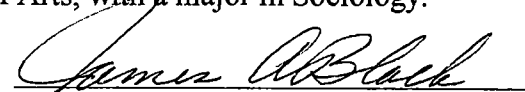
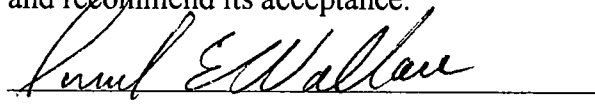
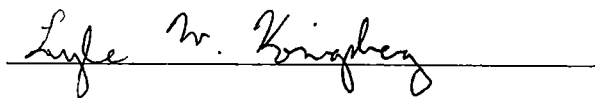


To the Graduate Council:

I am submitting herewith a thesis written by Suzanne DeSear entitled "Murder-For-Hire: Examination of Expressive and Instrumental Motives." 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.


Dr. James 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:
EXAMINATION OF EXPRESSIVE AND INSTRUMENTAL MOTIVES

A Thesis

**Presented for the
Master of Arts
Degree
The University of Tennessee**

**Suzanne Reagan DeSear
August 1999**

DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated to my mom and my husband for always pushing me and supporting me, especially through the rough times.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

There are many people to whom I am grateful for making this thesis come together. First, and foremost I want to thank Dr. James A. Black for allowing me to work on his project. Thank you so much for all of your help and strong nudges to finish another segment in this interesting and timely project.

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ABSTRACT

Multiple participant homicides, in particular murder-for-hires, have been neglected in the research field for years. Although recent research in the Tennessee Murder-For-Hire Project has tried to correct this problem, it has also raised many other questions pertinent to multiple participant homicides. The classification of most homicides by motivation as either expressive or instrumental is too simplistic for the murder-for-hire event. The presence of three relationships, i.e. solicitor/hitman, hitman/target, and solicitor/target, complicates the categorization of these events.

When looking at the solicitor/target relationship it is evident that there is a great deal of expressiveness involved. However, when looking at the event as a whole with all three relationships considered, the motivation is not as obvious. Focusing on particular variables such as age, sex, race, education, event outcome, and priors shows various outcomes within the three relationships when looking at motivation. What may be a way of categorizing one-on-one homicides is not applicable for multiple participant homicides such as the murder-for-hire event. The importance of the categorization lies not in the event itself but in the relationships within the event.

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

Homicides are criminal activities that receive enormous amounts of attention from researchers. Numerous studies have been conducted on homicides because of the availability of reliable and stable data. Uniform crime reports, local police data, victimization surveys, and interviews with offenders come together to form trend reports on homicide as a crime as well as profiles of the victim and the offender (Miethe & McCorkle, 1998; Wolfgang, 1958).

Scholars have long been drawn to homicide as a subject of research (von Hentig, 1947; von Hentig, 1937; Simmel, 1955; Coser, 1965; von Hentig, 1948). Contemporary research on homicides as events is usually traced to Wolfgang in the 1950s. Wolfgang began the systematic analysis of homicides. He studied many variables (e.g. sex, race, victim-offender relationships, etc.) (Wolfgang, 1958). Since then variables such as age, race, sex, and victim-offender relationships have become important in homicide research. Today the focus in research is still involved with looking at offenders and/or victims and the events themselves. Event outcomes, offense types, and interpersonal relationships are just a few of the ways that homicides are categorized in contemporary homicide research.

There is a need to look at homicides as a process of interaction (Zahn, 1980) as well as the "offending" within the event itself (Zimring & Hawkins, 1997).

Researchers are only beginning to fully look at unique forms of violence such as serial killers, gang killings, and terrorism (Fisher, 1997; Hickey, 1997; and Jenkins, 1994). There are, as well, many types of interpersonal, collective, political, and organizational structures within which types of violence occur that require continuing study (Weiner, Alan, Zahn, & Sagi, 1990).

A substantial body of research findings has expanded our knowledge of homicide in a variety of directions. Examples of the multi-faceted nature of homicide research is reflected in studies about the characteristic features of homicide (Decker, 1993; Zimring and Hawkins, 1997), victim-offender relationships (Block and Block, 1976, 1981, 1992; Block and Skogan, 1986; Block and Zimring, 1977; Luckenbill, 1977; Parker, 1989), killings in the intimate contexts (Jackson and Oates, 1998; Plass and Straus, 1987; Straus, 1985), stranger murders in general (Zahn and Sagi, 1987), and measures of violent cultures (Baron and Straus, 1989). Several compendiums offer an overview of major research findings and issues (Hall, 1999; Miethe and McCorkle, 1998; Reiss and Roth, 1993; Smith and Zahn, 1999; Weiner, Zahn, and Sagi, 1996).

There are still many unanswered questions about what types of criminal homicides exist and who they affect, how and why criminal homicide types vary over time and through space, and what constellations of causal factors account for each distinctive type of event (Daly and Willson, 1988a, 1988b; Maxfield, 1989; Williams and Flewelling, 1988). Relationships between victims and offenders

(e.g. stranger/nonstranger, primary/nonprimary) represent a powerful way of examining the interpersonal dynamics of homicide events (Block & Block, 1991; Decker, 1993; Miethe & McCorkle, 1994; Newman, 1998). Although this type of categorization works with one-on-one homicides, its effectiveness in examining multiple participant homicides such as serial killers, mass killer, and murder-for-hire have yet to be fully explored. Toward that end, an exploratory study of murder-for-hire events has been conducted in Tennessee. It serves as the springboard for the present project.

Murder-For-Hire Project and Findings

Black (Black and Corsaro, 1999; Black and Corsaro, 1997; Corsaro and Black, 1998) has done extensive research on the problem in the Tennessee Murder-For-Hire project. He describes it as "an exploratory study of 30 murder-for-hire events in Tennessee that has produced some empirical evidence about the lethally violent nature of these crimes, the circumstances surrounding their perpetration, and the characteristics of those who participate in them as solicitors, hitmen, and targets. In the study, a murder-for-hire event is defined as *a continuous sequence of interactions by one or more persons in which one person solicits another person to have a third person 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.* The study consists of an in-depth examination of those convicted of solicitation and/or conspiracy to commit

murder or murder/attempted murder with a murder-for-hire element to them who were incarcerated in the Tennessee adult prison system on January 1, 1997. This resulted in sixty three individuals participating in thirty murder-for-hire events. Information has been obtained from law enforcement records, trial transcripts and other court documents, pre-sentence reports, newspaper stories, and interviews with inmates.

A general overview of the findings about murder-for-hire events (e.g., definition, distinctive features) and their participants (demographics and circumstances, interpersonal dynamics) have been presented elsewhere (Black and Corsaro, 1997; Corsaro and Black, 1998). The most interesting findings are that about as many women as men are involved in murder-for-hire events as solicitors (47 percent), that nearly all participants in the events are white (91 percent), and that undercover law enforcement agents posing as hit men are frequent features of these events (35 percent). Finally, instrumental and expressive motivations for killing in murder-for-hire events vary by solicitor/hitman, solicitor/target, and hitman/target relationships" (Black and Corsaro, 1999).

Most homicide research has dealt with this in an instrumental/expressive framework. Most research, too, has focused on one-on-one homicides. The findings from the Tennessee Murder-For-Hire Project enable us to explore the problem of motivation in a multiple participant context.

Motivation

Wolfgang states in his book Patterns in Criminal Homicide "Intent is the resolve to commit an act, whereas motive is the inducement which stimulates a person to commit it" (Wolfgang, 1958). According to Osterburg and Ward, there are seven motives of a typical homicide:

- *Financial Gain
- *Sexual Gratification
- *Apparently Sex-connected Homicides
- *Emotional Factors
- *Self-Protection
- *Removal of an Inconvenience or Impediment
- *Apparently Motiveless Crimes (1992:514)

While other authors break the motivational variable into slightly different categories (Wolfgang, 1958; Hickey, 1997), the overall list is still the same for one-on-one homicides.

Instrumental/Expressive Motivations

Homicide events are frequently classified on the basis of whether they are instrumental or expressive in nature. Precisely what the terms *expressive* and *instrumental* refer to varies somewhat among authors, though, so it is important to specify the dimension(s) of expressiveness and instrumentality being examined.

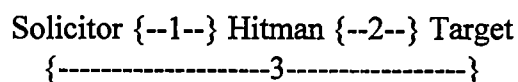
Instrumental motives are those that come about because there is something to be gained outside of the satisfaction of committing the act itself. Financial gain would fall into this category. This type of homicide calls for the need to “develop noncriminal alternatives to achieve particular goals” (Miethe & McCorkle, 13, 1998). Stranger homicide is primarily defined as instrumental (Block, 1981). Newman further explains it as a means of gaining an end in which the perpetrator feels that the only way of getting what he desires is through violence. They feel that this type of act is always intentional (Newman, 1998).

The other category, expressive motivation, is composed of those motives that were brought on by any strong emotion such as anger, passion, sadness, guilt, or frustration. The circumstances of the case dictate if the crime is one that is brought on by emotions or the prospect of a favorable benefit (Miethe & McCorkle, 1998). The violence is usually brought on by such extreme emotions that there is not a conscious intent like that seen in instrumental homicides but rather they are driven to commit the act (Newman, 1998). These homicides are usually between nonstrangers such as a spouse or lover and are face to face (Block, 1981).

Typically, homicides are categorized as either expressive or instrumental, a “continuum initially suggested by Block and Zimring” (Block) in 1973. There are, however, many ways at looking at the expressive or instrumental nature of a homicide. The nature of the attack (Decker, 1993; Block & Block, 1991), the place in which the

event occurs (Flewelling & Williams, 1999), the primary goal of the killing (Newman, 1998), the rationality used (Flewelling & Williams, 1999), the span of time that occurs between the planning and the event (Block & Block, 1991), the amount of heated passion (Miethe & McCorkle, 1994), the amount of control or lack thereof (Derber, 1996), the element of intention (Block & Block, 1991), and the region in which the event occurs (Rose & McClain, 1990) are just some of the more popular ways to label a homicide as expressive or instrumental (see appendix 1). Whether by one definition or another, murder-for-hire events are almost universally classified as instrumental rather than as expressive (Block and Block, 1992; Luckenbill, 1977; Williams and Flewelling, 1988). Riedel, however, has cautioned that events must be differentiated from the relationships of the event participants (Riedel, 1987; 251).

Victim-offender relationships in murder-for-hire events differ, of course, from the one-on-one homicide events typically assessed in terms of an instrumental/expressive dichotomy. They are a distinctive subtype of multiple offender murders containing three very different sets of interrelationships; 1) the solicitor/hitman relationship; 2) the hitman/target relationship; and 3) the solicitor/target relationship:



Given this built in complexity, the classification of murder-for-hire event relationships as instrumental or expressive is more problematic than the classification of the events themselves as instrumental. Decker's definition of interpersonal relationships as a means

of determining instrumental/expressive motivation is based on the nature of the relationship between the two participants. Given Decker's emphasis on relationships in expressive or instrumental motivation, his classification scheme will be used in this study.

Factors Affecting Instrumentality

Sex

Sex has been an important variable in the study of typical homicides. All homicide studies show that men are far more aggressive than women with two thirds of homicides by men being upon men as well (Nettler, 1982). Durkheim attributed this to the social nature of men which places them in more lethal situations (Wolfgang, 1958). However, these statistics may be changing, due to a decrease in men killing women and an increase in women killing men (Mann, 1996). Prior to the 1990s most research on women only covered typical female crimes such as shoplifting and prostitution, but the 1990s evidenced an increase in female precipitated homicides (Baskin, 1998). Although most women only resort to murder when they feel threatened either physically or emotionally (Hickey, 1997), this shift in homicide by sex raises questions concerning sex and expressive/instrumental murder-for-hire homicides.

Age

Another important variable in the study of homicides is age. In their recent studies focusing on instrumental and expressive homicides, Block and Block found that

most expressive homicides (child abuse cases excluded) are similar in age (Block & Block, 1991). This contradicts general homicide research which reports that domestic killers tend to be older than stranger killers, who are typically labeled instrumental killers because of the lack of a relationship (Nettler, 1982).

Relationship

Although no explicit research has been conducted on relationships in murder-for-hire cases as expressive/instrumental homicides, they are all tightly connected.

Decker states that

it is the "moral bonds" that inhibit violence. There is a chain of bonds that may be hard to break or those that are easy to break. From hardest to easiest they go as follows: bonds with children, spouses, friends, acquaintances, and strangers (non-existent). It is useful to make distinctions between the levels of intensity in relations (Decker, 1993: 592).

It has been shown that people generally fear violence at the hand of a stranger more so than they do from a family member or a friend (Zimring & Hawkins, 1997). It is this comfort and familiarity that may be why these same family members and friends are commonly victims of homicides (Miethe & McCorkle, 1994). The most common form of murders tend to be that of spouses or intimates. Mann found that when women are the perpetrators of homicides they are usually sexually involved with the victim (Mann, 1996). Homicides in which wives kill their husbands comprises 41 percent of all homicides, while only 11 percent of men are killed by their wives within homicides (Wolfgang, 1958). Women are also much more likely than men to kill an intimate

(Wolfgang, 1958).

Education

No research has been conducted on educational effects on motivation, however due to the access to this information in the murder-for-hire project, it will be analyzed to further understand the variable's effect on expressiveness and instrumentality.

RESEARCH OBJECTIVES

Based on the issues raised in the murder-for-hire project, two objectives will be used to guide this research:

- *Relationships of event participants will be examined in terms of instrumental
and expressive motivation
- *The effects of participant demographics and event characteristics on
instrumental and expressive motivations will be examined

CHAPTER TWO

METHODOLOGY

Introduction

Based on the general objectives outlined in the last chapter, specific research questions can now be outlined to better examine the instrumental/expressive motivations of murder-for-hire event participants:

- * How does the instrumental/expressive nature of the solicitor/hitman relationship vary by interpersonal relations?
- *How does the instrumental/expressive nature of the hitman/target relationship vary by interpersonal relations?
- *How does the instrumental/expressive nature of the solicitor/target relationship vary by interpersonal relations?
- *How do the instrumental/expressive nature of each of these three relationships vary demographically and by event circumstances?

These questions will be examined in this project to further understand the complexities of relationships in multiple participant homicides.

Event Unit of Analysis

As stated in the previous chapter, the event relationships must be separated from the event itself in examining instrumental/expressive motivations. Wolfgang (1958) first used victim-offender relationships in his Philadelphia study from 1948 to 1952. Alex Pokorny (1965) later used the same classification of victim-offender relationships in his 1958 to 1961 study of homicide events in Houston, Texas. It is important to look

at relationships in events because "a criminal homicide interaction occurs much more often between people who have had a personal relationship to each other than between strangers, in the course of a crime" (Pokorny, 1965: 108). Wolfgang, too, stresses the "necessity to set in motion the dynamic interaction of the two principal players in the homicide drama- to examine the relationship between the one who kills and the one who is killed" (Wolfgang, 1958: 203-204). Although this statement shows the importance of analyzing the relationship within a homicide event, it demonstrates how narrowly focused most homicide research is in leaving out the more complex relationships of multiple offender events such as murder-for-hire.

Sources of Data

Information about the thirty murder-for-hire events identified in the Tennessee Murder-For-Hire Project served as the primary data source from which the data for this research were drawn. Pre-sentencing investigation (PSI) reports, Department of Corrections records, court transcripts and other related court documents, and law enforcement records were basic sources from which event and participant data were obtained. Newspaper stories were taken from each Tennessee state historical library and archival records.

Pre-sentencing investigation reports provided demographic information, name of codefendants, and the county where the offense occurred. County court transcripts and other documents, (e.g. newspaper stories) enabled the reconstruction of event

circumstances and the dynamics of participant relationships. Data on county size was taken from a 1990 census. The multiple sources used had various roles in the collection of data. These data were pulled from many different sources. Once all the data were compiled from various sources they were placed in files numbered by case. Newspaper articles were copied and placed in a binder by case number. PSI sheets and newspaper articles were used to obtain data on interpersonal relations between solicitors/targets/hitmen..

Court records and documents were used to reconstruct additional aspects of the homicide event. PSI files were used to gather demographic information on sex, age, race, and education.

