IDEOLOGICALLY-MOTIVATED HOMICIDE IN THE UNITED STATES, 1990-2008: A COMPARISON OF FAR-RIGHT AND IDENTITY-BASED HOMICIDE EVENTS

By

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ABSTRACT

IDEOLOGICALLY-MOTIVATED HOMICIDE IN THE UNITED STATES, 1990-2008: A COMPARISON OF FAR-RIGHT AND IDENTITY-BASED HOMICIDE EVENTS

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Hundreds of homicides have been perpetrated by far-right extremists in the United States in the last three decades, and scholars, as well as the Department of Homeland Security, have suggested that there remains a significant threat of violence from far-right extremists to public and national security. We to date, however, know very little about the entirety of this complex and heterogeneous form of violence, largely due to a number of conceptual, theoretical, and methodological challenges faced by scholars. In order to advance knowledge and understanding of far-right extremist homicide, and respond to these issues, this dissertation examines the nature of far-right perpetrated homicide in the United States between 1990 and 2008 from a criminal event perspective. Homicide events are quantitatively examined based on systematically collected open-search data and analyzed using descriptive and multivariate statistical techniques. In addition, variable-centered theme analyses are used to further an in-depth understanding of the similarities and differences in homicide subtypes in the context of interactions between homicide actors and the situational contexts in which homicides occur. This dissertation contributes to the scholarly literature on domestic terrorism, hate/bias crime, and homicide. This research also contributes to the ability of the police and other criminal justice administrators to recognize, investigate, and prosecute far-right perpetrated and other types of identity-based homicides.

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A number of individuals also helped to make the completion of this dissertation possible. I would like to thank Drs. Steven Chermak, Joshua Freilich, and William Alex Pridemore for helping me to develop the topic and research approach for this study. Drs. Chermak and Freilich were also kind enough to share with me their data on far-right extremist crimes from their ongoing START-funded research. A large portion of the homicide data stem from their comprehensive database on crimes committed by the domestic far-right in the United States.

I would also like to thank a number of researchers, whose efforts have substantially contributed to the open-source data analyzed in this dissertation, including William Parkin, Roberta Belli, Christina Kress, Michael Suttmoeller, David Caspi, and Matthew Santana.

Vera Gruenewald and Roberta Belli contributed to the preparation of this manuscript. Dr. Nicholas Corsaro provided advice on quantitative analyses. Finally, I would like to thank my Committee members for their thoughtful comments and constructive criticisms on my dissertation proposal.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES

LIST OF FIGURES

GLOSSARY OF TERMS

Domestic Far-Right: This dissertation relies on Freilich and Chermak's (2006:32) definition which states that the domestic far-right is "...composed of individuals or groups that subscribe to aspects of the following ideals: they are fiercely nationalistic (as opposed to universal and international in orientation), anti-global, suspicious of centralized federal authority, reverent of individual liberty (especially their right to own guns, be free of taxes), believe in conspiracy theories that involve a grave threat to national sovereignty and/or personal liberty and a belief that one's personal and/or national "way of life" is under attack and is either already lost or that the threat is imminent (sometimes such beliefs are amorphous and vague, but for some the threat is from a specific ethnic, racial, or religious group), and a belief in the need to be prepared for an attack either by participating in paramilitary preparations and training and survivalism. It is important to note that mainstream conservative movements and the mainstream Christian right are not included."

Far-Right Ideological-Motivated (IM) Homicide: Homicide events that involve at least one suspect belonging to the domestic far-right and primarily motivated by animus toward social minority groups, governmental workers, abortion providers, and other ideological targets.

Far-Right Non Ideologically-Motivated (non-IM) Homicide: Homicide events that involve at least one suspect belonging to the domestic far-right and do not target ideological or symbolic victims (e.g. social minorities, governmental workers).

Identity-Based (IB) Homicide: Homicide events primarily motivated by animus toward the minority group status or identity of victims, including anti-race/ethnicity, anti-gay/lesbian/bi-sexual/transgender, and anti-religious affiliation. These homicides have also been referred to "hate crimes" or "bias crimes." Identity-based homicides are one type of IM homicide event and are committed by those homicide suspects affiliated with the far-right movement in the United States as well as those suspects who are not.

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

Far-right extremists[1] are responsible for a number of homicides every year in the United States. The perpetrators' extent of involvement may vary in far-right organizations (e.g. militias, skinhead gangs, Ku Klux Klan) (Heitmeyer, 2003), and homicides committed by far-right extremists represent a diverse group of events involving complex combinations of motives and targets. Some far-right perpetrated homicides, for example, have been motivated by anti-government sentiments. In one high-profile case that occurred in 1997, a far-right extremist murdered two police officers during a traffic stop and, shortly thereafter, traveled to a nearby town and fatally shot a judge who had previously ruled against him in a land-use related case. The suspect had previously made numerous threats against the female judge's life, but, seemingly, had no prior relationships with the murdered police officers (Suprynowicz, 2002). Other homicides perpetrated by far-right extremists, however, have been motivated by bigotry or "hatred" toward particular social minority groups (e.g. members of the Gay/Lesbian/Bisexual/Transgender or "GLBT" community, African Americans, Jewish persons). An example of a high-profile case motivated by animus toward homosexuals is the 1999 murder of two male partners in their home. The perpetrators were brothers who adhered to both anti-Semitic and anti-GLBT beliefs (Finz, 1999). In another homicide

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[1] A comprehensive definition of the domestic far-right is provided on page 33, and a number of indicators that are used to determine far-right extremist perpetrator status are provided in Appendix A. For now, it should suffice that some far-right extremists are especially nationalistic, suspicious of centralized federal authority, and reverent of individual liberty. Often far-right extremists believe that their way of life and that the United States is under attack from racial, sexual, and religious minorities. Many far-right extremists also have "hot-button" issues, such as abortion, homelessness, feminism and other lifestyle choices. Some far-right extremists formally belong to far-right extremist groups, while others belong to informal groups or no group at all.

that occurred in the same year, a young far-right extremist went on a three day shooting spree across the Midwest that targeted racial and religious minorities, injuring multiple people and killing two victims before killing himself (Washington Post, 1999). Far-right extremists have also committed homicides motivated by moral convictions regarding particular lifestyle issues (i.e. abortion, homelessness), as well as homicides not directly motivated by extremist ideology. These examples show that motives and targets can be varied. Unfortunately, to date, we know little about the entirety of this complex and heterogeneous social problem, as there has been no systematic research on this topic.

To advance knowledge of this topic, this dissertation comparatively examines the complex phenomenon of far-right extremist homicide events. A number of research questions are asked regarding the similarities and differences in the nature of far-right homicides and typical homicides, in far-right homicide motivational subtypes, and in far-right hate-motivated homicide events and those events perpetrated by non far-rightists. This study relies on the criminal event perspective that emphasizes the multiple and interchanging dimensions of homicide events, as well as the importance of considering the context in which these crimes occur (Sacco & Kennedy, 2002). In order to address the questions posited in this study, an original database was constructed based on open-source information on all far-right extremist homicide events occurring in the United States between 1990 and 2008.[2] These data were supplemented with data on "average" homicides and "hate-motivated" homicide events perpetrated by non far-right extremists during the same time period in the United States for purposes of comparison. Employing

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[2] Some years in which far-right homicide occurred are not included in particular comparative analyses due to the unavailability of comparison data for these years. The presentations of findings for these analyses are noted accordingly.

a mixed-methodology, quantitative and qualitative techniques were used to describe the extent and nature of far-right homicide events compared to other forms of homicide.

Defining Homicide Types and Subtypes

It is necessary to briefly provide some working definitions of the types of homicide events of interest in this dissertation. In addition, a more in-depth discussion of conceptual issues is provided in the next sections.

Far-right extremist homicides are events involving at least one homicide suspect linked to the far-right extremist movement in the United States. Therefore, this type of homicide largely depends on suspects' beliefs, ideological convictions and involvement with organized extremist groups rather than any single type of motivation for the homicide. Indeed, all homicides perpetrated by far-right extremist are of interest to this study, regardless of suspects' motivations.

In order to comparatively examine the different subtypes of homicide events committed by far-right extremists, additional labels that capture the motivational variations of homicide events are provided. One motivational subtype is referred to as ideologically-motivated (IM) homicide. These events consist of homicide occurrences primarily motivated by animus toward social minority groups, governmental targets, abortion providers, sex offenders, and to a lesser degree, other targets linked to far-right extremist belief systems. Conversely, non ideologically-motivated (non-IM) homicide events are those occurrences primarily motivated by anything but animus toward such targets. Examples of non-IM homicide events include arguments with loved ones and acquaintances, disagreements within extremist groups, robbery, and failed drug deals.

Finally, a more specific motivational subtype of homicide, identity-based (IB) homicide, plays a major role in the current study. Identity-based homicides are those occurrences specifically motivated by animus toward social minority-groups. These events are referred to as IB homicides rather than "hate crimes" or "bias crimes" because it is assumed that it is not always possible to judge the perpetrators' specific views of their victims. Using the IB label also avoids the usage of "hate crimes" as a label for these events. Avoiding the question of the ability to judge the feelings and thoughts of suspects (see, for instance, Bruce, 2001), the definition of IB homicide rests on the availability of ample evidence indicating suspects targeted victims because of their real or perceived social minority statuses or identities.

Threat of Far-Right Violence

Homicide events committed by far-right extremists is an important topic of research. Domestic terrorism remains a significant threat to national security and the general public, especially in regards to far-right perpetrated violence. Past research has found that domestic acts of terrorism outnumber international terrorist attacks against the United States 7 to 1 (LaFree, Dugan, Fogg & Scott, 2006). Furthermore, far-right extremists have claimed hundreds of lives and future terrorist attacks from far-right extremists are likely (Hewitt, 2003; see also Carlson, 1995; Riley & Hoffman, 1995). A survey of police organizations across the United States concludes that police continue to view far-right extremist crime as a substantial threat (Freilich, Chermak, & Simone, 2009). Moreover, this topic is especially relevant in light of a recent official report published by the Department of Homeland Security that concluded that far-right

extremist membership and activity appear to be on the rise.[3] The report asserted that a combination of factors, including the election of an African American president and rising unemployment, have created an environment facilitative of far-right extremism.

Research Problem

Despite the threat posed by far-right extremists, knowledge is limited on these offenders, their backgrounds, and the situational contexts in which they commit homicide events. In regards to the current state of research on far-right extremist homicides, there is good news and bad news (Gruenewald, Freilich, & Chermak, 2009). The good news is that information on homicides targeting social minority groups, often involving far-right extremists, is increasing (e.g. Levin & McDevitt, 1993; Perry, 2001). Homicides of this type are often newsworthy enough to attain local and, often, national media coverage (Colomb & Damphouse, 2004), resulting in a large amount of information on these homicide cases. Also, some police agencies, as well as advocacy groups across the nation, have begun to collect information on homicides targeting social minorities (Jenness & Broad, 1997; Levin & McDevitt, 1993; Martin, 1996; Strom, 2001), including those perpetrated by far-right extremists. In addition, information on homicides committed by far-right extremists can many times be accessed relatively easily from the Internet by searching extremist group sites, personal and extremist group blogs, court documents, and other publicly available documents.

The bad news is that currently there is a lack of empirical research on IM violence (Silke, 2001), and, specifically, far-right extremist homicides, causing our knowledge and

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[3] This Department of Homeland Security report was pulled shortly after its release due to the controversial information it contained on the possible threat of returning war veterans on the increase in far-right extremist activity (Hudson, 2009).

in-depth understanding of this complex problem to be sorely underdeveloped (Gruenewald et al., 2009). There are methodological and theoretical reasons that account for the lack of research on this topic. Indeed, to date there has generally been no way to distinguish violent crimes committed by far-right perpetrators from those that were not in official homicide data. Moreover, scholarly literature on forms of domestic terrorism has largely been on left-wing extremism rather than far-right extremism, but past research has found there to be important differences between left and right-wing domestic terrorism (Hewitt, 2003; Smith, 1994). Therefore, there exists only anecdotal evidence, often from journalistic accounts, in regards to the nature and extent of far-right extremist homicide in the United States (Gruenewald et al., 2009).

In addition, theoretically, the limited research on IM violence has generally approached the topic from offender-based perspectives (Perry, 2001). For instance, scholars studying anti-racial violence have tested Gottfredson and Hirschi's (1990) self-control theory as an explanation, while others have approached this topic from "defended neighborhoods" theory (Green, Strolovitch, & Wong, 1998), and the relative deprivation perspective (Levin & McDevitt, 1993). While these offender-based theories may be useful in explaining limited aspects of what influences offenders to commit IM offenses, they speak little to issues such as how other situational factors can shape offender decisions across a variety of subtypes of IM offending.

Therefore, what is needed is a broad theoretical and methodological research approach that overcomes many of these issues that have stunted the advancement of a more in-depth understanding of far-right perpetrated homicide events. How this research overcomes these issues, theoretically, by approaching the study of far-right extremist

homicides from a criminal event perspective, and methodologically, by relying on open-sources and quantitative and qualitative analyses, is discussed below.

The Far-Right Extremist Homicide Study

The current study began during a fellowship with the National Consortium for the Study of Terrorism and Responses to Terrorism (START)[4] based on an initial project titled "*Far-Right Extremist Homicide in the United States, 1990-2007.*" For the first time, the general purpose of the research was to capture, quantitatively and qualitatively, the nature of far-right homicides based on systematic open-source data collection.

The study of far-right extremist homicides is approached from a criminal event perspective (CEP) (Sacco & Kennedy, 2002). The CEP conceptualizes criminal acts as multi-dimensional events, consisting of suspects, victims, and other actors that interact in particular situational contexts (Block, 1981). This perspective assumes that homicide suspects are rational beings whose actions are shaped by the evolving social and physical contexts in which homicide events occur. In this way, the research avoids an over-reliance on offender-based theories of crime motivations and considers more holistically how offenders make decisions to commit crimes largely based on the situations in which they find themselves.

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[4] The National Consortium for the Study of Terrorism and Responses to Terrorism (START) is a Center of Excellence of the U.S. Department of Homeland Security based at the University of Maryland. The START Center website can be accessed at http://www.start.umd.edu/start/. This research was supported by the United States Department of Homeland Security through the National Consortium for the Study of Terrorism and Responses to Terrorism (START), grant number N00140510629. However, any opinions, findings, and conclusions or recommendations in this document are those of the authors and do not necessarily reflect views of the U.S. Department of Homeland Security.

This study identifies all far-right extremist homicides that occurred in the United States between 1990 and 2008 from open-sources. Identity-based homicides perpetrated by non far-right extremists are also identified for purposes of comparison. Open-source information is collected on each identified homicide from approximately twenty web-based search engines discussed more fully in Chapter 4. Data are then coded for each homicide incident and suspect in separate but relational *Microsoft Access* files. The quality of open-source information for each homicide event is also assessed in this *Access* database. Quantitative and qualitative analyses are conducted to examine the similarities and differences in far-right extremist homicides and average homicides, far-right IM and non-IM homicide, as well as far-right IB and IB homicides perpetrated by non far-rightists.

Research Questions

The following research questions are asked to capture the nature of far-right extremist perpetrator backgrounds, offending patterns, and interactions with other criminal and non-criminal actors, and to identify how far-rightists may be unique from other types of IM homicide offenders. Questions are also asked to facilitate an understanding of how homicide situations compare to the situational elements of other types of IB homicide. Research Question 1 is the focus of Chapter 5, research Question 2 is the focus of Chapter 6, and research Question 3 is the focus of Chapter 7.

> **Question 1: What is the nature of far-right extremist homicide event situations in the United States between 1990 and 2008, including suspect demographic characteristics, other background attributes, and the situational contexts of homicide events?**
>
> > **A). What are the similarities and differences of the elements of homicide situations in those far-right extremist homicides motivated by ideology and the "average" homicide event in the United States.**

Question 2: Within far-right extremist homicides, what are the similarities and differences in IM and non-IM homicide event characteristics?

Question 3: What are the similarities and differences in IB homicides perpetrated by far-right extremists and IB homicides perpetrated by non far-right extremists?

Data and Methodology

This study systematically addresses these research questions by identifying, collecting, and systematically coding open-source data on a set of far-right perpetrated homicide events in the United States between 1990 and 2008. Open-source data are collected for a set of other IB homicide events perpetrated by non far-right extremists for the purposes of comparison. Comparison data are also collected from the publicly available Uniform Crime Report-Supplementary Homicide Report published annually by the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) in order to collect a sample of homicides to represent the "average" homicide events in the United States during the same time period.

This study overcomes many methodological problems associated with relying solely on official homicide data. This set of far-right perpetrated homicide events were identified as part of a broader project funded by START, a Center of Excellence of the United States Department of Homeland Security based at the University of Maryland, that collected open-search data on all crimes committed by the domestic far right. The co-principle investigators of this project, Dr. Steven Chermak (Michigan State University) and Dr. Joshua Freilich (John Jay College of Criminal Justice, CUNY), identified all far-right perpetrated homicides from a number of sources, including existing terrorism databases, extremist watch-group organizations, academic sources, and other personal informants (Freilich and Chermak, 2007). This dissertation extracts data on a set of far-

right perpetrated homicide events from this project on which I have been a research assistant with since its inception. Due to the somewhat unique and sometimes complex methodological approach, it will be briefly described here.

Data from open-sources are collected on each far-right perpetrated homicide event. Each unique homicide is defined as a separate event by considering the temporal and geographic characteristics of the homicide occurrence. In order to collect information on each homicide event, approximately twenty web-based search engines are systematically searched and all information relevant to any aspect of the homicide case is collected and consolidated into a single open-source document. Open-sources include court documents, advocacy group publication (e.g. Southern Poverty Law Center, Anti-Defamation League), academic documents, media publications, as well as other sources.

The first of two additional types of data comes from the Supplementary Homicide Reports, which consist of publicly available event-level homicide data on "all" homicides that occur in the United States. Homicides are identified by randomly selecting approximately 10 percent of all homicides that occurred during this time period (n=2,840). Only a limited number of variables are available in these data, but they can be used to conduct a number of comparisons between far-right homicides and a sample of all homicides in the United States.

Table 1.1 Step 1: Identification of Homicide Events from Multiple Sources

	Comparison Data Sources	
Far-Right Extremist Open-Source Homicide Data	**Uniform Crime Report-Supplementary Homicide Reports**	**Non Far-Right Extremist Identity-Based (IB) Open-Source Homicide Data**
Homicide event data extracted from the Freilich and Chermak's (2007) *Extremist Crime Database* (ECDB) project. Data are based on open-sources.	Homicide event data extracted from the annual UCR-Supplementary Homicide Report published by the Federal Bureau of Investigation. Data are based on standardized police reports.	Homicide event data collected for the *Extremist Homicide Project*, which extended the ECDB project by collecting data on IB homicides not perpetrated by far-rightists for purposes of comparison.

Second, a set of IB homicides not perpetrated by far-right extremists are identified from open-sources for the purposes of comparison. Motivations for this set of IB homicides include animus toward the GLBT community, racial/ethnic minorities, religious minorities, and the homeless. To a large extent, the same sources used by the Chermak and Freilich (2007) project are used to identify these homicide events. In addition, a number of advocacy groups (e.g. Human Rights Campaign, National Asian Pacific American Legal Consortium) are searched and targeted media searches are conducted to identify additional IB homicides. Identifying and collecting open-source data on this set of homicide events is a significant contribution and extension of the research on far-right perpetrated crimes conducted by Freilich and Chermak (2007). As the same variables are considered for both far-right homicides and the set of non far-right IB homicides motivated by animus toward social minorities, comparative analyses are possible for the first time that illuminate similarities and differences between these forms of IM violence.

After each homicide event is identified, open-source information is gathered from multiple sources. Key characteristics of each homicide (e.g. suspect names, date of events) are then used as index terms in open searches using approximately twenty web-based search engines. Two levels of search are conducted. The primary search engine scans for information in six websites, as shown in Table 1.2, while a secondary search engine searches in less well-known search engines for supplementary open-source information. An open-source document is created based on the available information, including all information gathered for that homicide.

Table 1.2 Step 2: Open-Source Searching of Homicide Events

Primary Search Engines	Secondary Search Engines
Proquest	Google Scholar
Yahoo	Amazon
Google	Google U.S. Government
Copernic	Federation of American Scientists
News Library	Center for the Study of Intelligence
	Surf Wax
	Dogpile
	Mamma
	Librarians' Internet Index
	Scirus
	All the Web
	Google News
	Google Blob
	Homeland Security Digital Library

Based on the open-source information, data are coded in separate codebooks for incident and suspect homicide dimensions. Examples of homicide characteristics include: victim-offender relationship, weapon use, location, motivation, suspect's prior criminal behavior, and other demographic variables. While information was collected for hundreds of variables for each homicide event, including both victim and far-right group variables

(Freilich & Chermak, 2009), only a select number of variables shown in Table 1.3 were included in this study for a number of reasons. One reason is that the focus of the current study is on the suspect and incident (or situational) dimensions of far-right homicide events, as well as how these dimensions interact to shape fatal outcomes. The variables selected also represent those most emphasized in past homicide research. Moreover, these variables are the most comparable with official homicide data collected by criminal justice agencies, which were used for purposes of comparison in this dissertation.

In addition to homicide variables, the quality of open-source information is assessed in a separate codebook for each homicide event. Both quantity and quality of information is systematically evaluated.

Table 1.3 Step 3: Coding of Homicide Event Data and Quality of Information[5]

Incident Codebook	Suspect Codebook	Assessment of Information Codebook
Weapon type	Age	Number of Each Source
Circumstances	Race	Type Used
Victim-Offender relationship	Gender	Total Number of Sources
Location	Group Membership	Used
State	Prior Criminal History	
Year	Drug/Alcohol Use During Incident	

Based on the data collected in this comprehensive database, descriptive and multivariate statistics are used to address research questions on the nature of homicide types and subtypes. The main purpose of multivariate analysis is to identify key variables that distinguish between homicide subtypes. To supplement these quantitative findings,

[5] Each variable listed in Table 1.3 is also discussed in more detail in Chapter 4.

systematic qualitative theme analyses are conducted for each significant variable to examine more in depth are the homicide suspects' interactions and attachments of meaning to experiences in particular situations and the effect of these processes on their decisions to commit homicide. The "variable-centered theme analysis" provides a more comprehensive understanding of the similarities and differences of far-right perpetrated homicide and the complex and heterogeneous phenomena of IM homicide in the United States.

Contribution of the Dissertation

The current research makes a number of contributions to the scholarly literature on far-right extremist and other forms of IM violence and informs criminal justice and counter-terrorism policies. First, since the terrorist attacks of September 11th, scholarly interest and research on IM violence has dramatically increased. Unfortunately, research has been devoid of original data sources and plagued by a number of other methodological issues (Silke, 2001, 2004). Thus, scholars interested in studying IM violence in the United States should greatly benefit from the comprehensive set of data collected on far-right and other IM homicide incidents and participants developed in this study. Second, this research contributes to the well-established criminological literature on homicide by advancing knowledge of far-right perpetrated homicide events. While homicide scholars have studied a number of different subtypes of homicide (Flewelling & Williams, 1999), there has been no empirical research on far-right extremist homicide events. Third, the limited body of past empirical research on IM violence has focused almost exclusively on explaining offender motivations. By combining quantitative and qualitative theme analysis techniques, this study facilitates a more in-depth understanding

of this social phenomenon by approaching far-right homicide as a multi-dimensional event, for instance, by considering how offender motivations interact with situational dynamics to shape fatal outcomes. Finally, this study increases the potential to study and understand the unique dynamics of far-right extremist violence, and could, ultimately, aid American criminal justice agencies in the prevention, detection, investigation and prosecution of the most violent forms of domestic terrorism. The next section outlines the remainder of this study, highlighting the purposes and main emphases of each chapter.

Review of Chapters

The next chapter, Chapter 2, is a review of prior empirical studies on IM crime in general. Many of these studies address, to some degree, the issue of far-right extremist violence, while others neglect to distinguish between far-right and non far-right perpetrated violence. Both types of studies are relevant and are reviewed. In addition to reviewing prior research, this chapter discusses the many conceptual, theoretical, and methodological challenges facing the study of IM violence in the United States. First, Chapter 2 reviews descriptive studies based on official data collection and victim surveys. The issues of defining and categorizing types of IM violence as well as the lack of unbiased data on this type of crime are addressed. Second, Chapter 2 reviews the limited number of empirical studies that apply or test offender-based theories of IM offender motivations. The narrow scope of offender-based theories in providing a comprehensive understanding of this type of crime is also discussed.

In response to the limitations of past research discussed in Chapter 2, Chapter 3 presents a comprehensive theoretical framework that conceptualizes crimes as multi-dimensional events which occur in particular situational contexts. This chapter first

discusses how criminological theories have been typically applied to study IM violence, and proposes that Sacco and Kennedy's (2002) criminal event perspective (CEP) is the most comprehensive and otherwise appropriate theoretical framework for studying far-right extremist homicide events. This chapter, discusses how the CEP is applied to this topic, and specifically, the conceptualization of far-right extremist homicide and the disaggregation of subtypes of IM homicide in response to specific research questions. Finally, the research questions advanced in this study are outlined.

Chapter 4 addresses the methodological approach to this study. First, indicators that are used to distinguish far-right extremist homicide events and other IM homicide events perpetrated by non far-right extremists are presented. Second, the process used to identify homicides in open-source materials is presented, distinguishing between far-right perpetrated homicide events and other IB homicides committed by non far-rightists. Third, the open-sources used to collect information on each homicide event, the protocol used to systematically collect open-source data, and the stages of data collection are described. Inter-reliability between data searchers is also discussed. Fourth, the systematic coding of data for homicide suspects and situational characteristics, specific codebooks and variables of interest, as well as the stages of the coding process are addressed. Finally, the plans for quantitative and qualitative analysis of far-right extremist homicide events are outlined.

Chapter 5 has three purposes. The first purpose of this chapter is to provide the temporal and geographic context of far-right homicide in the United States during the time period of interest. The second purpose is to examine the nature of far-right extremist homicide in comparison to the "average" homicide event in the United States to explore

far-right homicides as, possibly, a unique phenomenon. Open-source homicide data and official national homicide data previously collected by the Federal Bureau of Investigation are utilized for this comparison. The third purpose of this chapter is to assess the quality of open-source information for each far-right extremist homicide. In doing so, it becomes possible to identify the effects of several types of bias which could influence the interpretations of findings.

Chapter 6 extends the previous chapter by using open-source homicide data to comparatively examine the incident and the suspect-level characteristics of two motivational subtypes of far-right extremist homicide, IM and non-IM homicides. Descriptive results are presented for each homicide subtype. Results of multivariate analysis that identify the key distinguishing factors of homicide motivational subtype are presented and discussed. In addition, variable-centered theme analyses are conducted for each homicide characteristic found to be a significant distinguishing factor. Consistent with the CEP, theme analyses are used to explore the operation of the key variables in the context of the entire homicide event to advance a more in-depth understanding of the shaping of fatal outcomes by these variables.

Chapter 7 also relies on open-source homicide data, but places focus only on IB homicide events. Unlike Chapter 6, which analyzed motivational subtypes, this chapter examines the similarities and differences in two suspect subtypes, far-right homicides and those homicides not perpetrated by far-right extremists. Findings based on descriptive and multivariate analyses are also presented and discussed, and the key factors distinguishing between far-right IB and non far-right IB homicide are identified. Theme analysis is then used to further explore how these homicide factors operate.

Finally, Chapter 8 reiterates the purposes of the current study and summarizes the key findings from each chapter. This chapter also discusses the limitations of the current study and the plans for future research on the topic of far-right extremist homicides.

CHAPTER 2: REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

This chapter reviews the prior literature on IM violence, including far-right extremist homicides.[6] The purpose of this chapter is to place the study of far-right perpetrated homicides in the context of several methodological and theoretical issues plaguing past studies on IM violence. The following review of prior literature is presented in two sections. First, a review of primarily descriptive studies of IM violence is presented. Much of the past empirical research has been primarily descriptive (e.g. Garofalo & Martin, 1993; Maxwell & Maxwell, 1995; Strom, 2001). While not applying or testing specific theoretical explanations of IM offending, these studies are useful for establishing the conceptual parameters and extent of IM violence. In addition, empirical descriptions of IM violence can be used to extend and build more nuanced theoretical explanations of this type of crime. Following this review of descriptive studies, two issues, conceptualizing and quantifying IM violence, are considered in order to critically reflect on the current knowledge of IM offending, and more specifically, far-right homicide offending. Second, an overview of past studies that aim to explain why offenders commit IM violence is provided. Furthermore, a critical reflection on offender-based theories is provided, focusing on the neglect of such theories to consider issues of situational context of crime events. How the research approach used in the current study overcomes or addresses these issues is discussed in the next chapter.

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[6] A recent review of the research on terrorism and counter-terrorism by LaFree and Dugan (in press) examines many of the same topics that are addressed in this chapter (e.g. offender-based theories and methodological issues with terrorism data); however, the current chapter focuses on IM crime, in general, rather than solely on political terrorism, and draws more so from studies relevant to this dissertation (i.e. IM violence in the United States).

Descriptive Studies

This section provides a review of prior descriptive studies that have relied on quantitative data to gauge the extent and, to some degree, the nature of IM violence. To date, there have been no studies that have provided an empirically-based descriptive account of far-right homicides in the United States. However, a number of scholars have analyzed various sources of data on IB violence, or violence that is motivated by bigotry or animus toward social minority groups, including to some extent far-right perpetrated violence. Therefore, this literature is reviewed in order to lay the groundwork for the current study, which focuses on far-right perpetrated homicide.

Since some police departments began collecting data on IM violence in the late 1980s, scholars have relied upon police data to describe this type of crime (Garofalo & Martin, 1993; Levin & McDevitt, 1993; Maxwell & Maxwell, 1995). Past studies have largely been based on official police data collected by specialized law enforcement units at the local level and national statistics provided by the Federal Bureau of Investigation at the federal level (Strom, 2001). In addition, a very small number of victim surveys and general population surveys for particular types of IM violence have been conducted (Berril, 1992; Comstock, 1991).

Some scholars have examined police-reported IM violence from large cities in the United States, such as New York City and Baltimore (Garofalo & Martin, 1993; Martin, 1996; Maxwell & Maxwell, 1995). These studies examined the nature of IM violence and comparatively analyzed subtypes of this form of crime by disaggregating by types of motivation. Past research has found that IM offenders tend to be more likely to be males than traditional crime offenders (Martin, 1996; Messner, McHugh, & Felson, 2004). In

addition, IM violence tends to be more likely to be committed by young perpetrators than traditional crimes. Maxwell and Maxwell (1995), for instance, found that the proportion of juveniles arrested for this form of crime was higher than juvenile arrests for offenses generally, and a large proportion of IM violence was committed by those under 21 years of age (71 percent). Ideologically-motivated violence also tended to be more likely to be carried out by multiple perpetrators against multiple victims (Martin, 1996).

Rather than using official police data, other descriptive studies have relied on surveys to examine particular types of IM violence, such as anti-GLBT violence. For example, Comstock (1991) examined survey data that he and others collected from victims of anti-GLBT crimes, which measured anti-sexual orientation violence experienced by gay men and lesbians perpetrated by non-lesbian and non-gay men (p. 34). Comstock (1991) also examined newspaper and magazine articles for information on IM victims and offenders. In his study, a number of IM offense and offender characteristics were considered, including crime participant demographics and incident characteristics. Confirming past research of IM crime based on police data, Comstock (1991:91) found that anti-GLBT perpetrators were more likely to be male and under 20 than common offenders. He also found that such crimes tended to be carried out by multiple perpetrators against multiple victims, and that weapons were slightly less likely to be used in anti-GLBT violence. The most frequent location for violence was found to be outside "gay bars." This varied, however, by gender as men were more likely to be victimized in "cruising areas," while women were more likely to be victimized in residences.

Berrill (1992) also examined a number of studies based on surveys of anti-gay and lesbian victims, providing an overview of anti-gay violence in the United States. Survey studies of gay men and lesbian victims showed overwhelmingly that this population was disproportionately victimized by a variety of IM offenses. Berrill's (1992) review also revealed there to be elevated victimization and an elevated level of fear of victimization among the GLBT population in the United States.

More recently, Herek (2007) collected information from a United States probability sample of gay, lesbian, and bisexual adults (N=662) using Internet surveys. He examined various types of crimes against the GLBT population, finding strong evidence of disproportionate victimization based on sexual orientation since age eighteen. Herek (2007) found that the majority of anti-GLBT crimes were violent, but also concluded that this finding varied by gender, as gay men were more likely to experience violent and property victimization when compared to lesbians and bisexuals. In addition, Herek (2007) found that gay men were more likely to be victims of stranger violence compared to lesbians and bisexual men and women, primarily of bigoted heterosexual male offenders.

Finally, one study anonymously surveyed nearly 500 non-criminal young adults (i.e. community college students) to examine the prevalence rates of, and motivations for, anti-gay harassment and violence (Franklin, 2000). This study found that 1 in 10 had committed an anti-gay act of physical violence or threat of violence, while another 24 percent had participated in anti-gay name calling.

