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A MIXED-METHOD EXAMINATION OF HOMICIDES TARGETING LGBT INDIVIDUALS IN THE UNITED STATES

A MIXED-METHOD EXAMINATION OF HOMICIDES TARGETING LGBT INDIVIDUALS IN THE UNITED STATES

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of
Master of Arts in Sociology

By

Kristin Kaye Kelley
University of Arkansas
Bachelor of Arts in Sociology and Criminal Justice, 2011

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ABSTRACT

The purpose of the current study is to understand the dynamic processes of fatal attacks against lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender (LGBT) individuals across different situational circumstances. Recent scholarship has begun to identify the heterogeneous nature of anti-LGBT homicides, including possible differences in how victims are targeted by offenders. However, several limitations of prior research have stunted the systematic examination of these circumstances. Few studies, for instance, have disaggregated by crime type and bias type, thus masking unique patterns and causal processes associated with varying types of anti-LGBT homicide events. Others have relied on official data sources whose validity and reliability remain questionable. The current research overcomes these limitations by utilizing data collected from an open-source database known as the Extremist Homicide Project (EHP) on a population of *anti-LGBT homicides* from 1990 to 2010. A preliminary review of anecdotal evidence, studies of anti-LGBT violence, and a close reading of select homicide case open-source materials leads to the creation of a five-part typology of anti-LGBT homicides based on offender mode of victim selection. This study utilizes a mixed-method design, beginning with multivariate and bivariate analyses to identify similarities and differences across anti-LGBT homicide categories and subcategories. Quantitative findings are used to identify five anti-LGBT homicides for supplemental case studies, which represent each homicide subcategory. Guided by symbolic interactionism and theories of masculinity, the purpose of each case study is to examine how key distinguishing characteristics operate together before, during, and after violent transactions within particular social contexts to affect lethal outcomes. The second purpose of the case studies is to examine the applicability of theories of masculinity and violence for explaining anti-LGBT homicides across different modes of victim selection.

This thesis is approved for recommendation
to the Graduate Council.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES AND FIGURES

I. INTRODUCTION

There has been increasing attention to the issue of bias-motivated violence (hereafter referred to as "bias violence") against lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender (LGBT) victims. In a 2011 report by the United Nations Human Rights Council, for example, it was suggested that implementing anti-discrimination laws for LGBT individuals should become a global priority (Austin, 2012). In the United States, the Matthew Shepard and James Byrd, Jr. Hate Crimes Prevention Act (2009) was passed, which added victims selected for their sexual orientation or gender identity to federally-protected bias crime victim groups (Weiner, 2011). While anti-LGBT violence has only recently gained prominence as a public policy issue, scholars have attempted to shed light on discriminatory violence against the LGBT community for over two decades (Herek, 1990; Herek & Berrill, 1992; Herek, Gillis, Cogan, & Glunt, 1997). Those studying anti-LGBT violence have generally treated these crimes as if they were situationally homogenous. Some more recent studies, though, have found that anti-LGBT bias crimes can occur across diverse situational circumstances. Specifically, research has shown that some fatal attacks stem from confrontations that are initiated by challenges to the offender's honor, while other attacks may be unprovoked by the victim (Fisher & Salfati, 2009; Tomsen, 2009). To advance knowledge about this form of bias violence, it is necessary to gain a clearer understanding of how anti-LGBT homicide occurs in varying situational contexts. To date, prior studies have been unable to empirically examine the questions raised by recent research, largely due to limitations of official crime data on bias crimes. Methodological obstacles are also partially responsible for the lack of theoretical development on this topic.

Addressing these shortcomings, ***the purpose of this study is to understand how and why anti-LGBT fatal events occur across different situational circumstances***. Utilizing an

innovative open-source database known as the Extremist Homicide Project (EHP), and a mixed-method design consisting of quantitative comparisons and in-depth case studies, this study seeks to comparatively examine the dynamic processes involved in anti-LGBT homicide victim selection and fatal transactions. Based on a criminal event perspective (CEP) (Sacco & Kennedy, 2002) and a symbolic interactionist approach to understanding homicide (Athens, 1980; Luckenbill, 1977), the research is guided by the following question: ***What are the similarities and differences in anti-LGBT homicide incidents, suspects, and victims across different situational circumstances and the dynamic processes by which these fatal attacks occur?***

The Research Problem

Past empirical research on anti-LGBT bias crimes has been limited in numerous ways. To begin with, research in this area has been hindered by a lack of official data on discriminatory forms of lethal violence. Additionally, the failure of studies to disaggregate by types of crime and types of bias has limited what we know about particular causes and patterns of certain homicide types (see Flewelling & Williams, 1999), including bias homicide. Another problem is that studies that have attempted to categorize bias crimes (i.e., Levin & McDevitt, 1993; McDevitt, Levin & Bennett, 2002) have relied primarily on offender motive to differentiate between different types of bias violence, despite the challenges of deciphering offenders' thoughts during the commission of bias crimes. Finally, few studies have attempted to systematically apply theories to explain how and why anti-LGBT violence occurs. The few studies that have empirically examined this topic have typically relied on limited official data sources (e.g., limited geographical scope, reporting discrepancies) and unofficial data sources, like advocacy group reports, that have issues of their own (e.g., unclear or unsystematic inclusion criteria).

In the past, some criminologists have applied interactionist or situation-based theories to understand multi-dimensional homicide events, which place the offender and the victim in a dynamic interchange that ultimately shapes the escalation of violence (Athens, 1980; Luckenbill, 1977). Also drawing from symbolic interactionism, other theorists have claimed that "heterosexist" social structures and gendered ideologies serve as catalysts for traditionally masculine and homophobic behaviors expressed through personal interactions (Herek, 1990; Messerschmidt, 2012; Tomsen, 2009). Scholars have also suggested that some criminal offenders rely on crime as a resource to "do gender," or to situationally construct a dominant masculine identity, when other avenues to achieving masculinity are blocked (Messerschmidt, 1993; 2012). Select scholars have hypothesized that some offenders "do gender" by targeting LGBT individuals, because the LGBT identity challenges masculine and heteronormative ideals (Bufkin, 1999; Perry, 2001, see also West & Zimmerman, 1987). Unfortunately, few studies have applied theory to empirical data of bias crimes (see Tomsen, 2009 for an exception) and theoretically-informed research has not adequately explored anti-LGBT violence in the United States. Considering that studies have not systematically examined what goes on before, during and after homicide situations by applying the theories outlined above, the current study makes an important contribution through its theoretical application of masculinity theories to anti-LGBT homicide events.

The Current Research

Drawing from previous empirical findings and theoretical applications, the current research conceptualizes anti-LGBT homicides as criminal events occurring in distinct situational circumstances. Anti-LGBT homicide is defined as a fatal act of criminal violence in which victims are targeted in whole or in part because of their actual or perceived sexual orientation or

gender identity. The current study consists of a multivariate analysis in order to identify significant predictors of two broad categories of anti-LGBT homicide: *predatory* homicide, or planned crimes occurring without victim provocation and *responsive* homicide, unplanned, confrontational crimes in which victims provoke offenders. This is followed by subgroup analyses of five unique situations of anti-LGBT homicide which are subcategories of predatory and responsive homicide categories. These subcategories are disaggregated from the predatory and responsive categories according to how offenders selected their victims. In other words, subgroup analyses are used to explore similarities and differences across mode of victim selection within responsive and predatory homicide categories. Using quantitative findings as a guide, characteristic cases from each of the five situational categories are purposively selected in order to place violent transactions within both a situational and macrosocial context, as well as to systematically apply and evaluate proposed theoretical explanations of anti-LGBT homicide. Utilizing this mixed-method design, the current study supplements quantitative comparisons with rich descriptions of a representative anti-LGBT homicide event from each subcategory.

The study unfolds in the following sections. First, the relevance of a study examining anti-LGBT violence is discussed. Second, a review of the relevant theoretical and empirical literature is provided. Third, the shortcomings of prior research are outlined and the contribution of the current study is revealed. Fourth, the data, the method, and the plan of analysis are discussed. Fifth, findings from the quantitative analyses and the in-depth case studies are reported, followed by a discussion of the findings. Finally, the paper concludes with a summary of the findings, a discussion of their implications, the study's limitations, and recommendations for future research.

