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American Indian homicide: A multimethod, multilevel analysis

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University of New Hampshire, 1989

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AMERICAN INDIAN HOMICIDE:
A MULTIMETHOD, MULTILEVEL ANALYSIS

BY

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DISSERTATION

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in

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Ronet D. Bachman-Prehn

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ABSTRACT

AMERICAN INDIAN HOMICIDE:
A MULTIMETHOD, MULTILEVEL ANALYSIS

BY

RONET D. BACHMAN-PREHN
UNIVERSITY OF NEW HAMPSHIRE, May, 1989

This study investigates the etiology of American Indian homicide. Its triangulated methodology combined both quantitative multivariate analyses with indepth interview data from American Indian male homicide offenders.

At the national level, a descriptive analysis was performed that compared American Indian, black, and white disaggregated homicide rates. Although black homicide rates are far greater than either American Indian or white rates, American Indian rates are more than double that of the white population. American Indian homicide is more likely to involve knives while both black and white homicide is more likely to involve handguns. However, when handgun and other gun categories are added together, they account for over 40 percent of all homicides regardless of race/ethnicity. Homicide victims are more likely to be

acquaintances involved in conflict situations with the offender in all racial/ethnic groups. And although homicide is a predominantly male phenomenon for all groups, both black and American Indian populations have a significantly higher percentage of female perpetrated homicides than the white population.

Multiple regression models estimated American Indian homicide at both the state and SMSA levels. Economic deprivation theory was supported at the reservation state level while a subculture of violence theory was supported at the SMSA level.

The qualitative analysis of interview data not only supported the same causal forces of economic deprivation and a subculture of violence, but also illuminated other contributing factors as well. Sources of social disorganization culture conflict and alcohol/drug use were also found to play an important role in these offender's lives. This data provided tremendous insight into the nature and extent of the psychological pain that manifests as the result of these structural and cultural conditions.

A theoretical model of American Indian homicide was formulated from the results of both quantitative and qualitative analyses. It includes elements of economic deprivation, a subculture of violence, social disorganization, and culture conflict and perceived powerlessness, with alcohol/drug abuse placed in the model as an intervening variable.

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The focus of the present work is to investigate the etiology of American Indian homicide in the United States. The methodology incorporates both quantitative and qualitative data into the analysis and from this, delineates an integrated theoretical model of American Indian homicide.

Most American Indians live on reservations or in inner city ghettos. Of all the minorities in the United States, according to government statistics on income, employment, and housing, the American Indian is the poorest of the poor. Life in their social world can be brutal, often cut short by violent death.

An Analysis of crime statistics from the 1960s by Stewart (1964) and Reasons (1972) found American Indian arrest rates to be far higher than arrest rates for Black, White or Asian Americans, particularly in the area of alcohol related offenses. Using 1970 Uniform Crime Reports, Jensen, Staus and Harris (1977) revealed that "the Indian rate of conflict with the law is several times greater than the rate for Blacks or Whites with the greatest difference between Indians and Whites in urban jurisdictions." (p.252) Although this disproportionate representation of

American Indians in crime and mortality statistics is recognized by most criminologists, theoretical and empirical elaboration on the topic is minimal.

There is a proliferation of research on some aspects of homicide such as those studies which attempt to explain the homicide differentials that exist between the regions of our country (Wolfgang and Ferracuti, 1967; Hackney, 1969; Gastil, 1971; Blau & Golden, 1986; Wilkinson, 1984; Messner, 1982, 1983; Williams, 1984; Williams and Flewelling, 1987; Loftin & Hill, 1974) and also those which investigate the differences between Black and White rates (Sampson, 1985; Hawkins, 1983 & 1986; Huff-Corzine et al., 1986; Golden and Messner, 1988); yet there have been virtually no attempts to explore the etiology of American Indian homicide. Those studies which have been conducted are purely exploratory, focusing on univariate and descriptive analyses of individual tribes or specific geographical areas (Levy et al, 1969; Ogden, et al, 1970; Westermeyer and Brantner; 1972; Frederick, 1973; Humphrey & Kupferer, 1982; Kraus and Buffler, 1979).

Importance of Research

Given the apparent seriousness of violent death among American Indians, coupled with the relative lack of research attention by criminologists, the need for a more comprehensive comparative study is great. Accordingly, the

purpose of this study was threefold. First, using the "Comparative Homicide File" (CHF) compiled at the University of New Hampshire (Williams, Flewelling & Straus, 1987), a descriptive analysis at the national level was performed in which American Indian homicide rates were compared to those involving whites and blacks. More specifically, comparisons were made between specific forms of homicide including rates calculated on the basis of gender, relationship (family, acquaintance, stranger), circumstance (felony, vice, conflict, nonfelony) and weapon used (gun, sharp instrument, blunt object).

Secondly, state, and SMSA level multiple regression analyses were performed employing both the total homicide rate and the American Indian homicide rate as the dependent variables. Indicators of current theoretical explanations that direct most comparative research on homicide were used as the independent variables. At each level of analysis, both general population and American Indian specific independent variables were used to estimate two separate models.

The selection of independent variables was primarily guided by two theoretical paradigms: economic deprivation and a subculture of violence. Some researchers advocate a subculture of violence theory when attempting to explain homicide differentials (Wolfgang and Ferracuti, 1967; Hackney, 1969; Gastil, 1971; Huff-Corzine et al 1986), while others favor such explanations as economic

deprivation theory (Loftin and Hill, 1974; Smith and Parker, 1980; Williams, 1984). Drawing from both the subculture of violence and economic deprivation theories, a theoretically integrated model was tested.

And lastly, a multimethod approach was used in attempting to explain the etiology of American Indian homicide. Beyond the quantitative analysis described above, the qualitative technique of in-depth interviews was employed. Face-to-face interviews were conducted with convicted American Indian male homicide offenders incarcerated in two Midwestern State prisons. The goal of this methodology was to illuminate not only the structural explanations of American Indian homicide rates, but also to understand the unique personal life experiences and psychological characteristics of these offenders.

The results from both the quantitative and qualitative analyses were then interpreted as a whole. All presupposed relationships that failed to survive the empirical test were eliminated and the propositions that retained significance were used to reassess the theories from which they were derived. This resulted in a theoretically integrated model that best explained the etiology of American Indian homicide.

This methodological approach is called triangulation. The term derives from surveying. For example, knowing a single landmark only locates one somewhere along a line in one direction from the landmark, whereas with two

landmarks, one can take bearings on both and locate oneself at their intersection (Fielding and Fielding, 1986). Campbell and Fiske (1959) use triangulation to refer to situations when

"a hypothesis can survive the confrontation of a series of complementary methods of testing, it contains a degree of validity unattainable by one tested within the more constricted framework of a single method...Findings from this latter approach must always be subject to the suspicion that they are method-bound: Will the comparison totter when exposed to an equally prudent but different testing method?" (p.82)

Multiple method approaches have also been called such things as "integrated research" or "multiple operationism".

This methodological approach revealed different causal dimensions of American Indian homicide. The qualitative information obtained provided credence to the relationships found at the aggregate level and suggested why such relationships may have been observed. This methodology was also important because it generated additional theoretical insights which were not revealed through quantitative analysis alone.

Before proceeding, however, it is important to operationally define what is meant by the terms American Indian and homicide in this research.

The American Indian Population

For purposes of this paper, the term American Indian includes both American Indians and Alaska Natives (Aleuts

and Eskimos). The census counts of any ethnically-defined group relies on self-reporting by that group. Although a few demographers and researchers have questioned the validity of the census data for American Indians (see Green, 1988), the denominator used in rate calculations was obtained from the United States Census for 1980. These numbers represent all people who classify themselves as American Indians or Alaskan Natives and who reside in the U.S. both on and off reservations. This classification procedure is problematic in that it is a social-legal, not a biological classification. Many of the people who enjoy legal privileges of American Indians (i.e. those on tribal roles) are, in fact, of mixed ancestry (i.e. part black or white). Illustratively, in a projection of the 1980 American Indian population made in 1979 (assuming annual intercensal growth of 2.55 percent), the Indian Health Service underestimated the actual 1980 census count by 17 percent. Some posit that the increase from the 1970 to 1980 census reports is the product of an overcount in 1980 due to changes in the way in which the Census Bureau counts American Indians (Kennen and Hammerslough, 1987; Green, 1988). That is, since 1950, the Bureau has increasingly relied on respondent's self-identification of race and ethnic identity in enumeration. "The data from these more recent enumerations suggests that a significant number of individuals who in the past identified with other races, have increasingly begun to view themselves as American

Indian, at least for Census recording purposes." (Green, 1988, p.4) Stewart further explains, "The practical advantages of being listed officially on tribal rolls are such that nearly all who can qualify are anxious to maintain their legal status as Indian." (Stewart, 1964). Obviously this ambiguity could pose problems.

Consequently, the actual homicide rates calculated should be interpreted with caution as should other comparisons with these rates. The extent of the bias is unknown. If one adheres to the notion that there is an overcount in the 1980 Census, the homicide rates will be biased downward relative to any rates which may have been calculated prior to the 1980 Census or to rates calculated using "natural increases" in the Census data because the denominators may be inflated.

The margin of error increases when the numerator of these rates is considered. The data for the numerators were obtained from the Supplementary Homicide Report (SHR), collected by the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) as a part of its Uniform Crime Report (UCR) program. As the data were originally recorded by thousands of independent police departments, one can see the difficulty in adhering to a strict operational definition of who will be classified as an American Indian and who will not. For example, an individual may classify himself or herself as American Indian during the judicial process, however, may not have done so with the Census. Further, one might be arbitrarily

classified as American Indian by a reporting agency simply because of physical appearance.

These problems exist along with the more obvious problem of cultural diversity between the tribal units themselves. American Indian people differ from many other minority groups in that they often maintain strong tribal ties and identities. The Bureau of Indian Affairs recognizes 493 different tribal entities in the United States, with populations varying from less than 100 to over 130,000 (Parrillo, 1985). Recognition of an Indian tribe is generally based on the existence of a tribal government. Although in many instances, trends and similarities among the three ethnic/racial groups (black, white and American Indian) will be analyzed at the national level, it is questionable to assume conditions prevalent among one Indian tribal group will be present among another tribal group. These national trends are important, however, in illuminating the differences and similarities of homicide rates that may exist between racial/ethnic groups in the United States.

And lastly, the age concentration of American Indian and Alaskan Natives is greater in the younger years than it is for the total U.S. population. Median age for American Indians is 20.4 years, contrasted with 28.1 years for the United States as a whole. The percentage of American Indians between the ages of 15 and 29 is roughly 31.1 whereas the equivalent figure for all other races is 27.3

percent (Parrillo, 1985). As the incidence of homicide dramatically increases during these years with rates generally peaking around the age of 24 (The Injury Fact Book, 1985), the fact that the American Indian population has a greater percentage of individuals at risk in this age category may inflate the homicide rates on these grounds alone. For these reasons, all multivariate analyses will employ the American Indian population aged 15-29 as a control variable. It would be more robust to control for this by employing age-specific homicide rates in the analysis, however, the population and homicide counts were not large enough to allow analysis of such disaggregated rates.

Criminal Homicide

Homicide is the killing of one human being by another without legal justification or excuse. As a legal category, homicide can be criminal or noncriminal. Criminal homicide is generally considered first-degree murder when one person causes the death of another with premeditation and intent, or second-degree murder when death occurs with malice and intent, but without premeditation. Voluntary manslaughter usually involves intent to inflict bodily injury, but without deliberate intent to kill, whereas involuntary manslaughter is reckless or negligent killing without intent to harm. Noncriminal homicides include excusable

homicides, usually in self-defense, or justifiable homicides (i.e. the killing of an individual by a police officer in the line of duty) (Uniform Crime Reports, 1984).

Anyone who attempts an empirical analysis of homicide faces operational difficulty simply because there is a great variety of situations and motives behind the aggregate rates. Situations ranging from the brutal killing in the course of a trivial quarrel or crime of passion to the premeditated and skillfully planned homicide. And what about an assault victim who survives simply because he/she had quick access to medical resources? From this point of view, the legal distinction between attempted and completed homicide is difficult to defend because the victim's survival is often the result of chance. This must certainly have an effect on criminal statistics.

For purposes of this research, homicide will be operationalized as incidents of murder and nonnegligent manslaughter simply because previous comparative studies have confined their analysis to this type (Williams and Flewelling, 1988). The homicide data analyzed were obtained from the Supplementary Homicide Report (SHR), collected by the Federal Bureau of Investigation as a part of its Uniform Crime Reporting (UCR) program.

In the next chapter, the theoretical context which guides this research will be outlined in more detail. The subculture of violence and economic deprivation

perspectives will first be delineated followed by a review of the literature concerning their relationship to criminal homicide.

CHAPTER II

THEORETICAL POSITIONS ON THE ETIOLOGY OF AMERICAN INDIAN HOMICIDE

This chapter examines the two theoretical perspectives which guide this study: (1) economic deprivation and (2) subculture of violence. Each section begins by acknowledging the theoretical origins of each perspective and ends with a review of the literature related to each framework. The chapter is concluded with a note on American Indian "culture conflict".

Economic and Subcultural Explanations

Since Wolfgang and Ferracuti's (1967) Subculture of Violence theory appeared on the scene, an "empirical debate" of sorts has been raging between advocates of economic deprivation explanations of homicide and proponents of subcultural explanations. Perhaps nothing has occupied so much attention in the comparative homicide literature as the empirical search to establish that one or the other of these theoretical positions best explains variation in homicide rates. Before reviewing the proliferation of research on this argumentation, the theoretical roots of each side will first be delimited.

The Subculture of Violence Theory

The subculture of violence theory focuses on the role of ideas in causing criminal behaviors. Wolfgang and Ferracuti state,

What the subculture of violence formulation suggests is simply that there is a potent theme of violence current in the cluster of values that make up the life-style, the socialization process, and the interpersonal relationships of individuals living in similar conditions. (Wolfgang and Ferracuti, 1967, p.140)

This formulation was primarily based on an earlier study of homicide in Philadelphia (Wolfgang, 1958). This study found that a large number of homicides occurred among lower-class people and seemed to result from very trivial events that took on great importance because of mutually held expectations about how people would behave. The authors state:

The significance of a jostle, a slightly derogatory remark, or the appearance of a weapon in the hands of an adversary are stimuli differentially perceived and interpreted by Negroes and whites, males and females. Social expectations of response in particular types of social interaction result in differential definitions of the situation. A male is usually expected to defend the name or honor of his mother, the virtue of womanhood...and to accept no derogation about his race (even from a member of his own race), his age or his masculinity. Quick resort to physical combat as a measure of daring, courage, or defense of status appears to be a cultural expression, especially for lower-socio-economic class males of both races. When such a culture norm response is elicited from an individual engaged in social interplay with others who harbor the same response mechanism, physical assaults, altercations, and violent domestic quarrels that result in homicide are likely to be common. (Wolfgang and Ferracuti, 1967 p.188-89)

The seven primary propositions of Wolfgang and Ferracuti's theory are: (1) No subculture can be totally different from or totally in conflict with the society of which it is a part. (2) To establish the existence of a subculture of violence does not require that the actors sharing in this basic value element express violence in all situations. (3) The potential resort or willingness to resort to violence in a variety of situations emphasizes the penetrating and diffusive nature of this culture theme. (4) The subcultural ethos of violence may be shared by all ages in a subsociety, but this ethos is most prominent in a limited age group ranging from late adolescence to middle age. (5) The counter-norm is nonviolence. (6) The development of favorable attitudes toward, and the use of, violence in this subculture involve learned behavior and a process of differential learning, association or identification. (7) The use of violence in a subculture is not necessarily viewed as illicit conduct, and the users therefore do not have to deal with feelings of guilt about their aggression (Wolfgang and Ferracuti, 1967, p.314).

With regard to race, some researchers believe that the unique historical experiences of blacks have led them to adopt a set of values conducive to violence (Wolfgang and Ferracuti, 1967; Messner, 1982). It is argued that the black historical experience has contributed to a subculture in which life is devalued and violence is viewed as an

important defense. The very beginning of black history in this country - forced migration - could lend impetus to this notion. Slavery was indeed brutal. However, the black slaves were not considered the only form of slave labor in this country's beginning. They labored beside Indian slaves. The American Indians share a history of persecution and oppression similar to that of the blacks. There was an Indian Slave trade just as there was a black one. They were similarly forced to migrate from their homelands in one way or another. For this reason along with other unique historical events unique to Indians, the subculture of violence explanation may well apply to the American Indian population.

Historical Contributors to an American Indian Subculture of Violence

European arrival in this country eventually altered or destroyed much of the American Indian way of life. In fact, it is difficult to find a written account of settler-native relations that depicts positive nonviolent encounters on the frontiers of this country.

While some Europeans were romanticizing Indians with a positive mystique, most viewed them as bloodthirsty barbarians and cruelly exploited them. When describing the mythology that governed Indian-Englishmen relations in Colonial Virginia, Sheehan (1980) states, "In the ignoble

savage, Englishmen perceived a creature devoid of social discipline, violent by nature, inclined to devour even his own, and repulsive in his personal habits." (p.5). This mythology, he believes, contributed to the harsh and brutal treatment of the Indians by the Colonists.

Of all the broken treaties, confiscation of Indian lands, and violent disregard for minority rights, perhaps none is as poignant as the tragic experience of the Cherokee nation. President Andrew Jackson forced these Southern Indians to relocate west of the Mississippi River in what has been called the "Trail of Tears". Descriptions reveal how villages had to be abandoned overnight and how natives "marched, bled, and suffered" for hundreds of miles before reaching Oklahoma (Wright, 1981). Mooney (1900 as quoted in Parrillo 1985) describes this U.S. military act below:

Families at dinner were startled by the sudden gleam of bayonets in the doorway and rose up to be driven with blows and oaths along the weary miles to the stockade. Men were seized in their fields or going along the road, women were taken from their wheels and children from their play. In many cases, on turning for one last look as they crossed the ridge, they saw their homes in flames, fired by the lawless rabble that followed on the heels of the soldiers to loot and pillage. So keen were these outlaws on the scent that in some instances they were driving off the cattle and other stock of the Indians almost before the soldiers had fairly started their owners in the other direction. Systematic hunts were made by the same men for Indian graves, to rob them of the silver pendants and other valueables deposited with the dead. A Georgia volunteer, afterward a colonel in the Confederate service, said: "I fought through the Civil War and have seen men shot to pieces and slaughtered by thousands, but the Cherokee removal was the cruelest work I ever knew."

This well-known account over-shadows the numerous other

forced-migrations that took place during the past centuries in this country and for that matter, the "relocations" that continue today (i.e. the current relocation of the Navajos in Arizona).

Although some tribes may have had a history of violence before European contact, inferring that this tolerance of violence may have been culturally transferred to the present does not seem plausible. Most original tribal nations were separated or absorbed into other groups if not exterminated altogether. The cultural heritage of many were forever altered if not obliterated altogether. Most contemporary American Indian tribes have genetically become intermixed with Europeans, blacks, and other Indians. Thus, generalizations about tribal culture before European contact will not be made here. The brutal and inhuman treatment of this population by whites is alone enough to advance the notion that a subculture of violence may well have developed in response to this devaluation of Indian life.

Further, the Indian population has also rebelled against the injustices they have received from the dominant society, just as the black population has. Presently, a social movement is in progress which is attempting to establish an American Indian ethnic identity instead of just a tribal identity. This movement is often referred to as Pan-Indianism. One organization which has developed from this Pan-Indianism is the American Indian Movement (AIM).

On February 27, 1973, about two hundred members of the AIM movement seized control of the village of Wounded Knee, South Dakota, taking 11 hostages. This location was symbolic since Wounded Knee had been the site of the last Indian resistance in 1890 when one hundred and fifty Sioux including men, women, and children, were massacred by the U.S. Cavalry. Many were killed from behind, and the wounded were left to die in a blizzard the following night.

The 1973 Wounded Knee takeover included a 71 day siege by the AIM movement. The incident was staged to alert the American people to the unfair treatment of American Indians by the U.S. government. The holdout ended May 8, 1973, with two Indians killed, injuries on both sides (including a U.S. marshal paralyzed), and a quarter of a million dollars in property damage. This incident evokes visions of "U.S. Army tanks and M-16-toting SWAT teams moving through Pine Ridge like Vietnam search-and-destroy missions." (Weyler, 1984)

These contemporary incidents of protest resulting in violence are also similarly shared with the black population. Both American Indians and blacks have waged protests in response to their experience of white oppression and domination.

The American Indians and blacks do seem to share many similar historical and contemporary life experiences. Therefore, it seems logical to extend the argument of a subculture of violence to partially explain the American

Indian's high rates of lethal violence just as others have done with the black population. For as French and Hornbuckle (1977) describe:

Excluded from both the traditional subculture and the elite middle-class contingency present on the reservation, the marginal Indians are forced into a stress-ridden environment, one which allows for little social or personal autonomy. Instead they are torn between these two cultures following the respective dictates of each whenever possible. But for the most part they must live in the chaotic world of their weak subculture - one based on retributive violence. There exist similarities between marginal reservation Indians and what Wolfgang and Ferracuti noticed among ghetto black communities. Here violence is a common factor resulting from spontaneous eruption of frustrations.

Although Wolfgang and Ferracuti believed that subcultural ideas may have originated in general social conditions such as poverty, the cause of violent behavior was said to be the ideas themselves rather than the conditions that had generated those ideas in the past. Although some past research seems to have created a false dichotomy between structural and cultural explanations of homicide, this research posits that they cannot be causally separated. Particularly with regard to the American Indian population wherein statistical indicators of poverty far exceed those of the general population. The reality of this economic deprivation and its consequences will be explored in the next section.

Economic Deprivation

Economic deprivation can increase the likelihood of a number of pathologies such as alcoholism, suicide, child abuse and lethal violence. The psychological consequences of being poor are many. It engenders hopelessness, apathy and anger. One form of coping with the alienation and hostility that poverty may produce is through aggression. Some individuals may respond by openly attacking the system, by destroying property, or by outwardly aggressing toward others which may result in death.

Williams and Flewelling (1988) maintain that few investigators have really explained why such economic or resource deprivation should be positively associated with homicide rates, however, they claim that

it is reasonable to assume that when people live under conditions of extreme scarcity, the struggle for survival is intensified. Such conditions are often accompanied by a host of agitating psychological manifestations, ranging from a deep sense of powerlessness and brutalization to anger, anxiety, and alienation. Such manifestations can provoke physical aggression in conflict situations.(p.423)

The evidence of American Indian poverty is so overwhelming that few observers would dispute the contention that some may respond aggressively. One of the most visible signs of deprivation is reservation housing. Although living conditions vary considerably, running

water, central heating, indoor plumbing and electricity are not always present in reservation housing. Unemployment also varies considerably but is often a way of life. The Oklahoma Indian reservations report an average 18 percent unemployment rate while such reserves as Sac and Fox in Iowa maintain a high 66 percent (U.S. Census, 1980) Although urban Indians have a better probability of finding work, they are most often restricted to blue-collar jobs if they find work at all and still frequently live in substandard housing (Sorkin, 1978). There is also great variation in income among the American Indians ranging from 11.2 percent below the official poverty level on the Upper Sioux community in Minnesota to a high 70.3 percent on the Hoh Reservation in Washington. While income levels of urban Indians are generally higher than those living on reservations, Sorkin (1976) believes,

The standard of living for urban Indians may not differ as much from that of reservation Indians as income levels would indicate. First, reservation Indians are entitled to comprehensive free medical care (provided by the Public Health Service, Division of Indian Health) if they are one-fourth or more Indian blood. Non-reservation Indians are not automatically entitled to such care. Second, reservation Indians often reside rent free on allotted or tribal land but urban Indians usually must pay rent for housing. Third, the cost of goods and services are higher in the urban areas with sizable Indian populations (Los Angeles, Denver, or Chicago) than on many reservations. Thus, the real income differential between reservation and urban Indians is correspondingly reduced. (p.434-435)

Although theoretical elaboration on economic sources of crime is somewhat limited, empirical evidence is not (Loftin

& Hill, 1974; Williams, 1984; Blau and Blau, 1982; Loftin and Parker, 1985; DeFronzo, 1983). The homicide literature which explores the subculture of violence and economic deprivation explanations will be reviewed in the proceeding sections. The first section will provide the reader with a chronological account of the literature debating structural versus cultural explanations.

THE CULTURAL VERSUS STRUCTURAL EMPIRICAL DEBATE

To reiterate the subculture of violence thesis, the argument states that antagonistic interactions are a more accepted occurrence in certain situations among some groups in society. These groups may be more likely to endorse or tolerate the use of physical force in settling quarrels that may result from such interactions. Therefore, the more dominant a violent subcultural orientation is among groups or regions of the country, the greater the likelihood of lethal violence and thus the higher the rates of various forms of homicide. Wolfgang and Ferracuti (1967) stimulated much research and subsequently much debate.

In 1969, Hackney noted that a tendency toward violence had been one of the character traits most frequently attributed to Southerners. He states (p.393) the following:

In various guises, the image of the violent South confronts the historian at every turn: dueling gentlemen and masters whipping slaves, flatboatmen indulging in rough-and-tumble fight, lynching mobs, country folk at a bear baiting or a gander pulling, romantic adventures on Caribbean filibusters, brutal

police, panic-stricken communities harshly suppressing real and imagined slave revolts, robed night riders engaged in systematic terrorism, unknown assassins, church burners, and other less physical expressions of a South whose mode of action is frequently extreme.