Procedures For Coding and Analyzing Event Characteristics

By using the information compiled from the various sources, the following variables were selected for examination and categorization of murder-for-hire event participants:

1. Age- not grouped
2. Sex- male or female
3. Race- white or black
4. Education- no high school diploma, high school diploma or GED equivalent, some college or college degree
5. Result- attempted murder, killed, intervention by agent

6. Priors- none, one or more

7. Interpersonal Relationships- marriage, kin, friendship, acquaintance, stranger, or
paramour- sex relationship

8. Expressive/Instrumental Motivation- The primary motive was considered to determine expressiveness or instrumentality. Only the intended victims were used in the research. Any other casualties were omitted from the study. Those crimes which involved a relationship between a spouse, paramour, or kin were labeled as expressive. Crimes in which the primary goal appeared to be the acquisition of money or property, contained a relationship between strangers or those with little connection, such as acquaintances or friends, were labeled as instrumental.

Expressive or instrumental motivations were then examined for the effects that event demographics had on them.

Cases in which agents were involved had to be treated somewhat differently due to the lack of information in some cases and the fact that there was no true hitman ever involved in those cases. Data on each variable was coded and entered into SPSS Base 8.0 Statistical Package for descriptive analysis. Means, modes, medians, and frequency distributions were generated from SPSS. Graphs and tables were generated to further illustrate the findings of the SPSS statistical analysis.

CHAPTER THREE

FINDINGS

Introduction

This chapter provides details of the demographic characteristics of the solicitors, hitmen, targets, interpersonal relationships, and the events themselves which are pertinent to the questions raised in this study. The percentages presented in the findings will not total one hundred percent for each variable due to missing relationships and relationships which involved undercover agents. Both situations were categorized and coded appropriately.

Expressive/Instrumental Motivation and Interpersonal Relationships

As stated in chapter two, each type of relationship, i.e. solicitor/hitman, hitman/target, and hitman/target, was classified expressive or instrumental according to the type of relationship that was present. If a relationship was one of marriage, sex/paramour, or kin it was categorized as expressive, while a relationship between friends, strangers, or acquaintances was categorized as instrumental. Once original relationships were recoded appropriately, they served as the basis for subsequent analyses.

Solicitor/Hitman Relationship

When applying Decker's classification scheme, forty percent of the solicitor/hitman relationships are expressive. Marginally higher are the instrumental

relationships with fifty four percent (Appendix C, Figure C-1, Appendix F, Table F-1).

Age

The age of the solicitors and hitmen are divided into brackets of ten years to better comprehend the effects age has on motivation. Seven percent of the solicitors who were teenagers at the time of the event classification were expressive, four percent were in their twenties, seventeen percent in their thirties, seven percent in their forties and seven percent in their fifties (Appendix C, Figure C-2, Appendix F, Table F-2).

Seventeen percent of the solicitors who were in the instrumental category were in their twenties, twenty percent in their thirties, and ten percent in their forties. Seven percent were in their fifties.

Seven percent of the hitmen in this relationship who were expressive were in the teenage bracket and seventeen percent in their twenties. Seven percent of those in their thirties were expressive and seven percent in their forties (Appendix C, Figure C-3, Appendix F, Table F-3).

Three percent in the instrumental category were teenagers and seven percent were in their twenties. Seven percent were also in their thirties. No hitmen were in their forties or fifties in the instrumental solicitor/hitman relationships.

In general, the solicitors in their twenties and thirties tended to be mostly instrumental, while the hitmen showed no great variance across the brackets.

Sex

Three percent of the male solicitors and thirty three percent of the female solicitors were expressive. Forty seven percent of the males were instrumental, and ten percent of the females were instrumental (Appendix C, Figure C-4, Appendix F, Table F-4).

Forty percent of the male hitmen were expressive, and fifty percent of the males were instrumental. Female solicitors tended to be more expressive than their male counterparts who were more instrumental. The male hitmen were almost equally split between instrumental and expressive (Appendix C, Figure C-5, Appendix F, Table F-5).

Race

Thirty seven percent of the white solicitors were expressive, while three percent were non-white. Fifty four percent of the solicitor/hitman relationships were white instrumental; none were instrumental non-white (Appendix C, Figure C-6, Appendix F, Table F-6).

The hitmen showed thirty percent to be white and expressive and seven percent non-white and expressive. Seventeen percent of those who were instrumental were white and three percent were non-white (Appendix C, Figure C-7, Appendix F, Table F-7).

The white solicitors proved to be more instrumental. However, the white hitmen

were more expressive.

Education

Education information was available only on the solicitors and hitmen. Out of the solicitors with no high school degree or GED, seventeen percent were expressive. Ten percent of those in the expressive category had a high school degree or GED, and seven percent had at least some college (Appendix C, Figure C-8, Appendix F, Table F-8).

Seventeen percent had no high school degree and were instrumental, seven percent had a high school degree, and twenty percent had at least some college education.

Twenty three percent of the relationships were expressive and had a hitman with no high school degree. Three percent had a high school degree. Three percent of the relationships were instrumental and had no high school degree, three percent had a high school degree, and three percent had some college education (Appendix C, Figure C-9, Appendix F, Table F-9).

Surprisingly, those solicitors with at least some college education were much more likely to be instrumental in their motives than expressive. The hitmen were highest in expressiveness when no high school degree was present.

Event Outcomes

Of the relationships which resulted in murder, twenty seven percent were

expressive. An additional ten percent of those which were expressive ended in attempted murder. The cases which were instrumental had seventeen percent as murder and three percent as attempted murder. Not surprisingly the agent intervention cases were highest in the instrumental category with thirty three percent (Appendix C, Figure C-10, Appendix F, Table F-10).

Overall, the relationships which ended in murder were more likely to be expressive.

Priors

Thirteen percent of the solicitors who were in expressive relationships had no prior conviction, thirteen percent had priors, and thirteen percent were unknown due to missing information or closed juvenile records. Thirteen percent of the solicitors in instrumental solicitor/hitman relationship had no priors, thirty three percent had priors, and seven percent were unknown (Appendix C, Figure C-11, Appendix F, Table F-11).

Thirteen percent of the hitmen in the solicitor/hitman relationships had no priors and were expressive, thirteen had priors, and ten percent were unknown. Seven percent were expressive and had no priors, three percent had priors, and ten percent were unknown (Appendix C, Figure C-12, Appendix F, Table F-12).

Hitman/Target Relationship

Eighty percent of the hitman/target relationships were instrumental, and thirteen

percent were expressive (Appendix D, Figure D-1, Appendix G, Table G-1).

Age

Seven percent of the relationships in which the hitmen were in their twenties at the time of the event were expressive, and three percent were in their thirties. Ten percent of the instrumental relationships had hitmen who were in their teens, seventeen percent in their twenties, ten percent in their thirties, and seven percent were in their forties (Appendix D, Figure D-2, Appendix G, Table G-2).

Overall, the hitmen in the hitman/target relationship tended to be more instrumental, especially those in their twenties.

Sex

Thirteen percent of the hitmen were expressive and male. Seventy percent of the hitmen were instrumental, while only three percent of the women were instrumental (Appendix D, Figure D-3, Appendix G, Table G-3).

Ten percent of the targets were expressive males, and three percent were females. Fifty percent of the hitman/target relationships were instrumental males and thirty percent were females (Appendix D, Figure D-4, Appendix G, Table G-4).

The males were overwhelmingly instrumental both as hitmen and as targets. Female targets were much more likely to be involved in instrumental relationships than expressive relationships.

Race

Ten percent of the expressive relationships had a white hitman. Thirty seven percent were white instrumental, and ten percent were non-white (Appendix D, Figure D-5, Appendix G, Table G-5).

Thirteen percent of the expressive relationships had a target who was white. Seventy percent of the instrumental relationships had a white target and ten percent a non-white (Appendix D, Figure D-6, Appendix G, Table G-6).

White hitmen and targets were involved in relationships which were more likely to be instrumental than expressive.

Education

Seven percent of the expressive relationships had a hitman with no high school degree. Twenty percent of the instrumental relationships had no high school degree, seven percent had a high school degree, and three percent had some college.

The hitmen in the instrumental hitman/target relationships were mostly those with no high school degree (Appendix D, Figure D-7, Appendix G, Table G-7).

Event Outcomes

Seven percent of the relationships which ended in murder were expressive, three percent attempted murder, and three percent agent intervention. Thirty seven percent of the instrumental relationships ended in murder and ten percent attempted murder. Thirty three percent were intervened by an agent (Appendix D, Figure D-8,

Appendix G, Table G-8).

In general, the hitman/target relationships of instrumental motivation ended in murder or agent intervention much more often than those of expressive nature.

Priors

Three percent of the expressive hitman/target relationships had a hitman with no priors. Seventeen percent had no priors in the instrumental cases, seventeen percent had priors, and seventeen percent were unknown (Appendix D, Figure D-9, Appendix G, Table G-9).

Little relevant information was obtained from the analysis of the hitman's priors in the hitman/target relationship.

Solicitor/Target Relationship

Seventy percent of the solicitor/target relationships were expressive. Only seventeen percent were instrumental (Appendix E, Figure E-1, Appendix H, Table H-1).

Age

Seven percent of the solicitors who were expressive were teenagers, thirteen percent were in their twenties, thirty percent were in their thirties, thirteen percent were in their forties, and thirteen percent were in their fifties. In the instrumental relationships, seven percent were in their twenties, seven percent in their thirties, and three percent were in their forties (Appendix E, Figure E-2, Appendix H, Table H-2).

The solicitors who were in their thirties were more likely to be expressive than any other age bracket. However, all age brackets of the solicitors in the solicitor/target relationships were much more expressive.

Sex

Thirty three percent of the solicitors in the solicitor/target relationships were expressive and male. Forty three percent were female. Seventeen percent were instrumental and male (Appendix E, Figure E-3, Appendix H, Table H-3).

Forty seven percent of the targets were male and expressive. Thirty percent were female. Thirteen percent of the males and three percent of the females were instrumental (Appendix E, Figure E-4, Appendix H, Table H-4).

The male and female solicitors were almost equal in the expressive categorization. Although the expressive males outnumbered the expressive females, both were much higher than their instrumental counterparts.

Race

Seventy three percent of the solicitors were white and expressive, while only three percent were non-white. Seventeen percent of the relationships were instrumental when the solicitor was white (Appendix E, Figure E-5, Appendix H, Table H-5).

Seventy percent of the targets in the solicitor/target relationships were white and expressive; seven percent were non-white. Only seventeen percent were white and instrumental (Appendix E, Figure E-6, Appendix H, Table H-6).

Both the solicitors and targets had higher percentages in the white expressive categories.

Education

Twenty seven percent had no high school degree and were expressive, seventeen percent had a high school degree, and twenty percent had some college. The instrumental cases had seven percent with no high school degree and seven percent with some college (Appendix E, Figure E-7, Appendix H, Table H-7).

In all three educational categories the solicitors tended to be expressive rather than instrumental.

Event Outcomes

In the solicitor/target relationships forty three percent resulted in murder and were expressive. Thirteen percent ended in attempted murder, and twenty percent were agent intervening cases. Seventeen percent of the instrumental cases were intervened by an agent (Appendix E, Figure E-8, Appendix H, Table H-8).

Expressive solicitor/target relations were much more likely to result in murder. The expressive categories heavily outweighed the instrumental relations.

Priors

Twenty seven percent of relationships in which the solicitor had no priors were expressive. Twenty seven percent of the cases had priors, and twenty three percent were unknown. Seventeen percent of the solicitors had priors and were instrumental

(Appendix E, Figure E-9, Appendix H, Table H-9).

As shown in the hitman/target relationship, the prior offenses lend minimal information to the expressive or instrumental nature of the solicitor/target relationship.

Identification and Comparisons

While literally stated by definition, murder-for-hire cases should fall neatly into the instrumental category. However, as shown by the statistics just presented, the categorization is not so easily applied. Just by looking at the relationships alone shows the complexity of instrumental and expressive motivations in murder-for-hire events. The solicitor/hitman relationship and the hitman/target relationship are both primarily instrumental. Yet, the solicitor/target relationship is primarily expressive. It is the most intense relationship in the event and one upon which the entire event is based.

Within these relationships, variations by age, sex, race, education, event outcome, and prior convictions provide interesting data for further research. Especially interesting are variations in terms of gender. The implications of these findings for further research will be examined more fully in the following chapter.

CHAPTER FOUR

CONCLUSIONS AND IMPLICATIONS

Introduction

In the previous chapter data were presented to address several specific research questions:

- *How does the instrumental/expressive nature of the solicitor/hitman relationship vary by interpersonal relations?
- *How does the instrumental/expressive nature of the hitman/target relationship vary by interpersonal relations?
- *How does the instrumental/expressive nature of the solicitor/target relationship vary by interpersonal relations?
- *How do the instrumental/expressive nature of each of these three relationships vary demographically and by event circumstances?

Discussion

The classification of murder-for-hire homicides as instrumental is overly simplistic. The circumstances that surround the event determine the type of homicide. Murder-for-hires are one type of homicide which are not so easily classified with respect to motivation. By definition, murder-for-hire as an event is instrumental. However, by examining the relationship between the solicitor and the target, the solicitor and the hitman, and the hitman and the target, expressiveness is much more prevalent than previous research suggests. In determining motivation, there is a distinct need to place emphasis on the relationships within the event rather than just focusing on

the event itself. Important expressive dimensions of murder-for-hire are glossed over and ignored when the latter is the sole focus of research on this type of homicide.

Implications for Research

By looking at the expressive/instrumental nature of the relationships in murder-for-hire events, much can be learned about their similarities and differences with other types of homicides. Multiple participant homicides, especially, must examine each of the subtypes of the relationships within the event. It is also interesting to see if the findings presented in this project will hold up in other geographical locations.

Future research should focus on the many other ways of looking at instrumentality as well as expanding the data sources to encompass other states. Murder-for-hire events once thought to be rare, are becoming increasingly commonplace in society. The motivations underlying this type of lethal crime need to be explored in greater depth. Whether the instrumental/expressive distinction is as useful as it has been thought needs to be debated and empirically challenged.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A
EXPRESSIVE/INSTRUMENTAL TABLE

Table A-1. Expressive/Instrumental Table

Sources	Expressive	Instrumental
Miethe & McCorkle (1994)	Expressive motives are aligned with spontaneous and impulsive acts that are done in rage, anger, and with little thought of consequences. (P.13)	Instrumental motives reflect some future goal or ends. Money, revenge, status enhancement, control, and domination are often considered instrumental goals of crime. (P.13)
	Expressive actions are those motivated exclusively by rage, anger, frustration or, more generally, the heat of passion. Many violent acts are best considered spontaneous and unplanned outbursts of violence rather than goal-directed actions. (P.31)	Violent acts with instrumental motivations are directed at some valued goal beyond the act itself. The Menendez brothers may have killed their parents for the instrumental goal of protecting themselves or collecting the insurance payment. Ruth Cole attempted to hire a hitman for the instrumental goal of revenge. (P.30)
Derber (1996)	There is expressive wilding: wilding for the sheer satisfaction of indulging one's own destructive impulses. (P.6)	Not simply for fun or purely emotive gratification, this (instrumental wilding) is wilding for money, career advancement, or other calculable personal gain. (P.7)

Sources	Expressive	Instrumental
		Instrumental wilding takes place whenever institutions pursue goals and strategies that inflict serious harm on individuals, communities, or entire societies. (P.10)
Nettler (1982)	Homicide is sometimes an instrument of theft, of course, but it is too frequently expressive, rather than instrumental, to be accounted for in the same terms as larceny. There is an "economy" rape, assault, and murder, but the satisfactions in this economy are more psychic than material and they therefore appear to be less rational than the gains from theft. Thus explanations based on "class conflict" seem less plausible when applied to the understanding of physical attack. (P.62)	Some homicide, for example, is directly instrumental, a tool with which one takes another's wealth, as in banditry and some war. It is also a tool with which one obtains power and protects it, as in gang fights, labor disputes, police actions, and revolutions. (P.201)