Relevance of Topic

Considering that many issues related to gay rights are currently in the media spotlight and on the policy agenda, America appears to be in a state of transition in regard to its acceptance of homosexuality and alternative gender identities. This is evidenced in several ways. First of all, in a recent landmark move, President Barak Obama publicly shared his support for gay marriage (Calmes, 2012) and arguments on the Defense of Marriage Act and California's exclusionary Proposition 8 are being heard in the Supreme Court (McCarthy, 2013). Second, sexual orientation bias crimes have received international attention by the United Nations Human Rights Council (Austin, 2012) and national attention with the 2009 passing of the Matthew Shepard and James Byrd, Jr. Hate Crimes Prevention Act, which added individuals victimized for their sexual orientation or gender identity to federally protected bias crimes victim groups (Weiner, 2011). Third, Congress has recently debated over the inclusion of homosexual individuals as a protected group in the Violence Against Women Act (Jackson, 2012) and after a significant amount of time, the expanded version of the bill passed (Crabtree, 2013). This political exchange has highlighted the struggles that LGBT people face when seeking the same protections from violence typically provided to heterosexual citizens, while also showing the progressive nature of American viewpoints on homosexuality. As Americans continue to be conflicted in their support of gay rights and special legal protections for the LGBT community, it is important to advance knowledge on the extent and nature of anti-LGBT violence in order to inform public discourse and policy debates.

Moreover, misconceptions regarding the nature of bias violence persist, particularly against LGBT individuals. Some may believe, for instance, that bias crimes are not different in nature from other parallel crimes; however, research has shown that although anti-LGBT

homicides contain similarities with "typical" homicide events, there are also significant differences between them (Gruenewald, 2012). Additionally, scholars have found that there are meaningful differences between different types of bias crimes (i.e., racially motivated and sexual orientation motivated) (Stacey, 2011). Bias crimes are also often ill-understood by members of law enforcement who may lack the training necessary to identify these complex crimes. Police officers are often reluctant to identify a crime as bias due to their own biases or the potentially negative consequences for the department, which may stem from this identification. Thus, officers may hold bias crimes to a higher level of scrutiny (Cronin, McDevitt, Farrell, & Nolan, 2007, p.224). Ultimately, a bias crime is the result of police officers' evolving situational definition when bias crime policies are applied to any criminal event (Martin, 1995).

The National Coalition of Anti-Violence Programs (NCAVP) found that there has been a trend of increasing homicide against the LGBT community since 2007. The NCAVP observed decreases in anti-LGBT violence generally; however, in 2011, the NCAVP recorded 30 murders motivated by anti-LGBT bias, the highest homicide rate ever reported.[i] Although the increased numbers could be due to increased reporting, it is interesting to contrast the numbers to those reported to the Federal Bureau of Investigation's Uniform Crime Report (UCR). For 2011, the UCR reported just three murders motivated by the victim's sexual orientation, compared to the NCAVP's 30 murders. Comparing data sets shows the discrepancies that occur across different collecting agencies and reiterates the need for improved data sets.

Finally, while some scholars have questioned whether bias violence should be treated differently from routine violence (e.g. Jacobs & Potter, 1997), others have established that anti-LGBT violence has greater implications than parallel forms of conventional violence. Importantly, research has shown that bias crimes may be followed by acts of retaliation (Herek &

Berrill, 1992; Iganski, 2008; Levin & McDevitt; 2002). In this way, a bias crime may act as a catalyst for further violence. Anti-LGBT violence can also make communities in which the violence occur less safe due to increased levels of mistrust and hostility between groups (Herek & Berrill, 1992; Iganski, 2008; Martin, 1995). While all violence may adversely affect the localized communities in which they occur, anti-LGBT violence also has increased potential to have deleterious effects for the LGBT community. Victims of anti-LGBT violence face unique harms due to the psychological challenges and feelings of vulnerability caused by anti-LGBT crimes (Dunbar, 2006; Garnets, Herek, & Levy, 1990; Herek et al., 1997; Iganski, 2008; Rose & Mechanic, 2002), which can extend to the broader LGBT community through fear of discriminate forms of violence (Dunbar, 2006; Garnets, Herek, & Levy, 1990; Herek & Berrill, 1992; Herek, et al., 1997; Iganski, 2008; Lawrence, 1999; Rose & Mechanic, 2002).

II. REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

This chapter reviews the scholarly literature relevant to the current research. First, studies utilizing a symbolic interactionist theoretical orientation to understand and explain violence are discussed. Second, a review of theoretical and empirical research that has utilized symbolic interactionist masculinity theories to explain situations of routine forms of violence, bias violence, and anti-LGBT violence is provided. Lastly, this section reviews prior research on the necessity of crime typologies and, more specifically, research on the typification of homicide and bias crimes.

Symbolic Interactionism and Violence

Building on the work of George H. Mead, his student Herbert Blumer coined the term "symbolic interactionism" in 1937 "to describe an approach to sociology based on the social behaviorist philosophy of mind and action" (Dingwall, 2001, p.237). Eventually, "symbolic interactionism" became the name for the sociological approach which insists that one must understand how social actors define situations in face-to-face interactions in order to understand future social actions (Blumer, 1969). Situational definitions consist of socially constructed meanings that evolve throughout the course of action. In order to create a situational definition, social actors assess their situations by observing their environments and evaluating the behaviors of other social interactants. Erving Goffman (1959) further popularized symbolic interactionist theory by looking at social behavior from a dramaturgical perspective. He explained the process by which social actors imagine themselves in each other's "roles," in order to inform their own roles, while simultaneously considering the social context in which an interaction takes place. Goffman understood that social actors begin categorizing their fellow social interactants prior to any situated transaction. As any social context evolves, however, meanings that actors give to the

situation may transform. Thus, social roles are always "scripted" to some extent, but they are constantly negotiated throughout social transactions. Goffman (1959) also recognized that casting the roles of ourselves and others often establishes and maintains status hierarchies already set in the social order and that individuals are sanctioned if they do not enact their given roles. It is the symbolic interactionist perspective, largely drawing from Goffman's work, which informs the theoretical perspectives most relevant to this study. Below, symbolic interactionist theories of violence are discussed, followed by a description of how masculinity theories have been used to explain routine violence, bias violence, and anti-LGBT violence.

One of the most notable works on violence from an interactionist perspective is Jack Katz's (1988) *Seductions of Crime*. Katz recognized the merits of the symbolic interactionist perspective of violent crime for recognizing how emotions are determined by the way a criminal actor defines his or her situation; however, he felt that such a perspective did not appreciate the "ontological validity of passion" (1988, p.8). Drawing from three case studies of homicide and a phenomenological perspective, Katz (1988) developed a general theory about the "typical homicide." Katz's analytical approach and his conclusions regarding "typical" violence raise many issues when one considers the heterogeneous nature of homicide and the many forms that lethal violence may take. However, his emphasis on studying the "foreground" and "structural background" of crime by placing offenders into a broader context remains an invaluable approach to studying the sociology of criminal events.

Another interactionist, Lonnie Athens (1980) used participant observation techniques coupled with interviews of violent offenders to apply a symbolic interactionist theory to violent crime. He claimed that past positivist approaches to the study of crime ignored human interaction and the interpretive and situated nature of criminal events. Athens found that actors form violent

interpretations of situations prior to committing violent acts, but these violent interpretations do not inevitably or even typically lead to the completion of a violent act. Rather, the progression of a violent interaction is shaped by a person's evolving self and situational definitions throughout interpersonal interaction.