Hackney believes that "being Southern", then, inevitably involves a feeling of persecution at times and a sense of being a passive, insignificant object of alien or impersonal forces." (p.407) Such a historical experience, he advocates, has fostered a world view that supports the denial of responsibility and locates threats to the region outside the region and to the person outside the self. He claims support for this by finding a significant correlation between a regional variable (South versus nonSouth dichotomy) and the homicide rate.

Gastil (1971) made a revision in his "subculture of violence" thesis advancing his as a "regional culture of violence". He states (p.416):

The concept of a subculture of violence is explicitly based on a view of culture that stresses norms and values while the regional concept does not. Violent people do not necessarily develop a culture that condones violence. A violent tradition may be one that in a wide range of situations condones lethal violence, or it may be a tradition that more indirectly raises the murder rate. For example, the culture may put a high value on the ready availability of guns, or it may legitimize actions that lead to hostile relations within families or between classes, and these in turn may frequently lead to lethal violence. The regional concept also suggests more persistence over time and intergenerational reinforcement than does the subcultural concept.

Gastil constructed an Index of Southernness with a high score of 30 given the most purely Southern states and a low

score of 5 to the least, explaining that this was a improvement over a simple South or nonsouth dichotomy. This index supposedly reflects the parallel expansion of the U.S. population from a core of New England culture and core of Southern culture, with migrations generally much more out than into the South. His results demonstrate that the Southernness index explained the most variation in state homicide rates with percent black and percent aged 20-34 explaining the second and third most variance respectively. While differences in standard demographic or economic variables did account for a good deal of the variance among sections of the country in homicide rates, Gastil maintained that there is a significant remainder that may be related to "Southernness" alone.

Although the studies of Hackney and Gastil were conducted independently, the research designs and conclusions reached are very similar in their support for the subculture of violence explanation, and have been widely cited as the "Gastil-Hackney thesis". Loftin and Hill (1974) stimulated the present empirical debate when they criticized these authors on two accounts: (1) that their use of region and the Southernness index as a measure of cultural effects was simply this - a measure of region, not necessarily cultural orientation. Moreover, all non-cultural determinants of homicide which are correlated with region should have been controlled for but were not, and (2) that they incorrectly specified the relationship

between homicide rates and socioeconomic status by assuming that the relationships are linear when they are not.

Loftin and Hill replicated both of Gastil and Hackney's analyses, but included a measure called the Structural Poverty Index which is constructed from the following items: A) infant mortality rates B) percent of persons 25 years old and over with less than five years of school C) percent of population illiterate D) percent of families with income under \$1,000 E) armed forces mental test failures F) percent of children living with one parent. Their results reverse the findings of Gastil and Hackney with the Structural Poverty Index becoming the most important predictor of the homicide rate. The effect of the Southernness Index was not significantly different from zero. Loftin and Hill do not reject the hypothesis that cultural variables are important, nor do they conclude that situational variables are of primary importance. Rather, they show "that a more definitive assessment of the role of cultural and situational variables on interpersonal violence will require specifying a theoretical model which would allow for a full range of cultural and situational variables."

The Loftin and Hill study motivated a proliferation of studies attempting to estimate accurately the "true" effects of indicators of a subculture of violence and economic deprivation on homicide rates. With this generating body of research came methodological

reformulations, including the call for reconceptualizations of the phenomenon of poverty.

One of the major problems confronting investigators is that poverty is usually, in part, a subjective condition, relative to what others have, rather than any simple objective fact of the presence or absence of a certain amount of property or other measures of wealth. Thus, many discussions have centered around the possibility that factors such as economic inequality and relative deprivation may be related to crime rather than absolute poverty itself. Absolute poverty refers to the lack of some fixed level of material goods necessary for survival and minimum well-being. In contrast, economic inequality refers to a comparison between the material level of other groups in that society. It should be noted that some authors use the concepts of income inequality and relative deprivation interchangeably. Others, however, have taken issue with this on the basis that relative deprivation combines economic inequality with feelings of resentment and injustice among those who have the least in the society (see, Vold and Bernard, 1986).

Within the comparative homicide literature, there have been few studies which attempt to measure these psychological constructs of resentment and feelings of injustice. Researchers have most often operationalized both relative deprivation and economic inequality with the GINI Index. This measure indicates the degree of dispersion in

the distribution of income across income categories. The most common measure of absolute poverty has been the percent of the population below the United States Social Security Administration's poverty line or the percent below some other low level of income.

Messner (1982) found that the Gini coefficient was not statistically significant for explaining variation in homicide rates for 204 SMSAs, and the percent poor produced a negative relationship. The analysis did reveal significant net effects for racial composition (percent black) and for regional location (SMSAs in the South or nonSouth). Thus, he claimed support for the violent subcultural orientation thesis. Messner did explain that perhaps his measure of inequality was not a very accurate indicator of the level of relative deprivation. Others, however, have questioned his methodology suggesting that his analysis more likely had multicollinearity problems. In 1983, Messner replicated this study while increasing his sample of SMSAs to 347. He also performed his analysis separately for SMSAs located in South and SMSAs located in the North. The results demonstrated that the poverty line is related more strongly to the homicide rate in nonSouthern than in Southern urban areas. The Gini coefficient still failed to produce significant effects for either the Southern or the nonSouthern sample.

Shortly after, Messner (1983b) again attempted to explain these conflicting results by adding Loftin and

Hill's Structural Poverty Index. Results indicate that the poverty index retained significance net of other variables in a regression equation using 1969-1971 homicide rates for 204 SMSAs. The Gini index was negative and nonsignificant. However, it also replicated his earlier 1982 study in that both size of the black population and Southern region exhibited significant partial effects on the homicide rate, even with controls for socioeconomic and demographic variables included in the model. Thus, Messner concluded that both structural and cultural effects added explanatory power when predicting homicide rates.

Blau and Blau (1982) obtain somewhat different results with regards to the relative significance of absolute measures of poverty and those measuring inequality. The Blau's measured socioeconomic inequality between races as the difference in average socioeconomic status between Blacks and whites based on Duncan's (1961) SEI scores. With this operationalization, relative income inequality in a metropolis substantially raises the rate of criminal violence, and the relationship between absolute poverty and violence disappears. The authors explain, "Apparently, the relative deprivation produced by much inequality rather than the absolute deprivation produced by much poverty provides the most fertile soil for criminal violence. Thus, aggressive acts of violence seem to result not so much from lack of advantages as from being taken advantage of, not from absolute but from relative deprivation." Further,

violent crimes were found to be more prevalent in Southern SMSAs than in others, and the greater inequalities in South SMSAs, the Blaus believe, can explain this difference in general sociological terms with no need to interpret it idiographically on the basis of the distinctive historical experience and cultural tradition of the South. Other research was soon generated, however, which called for model reestimation with regard to absolute and relative measures of poverty and their relationship to homicide.

In 1984 Williams reestimated Messner's and the Blaus' equations using logarithmic transformations (base 10) of both the percent poor and the homicide rate. He asserts that the relationship between these variables was essentially nonlinear, and when this is taken into account, the significance of absolute poverty is restored. William's analysis still, however, found "a relatively large black population was consistently associated with high homicide rates, and that association was not accounted for by the economic variables considered." He concludes by recommending that methods of measuring subcultural orientations through "cultural artifacts" such as art, literature or music are in order for future research.

Other researchers began incorporating race-specific homicide rates into their analyses. Sampson (1985) argued that the aggregate correlation between percent black and the aggregate crime rate across areas does not answer anything about the contextual effect of racial composition

on race-specific offending. If the premise derived from the subculture of violence theory was correct, the relative size of the black population would have a positive effect on the exposure to and intensity of subcultural norms and thus, a positive effect on black violence independent of other factors like poverty, and population concentration. He did not find this. Sampson states,

From a contextual perspective, the empirical results of this study do not support the theoretical framework suggested by the subculture of violence thesis. Although we cannot strictly infer individual behavior on the basis of group-specific rates, the data do suggest that blacks in cities with large black ghettos do not have higher violent offending rates than blacks in cities with a small black population.

Sampson did find absolute deprivation (percent of families below the poverty line) to retain positive significance with race and sex specific homicide thus adding support for structural explanations and no support for the subculture of violence theory.

In 1986, Huff-Corzine et. al. added another methodological twist. Using ridge regression techniques which allow the investigator to evaluate the effects of multicollinearity on parameter estimates obtained from OLS regression analysis, these investigators used race-specific homicide rates and included both the proportion of a state's population born in the South and the Southernness index as proxies for southernness. They also included both the Gini index and the structural poverty index in their analyses. The authors

conclude, "our findings contradict the position that the regional effect on homicide levels in the United States can be explained away simply as the result of socioeconomic and/or demographic characteristics of the South." This study suggests that when multicollinearity is controlled for, results support the argument that cultural differences tied to region may be important influences on rates of interpersonal violence. However, Loftin and Hill's early criticism still remained. Indicators of region alone were still being used to measure violent subcultures.

Baron and Straus (1988) tried to abate this criticism. They provided a new measure of the subculture of violence as they believe that indicators used in previous research did not actually measure cultural support for violence. They constructed a Legitimate Violence Index consisting of 12 indicators grouped in the following categories: (1) Mass Media Preferences, (2) Governmental Use of Violence, and (3) Participation in Socially Approved Violent Activities. Using states as the units of analysis, the results of a regression analysis showed that "the homicide rate has a significant tendency to increase in proportion to increases in the levels of legitimate violence, poverty, and economic inequality." They further find that the Western region showed the greatest magnitude of support for legitimate violence (although not significantly different than the South), according to their index, raising questions about the validity of using Southern region as an indicator of cultural support for violence.

Using disaggregated homicide rates by victim/offender relationship, Bachman-Prehn, Linsky and Straus (1988) used this same Legitimate Violence Index and found it to be related only to homicides in which the victim/offender relationship was family. Percent of the population below the poverty line, however, was significantly related to both acquaintance and stranger homicides. From this research, it was extended that perhaps a culture of violence best explains homicides which occur in relationships which already involve high affect (spontaneous acts of passion in family relationships). Poverty, on the other hand, may have higher general explanatory power as it contributed significantly to both acquaintance and stranger homicide.

Williams and Flewelling (1988) offer another alternative indicator of violent orientations. Based on the underlying assumption that an official justification of intentional killing expresses the cultural approval of violence, they incorporate the justifiable homicide rate into a model as their proxy for a subculture of violence. Using disaggregated homicide rates by victim/offender relationship and situation (family, conflict, family other, acquaintance conflict, acquaintance other, and stranger conflict, stranger other), they find the justifiable homicide rate to be significantly related to all forms of conflict homicide; however, regional location only reached significance on conflict homicides involving family members. The authors found percent below the poverty line to be significant and positive across all

equations.

Other researchers have also uncovered significant relationships between homicide rates and absolute poverty variables (see also, e.g., Smith and Parker, 1980; DeFronzo, 1983; Plass, 1984; 1986; Baily, 1984; Loftin and Parker, 1985).

It appears from this review that both subcultural and structural mechanisms contribute to levels of lethal violence. As most recent research has found support for absolute measures of economic deprivation versus relative deprivation, the quantitative analyses in this research will employ an absolute measure of poverty. The qualitative analysis will be used, however, to offer insight into the absolute versus relative deprivation question. For example, if the offender lived in conditions of poverty, what were his perceptions of these conditions? If he has existed in conditions of poverty, does he perceive these conditions differently if that existence was situated in an environment of relative affluence? In this way, the debate between relative and absolute deprivation could possibly be given a base. To measure the effects of a violent subculture, a contextual analysis similar to that of Sampson's 1985 work will be incorporated using percent of the population that is American Indian on Indian-specific homicide rates.

While the aforementioned research focused primarily on indicators of absolute and relative poverty as measures of economic deprivation, another line of literature has given attention to unemployment and its relation to criminal activity. A review of this research will follow.

UNEMPLOYMENT

Most people would not question the premise that an increase in the unemployment rate produces an increase in homicide rates. Even the Joint Economic Committee of the United States Congress periodically issues a report claiming this correlation. However, most empirical evidence is equivocal and inconclusive.

At the aggregate level, a study in 1976 by M. Harvey Brenner attempted to explain year-to-year changes in the homicide rate between 1950 and 1973 by year-to-year changes in the unemployment rate, the inflation rate, the per capita gross national product and the youthfulness of the population. Brenner found that over a five-year period a sustained increase of one 1 percentage point in the unemployment rate resulted in a 5.7 percent increase in the number of homicides. Thus, this increase in joblessness produced over 600 more homicides than would otherwise have occurred. This study formed the bulk of the Congressional Committee reports and consequently, the media hype that followed.

Wilson and Cook (1985) criticize Brenner's work on two accounts. First, "Brenner did not include in his estimates year-to-year changes in the proportion of murders resulting in the imprisonment or execution of the murderer. If it is reasonable to suppose that economic stress may cause crime, it is also reasonable to assume that punishment may deter crime."

And lastly, Brenner not only found that homicide rates go up with increases in unemployment; he also found that they go up with increases in inflation and increases in per capita gross national product. Further, Cook and Zarkin (1983) were unable to replicate Brenner's findings by analyzing the same data using the same procedures. Cohen and Felson (1979) criticize Brenner for failing to control for noneconomic variables that affect crime rates, and they point to evidence of autocorrelated error terms in his analyses in support of this charge of misspecification.

In 1984, Brenner tried to explain year-to-year changes in the homicide rate with seven factors. However, instead of using the unemployment rate as the independent variable, he used the ratio of the unemployment rate of young males to the total unemployment rate. Whatever the merits of this ratio, it was not correlated with the unemployment rate; and once again, Cook and Zarkin (1985; as reported in Wilson and Cook; 1985) failed to reproduce Brenner's findings using his methods and his data. In another article, Cook and Zarkin find evidence of a connection between the business cycle and certain property crimes, but not homicide. Others like Spector (1975) have also failed to find a direct positive relationship between homicide and unemployment. Cohen and Felson (1976) and Kleck (1979) similarly did not observe a relationship over time.

Others, however, have opted to better specify the model and statistical techniques used in analyzing the model. Cantor and Land (1985) believe that the "effects of unemployment on crime

must incorporate both the impact on criminal motivation and the situational impact on the likelihood of motivated offenders interacting with ineffectively guarded, suitable targets." (p.319) This type of model would best be tested at the individual level, however, the authors use a time lag procedure on national level Index crime rates for the years 1946-1982 and conclude an overall negative effect of unemployment on crime rates, including homicide rates.

Smith (1986) not only incorporated a lag procedure, but utilized age-specific average monthly unemployment rates with age-specific homicide rates. While controlling for other variables like percentage of cohort nonwhite and cohort size, he finds the strongest relationship between unemployment and homicide. South and Cohen (1985) believe that economic change, rather than the static level of unemployment, better represents the motivation or impulse to aggress. They argue that the level of unemployment, is more likely an indicator of the opportunity for homicide to occur. More specifically, "when unemployment is high, killings among persons who share a common household should increase, while on the other hand, homicides between strangers and acquaintances will decrease. On balance, in the aggregate this should lead to a negative relationship because, contrary to popular belief, the majority of homicides do not appear to involve people who share a common household." (p.331) Their hypotheses are confirmed. The authors conclude that homicides increase during relatively prosperous, but deteriorating economic times. Elaborating, the authors state,

High rates of unemployment reduce homicide rates because they remove individuals from transit locations where motivated offenders are apt to be present and capable guardians are likely to be absent. Conversely, low rates of unemployment increase the spatial friction of persons, thus bringing a greater number of individuals into close proximity with each other.

The conclusions drawn here are, of course, based on the assumptions of the routine activities literature. That is, that the risk of homicide victimization is greater for time spent away from home. It explains nothing with respect to family and acquaintance homicides and could very well be a statistical anomaly. At best the results of these studies have been inconsistent, if not contradictory. More conclusive evidence for the unemployment-crime relationship exists at the individual level of analysis.

Studying 327 male felons released from Massachusetts prisons, Cook (1975) found that 65 percent of those who held a "satisfactory" job (defined as a job that lasted 1 month or more in the first 3 months of parole) were successful in completing an 18-month parole period, compared with a 36 percent success rate among those who did not have a satisfactory job during the first 3 months. Of those having a satisfactory job at the end of their first year on parole, 89 percent completed the parole period without revocation, while only 50 percent of those not satisfactorily employed successfully completed their terms of parole. He also found that steady job holding was related to parole success, while frequent job changing

increased the likelihood that a parolee would recidivate. Other research corroborates these findings (Glaser, 1964; Sviridoff and Thompson, 1979).

More direct evidence of the unemployment - violence linkage comes from Straus et al. (1980). This study concluded that unemployment and only part-time employment of the husband was significantly related with the incidence of violence toward both spouse and children as well as the severity of violence in the home. The authors warn, however, that the causal direction of this relationship cannot accurately be determined as this was a cross-sectional analysis.

In a society such as ours, geared around work as the sign of adulthood and power (especially for men) and as the essential symbol for ranking and ordering experience, an individual who is unemployed must assuredly face many deleterious effects. Others have documented these negative effects in physical health, mental health, psychological maladies, and social and familial consequences (see, Cohn, 1978; Gore, 1978; Komarovsky, 1940). The next section will explore the nature and consequences of unemployment in the American Indian population.

Unemployment and the American Indian

Specific to the American Indian population, chronic unemployment is a serious problem, averaging 45 to 55 percent on most reservations and sometimes as high as 66 percent. Berlin, 1987, p. 225) states:

Adolescents see little opportunity of work - for assuming adult responsibilities and having a family. Thus, these adolescents feel entirely helpless and hopeless; there is no real future for them. On some reservations that have established a few money-making enterprises, the jobs that are available to tribal members are menial, with no planned training for more important and well-paying jobs. Most reservations and pueblos with high unemployment create dependency upon welfare for economic survival, and there is an incentive for some adolescent girls to become unwed mothers with several children, since it increases their welfare checks.

Frederick (1972) states, "the Indian is forced to leave the reservation to search for a job or to accept low-paying jobs at home. By remaining on the reservation, he is likely to become trapped in an insidious net of dependency which denies him the pride and satisfaction of self-reliance." (p.8) There is a Catch 22 inbedded within this decision - if the decision is made to leave the reservation, the psychological security of known surroundings and family is given up for an unfamiliar world for which he/she is totally unprepared. "Skills and experience required to function in a new job in a strange setting are missing. Loneliness and isolation undermine confidence needed for success." (Curlee, 1969).

The literature discussed in the previous section is somewhat less than confirmatory about a direct homicide and unemployment relationship in the general population. However, it should be included in this analysis as an indicator of economic deprivation because of the extreme unemployment rates present within the Indian population. Further, as this is basically an exploratory project into the etiology of American Indian homicide, it would be premature to rule out unemployment before it is empirically tested with American Indian specific homicide rates. Moreover, perhaps as with percent poor, the true relationship between the unemployment rate and homicide is not linear and a different model specification is needed. This question will be addressed in the analysis.

Before leaving this chapter, a discussion of Native American culture conflict must be included. Although this notion is not discussed in the comparative homicide literature, it is pertinent to any social problem effecting the American Indian and may certainly contribute to the high levels of lethal violence found in this population.

CULTURE CONFLICT

Many Indians of today find themselves in a psychological no-man's land as a result of this impact of the ways of the dominant culture on Indian values. Most young Indian people now share similar educational experiences with the typical teen-ager of today. They no longer wear the tribal costume, and they speak the common language. They, also, are victims of television and followers of the latest fad. They have all the problems common to the youth of the country, and in addition, the special problem of making satisfactory psychological reconciliations with the mores of two cultures. Stripped to selflessness, he stands a victim of the demoralization inherent in conditions of family and cultural breakdown. Desolated, he mistakenly equates the results of cultural breakdown and confusion with the simple fact that he is Indian and erroneously concludes that he must justify himself in some overly defensive way.

Barbara Farlow

The above quote graphically depicts the psychological state of many young American Indians who may be experiencing "culture conflict" between the dominant white culture and his/her own Indian identity. In the literature on deviance, the notion of culture conflict was first introduced by Thorsten Sellin (1938) who presented a theory of crime based on the conflicts between different cultural groups in society. Shaw and McKay (1969) also referred to this phenomenon while utilizing the social disorganization perspective. They advocated, as part of Sellin's work, that social problems were closely related to the process of invasion, dominance, and succession of one population over another. During this process, the natural organization of a location or group is severely impaired as is the social

control of its members.

A brief glimpse of native/white historical relations was given earlier, and an indepth historical review of these relations is not the purpose here. Suffice it to say that from the first European contact with the original population in the New World to the present day, the Native Americans have usually not been understood. History tells a story of continued culture conflict between whites and American Indian people. They have been brutalized and exploited, segregated and expelled, and for some tribes even annihilated. In the mid-nineteenth century, the government embarked upon a policy of containment as a means of controlling the Indians and encouraging westward expansion. The government used military force to displace many tribes and resettle them on wasteland reservations, where they remained unless new settlement plans or the discovery of oil and valuable minerals resulted in further displacement. Many tribes were thrown together while others were split up - forced segregation was instigated with little or no consideration of the social organization and familial structure of existing groups. Thus, two forms of culture conflict or strain are possible. One strain may arise through intertribal conflict while another may exist between the dominant white culture and American Indian culture. The latter is more often addressed in the literature.

Investigations of this phenomena are usually of the

qualitative nature and offer very valuable insights into the psychological mechanisms that may be operating. Hochkirchen and Jilek (1985) conducted interviews with Pacific Northwest Indians showing suicidal behavior along with other key informants. They state :

...the core of the emotional disturbance in American Indian patients seems to be a cultural identity conflict. Traditional American Indian culture clashes with the often changing and contradictory values of white society - from the moralistic ethic of the missionaries to the permissiveness of modern mass media. No longer is there a natural transmission of values from the older to the younger generation. The teachings of traditional culture are immediately contradicted by an alien value system. The loss or absence of a value system which is acknowledged as valid and applicable to today's world cannot but have a profound effect on the concept of the self, as Durkheim was the first to recognize in his description of anomic suicide. (p.25)

These authors further believe that relative deprivation together with anomie, the absence of valid societal norms, and cultural confusion are the socio-cultural background phenomena termed by Jilek as "anomic depression" which has been frequently present in their case studies of self-destructive behavior.

Berlin (1987) states in his review that "pressures to make it in Anglo ways because very few are making it in the old ways result in serious conflict between contradictory values." (p.224). Frederick (1973) states that every young Indian must ask him or herself the question "shall I live in the white man's world or in the world of the Indian?" He further notes that the two life styles do not always merge,

helping lacunae and conflicts to appear. "Young Indians grow up without a satisfactory identification either with their own heritage or with that of white society." (p.8) Other researchers have also emphasized this culture conflict phenomena when describing at "risk" Indian youth (May, 1974; Resnik and Dismang, 1971; Curlee, 1969).

Because culture conflict has been found to play such a significant role in maladaptive behaviors in previous research, it is important to investigate it's role in American Indian homicide. There is no valid indicator of this psychological strain at the macro level so it must be explored qualitatively. Attempts will be made to gain insight into any conflict that may have existed in the lives of the interview participants and to understand what role, if any, this conflict may have played in the eventual act of homicide.

SUMMARY

In this chapter a preliminary theoretical context for analyzing American Indian homicide has been delineated. Included in the context is the subculture of violence theory. This perspective assumes that different subcultures within society will have higher rates of violent crime because antagonistic interactions are a more accepted occurrence in certain situations among these subgroups. These groups are more likely to endorse or tolerate the use

of physical force in settling quarrels that may result from such interactions. Historical events which may have fostered a subculture of violence within the American Indian population were documented.

Evidence which suggests that indicators of economic deprivation should also be included in the investigation of American Indian homicide was also presented. The chapter was concluded by noting the importance of culture conflict when investigating any phenomenon concerning American Indians. This culture conflict may result in frustrations and feelings of demoralization at the individual level which may in turn, contribute to aggressive actions toward others and ultimately to lethal violence.

In the next chapter, the reader will be alerted to the current debate, albeit sometimes hidden, between quantitative and qualitative social science research methods and displays the benefits of the triangulated methodology which will be used in this research. Chapter three will also describe the analyses and variables to be used in this research project in greater detail.

CHAPTER III

METHODS

A Call For Triangulation

Sociologists, for the most part, can be divided into two broad methodological camps: those who prefer and perform quantitative analyses and those who prefer and perform qualitative analyses. As Zelditch (1962) stated "Quantitative data are often thought of as 'hard' and qualitative as 'real and deep'; thus if you prefer 'hard' data you are for quantification and if you prefer 'real, and deep' data you are for qualitative participant observation. What to do if you prefer data that are real, deep and hard is not immediately apparent." (p.566). This poses a problem for many including myself. Although the topic of data triangulation sometimes has the honor of a chapter (be it small) in some methods textbooks, these chapters usually offer no guidance of how to perform triangulation in practice but merely define what triangulation is. In this section, the qualitative versus quantitative debate will first be outlined. In the next section, the triangulated methodology which is used in this research will be described in greater detail.