Sources	Expressive	Instrumental
Newman (1998)	The other view of violence as expressive argues that violence is largely an explosive phenomenon, which generally erupts as an expression of deep emotional forces and feelings, such as rage, anger, hatred, frustration. Thus, the boy who kills his father is driven by rage or frustration. The assumption is that it is not his conscious intention to kill the tyrannical father, he is driven to it. By definition, the expressive view of violence tends to see the individual as less responsible (in a legal and moral sense) because he is seen as less in control of his actions because of the explosive nature of the emotions that force his actions to violence (although the more conservative view would be that, even so, individuals have to learn to control their emotions). (P.43)	Instrumental violence is that violent behavior used by individuals (and sometimes by groups) to achieve a particular goal or end. The assumption generally is that violence is therefore a rational or cognitive process: The individual knows what he or she wants and decides that the way to get it is through violence. At a micro level, a teenager might decide that he is persecuted unjustly be a tyrannical father and choose to kill him. Or, violence to defend oneself from an immediate attack is seen as "instrumental". (P.42, 43)
	expressive (i.e, the homicide begins as an interpersonal confrontation) (P.101)	instrumental (begins as a predatory attack) (P. 101)
Flewelling & Williams (1999)	For example, Block and Block (1992) reported that expressive homicides tended to occur primarily in residential areas,... (P.102)	...whereas instrumental homicides were much more likely to occur in commercial areas and public housing complexes. (P.102)

Sources	Expressive	Instrumental
Decker (1993)	Expressive events, on the other hand, fail to include the "rationality" of such cost/benefit considerations. Instead, expressive or impulsive actions arise from "character contests" to establish "face" or from the desire to retaliate or redeem esteem or to express rage. (P.587)	In instrumental homicides, offenders seek to improve their position through some rational calculation such as minimizing risk, increasing gain, or both. Stranger homicides traditionally have been defined as instrumental events. (P.587)
	The results of earlier research also suggest that more intimate (primary) relationships should involve a much higher proportion of expressive homicides, ... (P.594)	...and that secondary relationships should include a higher proportion of instrumental homicides. (P.594)
Block & Block (1991)	Expressive violence, whether the outcome is lethal or not, is violence that begins as an interpersonal confrontation... (P.39)	...instrumental lethal or nonlethal violence begins as a predatory attack. (P. 39)
	In an expressive violent confrontation, violence itself is the assailant's primary goal; though other motives may be present, they are secondary. (P. 39)	In contrast, the primary purpose of an act of instrumental violence is not to hurt, injure or kill, but to acquire money or property. (P.39)

Sources	Expressive	Instrumental
	Expressive violent acts tend to begin as a fight, brawl or argument that occurs relatively spontaneously, with little rational planning. (P.40)	Predominately goal-oriented, instrumental violence is less an outgrowth of an emotional situation and more likely to be rationally planned. A person preparing for an act of instrumental violence,..., will attempt to optimize the chance of acquiring property or money (Cook, 1976), while minimizing the chance of paying a penalty. (P.40)
	...much expressive violence is not a single event, but rather a series of events that may increase or decrease in severity over time, a continuing relationship punctuated by verbal and physical confrontation (Giles-Sims, 1983; Goetting, 1989). (P. 40)	In an instrumental homicide, the offender's immediate and primary goal is to obtain money or property. (P. 43)
	In an expressive homicide, the offender's immediate and primary goal is violence itself- to hurt, injure or maim someone. (P.43)	
Rose & McClain (1990)	The black subculture, however, is overwhelmingly expressive in its orientation. (P. 36)	Nevertheless, subcultural changes are responsive to changes in the national core culture, and during the period under investigation, instrumental behavior has taken on added importance within a black cultural context. (P. 36)

Sources	Expressive	Instrumental
		The South lagged behind the rest of the nation in the use of violence to pursue instrumental ends, especially if those ends were not associated with long-held traditions. (P. 40)

APPENDIX B
CODE NAMES, LABELS, AND CATEGORIES

Code Names, Labels, and Categories

1. shinexp	solicitor/hitman relationship (inst/exp)	expressive [1] instrumental [2] missing [99]
2. htinexp	hitman/target relationship (inst/exp)	expressive [1] instrumental [2] missing [99]
3. stinexp	solicitor/target relationship (inst/exp)	expressive ^s [1] instrumental [2] missing [99]
4. ieshsex	solicitor's sex (sol/hit) (inst/exp)	expressive male [1] instrumental male [2] expressive female [3] instrumental female [4] missing [99]
5. iestsex	solicitor's sex (sol/tar) (inst/exp)	expressive male [1] instrumental male [2] expressive female [3] instrumental female [4] missing [99]
6. iehssex	hitman's sex (sol/hit) (inst/exp)	expressive male [1] instrumental male [2] expressive female [3] instrumental female [4] missing [99]

7. iehtsex	hitman's sex (hit/tar) (inst/exp)	expressive male [1] instrumental male [2] expressive female [3] instrumental female [4] missing [99]
8. ietssex	target's sex (sol/tar) (inst/exp)	expressive male [1] instrumental male [2] expressive female [3] instrumental female [4] missing [99]
9. iethsex	target's sex (hit/tar) (inst/exp)	expressive male [1] instrumental male [2] expressive female [3] instrumental female [4] missing [99]
10. ieshres	results (sol/hit) (inst/exp)	murder/ expressive [1] murder/ instrumental [2] attempted murder/ expressive [3] attempted murder/ instrumental [4] agent/ expressive [5] agent/ instrumental [6] missing [99]

11. iehtres results (hit/tar) (inst/exp)

murder/ expressive [1]
murder/ instrumental [2]
attempted murder/
expressive [3] attempted
murder/ instrumental [4]
agent/ expressive [5]
agent/ instrumental [6]
missing [99]

12. iestres results (sol/tar) (inst/exp)

murder/ expressive [1]
murder/ instrumental [2]
attempted murder/
expressive [3] attempted
murder/ instrumental [4]
agent/ expressive [5]
agent/ instrumental [6]
missing [99]

13. ieshed solicitor's education (sol/hm)
(inst/exp)

no h.s.degree/ expressive
[1] no h.s. degree/
instrumental [2] h.s.
degree/ expressive [3]
h.s.degree/ instrumental
[4] some college/
expressive [5] some
college/ instrumental [6]
missing [99]

14. iested solicitor's education (sol/tar)
(inst/exp)

no h.s. degree/ expressive
[1] no h.s. degree/
instrumental [2] h.s.
degree/ expressive [3] h.s.
degree/ instrumental [4]
some college/ expressive
[5] some college/
instrumental [6] missing
[99]

15. iehsed hitman's education (sol/hit)
(inst/exp)

no h.s. degree/ expressive
[1] no h.s. degree/
instrumental [2] h.s.
degree/ expressive [3] h.s.
degree/ instrumental [4]
some college/ expressive
[5] some college/
instrumental [6] missing
[99]

16. iehted	hitman's education (hit/tar) (inst/exp)	no h.s. degree/ expressive [1] no h.s. degree/ instrumental [2] h.s. degree/ expressive [3] h.s. degree/ instrumental [4] some college/ expressive [5] some college/ instrumental [6] missing [99]
17. ieshrace	solicitor's race (sol/hit) (inst/exp)	white/ expressive [1] white/ instrumental [2] non-white/ expressive [3] non-white/ instrumental [4] missing [99]
18. iestrace	solicitor's race (sol/tar) (inst/exp)	white/ expressive [1] white/ instrumental [2] non-white/ expressive [3] non-white/ instrumental [4] missing [99]
19. iehsrace	hitman's race (sol/hit) (inst/exp)	white/ expressive [1] white/ instrumental [2] non-white/ expressive [3] non-white/ instrumental [4] agent/ expressive [5] agent/ instrumental [6] missing [99]

20. iehtrace	hitman's race (hit/tar) (inst/exp)	white/ expressive [1] white/ instrumental [2] non-white/ expressive [3] non-white/ instrumental [4] agent/ expressive [5] agent/ instrumental [6] missing [99]
21. ietsrace	target's race (sol/tar) (inst/exp)	white/ expressive [1] white/ instrumental [2] non-white/ expressive [3] non-white/ instrumental [4] missing [99]
22. iethrace	target's race (hit/tar) (inst/exp)	white/ expressive [1] white/ instrumental [2] non-white/ expressive [3] non-white/ instrumental [4] missing [99]
23. ieshprior	solicitor's priors (sol/hit) (inst/exp)	no priors/ expressive [1] no priors/ instrumental [2] priors/ expressive [3] priors/ instrumental [4] unknown/ expressive [5] unknown/ instrumental [6]

24. iestprior solicitor's priors (sol/hit) (inst/exp)

no priors/ expressive [1]
no priors/ instrumental
[2] priors/ expressive [3]
priors/ instrumental [4]
unknown/ expressive [5]
unknown/ instrumental
[6]

25. iehsprior hitmans' priors (sol/hit) (inst/exp)

no priors/ expressive [1]
no priors/ instrumental
[2] priors/ expressive [3]
priors/ instrumental [4]
unknown/ expressive [5]
unknown/ instrumental
[6] agent/ expressive [7]
agent/ instrumental [8]

26. iehtprior hitman's priors (hit/tar) (inst/exp)

no priors/ expressive [1]
no priors/ instrumental
[2] priors/ expressive [3]
priors/ instrumental [4]
unknown/ expressive [5]
unknown/ instrumental
[6] agent/ expressive [7]
agent/ instrumental [8]

27. iestage solicitor's age (sol/tar) (inst/exp)

teen/ expressive [1] teen/
instrumental [2] 20s/
expressive [3] 20s/
instrumental [4] 30s/
expressive [5] 30s/
instrumental [6] 40s/
expressive [7] 40s/
instrumental [8] 50s/
expressive [9] 50s/
instrumental [10] missing
[99]

28. ieshage solicitor's age (sol/hit) (inst/exp)

teen/ expressive [1] teen/
instrumental [2] 20s/
expressive [3] 20s/
instrumental [4] 30s/
expressive [5] 30s/
instrumental [6] 40s/
expressive [7] 40s/
instrumental [8] 50s/
expressive [9] 50s/
instrumental [10] missing
[99]

29. iehsage hitman's age (sol/hit) (inst/exp)

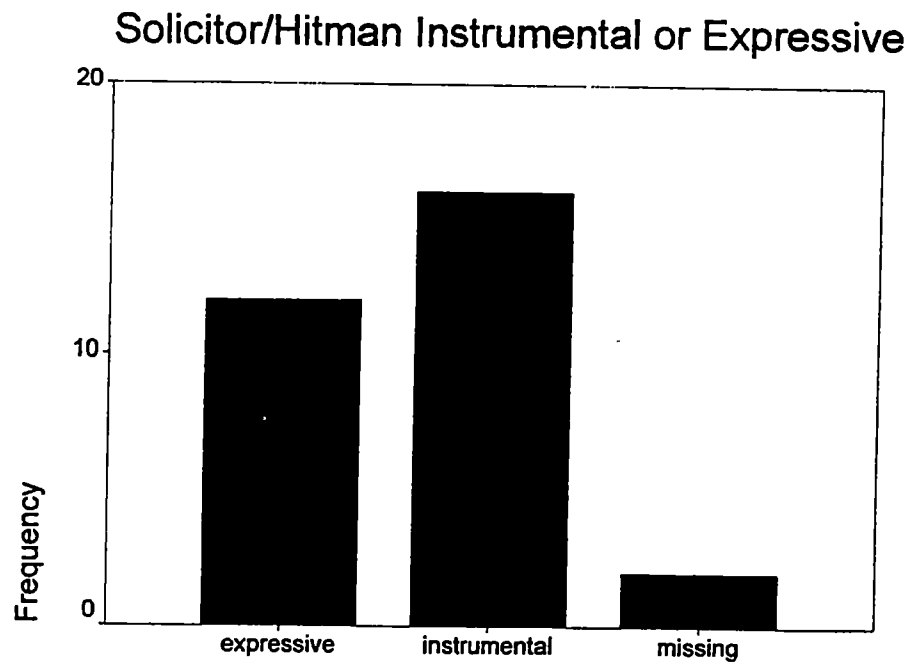
teen/ expressive [1] teen/
instrumental [2] 20s/
expressive [3] 20s/
instrumental [4] 30s/
expressive [5] 30s/
instrumental [6] 40s/
expressive [7] 40s/
instrumental [8] 50s/
expressive [9] 50s/
instrumental [10] agent or
missing [99]

30. iehtage hitman's age (hit/tar) (inst/exp)

teen/ expressive [1] teen/
instrumental [2] 20s/
expressive [3] 20s/
instrumental [4] 30s/
expressive [5] 30s/
instrumental [6] 40s/
expressive [7] 40s/
instrumental [8] 50s/
expressive [9] 50s/
instrumental [10] agent or
missing [99]

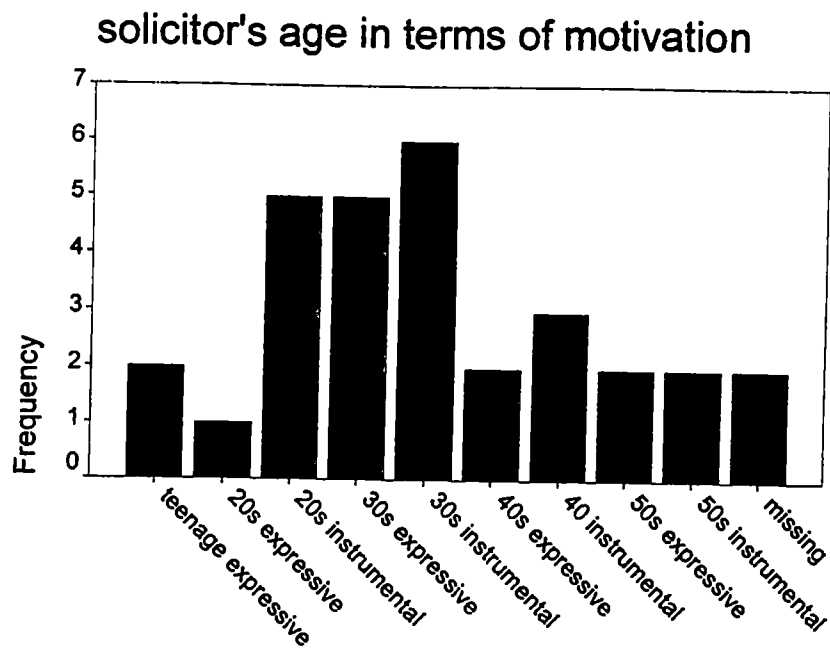
APPENDIX C

SOLICITOR/HITMAN DEMOGRAPHICS & CHARACTERISTICS



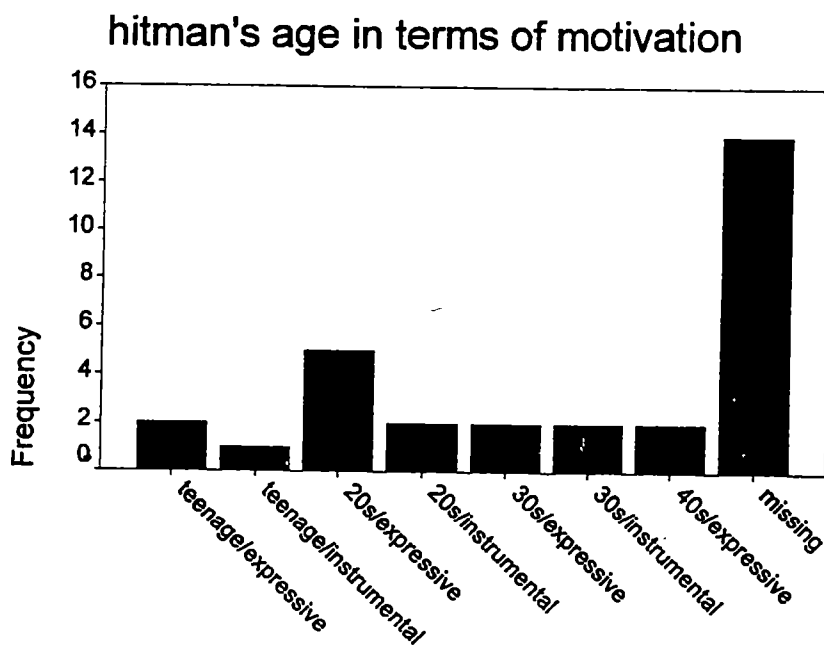
Solicitor/Hitman Instrumental or Expressive

FIGURE C-1



solicitor's age in terms of motivation (sol/hm)