Guided by Goffman's (1963) notion of "situated transactions," David F. Luckenbill (1977) used official police and court documents to reconstruct homicide cases in order to explain the dynamic interchange that occurs between offenders and victims during fatal events. Relying on Goffman's (1959) notion of a "character contest," Luckenbill found offenders and victims are positioned within a dynamic context of mutual interchanges that often involve insults and attempts at saving "face." "Face" is the self-presentation a social actor wishes to achieve in a particular situational context. Depending on the context of the situated transaction, certain resources are available to offenders and victims, including the presence of bystanders and weapons, which can influence the social actors' perceptions and definitions of situations. As the social interaction evolves, the presence or absence of certain resources may lead to the escalation or resolution of violence. Prior studies, such as Luckenbill (1977) and Athens (1980), seek to show that violent crime is not solely caused by factors that may be present prior to a criminal event, such as offender pathology; rather, it is the social interaction and the meanings that offenders and victims derive from their opposing roles and statuses that ultimately shape the escalation of violence.

Masculinity and Situations of Violence

Masculinity and Violence

Also relying heavily on the work of Erving Goffman, as well as West and Zimmerman's (1987) doing gender theory, James W. Messerschmidt has offered a situational approach that

incorporates gender and sexuality within the study of violence. West and Zimmerman (1987) argued that gender is not an essential characteristic; rather, gender is a construction that emerges during social interaction. Thus, gender is not natural and it must be accomplished. Using a life history method to study violent and non-violent youth, Messerschmidt (1993; 2012) proposed a structured action theory, positing that regular and patterned behaviors, or structures, inform individuals' interactions. It is through social interaction that these structures are embodied, which leads individuals to participate in reflexive, or internal, conversation so that they may assess their options for future action. Individuals' chosen courses of action are dependent upon the resources that individuals perceive are available to them. Messerschmidt claimed that his theory "…emphasizes that it is through reflexive internal deliberations about the constraints and enabling aspects of social structures that people ultimately develop characteristic strategies for handling situations in which gender and sexual relations are present" (2012, p.34).

Incongruences between categorized sex and gendered behavior or sexual practices result in cognitive dissonances among the interactants, referred to as gender and sexuality "challenges." Once gender or sexuality is challenged, a person may be motivated to participate in "social action toward specific situationally embodied practices that attempt to correct the subordinating social situation and various forms of crime and violence can be the result" (2012, p.45). In contexts where gender and sexuality are more salient, men may attempt to accomplish a hegemonic or dominant masculinity and a person may perceive that criminal activity is the only resource available to establish or reaffirm masculinity (Messerschmidt, 1993; 2012).

From his empirical research, Messerschmidt found that adolescent offenders, who are subordinated in interactions with their peers, respond to these challenges by using available resources to construct a masculine identity. For some, "doing gender" and "doing sexuality" via

sex offending was perceived as the only way to be accountably masculine, whereas other youth relied on assaultive violence to construct a dominant gender identity (Messerschmidt, 2000; 2012). Offenders' constructions and accomplishments of masculinity varied across different social situations, depending on the space, time, and the specific contexts in which crimes occurred. Messerschmidt claimed that offenders, "…applied the dominant contextual ideals of masculinity to the situations that faced them" (2000, p. 304). His findings effectively demonstrated that the construction of gender and sexuality are relevant to certain criminal events.

While Messerschmidt conceptualized the relationship between gendered and sexualized social structures and individual agency, Gregory M. Herek (1990) has detailed how specific heterosexist structures are institutionalized in the United States within the criminal justice system, religious organizations, and other social institutions. Herek offered examples, such as some churchs' commitment to heterosexual marriage and the criminal justice system's lack of protective laws for LGBT individuals. In this way, anti-gay attitudes have been institutionalized, which creates "heterosexism," or an "an ideological system that denies, denigrates, and stigmatizes any nonhetereoseuxal form of behavior, identity, relationship, or community" (Herek, 1990, p.317). A heterosexist ideology is constantly evolving and may be maintained or transformed through social interaction. His research has demonstrated how heterosexism is established in macro and micro structures, serving as the "backdrop" for the violence perpetrated against LGBT individuals (1990, p.317).

Also looking at violent crime from a masculinity perspective, Polk (1994) relied on official homicide files to conduct case studies of homicide in order to capture the dynamic interactions between victims and offenders within particular social contexts. Polk recognized the merit of past studies that have reconceptualized homicide as a two-sided event between the

offender and the victim, but he believed that explanations of the victim-offender relationship had been oversimplified and were unable to explain why homicide occurs. Polk's findings showed that homicide was a masculine activity, whereby perpetrators, who were typically male, used homicide as a criminal resource to establish a dominant masculine identity in relation to women, but also to other men. Moreover, it was lower-class men who had the fewest resources to establish masculinity in a traditional manner, due to their lack of economic and social resources, who overwhelmingly participated in homicide.

Bias Violence

The literature reviewed thus far has been primarily focused on routine forms of violence, and homicide in particular. The following sections, in contrast, focus specifically on violence that discriminately targets social minority groups (e.g., sexual orientation minorities). Like Polk (1994) and Messerschmidt (1993; 2000; 2012), Barbary Perry (2001) recognized that crime provides a way for men, particularly lower class men, to establish masculinity. In order to make sense of the patterns found in bias violence, Perry drew from Candace West and Sarah Fenstermaker's (1995) conceptualization of "doing difference" (an extension of doing gender theory), as well as Messerschmidt's structured action theory. Perry showed how bias crime offenders draw from structures, or patterned actions, found in cultural discourses and institutions, to understand how they should "do difference" (e.g., race, class, gender, sexuality) appropriately. However, doing difference is not just a form of human action that is structured, it is also structuring. Therefore, the actions of individuals can maintain or change the very social structures that inform individuals how they should act, while also affecting the current hierarchy of human relations that places persons in dominant or inferior groups based on their identity statuses (e.g. race, sex, gender, age, etc.). Perry (2001) recognized that action takes place within

a larger social context consisting of dominate and subordinate relationships between different races, genders, and sexual orientations. Bias violence is one way that the dominant and subordinate structured relations are reinforced in society.

Individuals who engage in racial, sexual, or gendered actions that are misaligned with socially approved behaviors are often sanctioned for their behavior; however, these social identity markers may be more or less salient in any given social situation. Perry explains how bias crime is one method of policing behavior and for holding others accountable to heterosexist social scripts. In this way, individuals are encouraged to vilify homosexuality and are held "accountable" to others if they choose not to do so (see West & Zimmerman, 1987). Although she discusses many forms of bias violence, Perry specifically discusses how gay men provide a particularly good resource for establishing masculine dominance, which can lead to homosexual individuals being targeted for crime.

Also claiming that past bias crimes research has ignored the socially constructed nature of race and gender, Jana Bufkin (1999) also applied West and Zimmerman's (1987) doing gender theory, Messerschmidt's (1993) structured action theory, and Raewyn Connell's (1987) conceptualization of hegemonic masculinity to the study of bias crimes. Bufkin hypothesized that an "effort to accomplish or 'do' hegemonic masculinity remains at the heart of bias offending. The hypothesis stems in part from the fact that the victims of bias crimes are antithetical to the hegemonic ideal" (1999, p.157). In her theoretical exposition, she contended that hegemonic forms of masculinity have racial and sexual undertones that are derived from cultural and institutional ideology and that perpetrating bias crimes is one way to maintain these existing structures.

Anti-LGBT Violence

Much of the research described so far has been related to the general victimization experience. The current section focuses specifically on reviewing prior studies of violent bias crimes targeting the LGBT community. Herek (2009), for instance, used a national probability sample of lesbian, gay, and bisexual adults to show the prevalence of antigay victimization in the United States. He found that approximately one-fifth of those surveyed had experienced a personal or property crime based on their sexual orientation in their adult life. Findings also showed that it was gay men who were at the greatest risk for criminal victimization and harassment due to their sexual orientation. Additionally, over half of those surveyed claimed to have felt they were stigmatized due to their sexual orientation. Other findings showed that those who have experienced a physical assault because of their sexual identity were more likely to experience psychological harm (Herek, 1997). While Herek's research provides valuable insight into the victimization experience, his use of victim surveys cannot capture the multifaceted nature of anti-LGBT homicide events.