Qualitative Versus Quantitative Methods

Proponents of qualitative research argue that most of what really matters in any real-world situation is nonquantifiable while others see formal statistical description and hypothesis testing as the only road to rigorous science. According to one extreme, we can acquire objective knowledge of social life only through classifying, measuring, tabulating, and using statistical methods. Other procedures taken from the qualitative tradition can contribute to research by suggesting ideas for hypothesis that can then be tested by rigorous objective quantitative methods, or perhaps by generating "case studies" that, when accumulated in sufficient number, can be subjected to quantitative analysis.

At the other extreme, the radical qualitative perspective holds that quantitative methods impose a structure and a form inherently alien to the texture of social life, which can be grasped only in its complex detail and wholeness. Statistics might be useful to organize superficial facts wanted for administrative purposes, but they reveal nothing significant about the basic nature of social life. On this account, the notion of quantitative methods is at best mischievous (Wilson, 1986). Fielding and Fielding (1986) state, "The caricature of qualitative research is that it is soft whereas quantitative research is hard; qualitative researchers call

quantitative researchers "number-crunchers" and the riposte of the latter is that the former are mere navel-gazers."

Wilson (1986) describes the phenomena of interest to social science as being constituted by "situated actions." He presents three features of situated action below:

(1) THE OBJECTIVITY OF SOCIAL STRUCTURE - Members of society treat social categories, customs, norms, and recurrent patterns of events as existing "out there" and as independent of any particular individual's doing. That is, from the standpoint of individuals and the actions, social structure has an apparent objective character, and however, encountered it is a fact of life to be taken into account or ignored at one's peril.

(2) THE TRANSPARENCY OF DISPLAYS - To the members of a social group, it is usually quite obvious what others are doing. Thus, socially competent persons are able to see at a glance that someone is chopping wood rather than baking bread, or is saying that the post office is to the left rather than straight ahead. Gestural and verbal displays, then, are transparent in the sense that members can usually directly apprehend the concrete, situated actions being performed.

(3) THE CONTEXT-DEPENDENCY OF MEANING - The meaning of a gestural or verbal display depends on the context of its occurrence, so that physically identical displays can have different meanings, and different displays the same meaning, depending on the situation. (Wilson, 1986, p.29-30)

When these features of situated action are noted, Wilson states that the "extreme quantitative and qualitative positions selectively emphasize some features and neglect others." Quantitative proponents focus entirely on the experienced objectivity of social structure and on the transparency of displays while treating the context-dependency of meaning as merely a technical nuisance to be dealt with in specific research situations

but without methodological importance. On the other hand, the extreme qualitative position emphasizes the context-dependency of meaning but neglects the objectivity of social structure and the transparency of displays.

One must not conclude a discussion of this issue without commenting on the role of power. For as Rowles and Reinharz (1982, p.14) explain,

Since quantification is associated with a reified view of science, which is dominant in the ethos of Western culture, and description is associated with literature, journalism, and the world of everyday interaction, quantifiers have the upper hand in a kind of power struggle in universities and research centers. When, as is frequently the case, power resides in the hands of those engaged in quantitative research, people wishing to engage in qualitative scholarship may be denied publication opportunities, research funding or jobs. By excluding qualitative research, quantitative researchers limit competing viewpoints. As a result, the quantitative paradigm is reinforced, reproduced in succeeding generations of researchers, and further institutionalized. (p.14)

The division of research into these quantitative and qualitative domains has led to a state of affairs in which, unfortunately, proponents of each sometimes seem oblivious to the other's merits, despite the utility of each perspective. The scientific ideas associated with quantitative methods include rigid experimental control, reliable and valid test instruments, probability sampling and rigorous statistical analysis of data. Statistical studies have real advantages, but a serious limitation: an outcome that cannot be quantified reliably cannot be investigated. For this reason, many favor the alternative

approach - qualitative methodology. Here the goal is to reconstruct imaginatively the standpoint or perspective of the people being studied - to give their behavior concrete meaning. The strength of this methodology is the depth of insight it permits but its weakness is that reliability and validity are difficult to assess.

A triangulated methodology which incorporates both qualitative and quantitative forms into the analysis has the potential of providing greater insight into American Indian homicide. The qualitative data can assist in quantitative analysis by interpreting statistical relationships. Does the offender perceive the crime to be justified? In what situations does he perceive the taking of life justified? Does he display attitudes and beliefs which are favorable to the use of violence in certain situations?

In addition, one method may also provide a validity check on the other. For example, Campbell and Fiske (1959) argue that the adequacy of any operationalization of a hypothetical construct must be sealed by its convergent validity - that is, the agreement between different methods of measuring the same construct. The proposed triangulation of methods could address this issue of convergent validity. In any case, interview data could certainly add a multitude of dimensions not tapped by a census-taker's tally mark on a protocol indicating family income, or rent paid, etc.

The advantages of this strategy should be clear. Along

with allowing a more indepth exploration into the etiology of American Indian homicide, the goal of this approach is to make the findings of homicide research more cumulative and unequivocal. Further, as very little is known about American Indian homicide, this approach may reveal relationships that the strongest statistical test might not be able to detect. The next section will describe both the qualitative and quantitative procedures used in this research.

PROCEDURES

Qualitative Methods

The Sample

From July 1988 to January 1989, indepth interviews were completed with American Indian males who were convicted of homicide and sentenced to serve time in two midwestern state penal systems. All of the face-to-face interviews took place at the prison site and were conducted by this author.

These sites were selected as they had a comparatively large number of American Indian homicide offenders and allowed the interviews to be performed. The prison wardens were presented with an indepth description of the proposed research and the interview schedule at which time it went through the rank and file of the prison bureaucracy. The

study was approved by both sites with one stipulation; the inmates must volunteer to be interviewed and could have the option of terminating the interview at any time.

A total of 30 American Indian homicide offenders were interviewed with 2 declining. The average age of the offenders was 28 with a range of 20 to 53 years. Only two had graduated from high school; however, all but one had completed their General Education Degree while in prison. Most were unemployed at the time of the homicide, and those who were not were underemployed. Five of the offenders were married, 4 were divorced and 21 were single.

Although many of the respondents had spent time in parts of the country other than the Midwest, all but two of the respondents were born there and further, had spent most of their life prior to conviction in the midwest. Moreover, identifications with an Indian tribe or reservation were exclusively with Midwest tribal groups. This suggests problems for generalizing from these prison populations to American Indian homicide offenders in other areas of the country. Consequently, it is critical to remember the potential biases of this sample when drawing conclusions or making inferences to the American Indian population in general.

The Interview Schedule

The interview schedule and consent form are provided in Appendix A. After the first interview, however, it was clear that it should be used as a general guide for topic areas rather than as a strict interview schedule. More meaningful responses were obtained when the respondents were allowed to talk freely on their own without a strict response format to adhere to.

In-depth interviews were selected over a more structured format as the respondent's frame of reference and information levels were not fully understood. After answering several structured questions regarding demographics such as age and place of birth, the offenders responded to a lengthy set of open-ended questions and probes concerning the circumstances surrounding their crime, their life before the crime, and attitudes about crime in general. These items were constructed to elicit data on their perceptions of the events that transpired and the possible contributors to the crime. Their beliefs and attitudes toward crime were of particular interest as these beliefs can be illustrative of subcultural orientations. For example, if certain segments of a population verbalize beliefs that are favorable to the use of physical force in certain situations, it can be inferred that these beliefs represent certain norms regarding the use of violence. Specifically, if proviolence attitudes pervade within the

interview narratives, it is legitimate to infer that a subculture of violence exists.

With the consent of the respondent, a tape recorder was used to ensure that complete and accurate data were obtained. While there was a prescribed order for the questions, this order was flexible. It was more often deviated from than adhered to. Interviews lasted from one to three hours, with the average lasting approximately two hours.

Strengths and Limitations of Indepth Interviews

Strengths: The chief strength of this interview process is the depth of understanding that it may permit. The presence of an interviewer generally decreases the number of "don't knows" and unanswered questions. It also allows questions to be probed for answers or elaboration of answers. Probably one of the most beneficial aspects to having an interviewer present is to guard against confusing questions. If a respondent misunderstands the question, the interviewer can clarify it. And finally, the interviewer can observe nonverbal behavior as well as verbal responses.

Limitations: Although indepth interviews have several strengths, they are not without weaknesses. First, being qualitative rather than quantitative, this method seldom yields precise descriptive statements about a large population. Consequently, the conclusions drawn from these

interviews should be suggestive rather than definitive. Generalizing to the larger population, even to the larger American Indian population, should be cautioned. By its very comprehensiveness, the understanding is less generalizable than results based on rigorous sampling and standardized measurements (i.e. than if a random sample of the entire American Indian prison population with self-administered questionnaires had been conducted).

The Interview Process

Each inmate was initially contacted with a "kite" granting him a pass to the counseling center. Most would show up at the time given on the pass, however, phone calls were needed in four cases as reminders. At this point, a guard or caseworker would introduce me to the inmate, and I would take him privately into an office and explain who I was and what I was doing. At this time, they could choose to stay and participate or decline. Only one declined to be interviewed after I had talked with him, and one more would not come up from his "house" (cell) yielding a response rate of 93 percent.

The introduction process lasted approximately 15 minutes. This time was perhaps the most tense of each interview as virtually every respondent entered the office with what I perceived to be distrust. I had to gain rapport and trust in a matter of minutes or the interview would be

lost. Most would ask such questions as, "But what do you want with me?" or "What do you really want from me?" After they consented to stay, they were asked if they would mind being tape recorded. Although a few had reservations about it, most had no problem at all and appeared to forget about its presence.

The interviews were much like two people getting to know each other, which in essence, they were. It seemed important to them that I, too, was originally from the midwest and in fact had lived in both states where the interviews were performed. This provided common ground from which to proceed. Even though some were initially apprehensive, it did not take long for most to begin talking. In fact, an analogy of flood gates opening is what came to mind in most of the interviews. Many made statements similar to, "I haven't talked like this in my life." or "You're lucky I'm talking to you because I usually don't talk, to anybody." After they perceived me to be nonthreatening and trustworthy, it appeared that most experienced the interview as a sort of catharsis. In general, the respondents seemed to enjoy the interviews and probably saw them as a welcome opportunity from the monotony of prison life.

After going through several background questions like place of birth and family status, the respondents usually took off on their own about their childhood experience. At this point, the interviews were basically guided by them

with me directing only where appropriate and more often just letting them talk.

An interview was usually ended not because there was nothing left to talk about, but rather because I had other interviews scheduled or because they had to return to their "house" for count. Closing almost every interview was very difficult as it was not just ending an interview, but it was saying goodbye to someone that I had usually gotten to know very well. Admittedly, in some instances my role as a researcher was somewhat obscured by a nurturing role which often developed. At times, this made objectivity and personal distance difficult to keep in check. I have found this to be one of the most difficult aspects of this type of research.

Quantitative Methods

Units of Analysis

Multivariate analysis was performed at both the State level and the Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area level. Although some investigators have questioned the validity of states as homogeneous entities (Loftin and Hill, 1972) others have advocated their use (Straus, 1985). A case can be made, however, for the use of states as units of analysis for American Indian specific estimates. Firstly, the American Indian population primarily lives either in

the reservation setting or in urban areas. Although both life situations might seem different cultural and structural experiences at the individual level, some researchers have found that American Indian mortality in both locations is often similar, with reservation Indians experiencing significantly higher mortality rates in certain age groups only (Kenen and Hammerslough, (1987)).

Reservation or urban living status is not so cut and dry, however. Many young adult Indians have high mobility rates between urban areas and the reservation. In fact all respondents in this study had moved back and forth between the two geographic locations an average of 1.7 times annually before incarceration. This does not include visits between the two areas, but rather actual relocations. Gundlach and Roberts (1978) explain, "poverty has motivated many young Indians to leave reservations for cities where, often times, subsequent failure has pushed them back to their secure, albeit poor, reservation communities."

Further, reservations are usually geographically isolated from other communities. And often, there are several reservations existing in one state which are not only isolated from the remainder of the state, but also geographically separated from each other. The state level of aggregation is therefore the only way to explore American Indian reservation homicide at the aggregate level since reservation specific rates are not available. For these reasons, the use of states as units of analysis in

this research seems appropriate as well as the use of SMSAs.

Theoretical Indicators

Economic Deprivation Measures: The percent of families below the U.S. Social Security Administration's poverty line was used as one indicator of resource deprivation (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1980), and the average unemployment rate measured another dimension of economic deprivation (The World Almanac 1988 for the state indicator and the U.S. Bureau of the Census 1980 for the SMSA level measure).

Violent Subcultural Orientation: Percent of the population American Indian (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1980) was used as an indicator of a subculture of violence in all American Indian specific analyses. This indicator selection was guided by Sampson's (1985) contextual premise for black criminal violence that "the relative size of the black population will have a positive effect on the exposure to and intensity of subcultural norms." (p.53) giving a subculture of violence does indeed exist within the black population. This suggests that percent black will be positively related to black offending rates for violent crimes, independent of other structural characteristics. Extended to American Indian homicide, this suggests that if there is a subculture of violence existing

within the Indian population, the relative size of the Indian population will have a positive effect on the exposure to and intensity of subcultural norms. The hypothesis for this research contends that American Indian offending rates should be related positively to percent American Indian, independent of other structural characteristics.

The use of percent American Indian as an indicator of subcultural orientation, however, has limitations. With its selection, this research has also inherited all previous criticisms regarding the use demographic variables as indicators of subcultural orientation (for a detailed critique see Loftin and Hill, 1974; Hawkins, 1986). Clearly, percent of the population American Indian is not a perfect measure of a subculture of violence. It may be correlated with any number of historical or contemporary life experiences specific to the American Indian population. And as we can not be sure that all other noncultural sources of variation in American Indian homicide are included in the model, it might also pick up influences from other structural conditions that the American Indian population has experienced. For example, it may also be measuring things such as overt discrimination or institutional racism as well as a subculture of violence. The measurement error can not fully be determined. Assuredly, as in any study, measurement error is a problem.

In assuming that percent of the population Indian is an indicator of a violent subcultural orientation, other propositions are inherently assumed as well. For example, the first assumption made is that a violent subculture does indeed exist within the American Indian population. Chapter two has documented the historical and contemporary antecedents which lend support to this assertion. But if a violent subculture does exist, are all segments of the Indian population exposed to it? The inherent heterogeneity of the American Indian population makes this question difficult to answer. It is contended, however, that while American Indians may represent a multitude of cultural and tribal identities, they have also experienced some of the same historical and contemporary conditions regardless of tribal affiliation. These similar experiences have led to the current Pan-Indian movement and may have ultimately contributed to a violent subculture. For these reasons, it is deemed appropriate to use percent of the population American Indian in this research to explore the contextual effects it may have on American Indian homicide.

Other structural and demographic variables were also included in the model to control for spuriousness.

Controls: Some researchers have included the divorce rate as a measure of social disorganization (Blau and Blau 1982) or social disintegration (Williams and Flewelling, 1988) into models explaining homicide. As it has been found to contribute significantly to homicide in general, its

inclusion in this research is necessary; particularly since this analysis is exploratory in nature. The divorce rate (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1980) will be used as an indicator of social disorganization at the state level. As Blau and Blau (1982, p.124) state, "Disproportionate numbers of divorced and separated in a population may be indicative of much instability, disorientation, and conflict in personal relations." At the SMSA level, however, the divorce rate for American Indians was not available. Consequently, the percent of American Indian female-headed households with children under age 18 was used as an indicator of social disorganization in all SMSA level analysis. Although divorce is the most common cause of female-headed families, this researcher realizes that it is not the only cause and acknowledges the inherent value judgement when using it as an indicator of social disorganization or disintegration. Baron and Straus conclude, however, that "It seems reasonable to conclude that the inordinate strains on female-headed families might contribute to a climate of social instability."

In addition, percent of the population that is black, percent urban, and percent of the American Indian population between the ages of 18 and 24 years were included as demographic controls in all analyses. Percent of the Indian population aged 18-24 is included not only because this age range reflects the highest homicide rate in the population as a whole, but also because the age

concentration of American Indians is greater in these younger years than for the total U.S. population.

Homicide Rates

The homicide data analyzed were obtained from the Supplementary Homicide Report collected by the Federal Bureau of Investigation as a part of its Uniform Crime Reporting program. The entire data set was compiled at the University of New Hampshire and is referred to as the Comparative Homicide File (CHF) (Williams, Straus and Flewelling, 1988). Among these incidents of homicide, the sample is restricted to one-on-one cases and cover the entire 1976-1984 period, not individual years. This procedure was used to reduce the influence of random aberrations in year-to-year estimates, in addition to the possible unreliability of rates based on low frequencies. Using weighting and adjustment procedures for missing data, relationship-by-event-specific rates are calculated as follows:

$$\text{Homicide Rate} = ((I/P) \times 100,000)/9$$

Where I = the total number of weighted and adjusted incidents of murder and adjusted incidents of murder and nonnegligent manslaughter of a specific type and P = the total population of unit (State or SMSA). The division by

nine indicates that the rates are calculated over the 1976-1984 period, and then expressed on a per-year basis. For a detailed description of the rate calculation procedure see Williams and Flewelling (1987).

Transformations

In empirical research, there is no reason to assume that the relationship among every set of variables will be linear. In some cases, curvilinear regression analysis can provide a better understanding of empirical relationships than can any linear model. This is the case with these data.

For illustration purposes, Appendix B displays boxplots summarizing the distributions of some of the American Indian specific variables used in this analysis. The left and right of each box shows the twenty-fifth and seventy-fifth percentiles, respectively, of each variable. The horizontal line segment within each box shows the median (fiftieth percentile) of each variable. Below each boxplot, a oneway graph is displayed of each variable displaying a tick mark for every point of data. Skewed distributions often resemble symmetrical distributions with one whole side of the distribution pulled outward. This not only results in a string of extreme values on one side of the distribution but also results in a median that is off-center with respect to the box. From these graphs it is

evident that most American Indian variable distributions are skewed. Further, previous comparative research has also shown that the relationships between the total homicide rate the percent black and the percent poor are nonlinear and must therefore be adjusted logarithmically (Williams, 1984). Hartwig and Dearing (1979, p. 54) state, "nonnormality and nonlinearity often go hand in hand and, because of this, reexpression is a useful response to both problems." For these reasons, all variables have been reexpressed in logarithmic form (base 10). This reexpression simply uses a logged numeric scale instead of the original measurement of the variable.

Multicollinearity and Heteroscedasticity

Multicollinearity exists when "one or more of the explanatory variables included in a model are highly correlated in a sample of data." (Hanushek and Jackson, 1977 p.86) At the bivariate level, there were no unusually high correlations between the independent variables to indicate multicollinearity might be a problem. However, it is possible that the problem may not be detected in bivariate correlations. For example, one independent variable may be approximately a linear combination of several other independent variables in the model, yet that variable may not be highly correlated with any other single independent variable. Another test revealed unstable

coefficient estimates either when variables were entered separately into the equations. A final test for multicollinearity was performed by regressing each independent variable in each equation on all other independent variables in the equation. No R-Squared values came close to 1.0 which would have indicated a problem. In fact the highest R-Squared obtained was .4. Of course, it is usually an arbitrary cutoff point at which one assumes there is a problem with multicollinearity or there is not. It is safe to assume from these tests, however, that although there may be a degree of multicollinearity in these analyses, it is not severe.

"Heteroskedasticity indicates that the variances of the error terms are not equal for each observation." (Hanushek and Jackson, 1977 p.142) For example, instead of being constant across values of an independent variable, the variance gets larger as the independent variable increases. This would indicate that the variance of the error term is positively correlated with the independent variable. Residual plots in each equation were examined and all produced random scatters. It is therefore safe to assume that heteroskedasticity was not a problem in these analyses.

CHAPTER IV

A GLIMPSE AT NATIONAL HOMICIDE RATES BY RACE/ETHNICITY

The purpose of this analysis is to describe national patterns of homicide in American Indian, black and white racial/ethnic groups. This national level analysis illuminates the magnitude of the problem of homicide among certain racial and ethnic minorities, particularly American Indians.

According to Uniform Crime Report data, from 1980 to 1984 blacks had the highest crude homicide rates of any group (Table 4.1) with a total rate of 33.1 per 100,00 population compared to 9.6 and 4.6 for American Indians and whites respectively. Although blacks maintain the highest rate, it is important to note that American Indian homicides are an average of two times higher than that of whites. This rate differential persists rates are further disaggregated by weapon, victim/offender relationship, circumstance and gender.

Homicide Weapons

Weapon specific homicides by racial/ethnic identity are displayed in Figure 4.2. From this it can be seen that a larger percentage of black (50.1%) and white (40.8%) homicide victims than Indian victims were killed with

handguns during this period. The highest weapon rate for American Indians was knives, which characterized 29.3 percent of the homicide deaths. Handgun homicides were not much lower, however, as they represented 26.1 percent of homicides. Homicides resulting from other guns (i.e. long and shoulder guns) were higher in frequency among the American Indian population (19.5%) than either the black (13.9%) or white (16.3%) populations. The American Indian blunt object homicide rate is also higher than the other racial/ethnic groups. Perhaps the higher frequency of these knife and blunt object homicides among the Indian population is due to the availability of these objects at a relatively low cost.

Relationship of Victim to Offender

Victim/Offender relationship specific homicides are displayed in Table 4.1 and Figure 4.3. Although more homicide victims were acquaintances than either family members or strangers in all racial/ethnic groups, American Indian victims had a higher probability of being acquaintances than either black or white victims. American Indians killed fewer strangers proportionately than did either black or white offenders. And the percentage of white stranger homicides was higher than either the black or Indian stranger rate as was the white family homicide percentage.

Perhaps the higher proportion of acquaintance homicides in the American Indian population is explainable by the rurality of most reservation settings. Reservations are usually relatively small and often isolated. In this situation, most of the resident population knows everyone else in the population. Thus, there may be more opportunity for the occurrence of acquaintance homicides. As more than half of all Indians live in reservation settings, this may be one explanation for the high percentage of acquaintance homicides in American Indian national rates.

Homicide Circumstances

Table 4.1 displays the circumstance-specific homicide rates by race/ethnic group and Figure 4.4 presents these rates graphically. Overall, a glance across all racial/ethnic groups gives a similar picture of homicide by circumstance. Most homicide victims, regardless of race or ethnicity, are killed in conflict situations (arguments, etc.). Both Indian and black conflict homicides are proportionately similar (51.2% and 52.4% respectively) while white conflict homicides represent a much smaller 41.6 percent of all homicides classified by circumstance. White homicides are also characterized by proportionately more felony and robbery homicides than are either Indians or blacks. American Indians, however, have a higher proportion of felony and robbery homicides than blacks.

Table 4.1. Homicide Rates Per 100,000 by Weapon,
Relationship of Victim and Offender, Gender,
and Circumstance, 1980-1984.

=====

Homicide Type	Race		
	AMER.IND	BLACK	WHITE
HANDGUN	2.4 (26.1%)	15.1 (50.1%)	2.0 (40.8%)
OTHGUN	1.8 (19.5%)	4.2 (13.9%)	0.8 (16.3%)
KNIVES	2.7 (29.3%)	6.8 (22.5%)	1.0 (20.4%)
BLUNT OBJ	1.4 (15.2%)	2.6 (8.6%)	0.7 (14.2%)
OTH WEAP	0.9 (9.7%)	1.4 (4.6%)	0.4 (8.1%)
	(100%)	(100%)	(100%)
FAMILY	2.1 (23.3%)	6.3 (21.3%)	1.3 (26.0%)
ACQUAINTANCE	5.4 (60.0%)	17.1 (57.8%)	2.3 (46.0%)
STRANGER	1.5 (16.7%)	6.2 (20.9%)	1.4 (28.0%)
	(100%)	(100%)	(100%)
MALE	40.9 (85.6%)	58.2 (84.7%)	8.5 (89.4%)
FEMALE	6.9 (14.4%)	10.5 (15.2%)	1.0 (10.5%)
	(100%)	(100%)	(100%)
FELONY	0.4 (3.3%)	0.7 (2.3%)	0.2 (4.1%)
ROBBERY	0.9 (7.5%)	1.9 (6.3%)	0.5 (10.4%)
SUSP. FELONY	0.5 (4.2%)	1.1 (3.6%)	0.2 (4.1%)
CONFLICT	6.1 (51.2%)	15.8 (52.4%)	2.0 (41.6%)
NONFELONY			
Vice, Gang, etc.	2.1 (17.6%)	4.8 (15.9%)	0.9 (18.7%)
UNDETERMINED	1.9 (15.9%)	5.8 (19.2%)	1.0 (20.8%)
	(100%)	(100%)	(100%)
TOTAL RATE	9.6	33.1	4.6

Note: Each category of disaggregated homicide rates (i.e. weapon specific, relationship specific, total, etc.) was calculated independently. Because of weighting and adjustment procedures, each category total does not equal the total rate for each racial/ethnic group.

Gender and Homicide

Figure 4.5 displays the proportion of male and female homicide perpetrators in each racial/ethnic group (also in Table 4.1). Although homicide is predominantly a male phenomenon for each group, females in both Indian and black groups commit proportionately more homicides than do white females. While black females commit a slightly higher percentage (15.2%) of homicides than do Indian females (14.4%), the white female offender percentage is much lower (10.5%).