These descriptive studies serve as the most comprehensive evaluation of the extent and nature of IM crime in the United States. Unfortunately, there remain a number

of methodological and substantive issues hindering the advancement of knowledge about this type of crime (Berk, Boyd & Hamner, 1994; Gruenewald et al., 2009; Silke, 2001). Two interrelated challenges to current research on IM violence will be discussed below. First, the state of the data on which past studies were based is problematic. Problems include the lack of systematic data on IM violence and the biased and limited nature of data that are available. Second, issues remain in defining and conceptualizing types and subtypes of IM violence, including far-right perpetrated homicides.

Methodological Issues

The first methodological issue plaguing past research centers around the issue of a general lack of data on all forms of IM violence, including far-right perpetrated homicides. As noted, no study has evaluated the state of the data on all forms of IM violence. Although research is still limited, some have analyzed the state of research on one particular type of IM crime, such as politically-motivated terrorism (Schmid & Jongmann, 1988; Silke, 2001). Though largely surveying research on international terrorism, their findings also apply to research on domestic forms of terrorism. In particular, scholars found that, partially due to the practical problems of collecting data on terrorists, most scholars studying this topic do not generate their own data (Schmid & Jongman, 1988; Silke, 2001). Instead, scholars most often rely on data collected by others (Schmid & Jongmann, 1988). Silke (2001), updating Schmid and Jongman's (1988) study on the state of political terrorism research, found that the situation had not improved, as there remained a lack of terrorism data being generated by scholars.

These issues also apply to research on forms of politically-motivated violence in the United States. To date, original data on forms of domestic terrorism, such as far-right

extremist violence in the United States, is very limited. In a review of far-right extremist literature, scholars found that almost 40 percent of studies relied upon either no external source of information (e.g. editorial style article or opinion piece) or a single source of information (Gruenewald, et al., 2009). Moreover, over 40 percent of studies relied on either academic studies or media sources as primary sources of information on far-right extremism.

In contrast to research on politically-motivated ideological violence, substantial increases in the amount and quality of data on violence motivated by hatred of social minority groups have been made since the 1990 passage of the Hate Crime Statistics Act (Nolan, Akiyama, & Berhanu, 2002; Strom, 2001). Both the UCR-Hate Crime Statistics and the NIBRS data provide national data on IM crimes. Despite apparent progress, there are a number of problems with these datasets, including non-reporting and under-reporting by some states (McDevitt, Balboni, Bennett, et al, 2000). For example, estimates of specific types of IM violence by advocacy agencies have been higher than those provided by official crime databases (see Jacobs & Henry, 1996). Moreover, the data that are available provide a limited number of variables on each crime, offering little insight into the many unknowns about the nature of IM crimes. In addition to a general lack of data on IM violence, another primary issue highlighted in past research includes reporting and recording practices of IM violence.

Police Reporting

Past studies have revealed that the methods used by police to report and categorize IM violence is influenced largely by police organizational considerations (Boyd, Berk, & Hamner, 1996; Haider-Markel, 2002). Police agencies vary in the extent

to which they devote special attention and resources to investigating this form of crime (McDevitt et al., 2000). Some police agencies like that in New York City had organized specialized bias crime units in existence for decades, while other agencies have a single or no officer to specifically address IM violence. Police agencies, also, vary to the extent to which they adopt definitions of IM violence and crime policies (Grattet & Jenness, 2001), depending on a numbers of factors, including local sociopolitical contexts in which police operate (Hamm, 1998). While some police organizations have no way to report this form of crime, or have ambiguous policies on the issue (Berk et al., 1994), other agencies have a concrete system for reporting IM violence. These variations in agency definitions of IM crime and differences in policies affect the content of official data on IM violence, thus affecting what we know about these forms of crime.

In addition to police agency influences on IM crime reporting, police reporting of this form of crime is also shaped by individual officer perceptions of rules, on the spot decision-making, and challenges to accurately assess offender motives (Haider-Markel, 2002). Boyd et al. (1996), for example, found that some patrol officers, resenting the increased paperwork required when violence was recorded, had an ideological-motivation, as this extra work took emphasis away from more "serious" police work. Furthermore, they argued that some police officers viewed most IM violence as relatively unimportant and the result of simple "human nature" (p.827).

Biases also occur because of the challenges of sorting out complex motives from IM violence and the differing ideas of officers on what constitutes such a crime (Boyd et al., 1996). For instance, some officers rely on a "but for" criterion in that but for the ideological motivation the crime would not have occurred, while other officers focus on

the proximate motivation in that the ideological motivation must be the most proximate cause (Berk et al., 1994:131). Martin (1996), who examined police reports of IM violence in Baltimore County and New York City, argued that police officers faced a number of problems in reporting IM violence, including distinguishing between partial and sole ideological motives. Indeed, police were often responsible for assessing conflicting reports, as well as identifying intended targets of the violence, separating multiple statuses, and determining whether there was provocation from the victim (Martin, 1996). In short, police officers continue to face a number of challenges in regards to investigating IM violence that can often go beyond the usual investigative duties.

Some types of IM violence may also be underreported because victims are less likely to report victimization to police. For instance, Perry (2003) suggested that UCR-Hate Crime Statistics underreport some crimes because gay and lesbian victims may not want to report victimization and consequently "out" themselves. Similarly, the homeless and immigrants in the United States illegally may not want to report victimization in order to avoid police attention (Perry, 2003). It is also likely that law enforcement underreport such crimes (Berk et al., 1994:133).

Survey Data

In addition to the reporting and recording of IM violence in official data, there remain a number of methodological issues concerning the use of survey data on victims and offenders of IM violence. When discussing the weaknesses of survey designs, it is useful to think in terms of how well those individuals surveyed represent the target population of interest (Babbie, 1990; Dillman, 1978), and identify who may be systematically excluded from the survey sample. One weakness of surveys is that they are

difficult to administer to certain populations (Babbie, 1990). Therefore, systematic biases occur during sampling because it is difficult or impossible to locate a completely representative sample of individuals to systematically survey. For instance, surveying victims of IM homicide is impossible, while systematically surveying IM offender populations would likely prove difficult as many are in highly secured prisons or deceased.

Many of the survey studies reviewed above sampled members of the GLBT community based on member lists of GLBT organizations. Therefore, persons identifying as GLBT who did not belong to such groups, and who potentially differed from those included in the sample, essentially selected themselves out of the study. The same notion is true of Internet surveys, as those GLBT community members who do not regularly accessing the Internet or particular websites would not be sampled.

Despite these data limitations, the empirical research on IM violence reveals that this type of crime is a heterogeneous phenomenon. Unfortunately, most past research has been largely unable to comparatively analyze IM violence subtypes due to definitional issues, including if to adopt standard definitions of IM crime, varying inclusion criteria, and distinguishing between perpetrator motivations (Berk et al., 1994; Boyd et al., 1996; Jenness & Broad, 1997; McDevitt et al., 2000; Nolan et al., 2002). Therefore, in addition to methodological issues, challenges in conceptualizing type of IM violence like far-right perpetrated homicides have inhibited our understanding of this form of violence.

Conceptualizing IM Violence

Another challenge confronting the study of far-right extremist perpetrated homicide and IM violence in general has been the multitude of competing definitions of

IM violence. Scholars studying IM violence that is motivated by extremist political beliefs acknowledge that there exists no single agreed upon definition of terrorism (see Hamm, 1998; Silke, 1996; Weinberg, Pedahzur, & Hirsch-Hoefler, 2004). In an oft-cited study of theoretical and methodological issues of terrorism research, Schmid and Jongmann (1988) surveyed scholars working in the field and found 109 existing definitions and twenty-two unique elements characterizing such definitions. Based on these findings, Schmid and Jongman (1988) incorporated sixteen definitional elements into a comprehensive definition of terrorism. As a result, they defined terrorism as:

> "...an anxiety-inspiring method of repeated violent action, employed by (semi) clandestine individual, group, or state actors, for idiosyncratic, criminal, or political reasons, whereby—in contrast to assassination—the direct targets of violence are not the main targets. The immediate human victims of violence are generally chosen randomly (targets of opportunity) or selectively (representative or symbolic targets) from a target population, and serve as message generators. Threat-and violence-based communication processes between terrorist (organization), (imperiled) victims, and main targets are used to manipulate the main target (audience(s)), turning it into a target of terror, a target of demands, or a target of attention, depending on whether intimidation, coercion, or propaganda is primarily sought" (p.28).

Scholars studying IM violence against social minority groups have also faced the challenge of having multiple definitions of this type of violence, and many have strove to establish a general definition of this type of violence that can be universally applied. The first widely acknowledged definition of violence targeting social minority groups in the United States stems from the passage of the Hate Crimes Statistics Act of 1990, which mandated the Attorney General to collect data on crimes motivated by race, religion, sexual orientation or ethnicity (Hamm, 1998; Perry, 2003). The FBI, who has taken charge of collecting national statistics on bias crimes, has defined this form of violence as "...a criminal offense committed against a person, property, or society that is motivated,

in whole or in part, by the offender's bias against a race, religion, disability, sexual orientation, or ethnicity/national origin" (FBI, 2004). As is the case for political terrorism in the United States, the FBI has provided an official definition of bias crimes that is accepted by a number of criminologists studying this form of IM violence. This standardized definition of violence targeting social minority groups has in many ways facilitated the empirical study and building of knowledge on this form of violence in the United States since 1990, as a number of authoritative studies on this topic have relied on data from the FBI's UCR-Hate Crime Statistics collected since the passage of the 1990 HCSA.

IM Violence as Heterogeneous

Rather than striving for universal definitions of IM violence, others have emphasized the difficulties of fitting the heterogeneous category of IM violence under a single definition like those provided by the FBI or local police agencies. One issue has been which target groups to include as victims. For example, there has been substantial debate on the inclusion of anti-sexual orientation crimes as a form of IM crime (Jenness, 2003). Others have, also, discussed the controversial issue of the inclusion of crimes against women, such as rape, as an IM crime (Wolfe & Copeland, 1994). Moreover, it is clear, the types of crimes considered to be ideologically-motivated depends on the definitions and working policies of local police departments and other agencies in charge of documenting this form of IM violence (Hamm, 1998; Jenness & Grattet, 2005).

Another definitional issue that is faced by scholars studying IB violence is identifying such crimes as identity-based through evidence of the perpetrators' motivations. One of the most discussed definitional issues is the critical distinction

between what Berk et al. (1994) have referred to as "symbolic" and "actuarial" bias crimes. Actuarial bias-motivated crimes are crimes that are motivated not solely by bias or hatred toward social minority groups, but, also, other often instrumental motives (e.g. robbery). Symbolic bias-motivated crimes, in contrast, are those that are motivated solely by a perpetrator's ideology rooted in structural inequality and hatred of social minority groups. Symbolic IM crimes are expressive with potentially unique patterns and causes that are unique from actuarial crimes. The distinction between symbolic and actuarial forms of IM crimes targeting social minorities, and the tendency to gloss over these differences, has fueled critics of bias crime legislation (see Jacobs & Henry, 1996; Lawrence, 1999). In particular, Berk et al. (1994) and other critics suggest that only symbolic IM crimes should be considered as "bias-motivated," and not distinguishing these purest forms of IM crime targeting social minorities from actuarial/instrumental IM crimes may result in the overestimation of the extent of this serious phenomenon.

In addition to various conceptual obstacles facing research on IM crimes against social minorities, some scholars studying politically-motivated terrorism do not push for "Holy Grail" definitions but, instead, recognize that there are multiple lenses through which terrorism scholars can conceptualize terrorism. Schmid (2004), for instance, suggests that terrorist motives can be mixed, both criminal and political, making it difficult to distinguish between terroristic and non-IM criminal acts (see also LaFree & Dugan, 2004). Furthermore, other scholars have argued that to understand politically-motivated ideological violence it is necessary to identify and study separately its many forms. As an example, in one of the most authoritative studies on American terrorism, Smith (1994) recognizes multiple subtypes of terrorism in the United States. In particular,

Smith (1994) following the FBI, disaggregated first by international and domestic terrorists that were operating on United States soil. Within the category of domestic terrorism, he recognized three types of terrorism: left-wing, right-wing, and single-issue terrorism. Furthermore, under right-wing terrorism, the author listed a number of different types of groups that vary in a number of important ways such as ideology, criminal activities, and other group dynamics.

Far-Right Extremist Homicide Events

What is evident from Smith (1994) and others is that relying only on standard or general definitions of IM violence ignores important similarities and differences among its different types. Moreover, potentially unique offending patterns and situational contexts of particular IM violence subtypes are ignored. One issue in past research on IM violence critical to the current research has been the failure of past scholars to conceptually distinguish far-right perpetrated violence from other forms of IM violence. Nonetheless, while there has been no empirical study of the many subtypes of far-right violence, some scholars have begun to typify, conceptually, various categories of far-right violent events. Indeed, Heitmeyer (2003) has identified six types of violent events that are committed by far-right perpetrators. Typification schemes such as these are important because they serve as initial attempts to categorize far-right extremist homicide events based on the current state of far-right extremist literature. Heitmeyer's (2003) typification scheme is outlined below in detail. Unfortunately, Heitmeyer's categorization of far-right violent events is limited for a number of reasons, as will also be discussed below.

The first type of violent event perpetrated by far-right extremists that Heitmeyer (2003) identified was opportunity-dependent violence often committed by members of loosely organized youth gangs or groups. This type of far-right violent event was described by Heitmeyer (2003) as non-strategic, unfocused, and situation-dependent. Those perpetrating this type of violence are usually young and not official members of organized far-right extremist organizations, but still maintain or are sympathetic to far-right extremist beliefs. Targets of this type of violent event are apparent members of social group minorities or those who are different in some way. This opportunity-dependent violence mirrors what is often referred to as hate or "bias" crime (Levin & McDevitt, 1993; Perry, 2001). One common motivation of far-right offenders perpetrating this type of violence is what Levin and McDevitt (1993) have referred to as "thrill-seeking." One common scenario of this type of violence involves groups of young males who socialize or "hang out" together, possibly drinking or using drugs, deciding to target members of social minority groups for a thrill. Most often, this type of violent crime event occurs in public, such as in a street or public park.

The second type of far-right violence is subcultural violence. Like opportunity-dependent violent events, subcultural violence is perpetrated by members of youth gangs or groups. However, this type of violent event occurs within the context of a youth culture (Hamm, 1993). In the United States, the most applicable far-right extremists that commit subcultural violence are skinheads. Skinhead subculture consists of core working class values, as well as racist, religious, and gendered beliefs about members of social minority groups. Skinhead culture is stylistically reflected in their appearance (i.e. tattoos, shaved head), dress (i.e. Dr. Martens boots), music preferences, and often a

willingness to engage in violence to defend the skinhead subcultural beliefs (Blazak, 2001; Hamm, 1993).

Often these violent acts go beyond the situation-dependent violence and extend to purposeful and pre-mediated attacks on social minority groups or members of other far-right groups, such as anti-racist skinheads (Hamm, 1993). These attacks are seen as a way to further the skinhead cause, as well as serve to reify the subcultural values and beliefs of skinhead groups.

The third type of IM violence perpetrated by far-right extremists is religious-oriented violence (Heitmeyer, 2003). Far-right anti-religious violent events can vary widely in their nature. Some events are motivated by the beliefs of extreme Christian fundamentalism (Aho, 1990), and possibly focus attention targeting those associated with abortion in the United States (Nice, 1988). Other religious-oriented violent events target members of sexual minority groups. To illustrate, one anti-sexual orientation scenario involves the victimization of gays and lesbians as they enter or leave establishments catering to the GLBT community (i.e. "gay bars").

The alternative beliefs of the Christian Identity religion have fueled a number of past religious-oriented violent events targeting abortion doctors, frequenters of gay establishments, and other symbolic targets (see also Barkun, 1997). Eric Rudolph, who was responsible for the 1996 Olympic bombing and a number of religious-oriented pipe bombings in the late 1990s, is a high-profile example of a religious-oriented extremist.

The fourth type of violent events is those perpetrated by the Ku Klux Klan. Heitmeyer (2003) grants violent events perpetrated by the Ku Klux Klan a distinct category as they have a long history of far-right extremism and remain the poster-child

for bigoted violence in the United States (Maguire, 1995). Most often targeted by KKK members are Jewish and African Americans. While the majority of KKK activities do not involve physical violence but, instead, symbolic intimidation tactics (e.g. cross-burning), many members associated or claiming to be affiliated with the KKK have been responsible for murder and other violent occurrences.

The fifth type of violence is perpetrated by individuals with a background in the far-right whose primary target is the government. Although this type of event often challenges government authority, the perpetrators often have no ambition for attaining political power (Heitmeyer, 2003). A number of types of far-right groups commit acts against the government. Perpetrators of this form of violent events are often paramilitary militias (Heitmeyer, 2003), though most militias in the United States do not actively engage in violence against the government or members of social minority groups (Chermak, 2002). However, some groups that espouse Christian Identity beliefs and maintain a paramilitary structure have turned violent in the past. For example, a paramilitary group known as The Order went on a violent crime rampage in the mid-1980s, including killing a left-wing talk show host and committing robberies to fund an effort to overthrow the government (Kaplan, 1995).

Finally, the sixth type of far-right violence is perpetrated by right wing "pogroms" (Heitmeyer, 2003). Far-right violent events committed by these offenders are not necessarily committed by far-right extremists attached to groups, but by individuals or small group factions who have become violent. The events are motivated by individuals who harbor deep resentment for social minority groups and the government. Heitmeyer (2003) suggests that this form of violence is eruptive and can result in serious harm to

victims. Examples of this form are killings and bombings that result in mass casualties at the hands of far-right extremists, such as the 1995 Oklahoma City bombing (Gruenewald, 2004; Michel and Herbeck, 2001).

Although Heitmeyer's (2003) typification scheme can serve as a starting point in the categorization of far-right violent events, substantial issues remain. In particular, the categories are not rooted firmly in empirical research. That is, while Heitmeyer (2003) provides overall numbers on IM crime in the United States and across the world, the extent and nature of the multiple subtypes of far-right extremist violence are ignored. In fact, there exists very little empirical research on far-right violence to base the naming of unique types of violence (Gruenewald et al., 2009). Also, Heitmeyer's typification scheme glosses over potentially important subtypes of violence perpetrated by far-right extremists, such as non-IM violence fueled by traditional motivations, as well as other types of violence fueled by both ideological and traditional motivations. How these subtypes of far-right violence compare is virtually unknown. Finally, it is possible that categories of violence may vary by the particular type of violence committed by far-right extremists. If, for instance, homicide and less serious types of assaults follow the same plotlines and maintain the same motive structures remains an unanswered empirical question. In sum, in addition to methodological obstacles, prior descriptive research on far-right perpetrated homicide and IM violence in general has been stunted by disagreements and ambiguities in conceptualizing this form of crime.

Heitmeyer's (2003) typology of far-right violence events is an important contribution to the study of far-right extremist violence. Nonetheless, there are likely to be types of violent events perpetrated by far-right extremists that do not fit nicely within

these categories, as well as types of violence that have yet to be categorized. Before discussing how the current study overcomes these obstacles in Chapter 3, it is necessary to review a small literature that has proposed a number of specific theories of offender motivations. The theoretical challenges facing this literature are also addressed in the next chapter.

Offender-Based Studies

In addition to descriptive studies, other studies have focused primarily on explaining offender motivations for committing IM crimes. This research has assumed that key antecedent variables are able to best explain (or predict) why offenders commit IM violence. The associations between offender attributes and criminological behavior have often been modeled as simple linear cause and effect relationships. To date, there have been few studies explaining why offenders commit IM crime, and even less have addressed those specifically committed by far-right offenders. Therefore, what follows is a review of past studies that have primarily focused on providing explanations for IM offending. Following a brief review of past offender-based studies, the failure of this research to consider how social contextual factors shape the nature of IM offending is discussed.

Relative Deprivation

One of the most important offender-based studies on IM offending is by Levin and McDevitt (1993), who examined IB offending in Boston. They analyzed case files from the Community Disorders Unit of the Boston Police department for offenses with a known offender between 1991 and 1992. All officers in this particular police unit were trained to identify IB crimes. Based on Boston police reports, Levin and McDevitt (1993)

created a three-pronged typology based on their apparent motivations. The first type of IB offender was the "thrill offender." This type of offender acted because he or she was bored and seeking some sort of high or increased level of excitement. The second type of offender was the "turf defender" who viewed themselves as defending their neighborhood, property, and way of life from outsiders or "others." Finally, the third type of offender was the "mission offender." Mission offenders were motivated to commit IB violence to rid the world of impurities, including racial, religious, and sexual orientation minorities. Levin and McDevitt (1993) found that mission offenders tended to be associated with the far-right extremist movement and adherence to far-right extremist beliefs.

Almost a decade later, the authors reexamined 169 of the case files used in their prior study to update their typology of IM offenders (McDevitt, Levin, & Bennett, 2002). In their more recent study, McDevitt et al. (2002) included retaliation as a category of offender motivation. Retaliatory offenders were motivated by real or perceived attacks against offender's social group identity. However, of all the offender motivation categories, they still found that the most common offender type was the thrill-seeker.

One theme that ran throughout Levin and McDevitt's work is the importance of relative deprivation as an underlying mechanism for IB offenders. As struggling, working class young adults find themselves facing joblessness and an inability to achieve the "American Dream," while simultaneously perceiving certain social minorities succeeding and receiving "undeserved" advantages, some feel personally threatened and resentful. They suggested that either in the context of the workplace or neighborhood, social minority groups are sometimes used as scapegoats for personal and societal economic

woes and general feelings of powerlessness and despair. According to Levin and McDevitt (1993) relative deprivation also remains an underlying factor for many of those offenders more immediately motivated by thrill seeking, defending turfs, racial purification missions, and retaliation.

Unfortunately, Levin and McDevitt (1993) were only able to examine IB crimes in one U.S. city. Thus, it is possible that their typification scheme for IM offenders may not apply to other cities or regions of the country. Moreover, Levin and McDevitt (1993) were not able to examine the many subtypes of far-right homicide offenses, a central aim of the current research. While this study did recognize that "mission offenders" tended to be far-right extremists, little is known about the complex nature of far-right extremist homicide events.

Low Self-Control

In another study, Messner et al. (2004) applied Gottfredson and Hirschi's (1990) self-control theory to test whether IB offenders were more likely to have increased self-control compared to traditional offenders. They examined anti-racial assaults data from the National Incident-Based Reporting System to test competing models for explaining IB offending. One model referred to as the "specialist model" maintained that offenders were calculating, future-oriented and tended to specialize in particular forms of crimes. Specialist offenders were driven primarily by their religious, social, and political ideologies in their crime commission. In support of this model they drew on group conflict theory to explain how IB crimes served as an expression of group conflict that could send messages to competing social minority groups (Blalock, 1967). Empirical support of the specialist model has come from other studies that have found, for instance,

that skinhead offenders arrested for IM crimes have generally not committed other non-IM types of prior crimes (Blazak, 2001; Hamm, 1993).

The competing "versatility model" was based primarily on Gottfredson and Hirschi's (1990) self-control theory that maintains that offenders tend to not specialize in particular forms of crime, but remain versatile in their offending behaviors. That is, while offenders may maintain some form of prejudice against particular social minority groups, they are not primarily motivated to commit crime by their ideological convictions. Instead, offenders tend to be driven by other, more routine criminal motivations. This model maintains that IM offenders remain as opportunistic as other offenders, but add that they may be more likely to choose social minorities as worthy targets. Moreover, bigoted convictions may in some instances serve as a facilitating or disinhibiting factor.

To test these models, Messner et al. (2004) argued that if IB offenders used alcohol and drugs as much as routine offenders, then a versatility model would be supported. Interestingly, Messner et al. (2004) concluded that because anti-racial assault offenders were actually more likely to use drugs and alcohol rather than less, their study's findings supported the versatility model as opposed to a specialist model of IB offending. Interestingly, they also found that IB offenders were more likely to injure their victims of racial assault compared to traditional offenses (assaults). This finding supports past descriptive research, discussed above, that has found that some types of IB violence tend to be especially serious (Comstock, 1991). Unfortunately, Messner et al. (2004) only examined racial assaults, thus comparisons with other types of IB violence were not possible. In addition, due to issues with the data used in their study, only racial assaults in

eleven states were considered, thus limiting opportunities for making generalized conclusions.

Modified Social Control Theory

In an innovative study of skinhead violent offending, Hamm (1993) developed an integrated theoretical approach to explain the process of how ordinary young working-class males evolved into domestic terrorists. Hamm (1993) combined functionalist, differential reinforcement, and neo-Marxist cultural theoretical orientations to ultimately explain the domestic terrorist activities of American skinheads.

Using native and prison field work techniques for contacting skinheads, Hamm (1993) conducted a nationwide survey on terrorist activities by skinhead group members. Based on these observations, Hamm (1993, 1994) observed that members of skinhead groups were part of a working class culture. That is, skinheads did not avoid hard work, but instead valued blue-collared work. Hamm (1993, 1994) theorized that in the course of socialization, individuals developed the idea that they were victims of injustice through various forms of media, such as White Power rock music, books, and movies, and were forced to form reified beliefs about how minority groups have caused this victimization. These distorted beliefs formed the social reality of far-right domestic terrorist subcultures, as members also began to adopt a particular skinhead style of dress and behavior. Therefore, Hamm (1993) suggested that skinhead responses to social minority groups were shaped by perceived victimization and the subcultural processes they adopted and experienced as a way to deal with such victimization. In some instances, skinheads were triggered to commit violent acts against social minorities by heavy consumption of beer drinking during times of male bonding (aka "berserking"). Hamm

(1993, 1998) referred to these acts of violence as acts of domestic terrorism, as they were messages of morality intended to reach wider audiences.

Hamm's (1993) ethnographical study of skinheads is one of the only in-depth analyses of IB offending that attempts to provide a detailed and nuanced theoretical explanation of skinhead violence. However, as also indicated by Perry (2001), Hamm's (1993) conclusions about skinhead violence are difficult to generalize, especially considering the multitude of individuals who may identify as a particular variation of a skinhead (e.g. neo-Nazis, racist, non-racist skinheads). Furthermore, little remains known about other types of violence perpetrated by other types of far-right extremists (e.g. militia members, lone-wolf offenders).

Neutralization Theory

Byers, Crider, and Biggers (1999) applied neutralization theory to explain why offenders committed crimes against a particular religious group, specifically the Amish. They relied on a small number of confidential, face-to-face interviews to examine IB violence targeting Amish in one Indiana County. The focus of this study was on whether or not offenders participating in a form of IB violence known as "claping," (i.e. throwing objects at Amish buggies or other property for purposes of harassment and intimidation) relied on neutralization techniques to rationalize their behaviors.

They hypothesized that offenders relied upon neutralizations, or linguistic accounts of justification to rationalize their violent behavior. Neutralization theory stems from Sutherland's (1947) theory of differential association, as neutralization or rationalization was described as one learned behavior favorable to the commission of crime. Neutralization theory was first proposed by Sykes and Matza (1957) as an

explanation for how offenders rationalized their deviant behaviors. Assuming that criminal offenders share the same societal values as noncriminals, neutralization theory suggests that offenders rely on neutralization techniques in order to temporarily distance themselves from such values in order to commit crime. Supporting Levin and McDevitt (1993), Byers et al. (1999) found that thrill-seeking was a common explanation for participating in crimes against the Amish. Supporting neutralization theory, IB offenders tended to rely on various techniques to rationalize their violent crimes against the Amish. As further discussed below, however, the authors failed to consider situations in which certain contextual factors shaped potential offenders' decisions not to commit IB violence against the Amish. In effect, a somewhat simplistic explanation for anti-Amish violence is offered for a potentially complex phenomenon.

Defended Neighborhoods Theory

In another study, Green, Strolovitch, & Wong (1998) proposed a "defended neighborhood" explanation for anti-racial offending at the aggregate level. To do so, they examined correlates of anti-racial crime at the neighborhood level in New York City between 1987 and 1995. A number of related theoretical models were presented to explain aggregate rates of racial offending. One model they proposed was referred to as the "defending neighborhood" theory, which predicted that neighborhoods having a long history of a predominantly white population and experiencing an influx of a particular racial/ethnic minority group were more likely to experience anti-racial IB crime. The reason for the increase in IB crime is that under certain circumstances some Whites living in these rapidly changing neighborhoods feel as if it is necessary and appropriate to "defend their turf" from being taken over by racial minority groups.

In their study, Green et al. (1998) found support for the defended neighborhood theory as anti-racial crimes were most common in mostly White geographic areas that had experienced major demographic change in the form of in-migration of racial minorities. For example, anti-racial crimes in New York City neighborhoods that had longstanding racial minority populations had less anti-racial crime. Surprisingly, they found that socioeconomic indicators have little influence on this particular form of IB violence at the aggregate level. However, as further discussed below, Green et al. (1998) failed to consider how social contextual factors like economic conditions may have facilitated IB offending. Included in the next section are the issues of contextual factors and offender motivations (and decision-making) interacting to shape IB offending and the absence of these issues in offender offender-based studies.

Critique of Offender-Based Theories

Due to the lack of empirical research on far-right perpetrated homicide and IM violence in general, any attempt at theoretical explanation of IM offending may be considered a contribution to the literature at this point in time. All works discussed thus far have applied established theories or combinations of theoretical approaches and skillfully applied them to some type of IM violence. However, it may also be useful for this research to establish some guidelines or criteria to gauge productive theoretical development.

Importantly, scholars' criteria used for evaluating theoretical contributions are likely to vary depending on the intended goals of the theory. For instance, the goal of the broad social learning perspective is to provide a general theory of crime to explain why offenders commit deviant acts. Akers and Jensen (2006) suggested that the criteria for

good theory include logical consistency, scope of theory, usefulness, and strength of empirical support. On the other hand, another volume devoted to the goal of developing theories of violence suggests that parsimony, originality, generalizability, level of empirical support (or testability), and validity were the capstone criteria for good theory (Jackson, Zahn, & Brownstein, 2004). What if, though, the goal of a particular research project is not only to explain offender behavior but, also, to provide a more in-depth understanding of a particular type of crime situation? Indeed, the current study intends to advance theoretical explanations to understanding the complex and multi-dimensional nature of far-right violence. Therefore, criteria for good theory need to reflect this purpose.

A criterion for good theory is the consideration of the context in which criminal behavior occur (Morash, 2006). However, many of the offender-based theories applied to IM violence reviewed above have ignored the contexts in which IM offending occurs. Violence always occurs within particular contexts, including macrosocial or historical contexts, intermediate or organizational contexts, and microsocial or situational settings (Morash, 2006; see also Short, 1997). Identifying the contextual factors can reveal how characteristics of crime situations facilitate, hinder, or in some way shape criminal outcomes.

In addition to ignoring situational contexts, past studies advocating for particular theories of IM offender motivations have most often deemphasized or ignored offender agency, or the ability of criminal actor to act in a self-directed way (Morash, 2006). Theories of violence that assume that people do not have agency can be considered deterministic and tend to present an over-socialized conception of individuals. Theories

that consider the role of human agency reject overly deterministic explanations of why crimes do or do not occur while also considering the various constraining factors that operate to limit and shape the decisions and behaviors of crime participants.

Past studies attempting to explain IM offender motivations have largely failed to consider the context of offending and the ability of participants to act in a self-directed way in particular situations. For instance, Green et al.'s (1998) aggregate analysis of the effect of economic conditions on IB offending ignored how varying economic conditions affect individuals' decisions to commit IB offenses in particular situations. Their study did little to advance an understanding of the different situations where socioeconomic factors facilitate and hinder IM offending. Similarly, Byers et al. (1999) focused exclusively on applying neutralization theory as an explanation for IB offending against the Amish, and failed to discuss how certain situational contextual factors could cause the young offenders to decide not to commit such violence. Considering offender motivations in combinations with these other factors would lead to more holistic understandings of the entirety of IM violent events.

Conclusion

This chapter reviewed the limited body of past research on IM offending. While this research focuses on homicides perpetrated by individuals and groups associated with the far-right extremist movement, there is currently no empirical research on this serious form of violence. Therefore, the majority of past research was on IM offending in general, as far-right extremist homicide offending is one subtype of IM offending. First, descriptive studies of IM violence were reviewed. While data on IM crime is increasing, it is clear that empirical research has been inhibited by difficulties in conceptualizing IM

violence and an inability to distinguish far-right perpetrated violence from other types of IM violence. Second, some scholars have attempted to explain offender motivations for IM offending. This chapter revealed the limitations of offender-based theories that neglect issues of crime contexts, crime participant agency, and the multi-dimensionality of crime situations and participant statuses. The next chapter introduces the research approach for the current study. In particular, the criminal event perspective is proposed as a broad theoretical and methodological approach to studying far-right homicide events that overcomes many of the issues faced by past scholars.

CHAPTER 3: RESEARCH APPROACH

The current research focuses primarily on one type of IM violence, specifically homicide events committed by perpetrators associated with the far-right extremist movement in the United States between 1990 and 2008. A set of other IB homicide events not perpetrated by far-right extremists and a random sample of all homicide events (representing typical or "average" homicides) are also examined for comparative purposes. As previously stated, the general purpose of the current study is to facilitate an in-depth understanding of the complex and heterogeneous nature of far-right extremist homicide. Chapter 2 revealed that there remains a number of methodological, theoretical, and other substantive issues that have thus far hindered the study of this topic. In particular, offender-based theories have often ignored the situational contexts that shape and determine the outcomes of criminal events. In addition, offender-based theories have failed to consider interactions that occur between crime participants that also shape fatal outcomes. Therefore, in this chapter, a different research approach for studying the most serious form of far-right extremist violence is proposed. This chapter introduces a broad theoretical perspective that conceptualizes IM homicide as a multi-dimensional event and emphasizes the dynamic interchanges between criminal actors in particular situational contexts (Block, 1981; Sacco & Kennedy, 2002; Meier et al., 2001). First, situational theories of crime that conceptualize violence such as far-right homicide as multidimensional events are outlined. Second, how these situational theories make up a broader criminal event perspective (CEP) and are utilized in this study to advance knowledge and facilitate an in-depth understanding of far-right perpetrated and other IM

homicide events is discussed. Finally, general and specific research questions that guide the current research are presented.