While others have explored forms of masculine homicide, to date, the only empirical research to specifically focus on anti-LGBT homicide events has been that of Stephen Tomsen (2001; 2002; 2006; 2009). Recognizing the merits of symbolic interactionist studies of sexuality, Tomsen (2009) examined anti-homosexual homicides in New South Wales. As other researchers and theorists, Tomsen was guided by Connell's concept of hegemonic masculinity, but Tomsen's research remains unique in that he applied theory to his empirical data. Moreover, Tomsen used an analysis of situational factors of homicide, along with victim and offender characteristics, to specifically apply masculinity theories to anti-LGBT homicides, making his work especially relevant to the current study.

Tomsen's analysis went beyond that of prior research, in that he recognized the heterogeneous nature of anti-LGBT fatal attacks. His findings revealed that two general scenarios of anti-homosexual lethal violence emerged from the data. The first scenario consisted of attacks between people, usually men, that occurred in a public space and were often "marked by a tone of outrage" (Tomsen, 2009, p.66), whereas the second violent scenario was more confrontational in nature and typically occurred in private. Additionally, Tomsen recognized that robbery often had an "incidental relation" to bias attacks, but occasionally robbery was the principal motive of an anti-homosexual killing (2009, p. 67). Importantly, Tomsen found that each of these violent situations was marked by the offender's attempt to reproduce his own masculine identity, in addition to policing the perceived subordinate masculine identities of other men. Tomsen (2009) found, as did Perry (2001) and Bufkin (1999), that cultural norms and social structures support and justify anti-LGBT violence because they operate within gendered and sexualized regimes that constitute complex hierarchies of power.

Typologies and Homicide Disaggregation

Up to this point, the review of the literature has focused on theoretical and empirical research as it has related to masculinity and violence and, in particular, bias violence. As one of the primary purposes of this study is to also create and test a typology of anti-LGBT homicide, a brief review of crime typology studies is also warranted. First, the advantages of classifying crime by types, especially homicide, are discussed. Second, studies addressing bias crimes typologies are reviewed.

Homicide events are heterogeneous in nature, with substantive differences occurring across homicide modalities, although "some are more alike than others" (Flewelling & Williams, 1999, p. 96). One way to simplify complex crimes, such as homicide, and to better understand

the nature of bias violence is to develop a typological schema. A typology can provide clarification on the social nature of crime (Miethe, McCorkle, & Listwan, 2006). A typology of homicide can also identify patterns and causes shared across categories and draw attention to the most distinct differences between them; however, there is no agreed-upon way to disaggregate fatal events (Flewelling & Williams, 1999). Much research has attempted to disaggregate homicide events by offender motives (Decker, 1993; Pizarro, 2008; Riedel, 1987). For example, scholars have comparatively examined several motive types, such as "instrumental" and "expressive" forms of homicide (Decker, 1993; 1996; Miethe & Drass, 1999). Dabney (2004, p.6) suggested that typology scholars are best served to conceptualize crimes as "criminal events," in order to place them into meaningful categories. To increase the intelligibility of a crime typology and to make it useful, the typology must organize subject matter into a clearly delineated set of conceptual categories, in addition to providing the descriptive criteria and logic behind crime classification decisions (Dabney, 2004, p.4).

Bias Crimes Typologies

Levin and McDevitt (1993) and McDevitt, Levin, and Bennett (2002) have proposed the only bias crimes typology to date, in which they have attempted to differentiate and classify bias crimes based on offender motives. Levin and McDevitt (1993) offered an offender-based typology after interviewing police officials from the Community Disorders Unit of the Boston Police Department, which has been cited as a national model for bias crimes investigations. They also interviewed bias crimes victims and offenders. The original typology was comprised of three categories, including thrill, defensive, and mission motivated bias crimes.

The first type of offender included those who committed crime primarily for a thrill. These offenders attempted to assert dominance and experience excitement by harming victims.

Second, Levin and McDevitt (1993) suggested that defensive bias crimes were committed in an effort to prevent a certain group from encroaching on the offenders' territory. Defensive offenders were threatened by members of the targeted group, although victims had not necessarily committed any offense against the perpetrators. Third, they found that mission crime offenders were those attempting to banish the world of evil by killing members of a certain group they felt was inferior to their own. Years later, McDevitt, Levin, and Bennett (2002) reanalyzed the case files from the Boston Police Department that were used to create the original typology and created a fourth category, known as retaliatory bias crimes. Retaliatory bias crimes offenders acted in response to a real or perceived bias attack perpetrated by another group. Their research concluded that thrill crimes remained the most common type of bias crimes, followed by defensive, retaliatory, and mission crimes. This typology remains the authoritative conceptual schema for categorizing bias crimes and has been used across the nation in police training manuals to train officers and investigators. Though currently the dominant framework, the next section addresses how this four-pronged conceptual scheme may be limited in its ability to meaningfully delineate between different types of anti-LGBT homicide. Several other limitations of prior research are also discussed.

III. LIMITATIONS OF PRIOR RESEARCH

The following chapter discusses several shortcomings of prior research. First, previous studies of bias crimes have relied heavily on police data. Prior studies have found that official data sources often do not identify all bias crimes and contain discrepancies across states (Nolan & Akiyama, 1999; Perry, 2001), in addition to discrepancies across specific agencies (Boyd, Berk, & Hamner, 1996; Cronin et al., 2007; Haider-Markel, 2002; McDevitt et al., 2000; Nolan & Akiyama, 1999; Walker & Katz, 1995). Within departments, it is likely that bias crimes are not always labeled as bias-motivated, because if other motives[ii] are present, crimes have been found to be more easily identified as routine violence, trumping bias elements of a particular crime. Second, the data used by McDevitt et al. (2002) to conceive the typology was geographically limited. These first two limitations may affect the representativeness of findings from prior bias crimes research.

Third, previous research has also failed to disaggregate bias violence by crime or bias type. Assuming homogeneity across crime types (e.g., homicide, robbery, and assault) may lead researchers to miss important distinctions across types of lethal and non-lethal violence. Assuming homogeneity across bias types (e.g., anti-sexual orientation, gender identity, race, and religion) also fails to recognize unique patterns of violence occurring across different offender biases or victim selection processes. A fourth shortcoming of the McDevitt et al. (2002) typology is that it relied on the determination of offender motive in order to place bias crimes into distinct categories. While other studies have also attempted to determine offender motive (e.g., Block & Block, 1992; Decker, 1993; Miethe & Drass, 1999; Riedel, 1987), research has shown that identifying motive is problematic (see Boyd et al., 1996; Haider-Markel, 2002; Nolan & Akiyama, 1999). Fifth, the work of McDevitt et al. (2002) also failed to utilize quantitative

comparisons to systematically identify similarities and differences across situational circumstances or to incorporate theory into their discussion of differences, thus limiting the typology's explanatory power.

Other researchers have critiqued the bias crimes typology proposed by McDevitt et al. (2002) (e.g., Fisher & Salfati, 2009; Phillips, 2009). In addition to the aforementioned limitations, those who have empirically tested this bias crimes typology have found that it has severe limitations; however, both studies failed to suggest improvements to the typology or to propose a new typological schema. Phillips (2009) exposed the limitations of McDevitt, Levin, and Bennett's work by examining criminal cases prosecuted as bias crimes from one New Jersey County. Applying the typology to other crimes, she found that more than one-third of the cases analyzed fell outside of the four designated motivational categories. While it was clear that crimes involved motives of bias, for instance, due to verbal comments made by the offender to the victim, it was often not possible to determine if offenders' motives fell into thrill, defensive, mission, or retaliatory categories. Bias crimes deemed unclassifiable by Phillips (2009) were often cases in which bias was not the only motivating factor, thus demonstrating the typology was incapable of classifying cases in which bias motives are combined with other routine motives. Also problematic, Phillips (2009) found that the categories were not mutually exclusive. Offenders committing crimes under very different circumstances could be classified similarly, thus glossing over potentially important offender differences. Importantly, Phillips found that only the most obvious bias cases could be easily categorized into one of the four categories.