State and Regional Variation of Homicide

Tables 4.2 through 4.5 illustrate the state and regional patterns of homicide by race and ethnicity for the United States. It is clear that the risk of homicide varies among the different states and regions of the country depending on one's racial/ethnic identity. Although the highest total homicide rate falls in the Southern region, when disaggregated by race, the West appears to maintain the highest homicide rates. Homicide patterns are similar for both American Indians and blacks as each group exhibits the highest rates in the West and North Central regions of the country, whereas the white homicide rate is highest in Western and Southern regions.

For American Indians, the highest homicide rates occurred in Alaska (47.32) followed by Iowa (31.17), Illinois (22.98) and North Carolina (18.88). The black population had the highest homicide rate in the state of New Mexico (55.30) with Nevada (48.11), Oregon (50.89) and California (48.11) following. For whites, Texas (11.15) witnessed the highest homicide rate followed by Nevada (10.98), New Mexico (10.71) and California (8.03). These state homicide rates are displayed in Tables 5a and 5b.

SUMMARY

Despite the differences in the rates of homicide among the racial/ethnic groups analyzed in this chapter, the patterns of homicide in these groups are somewhat similar. Although American Indian homicide was characterized by a higher proportion of knife homicides than either whites or blacks, all racial/ethnic group homicides were characterized by a high proportion of firearm deaths. If both handgun and other gun category percentages are combined, 45.6 percent of Indian, 64 percent of black and 54.4 percent of white homicide victims were killed by firearms.

The highest proportion of circumstance-specific homicides fell into the conflict category across all racial/ethnic groups. Although the majority of homicides were perpetrated males, both American Indian and black

females committed proportionately more homicides than did white females.

Even though the total homicide rate is highest in the South, when homicides are disaggregated by race, homicide rates were highest for both black and white offender rates in the West. American Indian offending rates were highest in both the North Central (11.87) and West (11.72).

One question that arises from this analysis is why American Indian homicide rates are not higher? Given that virtually all economic indicators of poverty classify them as the "poorest of the poor" in our country, why are their homicide rates significantly lower than those of the black population? One answer may lie within some cultural element which inhibits the display of outward aggression in the American Indian population. Perhaps the consequential states of frustration and hopelessness produced by such economic deprivation and oppression have resulted in the development of both a subculture of self-directed violence and a subculture of other-directed violence. Humphrey and Palmer (1978) extend this notion of a subculture of self-directed violence. They hypothesize that attitudes and values in certain subcultures of the population allow behavior that is harmful to the self such as alcohol abuse and suicide. They further believe that both self and other-directed subcultures can flourish within the same population.

This proposition seems highly plausible with regard to

the American Indian population as evidenced by both suicide and homicide rates. Figures 4.6 and 4.7 present the suicide and homicide rates of American Indian, black and white populations from 1966-1982. In Figure 4.6, it can be seen that while blacks have had the highest homicide rate during this time period, American Indians still maintain homicide rates more than double those of whites. When suicide rates are analyzed, (Figure 4.7) the picture is reversed. Although the American Indian suicide rate has fallen below the white rate in the past decade, they have the highest suicide rate of all racial/ethnic groups on the average. Blacks, on the other hand, have the lowest suicide rate. Thus, during this time period, blacks exhibited high rates of other-directed violence (homicide) and the white population exhibited high rates of self-directed violence (suicide). Indians, on the other hand, appear to have maintained high levels of both other-directed and self-directed violence. If this is interpreted from a subculture of violence perspective, it appears that American Indians may, in fact, live in a subcultural milieu in which both external and internal forms of violence are tolerated. This, too, is a logical outcome of a people who have been oppressed in every sense of the word. When a population is given no economic opportunity, stripped of their cultural heritage, and left with little hope for the future, it is understandable that some within that population may lash out in outward aggression while others

might direct their hostilities inward.

The investigation of self-directed violence is not the purpose of this dissertation. It is hoped, however, that its mention has aided in explaining why American Indian homicide rates are so low relative to the black population, particularly since their deprivation is so extensive. The analysis of both homicide and suicide rates suggests that American Indians may have developed a subculture of both self and other directed violence. This cultural agent may be responsible for keeping Indian homicide rates lower than rates in the black population. Future research should address these issues within a tribal specific context. Perhaps certain tribes have elements within their culture which act as inhibitors to outward violence while other tribes do not.

This chapter has provided a better understanding of trends and distributions of American Indian homicide at the national level as it compares to both black and white homicide. The objective of this work, however, is to better understand the causes and contributors of American Indian homicide. While this chapter has documented that blacks and American Indians are at higher risk of homicide than whites, it does not tell us why. Although the commonality in homicide patterns among the different groups examined in this chapter may suggest that the fundamental causes of homicide may be much the same regardless of race or ethnicity, the etiology of American Indian homicide begs

closer multivariate examination. Chapter five will analyze American Indian homicide multivariately at the State and Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area levels and Chapter six will provide a qualitative analysis of interview data obtained from American Indian homicide offenders.

Table 4.2. American Indian and Black Total Homicide Offender Rates By the Nine Census Divisions

=====

A. AMERICAN INDIAN TOTAL OFFENDER RATES

	Mean	Std Dev	States
U.S. A.I. Total	8.2560	8.5180	51
NEW ENGLAND	3.4344	4.5357	6
MIDDLE ATLANTIC	7.7672	1.5057	3
EAST NORTH CENTRAL	7.6404	9.2108	5
WEST NORTH CENTRAL	14.8945	8.8987	7
SOUTH ATLANTIC	6.2473	6.5284	9
EAST SOUTH CENTRAL	3.2289	2.2440	4
WEST SOUTH CENTRAL	3.2795	3.8564	4
MOUNTAIN	7.5008	2.2819	8
PACIFIC	18.4835	16.2339	5

B. BLACK TOTAL OFFENDER RATES

	Mean	Std Dev	States
U.S. Black Total	29.8261	11.8466	51
NEW ENGLAND	23.7813	7.9714	6
MIDDLE ATLANTIC	29.7981	7.6697	3
EAST NORTH CENTRAL	33.4974	9.1868	5
WEST NORTH CENTRAL	25.9204	14.2035	7
SOUTH ATLANTIC	26.0704	9.7036	9
EAST SOUTH CENTRAL	27.2881	1.4435	4
WEST SOUTH CENTRAL	33.5640	7.9926	4
MOUNTAIN	36.2602	16.5547	8
PACIFIC	34.3995	16.7803	5

Table 4.3. White and Total Population Homicide Offender Rates by the Nine Census Regions.

=====

A. WHITE OFFENDER TOTAL RATES

	Mean	Std Dev	States
U.S. White Total	4.1928	2.4911	51
NEW ENGLAND	2.2552	.3409	6
MIDDLE ATLANTIC	3.5444	1.7847	3
EAST NORTH CENTRAL	2.8013	.6831	5
WEST NORTH CENTRAL	1.9133	1.3217	7
SOUTH ATLANTIC	4.7754	1.6145	9
EAST SOUTH CENTRAL	4.6551	1.0570	4
WEST SOUTH CENTRAL	6.7314	3.2011	4
MOUNTAIN	5.8999	3.4616	8
PACIFIC	5.3086	2.4019	5

B. TOTAL POPULATION OFFENDER RATES

	Mean	Std Dev	Cases
U.S. Total	6.8061	4.8271	51
NEW ENGLAND	2.7408	.8236	6
MIDDLE ATLANTIC	6.4902	2.6737	3
EAST NORTH CENTRAL	6.0131	2.3521	5
WEST NORTH CENTRAL	3.0255	2.5275	7
SOUTH ATLANTIC	10.6593	7.6313	9
EAST SOUTH CENTRAL	9.3579	1.6412	4
WEST SOUTH CENTRAL	10.7656	3.6068	4
MOUNTAIN	6.2857	3.6745	8
PACIFIC	6.6477	3.6075	5

Table 4.4 American Indian, Black, White and Total
Offender Rates by Four Regions of the U.S.

=====

A. AMERICAN INDIAN TOTAL OFFENDER RATES

	<u>Mean</u>	<u>Std Dev</u>	<u>States</u>
U.S. A.I. Total	8.2560	8.5180	51
NORTH EAST	4.8787	4.2566	9
NORTH CENTRAL	11.8719	9.3806	12
SOUTH	4.8388	5.2359	17
WEST	11.7249	11.0368	13

B. BLACK OFFENDER RATES

	<u>Mean</u>	<u>Std Dev</u>	<u>States</u>
U.S. Black Total	29.8261	11.8466	51
NORTH EAST	25.7869	7.9669	9
NORTH CENTRAL	29.0775	12.4881	12
SOUTH	28.1201	8.3303	17
WEST	35.5445	15.9567	13

C. WHITE OFFENDER RATES

	<u>Mean</u>	<u>Std Dev</u>	<u>States</u>
U.S. White Total	4.1928	2.4911	51
NORTH EAST	2.6850	1.1333	9
NORTH CENTRAL	2.2833	1.1540	12
SOUTH	5.2074	2.0484	17
WEST	5.6726	3.0005	13

D. TOTAL POPULATION OFFENDER RATES

	<u>Mean</u>	<u>Std Dev</u>	<u>States</u>
U.S. Total	6.8061	4.8271	51
NORTH EAST	3.9906	2.3928	9
NORTH CENTRAL	4.2703	2.8041	12
SOUTH	10.3781	5.6925	17
WEST	6.4250	3.4997	13

Table 4.5a. State American Indian, Black, White, and Total Homicide Rates and Total American Indian Population by Four Regions of the U.S. 1980-1984.

STATE	AMERIND	BLACK	WHITE	TOTAL	TOTAIPOP
North East					
CON	11.29	22.99	2.58	4.00	4431.00
ME	5.82	26.55	1.88	1.93	4057.00
MAS	3.49	27.21	2.18	3.10	7483.00
N H	0.0	11.88	2.01	2.03	1297.00
N J	7.64	21.74	2.81	5.09	8176.00
N Y	9.33	37.01	5.58	9.57	38967.00
PA	6.33	30.64	2.25	4.81	9179.00
R I	0.0	18.81	2.76	3.19	2872.00
VT	0.0	35.24	2.13	2.19	968.00
North Central					
ILL	22.98	35.82	3.35	8.01	15846.00
IND	0.0	35.21	3.34	5.71	7682.00
IOW	31.17	26.85	1.32	1.73	5369.00
KAN	11.03	31.57	3.16	4.73	15256.00
MIC	2.85	45.36	2.76	8.24	39714.00
MIN	18.56	34.96	1.04	1.65	34831.00
MO	12.53	39.20	4.36	8.03	12129.00
NEB	19.03	35.46	1.51	2.59	9145.00
N D	6.07	0.0	.86	1.01	20120.00
OH	3.15	31.13	2.89	5.70	11985.00
S D	5.87	13.40	1.15	1.44	44948.00
WIS	9.22	19.97	1.67	2.41	29320.00
South					
ALA	4.06	26.70	4.15	9.90	7502.00
ARK	0.0	24.73	3.53	6.97	9364.00
DEL	0.0	15.66	2.77	4.80	1307.00
D C	0.0	39.23	7.42	29.75	996.00
FLA	5.59	44.11	7.11	12.07	18922.00
GA	2.62	29.90	5.15	11.75	7442.00
KY	3.68	27.97	6.11	7.63	3518.00
LA	2.10	32.01	5.81	13.53	11951.00
MD	9.92	23.25	3.32	7.85	7823.00
MIS	0.0	25.59	3.66	11.38	6131.00
N C	18.88	21.87	4.20	8.30	64536.00
OKL	8.87	33.40	6.44	8.41	169292.0
S C	12.31	20.34	5.22	9.79	5665.00
TEN	5.18	28.89	4.70	8.52	5013.00
TEX	2.15	44.11	11.15	14.15	39375.00
VA	6.90	21.35	3.70	7.02	9211.00
W V	0.0	18.93	4.10	4.61	1555.00

Table 4.5b. Continuation of State American Indian, Black, White, and Total Homicide Rates and Total American Indian Population by Four Regions of the U.S.

State	AMERIND	BLACK	WHITE	TOTAL	TOTA IPOP
West					
ALK	47.32	33.14	7.66	11.03	21869.00
ARI	5.30	44.65	7.39	7.62	152498.0
CAL	9.07	48.11	8.03	10.12	198155.0
COL	11.07	37.81	4.98	5.89	17734.00
HAW	10.00	8.84	4.64	4.34	2655.00
IDA	7.30	8.26	2.82	2.81	10418.00
MON	9.42	18.71	2.53	3.05	37153.00
NEV	6.76	53.19	10.98	13.13	13205.00
N M	6.38	55.30	10.71	9.63	105976.0
ORG	14.07	50.89	2.97	3.68	26591.00
UTH	4.38	43.30	2.68	2.99	19158.00
WAS	11.96	31.01	3.25	4.07	58186.00
WYO	9.40	28.86	5.12	5.17	7057.00

Total Rate

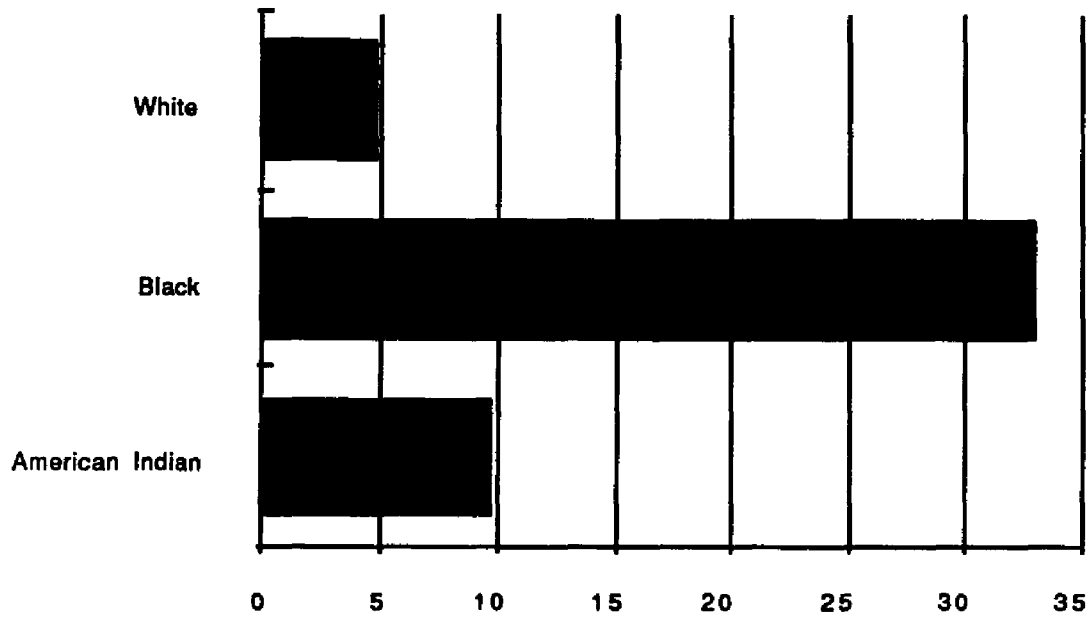


Figure 4.1. Total U.S. Homicide Rate by Race/Ethnicity

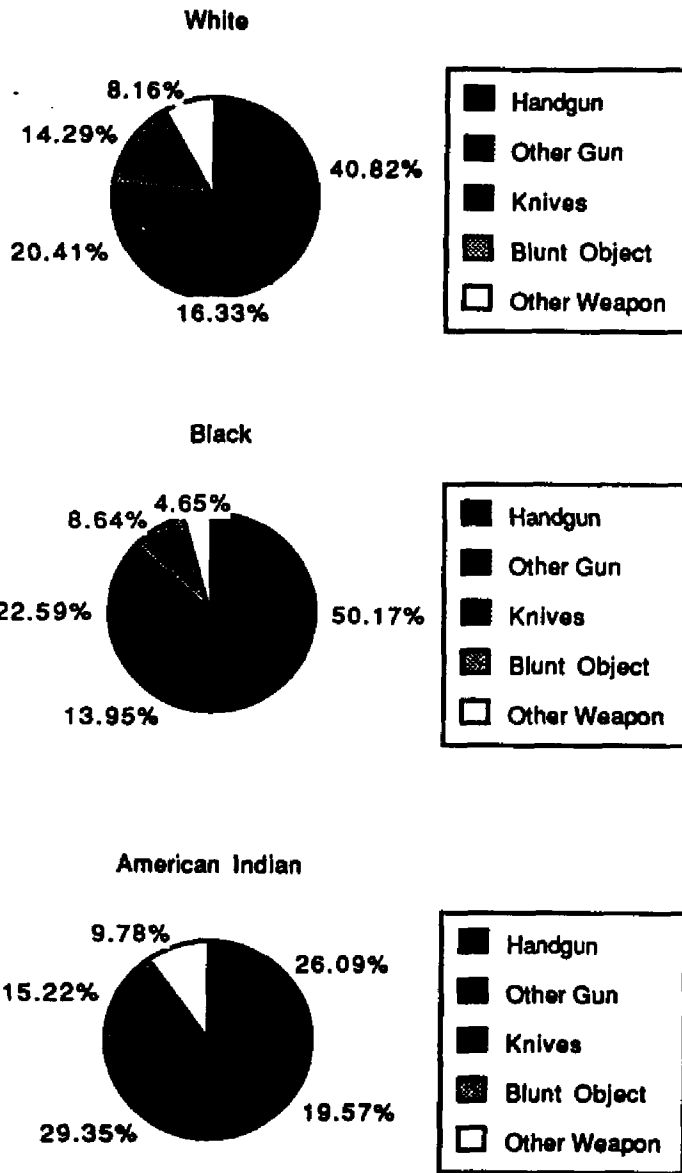


Figure 4.2. Weapon Specific Homicides by Race/Ethnicity

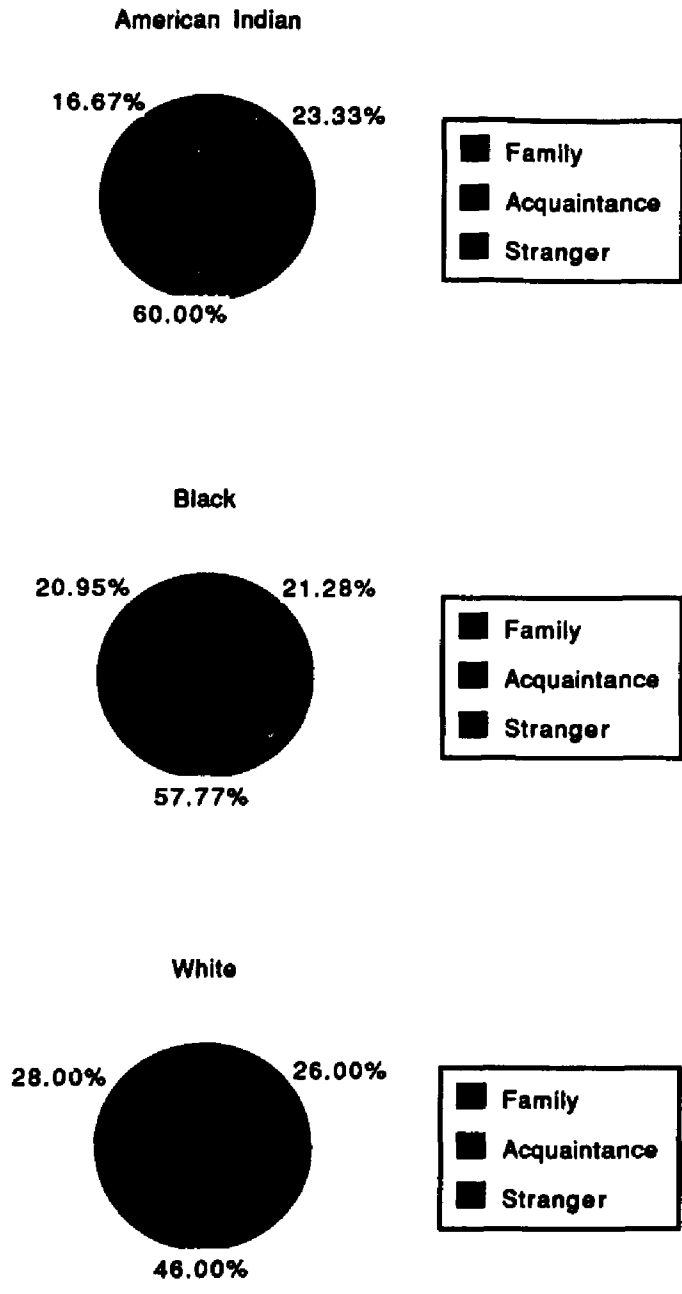


Figure 4.3 Victim/Offender-Relationship-Specific Homicide by Race/Ethnicity

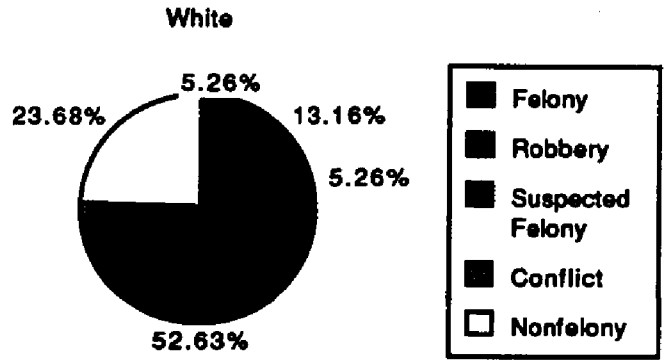
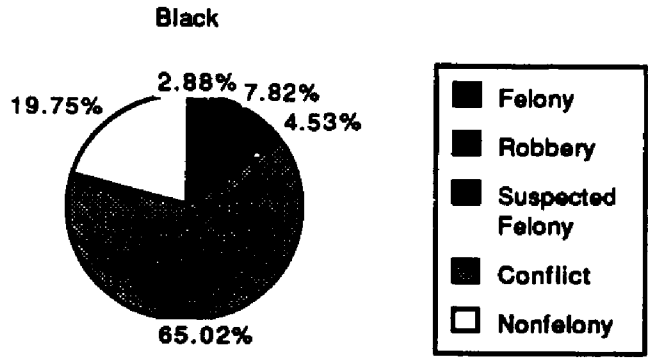
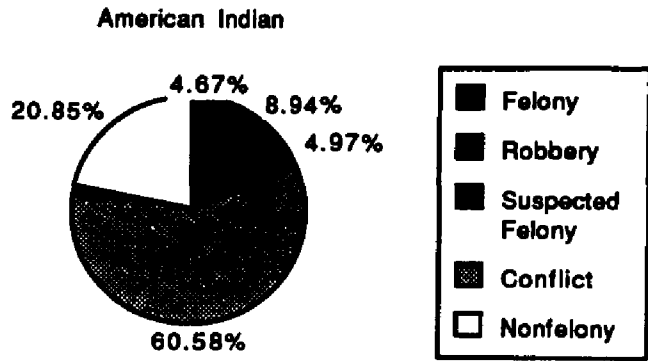