Situational Perspectives

This study approaches the study of far-right extremist homicides from a situational crime perspective, or a theoretical perspective that emphasizes the multi-dimensional nature of crime events (Block, 1981). While criminologists have in the past studied homicides from a situational perspective, to date there has been no study of far-right extremist homicides or other form of IM homicide from a situational perspective (see also LaFree & Dugan, in press). Criminologists have historically acknowledged that crimes occur within situational contexts and many have considered crime situations worthy of scholarly research (Birkbeck & LaFree, 1993). In fact, the pioneering criminologist Edwin Sutherland (1947) suggested decades ago that situational explanations may be more important in explaining crime than offender-based theories. Moreover, in their advancement of the popular self-control theory of crime, Gottfredson and Hirschi (1990) suggested that while some offenders may be more or less predisposed to criminal behaviors, situational elements are pivotal for providing the opportunities to commit crime. However, to date, few criminologists have directly incorporated situational factors into their theoretical explanations of crime (Birkbeck & LaFree, 1993). For example, Sutherland's differential association theory and Gottfredson & Hirschi's (1990) self-control theory, despite both recognizing the value of situational factors, focus primarily on uni-dimensional theories to explain why offenders commit crime.

The situational crime perspective is not a specific theory of criminal behavior, but a broad framework, and a number of more specific theories of crime and criminality can

fit under this umbrella (Sacco & Kennedy, 2002). Thus far, there have been four types of situation-based theories or families of theories that conceptualize crimes as multi-dimensional situations or events (see Meier et al, 2001; Meithe & Regoeczi, 2004). First, rational choice theories have conceptualized crime situationally rather than as uni-dimensional offender acts, and have emphasized the rational decision-making abilities of criminal offenders in particular situations (Clark and Felson, 1993). Second, the social interactionist approach has focused primarily on the interactions between crime offenders and victims (Tedeschi and Felson, 1993). Third, symbolic interactionist theory has been relied upon by not only to explain how victim-offender interactions shape crime outcomes but, also, how crime actors' subjective interpretations of situational dynamics can allot meaning to crime event processes and outcomes (Birkbeck & LaFree, 1993; Goffman, 1967; Katz, 1988). Finally, there have been a limited number of attempts in past research to integrate routine activities, social interactionist, and symbolic interactionist theoretical perspectives to provide a more comprehensive explanation of crime events (Miethe & Meier, 1994). Each of these theories or combinations of theories alone provide only a limited explanation of criminal events. Each one of these situational crime perspectives and how they do and do not address the multiple dimensions of criminal events is briefly reviewed below.

Rational Choice

The rational choice perspective assumes that criminal actors make rational decisions to avoid or participate in crime based on the situations in which they find themselves in order to avoid negative costs and increase positive benefits for themselves (Clarke and Felson, 1993). Other theoretical developments operating at the individual

level, such as opportunity and life-style theories (Hindelang, Gottfredson, & Garofalo, 1978), extend rational choice theories and explain how situational factors increase and decrease the likelihood that crime events will occur by shaping how people spend their time, energy, and money (see Sacco & Kennedy, 2002:37). Other neighborhood-level theoretical explanations have focused on how physical settings and social contexts help to explain neighborhood crime rates (e.g. broken windows theory), and effective responses to crime hot-spots (Sherman, Gartin, & Buerger, 1989).

Routine activities theory is one of the most popular explanations of crime occurrences rooted in the rational choice perspective (Cohen & Felson, 1979). This theory maintains that the likelihood of crime occurring increases when one or more of three conditions is absent in a particular time and place: 1) presence of capable guardians 2) motivated offenders and 3) suitable targets. While this theory has become increasingly applied to a number of crime types, scholars advocating for a situational perspective have suggested that routine activities theory is limited in its ability to provide comprehensive explanations for a number of reasons. One of the most crucial limitations of this theory is that it tends to focus exclusively on the victim dimension of crime events, or the situational factors that make victimization more likely to occur, thus ignoring variations in offender motivations and opportunities (Birkbeck & LaFree, 1993). Related, routine activities and other rational choice theories have been criticized for their tendency to assume that offenders are constantly motivated (or passive) in regards to committing crime given the opportunity and right circumstances (Jensen & Brownfield, 1986).

Social Interactionism

Other scholars have focused less on the victim dimension of crime situations, and more on the interaction or interchanges that occur between victims and offenders. Transactions are the "...interactions between individuals that have led to the outcome of crime" (Sacco & Kennedy, 2002: 61). Social interaction theories combine offender-based theories that can help explain what actors bring into particular situations and routine activities theory that help explain how violent outcomes are linked to the routine activities of victims and offenders (Tedeschi & Felson, 1993). Social interaction theories build on rational choice and routine activities theories by considering not only the offender or victim dimensions of violent events in isolation but, also, the shaping of criminal outcomes by dynamic transactions between victims and offenders through the cost-benefit decision-making of criminal actors. Scholars advocating for more comprehensive situational explanations of crime events, however, have argued that social interactionist theories of violent events only consider the interaction between victims and offenders and neglect to consider the subjective interpretations or meanings attached by victims, offenders, and other actors to their experiences that, also, shape the outcomes of violent events (Birkbeck & LaFree, 1993).

Symbolic Interactionism

In addition to considering the social interactions of criminal actors, other theories are more adept at considering the meanings that actors attach to the interactional elements of crime situations and how these meanings shape crime outcomes. When offenders are motivated, victims are suitable, and the contextual factors are bent toward crime, criminal behavior is more likely to occur (Cohen & Felson, 1979). Furthermore, criminal actors

are more likely to decide to commit crime when it benefits them in some way (Clark and Felson, 1993). However, violent events such as homicide are ultimately social events, as they involve interactions between people. Therefore, offenders are not determined to commit violence even when situational elements facilitate such behavior.

To better explain how actors' interpretations of event circumstances shape their behavior, some scholars have advocated the theory of symbolic interactionism to theorize how offenders' subjective interpretations of situations shape the nature of crimes (Athens, 1980; Blumer, 1969; Lofland, 1969). Like other interactionist theories of crime, symbolic interactionism assumes criminal behavior occurs in situations by rational actors, but places more emphasis on the offenders as active interpreters of situational conditions and the important role these interpretations can play in shaping violent crime occurrences. In one study, Athens (1980) examined homicide events from a symbolic interactionist perspective and argued that past positivist perspectives on this topic failed to conceptualize actors as rational and active interpreters of their experiences. Athens interviewed fifty-eight prison inmates convicted of homicide to examine their interpretations of homicide events based on their memory. Based on these interviews, Athens developed a typology of homicide suspects and events.

Symbolic interactionism, however, is not without its problems. In particular, Birkbeck and LaFree (1993:113) have suggested that symbolic interaction theory provides no explanatory links between the important concepts of opportunities for crime, motivations for crime, and criminal outcomes. In addition, some of the most important examples of criminological applications of symbolic interactionism to crime occurrences have been labeled as anecdotal and non-generalizable (Katz, 1988), and providing only

descriptive and almost trivial explanations for criminal occurrences (Athens, 1980; see Birkbeck & LaFeee, 1993).

Integrated Approaches

A limited number of scholars have also attempted to combine elements of situation-based theories in order to provide more comprehensive explanations of crime events that overcome shortcomings of each separate approach. Miethe and Meier (1994), as an example, provided an integrated model that assumed that routine activity patterns and lifestyles often increased exposure of victims to motivated offenders and risky situations. Moreover, they argued that subjective values and interpretations of actors and the level of guardianship determine choice of particular crime targets (p.27). In this way, Miethe and Meier (1994) overcame many of the limitations of each individual situational theory by integrating key aspects of each.

Luckenbill and Doyle (1989) also advanced an integrated perspective by combining notions of culture (i.e. "culture of honor" or subculture theory), social structural position, situational settings (i.e. public versus private settings), and finally, symbolic interactionism, as violence was theorized to be more likely when the offender's "self" was attacked. They argued that there was variation in individuals' associations with the culture of violence and that occupants of varying structural positions differed in levels of "disputatiousness" and aggressiveness. Luckenbill and Doyle (1989) argued that these differences interacted and tended to be most pronounced when the self was attacked in a public setting.

Sacco and Kennedy (2002) have suggested that each of these different theoretical theories or combinations of theories remain useful for explaining and furthering

understanding of crime events. However, as indicated above, each theoretical strain is associated with specific shortcomings that in some ways inhibit them from providing a comprehensive account of the entire criminal event. Recently, scholars like Sacco and Kennedy (2002) have promoted a broad research approach referred to as the criminal event perspective (CEP). The CEP synthesizes and accommodates these and other theoretical perspectives in order to establish a framework for providing more holistic descriptions and explanations for complex criminal events occurring at particular times in particular places (see Meier et al., 2001). The current study relies on this perspective as a theoretical and methodological tool for examining far-right extremist homicide events.

Criminal Event Perspective (CEP) and Far-right Homicide

Drawing from situation-based theories, the criminal event perspective (CEP) serves as a broad theoretical approach that conceptualizes crime as multi-dimensional events (Block, 1981; Sacco & Kennedy, 2002). Criminal events are constituted by the dynamic interdependencies between criminal actors and the situational contexts in which they interact. It is assumed that criminal events occur in a particular time and place, and these geographic and temporal factors are assumed to be intricately connected to criminal events (Wilkinson & Fagan, 2001). The CEP also maintains that criminal events develop through stages and are constituted of precursor factors, dynamic interactions between victims, offenders, and other actors, as well as an event aftermath (Sacco & Kennedy, 2002). Precursors to criminal events, for example, consist of physical settings and other situational variables that shape criminal outcomes. Sacco and Kennedy (2002:309) have also suggested that "[a]s social events, crimes involve not only offenders but also other participants, including victims, the police, witnesses, and bystanders, all of whom act and

react within particular social and physical circumstances." In short, this perspective assumes that crimes cannot be separated from their social and physical settings (Brantingham & Brantingham, 1993; Miethe & Meier, 1994; Sacco & Kennedy, 2002), and both the social aspects of interactions and the symbolic meanings attached to situational elements are considered important factors that shape criminal outcomes.

The current research applies the CEP to the study of far-right extremist homicides to provide a more holistic understanding of the contextual factors and the processes involved in how far-right extremists target victims in particular situational contexts. In this way, the CEP directly addresses the criticisms of offender-based theories by assuming that there is more to crime than uni-dimensional offender behaviors (Sacco & Kennedy, 2002:309).

Every far-right extremist homicide is considered a unique situation or event. In every situation, far-right extremist offenders bring their predispositions which may enhance or inhibit the likelihood of engagement in criminal behavior. In this way, offender-based theories remain an important consideration within the CEP. Moreover, victim behaviors are shaped by routine activities and lifestyle choices that decrease or increase their chances of being victimized in various situations. The interactions between far-right perpetrators, victims, and others involved in the homicidal situation are shaped by a number of situational factors, such as physical and social settings, the presence of weapons, crime participants' alcohol and drug use during the event, and many other factors that facilitate or hinder criminal outcomes. Homicide event actors are not considered passive agents but, instead, remain active interpreters of the many situational elements in which they interact. The subjective interpretations of actors' demeanors and

behaviors affect the behaviors of other actors as all involved attempt to accomplish a number of goals (e.g. saving face, establishing masculinity, etc.) (Athens, 1980, Birkbeck & LaFree, 1993; Katz, 1988; Polk, 1994), which depend on the immediate needs of each actor (Tedeschi & Felson, 1993).

There are a number of advantages to examining far-right extremist homicide from the criminal event perspective. One major advantage is that the CEP considers far-right extremist homicide events to be essentially social constructions. A number of scholars have already examined the social construction of IM crimes by focusing on the relationships between historical social movements, social movement organizations, legislation, court rulings, and police decision-making (e.g. Grattet & Jenness, 2001; Jenness & Broad, 1997; Jenness & Grattet, 2005). This research has shown how the involvements of these institutions in the definitional processes have resulted in IB crimes being a "new" and evolving category of crime. Thus, while these homicides have very "real" consequences, how they are defined, reported, and studied is a product of the actions of number of claimsmakers who have an interest in how IM homicide is defined. Recognition of the socially constructed nature of IM homicide, and the various subtypes of IM homicide, suggests that scholars should not rely only on official data provided by police agencies or definitions promoted by any single government agency, advocacy group, or other claimsmaker. Instead, scholars should be free to seek out multiple sources of information on IM homicide events and define and categorize far-right perpetrated homicides and other forms of homicide in ways that promote more comprehensive understanding of this problem's actuality in response to more nuanced research questions.

Because the CEP does not necessarily rely on legal definitions of crimes, it is possible to disaggregate socially constructed crimes, such as far-right extremist homicide in order to comparatively analyze the different subtypes of this type of violence based on specific research questions important in advancing a comprehensive understanding of this phenomenon. Past research on traditional forms of homicide has suggested that comparatively analyzing homicide subtypes is desirable because it increases our understanding of homicide, as different types of homicide have different patterns, explanations, and situational contexts (Decker, 1993; Flewelling & Williams, 1999, Pizarro, 2008). Another reason to disaggregate is the risk of serious policy consequences for over-generalizing the effects of various factors in terms of all homicides (Flewelling & Williams, 1999; Maxfield, 1989). In short, different forms of homicide and homicide offenders may be associated with very different characteristics, making it difficult to respond to all homicides in the same way.

There have been a number of ways that homicides have been disaggregated in past criminological research. In particular, a number of homicide studies have disaggregated homicide events by victim-offender relationships (Smith & Parker, 1980), motive (Decker, 1993; Pizarro, 2008; Riedel, 1987), victim types, such as patricide, infanticide (see Riedel & Welsh, 2001), circumstances, such as gang involvement (Maxson, Gordon, & Klein, 1985; Decker & Curry, 2002; Pizarro & McGloin, 2006), race of participants (Parker, 2001) and age of homicide participants (Lee & Bartkowski, 2004). From a cursory review of the literature, it appears that homicides are typically disaggregated by victim-offender relationship and homicide circumstance categories (see also Maxfield, 1989).

Despite all of the discussion on various ways to disaggregate and examine subtypes of homicide, it is also evident that there is no "Holy Grail" of classifying homicide types (Flewelling & Williams, 1999). All categories mask differences, and there are a number of issues related to the quality of homicide data that affect the ways in which forms of homicide can be comparatively analyzed. Loftin, Kindley, Norris, & Wiersema (1987), for instance, have argued that there is a lack of data to disaggregate due to incomplete police data and incomplete and overlapping categories capturing the reality of homicide. Moreover, research categorizing homicides will always encounter homicides that do not fit neatly within categories, or are not easily explained by theories attached to particular types of homicide (Decker, 1996). Nonetheless, the issues discussed by Loftin et al. (1987) and others should not be viewed as reasons to halt comparative analysis of homicide subtypes. Instead, their recognition of the many issues in comparing homicide characteristics serves as a charge for the current research. For instance, as Decker (1996) suggests, the "deviant" homicides that do not fit within particular designated categories, and which are qualitatively different from other occurrences within the same category should become the object of study. For instance, racially-motivated ideological homicides, an expressive homicide occurring between strangers, should not be treated as simply an exception, but, instead, as a unique form of homicide worthy of exploring (Decker, 1996). Moreover, this finding should indicate that new categorization schemes need to be explored in order to identify how homicide occurrences compare.

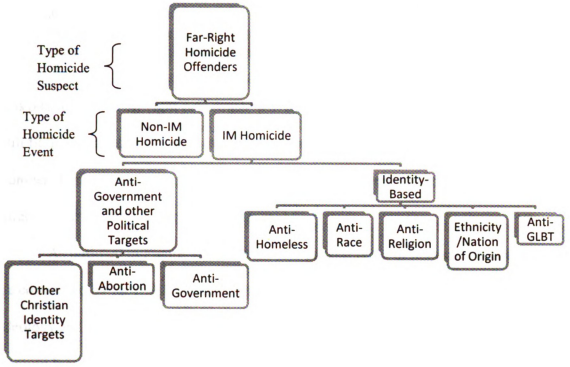
Indeed, rather than relying solely on the categorization schemes of past research, it is necessary to explore new ways to comparatively examine deviant homicides, such as various subtypes of IM homicides. Categorization schemes should depend on the research

questions being asked and the ultimate goals of the study (Flewelling & Williams, 1999). Therefore, the current study disaggregates IM homicides by the perpetrators affiliation or non affiliation with the far-right extremist movement, as well as by the social minority group targeted. In order to further understanding of this type of violence, it is necessary to develop new categorization schemes, new forms of homicide data, and new research designs that align with the research questions being asked.

Conceptualizing IM Homicide Events

This study conceptualizes IM homicide as a multidimensional phenomenon, crossing boundaries of homicide motivated by ideologies rooted in extreme political beliefs to ideologies based on social group identities (see Garofalo, 1997; Hamm, 1998). There are two types of offenders that commit IM homicide events considered in this study. Below, Figure 3.1 only outlines the different homicide subtypes committed by far-right extremists. Homicide events perpetrated by far-right extremists include any occurrences that were committed by an individual or group that has past or present ties to the far-right extremist movement (see Smith, 1994 for discussion of far-right wing terrorism in the United States).

Figure 3.1 Types of Far-right Homicide Events in the United States



The essential difference between a far-right homicide and other type of homicide event is the tie that one or more of the perpetrators has to the far-right extremist movement. Nonetheless, defining what is or what is not far-right related is a difficult task, as the definition of a far-right extremist group has often been unclear or conflicting in past research. For the sake of clarity, this study relies on Freilich and Chermak's (2006) definition of the domestic far-right extremist movement developed from their systematic review of the extant research:

> "The domestic far-right is composed of individuals or groups that subscribe to aspects of the following ideals: they are fiercely nationalistic (as opposed to universal and international in orientation), anti-global, suspicious of centralized federal authority, reverent of individual liberty (especially their right to own guns, be free of taxes), believe in conspiracy theories that involve a grave threat to national sovereignty and/or personal liberty and a belief that one's personal and/or national "way of life" is under attack and is either already lost or that the threat is imminent (sometimes such beliefs are amorphous and vague, but for some the

> threat is from a specific ethnic, racial, or religious group), and a belief in the need to be prepared for an attack either by participating in paramilitary preparations and training and survivalism. It is important to note that mainstream conservative movements and the mainstream Christian right are not included" (Freilich and Chermak, 2006:32; see also Gruenewald et al., 2009).

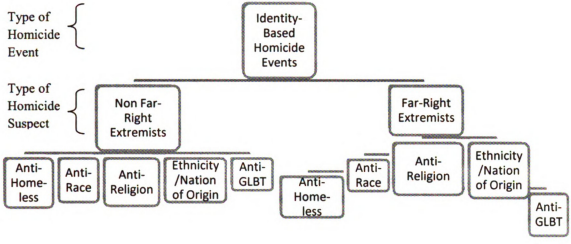
It is possible that a far-right perpetrator will not be tied to a particular far-right group but still fit the profile of a far-right extremist perpetrator. For example, the Oklahoma City bomber, Timothy McVeigh, is considered far-right wing perpetrators despite not having direct ties to a particular far-right group.

As outlined in Figure 3.1, there are two general types of homicide events that can be committed by far-right extremist homicide suspects, including those motivated by ideology and those that are not. In other words, it is possible for far-right extremists to commit homicides that are fueled by traditional crime motives. Furthermore, it is possible to disaggregate those homicides that are motivated by ideology by specific motivational subtypes. In particular, some IB homicides, often referred to as "bias crimes" or "hate crimes" refer to those instances of homicide motivated by animus towards particular social minority groups (i.e. racial animus, anti-sexual orientation sentiments, and anti-religious sentiments) (Perry, 2001). Other types of IM homicide are not based on animus towards social minority groups but, instead, include acts of political extremism that target, for example, government employees as well as abortion clinics and clinic employees (Freilich & Pridemore, 2007; Kaplan, 1995; Nice, 1988). In this study, homicide motivated by extreme political ideology and hatred toward social minority groups is considered under the umbrella term of "IM homicide."

It is also possible for IB homicide events to involve no suspects with links to the far-right extremist movement in the United States. The diagram presented in Figure 3.2 is

similar to Figure 3.1 with the differences begin that only IB homicide events are considered and the subtypes are defined by the suspects' affiliations (or lack thereof) with the far-right extremist movement.

Figure 3.2 Types of Identity-Based (IB) Homicide Events in the United States



Homicide events not perpetrated by far-right extremists refer to all IB incidents that do not involve homicide perpetrators with known ties to the far-right extremist movement. These incidents can also be conceptualized as bias or hate-motivated homicides that do not involve far-right extremist perpetrators (Levin & McDevitt, 1993; Perry, 2001). The FBI's definition of hate-motivated crime is "a criminal offense committed against a person, property or society which is motivated, in whole or in part, by the offender's bias against a race, religion, disability, sexual orientation, or

ethnicity/national origin" (FBI, 2004:65).[7] This study applies this definition to IB homicide events, though incidents against homeless individuals are also considered when the victim's status as a homeless person is the primary reason he or she was targeted.

Research Questions

Based on this conceptual scheme of far-right perpetrated and other IB homicide events, this study is guided by a number of general and more specific research questions that address the incident and suspect dimensions of far-right extremist homicide. The research questions are:

> **Question 1: What is the nature of far-right extremist homicide event situations in the United States between 1990 and 2008, including suspect demographic characteristics, other background attributes, and the situational contexts of homicide events?**
>
> > **A). What are the similarities and differences of the elements of homicide situations in those far-right extremist homicides motivated by ideology and the "average" homicide event in the United States.**
>
> **Question 2: Within far-right extremist homicides, what are the similarities and differences in IM and non-IM homicide event characteristics?**
>
> **Question 3: What are the similarities and differences in IB homicides perpetrated by far-right extremists and IB homicides perpetrated by non far-right extremists?**

In conclusion, this chapter extended academic debate on IM violence by discussing how the CEP is used in the current study to examine the largely unexplored topic of far-right extremist homicide. The CEP advances a more comprehensive understanding of this topic by conceptualizing far-right extremist homicides as multi-dimensional events constituted by interactions among suspects, victims, and other actors

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[7] More recent information on "hate crimes" gathered by the FBI can also be found at http://www.fbi.gov/ucr/hc2007/abouthcs.htm.

in particular situational contexts that shape the outcomes of fatal situations. A number of general and specific research questions were posed that focus the examination of this phenomenon in regards to two key dimensions of far-right extremist homicide events, homicide suspects and situational contexts. In the next chapter, how this study addresses these research questions will be discussed.

CHAPTER 4: DATA AND METHODOLOGY

This chapter outlines and describes the data and method for this study. A limited number of scholars have already discussed the methodological pitfalls of past studies of identity-based (IB) crime, many of which are grounded in issues of data quality and availability for forms of IM violence such as terrorism (LaFree et al., 2006; Silke, 2001). One major problem is the lack of an existing official source of data on crimes associated with domestic terrorism (LaFree et al., 2006). Therefore, it is not possible to identify this type of crime, involving far-right perpetrated homicide, in official crime data sources such as the annual Uniform Crime Report-Supplementary Homicide Report (SHR) (FBI, 2004). Being unable to extract homicide information from official homicide data sources has impeded scholars' abilities to identify the similarities and differences in IM homicide subtypes. Also, past terrorism studies have relied heavily on anecdotal media accounts of terrorist occurrences (Silke, 2001). Thus, knowledge about the entirety of IM violence, including far-right perpetrated homicide, remains limited.

This study addresses these issues by collecting data on a set of far-right homicides in the United States between 1990 and 2008, as well as by collecting open-source data on other IB homicide events perpetrated in the United States by non far-right extremists for purposes of comparison during the same time period. These homicide events were identified and information was gathered based on a number of open-sources, including existing terrorism databases, official criminal justice data sources, academic and journalistic publications, documents from extremist group watchdogs, advocacy groups (e.g Southern Poverty Law Center, Anti-Defamation League), and other non-profit organizations, as well as from systematic media searches. Additional information from

police or court records was also sought in particular homicide cases on a case-by-case basis. Data on far-right perpetrated and other IB homicide events were comparatively analyzed quantitatively based on a comprehensive open-source database, as well as qualitatively analyzed using a variable-centered theme analysis approach for a set of far-right homicide events. In addition to identifying IM homicide from open-sources, all homicides occurring in the United States were randomly sampled from the SHR to represent the "average" homicide. Far-right homicides were compared to average homicides to identify the similarities and differences of far-right homicide and the common homicide event in the United States. The SHR homicide data were downloaded from the Inter-University Consortium for Political Science Research website.

This chapter consists of a number of sections. First, the indicators used to distinguish between far-right extremist homicide events and other IM homicide events perpetrated by non far-right extremists are presented. Second, specifically how homicides were identified in open-source materials is discussed, describing the specific sources and processes for identifying the set of far-right perpetrated homicides, and a set of other IB homicides. Third, the open-sources used to collect information on each homicide event, the protocol or instrument used to systematically collect open-source data, and the stages of data collection are described. Fourth, the systematic coding of data for homicide suspects and situational characteristics, specific codebooks and variables of interest, as well as the stages of the coding process are addressed. Finally, the quantitative and variable-centered theme analyses of far-right extremist homicide events are outlined.

Identifying Far-Right Perpetrated Homicide Events

This study identified a set of far-right perpetrated homicide events that occurred in the United States between 1990 and 2008 (n=276). Far-right perpetrated homicide events involve three general types of criminal motivations: ideologically-motivated (IM) homicides, non ideologically-motivated (non-IM) homicides, and homicides primarily motivated by traditional crime motives. As LaFree and Dugan (2004:68) have recognized, past research has failed to "...step back and recognize that criminal events and terrorist attacks look much the same regardless of the motivation behind them: both are events that can be counted and both display non-random temporal and spatial patterns that are likely associated with endogenous and exogenous characteristics of offenders, targets, and situations." Therefore, homicides that are fueled by ideological and non-ideological motives may look very similar or different in ways that are yet to be systematically determined. As this research comparatively examines subtypes of far-right homicide, all of these homicide subtypes are of interest. Importantly, the only criteria for inclusion are that a homicide event was a criminal homicide and that at least one homicide suspect was affiliated with the far-right extremist movement in the United States at the time of the homicide occurrence or prior to it. Following the Federal Bureau of Investigation definition of homicide, in this research, criminal homicide events include both murders and non-negligent manslaughter, and exclude negligent manslaughter and justifiable homicide (FBI, 2004).

Indicators of Far-Right Extremism

A number of scholars have provided partial descriptions of the multi-faceted domestic far-right movement (Aho, 1990; Barkun, 1997; Berlet & Lyons, 2000; Kaplan,

1995). As presented in Chapter 3, one of the most inclusive descriptions of the domestic far-right movement has emerged from a comprehensive and systematic review of the far-right extremist literature (see Freilich and Chermak, 2007; Gruenewald et al., 2009). Based on this definition, homicide suspect association with the far-right extremist movement was determined by a number of indicators. Drawing from the domestic far-right extremism literature, a number of concrete indicators of far-right extremist ideology emerged (Freilich and Chermak, 2007). These indicators are used in the current research as inclusion criteria for the set of all far-right perpetrated homicides in the United States between 1990 and 2008 (see Appendix A).

First, far-right homicide offenders often claim to be associated with the broad far-right wing movement or specific far-right extremist groups operating in the United States. Therefore self-admission or other evidence of association with the broader movement or one or more far-right extremist groups indicates that the homicide should be examined in this research. There are a number of types of far-right organizations, some formally organized (e.g. KKK, Aryan Nation, The Order, and Aryan Brotherhood), while others are only loosely-affiliated groups of individuals (Heitmeyer, 2003; Kaplan, 1995). There are also a number of ways that a homicide offender can be associated with a far-right group. For example, an offender could have committed the homicide in order to attain membership or increase his or her status in the group. Other offenders may claim to be a part of the wider far-right extremist movement but claim no membership to specific organizations. Still, others can be affiliates seeking membership or ex-members of far-right organizations. All homicide offenders associated with past or present affiliation of any sort with specific far-right groups or the general far-right movement are examined in

this study. In addition, the intensity of suspect affiliation to the far-right movement is systematically coded and explored.

Second, far-right homicide offenders often communicate their extremist beliefs through verbal comments and written statements. Verbal communication of extremist beliefs may occur during the commission of the homicide, as well as following homicide occurrences in the context of confessions of killings to friends, media outlets, or criminal justice officials. Other times, far-right movement leaders may verbally communicate by giving speeches on various issues that indicate their extremist ideologies. Written statements of far-right extremist beliefs can exist as private diary entries and letters to friends and family or public manifestos sent to media. These types of written and verbal indicators of far-right extremist beliefs serve as criteria for inclusion of homicide events in this research.

Third, indicators of far-right extremist affiliation also include markings and accessories found on the body of the homicide offender. In particular, many far-right extremist homicide offenders have extremist tattoos on their body. Examples include tattooed words such as "White power" or other symbols such as swastikas. Other indicators are accessories, such as Doc Martin boots historically worn by members of skinhead organizations (Hamm, 1994). All serve as criteria for inclusion.

Fourth, another indicator of far-right affiliation is the presence of far-right extremist literature and other symbols at the homicide scene or in the offender's possession (e.g. in residence or vehicle). Examples of far-right literature may include specific extremist books (e.g. *Mein Kempf, Turner Diaries*) or general literature, such as pipe bomb-making and survivalist manuals and other pieces of conspiracy literature.

Lyrics of songs or actual music in the form of music CDs in the possession of a homicide perpetrator that can be linked to the White power music scene are other indicators of far-right extremist affiliation (Cotter, 1999; Hamm, 1993). Homicide events are not included simply because there is evidence that a perpetrator(s) was in possession of such materials. Indeed, it is necessary that the literature be either placed symbolically by the perpetrator to be found during the investigation, or that other indicators are also present. In these instances, possession of literature would bolster the evidence of far-right affiliation.

Fifth, an additional indicator of far-right affiliation is when the association of perpetrators to the far-right extremist movement is made known during the process of police investigation or criminal trial. For example, the prior IB offending history of a homicide perpetrator often reported in the media and in court transcripts during criminal trials. While a history of IB offending does not necessarily indicate far-right affiliation, the testimony of witnesses and others prior to and during homicide trials often indicates perpetrators' adherence to far-right groups or general extremist beliefs. Also, in combination, prior offenses and witness testimony in regards to perpetrators' affiliations with the far-right movement that are made known in open-source documents could serve as indicators or criteria for inclusion.

The final general indicator of far-right affiliation is participation in the broader far-right extremist movement. There are a number of ways offenders can be involved in the far-right movement. One way is to be involved in media, such as the hosting of websites, radio or television shows that promote far-right extremism. Another way is to be interviewed by various media outlets. Subjects may also participate in the far-right movement by organizing or attending different types of extremist meetings, such as

organizational meetings, rallies, festivals, and protests. A final way to participate in the far-right movement is leafleting, a common activity that can often indicate extremist ideologies.

It was a necessary criterion of inclusion for this study that a homicide offender either adhered to the far-right extremist movement and/or could be linked to a specific far-right extremist group. The indicators of far-right affiliation were used as evidence of this adherence and/or membership to the far-right extremist movement in the United States.

Identifying Other IB Homicide Events

This dissertation also identified a set of other IB homicide events not perpetrated by far-right extremists that occurred in the United States following 1990. Only those types of IB homicide defined by the FBI (2004) as "bias" crimes were considered. Specifically, homicides motivated by animus toward racial/ethnic minorities, sexual-orientation minorities, religious minorities, and those with a foreign national origin were considered. The indicators used as criteria for inclusion in the sample resembled those relied upon to identify far-right extremist homicides in the first portion of this study (see Appendix B). However, importantly, the criterion that at least one perpetrator was associated with the far-right extremist movement did not apply to this set of homicide events.

Past research provides some direction on indicators of IB crime that aid in identifying IB homicide events. In addition, this study relied on definitions of "bias crime" indicators, or indicators that a homicide was motivated by animus toward as social minority group, that had been generally used by police agencies. An example of such a

definition is that used in the Massachusetts Model Protocol for Bias Crime Investigation, which defined bias crime indicators as "[o]bjective facts, circumstances, or patterns attending a criminal act(s), which, standing alone or in conjunction with other facts or circumstances, suggest that the offender's actions were motivated, in whole or in part, by any form of bias." A number of indicators were used in this study to identify IB homicides (Holmes, 1992).

In particular, verbal comments (e.g. racial/ethnic slurs) made by the perpetrators during the homicide incident or statements made by perpetrators before or following the homicide serve as an indicator of an identity-based motivation. Other symbols, drawings, and markings also served as indicators. For instance, actual or representations of hanging nooses or hate graffiti near the homicide indicated IB motivations. Real or perceived differences between the offender and victim of the homicide also served as indicators of IB motivation. These differences include race, ethnicity, sexual orientation, religion, political ideology or beliefs. Victim and witness perceptions of the motivation also served as key indicators of identity-based motivations. Because many indicators could be present only prior to police becoming involved in the homicide investigation, testimony from victims and witnesses could be important to determining suspect motive.