Fisher and Salfati (2009) also found several limitations of the McDevitt et al. (2002) bias crimes typology. Using Smallest Space Analysis (SSA), Fisher and Salfati (2009) empirically tested the typology to see if particular crimes could be separated into meaningful categories

based on crime scene characteristics of 91 bias-motivated homicides reported to the FBI's Uniform Crime Report. Using crime scene variables, as well as variables that were previously found to be associated with behaviors similar to those described by McDevitt et al. (2002) to conduct their analysis, they found that the SSA results failed to differentiate between the four categories of bias crime. Overall, there was an "exceptional amount of variable sharing" between the different categories (2009, p.126). Like Phillips (2009), Fisher and Salfati (2009) concluded that the typology proposed by McDevitt et al. (2002) was inadequate because its categories were not mutually exclusive. The only clear division found by the researchers was between thrill- and retaliatory-related variables, demonstrating how bias homicides may be divided into categories of those committed to obtaining power and those committed to restoring honor. Despite its limitations, Fisher and Salfati (2009) believed it important to empirically test the categorization scheme as it continued to represent the standardly used bias crimes typology in the United States.

As violent bias crimes appear to be "intensifying and diversifying," it is important to create typologies and categorize crime to assist law enforcement and policy makers in performing their jobs more efficiently (Fisher & Salfati, 2009, p.106). While incidents of bias crime have decreased, they have increased in intensity (Fisher & Salfati, 2009; National Coalition of Anti-Violence Programs, 2011). Considering that a majority of the research on anti-LGBT violence has focused on the experiences of victims and disaggregation approaches that rely on offender motives remain problematic, there is a need for further research concerning other elements of LGBT homicide.

IV. CONTRIBUTION OF THE CURRENT STUDY

This study improves upon the McDevitt et al. (2002) typology and fills many of the gaps left by prior research. First, the current study utilizes an open-source database, known as the Extremist Homicide Project (EHP), which includes information on all-known anti-LGBT homicides in the United States between the years 1990 and 2010. Using an open-source database allows the current study to overcome the recording discrepancies that characterize official police data, which were previously outlined. Additionally, utilizing a nationally representative sample, based on concrete inclusion criteria, extends the geographic scope of the current research. Second, rather than include multiple types of crime, the current study disaggregates by crime type in order to capture the distinct nature of anti-LGBT *homicide.* This study also disaggregates by bias type in order to capture the unique qualities of homicide characterized by discriminatory selection of *lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender* victims. Recent research has shown that it is necessary to disaggregate by bias type, because significant differences exist between victim, offender, and offense characteristics (Stacey, 2011). While a general bias crimes typology provided insight into the nature of bias violence, it is essential to examine whether a different typology emerges once specific violence types, such as anti-LGBT homicide, are studied.

Third, rather than attempting to measure the extent of the offenders' bigotry or thoughts during the commission of a homicide, the current study measures and discerns anti-LGBT homicides by offenders' discriminative modes of victim selection. Lawrence's (1999) "discriminatory selection model" guides the current study. This model posited that it is not necessary to determine *why* a particular person was selected to be a homicide victim; instead, it may be more important to determine that a victim was targeted because he or she was perceived to belong to a protected victim group. This conceptualization is supported by Miethe, McCorkle,

and Listwan (2006, p.7) who argued that victim selection is a major dimension of the criminal event. Additionally, *offender selection*, as opposed to motive, is more easily measured by observable victim, offender, and crime scene characteristics, which makes offender selection a more accurate way to capture the various situational circumstances of anti-LGBT homicide. The current study uses a concrete set of bias indicators (presented in Table 1) that are used to identify homicides as anti-LGBT and to place anti-LGBT homicides into meaningful categories. While in many instances it may be the case that bias indicators are merely an indirect way to capture offenders' motives, these indicators represent observable crime scene characteristics and do not require psychiatric probing into the offenders' minds. This allows the study to circumvent the problems of prior research that attempted to penetrate the mind of offenders' to determine what offenders were thinking prior to the homicide.

One of the major critiques of the McDevitt et al. (2002) typology was its inability to place homicides into one category exclusively. In order to create a mutually exclusive typology, the current research concentrated on the *primary* victim selection criteria offenders used to target LGBT victims. Thus, the proposed typology recognizes dual-purpose homicides, such as those involving robbery, and homicides in which victims play a role in the provocation. To sort homicides, the primary victim selection criteria used by the offender(s) is identified and used to distinguish homicides from one another. It is essential to recognize that offenders may have multiple selection criteria when targeting victims because offender selection of victims is a *process.* Multiple selection criteria do not mean the bias elements are to be ignored, as it is the combination of factors that result in the ultimate commission of any crime.

The proposed typology offers an alternative to that offered by McDevitt et al. (2002) for one specific type of bias-motivated violent crime. Studies have shown the utility of bias crimes

typologies in simplifying complex events, such as homicide, but there is no agreed-upon way to disaggregate fatal events. Often, the categorization scheme is determined by the research purpose (Flewelling & Williams, 1999). Therefore, it is necessary for research to build upon prior literature and explore multiple ways to categorize crimes to discover which approaches are most useful and reliable, lending themselves to future empirical tests. Finally, in addition to suggesting a new typological scheme, this study employs a mixed-method design, including quantitative comparisons to systematically measure differences across categories and subcategories, as well as in-depth case studies to test the explanative capability of the masculinity theories reviewed earlier. The following question guides this study: ***What are the similarities and differences in anti-LGBT homicide incidents, suspects, and victims across different situational circumstances and the dynamic processes by which these fatal attacks occur?***

V. RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHOD

This chapter describes the research design that the current study uses. First, the criminal event perspective (Sacco & Kennedy, 2002), which guides data collection, variable measurement, and data analysis is discussed. Second, a detailed description of the open-source data that is used for the research is provided. Third, the offender-, victim-, and incident-level variables that are measured in the study are described. Fourth and finally, the three stage data analysis approach is discussed.

Criminal Event Perspective (CEP)

Vincent Sacco and Leslie Kennedy (2002) developed a framework for studying criminal events, known as the criminal event perspective (CEP) that consists of three parts: 1) the *precursor* or the contextual and situational level factors that bring people together in a certain time and space, 2) the *transaction* or the dynamic social interactions between offenders, victims, and other crime participants that contribute to the evolution of the criminal event, and 3) the *aftermath* or the actions that occur after the completion of a crime, such as offender flee or capture. Rather than privileging the victim, the offender, or the place in which a crime occurs, this perspective places offenders, victims, and other criminal participants (i.e., bystanders) into a situational context, resulting in a more comprehensive analysis of any crime. Therefore, the CEP allows researchers to capture differences across criminal events that appear indistinguishable due to similar offender actions; on these occasions it is likely that any different event outcomes result from the incident-level or victim-level variables. The CEP guides the data collection, variable measurement, and analyses of this study. This approach emphasizes the multi-dimensional nature of anti-LGBT homicide events and the dynamic processes that lead to fatal outcomes. The next

section details the data that are used for the study, followed by a description of the offender-, victim-, and incident-level variables that are measured.

Data

The population of anti-LGBT homicides that occurred in the United States between the years 1990 and 2010 is extracted from the Extremist Homicide Project (EHP) and included in the open-source database that the current study utilizes. This section discusses how homicide cases are identified in the EHP and how data are collected.

In order to identify homicides, sources such as crime chronologies located in existing advocacy group reports (e.g., Human Rights Campaign), the National Gay and Lesbian Task Force, the Southern Poverty Law Center, the National Center for Anti-Violence Programs, and the *LexisNexis* search engine are systematically searched. Keywords used to search print news media of anti-LGBT homicides included "homosexual," "lesbian," "bi-sexual," "transgender," and "homicide." It is possible some cases remain unidentified, especially if they were never labeled as bias crimes by authorities or the media; however, since these crimes, and homicides generally, are relatively unusual, they are more likely to be successfully identified in open sources. The amount of materials identified and collected for each homicide case depends on several factors, including if the case went to trial or if the offender plea bargained.

After collecting basic information for each homicide case from open-sources, additional documents are collected with an open-search protocol. First, reports and chronologies produced by extremist group watchdog organizations, advocacy groups, and other non-profit organizations that are relevant are collected. Next, specific details of the homicide, such as victim names and the crime location are used as keywords to search major newspapers. Third, the same keywords are used to search major search engines (e.g., *Google*, *Yahoo*, etc.), as well as secondary search

engines (e.g., *GoogleScholar*, *Dogpile*, *Scirus*, etc.). Finally, some cases necessitate data collection from *Newslibrary*, which is a subscription based newspaper index of regional and local newspapers in the United States. See the Appendix for an exhaustive list of each open-source used to collect data for this study.