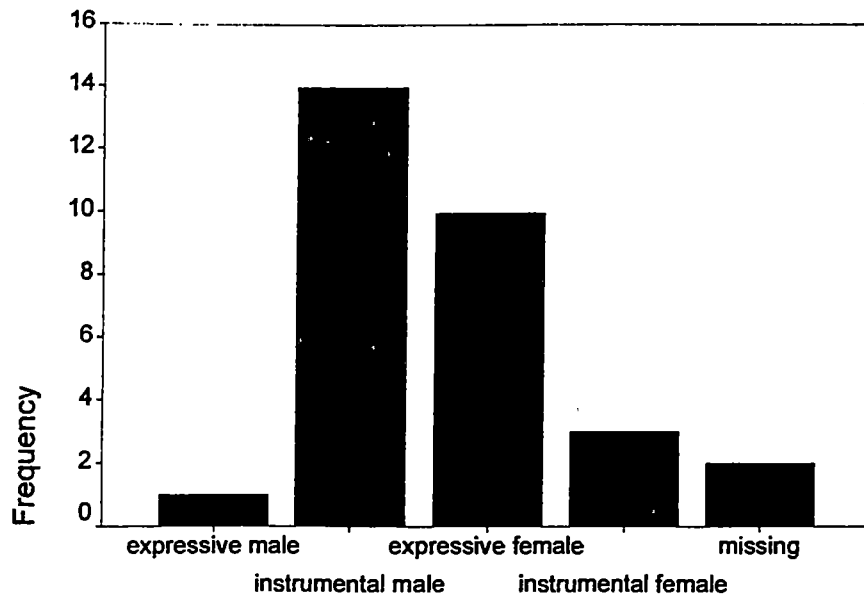
FIGURE C-2



hitman's age in terms of motivation (sol/hm)

FIGURE C-3

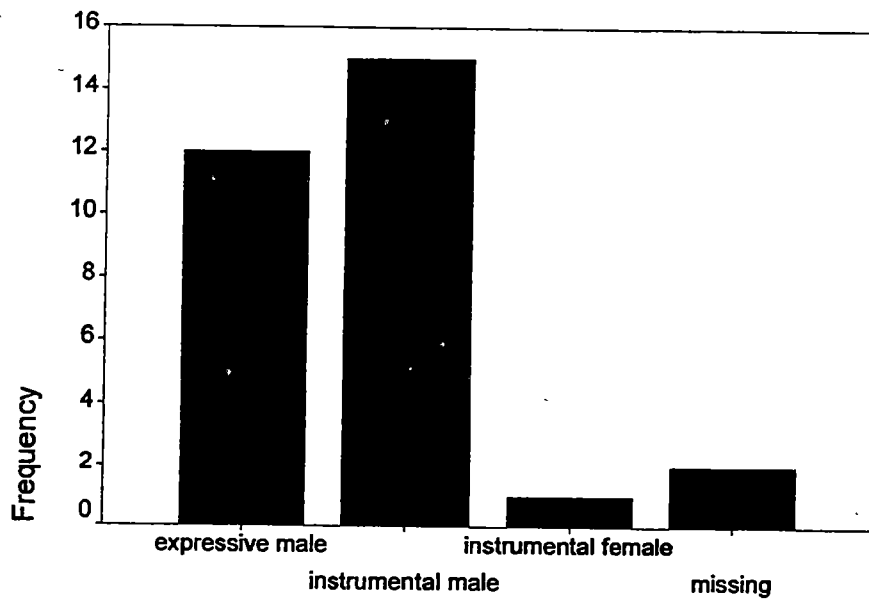
solicitor's sex in terms of motivation



solicitor's sex in terms of motivation (sol/hm)

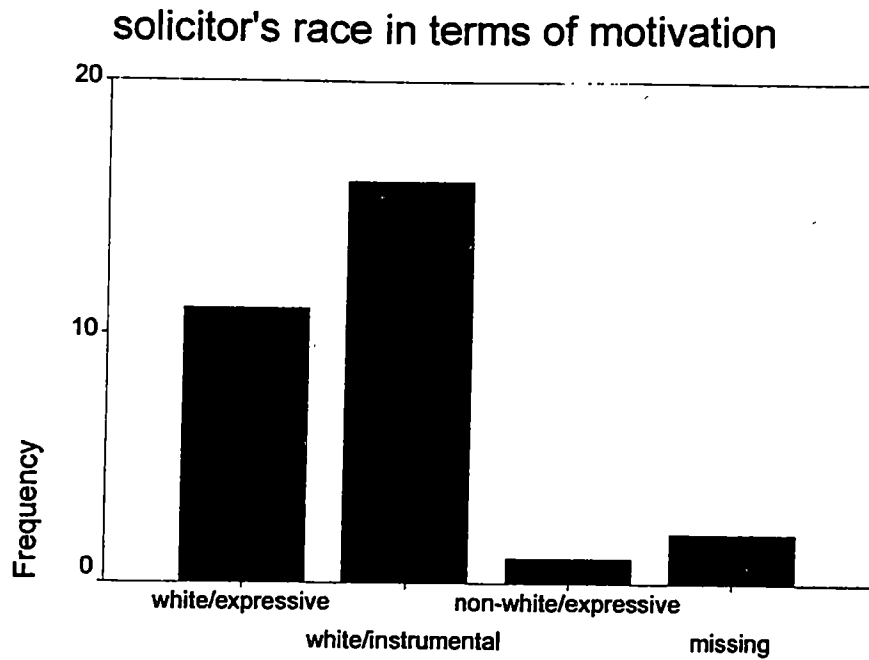
FIGURE C-4

hitman's sex in terms of motivation



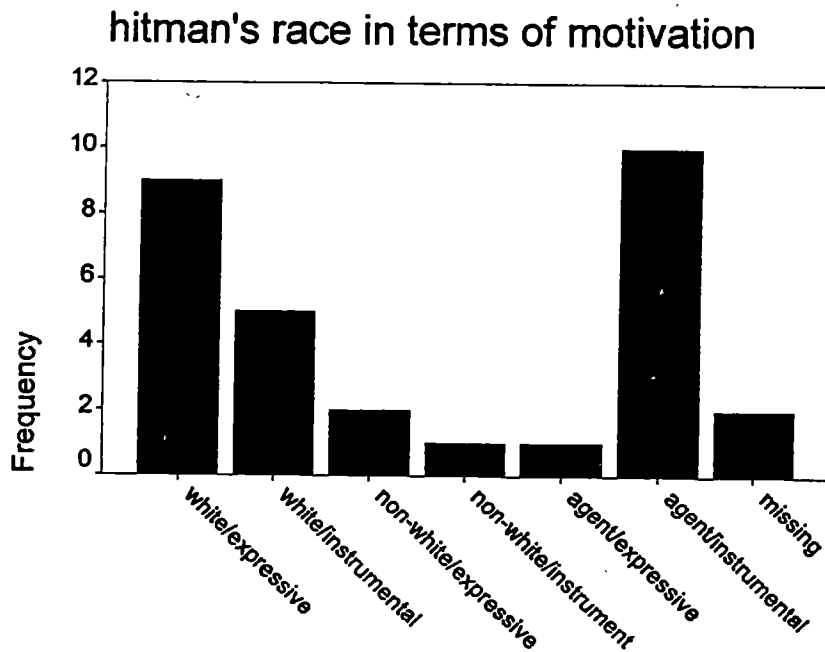
hitman's sex in terms of motivation (sol/hm)

FIGURE C-5



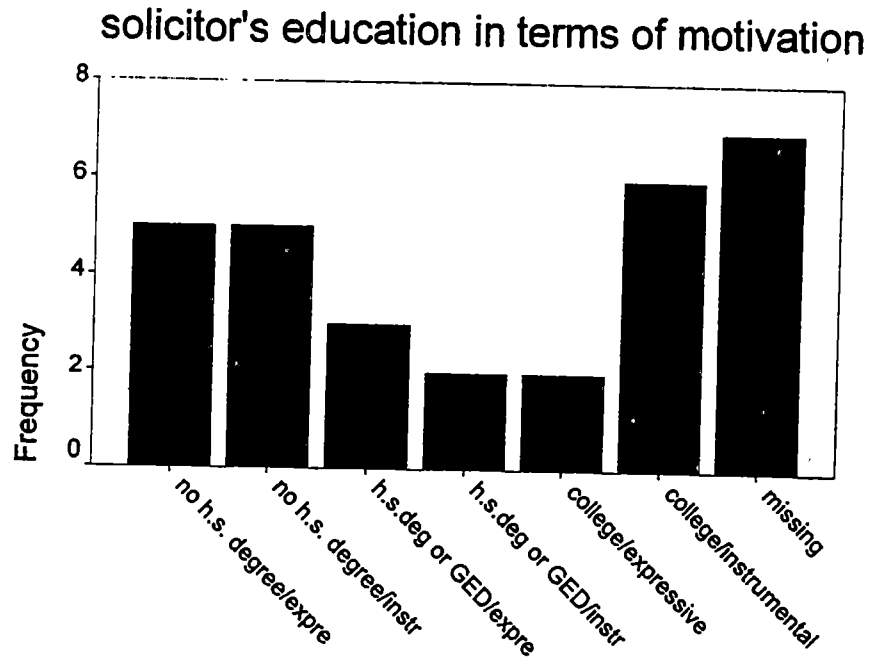
solicitor's race in terms of motivation(sol/hm)

FIGURE C-6



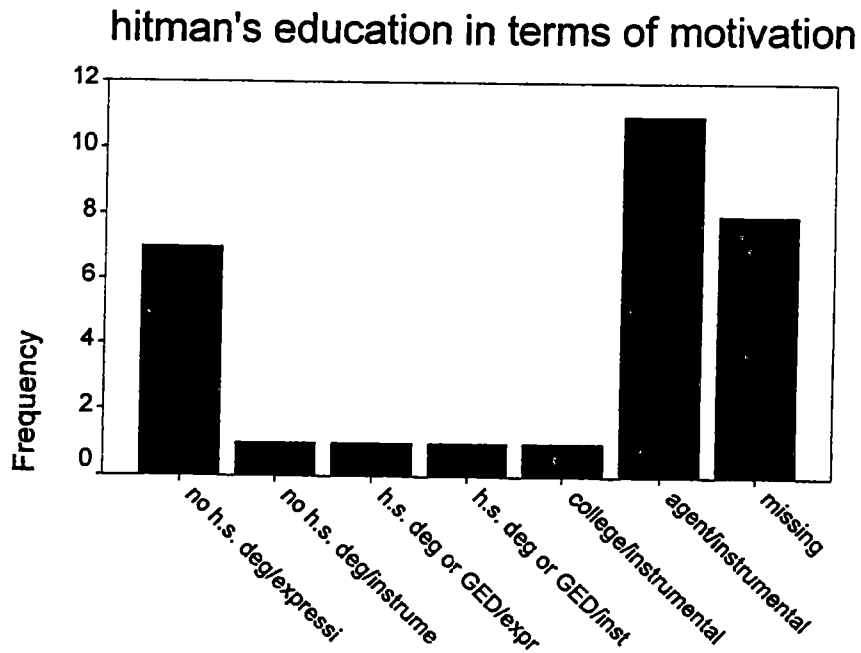
hitman's race in terms of motivation (sol/hm)

FIGURE C-7



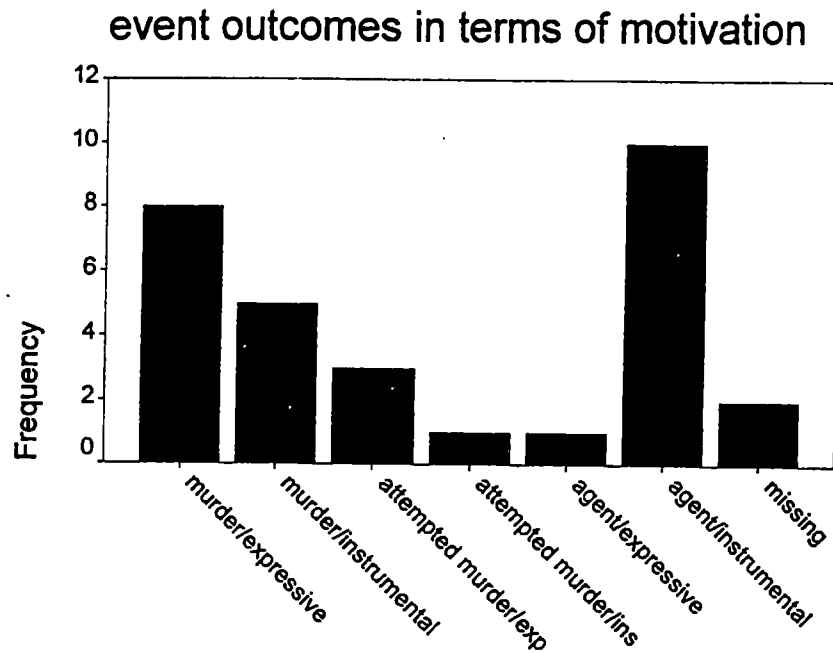
solicitor's education in terms of motivation (sol/hm)

FIGURE C-8



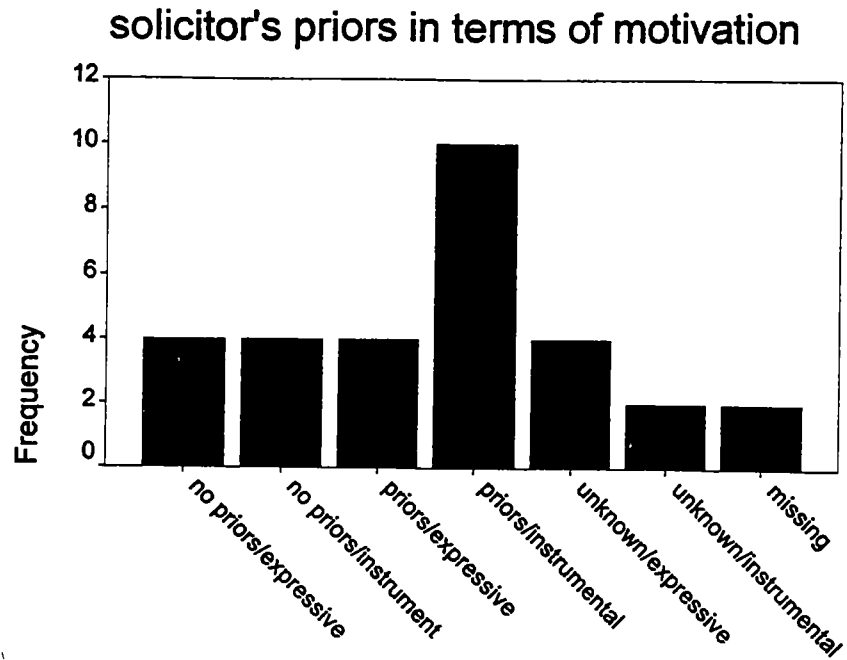
hitman's education in terms of motivation (sol/hm)

FIGURE C-9



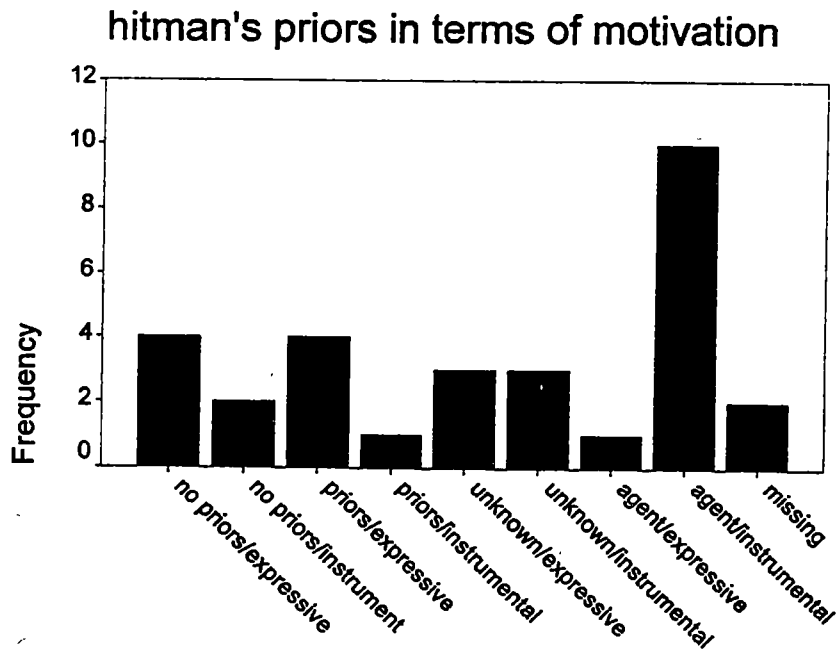
event outcomes in terms of motivation (sol/hm)