Where a homicide occurred was also an indicator of IB motivation. For example, the location of the homicide could be the setting for prior IB crimes. The homicide location could also be a place where the victim had been previously targeted, as well as serve as a general symbolic location for an IB homicide (e.g. religious institution, "gay bar"/establishment, and governmental office).

Homicide perpetrator and victim characteristics also served as indicators. In particular, offenders' histories of prior IB offending was an important indicator. Also, if the victim was in the company of a targeted group or was perceived as breaking social norms in some way (e.g. two men holding hands) could be an important indicator of IB motivation.

In sum, indicators of homicide events involving far-right extremists and indicators of other IB homicide events in this study required unique, but overlapping, selection criteria that have been summarized in Appendix A and Appendix B. Far-right affiliation indicators emerged from a body of literature describing the values and ideologies of far-right extremists in the United States (Gruenewald et al., 2009). Other selection criteria for IB homicides were largely based on the indicators developed by police bias crime investigation training manuals, such as the one utilized in Massachusetts (Holmes, 1992; see also Federal Law Enforcement Training Center, 2005).

Creating an Event-Based Open-Source Database

The homicide events that were examined in this study were identified by systematically searching a number of open-sources, including existing terrorism databases (e.g. RAND-MIPT, official sources (e.g. congressional hearings, FBI terrorism reports), scholarly and journalistic accounts, watchdog reports (e.g. SPLC-Intelligence Report, ADL), and systematic media searches. Dr. Steven Chermak (Michigan State University, School of Criminal Justice) and Dr. Joshua Freilich (City University of New York, John Jay College of Criminal Justice) have worked to compile an account of all crimes committed by the far-right since 1990. They have been funded by the Department of Homeland Security to construct a comprehensive database on these events known as

the Extremist Crime Database (ECDB). Procedures for identifying homicide occurrences, data searching protocols, and coding procedures were all borrowed, though in some instances modified, from Freilich and Chermak's far-right crimes project. The Freilich and Chermak (2007) data collection and coding strategies were of great benefit to the current research, as these procedures have endured a long process of peer-review, and have been successfully implemented in an ongoing project.

First, homicides have been identified from a number of academic sources systematically reviewed and critiqued (see Gruenewald et al., 2009). Second, Chermak and Freilich have extracted far-right homicides from large terrorism databases that are publicly available (e.g. Global Terrorism Database),[8] developing a large network of key informants through past work on domestic terrorism projects and their affiliation with START. Third, homicide incidents were extracted from official sources of data, such as the FBI's annual *Terrorism in the United States*. Fourth, Dr. Freilich and Dr. Chermak have identified many far-right homicides from archives of extremist watchgroup publications, such as the Anti-Defamation League, Southern Poverty Law Center, and a special radicalization collection housed at the main library at the Michigan State University.[9] In addition to extremist group watchdog organizations, other non-profit organizations like the Center for Homicide Research (CHR) in Minneapolis have provided documentation on particular types of IB homicide events that are used in this study. Indeed, last fall I traveled to the CHR in Minneapolis and met with Dallas Drake,

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[8] The Global Terrorism Database is a publicly-available open-source database on terrorist events around the world from 1970 to 2007 and can be accessed at http://www.start.umd.edu/gtd/.

[9] Information on the Michigan State University's special collections can be found at http://specialcollections.lib.msu.edu/html/materials/collections/radicalism_coll2.jsp.

the director of the Center. While there, I secured access to a comprehensive database on anti-GLBT homicides that have occurred in the United States. This database was useful, as it is being used in this study to cross-check the accuracy of the anti-GLBT homicide events collected for this project and to aid in identifying additional anti-GLBT homicide events that had yet to be identified.

In sum, a set of homicide events have been identified and compiled into a comprehensive list or set of all IM homicides perpetrated by far-right extremists and a set of other IB homicide events that have occurred in the United States not perpetrated by far-right extremists. The research conducted for this study has been granted approval by the Internal Revenue Board at Michigan State University.[10]

Open-Source Searching

Some of the key information on far-right homicide events has been gathered during the identification process of each event from the sources described above. However, to supplement this information, an open-search protocol was developed and used to search for information on each homicide. There were a number of steps to the open-search process. First, keywords based on details from each identified homicide event (e.g. perpetrator and victim names, location of homicide, etc.) were used as keywords to search major newspaper indexes, such as *Lexis-Nexis* and *Proquest*, and information on each homicide was collected.

Second, a number of extremist group watchdog organizations (e.g. SPLC, ADL, Human Rights Watch), human rights advocacy groups, and other non-profit organization were thoroughly searched for additional information concerning each homicide event.

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[10] IRB # 06-110, Approval # i028245

For homicides that occurred in more recent years, information was often available from these organizations on the Internet. For homicides occurring early in the time period of interest (i.e. 1990-1995), it was necessary to search the hard copies of their periodicals and other reports.

Third, the same or similar keywords were used to search for information on homicides from major search engines, such as *Google* and *Yahoo*. A number of less known search engines (e.g. GoogleScholar, Amazon, Dogpile, Mamma, Scirus, etc.) were also searched using similar keywords in order to generate and collect all available information for each homicide and homicide participants. Fourth, in order to retrieve information about specific extremist homicides from local news media coverage, keywords were used to search for information from *Newslibrary*, an online newspaper index of various regional and local newspapers around the country. As discussed in the open-search protocol, all open-source information retrieved on each case was gathered in a single document and prepared for coding.

Advantages of Open-Source Data Collection

As an alternative to official data, some scholars have collected open-source data on IM violent events (e.g. LaFree et al., 2006; Mickolus, Sandler, Murdock, & Fleming, 1993; Schmid & Jongman, 1988),[11] though none have collected information on all crimes related to the far-right until the far-right crimes project led by Freilich and Chermak (2007). As stated previously, important questions concerning the nature of IM crimes cannot be answered based on officially-collected crime or domestic terrorism data.

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[11] Interestingly, a study by Freilich, Chermak, and Simone (2009) also found that law enforcement relies on open-sources just as much as non open-sources.

Therefore, the most obvious advantage to open-source data collection is that is allows for the collection of data on topics on which there exists little or no official data.

Another advantage of open-source data collection is that it allows researchers to adopt their own definitions of the events that are of most interest, as opposed to the sometimes very limited definitions used by official sources (LaFree et al., 2006). For instance, it is possible in this study to define far-right homicide as any homicide committed by an individual or group with past or present ties to the far-right movement. Adopting broad definitions of events allows researchers of domestic terrorism to examine different subgroups of events, perpetrators, victims, and extremist groups. As the goal is to examine similarities and differences across these homicide subtypes, open-source data collection is a very amenable method for this research. Also, a more practical advantage of open source data collection is its facility for the simultaneous collection of data on multiple events by different individuals. For example, multiple undergraduate and graduate research assistants working on Freilich and Chermak's far-right crimes database (2007) or LaFree et al.'s (2006) Global Terrorism Database were able to search and code open-source data on multiple occurrences independently and simultaneously. Therefore, it is possible to collect a significant amount of data on incidents, victims, and offenders in a relatively short period of time.

Responding to Challenges of Open-Source Data Collection

There are, however, disadvantages to open-source data collection, including threats to the reliability and validity of data. Though having multiple data collectors involved in open-source data collection is advantageous in terms of efficiency, there may be a cause for concern if the inter-reliability amongst data collectors is low. Reliability

amongst data collectors could be low, seemingly, if one or more data collectors neglect to consider particular sources of data. For this study there were a number of ways to ensure consistency of open-source data collection for all homicide cases. First, all data collectors were trained identically in order to ensure that each searches for event data in the same manner. All research assistants collecting open-search data also went through a probationary period in which the quality of each of the homicide cases they were assigned was evaluated by project leaders. Second, a protocol was created that directed data collectors on how to systematically search for open-search materials. Third, the same Internet search engines were searched for each homicide event, ensuring that each case was searched in an identical fashion. Fourth, collection of open-source data for this study occurred in stages, which increased the chances that all available information from open-sources was collected. In particular, coders first searched for open-source information based on homicide identifiers (e.g. suspect and victim names), and secondly, data collectors conducted target searches based on information uncovered during the initial search. Finally, data collection was continuously being monitored in regards to inter-reliability concerns and the quality of data collection across data collectors, as the content of the data collection for a percentage of homicide cases was being compared across research assistants (LaFree et al., 2006). These types of inter-reliability checks are not different in nature from the sorts of checks necessary in survey research (Babbie, 1990).

Two other threats to the quality of the open-source data involve biases introduced by the lack of information or "misinformation" presented by particular sources, often times media sources (LaFree et al., 2006:24; Noble, 2004). For some events there is little or no available information from open-sources, resulting in missing data for those events.

Fortunately, for some events, like homicide and terrorism events, the seriousness of the event ensures that there is typically a substantial amount of information on the event from a variety of open-source materials. In this way, it is possible to triangulate information by particular sources in order to ensure their accuracy. On the other hand, the nature of cases that receive much attention may be substantially different than less celebrated cases. Thus, it is necessary to systematically compare the nature of cases that received substantial attention with those that did not to identity potential biases. Misinformation, or event details that are distorted or non-factual, present another type of challenge to open source data collection. Misinformation may also be a problem as the result of particular biases inherent in the originators of the data or due to unintentional errors (LaFree et al., 2006:24). There are ways to reduce the possible effects on misinformation on data quality. For instance, it is necessary to assess the historical accuracy of a particular data source by examining its past coverage of other relevant issues, or by comparing its coverage of a particular event to the coverage of other known reliable sources of data (Noble, 2004). Noble (2004) suggested that those collecting open-source data should assess the quality of each data source and keep logs of such assessments to increase the reliability of open source data over time.

For this study, there were independent sources of information (e.g. police reports, court transcripts, other media sources) that were available for use in the comparison of data sources and reliability assessments. The quality of open-search data was evaluated for each homicide event examined. A number of factors were considered in this assessment, including the total number of different open-search materials, the number of each individual type of collected open-source materials (e.g. court documents, watchdog

reports, etc.), and the consistently and reliability of the information in regards to case details. Open-ended issues, such as having a redundancy or a lack of open-source materials on a homicide event, were also recorded.

In this study, the effect of the quality and quantity of open-source information was assessed in regards to the effects on missing values for all homicide variables. First, this study compared homicide incident and suspect characteristics for cases that received three or less sources of information with those that received four or more. Second, focusing more on the quality of open-source information, far-right homicides having news reports as their only source of information were compared with those homicides having news reports in addition to other sources of information.

Coding Homicide Events

The collected open-search materials produced a wealth of qualitative data for each homicide event. In order to systematically examine the homicide events of interest, information on homicide suspects and situational contexts were coded in two separate but relational codebook interfaces (hereto after referred to simply as codebooks) created in *Microsoft Access*. Data were extracted for a number of suspect-related and situational variables for each homicide event.

Research assistants coded and inputted data into the codebooks that were used for this study. There were a number of ways in which this study ensured successful inter-reliability among data coders. First, all went through extensive training on the coding process for each variable. Each new coder entered into a probationary status in which he or she coded a number of duplicate cases as seasoned coders. Second, each codebook includes a variable to capture specific coders' names. Therefore, this study was able to

explore the data for abnormalities across data coders. Third, in similarity with searching for open-source data, coding of homicide events essentially occurred in successive stages. In the first stage, coders entered data for variables based on all available open-source information. Because many of these homicide cases were not closed and continue to evolve, potentially missing observations were continuously filled in based on newly gathered open-source information. This presented the continued opportunity for coders to recheck their past work, as well as the work of fellow open-source coders.

In addition, if different open-sources contained conflicting information about a homicide event then, greater weight was given to the more "trusted" sources. For instance, court documents, reports regarding court proceedings, information from sources with direct access to case information would be considered a more trustworthy or reliable sources than, for instance, another second-hand source (see Sageman, 2004).

To date, this is the only known comprehensive database consisting of data on all homicide events perpetrated by far-right extremists, as well as a number of other IB homicide events not perpetrated by far-right extremists. Examples of the collected variables are briefly described below.

IM Homicide Situations

As shown in Table 4.1, there were two codebooks in addition to the codebook for the quality and quantity of information, including an 1) IM homicide incident/situational codebook and an 2) IM homicide suspect codebook. There were a number of homicide incident-based attributes that were coded for based on open-source data. Many of the variables for which data were collected were similar to those used by other major homicide databases, while other variables were unique in their capturing of various

aspects of far-right extremism and other ideological beliefs and values. Codebook 1, pertaining to far-right homicide situational characteristics, contains variables that capture basic descriptive details for each homicide occurrence, including location, number of offenders, weapon(s) used, circumstances, and homicide victim-offender relationship.

Table 4.1 Incident, Suspect, and Assessment of Data Codebooks

Codebook 1. Incident	Codebook 2. Primary Suspect	Codebook 3. Assessment of Data
Number of Offenders Single=0 Multiple=1	Age Adult (19 and above)=0 Juvenile (1-18)=1	Quantity of Information 3 or less sources=0 4 or more sources=1
Weapon± Firearm=0 Non-Firearm=1	Age Group 1-18=0 19-28=1 29-38=2	Quality of Information News Only=0 News and other sources=1
Circumstance Not for profit=0 Profit-related=1	39-48=3 49-58=4 59 and up=5	
Victim-Offender Relationship± Unknown=0 Known=1	Criminal History No Priors=0 Priors=1	
Location Outdoor=0 Indoor=1	Drug/Alcohol Use During Incident No=0 Yes=1	
Relevance Far-right IM=0 Far-right non-IM=1 Non Far-right IB=2	Affiliation to the far-right Low=0 High=1	
Specific Issue/Motive Social Minority=1 Anti-Government=2 Other Ideological=3 Non-IM Movement=4 Non-IM Non Movement=5	Group Non Group Related=0 Group Related=1	

± Categories were collapsed for multivariate analyses.

Other situational variables in Codebook 1 address more directly the aspects of far-right extremism. In particular, the homicide situational codebook codes for the relevance of each homicide, as it was possible for far-right extremists to commit both IM and non-IM types of homicide. The relevance of the homicide event was measured as 0) far-right ideological 1) far-right non-ideological and 2) far-right identity-based. Ideological homicides are those motivated primarily by hatred of social minority groups, government, or by some other lifestyle issue. Non-ideological homicide incidents include a number of homicide subtypes, including preparatory homicides which were those that were committed in preparation for a planned, future terroristic event. Also included in homicides deemed as other criminal activity, but movement related, were those committed to furthering the far-right movement or a particular far-right organization. Finally, non-ideological homicides also include homicides categorized as other criminal activity. Not related to the far-right extremist movement, however, were those homicide events committed by far-right extremists as a result of traditional crime motives. In addition, a variable measuring the specific motivation (e.g. anti-government, anti-social minority, anti-abortion provider) is included.

There were coding issues that require further elaboration. One important issue to consider is the identification of separate homicide occurrences when homicides appear to be related. In this study, homicide incidents were distinct from one another if they occurred at different times, in different locations, and involved different victims. Moreover, if a single perpetrator killed multiple victims in a single location in a short period of time, the homicides were coded as a single homicide occurrence. However,

during the shooting spree, if the murders occurred at different locations, then the each of the related homicides were coded as separate incidents.

IM Homicide Suspects

Once a homicide event was identified and it was concluded that it should be included, attributes of each perpetrator charged with the homicide were captured in Codebook 2. The homicide situation codebook (Codebook 1) and the suspect codebook (Codebook 2) both include a "case identifier" that was used to link each homicide suspect to a particular homicide event. Some suspect variables were included to examine the extent and nature of the ideological makeup of the homicide offender. In particular, this study determined if the offender was involved with the far-right group at the time of the incident. Other variables systematically explored various aspects of suspect demographics and backgrounds (e.g. age, race, and gender).[12] Also related to past behavior, this study measured whether illegal substances were used during the homicide.

Each perpetrator was the subject of a unique codebook. Moreover, if a single perpetrator was responsible for multiple homicides, they were the subject of a different codebook for each homicide incident, as it may be possible that some of the attributes (e.g. prior arrests, age, etc.) changed in the time lapsing between homicides. In this way, each homicide incident can be linked to the involved perpetrator(s) for a particular time and location.

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[12] Although suspect race and gender information was collected and coded, these variables are not included in the analyses due to a lack of variation. Over 95 percent of homicide suspects were White males between 1990 and 2008 in the United States.

Comparative Analyses

This study relied on both quantitative and qualitative analyses to further knowledge and understanding of far-right perpetrated homicide events. Data from *Microsoft Access* codebooks were exported into the quantitative *SPSS* data program and NVivo8 for qualitative analyses. One type of analysis conducted was descriptive statistics on the extent and nature of a set of far-right homicides. Specifically, the number and proportion of observations associated with each category of all variables were considered. Based on the systematically collected open-source data, these analyses addressed questions regarding the most prevalent characteristics of the suspect and situational dimensions of homicide events for the first time in comparison to the average homicide event.

In addition, comparative analyses were conducted on particular subgroups of far-right homicide and other IB homicide situational attributes by disaggregating by homicide motivation type and by suspect type. First, within the set of far-right perpetrated homicide events, comparative analyses of IM and non-IM homicides were undertaken. Second, focusing only on IB homicides, thus excluding homicide cases perpetrated by far-right extremists fueled by traditional motives, comparative analyses were conducted on subgroups defined by the perpetrators of homicide events being far-right or non far-right extremists. Comparative subgroup analyses provided an important initial assessment of the potentially diverse nature of homicide suspects and the situational contexts in which this type of offending occurred.

Multivariate Comparative Analysis

Following descriptive analyses of homicide events, multivariate comparative subgroup analyses of far-right perpetrated and other IB homicide events were conducted. Writing in regards to the use of multivariate analyses to study IM crime, Silke (2001) argued that terrorism researchers have not taken advantage of statistical analysis compared to other disciplines, such as journalism and criminology. Consequently, terrorism studies have been less likely to be able to draw generalizable findings related to domestic-terrorism related crimes. In response to Silke's diagnosis of the research on terrorism, this study for the first time statistically compared the relative natures of IM and non-IM homicides perpetrated by far-right extremists in the United States since 1990. In addition, the study statistically compared those IB homicides perpetrated by far-right extremists and those that were not.

The purpose of the multivariate comparative analyses was to statistically identify the most important situational and suspect-related factors that distinguish between the homicide subgroups of interest. For example, in order to test the hypothesis that far-right perpetrated homicides are significantly more likely to be committed in groups compared to other IB homicide events, this study established type of homicide as the dependent variable and the number of homicide suspects as the independent variable. An appropriate statistical technique was used to examine the relationship between the independent and dependent variables, while controlling for other potentially important variables (e.g. location of event, offender demographics).

In order to statistically compare these homicide subgroups, this study relied on binary-logistic regression. Binary-logistic regression is an appropriate regression tool for

this study as the respective dependent variables (i.e. type of homicide, type of homicide suspect) are measured with dichotomous variables (Long, 1997). Moreover, past scholars have relied on logistic regression to comparatively analyze homicide subtypes (LaFree & Birkbeck, 1991). This particular statistical technique made it possible to identify which particular homicide attributes were the most important for distinguishing between homicide types and subtypes.

Qualitative Analyses

The quantitative comparative analyses identified the nature and extent of far-right extremist homicide, as well as the key factors that distinguished between homicide subtypes in the United States. However, quantitative analyses were limited in their ability to provide an in-depth understanding of how situational contexts interact with homicide actors' decisions to shape fatal outcomes, a key aspect of the CEP. Categories of homicide events based only on quantitative descriptions of homicide only partially capture these dynamics.

In the past, a limited number of scholars have examined homicide events qualitatively. For instance, recently some scholars have attempted to identify how combinations (or configurations) of victim, offender, and incident characteristics result in (binary) homicide outcomes, such as instrumental (e.g. robbery homicide) or expressive (e.g. argument-related) fatalities (Meithe & Regoezci, 2004). Meithe and Regoezci (2004) combined qualitative and quantitative methods using a computer software program called Qualitative Comparative Analysis (QCA) to systematically generate profiles of particular types of binary homicide outcomes (Drass & Ragin, 1989).

Despite the novelty of QCA, there remain a number of issues with this program that limit its ability to develop meaningful categories of homicide. First, it is only possible to focus simultaneously on a small number of homicide factors that might shape homicide outcomes. Second, when using the QCA program it is only possible to compare the profiles of two predetermined subtypes of homicide, thus limiting its ability to explore multiple comparisons simultaneously. In short, the QCA software is a useful tool for exploring the heterogeneity of predetermined homicide subtypes, but it is limited in its ability to develop categories of homicide based on themes that capture the dynamic nature of far-right perpetrated homicide events.

In contrast, other scholars have qualitatively examined homicide narratives or scenarios of homicide events (Athens, 1980; Katz, 1988, Luckenbill, 1977, Polk, 1994). Although the specific purposes for analyzing scenarios have not always been the same, these studies have focused on describing the dynamic interchanges between homicide actors and situational contexts in order to more aptly categorize homicide events. Scholars have argued that quantitative examinations have often ignored the developmental stages that comprise the "social occasions" of IM homicides and more localized or "situated transactions" between homicide actors (Luckenbill, 1977). Moreover, quantitative analytical techniques fail to consider the subjective interpretations of actors' situational experiences that undoubtedly shape homicidal outcomes, and thus how homicides are categorized (Athens, 1980). While some past examinations have been criticized as more haphazard than others (e.g. Katz, 1988), a few scholars have systematically described their deductive and inductive identification of homicide subtypes or categories, and themes within each category, in order to capture the reflection

of homicide subtypes' unique interactions between homicide actors in particular social contexts (Luckenbill, 1977; Polk, 1994). Themes are essentially constructs that capture behavioral and cognitive patterns of interactions between homicide actors and situational contexts. Their work has suggested that systematically identifying common themes based on the interaction of homicide actors in particular contexts can facilitate knowledge about why offenders commit homicide, as well as advance a more holistic understanding of these violent events.

Variable-Centered Theme Analysis

This study qualitatively analyzed open-source information on homicide events to identify variable-centered themes of homicide subtypes in the United States between 1990 and 2008. The purpose of the variable-centered theme analysis was to build on the quantitative findings by exploring and elaborating on the ways in which key homicide variables found to be important in distinguishing far-right homicide subtypes, operate in interactions between homicide actors and situational contexts. Understanding how situational contexts influence criminal behavior is a key component of the criminal events perspective (Sacco & Kennedy, 2002). Methods of qualitative research are useful for examining complex social phenomenon, such as far-right extremist homicide, and for providing more in-depth descriptions of these events (Merriam, 1998; Strauss & Corbin, 1998). Qualitative methods can facilitate the exploration of heterogeneity within this topic, and can help to identify homicide cases that do not fit apparent modal patterns. Finally, qualitative research methods are useful when criminal actors' interpretations of situations affect the outcomes of these situations (Merriam, 1998; Strauss & Corbin, 1998).

This study can be described as mixed-methods research, as it relied on qualitative methods to better explain and elaborate on the quantitative findings (Cresswell, Clark, & Plano, 2007). Thus far, discussed in detail has been the identification of far-right perpetrated homicide events. From open-sources of far-right perpetrated homicide events, the collection and systematic coding of data, and the use of quantitative analyses, were used to describe the nature of far-right homicides. In addition, quantitative multivariate analysis was described as one way to assess similarities and differences between homicide subtypes (e.g. IM vs. non-IM, anti-government vs. anti-social minority motivations). However, identifying important distinguishing variables across homicide motivational and suspect subtypes does little to explain how these variables act in the context of other key variables, or illustrate instances in which seemingly important variables fail to distinguish between homicide subtypes. While theme analysis does not necessarily aid in drawing generalizable conclusions, it does facilitate in-depth understandings of the similarities and differences in homicide subtypes.

When it was determined from quantitative analysis that a particular homicide variable (e.g. number of perpetrators) distinguishes between two far-right perpetrated homicide subtypes (i.e. IB and non-IB), a variable-centered theme analysis was conducted to explore how this variable's interaction with other situational variables shaped these particular types of fatal outcomes. The question asked when identifying themes from the homicide event scenarios was "How did key distinguishing variables operate in the context of dynamic far-right perpetrated homicide situations for each homicide subtype?" and "What were the most common variable-centered themes?" As an example, suppose that quantitative analyses indicated that far-right perpetrated IB

homicides tend to be more associated with suspects offending in groups (compared to single offenders) when compared to far-right perpetrated non-IB homicides. Theme analysis made it possible to explore the open-source information for each homicide in which IB homicides were perpetrated by multiple suspects to provide more detailed descriptions of the various ways these deadly transactions occurred. Examples of themes could include "attack while intoxicated on acquaintance" or "single-offender White supremacist mission offending spree on random victims," both of which draw from prior literature on far-right violence (Hamm, 1993; Heitmeyer, 2003; Levin & McDevitt, 1993), and capture the interactions between homicide actors in particular situations. It was then possible to provide more detailed descriptions of each theme found to be prevalent in specific homicide subtypes. In this way, theme analyses were used to build more complex understandings of far-right homicide events.

The variable-centered theme analysis identified how certain variables shaped certain subtypes of homicide. However, the purpose of this study is to not only develop a profile of certain types of homicide but, also, to identify and explore homicide cases in which these variables shape all far-right homicides, including those cases that may not fit the typical pattern. Simply because a variable, such as profit circumstances, is most associated with non-IM homicides, it does not necessarily hold that IM homicides are not also shaped by profit-seeking behaviors in some instances. Although useful in some cases, there may be danger in developing profiles of particular homicide subtypes. Discussing perhaps less common patterns of how variables shape other subtypes less associated with it can further understanding of this complex phenomenon by illuminating the ways in which homicide subtypes compare in nature and process.

The preparation for the variable-centered theme analysis occurred in a number of sequential steps. First, the quantitative values for each variable coded in *Microsoft Access* were imported into a *Microsoft Word* document. All of the original open-source information was combined with the imported quantitative data. Each case was captured in a separate document. Second, each homicide case was imported into the qualitative software *NVivo8*. Third, each category of every homicide incident and suspect was "autocoded" into a "node." For instance, the incident variable weapon use nodes were created for guns, knives, bodily weapons, blunt objects, and other weapon types. Coding each variable in this way made it possible to qualitatively examine each case that fit certain criteria. For instance, it was possible to systematically and efficiently examine the interaction of each weapon type used by suspects across far-right IM and non-IM homicides (or other homicide subtypes) by examining the information available for each case that fits those particular criteria.

By identifying particular cases that fit the criteria of interest, it was then possible to isolate homicide cases to begin identification of themes in certain variable interactions in the broader context of the homicide situation. Continuing with the example, one possible theme for weapon type could be "skinheads using knives in drunken brawls." This theme could provide context to understanding why far-right ideological homicides were more likely to involve non-guns.

Finally, the number of times that a particular theme was identified for each far-right perpetrated homicide subtype was tallied. This made it possible to make more generalizable conclusions about the relative frequency of identified themes for particular

homicide categories. Tracking the prevalence of themes also indicated that particular themes were dominant across multiple subtypes of homicide events.

As discussed previously, it is recognized that current typification schemes based on strictly quantitative descriptions of homicide motive or victim-offender relationship variables may not sufficiently capture the diverse nature of far-right homicide events (see Polk, 1994:19-21). Therefore, it was necessary to explore how key homicide variables (e.g. number of suspects) operated in the context of the dynamic homicide situations to distinguish between homicide subtypes. An advantage to relying on open-source data for systematically analyzing far-right homicide case narratives was that information on each homicide reflects a number of sources of data. In this way, it was possible to more aptly capture both the successive stages of the homicide event and the interpretations of actors as experienced by suspects, witnesses, police, as well as interpretations of homicide events by media, extremist watchgroups, personal blogs and others. Relying on open-sources provides for a comprehensive or holistic description of the homicide event as it was experienced by all involved homicide actors (see also Luckenbill, 1977). Apparent suspect motives, though often complex and dynamic, were described by incorporating suspect accounts, as well as interpretations of motives by witnesses, police, and others with an interest or stake in the homicide case. Undoubtedly, each data source presents biases. For instance, suspects may have been more likely to describe the homicide as justified based on the victim's behavior, while witnesses may have perceived the homicide as unprovoked. Considering multiple sources of information neutralized the inherent biases of particular sources by capturing multiple interpretations of the unfolding of each homicide event (Luckenbill, 1977).

Conclusion

The preceding chapter proposed a method for a quantitative and qualitative examination of far-right extremist homicide events that have occurred in the United States since 1990. It is recognized that systematic research on this topic is virtually non-existent, and it is expected that the current study will make substantial contributions in the overlapping research areas of homicide studies, general terrorism studies, and far-right extremism.

CHAPTER 5: THE CONTEXT OF FAR-RIGHT HOMICIDE EVENTS

The primary purpose of this chapter is to address the first research question posed in this dissertation regarding the elements of homicide events (i.e. incident and suspect characteristics) and their comparison across far-right extremist homicide and the "average" homicide that has occurred in the United States between 1990 and 2008. To address the uniqueness of far-right homicides, a select number of far-right homicide characteristics are compared with the characteristics of a random sample of "all" homicide events that occurred in the United States based on official homicide data collected by the Federal Bureau of Investigation. Through comparative analysis, this chapter begins to address how findings support and contradict many of the claims made about violence committed by far-right extremists in past research as well as popular culture.

In addition, one of the advantages of relying on the criminal event perspective (CEP) to examine this phenomenon is the emphasis placed on describing the situational contexts of criminal events (Sacco & Kennedy, 2002). In this chapter, this is achieved in part by exploring the geospatial and temporal variations in far-right extremist homicide during this time period. When and where homicide events have occurred likely influence the nature of far-right homicide events and how they are perceived by the public, policymakers, and the media. As will be shown, far-rightists do not commit homicide in every state. Identifying which states have no or few homicide occurrences, and which states have substantially more, is one step toward providing an explanation for the dispersion of homicide events across the nation. Moreover, focusing on the geospatial

distribution of these events allows for speculation on how the locations of far-right homicides can shape the nature of the particular events examined in this study.

In addition to being geospatially distributed, far-right homicides are also temporally distributed and these occurrences have fluctuated over time. How such fluctuations of far-right homicide correspond to the occurrence rate of the average homicide in the United States remains unknown. It is also unclear how different subtypes of far-right homicide fluctuate over time. For instance, are far-right homicides that are primarily motivated by ideology similar to or different from non-ideologically-motivated events in regards to temporal distribution? Examining these fluctuations comparatively can begin to show if the occurrence rate of far-right homicide follows or diverges from the trajectory of the average homicide, as well as how the occurrence rate of far-right motivational subtypes compare, over time. Answers to these questions influence how far-right homicide is examined in this study by determining which homicide subtypes are compared.

As described previously, the current study relies on the CEP and emphasizes the need to collect and analyze original data that are able to provide answers to specific research questions of interest. This study relies on open-source data to examine the phenomenon of far-right homicide and other IB homicide events not perpetrated by far-rightists. Although the advantages and disadvantages of open-source data were discussed in the last chapter, the specific limitations of the data used in this study needs to be assessed. Also, because relying on open-source data to study homicide events is relatively uncommon in criminological research, it is important to identify potential biases in the data and understand how they may influence the interpretations of the subsequent

findings. One potential source of bias explored in this chapter is a lack of open-source information for certain event characteristics due to a lack of attention given to the homicide by open-sources. Thus, the extent of missing values for homicide characteristics for cases in which substantial open-source data are available and those events in which only little information is available are compared. Another potential source of bias involves relying solely on media, as media may either present only select details of incidents, neglect to cover incidents entirely, or frame incidents in some other biased manner. Moreover, media may be a source of "misinformation" (Falkenrath, 2001; LaFree et al., 2006). In order to address this type of bias, the extent of missing values for select homicide characteristics are compared for those homicides in which news media are the only source of information and those events that have multiple sources of information available.

The current chapter is presented in four sections which reflect each of the aforementioned stated purposes. First, a table capturing the extent of far-right homicides, and respective motivational subtypes, for every state and the District of Columbia is presented. Expected and unexpected findings about the geospatial distribution of this form of homicide, and the implications of these findings, are discussed. Second, simple comparative time-lines juxtaposing the rate of far-right homicide occurrences and the rate of the average homicide, as well as far-right IM and far-right non-IM homicides, are presented. In addition to actual changes in the occurrence of homicide, the extent across time, to which homicide is shaped by external factors, is considered. Also, the effect, over time, on homicide occurrence trajectories by changes in the recording and reporting of IB crimes following high-profile homicide events are discussed. Third, after

considering the geospatial and temporal contexts of homicide events across the country, a number of homicide incident-level and suspect-level characteristics are comparatively examined across far-right and average homicide events, including number of homicide offenders, weapon type, circumstances, victim-offender relationship, suspect age, suspect race, and suspect gender. Fourth, multiple assessments of the quality and quantity of open-source information available for each far-right extremist homicide are conducted in order to identify potential biases inherent in the data, including the number and type of sources of information.