Once open-source documents are collected, concrete inclusion criteria are used to determine whether homicide cases are to be included in the EHP database. Considering that anti-LGBT homicides are not always identified, homicide cases did not have to be officially charged or prosecuted as bias or "hate" crimes to be included in the database. Following Lawrence's (1999) "discriminatory selection model," the current study does not rely on determining offenders' motive or "hatred" for victims. Instead, it is only relevant that offenders selected a victim on the basis of sexual orientation or gender identity, and not on *why* the offenders selected the victim. To be classified as bias events and included in the current study, homicides are required to exhibit at least one primary indicator of discriminatory selection of victims. The indicators consist of observable incident- and suspect-based behaviors that capture how victims were targeted by the offenders. In some cases these indicators admittedly operate as visible indicators of motive. Nevertheless, the bias indicators arguably improve upon past conceptualizations of motive. Concrete bias indicators capture observable characteristics, allowing the current study to extend research that relied on previous conceptualizations of motive. In other words, the current study captures anti-LGBT homicides even when offender motive, or what was in the offenders' minds during the homicide, remains elusive. Basing inclusion on mode of victim selection results in a more representative sample of anti-LGBT homicides.

The sexual orientation bias indicators are derived from police officer training materials that address how to identify and investigate bias crimes. In some instances, these indicators are modified for the current study. These primary indicators indicate how offenders selected victims based on their perceived sexual orientation or gender identity. It is not required for a victim to be homosexual for the homicide to be included in the database; instead, it is only relevant that the offender perceived the victim to be a member of the LGBT community. In addition to primary indicators, some secondary bias indicators are identified to supplement findings and gain additional support for the bias event classification. The collection of primary and secondary indicators gives the researcher abundant evidence that a homicide event is indeed a discriminatory form of anti-LGBT violence. The majority of the homicides have multiple indicators of sexual orientation bias. A complete list of primary and secondary indicators of sexual orientation bias is included in Table 1.

If there are no clear indicators of bias, homicide events are excluded from the database. The EHP originally identified 131 anti-LGBT homicides; however, this number is limited to 121 cases for analyses. While most open-source documents provide a clear account of the offender's mode of victim selection and the subsequent progression of the crime, those cases for which clear accounts cannot be ascertained (e.g., offender unknown, primary mode of victim selection ambiguous) are removed from analysis. If the open-source documents for a single case presented conflicting accounts of the initiation and progression of the homicide, the researcher relies upon the most trustworthy sources (i.e., court documents, police records) todetermine whether a case should be included or excluded. The following section details the specific offender- and victim-level variables that are measured in this study.

Table 1. Indicators of Sexual Orientation and Gender Identity Bias	
PRIMARY INDICATORS	
Verbal harassment and taunts made by the homicide perpetrator(s) prior, during, and following the homicide	Bigoted innuendo, slurs, or slang, such as "faggot" or "queer."
Symbolic manipulation of victim body by offender	Most often the manipulation includes post-mortem posing of victim's body and mutilation of face and genitals.
Location of homicide	Examples include symbolic sites, such as gay bars and gay cruising areas.
Mode of victim identification or selection	Homicide victim was identified through a LGBT website or chat room and targeted because of his or her gender or sexual orientation.
Official hate crime charge	Homicide offender officially charged and/or prosecuted for sexual orientation "hate crime."
Offender admission	Offender admits that the homicide was motivated at least in part by animus toward LGBT victims.
Prior recent violence toward other LGBT victims by offender	Offender is charged and/or prosecuted for other violent crimes against LGBT victims (i.e., serial offenders).
SECONDARY INDICATORS	
Lack of known or ulterior motive	Available evidence shows that animus toward LGBT victim was the only motive.
Victim attire	Most often found in murders of transgender victims. Examples include males dressing as females and vice versa.
Overkill	Evidence that victim, in addition to fatal wounds, endured an excessive amount of nonfatal wounds.

Offender- and Victim-Level Variables

A number of offender- and victim-level variables are measured. Only one offender and victim for every homicide is taken into account. Selecting one offender and victim for each homicide event is common practice in homicide research. There should not be an influence on the variables of interest considering that only seven percent of the homicides included multiple victim deaths and there are no reasons to expect that other victims should vary significantly on the variables of interest. Therefore, this should not influence victim-level findings. This study also assumes that homicide offenders are representative of the "typical" anti-LGBT homicide offender, as most offenders tend to offend with others similar to themselves. While prior research suggests that multiple offender situations do have meaningful implications for anti-LGBT homicide, this role is related to the collective masculinity that is constructed through this violence (see Tomsen, 2009). Research does not suggest that offenders vary on demographic variables. Additionally, qualitative case studies reveal any multiple offender dynamics that are not captured through multivariate and bivariate analyses. Next, the demographic variables that are measured are race, age, and sex and they are binary-coded. Offender race and victim race *(White)* are measured as White (1) and non-White (0). Offender age and victim age *(juvenile)* are measured as under the age of 18 (1) and 18 years of age and over (0). The sex of the victim *(male)* is measured as male (1) and female (0). The offender's sex is not included in the following analyses because all anti-LGBT homicide offenders included in this study are male. Then, consumption of alcohol or drugs by the offender *(alcohol/drug use)* is measured, so that use directly prior to the homicide is identified as yes (1) or no (0).

Incident-Level Variables

Guided by a symbolic interactionist theoretical perspective, as well as Sacco and Kennedy's (2002) criminal event perspective, the current study measures a number of binary-coded incident-level variables in an effort to capture the multi-dimensional nature of anti-LGBT homicide. The inclusion of incident, or situational, variables allows the study to develop a comprehensive account of anti-LGBT homicide and to conduct comparative analyses of events which are categorized by offender mode of victim selection. First, location of the homicide event is measured. Specifically, if a homicide occurred in a private residence (*occurred in residence*) is measured as yes (1) or no (0). Second, drawing from prior research that found anti-LGBT homicides were more likely to involve weapons alternative to firearms when compared to routine homicides (Gruenewald, 2012), the use of alternative weapons (*non-firearm*) is measured as yes (1) or no (0) in order to compare weapon use across anti-LGBT homicide subcategories. Third, Gruenewald (2012) also found that anti-LGBT homicides were not significantly more likely to involve victims and offenders unknown to one another when compared to routine homicides. Thus, a victim-offender relationship variable (*stranger*) is included and measured as yes (1) or no (0), to determine whether victim-offender relationships differed. Finally, as prior research has indicated that criminals, victims, and bystanders play a part in the escalation or de-escalation of violence (Luckenbill, 1977) this study measures who is present at the homicide event with three variables. The presence of *multiple offenders* and *multiple victims* are measured (1 = yes, 0 = no), in addition to the presence of bystanders (*bystanders present*, 1 = yes, 0 = no). These measures allow the study to effectively distinguish between the anti-LGBT homicide categories and subcategories, which are determined by the offenders' mode of victim selection.

Three additional variables are included to obtain a more comprehensive account of offender behavioral patterns across varying victim selection modalities. First, in order to examine the role verbal insults have in the escalation of violence in anti-LGBT homicides, the use of anti-gay slurs or other *gender- and sexuality-based remarks* is measured as yes (1) or no (0). Second, if the homicide involved any sort of theft (*profit-related circumstances*) from the victim it was measured as yes (1) or no (0). Third, although the role of excessive violence above and beyond that which is required to kill victims, or "overkill," has been identified as a key component of anti-LGBT violence anecdotally, it has not been systematically examined in prior research. Therefore, this study measures the presence of *overkill* in anti-LGBT homicide events as yes (1) or no (0).