FIGURE C-10



solicitor's priors in terms of motivation (sol/hit)

FIGURE C-11

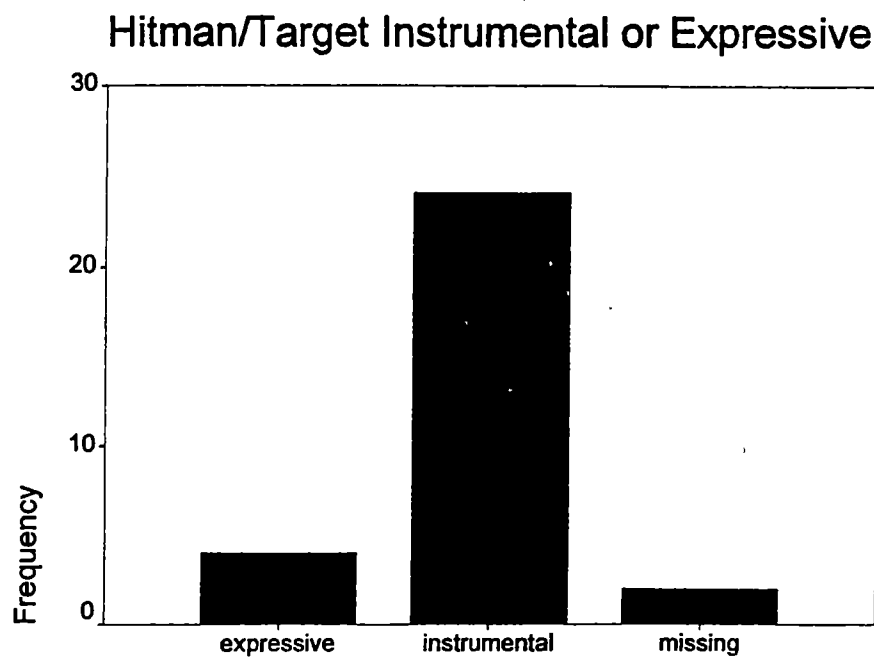


hitman's priors in terms of motivation (sol/hm)

FIGURE C-12

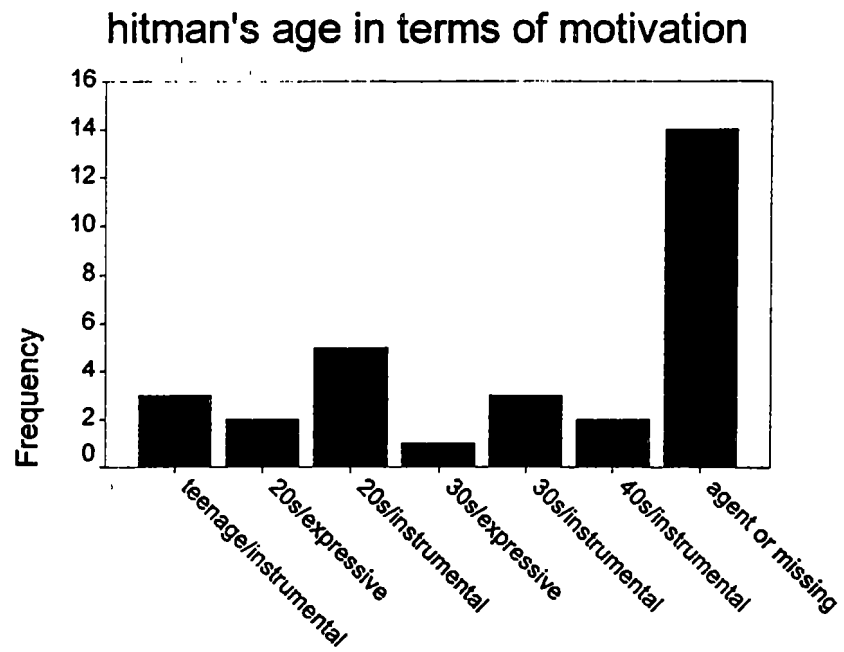
APPENDIX D

HITMAN/TARGET DEMOGRAPHICS & CHARACTERISTICS



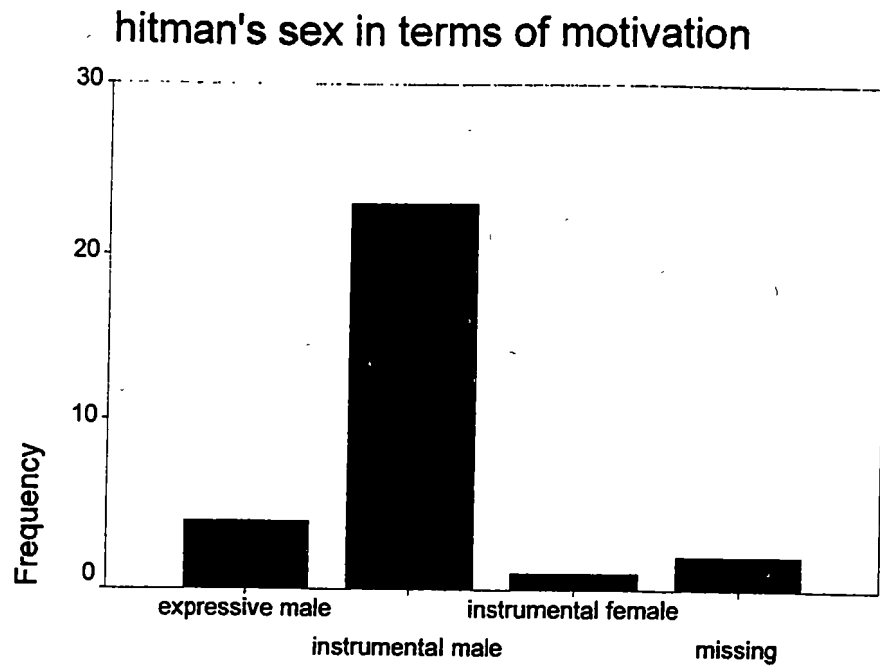
Hitman/Target Instrumental or Expressive

FIGURE D-1



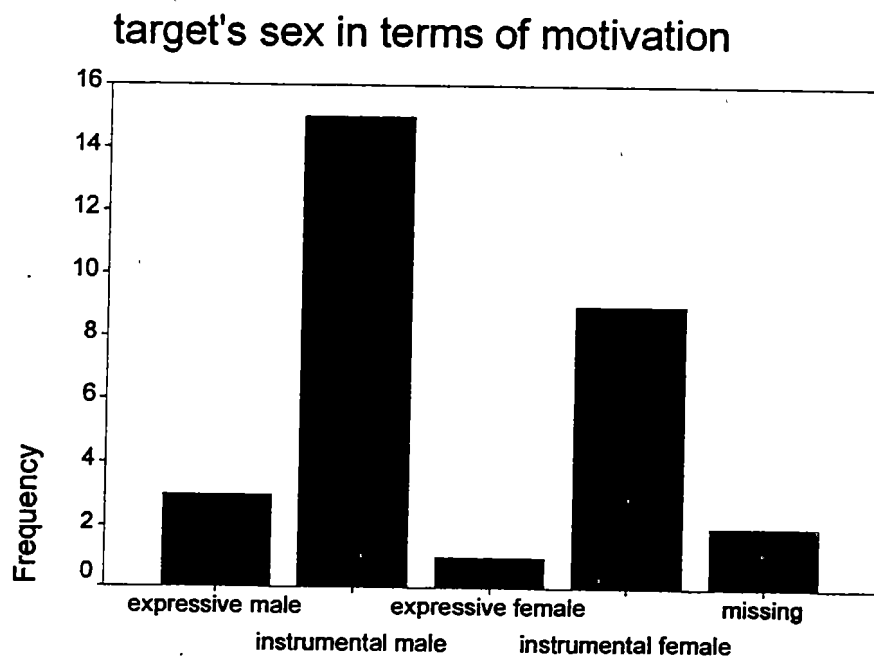
hitman's age in terms of motivation (hm/tar)

FIGURE D-2



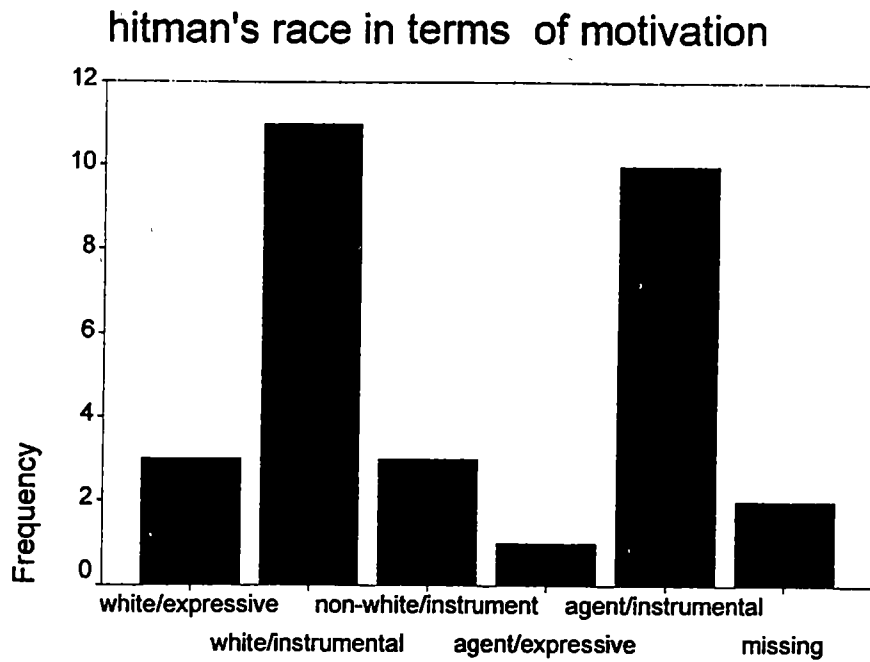
hitman's sex in terms of motivation (hm/tar)

FIGURE D-3



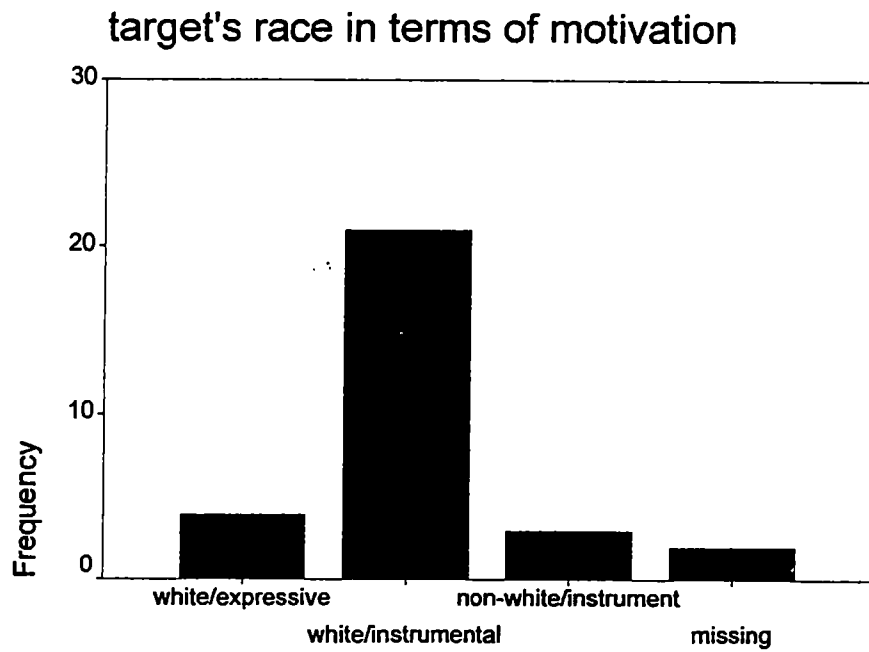
target's sex in terms of motivation (hm/tar)

FIGURE D-4



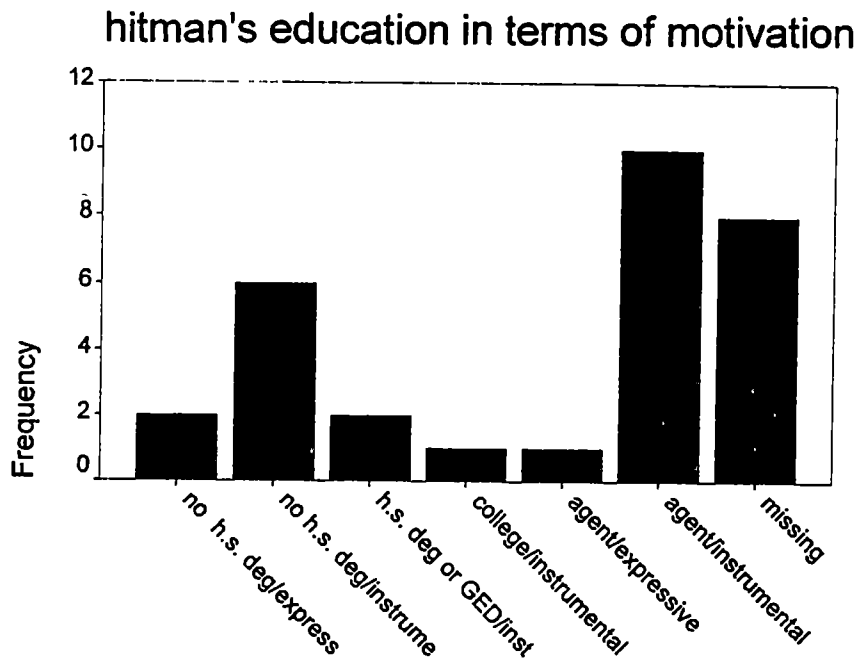
hitman's race in terms of motivation (hm/tar)

FIGURE D-5



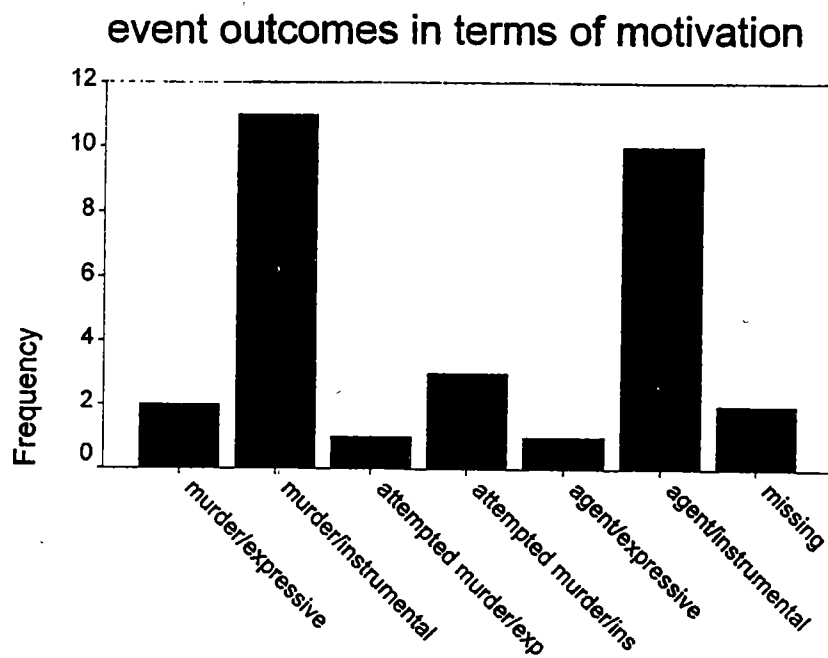
target's race in terms of motivation (hm/tar)