Considering Context

A key component of the CEP is the context of the criminal event (Sacco & Kennedy, 2002), including the spatial and temporal components of each event. By doing so, it becomes increasingly possible to speculate how the dimensions of homicide suspect and incident intersect with macro-level factors to shape the empirical nature of these fatal outcomes, thus leading to more meaningful interpretations of findings.[13]

The fact that the nature of far-right homicide represented in this dissertation is shaped by an array of social forces has not been obscured. Although occurrences of IM violence undoubtedly occurred prior to 1990, the phenomena of "hate crimes" and "domestic terrorism" are relatively new. Scholars have traced the social construction process of IM violence, which has included the influential activities of social movement groups, modern advocacy groups, lawmakers, and other claimsmakers (see Jenness & Broad, 1997). Others have studied how claimsmakers continue to shape if particular

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[13] Although past research has found important macro-level factors that affect rates of particular forms of ideological crimes, the data used in the current the study do not permit such an analysis at the present time.

crimes are reported as ideologically-motivated or not (Hamm, 1998; Jacobs & Henry, 1998; Jenness & Grattet, 2005).

This study has attempted to create a database that captures the actuality of this violence by not relying solely on those crimes determined to be ideologically-motivated by officials. Open-source data on far-right homicides and other IB homicides were collected on homicide when and if it was determined that events were committed by far-rightists or were motivated by animus toward social minorities based on predetermined lists of indicators of far-right extremism and IB crime. In this way, it was hoped that the data in this study would reflect the actuality of the phenomena as closely as possible.

Nonetheless, it would be a mistake to neglect to consider how social forces have influenced the "actual" nature of far-right homicide since 1990, since crime and the reporting of crime do not occur in a vacuum. It would also be a mistake to reject studying the conditions of far-right and other IB homicide because, as "strict constructionists" have suggested (Spector & Kitsuse, 1977), such conditions are social constructions that do not exist in reality. Instead, the homicide events included in this study are viewed as actual events that have devastating consequences on victims and victims' communities, as well as events that are shaped by an array of social factors that should be thoughtfully considered (Best, 1995; Loseke, 2003). Considering the possible geospatial and temporal effects on the nature of homicide events is one way this study attempts to accomplish this task.

Geospatial Context of Far-Right Homicide Events

Based on a review of the far-right extremist literature (Gruenewald et al., 2009), there is evidence that far-right extremist activities have been associated with certain

portions of the nation (e.g. the Pacific Northwest) (Neiwert, 1999), as well as particular states (e.g. Idaho, Montana, Michigan) (O'Brien & Haider-Markel, 1998), and where high-profile far-right groups have based their headquarters (see also Cook & Kelly, 1999). However, it is clear from this review that scholars have not adequately considered state-level variations in homicide occurrences committed by all far-right extremists in the United States.[14] In addition to advancing a more in-depth understanding of this phenomenon, examining far-right homicides in this way can aid law enforcement and policymakers in assessing the risk of serious far-right violence in their respective states.

Table 5.1 indicates that far-right extremist homicides have not been identified in every state. Since 1990, thirteen states (over 25% of states) and the District of Columbia have had no such homicides identified. Some of the most intriguing findings involve these states and those that have very few homicides attributed to them. Though Montana may have a relatively small population, Michigan (n=3) has a relatively large population, which makes the number of far-right homicides especially surprising considering the elevated far-right activity in this state. One possible conclusion is that states which remain breeding grounds for extremist activity, such as Michigan (i.e. paramilitary militias), may not be hot-beds for extremist crime (see Freilich & Pridemore, 2006). Another explanation is that there may be a reluctance to report the far-right affiliations of homicide offenders to reporting agencies in Michigan and other states (e.g. SPLC, ADL, media outlets). Indeed, scholars have found that the reporting of IM crimes varies by sociopolitical contexts and police practices (Berk et al., 1994; Hamm, 1998).

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[14] This is not to say that other types of crimes involving the domestic far-right have not been studied at the national level (see, for example, Freilich & Pridemore, 2005, 2007; O'Brien & Haider-Markel,1998; Pridemore & Freilich, 2005).

Table 5.1 Percentage of Far-Right Homicide Events by State, 1990-2008 (N=274)±

State	N	Percentage	2000 Census Population	2000 Population Rank±±
California	53	19.3	33,871,648	1
Texas	33	12.0	20,851,820	2
Florida	15	5.5	15,982,378	4
Ohio	14	5.1	11,353,140	7
Arizona	14	5.1	5,130,632	14
Pennsylvania	11	4.0	12,281,054	6
Idaho	9	3.3	1,293,953	39
Washington	9	3.3	5,894,121	13
Alabama	8	2.9	4,447,100	23
Colorado	8	2.9	4,301,261	22
Oregon	8	2.9	3,421,399	27
New York	7	2.5	18,976,457	3
Massachusetts	7	2.5	6,349,097	15
Oklahoma	7	2.5	3,450,654	28
Nevada	6	2.2	1,998,257	35
Arkansas	5	1.8	2,673,400	32
Illinois	5	1.8	12,419,293	5
Missouri	5	1.8	5,595,211	18
Indiana	4	1.5	6,080,485	16
Minnesota	4	1.5	4,919,479	21
North Carolina	4	1.5	8,049,313	10
Tennessee	4	1.5	5,689,283	17
Utah	4	1.5	2,233,169	34
Georgia	3	1.1	8,186,453	9
Kansas	3	1.1	2,668,418	33
Louisiana	3	1.1	4,468,976	25
Michigan	3	1.1	9,938,444	8
Mississippi	3	1.1	2,844,658	31
New Jersey	3	1.1	8,414,350	11
New Mexico	3	1.1	1,819,046	36
Maryland	2	0.7	5,296,486	19
New Hampshire	2	0.7	1,235,786	41
Alaska	1	0.4	626,932	47
Nebraska	1	0.4	1,711,263	38
South Carolina	1	0.4	4,012,012	24
Virginia	1	0.4	7,078,515	12
Wisconsin	1	0.4	5,363,675	20
Connecticut	0	---	---	---
Delaware	0	---	---	---
Hawaii	0	---	---	---
Iowa	0	---	---	---
Kentucky	0	---	---	---

Table 5.1 continued

Maine	0	---	---	---
Montana	0	---	---	---
North Dakota	0	---	---	---
Rhode Island	0	---	---	---
South Dakota	0	---	---	---
Vermont	0	---	---	---
West Virginia	0	---	---	---
Wyoming	0	---	---	---

±State of occurrence is unclear (and thus missing) for two homicide events.
±±Numbers based on 2000 Census state population rankings where "1" represents the state with the largest population during this year.

Also intriguing, relatively few far-right homicides were identified as occurring in the South during this time period, despite historical racial tensions marked by anti-Black lynching in this region of the nation. In particular, states such as Georgia and Louisiana (n=3) have fewer far-right homicides than might be expected, especially considering Georgia's relatively large population. One possible explanation for these findings is that homicides committed by far-right extremists or, more generally crimes motivated by ideology, are more likely to be reported in locations where there are active social movements advocating for the recording of such events (McVeigh, Welch, & Bjarnason, 2003). Also, suspects' beliefs or affiliations with the far-right movement are less likely to be emphasized in open-sources when these events do occur in these states.

It is also evident from Table 5.1 that some states have experienced considerably more homicides which were committed by far-right extremists than others. Some explanations for these findings are worth exploring. One explanation is that some states with a relatively large number of far-right homicides also have a relatively large population, increasing the likelihood of such a crime occurring. In particular, California (n=50) and Texas (n=33) have the most homicides as well as the largest state populations.

Florida (n=14) and Ohio (n=14) are also states with large populations and a relatively large number of far-right homicides, though there are exceptions (e.g. New York). Another explanation is that states which house large state prisons known for experiencing substantial White supremacist group activity are plausibly more likely to have a higher number of far-right homicides in their state. Far-right extremist homicides that occur in prison are included in the current study and, as will be discussed later, it is often the case that White supremacist gangs in the prison affect crime outside prison walls. One of the most notable examples includes San Quentin State Prison in California where the Aryan Brotherhood originated in the late 1960s (Pelz, Marqaurt, & Pelz. 1991). The United States Penitentiary Administrative Maximum Facility (ADX) in Florence, Colorado is another example of a state prison that likely affects the salience of far-right extremist homicide in this particular state, as Colorado is not a state with a large population. Texas is also a state in which practically the entire prison system is plagued with White supremacist (e.g. Texas Aryan Brotherhood) criminal activities that often extend beyond the prison walls (Pelz, Marqaurt, & Pelz. 1991). In addition, states that are disproportionately populated by cities that have a historical presence of counterculture groups or gangs are likely to experience an elevated number of homicides involving far-right extremists. Examples may include Portland, Oregon and Seattle, Washington, which have had relatively elevated skinhead populations since the early 1990s (Langer, 2003). Each of these states has a relatively small population and an elevated number of occurrences of far-right homicide. Idaho is another state with a small population that has experienced a disproportionate amount of far-right homicide. Interestingly, almost 90 percent of the far-right homicides in this state have been non ideologically-motivated,

suggesting that there may be a substantial far-right presence in this state that commits more traditional forms of violence. Idaho has been home to a number of extremist groups, such as the Aryan Nation, which have a history of producing violent White supremacists that commit traditional crimes of violence and, as will be shown later, often against one another. Alabama may also fall under the category of states with relatively small populations and an elevated number of homicides. One explanation is the historical presence of the Ku Klux Klan (KKK) in this state. However, other Southern states have experienced a large KKK presence and Alabama appears to not fit with the pattern of low occurrence (or low reporting) of far-right homicide in the South since 1990. An alternative explanation, therefore, is that the presence of the largest watch-group for far-right violence, the Southern Poverty Law Center, is headquartered in this state. In other words, far-right homicides occurring in Alabama may be more likely to be reported due to the proximity of the homicide occurrences to this watchdog organization. Finally, Massachusetts is a state that has a disproportionately large number of far-right events relative to its population, which cannot be explained by any of the aforementioned explanations. The majority of the homicides, nearly 90 percent, in this state were ideologically-motivated. One explanation for the Massachusetts finding is that this state has been responsible for drafting some of the earliest "hate crimes" legislation, training law enforcement to investigate IM crimes, and for organizing some of the first organized bias crime units. These activities have likely all promoted the reporting of violence perpetrated by far-right extremists (Jenness & Broad, 1997).

In short, this is the most systematic examination of far-right homicide in the United States to date. While this analysis does not provide complete explanation for state-

level variation of far-right homicide, it does provide a context for interpreting the findings regarding situational and suspect-level homicide characteristics in subsequent chapters. Below further discussion of the context of far-right extremist homicides is provided by visual representation of the year when events have occurred since 1990.

Temporal Context of Far-Right Homicide Events

In addition to being spatially distributed across the United States, far-right extremist homicides are temporally distributed in patterned ways. Since 1990, there have been apparent spikes in far-right group memberships and activity. For instance, the SPLC Intelligence Report reported that the number of far-right extremist groups increased to a record number (SPLC, 1999). In addition, in 1998 the SPLC reported the number of extremist group websites had hit an all-time high. The Department of Homeland Security also recently reported that a number of social and other incidental factors have culminated to likely affect the far-right extremist sentiments and interest in far-right group membership (Hudson, 2009).[15] Such factors included the economic collapse, rising home foreclosures, and the election of the first African American president. Although there have recently been some high-profile far-right homicides, it is unknown if these factors will result in an upswing in far-right extremist violence. Nonetheless, the distribution over time, of past far-right extremist homicide occurrences, can be examined.

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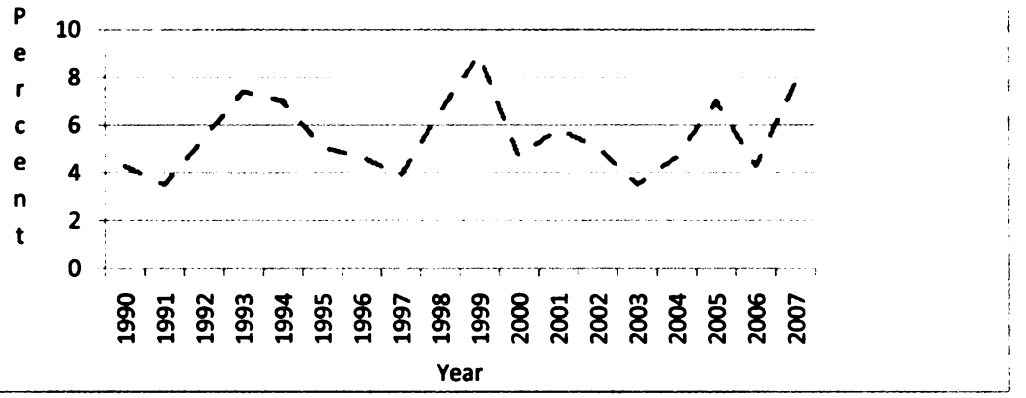
[15] This report was later removed by the Department of Homeland Security due to the controversy it caused over claiming that returning war veterans posed a risk to increasing far-right extremism. The report was to be reworked in a more useful and accurate manner (Hudson, 2009).

Figure 5.1 Rate of Homicide by Type and Year, 1990-2007 (N=257)±



±The year of the homicide event cannot be determined for 17 events (6.2%).

In Figure 5.1 the percentage of far-right homicide that occurred each year between 1990 and 2007 is plotted. This line is based on the homicide events identified in open-sources as described in the last chapter. The number of annual far-right extremist homicides in the United States is small relative to the number of total homicides that occur in the United States. This could easily lead some to question the importance of this topic. However, as discussed previously, the potential effects of such an event on victims and their respective communities can be highly consequential (Berrill, 1992). Ideologically-motivated homicides have in the past opened windows and fueled homeland security and bias crime policy discussion in ways that traditional homicides have not (Colomb & Damphousse, 2004; Jenness & Broad, 1997). In addition, homicide scholars have effectively argued that studying "deviant" forms of homicide can greatly further our understanding of and add nuance to explanations of all homicide (Decker, 1996).

While the rate of the average homicide in the United States was relatively high in the early 1990s and steadily leveled off over time (Blumstein, Rivara, & Rosenfeld, 2000), the rate of far-right homicide has been more erratic and, thus, is more difficult to interpret. The year with the most far-right extremist homicides since 1990 was 1999 (n=23), while in 1991 and 2003 there were only nine far-right extremist homicides identified in the United States. There was a relatively dramatic rise in far-right extremist homicide occurrences in the early 1990s and, then again, in the late 1990s. A few possible partial explanations for the apparent peaks and valleys, and apparent differences from the average homicide can be posited.

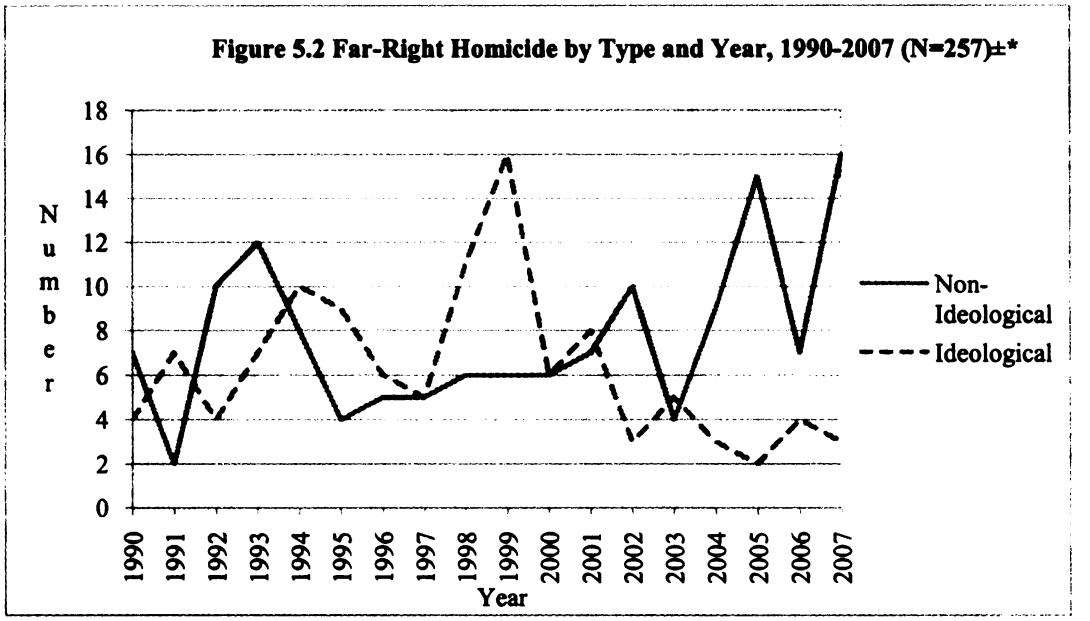
The increase in the early 1990s far-right extremist homicide could be due to the increase in reporting of IB crimes that occurred during this time following the signing of the Hate Crimes Statistics Act in 1990 (Jacobs & Henry, 1996; Jenness and Broad, 1997). Some have suggested that this legislation increased reporting of this type of crime and accounted for the seeming "hate crime epidemic" that occurred in the 1990s (Jacobs & Henry, 1996). In other words, some have suggested the increase was socially constructed. However, it is clear that the early peak in the 1990s was not the only, or most dramatic, spike in the rate of homicide committed by far-right extremists. Thus, another explanation for this early increase could be an actual increase in violence committed by extremists, such as skinheads and other White supremacists (Hamm, 1993).

During the mid-1990s there was an apparent decrease in far-right extremist homicide. Some scholars have discussed a crackdown by law enforcement on far-right extremists during this time, especially following the Oklahoma City bombing in 1995 (Chermak, 2002). This is one possible explanation for the decline. Some scholars have

suggested that far-right extremist groups disbanded or lost members following the very high-profile terrorist event, as many far-rightists did not want to be associated with domestic terrorism and wanted to avoid the added scrutiny by law enforcement (Chermak, 2002).

Conversely, the most dramatic climb of the far-right homicide rate occurred in the late 1990s, peaking in 1999. This peak followed a particular year, 1998, in which two major high-profile IB homicides occurred. The first incident was the brutal anti-gay murder of college student Matthew Shepard near Laramie, Wyoming, while the second case was the anti-Black murder of James Byrd, Jr. in Jasper, Texas. Supporting Colomb and Damphousse (2004), it appears that these events may have been able to set off moral panics in which reporting and publicity of extremist violence increased despite whether or not the actual occurrences increased. Further support is found in Figure 5.2 which shows that far-right IM events peaked during this time period, while non-IM events decreased.

Figure 5.2 Far-Right Homicide by Type and Year, 1990-2007 (N=257)±*



±The year of the homicide event cannot be determined for 17 events (6.2%). *Far-right homicide data are not included due to the unavailability of comparison data.

It is possible that more attention was being paid to those homicides targeting social minority groups during this time. Both the Shepard and Byrd homicides resulted in public outcry, legislative reform, and the victims remain symbolic victims of the gay rights and recent transformations of the civil rights movement, respectively (Jenness & Broad, 1997).

Following these high-profile homicides and the September 11th terrorist attacks on New York City and the Pentagon, the United States experienced the steepest decline in the rate of far-right extremist homicide since 1990. Nonetheless, there is indication that far-right extremism has been steadily on the rise, and recent examples of far-right extremist homicide indicate that this phenomenon is unlikely to dissipate in the near future (Holthouse, 2009). Importantly, though, Figure 5.2 shows that not all types of far-right homicide are on the rise. Instead, it appears that IM and non-IM homicides have

been diverging in recent years. While IM and non-IM homicide events have fluctuated since 1990, it appears that non-IM events are becoming more of a threat in the United States. Chapter 6 further examines how non-IM homicide compare to IM occurrences.

Understanding the time and place that far-right homicides occur advances a more in-depth understanding of this phenomenon. Juxtaposing the occurrence rate of this violent crime with the average homicide in the United States over time reveals that there may be important differences in the nature of far-right homicide from all homicide. It is now necessary to systematically compare far-right homicide incident and suspect characteristics with the average homicide occurring in the United States since 1990, exploring these similarities and differences across these homicide subtypes.

A Comparison of Far-Right and "Average" Homicide Events

As previously stated, two major purposes of this chapter are to present preliminary descriptive findings on a select number of far-right homicide characteristics, and, then, to examine how these homicides may be unique from the average homicide in the United States. The far-right homicide data presented in this chapter were extracted from the Extremist Crime Database (Freilich & Chermak, 2006). The comparison homicide data were compiled from a random sample of homicides from the Uniform Crime Reports-Supplementary Homicide Reports as described in Chapter 4. Table 5.2 compares the nature of far-right incident and suspect characteristics for far-right homicides and the average United States homicide.[16]

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[16] It is important to note here that far-right homicides are not being compared to a random sample of all non far-right homicides, but instead, a random sample of all homicides (including far-right homicide).

In addition to plotting the rate and occurrence of homicide events over time, open-source and official data can be integrated for purposes of comparing the nature of homicide. Previous chapters have described how relying solely on official data sources says little about the nature of far-right homicide.[17] Original data collection based on open-sources allows researchers to define and typify homicide events addressing specific research questions rather than based on what data are available from secondary sources. Another advantage to creating an original database is that is possible to design the data to be comparable with other sources of homicide data such as the SHR. By doing so, it becomes possible to build on the strengths of the already available data sources and to contribute to what is known about the nature of homicide in the United States.

The remaining debate in regard to the uniqueness of IB crimes from traditional crime in the United States adds significance to this study. For instance, one Senate Republican Policy Committee report argues that IB homicides are not unique (Republican Policy Committee, 2000). This report also states that IB crimes are not particularly vicious or terrifying, or especially harmful to the community. However, others who study this form of violence have claimed there to be substantial differences, for instance, in the psychological harm imbued on victims and the social harm on communities (Lawrence, 1999; Levin, 1999; Perry, 2001; Perry & Iganski, 2009).

Bivariate statistical significance tests (i.e. Chi-square) indicate that far-right homicides are statistically unique from the average homicide in the United States. Although these findings are only preliminary in that they do not reveal precisely how

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[17] A recent 2009 report by the National Counterterrorism Center also included a section written by START Center Director Dr. Gary LaFree discussing the issue of the unavailability of such data and the advantages and disadvantages of open-source data (NCC, 2009)

these variables are different from one another, they do show that the proportional distributions of these variables are statistically different. A number of findings from this analysis are worth highlighting from this analysis.

First, similar to the average homicide that occurs in the United States, far-right homicides are primarily committed with firearms. As firearms are predominately the most prominent weapon used in homicides committed in the United States, this finding is not particularly surprising. However, as shown in Table 5.2, a higher proportion of far-right offenders rely on non-firearm weapons compared to the average homicide in the United States.

Table 5.2 Descriptive Findings on Far-Right and Average Homicide Events, 1990-2006± ±±

	Far-Right Homicide		All Homicide	
	N	Percentage	N	Percentage
Incident Characteristics				
Number of offenders (N=235, 2840)****				
Multiple	133	56.6	485	15.8
Single	102	43.4	2588	84.2
Weapon (N=242, 2840)****				
Gun	135	55.8	1940	68.3
Knife	50	20.7	389	13.7
Blunt	26	10.7	119	4.2
Bodily	22	9.1	154	5.4
Other	9	3.7	238	8.4
Circumstance (N=254, 1916)****				
Not for profit	196	77.2	1644	85.8
Profit-related	58	22.8	272	14.2
Victim-Offender Relationship (N=223, 1560)****				
Strangers	124	55.6	443	28.4
Friends/Acquaintances	85	35.1	636	40.8
Domestic Partners	8	3.6	282	18.0
Other family	6	2.7	199	12.8
Primary Suspect Characteristics±±				
Age (N=246, 1780)*				

Table 5.2 continued

1-18	28	11.4	281	15.8
19-28	109	44.3	734	41.2
29-38	67	27.2	383	21.5
39-48	28	11.4	225	12.6
49-58	9	3.7	81	4.6
59 and up	5	2.0	76	4.3
Race (N=226, 1877)****				
White	223	98.7	863	46.0
Black	3	1.3	1014	54.0
Sex (N=250, 1941)****				
Male	246	98.4	1737	89.5
Female	4	1.6	204	10.5

****p≤.001***p≤.05**p≤.01*p≤.01
±Due to the availability of SHR data, only homicides occurring between 1990 and 2006 are considered.
±±Only one far-right homicide suspect for each homicide incident is considered.

One of the most substantial differences across homicide types is in the use of blunt objects and, to a lesser degree, other non-firearm weapons. This finding evokes images of the use of "billy clubs" and other makeshift blunt object weapons used by the young skinhead offenders described in Hamm's research (1993, 1994, 1998).

A second finding of interest is the relatively high proportion of far-right homicides that involved multiple offenders compared to the average United States homicide. Over 50 percent of far-right homicides involved multiple offenders. Combined with findings about the use of more intimate weaponry[18] by far-rightists, it appears that beatings of victims by multiple suspects may be one common theme of far-right extremist homicides that deserves further elaboration. In order to explore this far-right homicide subtype further, all events with multiple suspects that also involved blunt objects were

[18] Intimate weaponry refers to weapons that require relatively intimate physical interaction between suspect and victim.

reviewed. There were two modal themes discovered among these events: 1) homeless beatings[19] and 2) within-group killings.

The beating murders of homeless persons (n=16) were some of the most brutal homicides examined in this study. The majority of these homicides involved multiple suspects and all involved non-firearm weapons, including combinations of knives, sticks, boots, and other blunt and bodily weapons (e.g. fists). Common circumstances involved groups of youth, often loosely organized groups of skinheads or neo-Nazis, who preyed on homeless in packs. Beatings and stabbings took place outdoors in public or semi-public locations. As evidenced in open-source information on these homicides, perpetrators often verbalized their disdain for homeless as lazy as well as their perceptions of homeless persons as drains on society (and as easy targets). Some of the homicides were at least partially motivated by the desire of suspects to win favor with hate groups.

Another type of group-related homicide, often involving blunt objects, were within-group killings that were committed to further group goals, such as for internal group discipline and for ridding the group of real or perceived police informants. As is discussed more in the next chapter, individuals disrespectful of the group were often victims of far-right extremist homicides and were often killed with blunt objects and other non-firearm weapons.

Although statistically significant, far-right homicide and the average homicide are surprisingly proportionately similar across circumstance (profit-seeking behaviors or not)

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[19] While research on IB homicides that target homeless is limited, one exception is a recent study by Waccholz (2009) that examines the victimization of homeless persons.

categories. Both official data on homicide and open-source data on far-right homicide include information on profit-related circumstances involved in each homicide event. Approximately 14 percent of average homicides and 21 percent of far-right homicides involved profit-seeking circumstances. Thus, there were proportionately slightly more profit-seeking homicides in the far-right homicide sub-category when compared to the average homicide in the United States. This is important because past research has tended to associate far-right extremist offending with ideological "mission offenses," or offenses driven strictly by ideology (Levin & McDevitt, 1993). In addition, others have suggested that domestic terrorists, such as far-right extremists tend to specialize in IM offending rather than be versatile criminals (Gottfredson & Hirschi, 1990). Past research, however, has examined only IB crimes reported by police or focused on select incidents of IB offending. Because this study considers all homicides committed by far-right extremists, not only IM crimes, it becomes clear that far-right extremists commit more than IM types of violence and that these crimes of violence may involve profit-seeking behaviors. In subsequent chapters, these motivational and suspect subtypes are more fully explored.

The findings also show, expectedly, that the largest proportion of far-right extremist homicides involve offenders and victims unknown to each other, while conversely, the average homicide is more likely to involve offenders and victims known to each other (often intimately). This finding evokes the image of far-rightists as domestic terrorists seeking out symbolic targets randomly based on their minority statuses. This study found that this type of homicide storyline has been played out in many homicide events. The extent that far-rightists commit homicides against minorities will be discussed below and in subsequent chapters.

More unexpectedly, this study shows that the proportion of homicides which involved offenders and victims known to each other, as friends or acquaintances, was comparable across homicide categories. That is, while far-right homicides are much less likely to involve intimates, they appear to be just as likely to involve known victims. This suggests that far-right extremists not only seek out random and symbolic targets, but also tend to target a number of more familiar victims. The vast majority of far-right known victims were classified as acquaintances rather than friends or family. Indeed, as will be shown in the next two chapters, acquaintance homicides were evenly distributed into IM homicides and non-IM events. Most often these victims and offenders were never on friendly terms despite knowing each other and, in some instances, victims and offenders knew each other only briefly prior to the fatal transaction. These homicides, which have not been examined in past research, included murders of disloyal affiliates, loved ones, and other victim types, such as GLBT community members, which are also explored in more in-depth in the next chapter.

In addition to incident-level characteristics, suspect-level characteristics were considered and the findings are presented in Table 5.2. As expected from past research, the vast majority of suspects involved in far-right extremist homicides were White males. In this way, far-right suspects are unique from the average homicide offender in the United States who continue to be disproportionately African American and, relatively, more likely to be female. While some past studies have examined female participation in far-right extremist activities (Gilmore, 1996), the far-right movement in the United States remains dominated by males and actively promotes traditional notions of masculinity, largely through their discourse (Ferber, 1998). The overwhelming presence of White

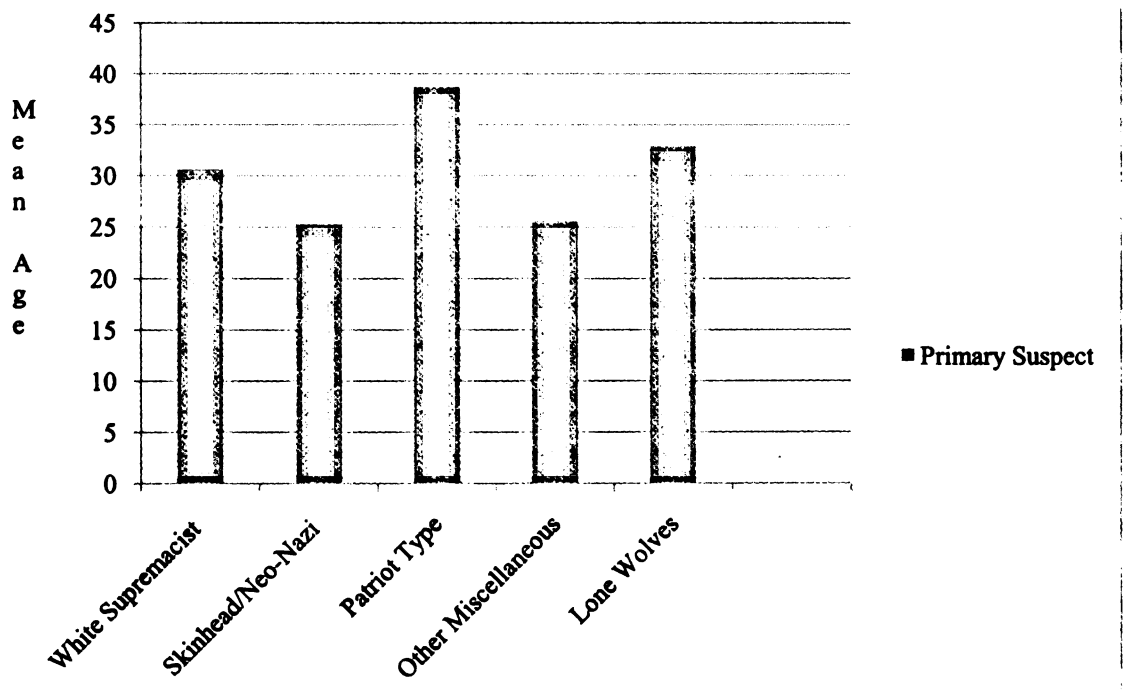
males in the far-right extremist movement has factored into some explanations of why IM crimes occur. For example, Perry (2001) hypothesized that one reason offenders commit IB violence is to "do difference." Extending the "doing gender" theory, Perry suggested that social structural factors have in many ways denigrated the statuses or identities of working-class White males. Particularly in the United States, deindustrialization in the last thirty years has left blue-collar workers and agricultural workers out of work. At the same time, the increase of racial/ethnic minorities in the United States has threatened White racial hegemony. Additionally, the increase in women's rights and participation in the labor force has caused White males to feel threatened on a number of fronts. In response, Perry (2001) suggested that White males have used violence against social minorities to reify their various identities, and the racial, sexual, socioeconomic status lines they view as being blurred by the forces of modernity. In this way, the use of violence has been a way to create or "do difference." More discussion on the doing gender and related doing difference theories is provided in Chapter 7, specifically on how IB offenders may use anti-GLBT violence to reify their sexual identities in specific homicide situations.

Conversely, some findings, such as those regarding offender age, did provide somewhat more surprising results. In his research, Smith (1994) found that domestic terrorists in the United States tended to be older than the comparable traditional offender. However, the findings from this study reveal that this pattern may not apply to all types of far-right extremist offending. While far-rightists who committed homicide were slightly less likely to be categorized as juveniles, and slightly higher in the 29-38 age group compared to traditional homicides, as past research would suggest, far-rightists

were represented higher in the 19-28 year-old age group compared to traditional homicide offenders. Specifically, this finding is contrary to Smith's finding that far-right extremists tended to be in their mid to late 30s.

There are a number of possible explanations for the apparent similarities in far-right homicide offenders age to average offenders' age, and the discrepancies in this study's findings compared to Smith's (1994) research. One partial explanation is that Smith (1994) examined more than homicide offenders. Therefore, far-rightists who commit the most extreme violence may be dissimilar in nature from other far-right criminals.

Figure 5.3 Average Far-Right SuspectAge by Group Type (N=276)±



±Only one far-right homicide suspect for each homicide incident is considered.

Figure 5.3, above, shows that those of the skinhead and neo-Nazi type, a common type of far-right homicide offender, who has rarely been prosecuted at the federal level, has a lower mean age than other types of far-right extremists.