Figure 4.4. Circumstance-Specific Homicide by Race/Ethnicity

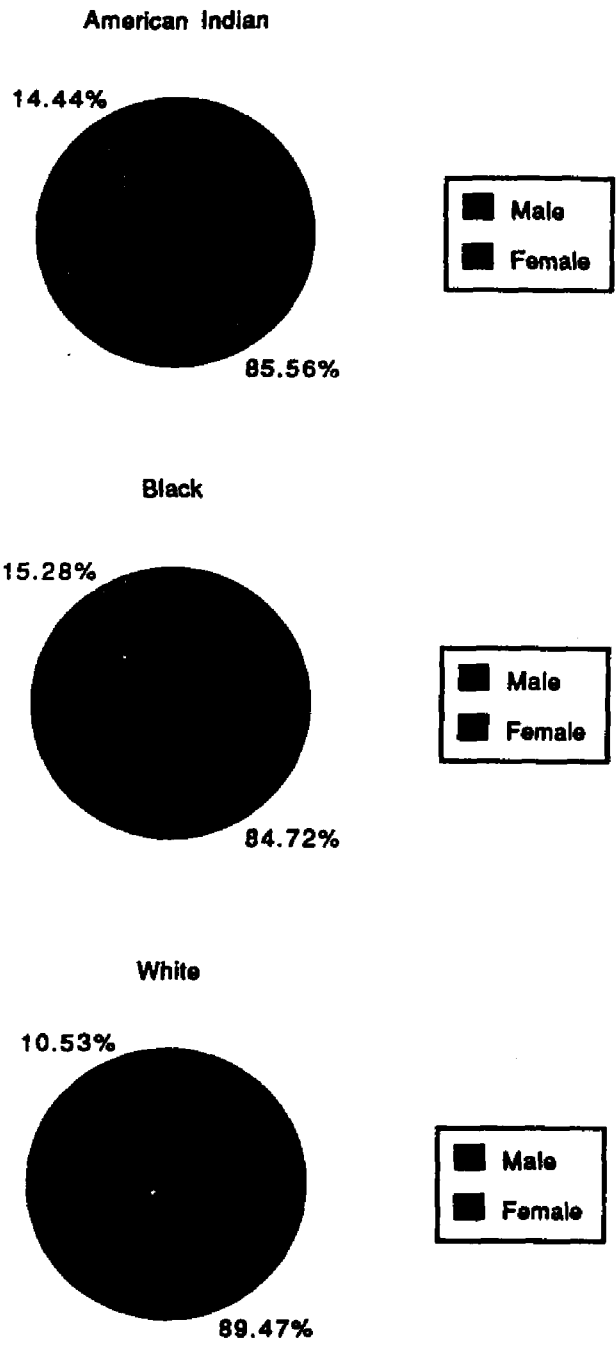


Figure 4.5. Gender-Specific Homicide by Race/Ethnicity

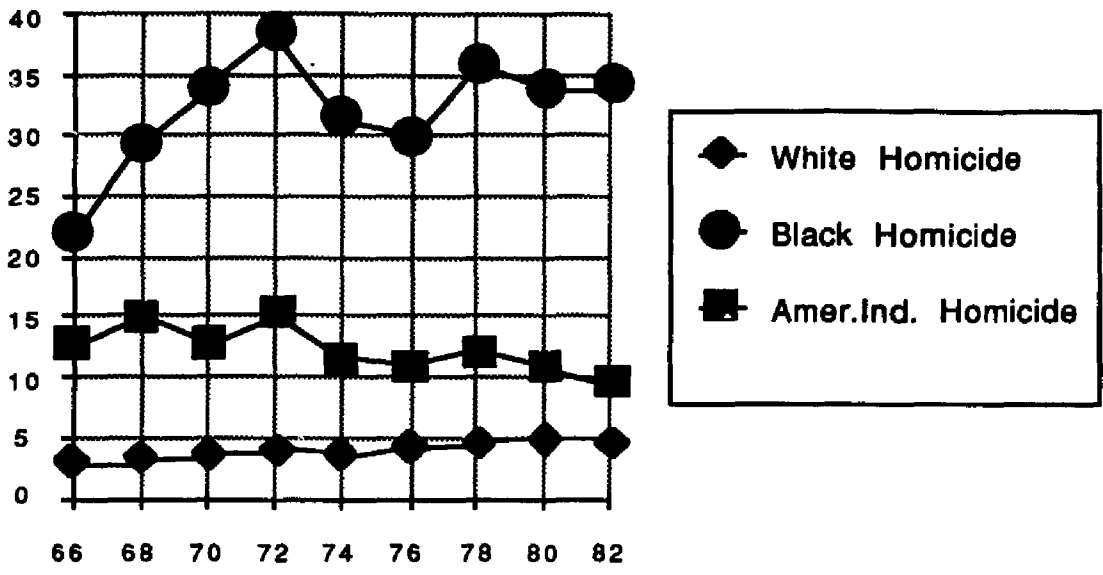


Figure 4.6. White, Black and American Indian Homicide Rates From 1966-1982

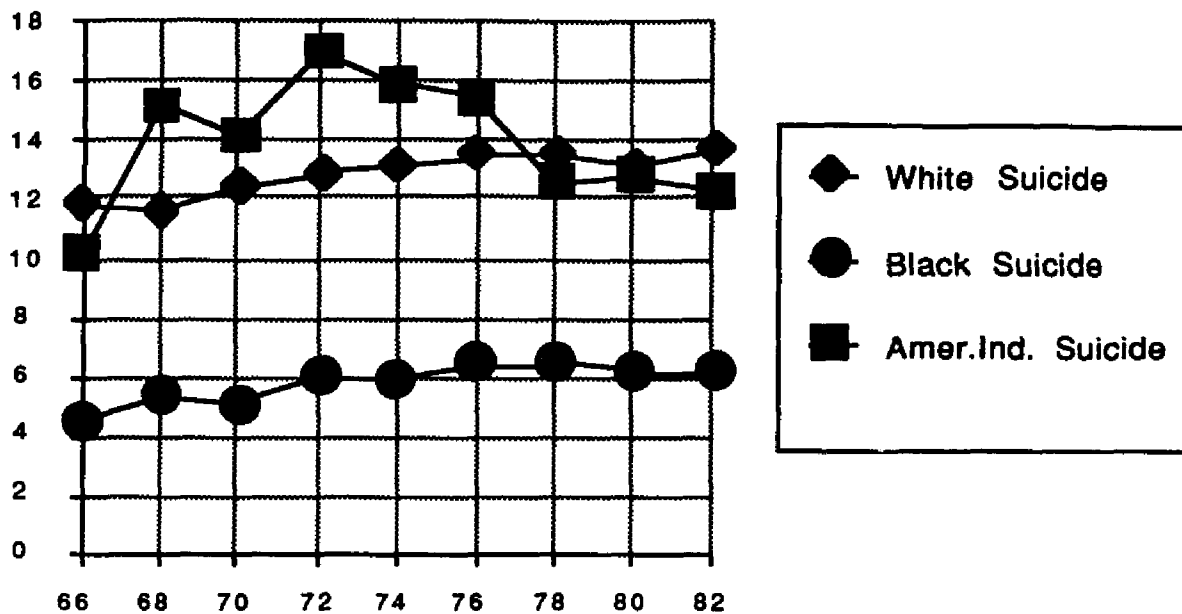


Figure 4.7. White, Black, and American Indian Suicide Rates from 1966-1982

CHAPTER V

STATE AND SMSA LEVEL MULTIVARIATE ANALYSIS

In this chapter, multiple regression analyses will be performed using both the total homicide rate and the total American Indian homicide rate as the dependent variables. Each homicide rate will be analyzed using general population independent variables and another model will estimate the American Indian homicide rate using American Indian specific independent variables. These analyses will be repeated at both the state and SMSA levels of aggregation.

Using race-specific rates has proven a useful alternative to analysis of contextual data (Sampson, 1985). By controlling for the individual-level characteristic of race in this way, it is possible to detect contextual effects versus the compositional effects one obtains in total population estimates. This, of course, is only an approximation of individual level data.

Reiterating from Chapter three, if the subculture of violence premise has contextual merit, percent of the population American Indian should have a significant effect on American Indian homicide net of the other variables in the model (e.g. poverty, social disorganization, etc.). Generalizations regarding subcultural orientations can only be drawn when the American Indian specific homicide rate

is used as the dependent variable. When nonIndian-specific rates are analyzed, the effects of percent Indian can only be interpreted as an effect of differing racial composition.

State Analysis

As observed in the boxplots displayed in Appendix B and also in the state level rates listed in Table 4.5, one can see the severely skewed distributions of both the American Indian homicide rate and in the American Indian specific independent variables. Many of the states reveal American Indian homicide rates of zero and a few states have very high rates simply because they have a very small American Indian population (i.e. Connecticut 11.29 homicides per 100,000 and Hawaii 10.00 homicides per 100,000). These states are thereby suspect to small sample variability. Although it would be preferable to have a large number of states available for multivariate analysis, homicide is a rare crime in the first place. This fact along with small Indian populations in some states may yield questionable rates in several states. For these reasons, the state level analysis was limited to those states where reservations were located. This limited the analysis to 27 states. *1

Limiting the analysis to reservation states will allow this level of analysis to be used as a proxy (albeit a crude one) for a reservation level analysis. Thus, the

etiology of American Indian homicide can be explored between Indians who live in urban areas through the SMSA level analysis and those who live on reservations through the reservation state analysis. This is an important comparison. For example, one theoretical model may better explain American Indian homicide on reservations compared to American Indian homicide in SMSAs. While using this reservation state analysis does include reservation data, it may also include the SMSA data contained in that state. Thus, measurement error will inevitably be present. Ideally, of course, it would be necessary to have reservation specific data available to make this comparison. However, as this data is not available, comparing the reservation state analysis with the SMSA analysis must be used as a substitute.

State Equations

General Population Estimate

Recall from chapter three that the theoretical indicators used in these analyses are as follows: Percent below the Social Security Administrations Poverty line and the average unemployment rate will both be used as indicators of economic deprivation; the divorce rate is used as a proxy for social disorganization; percent of the population American Indian will be used as an indicator of a violent subcultural orientation, and percent of the

population that is urban and percent of the population that is black will be included in the analyses as demographic controls.

The total homicide rate will first be used in a regression model with the above independent variables. This analysis serves an important use as a baseline from which the American Indian specific analyses can be compared. For example, do the same structural and cultural elements explain both the total homicide rate and American Indian homicide or are they different? Secondly, this analysis will also illuminate the compositional effect, if any, percent of population American Indian has on the total homicide rate.

The second model estimated from these variables will use the American Indian total homicide rate as the dependent variable. This will demonstrate how well general population measures (e.g. poverty, etc.) perform when explaining American Indian homicide. Do the same variables which achieve significance when explaining homicide in general have the same effects when explaining American Indian homicide? Or do American Indian specific independent variables provide a better model estimate?

Results

The bivariate analysis of all endogenous and exogenous relationships of the general population models are presented in Table 5.1. All general population indicators

are significantly related to the total homicide rate. Percent black has the strongest correlation (.77) with the divorce rate (.70), percent urban (.50), unemployment (.39), and percent poor (.28) following. The American Indian total homicide rate and percent Indian population do not attain significance at the bivariate level with the total homicide rate, in fact both are negatively related. Although American Indian homicide rates are high, it appears that the Indian population is not large enough to warrant a significant statistical relationship with the total homicide rate.

Table 5.2 displays the results of both models predicting the total homicide rate and the American Indian total homicide rate using general population independent variables. It appears from the table that although general population indicators provide a good fit when explaining the total homicide rate, they do not do well when estimating American Indian homicides.

Table 5.1. Correlation Matrix of the total homicide rate and the American Indian homicide rate with all general population independent variables (States N=27).

```

=====
Variables      1      2      3      4      5      6      7      8
-----
1.TOTAL
  HOMICIDE    -
2.AMER.IND.
  HOMICIDE  -.27    -
3.%AMER.IND -.08    .23*   -
4.%URBAN     .50*   .15   -.09   -
5.%POOR      .28   -.60   .02   -.35   -
6.%BLACK     .77** -.30   -.44** .35*   .28   -
7.DIVORCE    .70** .16    .29    .35    .03   .22   -
8.UNEMPLYMNT .39   -.23   -.26   .23    .04   .36   .23   -
-----

```

Note: 1-tailed Significance: * p=.01 ** p=.001; %AMER.IND - Percent of Population American Indian; %URBAN - Percent of Population Urban; %POOR - Percent of Population Below Poverty Line; %BLACK - Percent of Population Black; DIVORCE - Total Divorce Rate; UNEMPLYMNT - Average Unemployment Rate.

When these variables are placed in a regression equation predicting the total homicide rate, percent black, the divorce rate, percent poor, and percent urban all explain a significant amount of variation in total homicides. Percent of the population that is American Indian, however, does not attain significance and thus yields no compositional effect. This analysis results in an adjusted R-Squared of .96 (p<.00001).

None of the general population indicators, including the percent American Indian, have a significant positive relationship when explaining the total American Indian

homicide rate. It appears that models which contribute significantly to the explained variance in total homicides do not fair well when explaining American Indian homicides. American Indians do not seem to be effected by structural circumstances that propel the population as a whole to engage in lethal violence. Or at least these general indicators are not measuring the reality experienced by American Indians (e.g. population as a whole below the poverty line may not adequately measure American Indian poverty). American Indians may, indeed, live in a world set apart from the dominant society both culturally and structurally. To investigate this further, it is important to estimate a model employing American Indian specific independent variables. This analysis is provided in the next section.

Table 5.2. Regression Analyses of the Total Homicide Rate and of the Total American Indian Homicide Rate on Six General Population Independent Variables 1976-1984 (States N=27)

Homicide Rates	Independent Variables					
	%BLACK	DIVORCES	%URBAN	UNEMPLYMNT	%POOR	%AMERIND
TOTAL HOMICIDE						
b	.63	.99	1.7	.30	1.2	.04
beta	.53	.47	.20	.04	.18	.03
SE(b)	.10	.15	.70	.47	.49	.12
t	5.9**	6.2**	2.5**	.62	2.4*	.39
AMER. IND. HOMICIDE						
b	.06	-.32	.25	-.44	-2.3	.32
beta	.09	-.25	.04	-.10	-.60	.34
SE(b)	.17	.25	1.1	.76	.78	.19
t	.40	-1.3	.23	-.57	-3.0	1.6

Note: 1-tailed Signif: * - .05 ** - .01; %BLACK - Percent of the Population that is black; DIVORCES - Divorces per 100K; %URBAN - Percent of the Population that is Urban; UNEMPLYMNT - Average Unemployment Rate; %POOR - Percent of the Population below the Poverty Level; %AMERIND - Percent of the Population American Indian.

American Indian Specific Analysis

When American Indian specific independent variables were used, a different picture emerged. Table 5.3 displays the bivariate relationships between these variables. The strongest correlation is between American Indian unemployment and Indian homicide (.42) with percent Indian and Percent of Indian population between the ages of 15 and 24 following with correlations of .23 and .26 respectively.

Table 5.4 displays the regression analysis estimating

the American Indian homicide rate using these same independent variables. From this equation, contextual effects of subcultural orientations are ascertainable. This equation resulted in an adjusted R-squared of .18 ($p < .09$) and only the American Indian unemployment rate became significant when predicting Indian homicide.

Thus, when American Indian specific variables are used in model estimation, economic deprivation is the only explanation which remains significant net of the other theoretical indicators. This is important as the contextual hypothesis extended from Sampson's (1985) work that American Indian offending rates will be related positively to percent American Indian for violent crimes independent of other structural characteristics does not hold up. This suggests that sources of economic deprivation better explain American Indian homicide than do subcultural explanations at the reservation state level.

Table 5.3. Correlation Matrix of the American Indian homicide rate and all American Indian Specific Independent Variables (States n=27).

	1	2	3	4	5	6
1. AMER. IND. HOMICIDE	-					
2. AMER. IND. UNEMPLYMNT	.42	-				
3. AMER. IND. DIVORCE	.05	-.01	-			
4. AMER. IND. AGED 15-24	.26	.08	.56	-		
5. AMER. IND. %POOR	-.14	.11	-.69	-.40	-	
6. PERCENT AMER. IND.	.23	.07	-.48	-.07	.46	-

Table 5.4. Regression Analysis of the American Indian Homicide Rate on five American Indian Specific Independent Variables (States N=27).

Independent Variables	b	SE(b)	beta	t
AMER. IND. UNEMPLYMNT	1.17	.494	.427	2.36*
AMER. IND. DIVORCE	-.42	.808	-.158	-.527
AMER. IND. AGED 15-24	.870	.971	.202	.897
AMER. IND. %POOR	-1.24	.928	-.336	-1.33
PERCENT AMER. IND.	.254	.199	.271	1.27

Note: 1-tailed Significance: * p=.05

Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area Analysis

Because the Census Bureau only reported American Indian data for SMSAs with an Indian population over 500, the SMSA level analyses were limited to 68 cases.*1 The American Indian divorce rate was not available at this level of analysis so percent of female-headed families with children under the age of 18 was substituted as an indicator of social disorganization. Other theoretical indicators remain the same while the demographic control of percent urban was replaced with population density.

General Population Estimates

Table 5.6 reveals that bivariate relationships between general exogenous variables and the total homicide rate are very much like those at the state level analysis. Percent black maintains the highest correlation (.64) with percent below the poverty line (.59) and the divorce rate (.32) following. And again, percent American Indian is weak and negatively related to total homicides. The total American Indian homicide rate is correlated significantly only with percent Indian, while the general population variables all have negative relationships with total Indian homicides. So as in the state level analysis, American Indian homicide seems to be weakly related to variables which are significantly related to homicides in general.

Table 5.7 presents the regression analyses of the total homicide rate and total American Indian homicide rate using these same independent variables.

Table 5.6. Correlation Matrix of the total homicide rate and the American Indian total homicide rate with all general population independent variables (SMSA N=68).

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1.TOTAL HOMICIDE	-						
2.AMER.IND. HOMICIDE	-.19	-					
3.PERCENT AMER.IND.	-.12	.30*	-				
4.%BLACK	.64**	-.28*	-.57**	-			
5.POPULATION DENSITY	.03	-.09	-.63**	.34*	-		
6.%POOR	.59**	-.32	-.14	.43**	-.03	-	
7.DIVORCE	.32*	-.11	.41**	-.10	-.55**	.09	-

Note: 1-tailed Significance: *p=.01 **p=.001

Explaining the total homicide rate at the multivariate level, all theoretical indicators, including percent American Indian retain positive significance. This analysis yields an adjusted R-Squared of .66 ($p < .0001$). This result is different from results obtained at the state level.

Generalizations regarding the significance of percent Indian in this model should be extended only to compositional effects. More specifically, it appears that percent of the metropolitan area which is American Indian

contributes significantly to the total homicide rate within that same SMSA. However, this can only be interpreted as American Indian offending rates in those SMSAs inducing a positive relationship between percent Indian and total homicides. Note that this compositional effect did not take place at the state level. The contextual effect of percent Indian must be tested on American Indian specific rates.

Table 5.7. Regression Analyses of the Total Homicide Rate and of the Total American Indian Homicide Rate on General Population Independent Variables (SMSA N=68).

Homicide Rates	Independent Variables				
	DIVORCE	%POOR	%AMERIND	%BLACK	POPDEN
<hr/>					
TOTAL					
b	.68	.70	.17	.35	.10
beta	.35	.34	.26	.61	.19
SE((b)	.15	.16	.06	.05	.05
t	4.0**	4.2**	2.4**	6.3**	1.9
AMER.IND.					
TOTAL					
b	-1.5	-1.9	.90	.02	.02
beta	-.24	-.25	.37	.01	.01
SE(b)	.91	.98	.40	.33	.31
t	-1.7	-2.0*	2.2*	.07	.01

Note: 1-tailed Significance: *p=.05 **p=.01; TOTHOM-Total Homicide Rate; AITOTHOM-Total American Indian Homicide Rate; %AMERIND -Percent American Indian; %BLACK -Percent Black; POPDEN-Population Density; %POOR -Percent Below the Poverty Line; DIVORCE -Divorce Rate.

Also shown in Table 5.7 is the same analysis using the total American Indian homicide rate as the dependent variable. This model results in an adjusted R-Squared of .16 ($p < .01$). And again, unlike results obtained for the same estimate at the state level, this regression results in percent American Indian as the only positive significant predictor of total Indian homicides. This can be inferred as a contextual effect, and thus, supporting evidence for a subculture of violence. However, American Indian specific independent variables should be investigated before any generalizations can be made to ensure that the most accurate model has been estimated.

Table 5.8 displays the correlation matrix of all the variables to be used in the American Indian specific multiple regression analysis. At the bivariate level, it appears that the explanatory power of unemployment has indeed decreased at the SMSA level. Percent of the population that is American Indian is the only variable which maintains a significant relationship with total Indian homicides. Both percent Indian aged 15-24 and the unemployment rate have positive correlations, however, percent American Indian poor and percent American Indian female headed households with children are both negatively related to American Indian homicide.

These relationships remain the same at the multivariate level as shown in Table 5.9. Percent Indian is the only significant predictor of American Indian homicide while

controlling for the other variables. Although the unemployment rate is not significant, its coefficient and t value suggests that it has a stronger effect on Indian homicide than the other nonsignificant variables.

Table 5.8. Correlation Matrix of all American Indian specific variables (SMSA N=68).

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	1	2	3	4	5	6
1.AMER.IND. HOMICIDE	-					
2.PERCENT AMER.IND.	.30*	-				
3.AMER.IND. AGED 15-24	.10	.19	-			
4.A.I.FAM.FEMALE HEADED	-.01	.08	.08	-		
5.AMER.IND. %POOR	-.01	.15	-.12	.43**	-	
6.AMER.IND. UNEMPLYMNT	.10	.09	-.05	.54**	.46**	-

Note: 1-tailed Significance *p=.01 **p=.001; AMER.IND. AGED 15-25 - Percent of the American Indian population between the ages of 15 and 24; A.I.FAM. FEMALE HEADED - Percent of American Indian Families Female Headed with children under the age of 18; AMER.IND. %POOR - Percent of American Indians below the Poverty Level; AMER.IND. UNEMPLYMNT - Average American Indian Unemployment Rate

Table 5.9. Regresison Analysis of the American Indian Homicide rate on five American Indian Specific Independent Variables (SMSA N=68).

	b	SE(b)	beta	t
AMER.IND. UNEMPLYMNT	.80	.75	.16	1.07
A.I.FAM.FEMALE HEADED	-.34	.66	-.07	-.51
AMER.IND. AGED 15-24	.52	1.5	.04	.34
AMER.IND. % POOR PERCENT	-.50	.81	-.08	-.61
AMER.IND.	.73	.30	.30	2.41**

Note: 1-tailed Significance *p=.05 **p=.01; AMER.IND. AGED 15-25 - Percent of the American Indian population between the ages of 15 and 24; A.I.FAM. FEMALE HEADED - Percent of American Indian Families Female Headed with children under the age of 18; AMER.IND. %POOR - Percent of American Indians below the Poverty Level; AMER.IND. UNEMPLYMNT - Average American Indian Unemployment Rate

Thus, using SMSAs as the units of analysis produces quite different results for predicting American Indian homicide. It appears that the relative size of the American Indian population has a positive effect on the exposure to and intensity of violent subcultural norms at the SMSA level; however, it does not have the same effect at the state level.

DISCUSSION

This chapter has examined the total homicide rate and the total American Indian homicide rate both at the

reservation state and SMSA levels. Models used to estimate the total homicide rate did not do well when explaining American Indian homicide at either the state or SMSA level. This implies that American Indians may not exist within the same experiential world as the remainder of society regardless of urban or reservation setting.

When American Indian specific independent variables are used in the analyses, a clearer picture of American Indian homicide emerged. At the reservation state level, sources of economic deprivation best explained Indian homicides while a subculture of violence explanation was supported at the SMSA level.

If we regard the state level analysis as a proxy for a reservation level analysis, it appears that the causal forces which contribute to American Indian homicide on reservations are not the same forces which effect Indian homicides in urban areas.

Why do these results differ? One possible explanation is that Indians who reside on reservations are more economically deprived than those Indians living in urban areas. Because of this severe deprivation, it would seem logical that unemployment may be a significant contributor to Indian homicides at the reservation state level and not at the SMSA level. This inference is given statistical support by Sorkin (1976). He finds that although unemployment for urban Indians is 10-15 percent higher than Blacks and more than double that of whites, urban Indians

still have much lower unemployment rates than do Indians who live on reservations. For example, in 1970 the average unemployment rate for reservation Indians was 41 percent while the equivalent for urban Indians was 9.4 percent (Sorkin, 1976 p.441).

A second explanation may be that the percent of the population which is American Indian does not maintain a contextual effect when explaining reservation homicides because reservation settings are predominantly inhabited by American Indians. Thus, urban Indians may be more likely effected by percent Indian as subcultures are more likely to flourish in urban settings than in reservation settings. Fischer (1975) substantiates this notion. He states, "urbanism increases (or at least maintains) the cohesion and identity even of ethnic subcultures - in spite of all the disorganizing aspects of urbanization, such as migration, economic change, and alternative subcultures." (p.1333) Fischer believes that both criminal unconventionality and innovative unconventionality are each nourished by vibrant subcultures and that these subcultures are intensified in urban settings. The use of a simple example illustrates his proposition. Fischer states, "The size and distinctiveness of a group make behavior unique to it more likely to occur. For example, a small town may have a few delinquent youths, but only in a large city will there be sufficient numbers (i.e. a critical mass) sufficiently distinctive to establish a viable delinquent

subculture." (p.1328) Extending from this, it is highly plausible that a subculture of violence among the Indian population may not have a measurable effect on American Indian homicide in the reservation setting, but is more evident in urban areas.

There are other interpretations as well. Perhaps percent of the population American Indian is measuring something in addition or even entirely different from a subcultural orientation of violence. It might possibly be reflecting other structural or cultural circumstances not included in the regression model. For example, it may be tapping into the existence of any culture conflict that may exist differentially in urban areas. For example, with a greater percentage of American Indians in an urban area, there is a higher likelihood that those Indians will develop a cultural identity. This cultural identity may, in turn, increase the perceived conflict that exists when one attempts to adopt the ways of "dominant society" while still maintaining his/her cultural heritage. Thus, the higher the percentage of American Indians in the population, the greater the culture conflict; and the greater the level of perceived culture conflict, the greater the likelihood of lethal violence.

Another possibility is that as the percentage of American Indians increases in a community, there may simply be more interaction between the Indian and White populations. These interactions may sometimes reflect

discriminatory behavior on the part of the white population; thus, increasing American Indian's antagonism toward whites in general. This could also lead to an increase in discriminatory and labeling behavior on the part of those in power toward the American Indian population. This may in turn, increase American Indian homicide rates simply because members of this population may more often be sought after, labled, and convicted. The possibility of this discriminatory imposition of the law will be discussed further in Chapter eight.

And finally, the discrepancy of results between units of analysis may be the result of aggregation. When variables are aggregated into large units (states and SMSAs), a large proportion of measurement error is introduced. As Loftin and Hill (1974, p.717) state, "Complexities arise when units are large and therefore more heterogeneous, because measures of central tendency may not accurately reflect the unit's true composition, especially with respect to the number of cases near the tails of the distribution."