FIGURE D-6



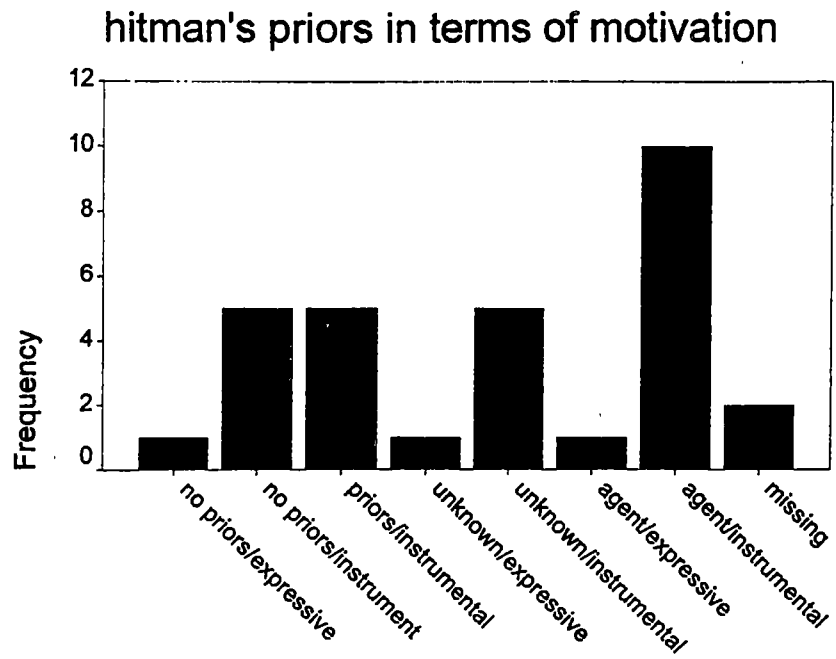
hitman's education in terms of motivation (hm/tar)

FIGURE D-7



event outcomes in terms of motivation (hm/tar)

FIGURE D-8

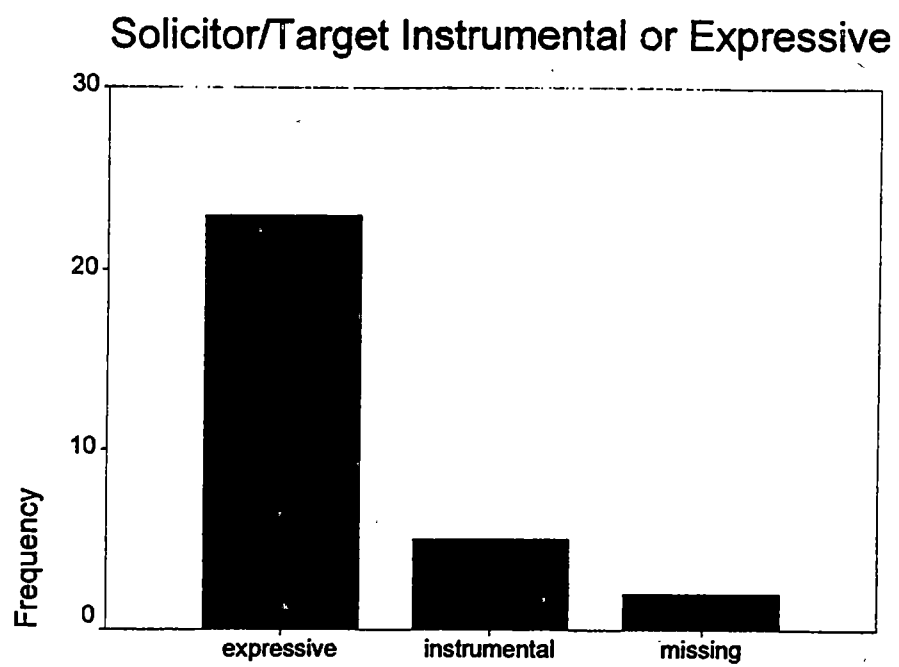


hitman's priors in terms of motivation (hm/tar)

FIGURE D-9

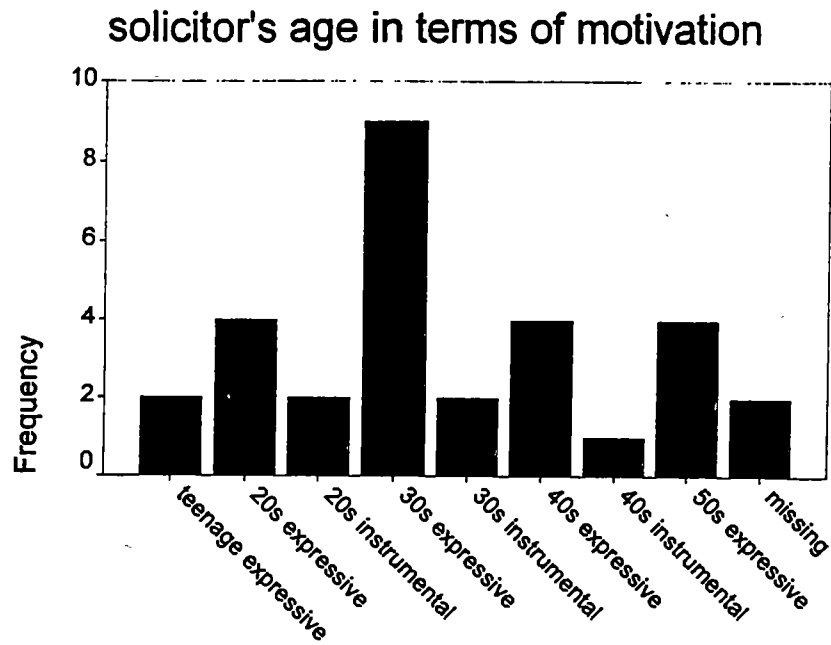
APPENDIX E

SOLICITOR/TARGET DEMOGRAPHICS & CHARACTERISTICS



Solicitor/Target Instrumental or Expressive

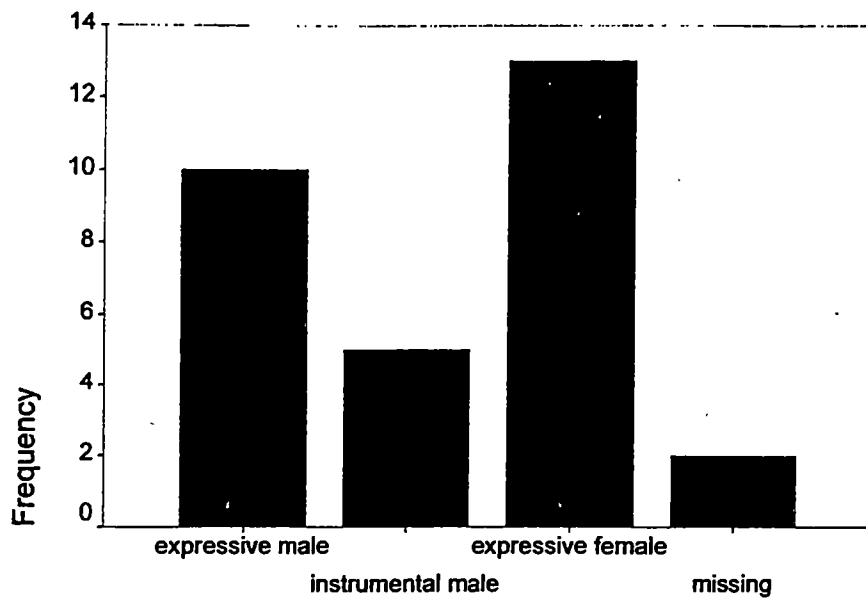
FIGURE E-1



solicitor's age in terms of motivation (sol/tar)

FIGURE E-2

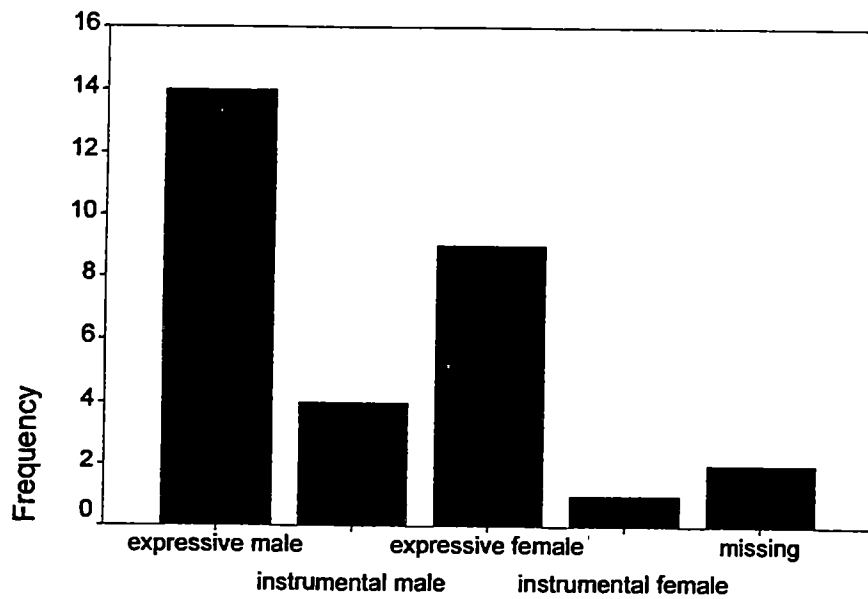
solicitor's sex in terms of motivation



solicitor's sex in terms of motivation (sol/tar)

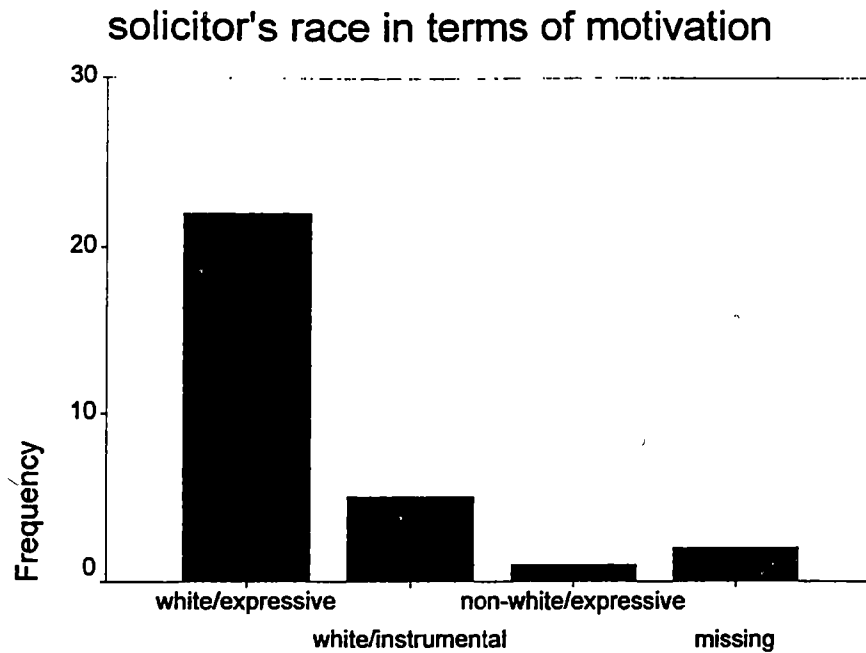
FIGURE E-3

target's sex in terms of motivation



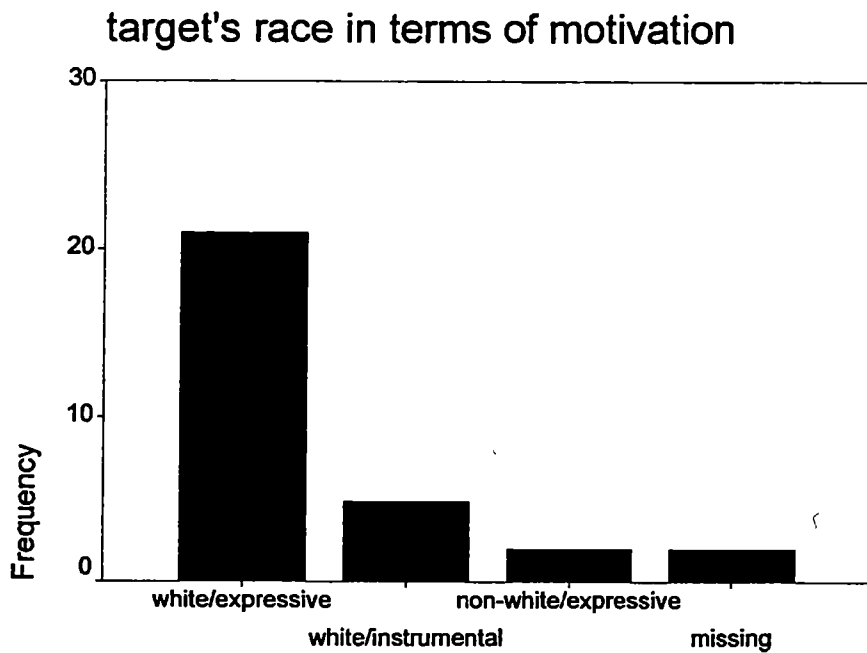
target's sex in terms of motivation (sol/tar)

FIGURE E-4



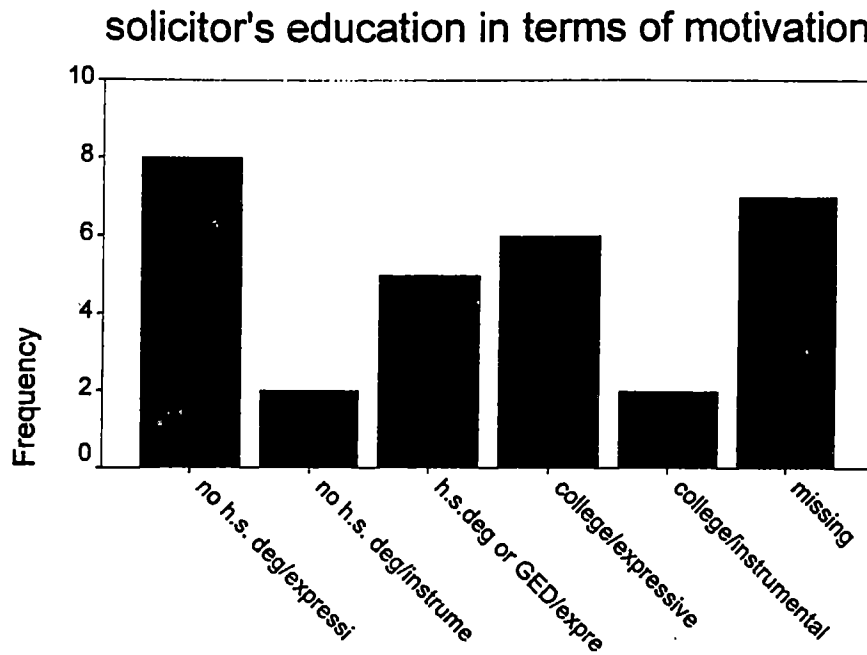
solicitor's race in terms of motivation (sol/tar)

FIGURE E-5



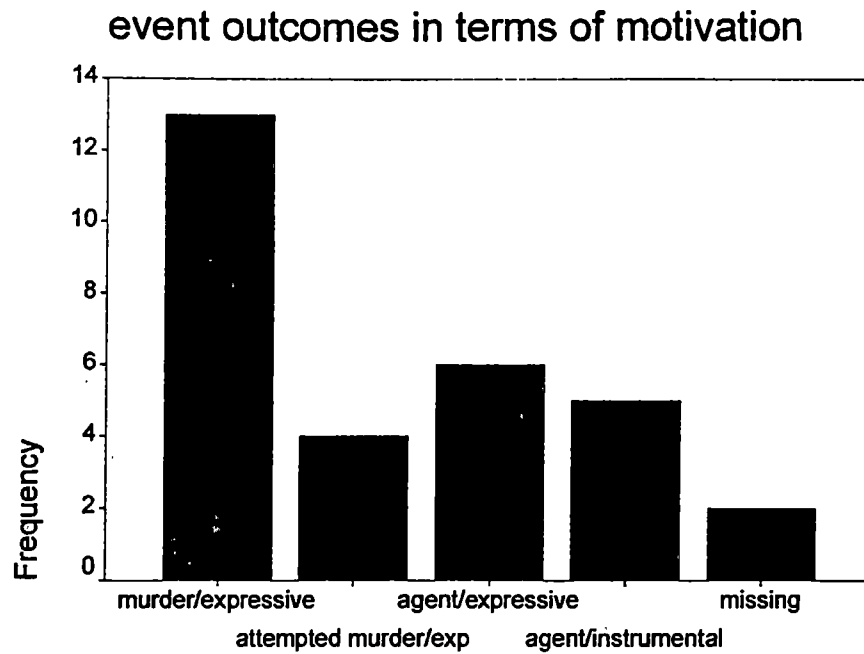
target's race in terms of motivation (sol/tar)