The criminal event perspective (Sacco & Kennedy, 2002) also shows that it is important to measure how offenders behave following homicides. An additional four variables are included in the analyses to capture offenders' behaviors in the aftermath of fatal anti-LGBT attacks. First, *manipulation of victims' bodies* by offenders is measured as yes (1) or no (0). Manipulation of victims may include sexualized or provocative posing post mortem, or the undressing or changing of victim attire. Second, o*ffender mutilation of victims' bodies* (yes = 1, no = 0) is also included to capture whether or not offenders utilized weaponry to symbolically violate victims' bodies after their death. Examples include severed body parts and symbols etched into the skin. Finally, this study measures whether offenders revealed (*offender revelation*) the homicide to family, friends, or others (yes = 1, no = 0) and whether offenders admitted that victims were targeted due to their sexual orientation or gender identity (*admission of motive*) (yes = 1, no = 0). See the second endnote for an explanation of how motive is used in the current study.

A Mixed-Method Study

The current study relies on the "explanatory design" of mixed-method research outlined by John W. Creswell and Vicki Plano Clark (2007). The explanatory design is used when a study relies on qualitative data to explain initial quantitative findings. The reason for integrating quantitative and qualitative data is twofold. First, quantitative data alone cannot sufficiently reveal the details of the dynamic processes that offenders use to select anti-LGBT homicide victims. Second, qualitative data provide rich descriptions and help explain why offenders select victims in diverse ways; however, case studies alone do not allow for an examination of trends and frequencies across anti-LGBT homicide categories and subcategories. The explanatory design is particularly useful when quantitative results are used for purposive sampling in the qualitative phase of research (Creswell & Plano Clark, 2007), which is an approach the current study utilizes. In this study, the in-depth case studies are used to explain why or why not certain homicide event variables, including offender actions and situational characteristics, are found in the quantitative results through a systematic application of masculinity theories.

Stage One: Multivariate Analysis

In addition to reviewing homicide cases in the open-source data, the current study relies on prior literature that found meaningful differences within anti-LGBT homicides (Tomsen, 2009) and other bias homicides (Fisher & Salfati, 2009) to develop the proposed typology of anti-LGBT homicide. The first stage of the current research is to conduct a multivariate analysis, using binary logistic regression to distinguish between the overarching categories of predatory and responsive homicide. *Predatory* homicides are those in which the victims play no role in provoking the offenders. Additionally, the offenders always plan the homicide, typically in the precursor phase of the criminal event. *Responsive* homicides are confrontational situations in

which the victim provokes the offender; the provocation could be inadvertent or intended. Responsive offenders are concerned with restoring their perceived lost honor after an affront by the victim and do not spend time planning their homicides.

The group of variables selected for multivariate analysis does not include each variable outlined in the sections labeled "Offender- and Victim-Level Variables" and "Incident-Level Variables." Considering that the purpose of the multivariate analysis is to test claims of prior research, only variables that prior research recognized as particularly important are measured to find if they can distinguish between the two forms of anti-LGBT homicide and significantly predict predatory or responsive homicides.

In the multivariate analysis, a number of variables Tomsen (2009) identified as meaningful are measured. Tomsen found that planned homicide events were more likely to be characterized by multiple offender situations and victims and offenders in stranger relationships, which would suggest that multiple offender and stranger homicides are proportionately more likely to be found in the predatory homicide category. Thus, the first variable to be measured is *multiple offenders* (1 = yes, 0 = no) and the second is *stranger* (1 = yes, 0 = no). Anti-LGBT homicides have also been found to have a greater prevalence of multiple offender situations compared to routine forms of homicide (Gruenewald, 2012) and theoretical findings show that the presence of multiple offenders may have implications for the achievement of collective masculinity (Bufkin, 1990). Third, considering that prior research shows that anti-LGBT homicides that were precipitated by a sexual advance, were more likely to occur in a private place (Tomsen, 2009), whether the homicide *occurred in residence* is measured (1 = yes, 0 = no). Fourth, evidence in prior literature also suggests that anti-LGBT homicides may contain instances of robbery, but that the profit-related circumstances may have a primary or secondary

relation to the offender's selection of a LGBT victim for violence. Therefore, the presence of a *profit-related circumstance* is measured (1 = yes, 0 = no) across predatory and responsive categories. Fifth, as prior research shows that firearms are less likely to be used in anti-LGBT homicides (Gruenewald, 2012), *non-firearm* is measured (1 = yes, 0 = no) to see if offenders are found to use firearms more frequently in a category of anti-LGBT homicide. Considering that responsive violence is unplanned, it makes sense that responsive homicides would be more likely to include alternative weapon types (e.g. knives). Sixth, it is plausible that confrontational homicides, which are characterized by victim provocation and often a mutual interchange of insults, would be more likely to contain instances of offenders using gender-based language or anti-homosexual epithets. Therefore, the use of *gender- and sexuality-based remarks* is measured (1 = yes, 0 = no) across predatory and responsive (confrontational) homicide categories.

Stage Two: Subgroup Analyses

According to Flewelling and Williams (1999), it is important to identify similarities across homicide subgroups, in addition to drawing attention to their differences. In order to capture the heterogeneity of anti-LGBT homicide events across *and within* predatory and responsive victim selection categories, predatory and responsive categories are further disaggregated into subcategories, also distinguished by mode of victim selection. Drawing from anecdotal evidence of high-profile cases, prior literature on anti-LGBT violence, and a select review of EHP cases, five distinct situations in which offenders discriminately select LGBT victims are deduced: *Predatory-Representative, Predatory-Instrumental, Responsive-Gay Bash, Responsive-Undesired Advance, and Responsive-Mistaken Identity.* By first disaggregating anti-LGBT fatal events into two umbrella categories and conducting a multivariate analysis, the current study recognizes significant commonalities across subcategories within the umbrella

categories. Meanwhile, supplementing the multivariate regression analysis with subgroup analyses allows for an examination of within-group variation.

Each category represents a distinct mode of victim selection used by offenders to target LGBT individuals for homicide and together these categories constitute the proposed anti-LGBT homicide typology. This second stage of this study consists of bivariate descriptive comparisons of anti-LGBT homicide incidents, suspects, and victims across four of the unique situational circumstances of the proposed typology. This stage reveals distinct differences across subcategories of anti-LGBT homicide. Homicides belonging to the mistaken identity category cannot be included due to the small number of cases (n = 5). In order to compare and contrast anti-LGBT homicides across victim selection categories, bivariate statistical comparisons (*Chi-square, Fisher's Exact Test*) are used. Each variable outlined in the section "Offender- and Victim-Level Variables" and "Incident-Level Variables" is measured in the subgroup analyses. Due to the small number of cases within victim selection categories, a multivariate analysis is not possible.

Stage Three: In-Depth Case Studies

Finally, using quantitative findings as a guide, cases from each of the five situational categories are purposively selected in order to place violent transactions within both a situational and macrosocial context, as well as to systematically apply and evaluate proposed theoretical explanations of anti-LGBT homicide. In-depth case study analysis is used to determine how and why anti-LGBT homicides occurred across different modes of victim selection. Data for the case studies also come from the EHP open-source database used for statistical analyses; however, supplementary items (e.g., books, documentaries, additional court documents) are also collected in order to better contextualize the findings from open-source data.

The five cases selected for in-depth analysis are purposively selected using quantitative findings as a guide. These cases contain a majority of the statistically significant characteristics that are found to distinguish cases from other scenarios of anti-LGBT homicide in the subgroup analyses. The explanatory capacity and quantity of open-source materials was also taken into account when selecting cases for qualitative analysis. Since the subgroup analyses cannot include cases from the mistaken identity subcategory of anti-LGBT homicide due to the small number of cases, the case selected to represent mistaken identity homicide is chosen for the relative strength of the open-source data materials. Case studies demonstrate the substantive relevance of the statistically significant variables identified in the subgroup analyses and they illustrate how offender selection processes occur within a situational context.

The first step of case study analysis utilizes the criminal event perspective (Sacco & Kennedy, 2002) to develop a comprehensive narrative of the criminal event that reveals the complex interactions taking place. The precursor phase identifies the characteristics and background of offenders and victims, the relationships between offenders and victims, and the situational and temporal circumstances that lead to the eventual meeting between the victim and offender. The transaction phase shows the first encounter between the offender and victim and the physical and verbal escalation of violence. When possible, verbatim language from the victim and offender is revealed. The aftermath phase accounts for all relevant occurrences after the offender made his fatal blow. This includes offender admission of an anti-LGBT motive, offender revelation, overkill, and bystander response, among other theoretically relevant characteristics. Throughout the description of the narrative, the way the variables substantively contribute to the escalation of violence is discussed. This approach shows how variables are

expressed differently across different situational circumstances, as determined by offender mode of victim selection.