The significant differences in far-right homicide and the average homicide events, as well as some of the surprising similarities in some of the characteristics, have a number of implications. One implication is the justification of the argument made in this study that far-right homicides should be considered as a separate subtype of homicide event. Indeed, one of the fundamental premises of this research is the need to systematically examine homicide perpetrated by far-right extremists, as there is reason to expect that the nature of these events is unique. Related, these findings of difference suggest that the indicators of far-right extremism are useful for typifying a category of homicide events based on suspects' affiliation with the far-right movement in the United States. It also follows that such affiliations plausibly affect the nature of these far-right homicide events in ways that can be empirically examined. Nevertheless, upon further inspection of these variables, some of the findings, despite being statistically different, were surprisingly similar. To illustrate, over 20 percent of far-right homicides involved profit-seeking behaviors. Far-right homicides also were surprisingly likely to involve known victims. Findings such as these suggest that far-rightists may be a more heterogonous group, and that these homicides may take on many motivational forms, than prior research has suggested or has been able to capture. In response to these findings, the next chapters directly examine motivational and suspect subtypes of far-right homicide events. Before moving on to these analyses, however, this chapter further explores far-right suspect differences by systematically examining their affiliations with

the far-right movement and how differences in these affiliations affect the nature of homicide events.

Intensity of Far-Right Affiliation

Thus far, far-right homicides have been treated as a single type of homicide in which any homicide involving at least one suspect affiliated with the movement since 1990 is included in this study. One question not addressed, however, is if far-rightists differ in the intensity of their affiliation to this movement. It is possible that homicides involving suspects that are highly involved in the far-right movement may differ from those that may be less intensely affiliated. Comparatively examining the nature of homicide events across far-rightists who vary by level of intensity presents an opportunity to examine how suspect and situational factors combine to shape fatal outcomes. In this study, the nature of far-right homicides committed by suspects with strong affiliation to the far-right movement were compared with the nature of those events committed by suspects with weak affiliation to the movement. How a suspects' affiliation to the far-right was coded depended on two criteria. The first criterion was the number of indicators present in open-source data that indicated affiliation to the far-right movement. The second criterion was the number of indicators or bits of evidence that stood contrary to suspect affiliation with the far-right. Examples of contrary evidence include, but were not limited to, verbal or written communication of non-adherence to far-right extremism by suspects, witnesses, court actors, and others. Affiliation to the far-right movement was measured on a 4-point scale as illustrated in Table 5.3.

Table 5.3 Strength of Far-Right Suspect Affiliation to the Far-Right

Category	Criteria
4=Undisputed established present or past adherence to far-right ideology and/or far-right specific or general group with multiple indicators present.	1) Multiple (2 or more) far-right indicators found 2) No evidence found contrary to far-right affiliation.
3=Clear established present or past adherence to far-right ideology and/or far-right specific or general group with a single indicator present.	1) Only single far-right indicator found 2) No evidence found contrary to far-right affiliation.
2=Disputed present or past adherence to far-right ideology and/or far-right specific or general group with multiple indicators present.	1) Multiple (2 or more) far-right indicators found 2) Evidence found contrary to far-right affiliation.
1=Disputed established present or past adherence to far-right ideology and/or far-right specific or general group with a single indicator present.	1) Only single far-right indicator found 2) Evidence found contrary to far-right affiliation.

A quantitative analysis was conducted to compare the nature of homicide events perpetrated by suspects with highly intense affiliations to the movement with events perpetrated by suspects less intensely affiliated to the movement. It was found that homicides committed by suspects with strong affiliation to the far-right movement (scored 3 or 4, 87%) were proportionately more likely to be committed by multiple offenders, to target known victims, and were proportionately more likely to be committed by adult suspects rather than juveniles when compared to those homicides involving suspect less intensely affiliated to the movement (scored 1 or 2, 13%). In other words, 13 percent of the homicides involved suspects with low affiliations to the far-right movement, and those particular events involved single offenders, and juvenile suspects that targeted unknown offenders. As will become more evident in the next chapter, cases involving suspects with low affiliations to the movement generally align with the far-right IM homicide events. The suspects involved in these homicides may be fueled by the ideas propagated by the far-right movement but have, for instance, decided not to join

formal groups or take part in other organizational or subcultural aspects of the movement. One explanation is that these offenders are particularly violent or extreme in their rhetoric, which alienates them from other far-rightists. In any case, the nature of these events may be unique from the rest of far-right IM homicides that involve perpetrators with more intense affiliations. Therefore, in the next chapter, the multivariate models will be run both with these cases included and not included in order to detect potential influences (or biases) on results.

Evaluation of Open-Source Information

The final purpose of the current chapter is to evaluate the open-source homicide data in order to identify potential biases that could shape how findings are interpreted. In Chapter 4, a number of types of potential biases associated with open-source data collection were discussed (see also LaFree et al., 2006). One potential bias is newsworthiness bias in which some homicides receive substantial attention compared to others due to their extraordinary nature, possibly differentially affecting the findings. Before examining far-right extremist homicide subtypes in the next chapters, it is necessary to examine potential differences in the extent of missing data for incident and suspect characteristics for those homicides in which only a minimal amount of information is available compared to those cases for which a more substantial amount of information is available.

Another potential bias is one associated with relying solely on media sources (Falkenrath, 2001; LaFree et al., 2009). Media may not include some information that other sources do, such as victim-offender relationships or suspects' race. Therefore, it is also necessary to comparatively examine rates of missing data for those homicide events

in which only news print media information was available and those cases in which multiple types of information was available. The results of these comparisons are shown in Table 5.4.

The first comparison to consider involves homicides in which there were three or less sources of open-source information and those in which there were four or more sources of open-source information. The number of sources for each category was chosen because very few homicides involved only a single source of information and less than 8 percent of homicides were identified in which there were only two sources of open-source information available. While it is still necessary to be cautious in interpreting the descriptive findings in Table 5.4, choosing three or less sources of information as the cut-off point assured that enough homicides would be in each category for meaningful comparisons.

Table 5.4 Percent Missing by Source Type and Salience, 1990-2008±

	Quality of Information				Quantity of Information			
	News Only (n=56)		News and Other (n=219)		3 sources or less (n=39)		4 or more sources (n=232)	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Incident Characteristics								
Number of offenders	56	0.0	219	0.0	39	0.0	232	0.0
Weapon	54	3.6	209	4.6	37	5.1	224	3.4
Circumstance	56	0.0	219	0.0	39	0.0	232	0.0
Victim-Offender Relationship	47	16.1	190	13.2	27	30.8	206	11.2
Suspect Characteristics								
Age	55	1.8	212	3.2	39	0.0	225	3.0
Race	56	0.0	219	0.0	39	0.0	232	0.0
Sex	56	0.0	219	0.0	39	0.0	232	0.0

±Only one far-right homicide suspect for each homicide incident is considered.

Of the variables that were considered, victim-offender relationship and offender race variables experienced increased amounts of missing values. It is likely that coders in many instances were not able to ascertain this information when the available information for these homicides was limited. Nonetheless, compared to other national homicide databases like the UCR-Supplementary Homicide Reports, the amount of missing data for certain variables is very low (FBI, 2004). Indeed, a recent volume of *Homicide Studies* was devoted to the causes and responses to missing data issues (e.g. low clearance rates) in the SHR (Homicide Studies, 2004). Fortunately, all far-right homicides received some type of attention from media, advocacy groups, criminal justice agencies, and most cases had multiple sources of information. Therefore, although a limited number of far-right homicides have a higher rate of missing values for variables like victim-offender relationships, the extent of missing data is relatively low compared to other homicide data sources.

Supporting the findings for the quantity of information comparison, the quality of information revealed that victim-offender relationship and suspect race had relatively increased amounts of missing values for homicide cases in which only news media sources were available. Often, media do not report suspect race as a matter of policy. Thus, it appears that relying only on news media sources may introduce bias due to a lack of information. Fortunately, only one-fourth of all homicides had media as their only source of information. Moreover, the potential bias introduced is likely distributed evenly across the motivational subtypes compared in the next chapter. More specifically, victim-offender relationship and suspects' age had relatively more missing values for non-IM homicides, while weapon use and the number of offenders had relatively more missing

data for IM homicides events. Thus, missing values for homicide variables of interest to the current study were not skewed toward a particular motivational subtype. In sum, while missing data remains a problem in general for homicide research (Homicide Studies, 2004), the far-right homicide data do not introduce additional issues of missing data because they originate from open-sources.

Summary of Findings

This chapter provided an introduction to the rest of the analysis presented on the examination of far-right extremist homicide events. There were three primary purposes of this chapter including describing the context of far-right homicide in the United States since 1990, quantitatively comparing far-right and "average" homicide events, and assessing the quality of open-source data on far-right homicide. Achieving these goals guides the analysis of far-right homicide and aids in the interpretation of the findings presented in the next two chapters.

The consideration of the geospatial and temporal dimensions of far-right homicide events presented a number of interesting findings. For the first time, the extent of far-right homicide and its subtypes was presented, revealing that not all states have experienced this type of homicide occurrence. Moreover, some states appear to have a disproportionately large or small amount of far-right homicide events in relation to the size of their population. Past research and different aspects of the far-right movement were used to speculate on these variations, including the presence of state prisons infamous for housing White supremacist prison gangs, or a historical presence of a particular type of far-right group in particular cities (e.g. skinheads in Portland). The temporal context of far-right homicide was also examined by explaining how state and

regions within states vary in terms of sociopolitical contexts that affect reporting of IM violence (Hamm, 1998). The trajectory of the rate of far-right homicide was compared to the rate of "all" homicide in the United States, as well as how far-right IM and non-IM compared over time. These analyses showed that far-right homicide did not decrease over time as did the "average" homicide in the United States, and experienced a number of peaks and valleys. External factors, such as the passing of the 1990 HCSA and high-profile IB crimes and responses to these crimes were posited as partial explanations for socially constructed increases in far-right homicide. Stated more concisely, it is believed that a number of factors have influenced the temporal nature of far-right homicide that can possibly aid in describing this complex phenomenon and in suggesting how the nature of this phenomenon may differ based on the time period examined.

One finding important in regards to the motivational subgroup analysis conducted in the next chapter is the seeming increase in far-right non-IM homicides and the decline in far-right IM homicides. Therefore, examining the similarities and differences in these homicide subtypes is crucial for understanding the current threat of far-right homicides in the United States.

The comparative analysis between far-right homicide and the "average" homicide in the United States was the first attempt to combine open-source and official homicide data in this fashion. The variables examined were limited to what was available in the SHR as a secondary data source. Each of the homicide characteristics were significantly different when compared using bivariate Chi-square analysis, suggesting important differences in the nature of far-right homicide.

Some of the findings were especially surprising. For instance, there were proportionately more homicides involving profit-seeking behaviors compared to the average homicide in the United States. Another surprising finding was the large proportion of those events targeting known victims. These findings were surprising because IM violence has been portrayed anecdotally as targeting unknown victims based solely on ideological beliefs. These and other important findings indicate a need for further analysis of the variety of far-right offending patterns.

Finally, this chapter assessed the quality of information available for far-right homicide based on open-source information. Particularly, this chapter attempted to identify the potential effects of newsworthy bias and media bias by examining how both the quantity and quality of available data sources affected the extent of missing data for each variable. Findings revealed that there was more missing data for variables such as victim-offender relationship and select offender demographics. However, it was also concluded that "missing" values have been a historical problem for these variables, as information is often unknown to investigators, and the extent of missing values was relatively low for far-right homicides compared to the same variables in official homicide data sources.

CHAPTER 6: A COMPARISON OF FAR-RIGHT IM AND NON-IM HOMICIDE EVENTS, 1990-2008

The last chapter made a number of interesting conclusions based on the findings of a comparative analysis that juxtaposed the nature of far-right homicide with the "average" homicide in the United States. However, a single profile of a "far-right homicide" did not emerge from these preliminary findings. For example, far-right homicides often involved victims known to far-right suspects and over 20 percent of these cases actually involved profit-seeking behaviors. In this way, far-right homicides appeared similar to and less distinguishable from the majority of homicides that commonly occur in the United States. On the other hand, some findings aligned with how far-right perpetrated violence has been described in past research and popular culture, including the involvement of non-firearm weapons and multiple perpetrators. These similarities and differences in the findings presented thus far suggest that far-rightists commit multiple types of homicide events, and indicate a remaining need to take into account varying motivational circumstances (or motivational subtypes) within this type of homicide event.

One of the primary contributions of this dissertation is its examination of all types of homicide events committed by far-right extremists, regardless of the nature of the particular motivational circumstances. To date, there have been no available sources of data that allow for the examination of far-right homicide suspects and situational characteristics. As discussed in previous chapters, available homicide and terrorism databases are not able to distinguish far-right affiliations of suspects or do not include these cases because suspects were not charged with terrorism but, instead, with a myriad of other criminal charges (NCC, 2009; Smith, 1994).The current study, however, is based

on an open-source database that facilitates the comparative examination of far-right homicide suspects and situational characteristics across motivational subtypes. Indeed, one of the key pieces of data gathered from the open-source information for each homicide was the motivational circumstances of each event, including both ideologically-motivated (IM) and non ideologically-motivated (non-IM) homicides.

The wealth of data on each far-right homicide from this original open-source database allows this study to seek answers to a number of research questions. The far-right extremists commitment of other types of homicide that are not primarily motivated by ideological beliefs are of particular interest. Are non-ideologically motivated far-right extremist homicides distinguishable from those that are primarily motivated by ideology? And what makes these homicide events unique? Is it the situational characteristics or suspect characteristics, or both? In addition, how do important distinguishing variables operate in the context of the entire homicide event?

This chapter also illustrates the advantages of approaching the study of far-right homicide from a mixed-method approach (Cresswell & Clark, 2007). Bivariate statistics are used to identify proportional similarities and differences in far-right IM and non-IM event characteristics. Multivariate statistics are used to identify the most significant predictors of homicide motivational subtype, or to identify those characteristics most significantly related to each subtype. The CEP, however, also recognizes that quantitative methods alone cannot capture the complexities and nuances of a particular phenomenon, such as far-right homicide. Therefore, variable-centered theme analysis is used to qualitatively explore in more depth how each variable found to be statistically important operates in the context of the homicide event. In this way, variable-centered themes are

identified to more fully capture the variety of ways the particular variable combines with other situational factors to shape these fatal outcomes.

Furthering the general understanding of far-right extremist homicide is a worthy academic exercise and has significant policy implications. This specific examination directly addresses the debate over if, and if so, to what extent, IM violence is unique from traditional violence, and also extends this discussion and adds nuance to it by placing focus on homicide perpetrated by far-right extremists. These findings have relevance and contribute to the discussion of prosecuting IB crimes and domestic terrorism, as well as sentencing these types of offenders. Second, developing profiles of far-right extremist homicides, in general and by motivational subtypes, can aid in police investigations of this type of violence (Parker, 2009; see also Chermak, Freilich, & Shemtob, 2009). Homicide event profiles can advance law enforcement's ability to identify the general qualities and assess the risk of far-right offenders and, also, can answer questions regarding how these types of events occur.

Descriptive Findings

A number of suspect-level and situational far-right homicide characteristics are examined in this chapter, including those discussed in the last chapter. Also, examined are attributes only available for far-right homicide events (e.g. group type, location, drug and alcohol use). This chapter includes a multivariate analysis that identifies which characteristics best distinguish between motivational subtypes, but it is first necessary to describe the differences in these motivational subtypes in more detail.

There are two motivational subtypes explored in far-right homicide events. The first type is ideologically-motivated (IM) homicide, which includes those homicides

targeting social minorities (based on religious, race/ethnic, sexual orientation, immigrant, nationality statuses or identities, and homeless statuses or identities) and other ideologically-based targets, such as abortion providers and sex offenders. The second subtype of far-right homicide explored in this chapter is non ideologically-motivated (non-IM) homicide, which includes events that do not target social minorities as the primary motive. Moreover, these events may or may not have been committed to further the far-right extremist movement.

One key finding shown in Table 6.1 is that far-right extremist homicide offenders have committed proportionately more non-IM homicide events (n=56.7%) than IM homicides since 1990 in the United States. Because past studies have only anecdotally considered the IM offending of far-rightists, the extent of non-IM offending was virtually unknown. This finding, again, highlights the benefits of examining not only the IM homicide offending patterns of far-rightists, but all of the other types of homicide offending by far-right extremists as well. Table 6.1 shows that there were 117 IM far-right homicides that have occurred since 1990 in the United States. The majority of these homicides targeted members of social minority groups, while the next modal category was homicide events that targeted government-related victims. Other IM homicide motives included, for instance, those motivated by animus toward abortion providers, sex offenders, and other leftist and feminist groups.

Table 6.1 Far-Right Homicide Motivational Circumstances

	N (270)	Percent
Ideological (n=117, 43.3%)		
Anti-Social Minority Groups	91	77.8
Anti-Government	18	15.4
Other Ideological	8	6.8
Non-Ideological (n=153, 56.7%)		
Movement Related	52	34.0
Non-Movement Related	101	66.0

The remainder of the homicide events were not ideologically-motivated. A relatively small proportion of these non-IM homicides were related to the far-right movement in some way. An example of this type of homicide would be a far-right extremist murdering a fellow extremist group member or affiliate because of his disrespect toward the group or alleged "snitching" on group criminal activities. Another example would be when a far-right extremist commits a string of robberies in order to fuel activities aimed at furthering their beliefs or group cause. The majority of non-IM homicides, however, had no apparent ties to the far-right movement. Instead, this subcategory of homicide consisted of domestic homicides, drug-related homicides, and other felony homicide events.

The next step is to examine the similarities and differences in the natures of far-right IM and non-IM homicide events. In Table 6.2 the findings for the comparative analysis of suspect and incident-level variables for each homicide motivational subtype are presented.

Table 6.2 Descriptive Findings Far-Right IM and Non-IM Homicides (N=270) ±

	Non Ideological (N=153)		Ideological (N=117)	
	N	**Percent**	**N**	**Percent**
Incident Characteristics				
Number of offenders (n=141, 107)				
Multiple	90	63.8	53	49.5
Single	51	36.2	54	50.5
Weapon (n=148, 111)				
Gun	86	58.1	61	55.0
Knife	32	21.6	20	18.0
Blunt	12	8.1	14	12.6
Bodily	11	7.4	13	11.7
Other	7	4.8	3	2.7
Circumstance (n=153, 117)				
Not for profit	111	72.5	100	85.5
Profit-related	42	27.5	17	14.5
Victim-Offender Relationship (n=129, 106)				
Strangers	48	37.2	85	80.2
Friends/Acquaintances	67	51.9	21	19.8
Domestic Partners	8	6.2	0	0.0
Other family	6	4.7	0	0.0
Group (n=125, 105)				
Group Related	77	61.6	47	44.8
Non Group Related	48	38.4	58	55.2
Location (n=140, 113)				
Outdoor	49	35.0	66	58.4
Indoor	91	65.0	47	41.6
Primary Suspect Characteristics				
Age (n=147, 115)				
1-18	18	12.2	10	8.7
19-28	64	43.5	51	44.3
29-38	43	29.3	33	28.7
39-48	17	11.6	11	9.6
49-58	3	2.0	7	6.1
59 and up	2	1.4	3	2.6
Criminal History (n=153, 117)				
Priors	81	52.9	51	43.6
No Priors	72	47.1	66	56.4
Drug/Alcohol Use During Incident (n=153, 117)				
Yes	20	13.1	25	21.4
No	133	86.9	92	78.6

±Only one far-right homicide suspect for each homicide incident is considered.

As shown in Table 6.2 the majority of non-IM far-right homicides having occurred in the United States since 1990 involved multiple offenders, while IM events were more evenly distributed across single and multiple offender subtypes. This finding was somewhat unexpected because it was assumed that far-right non-IM homicides would tend to resemble traditional homicide offenses more so than IM events. Scholars relying on various situational perspectives, including symbolic interaction, have discussed how multiple offenders and bystanders can shape the evolvement of violent encounters into homicidal events (Luckenbill, 1977; Meier et al., 2001). For instance, as discussed further below, one common way that additional offenders can facilitate extreme violence is by deriding the offender who may not want to "lose face" into confronting an adversary or participating in a killing. Often suspects felt as if they had no choice but to participate in the homicide or face retribution from their accomplices.

Indeed, it is likely that homicides committed by formal far-right extremist groups that often involve extensive crime syndicates are influencing the findings for the "number of homicide offenders" variable. Approximately 80 percent of non-IM homicides involving formal groups also involve multiple offenders. As was shown above, a substantial proportion of non-IM far-right motives included within-group violence (e.g. internal discipline). These cases involved multiple offenders, as group leaders made a decision to have the victim murdered, and then ordered a lower-level member or individual desiring to gain admission into the group. This explanation is supported by the finding that over 60 percent of non-IM homicides involved suspects linked to formal groups, as compared to IM homicides which are mostly non-group related. The seriousness of this type of violence became apparent after a large number of Aryan

Brotherhood offenders were federally indicted on racketeering and other charges that included sixteen homicides that stemmed back to the 1970s (Coverson, 2006). The court records on this case showed how this particular crime syndicate crossed state boundaries and committed criminal activities within and outside prison walls and included attempted homicides, drug homicides, and various conspiracy charges. This case also revealed the ways in which group leaders routinely ordered group members and affiliates to murder fellow members who were thought to have disrespected or had been disloyal to the Aryan Brotherhood.

In addition to the number of offenders involved in each far-right homicide, another intriguing finding was that non-IM homicides were proportionately more likely to involve profit-seeking behaviors when compared to IM homicides. Profit-seeking behaviors included most commonly were acts of robbery and burglary. Therefore, it is clear that internal discipline among far-right groups was not the sole circumstance of non-IM far-right extremist homicides. More specific examples of non-IM homicides involving profit-seeking behaviors are discussed in the next section. Other far-right non-IM homicide characteristics, these variables appear relatively more similar to the average homicide in the United States in a number of ways. First, far-right non-IM homicides were more likely to involve the use of firearms and knives as primary weapons compared to the other motivational homicide subtype. In this way, IM homicides have been more associated with intimate weaponry compared to their non-IM counterpart. Non ideologically-motivated homicides, on the other hand, involved more efficient and lethal modes of killing (i.e. firearms).

Second, non-IM homicides were proportionately more likely to involve victims known to offenders rather than random strangers when compared to IM events similar to the average homicide in the United States. Thus, it is clear, based on these findings, that IM homicides were more likely to target strangers, which aligns with what has been written anecdotally in regards to the symbolic attacks on random victims by far-right extremists.

Considering circumstance, victim-offender relationship, and weapon type, in combination, reveals that far-right extremist homicides tend to differ from the average homicide in the United States. Average homicides involving profit-seeking behaviors (i.e. instrumental or felony homicides) tend to be associated with unknown victim-offender relationships, while expressive homicide events tend to involve arguments with known victims (Block, 1981; Decker, 1993; see also Miethe & Drass, 1999; Salfati, 2000). Indeed, far-right non-IM homicides, compared to far-right IM events, are proportionately more likely to involve profit-seeking behaviors and known victims. In addition, in average homicides, intimate weaponry tends to be more associated with known victims. For far-right homicides, however, intimate weaponry is associated with IM homicide events that are also proportionately more related to unknown victim-offender relationships.

Other remaining homicide characteristics cannot be as easily compared to homicide data collected at the national level by criminal justice agencies. Nonetheless, these characteristics are relevant to the current study as they may lead to a more nuanced understanding of far-right extremist homicide. These variables include homicide location,

as well as suspects' criminal history and if far-right suspects were under the influence of drugs or alcohol during the commission of the homicide.

It is initially clear that far-right non-IM homicides were more commonly committed indoors in comparison to IM far-right homicides. This, too, is inconsistent with past research that has tended to characterize far-right homicides as events that occur in public settings. As discussed further below, non-IM homicides often occurred indoors in more common locations such as residences. In contrast, far-right IM homicides fit the portrayal of IM homicide as a public act targeting random victims based on their social minority statuses. Possibly the most high-profile event of this type was the cross-state shooting murder by World Church of the Creator member Benjamin Smith on July 4, 1999. Smith began his murderous crime spree near Chicago killing an African American man and injuring a number of Orthodox Jews returning home from worship. On his two-day rampage, Smith crossed into Indiana, killing an Asian graduate student outside his church just off the campus of Indiana University. Smith's case is relatively unique in that he targeted multiple social minority groups in one homicide event.

In addition to indoor locations, non-IM homicides, more often than not, involved suspects with past criminal records. This is predictable as far-rightists that commit non-IM homicides would likely not be those that tended to specialize in IM offending. Moreover, non-IM homicides involved suspects that were, proportionately, less likely to be under the influence when compared to IM homicide offenders. This suggests that non-IM offenders may be somewhat more premeditated than IM offenders. Importantly, Messner et al. (2004) also found use of illegal substances to be associated with IM offending. They used this evidence as support for the hypothesis that IM offenders do not

necessarily specialize in ideological offending, but are more or less "versatile" criminals (Gottfredson & Hirschi, 1990). This dissertation builds on their research by identifying similarities and differences in IM and non-IM in regards to the use of drugs and alcohol for far-right extremists. The findings on prior criminal history and alcohol/drug use during the homicide event also indicate that it is not always appropriate to use these two variables as similar indicators of suspects' deviant behaviors. That is, it would not be unreasonable to hypothesize that suspects, with prior arrest histories, involved in the average homicide would also be those that tend to abuse drugs and alcohol. This, however, does not seem to be the case when considering the different subtypes of far-right homicide events. The findings on far-right extremist homicides support in part what Hamm (1993) found concerning skinheads in the United States. Indeed, his research found that skinheads rarely had serious prior arrest histories, but that offenders often drank alcohol (i.e. beer) during their criminal activities.

The last homicide characteristic to discuss before addressing the multivariate analysis findings are those associated with the age of far-right homicide suspects. The age distribution across far-right IM and non-IM homicide events were very similar, so it does not appear that IM offenses involved younger offenders, which was one plausible explanation proposed in the last chapter to explain the similarities in far-right and the average homicide offender's age since 1990. The findings on age also suggest that it is unlikely that far-right suspects commit different types of violence as they progress into older age groups. Instead, it appears that far-right extremists are more or less versatile criminals, or those who commit both IM and non-IM offenses (Gottfredson & Hirschi, 1990), and do so mostly at a relatively young age.

Thus far, a number of proportional similarities and differences between IM and non-IM homicides committed by far-right extremists have been discussed based on descriptive findings that are presented in Table 6.2. Motivational subtypes of far-right homicides were comparatively examined in response to the descriptive findings provided in the last chapter which suggested that far-right homicides may be a heterogeneous phenomenon. The findings in this chapter have so far reinforced the notion that there are at least two motivational subtypes within far-right homicide that can be identified, although there remain some similarities between them. As past research on other forms of homicide have suggested (Flewelling & Williams, 1999; Pizarro, 2009), disaggregating homicide events in meaningful ways can advance our understanding of these complex forms of violence. However, it is still unknown based on descriptive findings if there are statistically significant predictors that can distinguish between these types of homicide motivational subtypes committed by far-right extremists. The next section addresses this research question.

Multivariate Findings

Seven binary-coded incident and suspect-level homicide characteristics were entered into a multivariate binary-logistic regression as independent variables to determine whether each variable could distinguish between the motivational subtypes of homicide (dependent variable), net the effects of the other homicide factors. These variables were selected because they have been found to be important in past homicide research and are linked to substantive questions and debates in the hate crimes and domestic terrorism literatures. These variables also represent theoretically-relevant factors in which substantial data were available. Indeed, one of the advantages of the

open-source database is that it allows for the analysis of variables for which data on the national level are limited (e.g. alcohol/drug use, criminal history). Binary-logistic regression was used because it remains an appropriate statistical method to use when the dependent variable is binary-coded (1=far-right IM, 0=far-right non-IM). The multivariate findings shown in Table 6.3 reveal that there are three incident-level and a single suspect-level homicide factor that serve as significant predictors of homicide motivational subtype.

Table 6.3 Binary-Logistic Regression Findings for Predicting Motivational Subtypes± (N=270)

	B (SE)	Odds Ratio (OR)
Incident Characteristics		
Multiple Offenders	-.557 (.406)	0.573
Gun-Related	.532(.440)	1.702
Profit-Motivated	-1.587(.500)***	0.205
Known Victim	-2.024(.408)****	0.132
Multiple Deaths	-.407(.528)	0.666
Group-Related	-.478(.440)	0.620
Occurred Indoors	-.941 (.394)***	0.390
Primary Suspect Characteristics		
Juvenile	-.322(.639)	0.725
Had Priors	-.625(.385)*	0.535
Under the Influence During	.266(.519)	1.305
Constant	2.118(.460)****	---
Pseudo R2	.309	---
-2 Log Likelihood	181.111	---

*p≤.1**p≤.05≤***p≤.01****p≤.001
±Only one far-right homicide suspect for each homicide incident is considered.

The only suspect-level homicide characteristic that distinguished between homicide motivational subtypes is evidence of suspects' prior arrests found in the

available open-source information. In particular, homicides involving suspects who had known priors were significantly ($p \leq 0.10$)[20] related to non-IM homicides compared to the reference category (suspects with no evidence of priors). The type of arrest, such as a violent crime, is not captured in this variable. While it is often possible to attain criminal histories on state prisoners from open-sources,[21] information on prior arrests that occurred when suspects were younger than eighteen is nearly impossible to attain from open or closed sources. Therefore, this variable is used as a way to capture the extent of criminal behavior rather than the quality of these crimes. The descriptive finding found in Tale 6.2 that both IM and non-IM far-right homicides have over 40 percent of primary suspects with evidence of prior arrests is an important finding in itself, as this type of information on prior arrests (i.e. any type of prior arrest) has not been measured in past research. As stated above, past research has found that certain types of IM offenders, such as skinheads, tend to not have serious criminal histories (Hamm, 1993; see also Levin & McDevitt, 1993).[22] The multivariate findings shown in Table 6.2 are also useful in understanding the behavior of far-rightists, as they reveal that prior arrests are significantly related to far-right non-IM homicides. While the quantitative findings indicate a statistical relationship between suspects' past criminal behavior and subtype (non-IM) of far-right homicide, it remains unclear what types of far-right extremists are involved in these non-IM homicides. Understanding how prior arrests operate to shape

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[20] As this is the first empirical study of far-right extremist homicide, and this study is in many ways exploratory, variables found to be significant at the .10 level will be considered. Future research will extend this study by increasing the sample size (2008 and 2009 homicide data) and by evaluating the utility of particular homicide measures using stricter significance levels.

[21] An example of an open-source in which information about some far-right suspects can be found at http://www.theinmatelocator.com/.

[22] It should be noted that Hamm's data is based on a limited number self-report survey data and regards only prior felony arrest.

fatal outcomes in the context of the homicide event could aid in understanding the similarities and differences in far-right IM and non-IM homicide events.

In order to identify the different homicide subtypes of far-rightists and elucidate the different situational circumstances that occurred, a variable-centered theme analysis was conducted for the variable of prior arrest history. Information on each homicide meeting these criteria was reviewed and open-source information was entered into the qualitative data software package *NVivo8* which made identifying homicides that were both non-IM and profit-seeking more efficient.

Table 6.4 Affiliation Type for Far-Right Homicide Suspects with Prior Arrests±

	Non-IM		IM	
	N (81)	**Percentage**	**N (48)**	**Percentage**
White Supremacist Group Member	39	48.1	15	31.3
Non-Prison	*28*	*71.8*	*12*	*80.0*
Prison	*11*	*28.2*	*3*	*20.0*
Self-styled White Supremacist	6	7.4	6	12.5
Skinhead	16	19.8	13	27.1
Neo-Nazi	10	12.3	12	25.0
Anti-Government Extremist	8	9.9	---	---
Anti-Abortion Provider	0	0.0	2	4.1
Survivalist	2	2.5	---	---

±Only one far-right homicide suspect for each homicide incident is considered.

The findings in Table 6.4 show that far-right extremist homicides involving suspects with evidence of priors are proportionately likely to be White supremacists tied to formal organizations. A large proportion of these events were perpetrated by the prison gang Aryan Brotherhood. Nonetheless, of all IM homicides involving perpetrators with priors, 20 percent were committed in prison, revealing that violence has been a problem experienced substantially outside of prison walls. This is an important finding as past

research on far-right extremist violence has largely ignored these offenders. Moreover, it is difficult to categorize these offenders who appear to be the most criminally active of all far-right extremists within existing typifications of far-right extremist violence. White supremacist group members could possibly fit within Heitmeyer (2003) category of far-right "subcultural violence." While subcultural violence could easily apply to many of the homicides perpetrated by skinheads and neo-Nazis (Hamm, 1993), the offending of White supremacists in the United states is largely non ideologically-motivated, and when motivated by ideology tends to target government officials and social minority groups. Therefore, it may be useful to consider White supremacists as a unique category of far-right homicide violence.

Table 6.4 also reveals that skinheads and neo-Nazis with priors were, proportionately, more likely to commit IM homicide compared to non-IM events. The most common type of homicide perpetrated by these types of offenders in which there was evidence of prior arrests for suspects was anti-race (primarily anti-African Americans) homicide. The majority of these suspects were described as having links to a skinhead or neo-Nazi group, though a formal group was not identified for these cases. In this study, a suspect was coded as a particular type of far-rightist (e.g. "skinhead") if they were labeled as so in the open-source materials, criminal justice officials, themselves, or some other source. It is possible that a group of young males simply called themselves a skinhead gang despite not having any other organizational characteristics of a cohesive group (e.g. leader, organizational goals). However, when a formal group was mentioned,

the Aryan Nations,[23] arguably the largest and most violent neo-Nazi organization in the United States, was the most common group linked to the homicide.