Generalizations drawn from these analyses should be cautious as research investigating American Indian homicide at the multivariate level is virtually nonexistent (Green, 1988). This analysis should be viewed as exploratory and tentative until more refined measures and models are developed by future research. In any case, it is apparent that any theoretical model of American Indian homicide

should include both economic and subcultural explanations.

Chapter six focuses on the interview data from 30 American Indian homicide offenders and will provide a better understanding of the psychological constructs which are sometimes manifested from these macrosocial properties. It also provides insight into other causal forces which may have propelled some to kill. These qualitative data are important as they not only illuminate other causal forces, but they also aid in interpreting the quantitative analysis just performed.

CHAPTER VI

THE LIVES OF AMERICAN INDIAN HOMICIDE OFFENDERS

Although each of the 30 American Indian homicide offenders interviewed have different life stories to tell, they share astounding similarities with each other. Before breaking down their histories into fragmented pieces, it is important to give the reader a few case histories. This will not only allow a glimpse into the lives of American Indian homicide offenders, but also into the lives of many American Indian people in general.

Respondent #8

Respondent 8 was born on a midwestern reservation - welcomed to the world by two alcoholic parents and four other siblings. His earliest memories are of hiding in their bedroom with his brothers and sisters during his parent's frequent drunken fights with each other. His father was sporadically employed and his mother stayed home caring for the children. Stable moments were few and far between - when asked about happy memories he replies, "Ya, when my parents were sober I guess I was happy. I loved them very much but when they were drunk (most every

weekend) I was scared - especially of my father. If we ever tried to stop him from hurting my mother or one of us - we'd get it."

By age 11, respondent 8 was sniffing glue and drinking whenever he and his friends could get their hands on alcohol. School was going relatively well until this point but cutting class soon became the rule rather than the exception. His parents had divorced and he lived with his mother and a new stepfather - new actors but the script remained the same. The violence at home had diminished but the drunkenness remained.

By age 15, respondent 8 had stolen his first car - "We were just tired of the 'res' and wanted to go to the city." This joy ride sent him to a juvenile detention center. Here his identity as an Indian was solidified - there was a definite segregation between the white kids and the Indians. "On the 'res' you know there was white people but we just tended to stay away from them - or I guess they stayed away from us. When they did talk to us it was basically giving us shit about who we was - you know like 'scum sucking Indians' and stuff like that." Now a member of an Indian group at the detention center, his hatred toward white people intensified as did his hatred for the world in general.

After his release, he returned to the reservation. His drinking increased both in intensity and frequency and he was soon experimenting with other drugs. He found a job as

a gas station attendant but soon lost it because of alcohol. Four months after his release from the detention center, he left the reservation to return to the city and a month later was arrested on a burglary charge. He recalls, "The cops would beat me and beat me but I would keep getting up. That one thing I would never do no matter how much it hurt. I would never stay down." He describes this to me as he points out the scar that runs from his forehead across his eye to his cheek. "They almost put my eye out," he adds.

Following his second release, he remained in the city. He could not find work and so spent his days drinking and living with friends and distant relatives.

Six months later, he and an accomplice stabbed to death an unsuspecting homeowner while they were burglarizing his home. They had been drinking and although respondent 8 had no intention of murder that night he recalls, "He came in and surprised us. I just remember feeling a tremendous amount of anger - I just kept stabbing and stabbing not really even thinking of that man but just thinking about everything - the system - the injustice - everything. I thought to myself that I would get caught for sure but I wasn't going down without a fight. I remember running downtown and I had gotten a gun - I figured if they tried to get me I would shoot and try to get as many of those bastards as I could before they killed me." Respondent 8 was apprehended and disarmed before any shooting could take

place and convicted with first degree murder. "You know when I'm talking on this tape I don't know why you want to hear my story. It's all trouble. All bad. All courts and doing time. Why would anyone want to know about that.

Respondent #15

Respondent 15 was born in the city and only made infrequent visits to the reservation to visit relatives. Most of his youth was spent living in the projects of the inner city with his mother and younger brother. His father had left the family when respondent 15 was four years old and only visited when "he wanted money or booze."

While he does not remember many "good times" during his childhood, he has some fond memories of grade school. "I spent most of my time reading back then. Escaping into books. I read about Indians and about cars. They never taught us anything about Indians in school so I had to read on my own." By junior high, however, things were different. His Indian identity was now a hindrance to his acceptance by peers. "They just gave me shit all the time. Calling me names and picking fights." He found his niche with another American Indian friend in a street gang. By the age of 14 he was successfully socialized into gang life. He was not only adept at using most drugs, but he also knew how to make money selling them. "I was successful by the time I was 16. I had my own car and my own apartment. I had goals

and I knew how to get what I wanted." For respondent 15, the means for achieving material success were not through a nine to five job, but rather through selling drugs and stealing. Gang life had not only taught him these trades, but it had also instilled in him the importance of standing up for yourself and your territory.

Although he will point out the battle scars he sustained during gang fights, he will more eagerly tell you of those he skillfully inflicted on others. One act of revenge on a member of another gang took place when he cut the brake wires in the other guys car. "He had this real nice classic old car - I wanted to get him and the car. The only bad thing was that his little brother was in the car with him when it hit a pole doing about 45 (mph). I felt bad about the kid." Neither of the boys were killed but they were "racked up pretty bad for awhile - broken legs and shit."

He talks of another time when he was sent to the hospital for numerous stab wounds sustained during another street fight. "It's one of the only times I remember really feeling cared about. My friends all came to see me every day. They walked with me down the hall for exercise with all the IV tubes. They even brought me shit - even two girls stole some shit for me - good shit. They said, 'We got you a drum set' cause they knew I liked to play and I thought it would be some piece of junk but it was a real nice Ludwig set. I couldn't believe it. I mean they really

cared. I haven't felt that good in a long time."

Respondent 15 was placed in juvenile hall twice on various drug and theft charges. His next conviction was first degree murder. He was sentenced to life in prison after being convicted of beating to death an elderly white woman during a burglary.

Respondent #22

Respondent 22 was the child of alcoholic parents also but was put in a white foster home at the age of 3. He and his sister were separated from their older brother who was placed in a different foster home. When respondent 22 was in the third grade, they were all moved into the same foster home. This was his fourth move and third foster home.

By the seventh grade, he was running away from home. "I started hanging around people who were older than me." By eighth grade he was doing drugs and drinking and had stabbed another boy in a fight. Defending himself and his honor was important to him. By age fourteen he ran away back to the reservation. He lived with whoever he could for awhile but soon ended up in another foster home and had now been separated from his biological siblings for over one year. He was placed in a public school off the reservation with mostly "white kids". By age 16 he was back in the "work house" for car theft and after release was

back in again for theft.

Soon after his eighteenth birthday, he was partying with some friends. "Some guy who was bigger than me - about 6'2" - kept bugging me. He wouldn't leave me alone. So I had this knife - it was just for show but things just got out of hand. He kept pushing me and pushing me. I had to stand up for myself - just because he was bigger than me - I'm not scared of nobody." Respondent 22 was convicted of second degree murder for the stabbing death of another young Indian male while under the influence of alcohol.

Qualitative Analysis

Characteristics of the Offender's homicides are displayed in Table 6.1. These characteristics are very similar to those observed at the national level. These similarities between this sample's homicide characteristics and national rate characteristics increases the power of generalizing this analysis to the American Indian population in general.

The majority of homicide victims in this sample were acquaintances of the offenders and most were committed during a conflict situation or argument. The most frequent method used was a knife followed by guns. One of the most striking facts that emerge from table 6.1 is the involvement of these offenders with alcohol or drugs during the commission of the homicide. Ninety-seven percent of the offenders were under the influence of alcohol or drugs at

Table 6.1. Characteristics of the Homicide Offender's crime and criminal record (N=30).

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VICTIM/OFFENDER RELATIONSHIP

Family	20% (6)
Acquaintance	53% (16)
Stranger	27% (8)

CIRCUMSTANCE OF HOMICIDE

Robbery	16% (5)
Other Felony	10% (3)
Conflict	67% (20)
Gang Related	7% (2)

WEAPON USED

Knife	40% (12)
Gun	33% (10)
Beating or Blunt Obj.	20% (6)
Threw from Balcony	3% (1)
Ran Over with Car	3% (1)

ALCOHOL/DRUG INFLUENCE DURING HOMICIDE

Under Influence of alcohol/drugs	97% (29)
Under no alcohol/drug Influence	3% (1)

PRIOR RECORD (Juvenile or Otherwise)

Prior Record	93% (28)
No Prior Record	7% (2)

the time of the homicide and 93 percent had prior records (juvenile or otherwise).

Virtually all of the homicide offenders interviewed share similar life histories. More than half of those interviewed spent their early years in foster homes or in adoptive homes and another 13 percent were sent to boarding schools at a young age. Of those in foster homes, virtually all were sent to at least two different homes during their childhood. Further, not only were many separated from their biological parents, but of those sent to foster homes or adopted, many were also separated from their siblings at one time or another. It is not the purpose of this research to explore the reasons for the separation of these people from their families. It should be noted, however, that some authors advocate that such separations are without just cause or due process. It has also been documented that the removal of Indian children from their families occur at much higher rates than in non-Indian populations (see Unger, 1977 for a detailed account). For example, statistics show that on average, a minimum of 25 percent of all Indian children are either in foster homes, adoptive homes, and/or boarding schools. The equivalent figure for non-Indian children is at a rate of one per every 51 (1.9%) children (Abourezk, 1977).

This family disruption must certainly have contributed to an environment of social disorganization in the lives of these homicide offenders. As the family is undoubtedly the

center of an individual's emotional life, assaults on Indian families through separation can only contribute to feelings of hopelessness and powerlessness. In addition to the trauma of separation from their families, the men I interviewed also had to cope with the problems of adjusting to a social and cultural environment much different from their own. One offender told of his first encounter with the white couple who had adopted him:

The social worker took me and my brother to a hotel room where we stayed overnight. I remember my brother just crying all night. I was nine and he was just six. I mean we didn't even know why we were taken from our parents. They just did it. Then the next day this young white couple came to the room - they couldn't have been older than 25 at the time. We only had a couple of suitcases but my Dad had given me a box of stuff he wanted me to have. He had given me special stuff and two of his guns. The first thing the white guy said was, 'What's in the box?' He opened it up and saw the guns and broke them right away and then said, 'We don't allow guns in our house.' Right away I knew I was in for trouble. I mean he didn't even think about my feelings. They were my Dads and he had given them to me. That's the way it was until I started running away when I was about 13.

Even more poignant was the personal narrative of one older gentleman who told of being taken from his family to attend a boarding school. "I was just holding on to my mother's dress and screaming. My mother was crying, too. They literally dragged me away and put me on a bus with other crying kids."

While the youths sent to boarding schools may have had group support for their identities, the youths placed in foster and adoptive homes had to integrate themselves into

different racial and cultural milieus as well as attempt to solve their personal identity problems. It is not the intent here to condemn the good intentions of the foster and adoptive parents in these cases. Some offenders felt deep love for the families who had taken them in. One states, "They're the only ones who I really want to think good of me. I owe it to them to try to straighten things out."

But beyond the benevolence of these families, how could people of a different culture fully understand what it meant to be American Indian? How could the cultural transmission of Indian heritage be performed properly? Respondent 10 stated, "They took me to a Pow Wow once or twice. That's what they thought being Indian was."

Robert Park states, "The process by which the authority and influence of an earlier culture and system of social control is undermined and eventually destroyed is...social disorganization." (Park, 1967 as quoted in Pfohl, 1985). This disorganization was clearly evident in the lives of the homicide offenders interviewed. Those who were separated from their families were quickly thrust into a foreign environment, leaving behind all previous normative guidelines. This left many in a state of normlessness and may have propelled them into juvenile delinquency and ultimately murder.

Disorganization was present in another form as well. Although other inmates were not separated from their

families, the presence of alcoholic parents often produced instability in their lives. The family unit for these offenders was not characterized by secure routine, but rather complicated by frequent and sporadic drinking binges on the part of one or both parents. This often meant being left alone for an evening and sometimes days without adult supervision. This condition was certainly a contributor to an atmosphere of social disorganization, and further, could only have served to sabotage normative guidance.

Of course, many American Indians who are similarly children of alcoholics or are placed in foster/adoptive homes may become well-adjusted adults. The offenders in this study, however, had more difficulty avoiding the negative behavioral and psychological consequences that social disorganization can sometimes produce. Further, the disorganization present in the lives of these men seems also to have fostered and intensified the culture conflict that may or may not have already existed. I will discuss this psychological construct of culture conflict in the next section.

CULTURE CONFLICT

Culture conflict was experienced by virtually all of the offenders interviewed. Although the extent to which it may have played a role in the homicides cannot be determined, it is certain that it must be included in any

causal model of this phenomenon. One respondent's powerful description should help the reader to understand, as much as can be understood, what culture conflict is to some American Indians:

"I was reading this religious book and it asked, "Are you in the valley of conflicting beliefs?" I hadn't really thought about it before but when I did I thought boy, I sure am. You know you have the Catholics and the Lutherans and all these people saying this is the way - the Jews are over there and the Muslims. Everyone trying to pull your arm. That's the way my whole life was. When I was little on the reservation they wouldn't let us practice our traditional religion - they sent all us little kids to Catholic school - then when I was adopted and moved off the reservation they pushed Presbyterian on me. You know when I look at the reservations - they are full of Catholic churches - you know its just trying to take all of the Indian culture away from the people - trying to assimilate them. It's not being past down anymore. Even my grandparents and parents were beaten when they spoke their language. That's two generations of culture lost and I'm the third. I'm just finding myself and my culture now in here. It was inside of me all the time and it feels good. It feels right. If I was born in the middle east or something I would have something else inside me but this was meant to be. It's too bad I had to find it in prison. I'm the one that was robbed."

Another reveals how this conflict manifested itself at an early age. "What I remember most about growing up was being poor but the other thing that stands out most is being Indian in a mostly white school. I knew I was Indian - I would draw Indian pictures and stuff and read Indian stories. But to me if I tried to be one to everyone else I would just get teased so I only did that stuff when nobody was around - I wanted to fit in but it never happened. I would get in a lot of fights and shit. By third grade I was in

a gang - all the misfits I guess - we formed this gang and we were mean." This is illustrative of how this conflict can sometimes contribute to violence. Respondent 2 shed light on one of the intricacies of the conflict. It is not only a matter of fitting into one or the other culture, it is often experienced along with an element of discrimination.

"Right now there are Indian kids on the street just like I used to be - smoking pot and drinking. They don't know where to fit in - there is not really an Indian culture anymore and the whites don't accept them. This government has tried forcing us to adopt the white ways but we need to find our heritage - ourselves. I know we can't go back to hunting buffalo but we can't do anything unless we have an identity."

Another offender describes this culture conflict and how it was intensified by being placed in a white foster home. As he describes:

Like growing up in a white family when you're an Indian is a little strange. They really wanted me to be like them and I wanted to. I loved them. They did take me to a few pow wows when I was just a little guy so I knew I was an Indian but I didn't really know what an Indian was. The only thing I knew was that I was an Indian but that Indians weren't that good. Even in school you only heard about the bad stuff and all the t.v. shows were showing Indians as savages and shit. Even now on the news and stuff where are the Indians represented? When I watch t.v. in here and when they give a poll or something you hear what the whites, the blacks, even the orientals have to say. They get their opinions heard but not us. The only things you hear are bad - like 'Oh! that Indian suicide and that Indian drinking - they have problems." What about the good in my people.

Another offender describes an experience he had in the service during the Vietnam War.

I had an incident happen when I went into the service - it was right after Martin Luther King got shot. I was sent to basic training down south on a bus and at the first stop for bathrooms - the bathrooms were labeled colored and white. I didn't know which one to go in so I didn't - I waited until I got back to the fort. It was a long ride back.

This recollection was humorous and he laughed as he told me about it, however, his face soon went somber and he said, "I can laugh about it now." One individual was very aware of the vanishing Indian culture and what it meant to him as a person and to his people as a whole.

"You know religion manipulates people. For example did you know that over 90% of South America is Catholic. And most of those people are Indians - the creator gave them something different but that organized, manipulative religion stepped in. You know I've read books. There are the Cambodians - millions of them killed and people had their eyes shut just like they did when the Jews had their Holocaust and the Russians - everyone looks at all these tragedies but nobody looks right here at the tragedy in North America. There is a holocaust right here. When the white man came there were over 200 million Indians in both Canada and here. Now there are only about 5 million. Wouldn't you call that a holocaust? Not only death of a people but death of our culture. They have nothing now - not heritage - not identity - nothing. And when you have nothing you turn to something else - drugs, alcohol, violence. That's why there is all this unemployment, suicide, drug and alcohol abuse all this death and killing. We don't have a culture. We don't have nothing.

Many of the offenders I talked with had found a part of their cultural identity within the prison walls. Both prison sites provided and even encouraged participation in the Indian religious ceremonies (i.e. pipe carrying and sweat lodges). A psychologist at one of the prison sites

described the stabilizing reaction he noticed in American Indian offenders after they had participated in these activities. "They will often come in very uptight and withdrawn. But once they get involved in the Indian group and the Indian culture - you can just see the change. It is like they have finally found a part of themselves. Most have never had the opportunity to do these things until prison." Respondent 4 gives validity to this observation:

"I've seen what happens when people find themselves - find their identity and their heritage. You can take a drunken Indian and give him culture and self-esteem and watch him change for the better. I've known people who were on the wrong road - even a few who were in jail before - but some of the programs they got going now are teaching them the culture - the language and the religion. Now I know a few who even have their Masters Degrees now and they are coming back and helping their people. You see you can't get nothing together without getting your own stuff together."

Assuredly, the negative consequences that this culture conflict may have on psychological adjustment are great. It should not be hard for members of the dominant society to empathize with the feelings of powerlessness and insecurity which manifest during the process of "finding oneself", for we all share similar agonies. But as we have the privilege of having white skin in a predominantly white society, it would be hard to grasp the possible magnitude and intensity of these feelings when you are not only struggling with your own identity problems, but also your American Indian identity. An identity which is too often met with negative stereotypes and discrimination in our society. Moreover, when this culture conflict is played out in an environment

which is already riddled with such maladies as unemployment, poverty and social disorganization, the effects may sometimes be played out in acts of lethal violence.

Although this phenomenon could only have been uncovered at the individual level, other possible cultural and structural contributors of American Indian homicide were also illuminated in these interviews that were also tested in the quantitative analyses. Recall from the last chapter that both subculture of violence and economic deprivation theories were supported at either the state level or SMSA level of aggregation. The proceeding sections should help to interpret the statistical relationships that were found in the quantitative analyses. Discussions of both the subculture of violence and economic deprivation which existed in the lives of these homicide offenders follow.

SUBCULTURE OF VIOLENCE

Wolfgang (1958) believed that within a culture of violence, tolerance and even encouragement of physical force in conflict situations was expected. "Quick resort to physical combat as a measure of daring, courage, or defense of status appears to be a cultural expression." (p.188) Extracting from the interviews, it appears that many of the respondents adhered to norms of chivalry and "protecting your honor" first and foremost. For example one offender

explicitly described the learning process he went through as a child:

It's important for me to be able to defend myself and fight. My dad taught me when I was really young how to fight - just like warriors used to do. And when I have a son the first thing I will teach him is how to fight like a warrior. How to stand up for himself. How to be brave. If you can't stand up for yourself and your honor you may as well not live anyway.

Although many of the offenders described this same phenomena without referring to becoming a 'warrior', the same cultural norms seemed eminent. For example, one man stated, "People should have a right to defend themselves. Themselves, their family, their house - everything. The law is funny. You should have that right." Another offender described beating other school children up when they called him names:

When I was in school I would get in fights with white kids and I remember really trying to hurt them - not just fight but really try to kill them. It wasn't like fights with my brothers or friends. Especially when they cut me down - you know I had long hair and shit. They would tease me. I would go out of my way - not just punching them up but stomping their face and hitting their head on the sidewalk. This was when I was young - probably second or third grade. It was like 'you go ahead and do that - do that to me - call me names and see what happens.

This quote illustrates the importance of defending one's honor within a cultural milieu that encourages or tolerates the use of physical force in such situations. Respondent 12 talks about one incident when he was close to

death as the result of a knife fight but the foremost thought in his mind was that he had stood up and defended himself even though he was not armed:

Anyone who messes with me better be prepared. One time, though, I got sliced up pretty bad and I was in the hospital. I remember the doctors and nurses saying 'he's not responding' and everything - the priest was even there. I was like floating - not really there. But the one thing I do remember was thinking 'I gave that son-of-a-bitch his - I showed him' you know and here I was the one in the hospital.

Another offender uses this analogy when describing the importance of defending yourself, "You know just like a dog will fight another dog if he enters his yard and the same dog will get it if he enters another dog's yard - its fight to the death and that's the way it is. You protect yourself and your interests."

Although sentiments such as these were very visible within the dialogues of many offenders, it is not so clear exactly where they originated. Although some talked of learning "the way to get respect" at an early age, other statements seemed to demonstrate that these norms and values may have been internalized through institutional environments (i.e. in reform school or prison). For example, one respondent states, "There are groups here. The blacks, the Indians, the bikers. And some of these guys will go off at the slightest thing and you have to stand up to them or soon you'll be nothing but stepped on." Two other quotes reveal what living by the convict code means:

Even in prison here, alot of these guys are just soft. They don't live by the code. When you have a scrap with someone you don't go running to the guards or caseworkers - you take care of it on your own. You know I've gotten into things with people who were alot bigger - one black guy in here was giving me a hard time and I took him on - he even had a black belt in karate. I told him if he wanted to scrap with me - lets go! You get respect that way.

"Too many of the guys in here are just inmates - rapos and stuff - they're not convicts. There aren't many convicts left. You might think I'm young but I've been in for a long time and I know what the convict code is. You take care of your own problems - you don't go running for help or squealing.

As most of these offenders have been institutionalized on a number of occasions, and many at an early age, it is difficult to separate where one socialization process began and the other ended. Further, it is not clear how similar or dissonant these cultures may be. It is likely that both cultural sources, the Indian culture and the "convict culture", may be responsible for implanting norms and values which are permissive to violent responses in conflict situations. It is clear, however, that a culture of violence does exist within this population and although not accepted by everyone, it is acknowledged by most:

I have a friend in here and he is smart but he won't look at the things he does. If he would just apply his smarts positively but I know he never will. He's too much into his image as a tough guy. Someone in the group will say 'go beat this guy up' or 'go burn his cell out' and he is right there doing it. All to keep that image up - it's like all he has. I used to do that shit too but now I know it has taken more courage to sit in front of a group of white people and show my fears and insecurities than to go beat on somebody.

Again, it is not clear where the origins of these violent cultural norms lie. It is this author's belief that numerous sources have all contributed to instill them within certain segments of the American Indian population. To recapitulate from Chapter two, the unique historical circumstances of the American Indian population must certainly play a role. From the brutal extermination and relocation practices of the early Europeans against the Indian population to the near cultural genocide which occurred as a result. Secondly, the early labeling and confinement processes of the juvenile justice system may also have contributed to these norms. A large proportion of these men were sent to work camps and juvenile detention centers at an early age. During this time, the rewards which were obtained for "masculine prowess" and bravery seem to have played a strong role in the socialization process for some. This resulted in attitudes which are not only tolerant but are respectful of violence in response to certain situations. Violence in response to situations where one's honor or esteem is challenged was particularly revered by many of the offenders interviewed. And finally, these attitudes which support a culture of violence may have developed as response to the oppression and discrimination that many of these men experienced throughout their lives. In a world which has offered little economic and political power to the American Indian,

overcompensating for this powerlessness in aspects of their lives which can be controlled (i.e. personal relationships and confrontations) is a logical consequence. The economic powerlessness that most of the offenders experienced before incarceration will be explored next.

ECONOMIC DEPRIVATION

The helplessness and humiliation often associated with being poor was revealed often during the course of these interviews. Many spoke angrily of the economic oppression their people had experienced and continue to experience today. It is not difficult to understand how some may engage in aggressive activity as the result of living in a society where many devalue them as a people and provide few economic opportunities - particularly on reservations. While some had been employed at various times in their lives, they all went through periods of unemployment. Further, most were underemployed if employed at all. However, even though high levels of unemployment existed in the lives of these men, the cultural norm of "providing for your family" was prevalent as well. With the structural reality of low economic opportunity and this cultural norm of "paternal support" existing within the same context, it is not surprising that feelings of inadequacy and frustration could emerge and perhaps even lead to violent behavior. Respondent 11 explains:

I have always been the type of person who felt like you got what you deserved. I never was one to line up in a line and wait for food. That's the way I still feel. It's pretty hard to put that in perspective when you can't find a job - you can't put food on the table. Did I deserve this - you start hating yourself.

Another offender states, "A man is supposed to be able to provide for his family and here I was not even able to find a job with two kids to feed. You know I felt worthless except when I was drunk - then I didn't feel nothing." Respondent 6 recalls what it was like growing up in poverty and the reality of unemployment on the reservation:

I didn't even realize we were poor until I got older - like 10 or 11. I started looking around. And you know it wasn't as bad because almost everyone else was poor, too, but when I got old enough to care you realized that there was not a damn thing you could do about it. No jobs - nothing. Shit people don't realize. There is no such things as paper routes on the "res" - there is nothing. You're into bad shit before you know it.

