.0000	1.0000
	20	2.0000	1.0000
	25	3.0000	1.0000
	30	3.0000	1.0000
	40	3.0000	1.0000
	50	5.0000	1.0000
	60	5.0000	1.0000
	70	5.0000	2.0000
	75	5.0000	2.5000
	80	6.0000	3.0000
	90	6.0000	4.0000

a. Multiple modes exist. The smallest value is shown

Table K-2. Frequency of Method of Killing**Method**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	stabbing	4	13.3	13.8	13.8
	shooting	10	33.3	34.5	48.3
	drowning	1	3.3	3.4	51.7
	other	4	13.3	13.8	65.5
	agent	10	33.3	34.5	100.0
	Total	29	96.7	100.0	
Missing	99.00	1	3.3		
Total		30	100.0		

Table K-3. Frequency of Time of Occurrence**Time**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	8:00 pm - 1:59 am	5	16.7	35.7	35.7
	2:00 am- 7:59 am	6	20.0	42.9	78.6
	2:00 pm-7:59 pm	3	10.0	21.4	100.0
	Total	14	46.7	100.0	
Missing	agent	11	36.7		
	99.00	5	16.7		
	Total	16	53.3		
Total		30	100.0		

Table K-4. Frequency of Place of Occurrence**Occurrence**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	house	10	33.3	62.5	62.5
	highway	1	3.3	6.3	68.8
	other commercial place	1	3.3	6.3	75.0
	other away from home	4	13.3	25.0	100.0
	Total	16	53.3	100.0	
Missing	agent events	11	36.7		
	99.00	3	10.0		
	Total	14	46.7		
Total		30	100.0		

Table K-5. Frequency of Results**Results**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	murder	13	43.3	44.8	44.8
	attempted murder	3	10.0	10.3	55.2
	police intervention	12	40.0	41.4	96.6
	murder and attempted murder	1	3.3	3.4	100.0
	Total	29	96.7	100.0	
Missing	99.00	1	3.3		
Total		30	100.0		

Table K-6. Frequency of Solicitor and Hitman Interpersonal Relationship**Solicitor and Hitman Interrelationship**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	kin	6	20.0	20.7	20.7
	friendship	7	23.3	24.1	44.8
	acquaintances	1	3.3	3.4	48.3
	stranger	9	30.0	31.0	79.3
	paramour, sex relationship	6	20.0	20.7	100.0
	Total	29	96.7	100.0	
Missing	99.00	1	3.3		
Total		30	100.0		

Table K-7. Frequency of Solicitor and Target Interpersonal Relationship**Solicitor and Target Interrelationship**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	marriage	19	63.3	65.5	65.5
	kin	3	10.0	10.3	75.9
	friendship	2	6.7	6.9	82.8
	acquaintances	4	13.3	13.8	96.6
	paramour, sex relationship	1	3.3	3.4	100.0
	Total	29	96.7	100.0	
Missing	99.00	1	3.3		
Total		30	100.0		

VITA

Nicole Madonna Corsaro was born in Longmeadow, Massachusetts on June 18, 1973. She attended The Gunnery Prep School for three years and graduated from Briarcliff High School in June, 1991. She graduated from The University of Tennessee, Knoxville in May of 1991, with a Bachelor of Arts in Sociology. In August 1996, Nicole entered the graduate program at The University of Tennessee, Knoxville. During her time at graduate school, she worked as a research assistant for Dr. James A. Black. Nicole was the recipient of the Gertrude Garner Hurlbut Scholarship in 1998. She was awarded the SARIF Summer Graduate Research Assistantship in 1998, as well. She completed her Master of Arts in Sociology in August of 1998.