One homicide subtype that is not shared across motivational categories is "anti-government extremist." While, as has been discussed, different types of far-rightists share similar beliefs, anti-government extremists are those that have as their primary issue government corruption and often perceived government conspiracies (e.g. FBI, ATF, IRS) against themselves. Seven of the eight events, involving anti-government extremists with priors, happened to involve murders of law enforcement officers. These suspects usually had long histories with government authorities in the shape of filing bogus lawsuits, failing to pay taxes, and making threats to local officials. In other words, these far-rightists could be described as "ticking time bombs," and when confronted by law enforcement, go off. In these instances police operated at a disadvantage as suspects were heavily armed and prepared to do battle against who they perceived as representatives of a government posing a grave threat to their livelihood, constitutional rights, and personal welfare.

As alluded to above, the statistical effects of suspect prior arrests on far-right homicide motivation subtype are moderate to weak. One way this study tested the robustness of this variable as a predictor of homicide subtype was to rerun the regression model after sorting out those more "extreme" cases that involved homicide suspects with weak affiliations to the far-right. As discussed in the last chapter, approximately 12 percent of the homicides involved suspects that held only weak affiliations to the far-right movement. These homicide events tended to involve lone-wolf ideologically-motivated

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[23] More information about the Aryan Nations can be found at http://www.aryan-nations.org/.

offenders who targeted strangers in outdoor locations. As expected, when the model was rerun again without these homicide events included, the variable of prior offenses became less significant. Therefore, it is likely that these "mission offenses" were influencing the relationship between this variable and homicide subtype. In addition, when these particular homicide events were removed from the model, group affiliation became a significant predictor. This aligns with the other descriptive findings shown in Table 6.3 which revealed that formal White supremacist gangs were the most prominent type of non-IM offenders. Importantly, the situational variables remained significantly related to homicide motivational subtype when the new model was run without the homicides involving less intensely affiliated offenders.

Variable-Centered Theme Analyses

The remainder of this chapter focuses on exploring themes that capture the situational variations in far-right extremist homicide. What follows is a discussion of the findings stemming from the significant quantitative findings, as well as the variable-centered theme analysis conducted for each of the situational findings found to be significant. The purposes of the remainder of this chapter are to identify key distinguishing characteristics of far-right homicide subtypes and to further the understanding of this form of violence by qualitatively describing how important situational homicide factors operate to shape these fatal outcomes. This is accomplished by identifying themes capturing the influence of situational variables on non-IM events, as well as show how these variables shape IM homicides in order to better understand the similarities and differences in these motivational subtypes.

Profit-Seeking Homicides

The first key situational finding, as shown in Table 6.3, is that homicide events that involved profit-seeking behaviors were significantly more likely to be associated with non-IM far-right homicides, net the effects of the other homicide characteristics considered. This finding is consistent with the bivariate results discussed previously. Therefore, it is clear that while far-rightists do commit homicides involving profit-seeking behaviors, they tend to be motivated primarily by non-IM circumstances. The question remains as to how profit-seeking behaviors by offenders operate in the context of the entire homicide event. What are the common themes or types of situations for profit-seeking non-IM homicides? That is, were these profit-seeking behaviors also associated with IM homicide offenses as well, and if so, how? As will be shown, the ability to address questions such as these is one of the advantages of approaching this topic from a criminal event perspective and from a mixed-method approach.

A variable-centered theme analysis was conducted to identify how this particular characteristic shaped the fatal outcomes of interest. Seven variable-centered themes were identified revealing the multiple ways profit-seeking circumstances shape far-right homicide events. Table 6.5 shows that robbery of persons was the most salient subtype of non-IM far-right homicide.

Table 6.5 Profit-Seeking Behaviors for Far-Right Homicide

	Non-IM		IM	
Variable-Centered Theme	**N (30)**	**Percentage**	**N (14)**	**Percentage**
Robbery of person	11	36.6	14	100.0
Robbery of business	5	16.7	---	---
Robberies Committed in Preparation for "War"	4	13.3	---	---
Within-Group Dispute and Robbery	3	10.0	---	---
Revenge Killing and Robbery	3	10.0	---	---
Police Murder During Escape of Robbery	2	6.7	---	---
Drug Deals Gone Awry and Robbery	2	6.7	---	---

The majority of non-IM robberies of persons had little or nothing to do with their far-right extremist beliefs or affiliations, as the forceful taking of money or property was the primary objective of the event. Robbery was the primary objective of all of the business robberies as well, the second most common variable-centered theme, although it was clear that in at least two of these homicide events, offenders found it easier to murder the business employees because of their nationality and ethnicity. Therefore, while robbery was the primary motivating factor, ideological beliefs shaped these fatal events to some degree. Other types of non-IM homicides were directly related to the far-right movement. In particular, a number of homicides were carried out in the process of robberies committed to gain money for what suspects viewed as an upcoming racial struggle or "race war." These involved crime sprees, and in some instances, involved multiple murders. One high-profile example was the murder of a family by far-right extremist Chevie Kehoe and one of his accomplices. Kehoe became well-known for his non-fatal shoot-out with police that was caught on police camera after a traffic stop. Prior to the shoot-out, Kehoe had robbed a family known to him as family acquaintances who also happened to be gun dealers. Kehoe robbed the family of their guns, money, and other

valuables, and then with his accomplice murdered the family, including a father, mother, and young child. The purpose of the non-IM robbery-murder was to gather weapons and funds to ignite what the Kehoe's viewed as an inevitable struggle or war between the races. The Kehoe's beliefs had been shaped by their father's strict Christian Identity teachings. Before being caught and sent to prison, Kehoe would be charged with two other murders, neither one of which targeted social minority groups or other ideological targets.

Another theme involving movement-related circumstances that emerged from the open-source data on these events was within-group disputes, or arguments between far-right extremist members of the same extremist organization.[24] Arguments included disputes over membership status and disloyalty to the group, as well as other types of disputes. In these instances, robbery tended to be a secondary motive. Moreover, the rest of the homicides captured in the revenge and police murder themes involved robbery as a non-primary circumstance.

Although profit-seeking behaviors were mostly associated with non-IM homicides, some IM events also involved profit-seeking behaviors. As shown in Table 6.4, all of the seventeen far-right IM homicides involving profit-seeking behaviors were robbery of persons. Only five of these events involved victims known to the suspects and nearly half of the events targeted homeless individuals. In one way, these motivational subtypes were similar in regards to prominent themes, as robbery of persons is the modal category of non-IM events. However, by looking more closely at the different profit-

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[24] See Phillips (2009) who found that many "bias crimes" tended to be primarily motivated by interpersonal conflicts rather than "hate."

seeking circumstances involved in far-right IM homicide, two unique themes emerged. What was unique about these events was how robbery was used as a way to further victimize the target rather than used as a primary motive. In addition, robbery also served the purposes of concealing identities of victims and for the collection of "souvenirs"[25] in addition to serving as a way to further victimize the target beyond the physical attack. Ideological profit-seeking homicides often involved brutal beatings and stabbings of victims known to be homosexuals or racial minorities, or homeless males. These attacks were less likely to involve the use of firearms, and often involved instances of overkill.[26] For instance, one case involved the violent murder of a Vietnamese student who was stabbed twenty-two times in the heart, in addition to other wounds. The victim had no money to give the perpetrator, although it was reported that he did offer his car keys at some point during the attack. In another case, an African American woman was stabbed nineteen times in addition to having her skull crushed, while another male victim was burned on top of a mound of used tires because of his homosexuality in another brutal homicide. As many of these events targeted the homeless, substantial monetary gain was unlikely a primary factor in these cases. In sum, profit-seeking homicides were most associated with non-IM homicides. Moreover, this subtype of homicide most commonly involved robbery of persons in which robbery was a primary motive. However, variable-centered theme analysis revealed that other non-IM homicides involved robbery as a secondary motive, such as those homicides committed to further the far-right movement

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[25] See also Hamm (2007) in regards to far-rightists collection of evidence as "totems."

[26] The term "overkill" is a subjective term used here to describe the use of torture (physical, sexual, and psychological) against victims, as well as the unnecessary infliction of fatal and non-fatal injuries before and after the death of the victim.

in ways such as preparing for race wars and maintaining group norms through fatal acts of group-related discipline.

Examining the homicides as situational events also revealed how IM and non-IM homicides were similar in a limited number of instances, as robbery of persons occurred in both event subtypes. To illustrate, theme analysis revealed that all IM profit-seeking homicides involved robbery as a secondary motive. These events were unique from non-IM events as vicious stabbings and beatings were secondary to firearm-related homicides.

The findings have a number of implications for the use of the criminal event perspective. In particular, the CEP illustrated the limitations of relying solely on simple and predetermined categories of homicides (Decker, 1996; Flewelling & Williams, 1999). Profit-seeking homicides are not a homogeneous subtype of events. Some involved robbery as a primary motive, while others involved robbery as a secondary motive. Therefore, making conclusions solely on the quantitative distribution of profit-seeking events would be misleading. Past research has suggested that there is a need to exclude those IM events not primarily motivated by ideology (Berk et al., 1994), but the advantages of comparatively examining these types of events is important. Moreover, basing categorization schemes of homicide events on specific research questions should remain a priority. Analyzing closely related far-right homicide subtypes illuminates the nature of those events of most interest to the current study and leads to more nuanced explanations of these fatal occurrences. Relying on theme analysis also revealed a number of findings regarding those homicides that did not fit the general patterns. Focusing attention on "negative cases" or deviant homicides (Decker, 1996) advanced a more nuanced understanding of this complex phenomenon. Indeed, examining how key

variables operated in the context of the entire event showed that profit-seeking IM homicides more often involved intimate weaponry, outdoor locations, and robbery as a secondary motive. These contextual variables helped shape the brutality of these events. Focusing on the entire event for IM and non-IM homicide in this way also facilitated conclusions about the uniqueness of IM events. It became clear that the IM profit-seeking homicides tended to be much more brutal attacks that included sexual torture and mutilation of victims. While both ended in death, some have suggested that the viciousness of these attacks inevitably affects victims' families, local communities, and respective minority group communities.

Known Victim-Offender Relationships

The second statistically significant finding involves the relationships between the variable "victim-offender relationships" and homicide motivational subtypes. In Chapter 5 it was found that far-right homicides in general tended to involve proportionately more unknown victim-offender relationships relative to the average homicides that occur in the United States during the same time period. Moreover, as shown in Table 6.3, this study found that some far-right homicides have, in fact, involved known victim-offender relationships, however, these events were more likely to be associated with the non-IM motivational homicide subtype when compared to IM homicides. Further statistical analyses also indicated that in addition to being an important predictor of the far-right non-IM homicide category, victim-offender relationship is the strongest predictor of this type of homicide. By transforming the binary logistic regression coefficients into "predicted probabilities" it is possible to examine how particular homicide variables compare in regards to their predictive power of homicide motivational subtype relative to

each other when all other variables are set to their mean values.[27] As shown in Table 6.6, far-right homicides were most likely to be non ideologically-motivated when victims were known to suspects (63%).

Table 6.6 Predicted Probabilities for Far Right Non-IM Homicide Events

	Predicted Probabilities
Prior Arrests	.49
Profit-Seeking	.50
Known Victim-Offender Relationships	.63
Indoor Locations	.54

Questions remain as to how these types of homicides have occurred. Also, how do the dynamic plotlines for non-IM events compare to IM events in which victims are known? How do victim-offender relationships operate in the context of the entire event? Non-ideological homicides committed by far-right extremists have never been systematically examined, so studying situations where victim-offender relationships are known can increase understanding of these events. Similar to the variable-centered theme analysis conducted for the statistically significant finding of profit-seeking behaviors, a variable-centered theme analysis was conducted to examine how known victim-offender relationships have operated to shape fatal outcomes.

The most reoccurring theme of non-IM homicides in which victim-offender relationship was known involves reactions by far-rightists to real or perceived disrespect to the extremist group. While a limited number of homicides represented by this theme

[27] See Liao (1994) and Spohn and Holleran (2001)

were reactions to disrespect toward the group's belief system (e.g. verbally disrespecting offender's German heritage), the vast majority of these situations entailed disrespect to group norms or rules, and, as was shown in the last section, only a few of these instances involved robbery.

Table 6.7 Known Victim-Offender Relationships for Far-Right Homicide±

	Non-IM		IM	
	N (74)	Percentage	N (12)	Percentage
Murder of Disrespectful Group Affiliates	32	43.2	---	---
Murder of Intimates and Family	12	16.2	---	---
Petty Arguments with Acquaintances	9	12.1	---	---
Anti-Police	6	8.1	---	---
Anti-Gay Victims	6	8.1	6	50.0
Victims of Convenience	4	5.4	---	---
Anti-Black Victims	3	4.1	4	33.4
Anti-Abortion Providers	1	1.4	1	8.3
Anti-Sex Offenders	1	1.4	1	8.3

±Only one far-right homicide suspect for each homicide incident is considered.

Common themes included the murdering of group members or affiliates thought (or otherwise known) to be informants. Other common themes included the murder of group members who were thought to cheat the group financially or members who desired to leave the group. In these cases, it appears that loyalty to the group was more important than prior camaraderie.

Nonetheless, the next most common theme was very different from the first and included the murder of love ones, intimate partners and other family members. These homicides were exclusively committed outside of prison walls. Interestingly, a number of these intimate homicides were part of a larger killing spree by the extremists. For instance, three of these events involved young males "snapping" and killing their parents

or guardians, and suspects then going on to commit large-scale murders (e.g. school shootings).

Other known victim-offender relationships involved police homicides and anti-gay homicides in which offenders encountered the victims in their normal daily routine. Homicides targeting police officers who had prior relations with suspects, for example, occurred six times since 1990, highlighting the explosive threat that far-rightists pose to law enforcement (National Consortium for the Study of Terrorism and Responses to Terrorism, 2009). One theme that emerged from a review of these cases is that all were initiated by the police officers who were responding to complaints about the suspects' behaviors.[28] For instance, in two of the cases, local police officers were called to the home of the suspect because they were in their yards carrying large firearms. In all of these cases, the responding officers were local law enforcement officers who had previous, often frequent, contact with the suspect(s). Nonetheless, the suspects each time perceived the arrival of the officers as substantial threats. As discussed earlier, far-rightists often dislike police as they are viewed as the front-men for the government they view as corrupt (see also Freilich & Chermak, 2009; Pitcavage, 1998). Responding to the perceived threat, officers were ambushed by the suspect's gunfire. From these findings it appears that officers who are known to suspects are not necessarily viewed as less threatening to suspects than those who are not. It could be that an officer's frequent reappearance could trigger suspect's suspicions of being watched by authorities (Freilich & Chermak, 2009; Pitcavage, 1998).

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[28] Because there was no evidence in open-source materials that these anti-police homicides were primarily motivated by the suspect's anti-government sentiments, homicide events were coded as non-IM.

By analyzing non-IM homicides in which victims were known, this study was able to illuminate this theme of anti-police homicide which highlights the danger that far-rightists continue to pose to law enforcement, even when officers who fall victim are known to suspects. Relying on the CEP and mixed method approach also allowed this study to identify some of the anecdotal factors and to speculate on the suspects' interpretations of the situations and how these interpretations, in combination with other variables (e.g. location, presence of weapons) shaped these events.

Thus far findings have revealed that non-IM far-right homicides were more likely to involve suspects with prior criminal histories, and involved situations in which profit-seeking behaviors and known victim-offender relationships were relatively more common. In addition, Table 6.3, shows that another situational variable, homicide location, also successfully distinguishes between far-right homicide motivational subtypes.

Indoor Location

Homicides that occurred indoors were also more significantly associated with non-IM far-right homicide events relative to outdoor homicide events. This finding is consistent with the portrait of far-right homicides emerging from the findings on other significant predictors of homicide subtypes presented in this chapter, such as known victim-offender relationships. That is, homicides occurring indoors are also more likely to involve victims and offenders known to each other. However, it is still unknown what types of indoor locations are the most frequent indoor location types for these non-IM homicides, and the different ways in which the homicide location interacts with the other homicide circumstances for both non-IM and non-IM events. Therefore, a final variable-

centered theme analysis is used to explore how this variable operates in the context of the entire homicide event for far-right homicide motivational subtypes.

As shown in Table 6.8, the most salient indoor location for non-IM homicide events was the residence. Moreover, the variable-centered theme analysis revealed that victims in this homicide subtype were most often being murdered in their own homes (63.1%).

Table 6.8 Indoor Location Themes for Far-Right Homicide

	Non-IM		IM	
	N (81)	**Percentage**	**N (39)**	**Percentage**
Occurred at Victim Residences	37	45.7	8	20.5
Movement-Related at Victim's Home	*11*	*29.8*	---	---
Petty Arguments with Acquaintances	*10*	*27.0*	---	---
Rampage Killings Beginning with Loved Ones	*6*	*16.2*	---	---
Non-Movement Murder of Other Family/Friends	*5*	*13.5*	---	---
Robbery-Murders at Victim's Home	*5*	*13.5*	---	---
Prison Murders	14	17.4	7	17.9
Restaurant/Bar	5	6.2	3	7.7
Suspect Residences	10	12.3	2	5.1
Motel	4	4.9	3	7.7
Convenience Store	4	4.9	4	10.3
Other Residences	3	3.7	2	5.1
School	3	3.7	3	7.7
Medical Facility	---	---	3	7.7
Government Facility	---	---	3	7.7
Bank	1	1.2	---	---
Religious Institution	---	---	1	2.6

Such homicides involved a number of home invasions, but also included a number of homicides that involved suspects and victims who lived together. Often suspects felt victims had wronged them in some way. Indeed, an underlying storyline throughout

homicides meeting these criteria was the "settling of scores" by attacking the victims in their homes.

Approximately the same proportion of non-IM attacks occurring in the home were movement related (29.8%) as not related to the far-right movement (27.0%). Homicide events associated with furthering the movement mostly consisted of "internal discipline" cases that occurred within the home of the victim. As discussed above, these cases often involved disrespect of group norms by victims, and suspects used homicide as a way to seek revenge and send a message to others.

Those non-IM residence homicides not related to the far-right movement, in contrast, consisted of circumstances such as retaliation for taking a bicycle, an insult to a suspect's daughter, the alleged theft of marijuana, as well as a list of other more mundane catalysts of homicide events.

Phillip's (2009) research on IM crimes in one large Eastern city also found that a substantial amount of events involved, for example, petty arguments with neighbors and other ordinary or everyday disagreements that spiraled out of control and turned fatal. Table 6.7 reveals, however, that while far-rightists have also been involved in this type of IM homicide, these events have not occurred at victims' residences.

Far-right homicide events occurring at the home of victims is particularly frightening as they often occurred unexpectedly as victims slept or when simply answering their doors. Moreover, suspects often had intimate knowledge of victims (e.g. addresses, work schedules) that made victims relatively easy targets. Also disturbing is that a number of these events involved within-family homicides that served as only the beginning of long deadly crime sprees for many far-rightists. Such homicides illustrate

the inherent danger of association with violent far-right extremists for those victims affiliated or not affiliated with the movement themselves.

It is also evident from Table 6.8 that homicides occurring in suspects' residences are proportionately more common for far-right non-IM homicide events. These events disproportionately involved the murder of a police officer, and as discussed above regarding the findings found in Table 6.7, many of these homicides involved suspects known to the police officers who fell victim to far-rightists.

Finally, it appears that far-rightists committed proportionately similar proportions of IM and non-IM homicide events in prison. Other than revealing that prison is a salient indoor location for far-right homicide, this finding highlights the dual threat posed by far-rightists in prison. That is, prison officials must be wary of allowing far-rightists to associate with Black inmates as all but one of these events targeted Black victims. Prison officials, though, also have to be cognizant of allowing far-rightists to associate with one another due to the within-group fighting that occurs behind prison doors.

Discussion

This chapter showed that it is inadequate to describe far-right extremists as strictly IM offenders. Focusing solely on their ideological offending is capturing only one aspect of the harm far-rightists inflict on society and their communities. The threat of far-right extremist violence extends beyond social minority groups and governmental targets.

This study found that, in comparison to far-right IM homicide events, non-IM far-right homicides tended to involve profit-seeking circumstances, to take place in private settings, to target known victims, and tended to be perpetrated by offenders with more lengthy criminal records. There were a number of similarities and differences across

motivational subtypes identified by quantitative analyses, and a number of more nuanced findings were uncovered using variable-centered theme analyses. For instance, both far-right non-IM and IM often involved robbery, though the purposes of robbery varied.

This study also built on the findings of Messner et al. (2004) who found that IM offenders were generally not crime specialists, but instead were versatile offenders. Messner et al. (2004) explored racial assaults rather than IM homicides, so while the findings of this research can extend their findings, they are not directly comparable. As discussed more fully in the final chapter, further research is needed to comparatively examine characteristics of offenders (and incidents and victims) involved in less extreme forms of far-right violence (i.e. assaults, attempted homicides).

It is also clear from the findings that association and interaction with violent far-right extremists is extremely dangerous, even when victims and offenders are known to each other. Indeed, it was shown that far-rightists' violence can often be directed at acquaintances, as well as loved ones and other family members to a less extent. In addition, these findings highlight the consequences of incarceration on inmate recidivism. One reoccurring theme for non-IM far-right homicides was within-group violence, often involving organized prison gangs. Offenders often stated in the open-source materials that membership in White supremacist gangs was required for survival in prison. In groups such as the Aryan Brotherhood the motto remains "blood in, blood out." These findings reveal the need for policymakers and criminal justice officials to find ways to reduce the influence of prison gangs in state prisons and reduce the need for inmates to join them.

Importantly, the findings presented in this chapter illustrated the complex links between terrorism and crime. Past research has indicated that most terrorists, including domestic far-right extremists, are charged with criminal acts rather than acts of terrorism (Smith, 1994). Others have also discussed the ways that frameworks for studying crime can be translated to the study of terrorism (Hamm, 2007; LaFree and Dugan, 2004). This research illustrated the extent to which terrorism and crime can overlap. Far-right extremists have been responsible for nearly proportional amounts of criminal and terrorist homicides in the United States between 1990 and 2008.

In addition, this chapter showed that it is possible to distinguish between far-right homicide events based on motivational subtypes. Far-right homicide offenders pose a criminal threat to the public that is unique from that of the threat of IM violence. Remaining is the question of the uniqueness of the far-right IB homicides, or those targeting social minority groups. Addressing this set of research questions is important to confirm or expand past classifications of IB violence. In response, the comparative analyses in the next chapter will reveal the potential effects of affiliation with the far-right movement on the relative nature of IB homicide in the United States. Understanding similarities and differences in IB violence by suspect types can aid in the training and investigating strategies of law enforcement faced with this type of serious crime. Chapter 7 also addresses how IB violent events are unique from domestic terrorism events, as these types of violence are often considered separately by different scholars and are associated with separate scholarly literatures, despite obvious similarities in the nature of these types of extremist violence (Gruenewald et al., 2009; Hamm, 1998).

Chapter 7: A Comparison of Far-Right and Non Far-Right Identity-Based (IB) Homicides

While Chapter 6 examined the similarities and differences in far-right homicide motivational subtypes, the focus of the current chapter is on the nature of identity-based (IB) homicide events committed by far-right extremists and their comparison to IB homicides not perpetrated by far-right extremists. While the last chapter concluded that disaggregating homicide events by motivational subtypes was useful for understanding the complexity of far-right homicides, such comparisons reveal little about the nature of IB, in particular, and how these events may vary by what types of offenders are involved. Although past homicide research has found that the nature of homicide events vary in pattern depending on suspects' affiliations with gangs (e.g. Maxson et al., 1985; Pizarro & McGloin, 2006), past studies have neglected to consider the influence of far-right affiliations on IB homicide events.

The findings presented in this chapter are unique from those presented in Chapter 6 in that only IB homicides are considered and the subtypes of homicide compared are defined by the type of suspect rather than the primary motivation for the event. The first subtype is far-right IB homicide. These events were perpetrated by far-right extremists and only those homicides targeting social minorities, including groups defined by homelessness, racial/ethnic, sexual orientation, religion, and nationality statuses, were considered for the purpose of meaningful comparison. Therefore, far-right homicides targeting victims such as government authorities and abortion providers were not included in this particular analysis. The second subtype of homicide included in this analysis is IB homicides not perpetrated by far-right extremists. Thus, none of the suspects in these events had known ties to the far-right extremist movement.

Focusing on IB homicide allows the current study to address the third research question posited regarding the similarities and differences in IB homicide events across suspect subtypes. This chapter's exclusive focus on IB homicide is a substantial contribution to the IB crime (or hate crime) literature. In the past, scholars have suggested that far-right extremists are responsible for only a minor portion of IB crimes in the United States. For instance, Levin and McDevitt (1993) have estimated that organized hate groups, typically far-right extremist groups in the United States, are responsible for 10 to 15 percent of all IB crimes (see also Bradley, 2007; McDevitt et al., 2002). Although accurately estimating the proportion of IB offenders involved in the far-right movement may be nearly impossible, it is safe to assume that only a minority of these crimes involve far-right extremists. Nonetheless, researchers of IB crimes have deemed far-right extremist IB violence an important topic of research (Levin and McDevitt, 1993; Perry, 2001), as, in some instances, far-right extremism has fueled high-profile IB homicides, such as the spree killing case of Benjamin Smith mentioned in the last chapter.

How the nature of far-right IB homicides is similar to and different from IB homicide not perpetrated by far-right extremists has not been addressed systematically, though the limited research that has been conducted suggests that there may be differences in these forms of violent offending across suspect subtypes. For instance, Levin and McDevitt's (1993) important work on classifying IB criminal offenders has provided a typology that suggests far-right offenders tend to be "mission offenders." That is, far-right extremists are more likely to commit violence by seeking out and targeting

random offenders based on their minority statuses, while other IB offenders tend to commit violence for "thrills," as well as for other reasons (see also McDevitt, Levin, & Bennett, 2003). Other researchers have examined the violence committed by certain types of far-right extremists, namely skinheads (Hamm, 1994; see also Heitmeyer, 2003). This research has suggested the far-right IB violence may be unique from other IB violent offending in the type of weaponry used. For instance, skinheads committing IB violence have been associated with the use of "billy clubs," baseball bats, Doc Martin steel-toed boots, and other blunt objects that reflect the working-class cultural influences on this group (Hamm, 1993). It is also plausible to expect that far-right IB violence is more likely to involve multiple suspects targeting a single or a small number of victims, as skinheads and other far-right extremists are bound together by their similarly held beliefs and organizational structure, however loosely bound either might be. Finally, Hamm (1993) and others have suggested that far-right extremists tend not to be the criminal-type or have extensive prior criminal histories. In this way, skinheads and other groups of far-right extremists may be unique in that the they do not necessarily have lengthy criminal pasts, but instead are average, law-abiding, working-class young males. Therefore, it is possible that far-right extremists who commit IB homicides will be less likely to have prior criminal histories than those IB homicide offenders not affiliated with the far-right movement. While the previous chapter found that far-right non-IM offenders were more likely to have prior criminal histories than far-right IM offenders, the comparison of IB homicide events in terms of prior criminal records across suspect subtypes remains unclear.

To address these gaps in past research, the current chapter seeks answers to a number of more focused research questions, including 1) Are far-right IB homicides more likely to involve random strangers as targets? 2) Are far-right IB homicides more likely to involve non-firearm weaponry, such as blunt objects? 3) Are far-right IB homicides more likely to involve multiple offenders? 4) Are far-right IB homicides less likely to involve profit-related circumstances? and 5) Are far-right offenders involved in IB homicides less likely to have prior criminal histories compared to those not associated with the far-right?

As discussed in the presentation of the methodology in Chapter 4, both far-right and non far-right IB events were identified from open-sources. The primary difference in these events is that far-right IB homicides involved at least one suspect associated with the far-right movement. Open-sources included, for instance, existing databases (e.g. RAND-MIPT, GTD), official sources (e.g. FBI's *Terrorism in the United States* annual report), scholarly reports and articles, watchdog reports (e.g. SPLC-*Intelligence Report*), and systematic media searches. Additional open-sources were also searched to identify IB homicides not involving far-right extremists for which there were clear indicators that victims were selected based on their social minority status (e.g. Human Rights Watch, National Asian Pacific American Legal Consortium, Anti-Violence Project).[29] The collection of a set of IB homicides not involving far-right extremists required the use of additional resources, separate from those extracted from the Extremist Crime Database Project (ECDB Project) run by Drs. Freilich and Chermak. As discussed briefly in

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[29] To access these original open-sources, go to http://www.avp.org/publications.htm and http://www.hrc.org/documents/A_Chronology_of_Hate_Crimes.pdf.

Chapter 1, the primary aim of the Far-Right Extremist Homicide Project led by the author and funded by the National Consortium for the Study of Terrorism and Responses to Terrorism (START) was to supplement the homicide data contained in the ECDB with non far-right IB homicide data for the purposes of comparison. The resources provided by START were used partially to fund the author and a number of undergraduate research assistants who worked to identify these homicide events. Once the set of non far-right IB homicide events were identified, the author and research assistants collected open-source information on each homicide. Data were then inputted and coded into three separate codebooks, similar to far-right homicide events from the ECDB, including variables for homicide incident, suspect, and the quality/quantity of open-source information for each event.[30] The data preparation process for the non far-right IB homicide events took approximately one year to complete. Once data preparation was completed for the time period (1990 to 2008), data were comparatively analyzed using bivariate and multivariate statistical techniques.

This chapter is presented in a number of sections. First, descriptive statistics on the nature of far-right IB homicides and non far-right IB homicides are compared and discussed. Second, multivariate findings are presented and a discussion of statistically significant predictors of homicide suspect subtypes is provided. Third, this chapter presents descriptive findings on the multiple types of victims targeted in IB homicide offending, and then discusses the similarities and differences in those victims, as well as the implications of these findings.

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[30] Data for non far-right IB homicide victims were also collected but were not used in the current study.

Descriptive Findings: Comparing Far-Right IB and Non Far-Right IB Homicide

Based on the descriptive statistics shown in Table 7.1, it appears that there may be a number of differences in far-right and non far-right IB homicides, many of which support the expectations discussed above that are based on past research findings. First, a relatively high proportion of far-right IB homicides involved multiple offenders and involved victims unknown to the perpetrators.

These events were also proportionately less likely to involve profit-seeking behaviors, as expected. As this is the first time that research has moved past anecdotal evidence to provide an empirically-driven descriptive account of these homicide events, and how they compare, it is encouraging that findings confirm past assertions made about far-right IB violence.

Table 7.1 Descriptive Findings on Far-Right and Non Far-Right Identity-Based (IB) Homicide (N=232) ±

	Far-Right Ideological (N=91)		Non Far-Right Ideological (N=141)	
	N	**Percent**	**N**	**Percent**
Incident Characteristics				
Number of Offenders (N=85, 129)				
Multiple	37	43.5	55	42.6
Single	48	56.5	74	57.4
Weapon (N=87, 130)				
Gun	39	44.8	53	40.8
Knife	19	21.8	27	20.8
Blunt	14	16.1	10	14.6
Bodily	12	13.8	19	14.6
Other	3	3.4	21	16.2
Circumstance (N=91, 141)				
Not for profit	74	81.3	110	78.0
Profit-related	17	18.7	31	22.0
Victim-Offender Relationship (N=81, 130)				

Table 7.1 continued

	68	84.0	80	61.5
Strangers				
Friends/Acquaintances	13	16.0	48	36.9
Domestic Partners	0	0.0	1	0.8
Other family	0	0.0	1	0.8
Total Death (N=91, 129)				
Single Victim	78	85.7	121	93.8
Multiple Victim	13	14.3	8	6.2
Location (N=87, 115)				
Outdoor	55	63.2	65	56.5
Indoor	32	36.8	50	43.5
Primary Suspect Characteristics				
Age (N=90, 131)				
1-18	10	11.1	23	17.6
19-28	45	50.1	70	53.4
29-38	28	31.1	20	15.3
39-48	4	4.4	14	10.7
49-58	3	3.3	2	1.5
59 to highest	0	0.0	2	1.5
Criminal History (N=91, 141)				
Priors	38	41.8	43	30.5
No Priors	53	58.2	98	69.5
Drug/Alcohol Use During Incident (N=91, 141)				
Yes	23	25.3	36	25.5
No	68	74.7	105	74.5

±Only one far-right homicide suspect for each homicide incident is considered.

What remains unknown, however, is whether these homicide characteristics can statistically distinguish between homicide suspect subtypes. That is, can homicide variables significantly predict homicide suspect subtypes? In order to answer this question, a multivariate binary-logistic regression analysis was conducted.

Multivariate Findings

The regression model shown in Table 7.2 is similar to the multivariate model presented in Chapter 6, except the binary-coded dependent variable is suspect subtype (1=far-right, 2=non far-right) rather than motivational subtype.