Many offenders described feelings of helplessness when they were not able to provide for their families or girlfriends. Some had trouble holding down a job because of alcohol abuse. Others experienced discrimination in obtaining employment and on the job. One described his excitement at finally getting a job as a gas station attendant but then getting fired one day out of the blue because another guy who had worked there for a long time "didn't like working with an Indian."

On the reservation, employment opportunities are often

seasonal if available at all. Respondent 19 explains some of the problems encountered with seasonal and sporadic employment:

For purely economic reasons I started stealing. I did have work and I made pretty good money but when we ran out of work I had debts. You know on the reservation alot of work is seasonal and so when you are making money you buy things but don't think about what will pay the bills when the job is gone. I first stole some copper wire from the phone company and when the cops were after me I stole a car to get the hell out of "Dodge" - it snowballs pretty fast after that. The next thing you know I'm in here for killing someone when I was stealing from his house.

Although some respondents linked being poor with their induction into the world of crime, others merely reflected about the frustrations they experienced. One offender described these frustrations vividly and how such emotional states can lead to violence:

Without a job you sit in your house day after day - nothing to do. You listen to that same car drive by your house again and again and pretty soon you hate those people in that car. Kids go running through your yard - back and forth and back and forth and pretty soon you hate those kids. Pretty soon you want to hurt somebody.

Narratives such as this are compelling evidence for including economic deprivation in any theoretical model of American Indian homicide. It should also be clear, however, that the developing model of American Indian homicide is a multidimensional one. It includes elements of social disorganization, culture conflict, a

subculture of violence, and economic deprivation. But the model would be incomplete without the inclusion of alcohol and drug use as an intervening variable. The next section will explore the presence of alcohol and drug use in the lives of these offenders and the role that presence played in the homicide.

ALCOHOL/DRUG ABUSE

The Indian Health Service believes that no other condition adversely affects so many aspects of Indian life in the United States than does alcoholism. Whittaker (1982) investigated the incidence of alcohol consumption at a midwestern reservation and found that alcohol problems affected almost the entire reservation population directly or indirectly and that approximately one of every three Indians over 15 years of age drank to excess. Further, among young adult Indians (particularly males), the incidence of excessive drinking was close to 100 percent. This high incidence of American Indian alcohol consumption has been reported by others as well (Lex, 1987; Kraus & Buffler, 1979; Broudy & May 1983; Weiser, Weibel-Orlando, and Long, 1984).

Problems of alcohol abuse by American Indians have been found to be associated with and intensified by an array of phenomena including social disorganization and anomie (Kraus & Buffler, 1979; Kahn, 1982), failure and

socialization (Conrad & Kahn, 1974) and alienation (Holmgren et.al., 1983). Others have cited lack of social acceptance, unemployment, underemployment and disrupted families (Jarvis & Boldt, 1982; Frederick, 1973; Levy & Kunitz, 1974; Ferguson, 1968; Whittaker, 1963).

As illustrated in Table 14, all but one of the homicide offenses were committed under the influence of alcohol or drugs. Almost all acknowledged the problem either in relation to themselves or to their people. One offender stated, "Alcohol and drugs separate the brotherhood we could have. You know we want to have all these things in here like Pow Wows but we can't because we spend all the money on drugs and alcohol. It ruins us outside of this hole and continues to ruin us inside here." One respondent reminisced:

My grandfather told me once, if you take a look around us, there's one thing that's going to destroy us, and that's alcohol. There's another thing that's going to destroy us, and that's poverty. And there's another thing and that's people claiming to be what they're not. I look around now and I see it - One of the things that brought me here (prison) was alcohol.

Others talked of stealing property to get money to buy alcohol and drugs. "We were braking into houses, fighting people - doing anything to get more money. Anything so we could get our next drink."

It is certain that alcohol was a contributing factor in the lives of each of the offenders interviewed. What is not so certain, however, is why the influence of alcohol leads

some to engage in violence and others to be passive. MacAndrew and Edgerton (1970) believe that aggressive reactions to alcohol are learned rather than a function of "toxically disinhibited brains operating in impulse-driven bodies." Specifically, these authors state, "the way people comport themselves when they are drunk is determined not by alcohol's toxic assault upon the seat of moral judgment, conscience, or the like, but by what their society makes of and imparts to them concerning the state of drunkenness." (p.165) These authors make a very powerful case of the contention that violence is a learned reaction to alcohol in the American Indian population (even though it is certainly not a universal response among American Indians). Through a content analysis of the diaries of missionaries and fur traders, they document how the Indian came to see that "changes-for-the-worse" were to be expected during drunkenness, "for at such times the drinker was temporarily inhabited by an evil supernatural agent." These authors find that many citations exist which do not portray the Indian's first contact with alcohol resulting in drunken brawls and mayhem, but rather many Indians reacted in fear or passivity. By watching the white man, however, the Indian soon learned what behavior alcohol should produce. MacAndrew and Edgerton state:

And from this, the Indian reached the entirely reasonable conclusion that since he was thus "possessed," his actions when drunk were not his own and he was not responsible for them. After all, the Indians' precontact cultures already contained an ample

array of time out ceremonies and supernatural agents (e.g., witchcraft, dreams, spirit possession, etc.) under whose "influence" a man became less than strictly responsible for his actions. What is more, the notion that the state of drunkenness was excusing of those transgressions committed while "under the influence" was entirely consonant with the model the white man provided, for in regard to his own drunken transgressions and those of his fellows, the white man, too, ignored much and forgave still more on the grounds that when drunk, one is "under the influence." So vivid were the examples of drunken mayhem and so well did such changes-for-the-worse mesh with precontact notions that it is difficult to imagine how a consciously conceived program of instruction about alcohol's "influence" on conduct could possibly have improved on the "lesson plan" that the Indian's white tutors provided. (p.149)

Evidence of this learned response to alcohol was also confirmed within the narratives of the offenders in this study. One man told of witnessing his parents fight after drinking as a child:

I remember watching my parents getting drunk on weekends - things would usually end up in a fight. My brothers and sisters and I just sat on the bunk bed and watched. Like I said, when you see, when you hear, you start to act like the person you're not supposed to be.

The process through which many learned this response to alcohol was most often vicarious rather than direct as illustrated from the above quote.

Some described how the anger and frustrations experienced in everyday life would easily surface and result in violence under the influence of alcohol.

If you get mad at someone sometime but don't do anything about it - you know like if someone pissed you off a few days earlier and then one night you get drunk

- you go after him. I don't know. It's like you have the guts or something. Everything comes up - all of the anger. Sometimes you get angry at people you're not even angry at - you sometimes take all of your anger out on anyone that's around.

It is easy to understand how frustrations and anger might easily surface during a drinking episode and how this same drinking could sometimes be used as an excuse for violent outbursts. Of course, some offenders in this study used drunkenness as an excuse for the homicide occurring. And why not? Even our legal system is more lenient if one was "under the influence" during the commission of a crime than if one is not. In the extreme, four respondents maintained that they had blacked out and had no recollection of the killing while six others remembered only parts of the incident.

You know when I woke up in jail the last time and I asked them what I did I couldn't believe it. Killed someone. I couldn't believe it. You know first forgery then robbery now this. If drinking in a bar one night is going to cause this I don't want to do it anymore. You know it's not like I'm smart enough to know better - but it's been a continual process. One thing after the other - all after I had been drinking.

Others talked about the personality transformation that occurred after they had been drinking. "I'm a different person when I drink. I go crazy. Who the hell am I - I don't know." While there were other offenders who did not use the drinking as an excuse - but simply acknowledged it as a sad reality of their lives.

One thing for sure is that I wouldn't be here if I wasn't drunk. I knew I had problems. You know some of my friends wouldn't even drink with me because of the way I got - aggressive and obnoxious. It's too bad that something like this had to happen for me to wake up. I'm not using it as an excuse you know - it's just too bad I couldn't see things before.

SUMMARY AND DISCUSSION

This chapter has explored the interviews of the 30 American Indian male homicide offenders. From their narratives, a theoretical model of American Indian homicide has emerged which includes elements of economic deprivation, a subculture of violence, social disorganization, and culture conflict. It also became evident that alcohol and drug use played a very important role as an intervening variable.

An important question to ask here is why the qualitative analysis revealed more extensive and somewhat different results than did the quantitative analysis. Perhaps the answer is inherent in each methodology.

Quantitative analysis is limited; it is limited to the data which is available and also to how well these data approximate reality. For example, the quantitative analysis in this research used the divorce rate and female-headed households as indicators of social disorganization. Perhaps these variables do not adequately tap the reality of social disorganization which may be experienced by the American Indian population. But because

of the limited amount of data available, they were used. Similarly, the same could be true of the indicators used for both subculture of violence and economic deprivation.

Further, because of data limitations, no indicator of culture conflict could even be placed in the regression model. Thus, the influence attributed to the included variables may actually have been the combined influence of the included and excluded variables. For example, as stated in the last chapter, percent of the population which is Indian may have been measuring both subculture of violence orientations and culture conflict. It may even have been measuring some other phenomenon specific to the life experiences of being American Indian in our society like discrimination and institutional racism.

Hanushek and Jackson (1977) place these problems under the rubric of model specification. They state, "Probably the most important element in obtaining reasonable estimates of behavioral models is the statement of the model. The crucial difference between a "passing" and "failing" use of regression techniques is the development of the model - the delineation of relevant variables and the relationships among them." (p.80)

All quantitative research must contend with specification and measurement error. It is not a problem specific to this analysis alone. But because of the possible biases that may have come from these problems, it is the inclination of this researcher to deem the

qualitative analysis a more valid reflection of the etiology of American Indian homicide. In doing this, however, it is important to note the possible biases inherent in qualitative research as well.

Because a researcher develops a theoretical understanding of what is being observed during the process of qualitative research, there is a constant risk to the researcher that he/she will only observe those things that support these theoretical conclusions. Not only can this risk be increased by selective perception, but also by the manner in which probes are given during the interview process. Because of the subjective nature of an indepth interview, the use of probes can sometimes inhibit the objectivity of the interview. For example, an interviewer might possibly suggest answers for the respondent thus causing his/her biases to be introduced into the research. This scenario may take place either consciously or unconsciously. Further, the statement of questions themselves can also produce biased responses. For example, if I had asked "Don't you agree that it is O.K. to hit somebody who is calling you names?" it would have seriously threatened the objectivity of this research.

There is no way of determining the extent to which these kinds of biases have effected the results of this research. The only safeguard that can be offered against them is this researchers sensitivity and awareness of their potential hazard. It is hoped that by being aware of the

problem, the potential biases inherent in this methodology may have been decreased if not avoided altogether.

There are other problems inherent in qualitative methods and interpretation, however. Kahane (1971) discusses several possible logical fallacies to be concerned with when analyzing qualitative data. One fallacy Kahane discusses is that of "provincialism". This stems from the natural tendency to identify with a particular group and to perceive experience largely with regard to this group. There is always a danger that a researcher will interpret people's behavior or verbalizations so that it makes sense from his/her own perspective. For example, as this author is primarily a sociologist, the qualitative data in this research were primarily interpreted from a sociological perspective.

Another fallacy to be aware of is the fallacy of "hasty conclusion". Kahane describes this fallacy as "the use of an argument which presents evidence relevant to its conclusion, but insufficient by itself to warrant acceptance of that conclusion." (p.62) This fallacy is very relevant to the qualitative analysis just performed. For example, narratives were provided which reflected the homicide offenders beliefs and attitudes which were tolerant and favorable toward the use of violence in certain situations. But based on these beliefs of a small sample, can the assertion be made that a subculture of violence exists within certain segments of the Indian

population? This is a valid question. The evidence presented in this chapter is relevant and supportive. However, evidence from other segments of the Indian population might provide further support for this conclusion. This logical fallacy of "hasty conclusion" may potentially effect all theoretical constructs induced from the interview data in this research. However, again, it is hoped that the awareness of the problem can alleviate the potential bias.

While it is important to outline some of the potential problems and biases that may have existed in both the qualitative and quantitative analyses used in this research, the immense amount of knowledge and insight gained concerning the etiology of American Indian homicide should not be overshadowed. In chapter seven, the formal model of American Indian homicide derived from both the quantitative and qualitative analyses of this research will be delineated.

CHAPTER VII

A THEORETICAL MODEL OF AMERICAN INDIAN HOMICIDE

It is clear that there is no single causal factor of American Indian homicide. Many forces including structural, cultural and psychological all contribute to the high rates of American Indian homicide. Figure 7.1 displays the model of American Indian homicide which has evolved from both the statistical analysis of the aggregate level homicide rates and from the analysis of homicide offender interviews. The model combines causal forces of social disorganization, economic deprivation, a subculture of violence, and the psychological mechanisms of culture conflict and perceived powerlessness. Also included in the model is the intervening variable of alcohol/drug use. Although statistical support was only found for economic deprivation at the reservation state level and for a subculture of violence at the SMSA level, elements of each were identified in the interview narratives irrespective of whether the homicide offenders were Indians from reservations or from urban areas.

Notice that nothing in the model acts in isolation. Every element of the causal process has the potential of

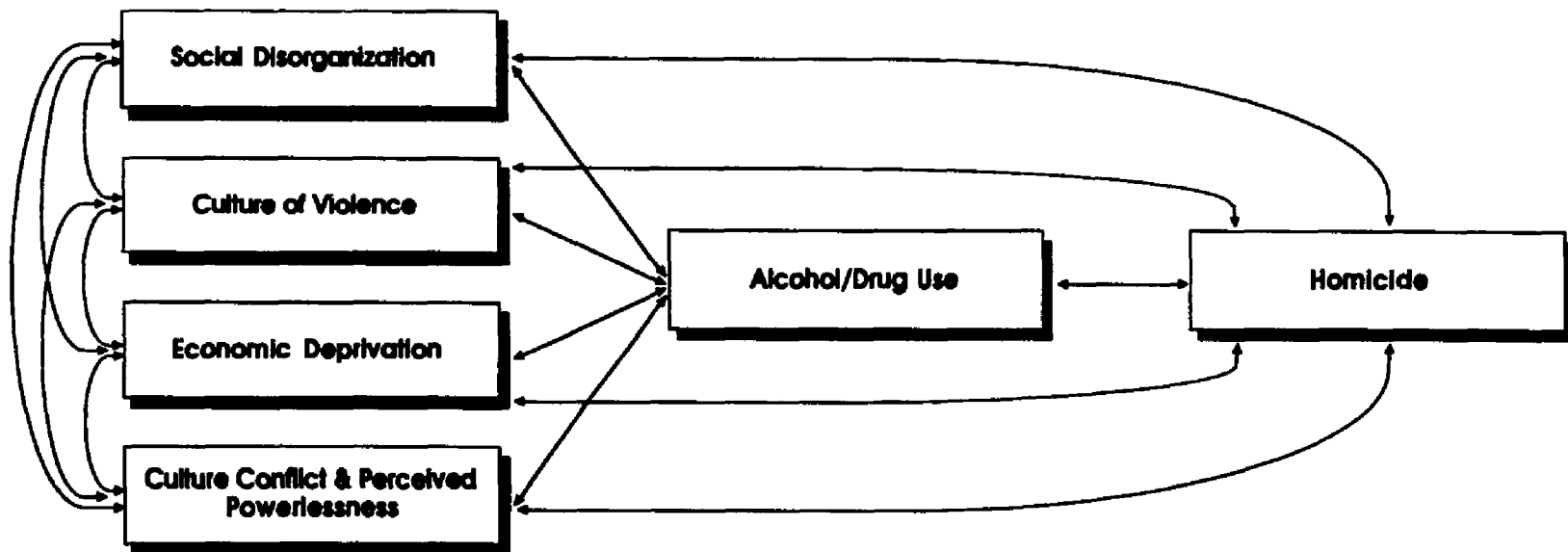


Figure 7.1 Causal Model of American Indian Homicide

effecting every other element. For example, while economic deprivation or social disorganization may lead one to abuse alcohol, this alcohol abuse may in turn cause the loss of a job or the break up of a family. And while a sense of powerlessness and culture conflict may induce one to seek relief in alcohol or to lash out in violence, these acts can only serve to intensify one's sense of powerlessness and frustration. Nor can economic deprivation be causally separated from a subculture of violence. None of the elements are independent of each other.

Most of the inmates were born into a cycle of poverty - blocked from legitimate economic opportunities and forced into dependency. For many, the distress of this situation was compounded by family disruption and disorganization. Feelings of frustration and powerlessness emerged early in the lives of these homicide offenders. For most, solace from these feelings was found in a "bottle" or in other drugs. This alcohol/drug dependency only exacerbated other situational conditions, rendering many unable to hold down a job or keep their own families together.

Some adopted a "warrior" like identity, thus, restoring the sense of manhood that was not otherwise attainable through economic success. Rewards were obtained from acts of bravery - not from an "A" in math class or acceptance into college. These ideals of "masculine prowess" were essentially the same; whether staged in the rural isolation of the reservation or in the ghettos of an urban area.

The adoption of this value system condoning violence was not necessary for some to kill, however. Some may have been propelled by the frustrations produced by structural circumstances alone. It does appear, however, that when these conditions and psychological states are coupled with alcohol, the consequences are more likely to be lethal.

The psychological state of an individual living in an environment with all of these forces present is graphically described by one offender who recalls wanting to die:

If I wouldn't have been caught, I would have done some destructive thing - I probably wouldn't have killed myself but I would have put myself in a situation to be killed. That's the way I would justify it - I'm tough and strong - I'm bad - but I didn't have the guts to kill myself. Always tough on the outside but on the inside I was fucked up. I would always put myself in violent situations - you know like I'll go fight the ape man - fuck that punk - and then end up half beaten to death. I didn't care. So what. I could never get out of the hole I was in - and who would it matter to anyway?

Revelations such as these were far too frequent among the men interviewed. These emotions are a logical consequence of a people who have been oppressed in every sense of the word: politically, economically, socially, and culturally.

It is true that not all American Indians who are born into conditions of poverty are propelled to commit murder. Many go on to college and make their way into the middle class. Nor is it true that all Indian children born to alcoholic parents and dysfunctional families are destined

to a life of crime. When conditions such as these are coupled with values that condone the use of violence and alcohol, however, their contribution to homicide seems to be exponential.

As noted earlier, the process through which most of the offenders learned to cope with these structural and cultural conditions was social learning. Much of the learning seems to have been through a vicarious process such as witnessing parents or other significant others. One respondent stated, "It's how you learn to cope - how you learn to manage the tension and frustration in life. It's the way I saw people handling problems - with their fists and with alcohol."

Other elements of the social learning process verbalized were of the strong forces that reinforcement provided. Much of this reinforcement was in the form of acceptance by one's peer group. Also inherent in this contingency is the fact that punishment often represented the ostracism experienced by a youth not willing to participate in deviant acts such as drinking or stealing.

Just like on the reservation. Everyone is just trying to be like the next guy. Everyone else is getting drunk, why not me. Everyone else is having a party, why not me. And if you don't - you don't fit in. People give you shit. Even if you have white friends, people give you shit.

The process of learning these behaviors is important. As one offender recalls, "I got involved in a group when I was

seven or eight. They were stealing and stuff - everything. I learned quick and I learned well. Before that I had never even stole a piece of bubble gum. But when I learned how, I was good. I never got caught doing that stuff." Another revealed the prevalence of such activity on the reservation, thus limiting the options one has for reinforcement and acceptance by nondeviant peers:

It amounts to just getting in with the wrong crowd. I started drinking at 13 and taking drugs a year later. I guess it's not just the wrong crowd that's the problem - there isn't many other crowds to choose from. You just do what everybody else is doing or you don't have any friends.

Another quote reveals that the potency of ostracism and banishment from a group as a form of punishment is just as strong in the prison setting:

I've been in treatment for 5 weeks and I'm doing good but I'm so scared to get back in the population. I want to transfer to another treatment that's longer. Maybe then I will really be strong enough. You know like six weeks and I'm a changed person - fuck that - I'm not. I'm doing good now because I have support but put me back out with the people that are saying 'here, bro, want to get high' or whatever, you know, and it won't last. I need to really get stable on the inside because it's just on the surface now. Otherwise I won't be able to say no especially when you'll get shit for not doing it. I'll fall back into the same old shit. It's not easy not going along with the group - especially in here.

When an individual's only means of reinforcement is derived from a peer group that encourages alcohol and drug use, one can see the difficulty for that individual to

abstain. This situation often makes it difficult for an individual to get straight even if such opportunities such as treatment and counseling exist.

SUMMARY

This chapter has outlined the causal model of American Indian homicide generated from both the quantitative and qualitative analyses performed in this research. The model combines causal structures of social disorganization, a culture of violence, economic deprivation, and the psychological elements of culture conflict and perceived powerlessness. It also incorporates alcohol/drug use as an intervening variable between these forces and lethal violence.

It is not suggested that this model of American Indian homicide is in any sense definitive. Nor does this author assume that American Indians constitute a homogeneous group. The model presented is tentative and will undoubtedly be improved upon when more refined measures and statistical techniques are developed.

This model can be useful as a guide for future research. For example, as evidence supporting a subculture of violence thesis was found in this research, future research should investigate the presence of similar attitudes among other segments of the Indian population.

And further, more energy should focus on developing a more valid and reliable indicator of these violent subcultural ideals at the aggregate level as they relate to American Indians (i.e. such as attempts made by Baron and Straus (1988) with their Legitimate Violence Index, or Williams and Flewelling's (1988) use of the justifiable homicide rate to measure a subculture of violence in the general population).

This same effort is needed with regard to culture conflict. More indepth interview data is needed to better understand the structural and cultural sources of culture conflict and the psychological states which are produced from it. Only after culture conflict is better understood, can we attempt to measure it at the aggregate level.

To test the generalizability of this model, future research must also test the model with tribal-specific data (both quantitative and qualitative data).

Although this model represents multiple factors which may contribute to lethal violence in the American Indian population, other variables such as medical resource availability and discriminatory imposition of the law may also contribute. Although these alternative explanations were not analyzed in this research, a brief discussion of these factors is necessary before concluding any discussion of American Indian homicide. It is provided in Chapter Eight.

CHAPTER VIII

ALTERNATIVE EXPLANATIONS OF AMERICAN INDIAN HOMICIDE

Hawkins (1986) provides an in depth critique of current theory attempting to explain black and white homicide differentials. Although his work is in reference to literature on black homicide, much of his criticism can be extended to this analysis study of American Indian homicide. Controlling for the attempted regulation of criminal behavior is one such criticism and, indeed, was omitted from this analysis.

Research indicates that legal authorities hold beliefs that certain groups in the population are inherently criminal. Further, these beliefs may ultimately effect the etiology of homicide among American Indians. Hawkins (1986) believes that the historical behavior of American law created a hierarchy of the seriousness of criminal violence based primarily on the racial identity of the offender and the relationship between the victim and offender. In this hierarchy, the black killing of a white person in authority is seen as the most serious offense whereas the white killing of black intimate is least serious. Hawkins states, "blacks may have come to believe that aggressive behavior of all types directed by blacks against each other will be tolerated and seldom severely punished." He deems that

black life is seen as cheap in our society, and white life is valuable. This hypothesis could easily be extended to the American Indian population. The disregard for black life during the slavery era (Hawkins, 1986) was no more brutal than that experienced by the Indians. This is certainly validated in the virtual extinction of the entire American Indian people. Evidence exists that these degrading attitudes and disregard for American Indian life are alive and well among the general population today. For example, during a field study on three midwestern reservations, this author was told on a few occasions, "Well, you know, the only good Indian is a dead Indian." by white individuals who lived in neighboring communities. Another classic example of this disregard for Indian life is illustrated by a story told to me by a colleague. Upon protest of purchasing a machine gun for her child's birthday, a New England store owner quite simply stated, "Well, I understand you not wanting to buy war toys, but this gun is O.K. It's a cowboy gun, and you only pretend to kill Indians with it."

Racial Characteristics and the Imposition of the Law

Regarding the imposition of the law, Swigert and Farrel (1977) speculate that more than class and race, cultural stereotypes of criminality determine the decisions of legal authorities. In reviewing the psychiatric portions of

evaluations obtained from a clinic attached to the court in a large urban jurisdiction, the authors report a diagnostic category that surfaced which seemed to reflect an official usage of a "normal primitive" stereotype. In summary, the primitive man:

is comfortable and without mental illness. He has little, if any education and is of dull intelligence. His goals are sensual and immediate - satisfying his physical and sexual needs without inhibition, postponement or planning. There is little regard for the future - extending hardly beyond the filling of his stomach and the next pay or relief check. His loyalties and identification are with a group that has little purpose in life, except surviving with a minimum of sweat and a maximum of pleasure. (p.19)

This stereotypical definition bears close resemblance not only to depictions of members of the subculture of violence, but also to stereotypes of American Indians in general. Images of the "noble savage" continue to pervade in popular literature and media representations. In fact, this stereotype has persisted since the first European contact. Analyzing historical documents, evidence of this conception of the American Indian abounds. For example, a letter of one missionary in 1628 reveals:

As to the natives of this country, I find them entirely savage and wild, strangers to all decency, yea, uncivil and stupid as garden stakes, proficient in all wickedness and ungodliness, devilish men who serve nobody but the devil, that is, the spirit which in their language they call Menetto, under which title they comprehend everything that is subtle and crafty and beyond human skill and power. They are as thievish and treacherous as they are tall, and in cruelty they are altogether inhuman, more than barbarous, far exceeding the Africans. (The Annals of America, Vol.1 p.93)

How pervasive are stereotypes of American Indians such as this in the criminal justice system today? Although research is needed that addresses this issue, what has been documented is the discriminatory practices of some law enforcement agencies against the Indian population. After performing a longitudinal analysis of arrest and disposition rates for all individuals processed by the Seattle Police Department, Williams (1979) concluded that low socio-economic class or minority status are not sufficient explanation for the significant differentials noted between white and Indian. "Rather, it seems that the urban Indian is in a class all his own, and it is a very unique and negative one." (p.7) Williams further states:

A potentially valid explanation for the alarming arrest rates for Indians may be as basic as anti-Indian bias on the part of the criminal justice system. Whether correctly or incorrectly, the contemporary Indian often feels that he is the recipient of prejudice and discrimination that other minorities - particularly blacks - have somehow managed to escape. And it is this very climate which can so easily foster an insidious brand of resentment, humiliation, frustration, and anger which may manifest itself in high rates of social deviance." (1982, p.7)

Many offenders interviewed for the present study expressed feelings such as these. Respondent 13 explains:

Even my lawyer told me that I wouldn't be in this prison if I had \$10,000. All the evidence was there, but I had a public defender with no brains. If you have money you're O.K., but if you don't - goodbye, we'll see you in fucking 10 years. That's just the way it is.