FIGURE E-6



solicitor's education in terms of motivation (sol/tar)

FIGURE E-7



event outcomes in terms of motivation (sol/tar)

FIGURE E-8

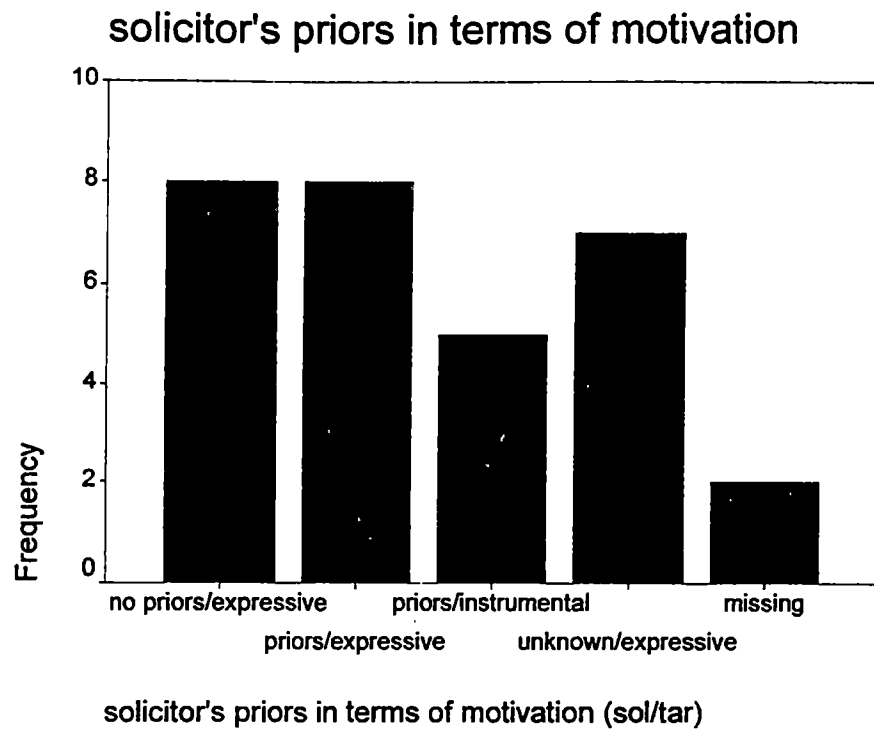


FIGURE E-9

APPENDIX F
SOLICITOR/HITMAN FREQUENCIES & TABLES

TABLE F-1. Solicitor/Hitman Instrumental or Expressive

Frequencies

Statistics

Solicitor/Hitman Instrumental or Expressive

N	Valid	30
	Missing	0
Mean		8.07
Std. Error of Mean		4.51
Median		2.00
Mode		2
Std. Deviation		24.72
Variance		611.24
Range		98
Minimum		1
Maximum		99
Sum		242
Percentiles	10	1.00
	20	1.00
	25	1.00
	30	1.00
	40	1.40
	50	2.00
	60	2.00
	70	2.00
	75	2.00
	80	2.00
	90	2.00

Solicitor/Hitman Instrumental or Expressive

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid expressive	12	40.0	40.0	40.0
instrumental	16	53.3	53.3	93.3
missing	2	6.7	6.7	100.0
Total	30	100.0	100.0	

TABLE F-2. Solicitor's Age in Terms of Motivation

Frequencies

Statistics

solicitor's age in terms of motivation (sol/hm)

N	Valid	30
	Missing	0
Mean		12.00
Std. Error of Mean		4.34
Median		6.00
Mode		6
Std. Deviation		23.76
Variance		564.34
Range		98
Minimum		1
Maximum		99
Sum		360
Percentiles	10	3.10
	20	4.00
	25	4.00
	30	5.00
	40	5.00
	50	6.00
	60	6.00
	70	7.70
	75	8.00
	80	8.80
	90	10.00

solicitor's age in terms of motivation (sol/hm)

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	teenage expressive	2	6.7	6.7	6.7
	20s expressive	1	3.3	3.3	10.0
	20s instrumental	5	16.7	16.7	26.7
	30s expressive	5	16.7	16.7	43.3
	30s instrumental	6	20.0	20.0	63.3
	40s expressive	2	6.7	6.7	70.0
	40 instrumental	3	10.0	10.0	80.0
	50s expressive	2	6.7	6.7	86.7
	50s instrumental	2	6.7	6.7	93.3
	missing	2	6.7	6.7	100.0
	Total	30	100.0	100.0	

TABLE F-3. Hitman's Age in Terms of Motivation

Frequencies

Statistics

hitman's age in terms of motivation (sol/hm)

N	Valid	30
	Missing	0
Mean		48.30
Std. Error of Mean		8.81
Median		7.00
Mode		99
Std. Deviation		48.26
Variance		2328.63
Range		98
Minimum		1
Maximum		99
Sum		1449
Percentiles	10	2.10
	20	3.00
	25	3.00
	30	4.00
	40	5.40
	50	7.00
	60	99.00
	70	99.00
	75	99.00
	80	99.00
	90	99.00

hitman's age in terms of motivation (sol/hm)

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid teenage/expressive	2	6.7	6.7	6.7
teenage/instrumental	1	3.3	3.3	10.0
20s/expressive	5	16.7	16.7	26.7
20s/instrumental	2	6.7	6.7	33.3
30s/expressive	2	6.7	6.7	40.0
30s/instrumental	2	6.7	6.7	46.7
40s/expressive	2	6.7	6.7	53.3
missing	14	46.7	46.7	100.0
Total	30	100.0	100.0	

TABLE F-4. Solicitor's Sex in Terms of Motivation

Frequencies

Statistics

solicitor's sex in terms of motivation (sol/hm)

N	Valid	30
	Missing	0
Mean		8.97
Std. Error of Mean		4.47
Median		2.50
Mode		2
Std. Deviation		24.48
Variance		599.48
Range		98
Minimum		1
Maximum		99
Sum		269
Percentiles	10	2.00
	20	2.00
	25	2.00
	30	2.00
	40	2.00
	50	2.50
	60	3.00
	70	3.00
	75	3.00
	80	3.00
	90	4.00

solicitor's sex in terms of motivation (sol/hm)

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid expressive male	1	3.3	3.3	3.3
instrumental male	14	46.7	46.7	50.0
expressive female	10	33.3	33.3	83.3
instrumental female	3	10.0	10.0	93.3
missing	2	6.7	6.7	100.0
Total	30	100.0	100.0	

TABLE F-5. Hitman's Sex in Terms of Motivation

Frequencies

Statistics

hitman's sex in terms of motivation (sol/hm)

N	Valid	30
	Missing	0
Mean		8.13
Std. Error of Mean		4.51
Median		2.00
Mode		2
Std. Deviation		24.71
Variance		610.53
Range		98
Minimum		1
Maximum		99
Sum		244
Percentiles	10	1.00
	20	1.00
	25	1.00
	30	1.00
	40	1.40
	50	2.00
	60	2.00
	70	2.00
	75	2.00
	80	2.00
	90	3.80

hitman's sex in terms of motivation (sol/hm)

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid expressive male	12	40.0	40.0	40.0
instrumental male	15	50.0	50.0	90.0
instrumental female	1	3.3	3.3	93.3
missing	2	6.7	6.7	100.0
Total	30	100.0	100.0	

TABLE F-6. Solicitor's Race in Terms of Motivation

Frequencies

Statistics

solicitor's race in terms of motivation(sol/hm)

N	Valid	30
	Missing	0
Mean		8.13
Std. Error of Mean		4.51
Median		2.00
Mode		2
Std. Deviation		24.71
Variance		610.40
Range		98
Minimum		1
Maximum		99
Sum		244
Percentiles	10	1.00
	20	1.00
	25	1.00
	30	1.00
	40	2.00
	50	2.00
	60	2.00
	70	2.00
	75	2.00
	80	2.00
	90	2.90

solicitor's race in terms of motivation(sol/hm)

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid white/expressive	11	36.7	36.7	36.7
white/instrumental	16	53.3	53.3	90.0
non-white/expressive	1	3.3	3.3	93.3
missing	2	6.7	6.7	100.0
Total	30	100.0	100.0	

TABLE F-7. Hitman's Race in Terms of Motivation

Frequencies

Statistics

hitman's race in terms of motivation (sol/hm)

N	Valid	30
	Missing	0
Mean		9.73
Std. Error of Mean		4.45
Median		3.00
Mode		6
Std. Deviation		24.36
Variance		593.37
Range		98
Minimum		1
Maximum		99
Sum		292
Percentiles	10	1.00
	20	1.00
	25	1.00
	30	1.30
	40	2.00
	50	3.00
	60	5.60
	70	6.00
	75	6.00
	80	6.00
	90	6.00

hitman's race in terms of motivation (sol/hm)

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid white/expressive	9	30.0	30.0	30.0
white/instrumental	5	16.7	16.7	46.7
non-white/expressive	2	6.7	6.7	53.3
non-white/instrumental	1	3.3	3.3	56.7
agent/expressive	1	3.3	3.3	60.0
agent/instrumental	10	33.3	33.3	93.3
missing	2	6.7	6.7	100.0
Total	30	100.0	100.0	

TABLE F-8. Solicitor's Education in Terms of Motivation

Frequencies

Statistics

solicitor's education in terms of motivation (sol/hm)

N	Valid	30
	Missing	0
Mean		25.70
Std. Error of Mean		7.52
Median		4.50
Mode		99
Std. Deviation		41.17
Variance		1694.56
Range		98
Minimum		1
Maximum		99
Sum		771
Percentiles	10	1.00
	20	2.00
	25	2.00
	30	2.00
	40	3.00
	50	4.50
	60	6.00
	70	6.00
	75	29.25
	80	99.00
	90	99.00

solicitor's education in terms of motivation (sol/hm)

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid no h.s. degree/expressive	5	16.7	16.7	16.7
no h.s. degree/instrumental	5	16.7	16.7	33.3
h.s.deg or GED/expressive	3	10.0	10.0	43.3
h.s.deg or GED/instrumental	2	6.7	6.7	50.0
college/expressive	2	6.7	6.7	56.7
college/instrumental	6	20.0	20.0	76.7
missing	7	23.3	23.3	100.0
Total	30	100.0	100.0	

TABLE F-9. Hitman's Education in Terms of Motivation

Frequencies

Statistics

hitman's education in terms of motivation (sol/hm)

N	Valid	30
	Missing	0
Mean		30.07
Std. Error of Mean		7.74
Median		8.00
Mode		8
Std. Deviation		42.37
Variance		1795.31
Range		98
Minimum		1
Maximum		99
Sum		902
Percentiles	10	1.00
	20	1.00
	25	1.75
	30	3.30
	40	8.00
	50	8.00
	60	8.00
	70	8.00
	75	99.00
	80	99.00
	90	99.00

hitman's education in terms of motivation (sol/hm)

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid no h.s. deg/expressive	7	23.3	23.3	23.3
no h.s. deg/instrumental	1	3.3	3.3	26.7
h.s. deg or GED/expressive	1	3.3	3.3	30.0
h.s. deg or GED/instrumental	1	3.3	3.3	33.3
college/instrumental	1	3.3	3.3	36.7
agent/instrumental	11	36.7	36.7	73.3
missing	8	26.7	26.7	100.0
Total	30	100.0	100.0	

TABLE F-10. Event Outcomes in Terms of Motivation

Frequencies

Statistics

event outcomes in terms of motivation (sol/hm)

N	Valid	30
	Missing	0
Mean		9.80
Std. Error of Mean		4.44
Median		3.00
Mode		6
Std. Deviation		24.34
Variance		592.30
Range		98
Minimum		1
Maximum		99
Sum		294
Percentiles	10	1.00
	20	1.00
	25	1.00
	30	2.00
	40	2.00
	50	3.00
	60	5.60
	70	6.00
	75	6.00
	80	6.00
	90	6.00

event outcomes in terms of motivation (sol/hm)

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid murder/expressive	8	26.7	26.7	26.7
murder/instrumental	5	16.7	16.7	43.3
attempted	3	10.0	10.0	53.3
murder/expressive	1	3.3	3.3	56.7
attempted	1	3.3	3.3	60.0
murder/instrumental	10	33.3	33.3	93.3
agent/expressive	2	6.7	6.7	100.0
agent/instrumental				
missing				
Total	30	100.0	100.0	

TABLE F-11. Solicitor's Priors in Terms of Motivation

Frequencies

Statistics

solicitor's priors in terms of motivation (sol/hit)

N	Valid	30
	Missing	0
Mean		9.80
Std. Error of Mean		4.43
Median		4.00
Mode		4
Std. Deviation		24.29
Variance		589.96
Range		98
Minimum		1
Maximum		99
Sum		294
Percentiles	10	1.00
	20	2.00
	25	2.00
	30	3.00
	40	3.40
	50	4.00
	60	4.00
	70	4.00
	75	5.00
	80	5.00
	90	6.00

solicitor's priors in terms of motivation (sol/hit)

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid no priors/expressive	4	13.3	13.3	13.3
no priors/instrumental	4	13.3	13.3	26.7
priors/expressive	4	13.3	13.3	40.0
priors/instrumental	10	33.3	33.3	73.3
unknown/expressive	4	13.3	13.3	86.7
unknown/instrumental	2	6.7	6.7	93.3
missing	2	6.7	6.7	100.0
Total	30	100.0	100.0	

TABLE F-12. Hitman's Priors in Terms of Motivation

Frequencies

Statistics

hitman's priors in terms of motivation (sol/hm)

N	Valid	30
	Missing	0
Mean		11.40
Std. Error of Mean		4.37
Median		6.00
Mode		8
Std. Deviation		23.95
Variance		573.77
Range		98
Minimum		1
Maximum		99
Sum		342
Percentiles	10	1.00
	20	2.20
	25	3.00
	30	3.00
	40	5.00
	50	6.00
	60	7.60
	70	8.00
	75	8.00
	80	8.00
	90	8.00

hitman's priors in terms of motivation (sol/hm)

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	no priors/expressive	4	13.3	13.3	13.3
	no priors/instrumental	2	6.7	6.7	20.0
	priors/expressive	4	13.3	13.3	33.3
	priors/instrumental	1	3.3	3.3	36.7
	unknown/expressive	3	10.0	10.0	46.7
	unknown/instrumental	3	10.0	10.0	56.7
	agent/expressive	1	3.3	3.3	60.0
	agent/instrumental	10	33.3	33.3	93.3
	missing	2	6.7	6.7	100.0
	Total	30	100.0	100.0	

APPENDIX G
HITMAN/TARGET FREQUENCIES & TABLES

TABLE G-1. Hitman/Target Instrumental or Expressive

Frequencies

Statistics

Hitman/Target Instrumental or Expressive

N	Valid	30
	Missing	0
Mean		8.33
Std. Error of Mean		4.50
Median		2.00
Mode		2
Std. Deviation		24.65
Variance		607.54
Range		98
Minimum		1
Maximum		99
Sum		250
Percentiles	10	1.00
	20	2.00
	25	2.00
	30	2.00
	40	2.00
	50	2.00
	60	2.00
	70	2.00
	75	2.00
	80	2.00
	90	2.00

Hitman/Target Instrumental or Expressive

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid expressive	4	13.3	13.3	13.3
instrumental	24	80.0	80.0	93.3
missing	2	6.7	6.7	100.0
Total	30	100.0	100.0	

TABLE G-2. Hitman's Age in Terms of Motivation

Frequencies

Statistics

hitman's age in terms of motivation (hm/tar)

N	Valid	30
	Missing	0
Mean		48.57
Std. Error of Mean		8.76
Median		8.00
Mode		99
Std. Deviation		48.00
Variance		2304.25
Range		97
Minimum		2
Maximum		99
Sum		1457
Percentiles	10	2.10
	20	4.00
	25	4.00
	30	4.00
	40	6.00
	50	8.00
	60	99.00
	70	99.00
	75	99.00
	80	99.00
	90	99.00

hitman's age in terms of motivation (hm/tar)