Table 7.2 Binary-Logistic Regression Findings for Predicting Homicide Suspect Subtype (N=232)±

	B (SE)	Odds Ratio (OR)
Incident Characteristics		
Multiple Offenders	-.519(.375)	0.595
Gun-Related	-.133(.371)	0.875
Profit-Motivated	.042(448)	0.959
Known Victim	1.248(.455)***	3.485
Multiple Deaths	-.696 (.606)	0.498
Occurred Indoors	-.208(.407)	0.812
Primary Suspect Characteristics		
Juvenile	.452(.504)	1.878
Had Priors	-.121(.365)	0.886
Under the Influence During	.279(.398)	1.322
Constant	.313(.410)	---
Pseudo R2	.120	---
-2 Log Likelihood	197.310	---

*p≤.1**p≤.05≤***p≤.01****p≤.001
±Only one far-right homicide suspect for each homicide incident is considered.

As shown in Table 7.2, the only statistically significant variable that distinguishes between IB homicide suspect subtypes is victim-offender relationship. Specifically, known victim-offender relationships are statistically associated with IB homicides not perpetrated by far-right extremists. This supports how far-right extremist homicides have been characterized in past research (i.e. as mission offenders targeting unknown victims).

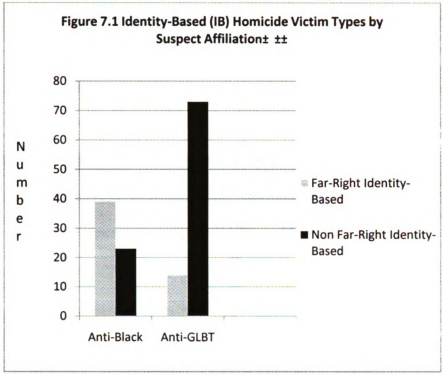
In addition, Chapter 5 discussed how some far-rightists have been more or less intensely affiliated (scale of 1-4) with the far-right extremist movement. Chapter 6 found that when those cases involving less intensely affiliated suspects (suspects who scored 1 or 2 on the intensity scale) were removed from the multivariate analysis, the variables that significantly predicted motivational subtypes changed slightly. Removing the less intensely affiliated suspects in the model presented in Table 7.2 is also important, as the

model is used to predict suspect subtypes (far-right or non far-right). Indeed, it is plausible that when those cases involving less intensely affiliated suspect are removed, the suspect subtypes would become more clearly distinguishable, and those predictors that are most important for distinguishing these subtypes would become more prominent. Therefore, as done in the last chapter, the multivariate model was re-run with homicides involving suspects who did not hold strong ties to the far-right movement removed. In this model, victim-offender relationship remained a strong predictor of suspect subtype ($p \leq .05$, OR=2.98). Another variable, the number of offenders involved in the homicide event ($p \leq .05$, OR=0.36), also emerged as a significant predictor of suspect subtype for IB homicide events. Specifically, homicide events involving multiple offenders were significantly associated with far-right IB suspects compared to those events involving only single offenders. These findings align with those that emerged from the affiliation analysis found in Chapter 5. That is, those suspects less intensely affiliated with the movement usually offend alone. It is possible to argue, then, that those homicides involving less intensely affiliated suspects have much in common, in terms of their nature with non far-right homicide events.

Although IB homicide suspect subtypes can be distinguished by victim-offender relationships and the number of suspects involved, these subtypes are statistically indistinguishable across a number of incident and suspect-level characteristics. The purpose of this chapter is to not only identify differences in IB suspect subtypes, but also to recognize the similarities and attempt to explain them. The similarities indicate that the involvement of suspects in the far-right extremism movement does not necessarily translate into distinct behaviors patterns detectable at the homicide event level as might

be expected. For instance, both far-rightists and non far-rightists largely relied on non-firearm weapons and often offended in public or semi-public locations. One explanation is that IB violence, such as beatings of homeless persons and gay bashings, and the belief systems behind this violence, are not necessarily subcultural phenomena (Perry, 2001). Perry (2001), for instance, has argued that homophobia and animus toward homeless are mainstream values. Therefore, it should not be surprising that how these brutal attacks tend to be more similar than different across suspect subtypes.

The similarities in suspects' prior arrests and use of alcohol and drugs during the homicide event suggest that far-rightists are not more or less likely to engage in deviant lifestyles than non far-rightists. Based on these findings, one conclusion is that the far-right movement does not appear to insulate or promote deviant behaviors among its affiliates. What is more, the important differences in suspect subtypes may be in the precursor attributes of homicide events. That is, in how suspects behavior prior to the attack and how targets are selected. In particular, far-rightists are more likely to select victims at random or who are otherwise unknown to them. Though these quantitative analyses provide information on the most important predictors of homicide suspect subtype, it remains unclear as to the most common situations or homicide storylines that were most associated with homicides involving known victim-offender relationships across far-right and non far-right IB homicide events. A quick descriptive analysis reveals that by far the most prevalent type of known victim targeted for IB homicides not perpetrated by far-right extremists were members of GLBT communities, while on the other hand, the most common subtype of homicide committed by far-rightists was anti-Black homicide.



±Only anti-Black and anti-GLBT homicides are considered in this figure.
±±Only one far-right homicide suspect for each homicide incident is considered.

In order to further examine the different types of anti-GLBT, and other IB situations in which suspects murder victims who were known to them, a variable-centered theme analysis was conducted for victim-offender relationship. The theme analysis was conducted in order to identify how the nature of the relationships between victims and offenders interacted with other situational variables to shape these fatal outcomes. A number of themes shown in Table 7.3 were identified that shed light on the influence of victim-offender relationship on this homicide subtype.

Variable-Centered Theme Analysis: Known Victim-Offender Relationships

There were two general types of variable-centered themes of known victims, anti-GLBT and anti-race/ethnicity homicides. Within the most common subtype of anti-

GLBT homicides, a number of unique scenarios emerged from the open-source information on each event. The most common anti-GLBT theme identified for non far-right homicide events was "sexual advance" homicides, or homicides that were carried out following a real or perceived sexual advance by a victim perceived to be gay.

Table 7.3 Known Victim-Offender Relationships by Non Far-Right Suspects

	Non Far-Right		Far-Right	
	N (43)	**Percentage**	**N (13)**	**Percentage**
Anti-GLBT Victims	**32**	**74.4**	**4**	**20.0**
Sexual Advance	*12*	*37.5*	---	---
Anti-Homosexual	*10*	*31.3*	---	---
Anti-Transgender	*5*	*15.6*	---	---
Stranger "Pick-ups"	*4*	*12.5*	---	---
Anti-Bi Sexual	*1*	*3.1*	---	---
Anti-Race/Ethnicity Victims	**11**	**25.6**	7	**35.0**
Anti-Black	*5*	*45.4*	*7*	*100.0*
Anti-White	*2*	*18.2*	---	---
Anti-Asian	*2*	*18.2*	---	---
Anti-Arab	*2*	*18.2*	---	---
Anti-Police	—	—	**6**	**30.0**
Anti-Abortion	—	—	**1**	**5.0**
Anti-Sex Offender	—	—	**1**	**5.0**
School Shooting	—	—	**1**	**5.0**

Sexual advance homicides were included in the current study if another indicator of bias was present (e.g. homophobic slurs were reported). For these homicides, victims were known to offenders, but often only for a short period of time. For instance, offenders and victims sometimes met at bars or parties and then returned home together for the first time. After a real or perceived sexual advance, the victim was killed, often brutally, by the suspect. Such homicides often went on to be described as situations in which suspects

experience "gay panic." What is important to note about these homicides is how they have been captured in this study as "known victims" as presented in the quantitative findings. Prior research on hate crimes, however, has found that events codified as involving known victim-offender relationships may be misleading. In particular, Mason (2005), examined racial and homophobic harassment reports recorded to the Metropolitan Police Service in 2001 and found that while victims were aware of the offenders, they often did not have close relationships with them (e.g. coworkers and neighbors). As is also the case in this study, Mason (2005) suggested that studying the contexts in which victims and offenders interact can advance a more holistic understanding of crime events.

The second most common theme for non far-right homicides is simply referred to as anti-homosexual homicides, including murders of gays and lesbians. These homicides involved a mixed bag of circumstances and motives, including what was often described as "hatred of homosexuals" in open-source materials. Gay males were also targeted in some instances because they were perceived as "easy targets", for instance, in robbery-homicide events. Because the current study defines anti-GLBT events as IB if the victim was targeted because of their sexual orientation status, regardless of suspects' thoughts or feelings concerning homosexuality, it was possible to uncover the heterogeneity within this form of IB homicide.

Though less common, another anti-GLBT theme identified, anti-transgender victims, is intriguing in light of a recent court ruling. The majority of states in the United States do not consider GLBT victims as protected under hate crime laws (Jenness, 2003). Moreover, the issue of transgender victims being considered a protected group under such laws is especially controversial. However, a recent decision by a Colorado jury in a

landmark case found a man guilty of a hate crime for beating a transgender victim to death with a fire extinguisher after he discovered that the victim (with whom he had sexual relations) was a biological male (Frosch, 2009). Likewise, in a number of cases included in the current study, suspects murdered transgendered victims after acting out in what has been referred to as violence committed in the "heat of the moment" or was a " crime of passion." Other anti-GLBT homicides included "pick-up" events in which suspects specifically targeted gay men in order to rob and murder them. Interestingly, the few cases belonging in the category were all instances of serial homicide offending, in which suspects moved from location to location preying on homosexual men. Again, in these events, the relationship between victims and offenders was, most often, a day, two days, or a week, though they were codified as known victims to offenders.

Although anti-GLBT homicides were proportionately more associated with non far-right homicides involving known victims, there were also homicide events that did not fit into this pattern. Indeed, 20 percent of far-right homicides involving known victims targeted members of the GLBT community. For example, in one case two brothers belonging to a far-right extremist group broke into the home of two homosexual men as they lay asleep in their bedroom. The couple was openly gay and well-known in the community. During the trial, one brother stated that his older brother had informed him that it was necessary to murder the gay men if they really believed that homosexuality was evil, as the group they belonged to preached. Following the murder, the younger brother was imprisoned for life and the older brother committed suicide in prison.

Anti-GLBT Homicides as Crime Events

The components of the CEP facilitates a more comprehensive understanding of anti-GLBT homicides committed by both far-rightists and non far-rightists. This research approach emphasizes that there are multiple stages of a criminal event, each affecting the other, including precursor factors, transaction factors, and aftermath factors (Sacco & Kennedy, 2002). There were a number of unique precursor factors that fueled these particular anti-GLBT homicide events. For example, though the exact perceptions of the situation or the precise motives of the crime participants prior to the event cannot be known, sexual advance homicide precursor factors often involved brief meetings between victims and offenders at establishments or parties where alcohol was served. It then followed that victims and offenders would go to another location, such as the victim's residence or motel. Transgender homicides often involved the same precursor attributes. Though various types of anti-GLBT homicides, such as these, are similar in more intimate interaction between participants, the transactions of sexual advance and transgender homicides usually involved slightly different elements. In particular, sexual advance homicides involved a real or perceived sexual threat from the victim. The violent act of murder occurred both immediately and shortly thereafter when suspects planned the homicide (and often recruited accomplices). On the other hand, homicides of transgender victims often involved a sexual encounter between the victim and offender in which the suspect was apparently unaware of the "true" gender of the victim. Violence occurred before the encounter could be completed upon discovery of the victim's gender, or much later in cases where the victim's gender was discovered by the suspect following the sexual encounter. One common element of anti-GLBT homicide events was the

apparent overkill involved, including acts of mutilation of body parts, decapitation and the beating of victims beyond recognition. Interestingly, a common characteristic of the aftermath of anti-GLBT homicides was the immediate disclosure (or bragging) of the violent transaction to friends, family, and even the police in some instances. A number of explanations for this subtype of IB homicide events can be applied to the behaviors of those who perpetrate them.

Explaining Anti-GLBT Homicide

One theoretical perspective that works toward explaining the various forms of anti-GLBT homicide described in this chapter is the "doing gender" perspective (West & Zimmerman, 1987). This perspective supposes that criminal activity is used as one tool or resource for reaffirming one's sexual identity once it has been threatened or compromised in some way. Indeed, real or perceived sexual advances by victims and the feelings of being deceived by transgender victims following sexual encounters were viewed by suspects as threats to their masculinity. As immediate or delayed responses, the violent and deadly acts of violence can be conceptualized as resources for re-establishing suspects' heterosexual sexual identity.

The concept of "saving face" can also be used to explain the often brutal anti-GLBT homicide events. Scholars, like Athens (1980) and Katz (1988), have used the notion of saving face in their qualitative descriptions of dynamic homicide interactions (see also Goffman, 1967). Indeed, sexual orientation is arguably an integral aspect of suspects' identities and experiencing threats to this part of themselves, especially in public settings, can cause suspects to experience the loss of face. Luckenbill and Doyle's (1989) integrated approach to explaining violence sheds light on this form of violence.

Their perspective integrated concepts of cultural honor, structural position, symbolic interaction, and situational context. They hypothesized that the chance of violence was likely to increase when the "self" was attacked in public settings and when perceived threats came from those of a different social status. Moreover, the need to inform others of the murderous transactions following the homicide could be explained by the need of suspects to regain "face" following such attacks to the self.

In addition to using homicide as a resource for "doing gender," one possible situational explanation for the weak relationship between far-right IB homicide and known victim-offender relationships compared to non far-rightists is that gay victims are less likely to associate with far-right extremists due to their appearance and their attitudes toward social minority groups. It is less likely, for instance, that far-right extremists and gay males would find themselves in the same types of meeting places, such as bars and parties to which both would be invited. It is also less likely, in general, that there would be ambiguity in the relationships between far-right extremists and gay companions after their initial meetings. In this way, it is becomes evident how daily routines, perceptions of victims and offenders, and location of homicide events could interact to shape these fatal outcomes.

Moreover, one of the key aspects of the CEP is to further understanding of complex phenomena like IB homicide events, and this study has attempted to do so by also considering homicide events that do not fit the patterns (i.e. negative cases) indicated by the quantitative findings. To illustrate, as shown in Table 7.3, there were a limited number of far-right IB homicides that involved known victim-offender relationships. The most prominent theme that emerged from this subset of events was anti-race/ethnicity

homicide circumstances. Interestingly, most of these events (71%) involved circumstances in which suspects disapproved of the victims' bi-racial relationships. White supremacists and White separatists often view "race-mixing" as the most offensive type of behavior as it is viewed as tainting the purity of the White race (Ferber, 1998).

In short, multivariate analysis showed that known victim-offender relationships were significantly related to non far-right IB homicides. Theme analysis further explored this subtype of homicide and found that sexual advance homicides were the most common situational theme identified. This qualitative analysis also showed that while victims were known, these relationships were often short-lived, and commonly involved real or perceived sexual advances and deceit by victims. Theme analysis was a useful technique for advancing knowledge of nuances in how victim-offender relationships shape fatal outcomes in different forms of anti-GLBT homicide. The stages of anti-GLBT homicides were presented and the precursor attributes contribution to the nature of the violent transactions was discussed for different subtypes of anti-GLBT homicide. Finally, the doing gender approach and concepts of "saving face" and the construction of the "self" or self identity, as well as the consideration of the intertwining of situational factors and actors' decisions, were used to provide partial explanations of these complex and dynamic homicide events.

CHAPTER 8: DISCUSSION

This final chapter accomplishes a number of objectives. First, it reviews the major components of the current project and the major findings stemming from it. Second, this chapter highlights the implications of the major findings relevant to academic, law enforcement, and policymaking communities. Third, research limitations of this dissertation research are reviewed. Finally, plans for future research that extend the current study and advance knowledge of far-right homicide events are outlined.

A Review of the Extremist Homicide Project and Major Findings

Prior to this research, the topic of homicide events perpetrated by far-right extremists had not been systematically examined for a number of reasons, including the great obstacle of a lack of available data on these events. This study approached the topic of far-right extremist homicide from a criminal event perspective (CEP) (Block, 1981; Sacco & Kennedy, 2002), using a comprehensive research framework to guide the theoretical, research design, and methodological elements of this study. One advantage of utilizing the CEP is its facilitation of the positing of original research questions and nuanced research methods. In particular, this dissertation was a comparative study that examined questions regarding the comparison of far-right extremist homicides and "average" American homicides (Chapter 5), the far-right IM and non-IM homicides (Chapter 6), and the far-right IB homicides and non far-right extremist IB homicides (Chapter 7).

Addressing these research questions required the creation of an original open-source comprehensive database on all far-right extremist homicide events, as well as on all IB homicides not perpetrated by far-right extremists. In addition, a random sample of

all homicides that occurred in the study's time frame was gathered from the FBI's UCR-Supplementary Homicide Reports for purposes of comparison in Chapter 5. Far-right extremist homicides were identified from a number of open-sources, and information on each homicide event was gathered from over twenty web-based search engines. The creation of the open-source database allowed this study to avoid the many pitfalls of relying on official data to study "deviant" forms of homicide, including most crucially, the inability to identify far-right extremist homicide in existing homicide and terrorism databases.

Specifically, this dissertation conducted quantitative analyses in order to identify key predictor variables that could distinguish between far-right extremist subtypes of interest. Then, qualitative variable-centered theme analyses were conducted for each of these important homicide characteristics in order to further knowledge of the interaction and operation of these variables with other situational variables in the context of the entire event to shape these fatal outcomes.

There were a number of important findings in each of the three analysis chapters in this dissertation. Chapter 5 provided the context for the comparative study of far-right extremist homicide. It was recognized that homicide events do not occur in a vacuum and that it was impossible to capture the "true" nature of far-right homicide events separate from their social context.

More specifically, it was discussed how many external social factors, such as moral panics following high-profile events, hate crime, terrorism legislation, and advocacy efforts by social movement organizations can shape the geospatial and temporal natures of far-right homicide occurrences. This chapter showed that not all

states have experienced far-right extremist homicides since 1990. Moreover, some states that have been usually associated with far-right extremist activity had a relatively low number of these occurrences. A number of partial explanations were posited for states that had experienced disproportionately large and small amounts of far-right homicide in comparison to their population size, including the presence of state prisons and the historical presence of White supremacist gangs in some cities (e.g. skinheads, KKK). In addition, Chapter 5 found that while the rate of the average homicide has generally declined since 1990, the rate of far-right extremist homicide has been more volatile, experiencing a number of valleys and peaks. A number of partial explanations for these fluctuations were discussed, including the influences of hate crime legislation, moral panics following high-profile events, and the social movement activity of advocacy groups like the Southern Poverty Law Center. Most recently the number of far-right non-IM homicide has increased while IM homicide has decreased, suggesting that there is a need to focus on the former. When quantitatively compared with the average homicide, far-right extremist homicides were found to have both similarities and differences in characteristics. Unexpectedly, far-right suspect age distributions were similar to those of the average homicide suspect, which conflicts with past research on domestic terrorist suspects (Smith, 1994). More expectedly, far-right extremist homicide events were proportionately more likely to involve multiple offenders, intimate weaponry, unknown victims, and profit-seeking behaviors. These characteristics of far-right homicide revealed that far-right extremist homicides were a more complex phenomenon than has been described anecdotally in past research. Indeed, this chapter suggested that

comparatively examining different subtypes of far-right extremist homicide could illuminate the heterogeneity within this form of violence.

Chapter 6 examined two motivational subtypes of far-right extremist homicide, IM and non-IM events. Past homicide research has found that disaggregating events by motivational subtypes can be useful for understanding the offending and situational patterns associated with distinct categories of homicides (Decker, 1996; Flewelling & Williams, 1999). However, past research has ignored motivational variations in far-right homicide. Therefore, this study was interested in the similarities and differences in far-right homicide IM and non-IM motivational circumstances. Descriptive analysis revealed that far-right extremists in the United States have committed, proportionately, slightly more non-IM homicides than IM events. Thus, this chapter largely focused analytical attention on this motivational subtype of far-right extremist homicide. Multivariate quantitative analysis revealed that far-right offenders committing non-IM homicides were more likely to have prior criminal histories. These offenders often belonged to organized White supremacist groups. In addition, this analysis showed that known victim-offender relationships, profit-seeking behaviors, and indoor homicide locations were significantly related to far-right non-IM homicide events. Variable-centered theme analyses were conducted for each of the statistically significant situational variables. These analyses identified the variety of situational themes in which these particular variables operated, within the context of the entire homicide event, to shape these fatal outcomes. Themes were identified for IM and non-IM homicide events in order to compare the similarities and differences across motivational subtypes. Considering the theme analyses findings as a whole, it became apparent that far-right non-IM homicide offenders pose threats on

multiple fronts. For instance, it was clear that far-right extremists, often White supremacists, committed robbery-homicide for reasons that had nothing to do with the far-right movement, as the attainment of money and property was the primary motive. Although non-IM offenders often belonged to prison-based White supremacist groups, these events often occurred in locations such as residences (and often in victims' homes). It was also clear that far-right extremists often traveled to victims' homes for the purposes of enforcing internal discipline through murder when it is thought that victim's, usually group affiliates or members, were disloyal to the group in some way. This chapter revealed for the first time the heterogeneous and brutal nature of non-IM violence committed by far-right extremists.

Chapter 7 addressed the final research question posited in this study regarding suspect subtypes of identity-based (IB) homicide events. That is, this chapter shifted the focus of comparative analysis to far-right IB events compared to IB homicides not perpetrated by far-right extremists. One advantage of creating an original open-source database on homicide events was that it allowed for the examination of multiple subtypes based on motivational and suspect categories so that it was possible to respond to a number of related research questions of interest to this dissertation.

Only one variable, homicide victim-offender relationship, was found to statistically distinguish between homicide suspect subtypes. In particular, known victim-offender relationships were most associated with those IB homicides not perpetrated by far-right extremists. Further descriptive analysis revealed that anti-GLBT homicides were likely driving this finding, as these types of homicides were, proportionately, more likely to be committed by non far-rightists. Theme analysis then showed that the most common

type of situation for this homicide subtype were sexual advance homicides, in which suspects claimed that victims were murdered, often brutally, due to an unwanted sexual advance. Chapter 7 used the components of the CEP to advance a more in-depth understanding of anti-GLBT homicides, and put forward theories (e.g. doing gender) on what influences offenders to commit these offenses and discussed, briefly, possible explanations for non-far-rightists being more likely not to engage in these types of situations.

Research Implications

This study has implications for the academic, law enforcement, and policymaking communities. First, this study illustrated how there are substantial overlaps in types of domestic terrorism, hate crime, and homicide despite research in these areas often being alienated from one another. This study showed that violence committed by far-rightists falls into each of these research areas and it is important to integrate the literatures of each topic to examine the nature of far-right homicide. In particular, this study illustrated how it is possible and useful to study domestic terrorism from a criminological perspective.

Second, this project successfully integrated multiple sources of data to produce an original and comprehensive database that can be used by scholars to further comparatively examine far-right and other forms of homicide. Examples of how this database can be used in future research are provided below.

Third, this study contributed to theoretical explanations of far-right homicide. By emphasizing the situational contexts of far-right homicide, this study revealed how suspect and incident-level homicide variables interacted to shape variations of fatal

outcomes. In this way, this study also emphasized the multi-dimensionality of far-right homicide events and moved beyond a reliance on suspect-based theoretical descriptions of extremist crime found in past research. Furthermore, by focusing on combinations of situational and suspect homicide variables, it was possible to uncover how situational characteristics of violent transactions affected the decisions of homicide actors and shaped the human agency or ability of actors to act in a self-determined way. For instance, this study showed how in some situations far-rightists decided long beforehand to murder their victims, while in other situations unplanned and tragic interaction with victims led to the fatal violence. These theoretical concepts were directly linked to the methods employed in this study, as variable-centered theme analysis was used to identify variations in how statistically important situational variables interacted with suspect variables to result in such violent transactions.

Fourth, the findings of this study can be integrated into police training materials on extremist violence. This project examined that nature of both far-right IM and non-IM homicide and the findings can aid law enforcement in the recognition and investigation of these forms of violence. For instance, many of the anti-police far-right homicides were non-IM events and began as routine traffic stops or calls to service. Identifying cues to impending escalation of violence by far-rightists is one way this study can contribute to the prevention of far-right extremist violence.

Fifth, a number of the findings from the current study can contribute to the policy discussion revolving around extremist crimes of violence. In particular, findings involving the similarities and differences of far-right and average homicides, as well as comparisons of far-right and other IB homicides, can be used to inform the debate on if

and how extremist violence is different in nature from traditional violence. In this way, the policy debate can move beyond a discussion of strictly high-profile extremist homicides and anecdotal evidence. Findings from this research may also be used to inform policymakers on how best to distribution particular resources (e.g. funds, trainings) across their constituencies.

Research Limitations

A discussion of the research limitations is also required. As stated previously, there were a number of potential biases introduced by the use of open-source data in this dissertation, including media biases and newsworthiness biases, which could potentially affect the availability of data for particular homicide characteristics (see Chapter 4). Repeating this discussion is not necessary here, but it is worth repeating that focusing on homicide events that have usually caught the attention of media, policymakers, and the public ensured that lack of information on homicide events was not a major obstacle to overcome in this study. Nonetheless, one research limitation related to the availability of information is that it remains nearly impossible to know if *all* far-right extremist homicides that occurred in the United States since 1990 were captured in this study. This study had to rely on open-sources to identify these events. Again, though, because of the relative severity of these violent crimes, and the newsworthiness of homicides committed by those with extremist beliefs, it is reasonable to expect that this study captured the majority of all far-right homicides in which information was available, and this set of homicides represents the complex phenomenon of far-right homicide in the United States.

A limitation of research that has not been discussed is the somewhat arbitrary starting time period of 1990. Undoubtedly, far-right extremist homicides occurred prior

to 1990, and the nature of these homicides likely differed from those homicides examined in this study in important ways. In addition to factors involving available resources for conducting this research, available open-source information may be more difficult to attain via the Internet on far-right homicides prior to 1990. Therefore, additional resources would be required to attain information on homicide events occurring before this time.

Another limitation is the focus on far-right extremist homicide, in general, and the only brief exploration of a number of important subtopics, such as far-right extremist police killings and prison gang killings. Moreover, other types of domestic extremist homicides that have occurred in the United States, including possible left-wing group homicides, were not examined in the current study. Therefore, little is known about how far-right extremist homicides compare to these events. In addition, the crime of homicide as the sole focus of this study is another limitation to this research. Studying violent crimes such as attempted homicides, conspiracies to commit homicides, and aggravated assaults committed by far-right extremists in combination with far-right extremist homicides could substantially further understanding of the nature of far-right extremist homicide.

Finally, this study is also limited in its nearly exclusive focus on the suspect and incident dimensions of far-right homicide events. As discussed in Chapter 3, the CEP emphasizes the benefits of considering all homicide dimensions simultaneously. For practical reasons, however, this was not possible in the current study.

Future Research

This dissertation and the original open-source database on far-right extremist homicide and other IB homicide events will serve as the basis for my immediate research agenda. This final section outlines the plans for a number of empirical studies that advance knowledge and an in-depth understanding of far-right extremist homicide, and how these events compare to other types of IM and non-IM forms of violence. As discussed throughout this dissertation, empirical research on this topic is extremely limited, thus this research should make substantial contributions to the literature.

The future studies discussed here will accomplish a number of general objectives, including: 1) building off of the quantitative analyses presented in Chapters 5, 6, an 7, to explore the similarities and differences in far-right homicide and the "average" homicide in the United States, as well as across far-right homicide event subtypes. These studies will rely on a mixed-methods approach to examine in-depth how particular theoretical variables of interest (e.g. victim-offender relationship, location, etc.) operate to shape fatal outcomes 2) exploring homicide subtypes that are especially relevant to law enforcement, judicial officials, and policymakers who are responsible for the investigation, prosecution, and legislation against such violence 3) studying how these homicides included in the current study compare across to other forms of violence, including far-left and jihadi events, non-fatal IM and IB violence, and finally 4) supplementing the current data with national news print media data and Census data, thus branching into areas of media coverage of far-right violence and the influence of macro-level predictors of far-right IM and non-IM homicide across the states. Below these studies are further outlined.

The first three future articles on far-right extremist homicide will involve the reworking of Chapters 5, 6, and 7 of this dissertation. These will be quantitative and mixed-method comparative analyses. The first study will compare far-right homicide in the United States to the "average" homicide during the same time period, 1990 to 2006. Producing this particular paper at the outset will be advantageous, as it will establish that far-right homicide is a unique phenomenon from traditional homicide and it will provide the temporal and geospatial context required for understanding these events. The second paper will comparatively examine two motivational subtypes of far-right homicide, IM and non-IM homicide events, while the third paper will compare suspect subtypes, far-right and non far-right suspect homicides. In addition, the second and third paper will use qualitative variable-centered theme analyses to explore how significant predictors from multivariate models operate to shape fatal outcomes. This initial series of papers will describe the extent and heterogeneity of far-right homicide, while also introducing the far-right homicide project and the open-source database created to study these events.

Future research also needs to examine in more depth the subtypes of far-right homicide associated with relevant policy concerns in the United States, such as the prosecution of far-right IB homicide offenders. Indeed, one potentially useful area of future research relevant to debates involving hate crime legislation is the comparative examination of those homicide involving suspects who were charged as hate-motivated offenders and those events that were not. Therefore, the fourth study stemming from the far-right homicide project will examine the legal and non-legal factors associated with how far-right IB are charged and prosecuted. Using a comparative case-study approach, this study will select and compare a number of different types of homicides, including

far-right IB homicides charged as hate crimes, non far-right IB homicides charged as hate crimes, far-right IB homicides not charged as hate crimes, and non far-right IB homicides not charged as hate crimes. In this way, it will be possible to examine the factors most associated with how events are charged and prosecuted across suspect subtypes.

Future research will also expand on the data currently available in the far-right extremist open-source database. Homicides committed by other types of domestic extremists will be identified and compared with far-right extremist homicides, including left-wing, single-issue, and jihadi homicides occurring in the United States. The fifth paper will focus on these comparisons and address how far-right homicides are similar and different to these occurrences. The sixth paper will then examine how far-right homicides compare to types of non-fatal violence committed by far-right extremists. The ECDB contains information on far-right assaults and attempted homicides. This paper will extract these data on non-fatal events and comparatively examine how far-right and other IB non-fatal attacks compare to homicides.

In addition, by integrating data from sources such as the Census Bureau and particular national news print media sources (e.g. *The New York Times*) future research will extend outside the boundaries of events-based violence research and into the areas of macro-level violence research and media representations of violence in the United States. This dissertation found that not all states have experienced far-right extremist homicide. Therefore, the seventh paper stemming from this study will examine how socio-demographic, socioeconomic, and far-right movement factors affect the rate of far-right extremist occurrences by region or states. Finally, in one, possibly less obvious area of future research, the eighth paper will examine the media coverage of far-right extremist

homicides. Media is the primary way that the public learns about these homicide events, and how media choose to cover these events shapes the public understanding of this phenomenon (Chermak, 2002; Surrette, 1998). It was stated previously in this dissertation that homicide events tend to be high-profile events that capture the attention of the media. However, a number of studies have found that not all homicide events, as well as domestic terrorism events (Chermak & Gruenewald, 2006), have received equal amounts or types of media coverage (Buckler & Travis, 2005; Gruenewald, Pizarro, & Chermak, 2009; Johnstone, Hawkins, & Michener, 1995; Lundman, 2003; Peelo, Francis, Soothill, Peerson, & Ackerly, 2004; Pritchard, 1985; Pritchard & Hughes, 1997; Sorenson, Manz, Berk, 1998; Weiss & Chermak, 1998; Wilbanks, 1984). By integrating national news print media with IM homicide event-based data, this paper will address how media coverage compares and how certain events are framed for different types of suspect types and victim groups.

APPENDIX A

Table A.1. Indicators of Far-Right Extremist Affiliation

Indicator	Description and/or Examples
Self-admission	Homicide suspect(s) admit to friends, police, or others their involvement with far-right extremist movement.
Established membership to national or localized far-right extremist group	Examples include Ku Klux Klan, Aryan Nation, Michigan Militia, etc.
Found verbal or written evidence of far-right extremist ideology during police investigation.	Examples include bigoted innuendo or slang, written manifestos, letters to family, friends, newspaper editors, or others.
Bodily markings and attire	Examples include symbolic tattoos (e.g. "white power) and items of dress (e.g. Doc Martin boots).
Found possession of literature and music	Examples include extremist books (e.g. Mein Kampf, Turner Diaries), manuals (e.g. survivalist manuals, bomb-making manuals), and particular types of music (white power rock/punk music).
Witness testimony	Examples include court testimony and witness accounts gathered by media or advocacy groups.
Non-violent specific involvement in far-right movement activities	Evidence that suspect was host or publisher of media outlet distributing far-right extremist materials, a far-right event organizer, attended far-right rallies, or participated in leafleting of propaganda materials.

APPENDIX B

Table B.1. Indicators of Ideological Motivation

Indicator	Description and/or Examples
Lack of known or ulterior motive	Available evidence shows that bigotry or hatred toward social minority group was only motive.
Written and verbal statements by the homicide perpetrator(s) to indicate far-right extremist beliefs	Examples include bigoted innuendo or slang, written manifestos, letters to family, friends, newspaper editors, or others.
Written drawings, markings, symbols, or other graffiti found during investigation.	Examples would include racial or anti-Semitic epithets found at or near homicide location.
Location of homicide	Examples include symbolic sites, such as gay bars, churches, abortion clinics, homeless establishments, advocacy group offices. Also, other sites of IM crime.
Witness perceptions	Examples include testimony by witnesses, family members, or others with knowledge of offender(s) motivation.

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