That's the system. They fabricate evidence, lie and everything. Then they say plead guilty and we'll go easy on you. You don't have any rights - you just do exactly what they tell you to do.

Many of the offenders talked about the experience of being labeled and unable to break the cycle. "Even when you try to change - people won't let you. It's like you fucked up now you're fucked up so fuck off! It's like a trap - that's what it feels like. Like a fox who can't get out and is just waiting for someone to come and shoot him."

Many experienced discriminatory practices by the criminal justice system at an early age and never forgot it.

My first experience with the law was when I was thirteen and a white kid and I hid some marijuana under a trailer house. Some lady seen us and told the police that some Indian had hid something under there and sure enough I was the one who got in trouble and sent to reform school. That white kid is probably still breaking the law but who is in jail now - even if he did kill someone he would have a better chance of beating it than me or any other Indian.

Many other offenders believed that they did not receive a fair trial. Although this may not be an uncommon perception among convicted homicide offenders regardless of race, some trial accounts described to this author should be mentioned. For example, one respondent described this:

When the cops came in after the fight I had cuts and bruises all over my body - I was all swollen and stuff with blood everywhere. I was bleeding from cuts from his knife. The cops came in and took pictures of me to show this - because it was self defense. I killed him

in self-defense. Well at the trial they said they didn't have film in the camera - can you believe that. No film in the camera when they took pictures of me yet they took 52 pictures of him during the autopsy. And they showed every one of them in the trial. You know I just had a public defender and he didn't do anything about it. There were a lot of things that went on during the trial that weren't right but nothing that I could do - I was just a stupid kid with a stupid public defender - no rights. I just did what they told me. Plead guilty, they said, or you'll get sent to prison for longer. What a system.

Besides describing discriminatory practices they experienced during impositions and trials, many offenders also talked about the physical and emotional abuse encountered by the police.

I learned my lesson early with the police. They beat me, shot at me, dislocated my elbow, cut me up, put my face through doors. Made me feel like I was just a piece of shit.

Although it seems apparent that at least some degree of discriminatory behavior on the part of the criminal justice system exists, other research investigating racial differences in the administration of justice is equivocal. Some authors have asserted that violations of the existing criminal law by lower class and minority offenders result in more severe charges and sentences (Black, 1976; Quinney, 1979), while others have failed to find substantial racial differences (Hindelang, 1978). There is an abundance of other literature addressing this matter, however, it is not the purpose of this chapter to address it in its entirety. But it is important to document its existence. The

inequalities that may exist in our judicial system must certainly be considered when studying homicide causation among minority groups in our country.

Another factor which may contribute to high rates of lethal violence is differential access to medical resources. This issue will be highlighted next.

Medical Resources - An Epidemiological Profile of Homicide

As all forms of homicide are classified under the status of injury in the medical literature (Baker, 1984), they are operationally defined as being caused by acute exposure to physical agents such as mechanical energy, interacting with the body in amounts at rates that exceed the threshold of human tolerance. Although differential access to medical care by race/ethnicity has not been empirically documented, some authors speculate on its existence (Murphy, 1974).

Other researchers have hypothesized such a premise as well (Gastil, 1971; Loftin and Hill, 1974; Doerner, 1983, 1986). Two of the most ambitious studies to date are those of Doerner (1983 & 1986). Doerner suggests that medical care is the "missing link" in the question as to whether interpersonal violence escalates from a case of aggravated assault to a case of homicide, and thus, is an intervening component in the production of regional homicide rates. Although his analysis of certain medical variables (e.g.

number of doctors and nurses, etc.) regressed on homicide rates does not provide unequivocal support for medical care as providing this "missing link", the author suggests that further pursuit of this line of reasoning is needed. Additionally, future research should incorporate this line of inquiry into the investigation of American Indian homicide.

The issue of medical resources is pertinent to the American Indian experience. Although the Indian Health Service which now operates under the auspices of the Public Health Service meets the criterion of "providing a sufficient density of health services of reasonable caliber" (Orubuloye and Caldwell, 1975), many reservation settlements remain isolated and sometimes several hours drive from the nearest hospital. For this reason, lack of sufficient medical resources may be partially responsible for the high rates of lethal violence in the American Indian population.

CHAPTER IX

DISCUSSION

This study has provided a profile of American Indian homicide in the United States as it compares to both black and white homicide. It has illustrated that although black homicide is far more prevalent, American Indian homicide rates are more than double that of the white population. When rates are further disaggregated by weapon used, victim/offender relationship, circumstance and gender, the three racial/ethnic group homicides look somewhat alike. American Indian homicide is more likely to involve knives whereas both black and white homicide is more likely to involve handguns. However, when handgun and other gun categories are added together, they account for over 40 percent of all homicides regardless of race/ethnicity. Although American Indians have the highest proportion of acquaintance homicides, homicide victims in all groups are more likely to be acquaintances of the offender. The whites population has the highest percentage of both family and stranger homicides. Although homicide is a predominantly male phenomenon for all groups, both black and American Indian populations have a significantly higher percentage of female perpetrated homicides than the white population. When homicides are disaggregated by circumstance, conflict

related homicides are most frequent for all three racial/ethnic groups. However, conflict homicides are more frequent for both black and American Indian populations than they are for whites. Whites have a proportionately higher rate of both felony and robbery homicides than do either blacks or American Indians.

This research has also added a great deal to what is known about the etiology of American Indian homicide. Its triangulated methodology combined both quantitative multivariate analysis with indepth interview data from American Indian homicide offenders. A theoretical model of American Indian homicide was then induced from these results which included a subculture of violence, social disorganization, economic deprivation and culture conflict and perceived powerlessness. Alcohol/drug abuse was also included in the model representing an intervening variable.

Quantitatively, multiple regression models were tested which incorporated indicators of economic deprivation, social disorganization, and a subculture of violence. These models were estimated at two levels of analysis: states which included reservations and Standard Metropolitan Areas. When a reservation state level analysis was performed using American Indian homicide as the dependent variable, the American Indian unemployment rate was the only significant predictor. The higher the American Indian unemployment rate, the higher the American Indian homicide rate. When SMSAs were employed as the units of analysis,

percent American Indian was the only variable which resulted in significance while controlling for other demographic factors. It appears on this level, that American Indians in urban areas with large American Indian populations do have higher violent offending rates than those in areas with small Indian populations. From a contextual perspective (Sampson, 1985), this empirically supports the subculture of violence thesis. Caution should be exercised, however, when making theoretical generalizations from these results as percent of the population which is American Indian could be measuring a number of different phenomena specific to the American Indian population (i.e. institutional racism, culture conflict etc.) Further, as multivariate analysis of American Indian homicide at the aggregate level is virtually nonexistent in the criminology literature, this analysis primarily plays an exploratory role and all results should be viewed as preliminary and suggestive.

When qualitative data were analyzed from interviews obtained from 30 American Indian homicide offenders, these same causal factors of economic deprivation and a subculture of violence were affirmed. Although other comparative homicide research has also found support for these theoretical positions, this interview data provided insight into the thought processes which develop under these structural and cultural conditions. For example, many narratives described how important it was to defend

yourself and your honor in conflict situations. Responding to an insult with a fist or a knife were respected and held in esteem by many of the offenders interviewed. The narratives also contained references to the psychological pain and frustration experienced as the result of poverty and unemployment. Most of those interviewed were unemployed at the time of the crime, and those who were not were underemployed.

The qualitative analysis also illuminated other important contributing factors. Elements of social disorganization, culture conflict and powerlessness were each uncovered. Most of the offenders experienced unstable living environments during childhood. Some were transferred from foster home to foster home, while others were adopted or sent to boarding schools. Others lived in dysfunctional families where one or both parents had an addiction to alcohol. Even more compelling, however, was the role that culture conflict seems to have played in these offender's lives. Many of American Indians are truly in an emotional state of culture conflict. They are labeled "Indian" in our society, yet everything that is "Indian" has either been stripped from their present day culture or forever altered. Their language, their religion, their heritage - all have been obliterated by white assimilationist policy. Concomitantly, American Indians are offered very little economic or political power. They continue to face obstacles of institutional racism and overt discrimination.

The consequential states of powerlessness, helplessness and humiliation can be devastating.

Another important factor which was discovered in the qualitative analysis was the intervening role that alcohol/drug abuse played in American Indian homicide. Although the violence - alcohol link has been documented before, the relationship was astounding among the homicide offenders in this study. Ninety-seven percent of these offenders were under the influence of drugs or alcohol when they took a life. Most had begun abusing alcohol or other drugs at an early age.

The interview data provides compelling evidence for a multidimensional model of American Indian homicide which includes elements of economic deprivation, a subculture of violence, social disorganization, and culture conflict and perceived powerlessness. Alcohol/drug abuse is also included in the model as an intervening variable. All of these conditions were antecedent to the killing in the lives of these homicide offenders.

What are the implications of this model for future policy reform regarding the American Indian population? It should be clear that just as this is an integrated and multidimensional model of American Indian homicide, so too, will it take an integrated response in prevention strategies. For example, alcoholism prevention programs will not help without providing economic opportunity and instilling hope for the future.

If, indeed, the Indian population contains within its cultural milieu a tolerance or encouragement of violence, resources and efforts need to focus on programs which teach more positive and nonviolent ways of conflict resolution. Evidence suggests (Stewart and Lewis, 1986) that assertiveness training can decrease acts of aggression while at the same time increasing self-esteem.

With regard to the culture conflict that many of the offenders interviewed experienced, consistent policy reform is needed which allows every American Indian the opportunity to explore his/her heritage. The Harvard Encyclopaedia on Race Relations summarizes the policy of the U.S. government toward the American Indians into five distinct periods: (1) separation, during which the prime objective was to remove Indians from the land that whites desired and draw boundaries between the two peoples; (2) coercive assimilation, during which whites sought to replace Indian ways with their own ways and to help them become self-sufficient farmers and artisans, under conditions deemed suitable by whites; (3) tribal restoration, phase I, during which whites made an about face and encouraged Indians to maintain their corporate tribal existence if they chose to do so; (4) termination, during which the objective was to break off all relationships of protection and assistance with the federal government; and (5) tribal restoration, phase II, during which tribal corporate adaptation to American society was

again encouraged and cultural choice was reaffirmed. It is obvious that policy to date has been inconsistent and haphazard to say the least. As this research uncovered vast psychological anomalies as the result of culture conflict probably due in large part to this uninformed policy formation, aggressive efforts must be focused on implementing policy which encourages cultural choice. Programs must be implemented both in the school systems and in the community to allow access to cultural education. This access must not only be available to the Indian population, but to the general population as well. If negative Indian stereotypes and discrimination are ever to be overcome, the white population's understanding of American Indian culture and heritage is essential.

Additionally, economic opportunities must be given those who choose to remain on the reservation. Reservations must have the opportunity to become economically viable. These opportunities would undoubtedly help restore a sense of self-worth while at the same time end the cycle of dependence the government has fostered within the Indian population. By this economic opportunity, coercive assimilation is certainly not meant, but rather culturally sensitive economic development. While low labor costs and an abundance of natural resources on some reservations are incentives to industrial development, efforts must be made to decrease the factors which limit such development such as providing new transportation

facilities. Research is also needed to investigate whether the incidence of homicide and other violent behavior is the same or lower among tribes that have become economically successful compared to those which have remained economically dependent.

American Indian child-welfare services need to become more aware of the deleterious effects removing a child from both his culture and his family may have. When questions of custody arise, both Indian children and their parents should have the right to counsel and the services of expert witnesses. If removal of an Indian child is the only solution, foster and adoptive parents should be provided with adequate means and knowledge to meet both the cultural and structural needs of an Indian child.

And finally, more creative and resourceful programs need to be implemented which combat alcoholism within the American Indian population. As there is some degree of conflict between the traditional ways of treating alcoholism (i.e. sweatbaths and other religious ceremonies) and the ways of the "white man" (i.e. alcoholics anonymous), a challenge exists for our society to incorporate both dominant and culturally sensitive orientations into treatment facilities.

The patterns and trends that emerge from this research are quite clear and seems to indicate urgency in the form of both treatment and prevention. It is hoped that this work will be a catalyst for future empirical investigation

into not only American Indian homicide, but also its relation to other forms maladaptive behavior such as suicide and alcoholism in the Indian population. For as one offender interviewed told me:

People are just beginning to undertand the problems. We can't answer it for ourselves as a tribe. We need outside people to help us. That work is going to bridge our world with yours, our way of thinking with your way of thinking and we need that bridge. It's like a puzzle. And there's many pieces to that puzzle and they all can connect to each other. It's just that you need people with intelligence to say 'Hey, lets put the puzzle down on the table and lets connect these pieces together. And lets build a story. And lets let the whole world hear that story. And it's a puzzle - a puzzle about people.

RESEARCH NOTES

1. With this exclusion of states not containing reservations, the model estimated may contain sample selection bias. Specifically, "By excluding some observations in a systematic manner, one has inadvertently introduced the need for an additional regressor that the usual least squares procedures ignore; in effect, one has produced the traditional specification error that results when an omitted regressor is correlated with an included regressor." Berk, 1983 p.388) Anytime potential observations from some population of interest (in this case states and SMSAs) are excluded from a sample on a nonrandom basis, one risks sample selection bias. In this analysis, steps offered by Berk (1983) are followed to correct the explicit selection of reservation states. The steps are as follows:

(1) A probit or logit model of the selection process is estimated with the dummy endogenous variable coded "0" when the observation on the substantive endogenous variable is missing [nonreservation state] and "1" when it was present [reservation state].

(2) The predicted values from the probit equation are saved. These predicted values represent a random, normal variable.

(3) From the predicted values, the hazard rate is constructed. [In this research, the hazard rate is simply the predicted values]

(4) The hazard rate is then treated as a new variable and included in any substantive equations [Any equations predicting American Indian homicide using only reservation states as the units of analysis] (Berk, 1983 p. 393).

Although it is safe to assume that the sample selection

bias will be small, particularly since this research entails explicit selection compared to a survey framework, Berk concludes, "Perhaps the best advice is always to begin with the assumption that sample selection bias exists and proceed where possible with the corrections unless a strong argument can be made that moots the problem." (1983, p.396) Accordingly, corrected estimated equations were performed at both the state and SMSA levels, however, results obtained from the corrected models were no different from the uncorrected model.

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APPENDICES

INFORMED CONSENT FORM

The purpose of this research is to understand what it is like to grow up an American Indian in this country. I also hope to gain insight into your perception of the crime that you were convicted of and about your attitudes about violence in general. Because most people know very little about the lives and attitudes of American Indians today, I also hope that you can tell me your views and attitudes about your life and about the lives of your people. Participation in this interview is completely voluntary - you will receive no rewards for your participation. You are also free to withdraw your participation at any time during the interview.

These interviews are for my own research at the University of New Hampshire and are in NO WAY connected with the prison, the government, or any other federal agency. Although the information received from these interviews will be held strictly confidential and used for my own analysis only, you must know that any information you give me can be subpoenaed in court and in order to protect yourself from this - do not give me any information that could possibly incriminate you on other charges. As I am asking for your permission to tape record these interviews, I want you to know that these tapes will be destroyed as soon as they are transcribed on paper which will be no later than six weeks from the date of our interview.

I certify that I have read and fully understand the purpose of this research project and its risks and benefits for me as stated above.

Signature of Respondent_____

Date_____

A1. I'd like to talk with you about your views on a number of different things, especially about crime in America. Let's start with some general topics. What things are going on in our country today that concern you?

A1a. Anything Else?

A2. What issues about crime in the United States are of the most concern to you?

II.

Now I would like to ask you a few questions concerning your attitude about violence in general.

B1. Let's begin with some questions men getting into fights. I'd like you to tell me how wrong you think this is in different situations by answering according to a zero to 10 scale. 0 means you think it is not wrong at all and 10 means you think it is extremely wrong. You can use any number between 0 and 10 to indicate how wrong hitting is in a specific situation. (HAND RESPONDENT RESPONSE CARD) You are welcome to elaborate your response at any time.

B2. How wrong would it be for a stranger to hit a man who was in a protest march showing opposition to the other man's views?

0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

B3. who was drunk and bumped into the other man and his wife on the street?

0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

B4. who had hit another man's child after the child had accidentally damaged the his car?

0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

B5. who was beating up a woman and the other man saw it?

0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

B6. who had broken into another man's house?

0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

B7. who had said something to insult another man?

0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

B8. Are there any other situations that you might feel it appropriate for a man to hit another man?

III.

Here are some things people often say about violence in our society. I would like to know whether you Strongly Agree, Agree, Disagree, Strongly Disagree (Give respondent scale and probe for elaboration of answers at the end of each statement)

	SD	D	A	SA
D1. Violence deserves violence.	1	2	3	4
D2. It's important to be kind to people even if they do things you don't believe in.	1	2	3	4
D3. An eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth is a good rule for living	1	2	3	4
D4. It is often necessary to use violence to prevent violence.	1	2	3	4
D5. When a person harms you, you should turn the other cheek and forgive him.	1	2	3	4
D6. When someone does wrong, he should be paid back for it.	1	2	3	4
D7. Many people only learn through violence.	1	2	3	4
D8. Even if you don't like a person, you should still try to help him	1	2	3	4
D9. A man has a right to kill another man in a case of self defense	1	2	3	4
D10. A man has the right to kill a person to defend his family.	1	2	3	4
D11. A man has the right to kill a person to defend his house	1	2	3	4
D12. Even if it means giving up something, you should help others get what they want.	1	2	3	4
D13. People who make speeches stirring people up should be put in prison before they cause serious trouble.	1	2	3	4
D14. Police are getting so much power the average citizen has to worry.	1	2	3	4

D15. Courts nowadays are much too easy on criminals. 1 2 3 4

D16. Protest in which some people are hurt is necessary for changes to come fast enough 1 2 3 4

D17. How many of your friends do you think would agree with your answers?

IV.

E1. When people get into fights, even if those fights end up in someone getting killed, there are different reasons for the fights happening? Thinking about it generally, I would like you to think about what some of the causes might be. For each reason I mention I would like you to tell me how often you think it applies. (PROBE FOR EXPLANATION)

Always	Never	Sometimes	Most of The Time	of
E2. Do you think poverty causes violence?	1	2	3	4
E3. Do you think unemployment causes violence?	1	2	3	4
E4. Does alcohol or drugs contribute to violence?	1	2	3	4
E5. Does discrimination cause violence?	1	2	3	4
E6. Does feeling unimportant cause violence	1	2	3	4
E7. Does violence occur because a guy feels put down	1	2	3	4
E8. Does violence happen because a person sees no other way of solving a problem?	1	2	3	4

E9. Are there any other causes of violence that you can think of?

V.

Now I'd like to ask you some questions about different kinds of crime.

F1. Some people say that stealing or damaging property is as bad as hurting people. Others say that damaging property is not as bad as hurting people. What do you think?

F2. For the following crimes, I would like you to tell me how serious you think they are on a scale from 1 to 9 with 1 being least serious and 9 being most serious.

	Least								Most
Selling drugs	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Driving while drunk	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Planned killing of cop	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Forcible rape	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Stealing from a business	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Killing someone in a fight	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Armed robbery of a business	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Spying for a foreign government	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Causing the death of someone because of drunk driving	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Deserting to the enemy in time of war	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Impulsive killing of a spouse	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Refusal to pay parking fines	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Parent to child incest	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Being drunk in public places	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Shoplifting from a store	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Theft of a car	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Beating up a child	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Deliberately starting a fire	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Skipping school	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Beating up an acquaintance	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Disturbing the peace	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Using drugs	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Beating up a spouse	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Selling liquor to minors	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9

F3. How do you think robbery and stealing could be reduced?

Any other ways?

Which way is the best?

F4. How do you think murder rates could be reduced?

Any other ways?

Which way is the best?

F5. Do you think that all people are treated fairly in the courts today?

F6. How are they not treated the same?

F7. Do you think that the courts treat people like yourself (American Indian) better or worse than others?

F8. On the whole, would you say that the police are trying to be helpful or that they are looking for trouble?

F9. Do you think they treat people like yourself fairly?

VI.

If its O.K. with you, I'd like to ask you some specif questions about the crime that you were sent here for. Do you think your conviciton was fair?

What were the events that lead up to it happening?

What were you thinking about and how did you feel just before it happened?

After if happened?

Were you drinking or using drugs?

Do you feel that the act was justified?

Why or Why not?

How do you feel about it now?

How does you family feel about it?

How do your friends feel about it?

What do you think caused it?

Do you think that it could have been prevented? (IF YOU DON'T KNOW THE WEAPON INVOLVED AT THIS TIME ASK)

How long have you been in prison?

Do you have any goals set for yourself when you get out of here?

Do you think you can achieve them?

VII.

C1. Now I'd like to ask you some questions about your social activities with people close to you. At the time the crime occurred...

	How Many Times Per Month Did You?					How Important was that to you			
	0	1	2	3-5	5+	NI	SI	VI	EI
C2. Get together socially with relatives	0	1	2	3-5	5+	1	2	3	4
C3. Get together socially with friends	0	1	2	3-5	5+	1	2	3	4

C4. Do something special with spouse/girlfriend 0 1 2 3-5 5+ 1 2 3 4

C5. Attend religious services or other religious activities 0 1 2 3-5 5+ 1 2 3 4

VIII.

Do any of these people keep in touch with you now?
How So?

C6. How often does you family visit you now? 0 1 2 3-5 5+ 1 2 3 4

Friends? 0 1 2 3-5 5+ 1 2 3 4

Partner/Spouse? 0 1 2 3-5 5+ 1 2 3 4

C7. How often do you get letters or calls from family? 0 1 2 3-5 5+ 1 2 3 4

Friends 0 1 2 3-5 5+ 1 2 3 4

Partner/Spouse? 0 1 2 3-5 5+ 1 2 3 4

C8. When you get out of here, what do you think your relationship will be like with your family?

With your friends?

With your Partner/Spouse?

IX.

Now I'd like to ask you about your physical well-being. In the past year how often have you (READ ITEM AND HAND RESPONDENT RESPONSE CARD)

	Never	Almost Never	Sometimes	Farily Often	Very Often
Had headaches or pains in the head	0	1	2	3	4
Been bothered by cold sweats	0	1	2	3	4
Felt nervous or stressed	0	1	2	3	4

Been bothered by feelings of sadness or depression	0	1	2	3	4
Felt difficulties were piling up so high that you could not overcome them	0	1	2	3	4
Felt very bad or worthless	0	1	2	3	4
Found that you could not cope with all of things you had to do	0	1	2	3	4
Had times when you couldn't help wondering if anything was worthwhile anymore	0	1	2	3	4
Felt completely hopeless about everything	0	1	2	3	4
Been afraid to leave your cell	0	1	2	3	4
Thought about taking your own life	0	1	2	3	4

Now I'd just like to finish up with a few background questions.

Are your parents alive?

When you were growing up, about how often, if ever, would you say your father used physical punishment? (spanking, slapping)

Your mother?

When you were growing up, about how often, if ever, did your mother and father get into physical fights?

Did they every hit each other?

What does your father do for a living?

What does your mother do for a living?

Where were they born?

Where do they live now?

Do you have any brothers and sisters?

No. of brothers?

No. of sisters?

What do they do now?

Were you working before you were sent here?

If not have you every worked for pay?

Specifically what did you do on your job?

Are you married?

_____married

_____divorced

_____single

_____widowed

What does your wife do?

Do you have any children?

No. and ages?

Before you were sent here, about how much money did you make in one year? (if living with family - family income)

What is the highest grade of school or college you have finished?

Did you ever have any desire to go further?

If so, what prevented you?

Would you call yourself a religious person?

What type of religion would you classify yourself as?

How often do you attend religious services?

Were you religious when you were growing up?

Were you ever in any of the armed services?

If yes, did you every have combat duty?

During a war?

How do you feel about this experience?

What is the one thing that you would like people to know about you?

I thank you very much for your time and help. Than concludes the interview.