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid teenage/instrumental	3	10.0	10.0	10.0
20s/expressive	2	6.7	6.7	16.7
20s/instrumental	5	16.7	16.7	33.3
30s/expressive	1	3.3	3.3	36.7
30s/instrumental	3	10.0	10.0	46.7
40s/instrumental	2	6.7	6.7	53.3
agent or missing	14	46.7	46.7	100.0
Total	30	100.0	100.0	

TABLE G-3. Hitman's Sex in Terms of Motivation

Frequencies

Statistics

hitman's sex in terms of motivation (hm/tar)

N	Valid	30
	Missing	0
Mean		8.40
Std. Error of Mean		4.50
Median		2.00
Mode		2
Std. Deviation		24.63
Variance		606.80
Range		98
Minimum		1
Maximum		99
Sum		252
Percentiles	10	1.00
	20	2.00
	25	2.00
	30	2.00
	40	2.00
	50	2.00
	60	2.00
	70	2.00
	75	2.00
	80	2.00
	90	3.80

hitman's sex in terms of motivation (hm/tar)

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid expressive male	4	13.3	13.3	13.3
instrumental male	23	76.7	76.7	90.0
instrumental female	1	3.3	3.3	93.3
missing	2	6.7	6.7	100.0
Total	30	100.0	100.0	

TABLE G-4. Target's Sex in Terms of Motivation

Frequencies

Statistics

target's sex in terms of motivation (hm/tar)

N	Valid	30
	Missing	0
Mean		9.00
Std. Error of Mean		4.47
Median		2.00
Mode		2
Std. Deviation		24.49
Variance		599.59
Range		98
Minimum		1
Maximum		99
Sum		270
Percentiles	10	1.10
	20	2.00
	25	2.00
	30	2.00
	40	2.00
	50	2.00
	60	2.60
	70	4.00
	75	4.00
	80	4.00
	90	4.00

target's sex in terms of motivation (hm/tar)

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid expressive male	3	10.0	10.0	10.0
instrumental male	15	50.0	50.0	60.0
expressive female	1	3.3	3.3	63.3
instrumental female	9	30.0	30.0	93.3
missing	2	6.7	6.7	100.0
Total	30	100.0	100.0	

TABLE G-5. Hitman's Race in Terms of Motivation

Frequencies

Statistics

hitman's race in terms of motivation (hm/tar)

N	Valid	30
	Missing	0
Mean		10.00
Std. Error of Mean		4.43
Median		4.00
Mode		2
Std. Deviation		24.27
Variance		589.03
Range		98
Minimum		1
Maximum		99
Sum		300
Percentiles	10	1.10
	20	2.00
	25	2.00
	30	2.00
	40	2.00
	50	4.00
	60	5.60
	70	6.00
	75	6.00
	80	6.00
	90	6.00

hitman's race in terms of motivation (hm/tar)

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid white/expressive	3	10.0	10.0	10.0
white/instrumental	11	36.7	36.7	46.7
non-white/instrumental	3	10.0	10.0	56.7
agent/expressive	1	3.3	3.3	60.0
agent/instrumental	10	33.3	33.3	93.3
missing	2	6.7	6.7	100.0
Total	30	100.0	100.0	

TABLE G-6. Target's Race in Terms of Motivation

Frequencies

Statistics

target's race in terms of motivation (hm/tar)

N	Valid	30
	Missing	0
Mean		8.53
Std. Error of Mean		4.49
Median		2.00
Mode		2
Std. Deviation		24.60
Variance		605.29
Range		98
Minimum		1
Maximum		99
Sum		256
Percentiles	10	1.00
	20	2.00
	25	2.00
	30	2.00
	40	2.00
	50	2.00
	60	2.00
	70	2.00
	75	2.00
	80	2.00
	90	4.00

target's race in terms of motivation (hm/tar)

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid white/expressive	4	13.3	13.3	13.3
white/instrumental	21	70.0	70.0	83.3
non-white/instrumental	3	10.0	10.0	93.3
missing	2	6.7	6.7	100.0
Total	30	100.0	100.0	

TABLE G-7. Hitman's Education in Terms of Motivation

Frequencies

Statistics

hitman's education in terms of motivation (hm/tar)

N	Valid	30
	Missing	0
Mean		30.23
Std. Error of Mean		7.71
Median		8.00
Mode		8
Std. Deviation		42.25
Variance		1785.15
Range		98
Minimum		1
Maximum		99
Sum		907
Percentiles	10	2.00
	20	2.00
	25	2.00
	30	4.00
	40	7.40
	50	8.00
	60	8.00
	70	8.00
	75	99.00
	80	99.00
	90	99.00

hitman's education in terms of motivation (hm/tar)

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid no h.s. deg/expressive	2	6.7	6.7	6.7
no h.s. deg/instrumental	6	20.0	20.0	26.7
h.s. deg or GED/instrumental	2	6.7	6.7	33.3
college/instrumental	1	3.3	3.3	36.7
agent/expressive	1	3.3	3.3	40.0
agent/instrumental	10	33.3	33.3	73.3
missing	8	26.7	26.7	100.0
Total	30	100.0	100.0	

TABLE G-8. Event Outcomes in Terms of Motivation

Frequencies

Statistics

event outcomes in terms of motivation (hm/tar)

N	Valid	30
	Missing	0
Mean		10.07
Std. Error of Mean		4.43
Median		4.00
Mode		2
Std. Deviation		24.25
Variance		587.93
Range		98
Minimum		1
Maximum		99
Sum		302
Percentiles	10	2.00
	20	2.00
	25	2.00
	30	2.00
	40	2.00
	50	4.00
	60	5.60
	70	6.00
	75	6.00
	80	6.00
	90	6.00

event outcomes in terms of motivation (hm/tar)

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	murder/expressive	2	6.7	6.7	6.7
	murder/instrumental	11	36.7	36.7	43.3
	attempted murder/expressive	1	3.3	3.3	46.7
	attempted murder/instrumental	3	10.0	10.0	56.7
	agent/expressive	1	3.3	3.3	60.0
	agent/instrumental	10	33.3	33.3	93.3
	missing	2	6.7	6.7	100.0
	Total	30	100.0	100.0	

TABLE G-9. Hitman's Priors in Terms of Motivation

Frequencies

Statistics

hitman's priors in terms of motivation (hm/tar)

N	Valid	30
	Missing	0
Mean		11.70
Std. Error of Mean		4.35
Median		6.00
Mode		8
Std. Deviation		23.85
Variance		568.63
Range		98
Minimum		1
Maximum		99
Sum		351
Percentiles	10	2.00
	20	2.40
	25	4.00
	30	4.00
	40	5.40
	50	6.00
	60	7.60
	70	8.00
	75	8.00
	80	8.00
	90	8.00

hitman's priors in terms of motivation (hm/tar)

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid no priors/expressive	1	3.3	3.3	3.3
no priors/instrumental	5	16.7	16.7	20.0
priors/instrumental	5	16.7	16.7	36.7
unknown/expressive	1	3.3	3.3	40.0
unknown/instrumental	5	16.7	16.7	56.7
agent/expressive	1	3.3	3.3	60.0
agent/instrumental	10	33.3	33.3	93.3
missing	2	6.7	6.7	100.0
Total	30	100.0	100.0	

APPENDIX H
SOLICITOR/TARGET FREQUENCIES & TABLES

TABLE H-1. Solicitor/Target Instrumental or Expressive

Frequencies

Statistics

Solicitor/Target Instrumental or Expressive

N	Valid	30
	Missing	0
Mean		7.70
Std. Error of Mean		4.53
Median		1.00
Mode		1
Std. Deviation		24.82
Variance		616.08
Range		98
Minimum		1
Maximum		99
Sum		231
Percentiles	10	1.00
	20	1.00
	25	1.00
	30	1.00
	40	1.00
	50	1.00
	60	1.00
	70	1.00
	75	1.25
	80	2.00
	90	2.00

Solicitor/Target Instrumental or Expressive

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid expressive	23	76.7	76.7	76.7
instrumental	5	16.7	16.7	93.3
missing	2	6.7	6.7	100.0
Total	30	100.0	100.0	

TABLE H-2. Solicitor's Age in Terms of Education

Frequencies

Statistics

solicitor's age in terms of motivation (sol/tar)

N	Valid	30
	Missing	0
Mean		11.63
Std. Error of Mean		4.35
Median		5.00
Mode		5
Std. Deviation		23.85
Variance		568.72
Range		98
Minimum		1
Maximum		99
Sum		349
Percentiles	10	3.00
	20	3.20
	25	4.00
	30	5.00
	40	5.00
	50	5.00
	60	6.00
	70	7.00
	75	7.25
	80	8.80
	90	9.00

solicitor's age in terms of motivation (sol/tar)

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid teenage expressive	2	6.7	6.7	6.7
20s expressive	4	13.3	13.3	20.0
20s instrumental	2	6.7	6.7	26.7
30s expressive	9	30.0	30.0	56.7
30s instrumental	2	6.7	6.7	63.3
40s expressive	4	13.3	13.3	76.7
40s instrumental	1	3.3	3.3	80.0
50s expressive	4	13.3	13.3	93.3
missing	2	6.7	6.7	100.0
Total	30	100.0	100.0	

TABLE H-3. Solicitor's Sex in Terms of Motivation

Frequencies

Statistics

solicitor's sex in terms of motivation (sol/tar)

N	Valid	30
	Missing	0
Mean		8.57
Std. Error of Mean		4.49
Median		2.50
Mode		3
Std. Deviation		24.60
Variance		605.08
Range		98
Minimum		1
Maximum		99
Sum		257
Percentiles	10	1.00
	20	1.00
	25	1.00
	30	1.00
	40	2.00
	50	2.50
	60	3.00
	70	3.00
	75	3.00
	80	3.00
	90	3.00

solicitor's sex in terms of motivation (sol/tar)

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid expressive male	10	33.3	33.3	33.3
instrumental male	5	16.7	16.7	50.0
expressive female	13	43.3	43.3	93.3
missing	2	6.7	6.7	100.0
Total	30	100.0	100.0	

TABLE H-4. Target's Sex in Terms of Motivation

Frequencies

Statistics

target's sex in terms of motivation (sol/tar)

N	Valid	30
	Missing	0
Mean		8.37
Std. Error of Mean		4.50
Median		2.00
Mode		1
Std. Deviation		24.66
Variance		607.90
Range		98
Minimum		1
Maximum		99
Sum		251
Percentiles	10	1.00
	20	1.00
	25	1.00
	30	1.00
	40	1.00
	50	2.00
	60	2.60
	70	3.00
	75	3.00
	80	3.00
	90	3.90

target's sex in terms of motivation (sol/tar)

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid expressive male	14	46.7	46.7	46.7
instrumental male	4	13.3	13.3	60.0
expressive female	9	30.0	30.0	90.0
instrumental female	1	3.3	3.3	93.3
missing	2	6.7	6.7	100.0
Total	30	100.0	100.0	

TABLE H-5. Solicitor's Race in Terms of Motivation

Frequencies

Statistics

solicitor's race in terms of motivation (sol/tar)

N	Valid	30
	Missing	0
Mean		7.77
Std. Error of Mean		4.53
Median		1.00
Mode		1
Std. Deviation		24.81
Variance		615.29
Range		98
Minimum		1
Maximum		99
Sum		233
Percentiles	10	1.00
	20	1.00
	25	1.00
	30	1.00
	40	1.00
	50	1.00
	60	1.00
	70	1.00
	75	2.00
	80	2.00
	90	2.90

solicitor's race in terms of motivation (sol/tar)

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid white/expressive	22	73.3	73.3	73.3
white/instrumental	5	16.7	16.7	90.0
non-white/expressive	1	3.3	3.3	93.3
missing	2	6.7	6.7	100.0
Total	30	100.0	100.0	

TABLE H-6. Target's Race in Terms of Motivation

Frequencies

Statistics

target's race in terms of motivation (sol/tar)

N	Valid	30
	Missing	0
Mean		7.83
Std. Error of Mean		4.53
Median		1.00
Mode		1
Std. Deviation		24.79
Variance		614.49
Range		98
Minimum		1
Maximum		99
Sum		235
Percentiles	10	1.00
	20	1.00
	25	1.00
	30	1.00
	40	1.00
	50	1.00
	60	1.00
	70	1.70
	75	2.00
	80	2.00
	90	3.00

target's race in terms of motivation (sol/tar)

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	white/expressive	21	70.0	70.0	70.0
	white/instrumental	5	16.7	16.7	86.7
	non-white/expressive	2	6.7	6.7	93.3
	missing	2	6.7	6.7	100.0
	Total	30	100.0	100.0	

TABLE H-7. Solicitor's Education in Terms of Motivation

Frequencies

Statistics

solicitor's education in terms of motivation (sol/tar)

N	Valid	30
	Missing	0
Mean		25.40
Std. Error of Mean		7.55
Median		4.00
Mode		1
Std. Deviation		41.33
Variance		1708.11
Range		98
Minimum		1
Maximum		99
Sum		762
Percentiles	10	1.00
	20	1.00
	25	1.00
	30	2.00
	40	3.00
	50	4.00
	60	5.00
	70	5.70
	75	29.25
	80	99.00
	90	99.00

solicitor's education in terms of motivation (sol/tar)

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid no h.s. deg/expressive	8	26.7	26.7	26.7
no h.s. deg/instrumental	2	6.7	6.7	33.3
h.s.deg or GED/expressive	5	16.7	16.7	50.0
college/expressive	6	20.0	20.0	70.0
college/instrumental	2	6.7	6.7	76.7
missing	7	23.3	23.3	100.0
Total	30	100.0	100.0	

TABLE H-8. Event Outcomes in Terms of Motivation

Frequencies

Statistics

event outcomes in terms of motivation (sol/tar)

N	Valid	30
	Missing	0
Mean		9.43
Std. Error of Mean		4.46
Median		3.00
Mode		1
Std. Deviation		24.43
Variance		596.94
Range		98
Minimum		1
Maximum		99
Sum		283
Percentiles	10	1.00
	20	1.00
	25	1.00
	30	1.00
	40	1.00
	50	3.00
	60	5.00
	70	5.00
	75	5.25
	80	6.00
	90	6.00

event outcomes in terms of motivation (sol/tar)

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid murder/expressive	13	43.3	43.3	43.3
attempted murder/expressive	4	13.3	13.3	56.7
agent/expressive	6	20.0	20.0	76.7
agent/instrumental	5	16.7	16.7	93.3
missing	2	6.7	6.7	100.0
Total	30	100.0	100.0	

TABLE H-9. Solicitor's Priors in Terms of Motivation

Frequencies

Statistics

solicitor's priors in terms of motivation (sol/tar)

N	Valid	30
	Missing	0
Mean		9.50
Std. Error of Mean		4.45
Median		3.00
Mode		1 ^a
Std. Deviation		24.37
Variance		594.12
Range		98
Minimum		1
Maximum		99
Sum		285
Percentiles	10	1.00
	20	1.00
	25	1.00
	30	3.00
	40	3.00
	50	3.00
	60	4.00
	70	4.70
	75	5.00
	80	5.00
	90	5.00

a. Multiple modes exist. The smallest value is shown

solicitor's priors in terms of motivation (sol/tar)

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid no priors/expressive	8	26.7	26.7	26.7
priors/expressive	8	26.7	26.7	53.3
priors/instrumental	5	16.7	16.7	70.0
unknown/expressive	7	23.3	23.3	93.3
missing	2	6.7	6.7	100.0
Total	30	100.0	100.0	

VITA

Suzanne Reagan DeSear was born and raised in Gatlinburg, Tennessee. She attended the University of North Carolina at Asheville where in 1994 she received a bachelor of arts degree in history. After taking criminal justice classes at a nearby community college she decided to return to school to pursue her master of arts degree in sociology. Her focus while attending the University of Tennessee at Knoxville has been in criminology. Suzanne has also taken classes in anthropology to coincide with her outside interests of criminal behavior and forensics.

Suzanne married Ryan DeSear in 1997, and the couple currently reside at their home in Gatlinburg. She is employed by Ripley Entertainment as an assistant manager of the Ripley's Haunted Adventure. In her free time she loves to hike, bicycle, and read. Suzanne is actively involved in Burnett Memorial United Methodist Church and the UNC-A Alumni Association.