The second step of case study analysis involves the systematic application of proposed theoretical explanations of bias crimes to anti-LGBT homicide situations. This entails an evaluation of the explanative power of theories and concepts such as "doing gender" (West & Zimmerman, 1987), "hegemonic masculinity" (Connell, 2005), "heterosexism" (Herek, 1990), and "gender challenges" (Messerschmidt, 1993; 2012). Theorists such as Bufkin (1999) and Perry (2001) have applied these theories to bias crimes generally, but neither was able to systematically apply them to empirical data of anti-LGBT bias crimes in this way. To date, the only research known to apply gender and sexuality theories to empirical data is that of Tomsen and Mason (2001) and Tomsen (2009); however, Tomsen was not able to examine the relevance of masculinity theories across the heterogeneous circumstances of the various anti-LGBT homicide categories and subcategories that are proposed in this study. It is essential to test the explanatory power of masculinity theories across all situational circumstances, which could lend credence to the previous theoretical literature, or if masculinity theories are not applicable across variable modes of victim selection, this study may show that current theories have limited utility for explaining anti-LGBT occurrences. The third step of the case study analysis involves situating homicide events into various macro contexts (e.g., legal, geographic, social, political, and cultural) to further the understanding of how and why these events occur. It is important to place any interaction into its historical context to show how structural realities and individual level interactions culminate to produce any event.

The purpose of this mixed-method design is to supplement quantitative comparisons with in-depth case studies and to provide rich descriptions in order to unravel the dynamic processes

by which anti-LGBT homicide events occur. Identifying cases for in-depth analysis based on a typological categorization scheme provides a strong technique for purposively selecting cases (see Bennett & Elman, 2006). None of the cases selected are chosen arbitrarily and they are not high-profile homicides. Instead, the cases chosen contain a majority of the statistically significant differences found across subcategories by subgroup analyses, which allows the current study to show how variables are expressed in criminal events and also to explain the victim selection processes which sit at the crux of the proposed anti-LGBT homicide typology.

VI. FINDINGS: QUANTITATIVE ANALYSES

An Anti-LGBT Homicide Typology

Fisher and Salfati (2009) suggested that bias crimes may be divided by those in which offenders are seeking power and crimes in which offenders are attempting to restore their honor. In addition, Tomsen (2009) suggested that "different forms of violence with homosexual victims, such as collective stranger violence or more private assaults occurring between male acquaintances and intimates, necessitate recognition of the distinct dynamics of these crimes" (p. 57). The current study extends these findings by conceptualizing two overarching categories of anti-LGBT bias homicide offending: *predatory* and *responsive*. These two umbrella categories loosely align with the different situational circumstances tentatively identified by prior research. Drawing from anecdotal evidence of high-profile cases, prior literature on anti-LGBT violence, and a select review of EHP cases, the two broad categories are further distinguished into five distinct situations in which offenders discriminately select LGBT victims: *Predatory-Representative, Predatory-Instrumental, Responsive-Gay Bash, Responsive-Undesired Advance, and Responsive-Mistaken Identity.* Each subcategory represents a distinct mode of victim selection and together these subcategories constitute a proposed typology of anti-LGBT homicide. The categories and subcategories operate as the base for comparative analyses conducted in the current study. After offering a detailed description of each category and subcategory of anti-LGBT homicide, the following sections detail the findings from the multivariate analysis, the bivariate comparative analyses (subgroup analyses), and the in-depth case studies. Combining methodological approaches allows the current study to draw upon the systematic and representative measurement advantages of quantitative study, without sacrificing the explanatory power and rich descriptions provided by qualitative data analysis.

Predatory

The first umbrella category of anti-LGBT homicide is predatory homicide. The nature of planning involved prior to an attack has been shown to be an important distinguishing element of criminal event types (Miethe et al., 2006, p.7) and Tomsen (2009) found that planning was an important distinguishing factor of anti-LGBT homicide types. Predatory homicides are criminal events in which offenders perpetrate a planned attack during the precursor phase of the homicide and victims do not play a role in offender provocation. Predatory offenders often have little contact with victims prior to the initial criminal interaction. There are two situational variants of predatory anti-LGBT homicide: representative and instrumental.

Predatory-Representative

The first subcategory of predatory homicide is representative homicide. These are symbolic crimes in which offenders choose victims as representatives of the LGBT community in order to send a message to all LGBT individuals about the dangers associated with identifying as non-heterosexual. Typically, representative offenders select LGBT victims for homicide using one of two different processes. In the first scenario, offenders plan the homicide after gaining intimate knowledge of the victims' routines and tracking or stalking their victims. Offenders might travel to the victims' residences or other areas the victims are known to frequent.

In another scenario, although the homicide is still planned, representative offenders do not have a specific LGBT person in mind, so the offenders plan to lure victims away from known gay and lesbian congregation areas to ensure privacy for the homicide or victims might be identified and selected through the internet or other electronic services catering to the LGBT community. Whether representative offenders seek out a specific LGBT individual or whether they utilize places the LGBT community is known to congregate, it is apparent in each case that

Table 2. Anti-LGBT Homicide Offender Modes of Victim Selection

Predatory: *Offenders select LGBT victims by seeking them out in planned attacks and without provocation by victims.*	**Representative**: *Offenders select LGBT victims simply as representatives of the LGBT community.* **Instrumental**: *Offenders select LGBT victims primarily as a means to another end (i.e., profit).*
Responsive: *Offenders select LGBT victims in response to a real or perceived affront by the victim.*	**Gay Bash**: *Offenders select LGBT victims who have insulted them in some way as a form of informal punishment for perceived wrongdoing.* **Undesired Advance**: *Offenders select LGBT victims following a real or perceived sexual or romantic advance by the victim.* **Mistaken Identity**: *Offenders select victims during or following sexual encounters in which offenders mistake the sex of victims*.

the victims do not play a role in the provocation of the offender and that the homicide is meant to send a message to the LGBT community regarding the danger of identifying as lesbian, gay, bisexual, or transgender.

Representative homicides occasionally involve elements of "thrill-seeking," in which groups of young men seek LGBT individuals to kill for the thrill of the hunt or attack. In their offender motive-based typology, McDevitt et al. (2002) identified some similar situations. For example, in the "thrill" category of bias crimes, McDevitt et al. (2002) found that offenders utilized areas where minority groups (e.g. Blacks, homosexuals) were known to frequent in order to identify victims. Another component of "thrill-motivated cases" was that offenders were "triggered by an immature desire to display power and to experience a rush at the expense of

someone else" (McDevitt et al., 2002, p. 308). Although this situation can be identified in some of the representative cases, the representative homicides in this study are primarily identified by offender planning and the lack of victim provocation. In addition, anti-LGBT homicide offenders in the representative subcategory must not be targeting victims for reasons other than to send a message to the LGBT community. Focusing on these defining characteristics allows for a typology based on observable characteristics of the criminal event.

Predatory-Instrumental

The second subcategory of predatory homicide is instrumental homicide, in which offenders select LGBT victims to rob based on their sexual orientation or gender identity. This action is most likely based on the belief that LGBT individuals are more vulnerable and less likely to fight back. These crimes are instrumental, because victims are chosen as a means to another end (i.e., robbery) (see Block & Block, 1992). Although theft occurs to some extent within each homicide subcategory, instrumental homicides are distinct, as offenders are primarily oriented toward profit and theft is the defining characteristic of each homicide. While law enforcement may be reluctant to identify instrumental homicides as anti-LGBT due to the robbery, these criminal events are included as bias crimes in the current study because LGBT victims are discriminately targeted for robbery and violence. LGBT victims are not necessarily targeted due to "hatred" of LGBT victims. Rather, offenders are likely drawing from cultural stereotypes that depict gay men as being less likely to physically fight back during a criminal event, less likely to report the crime in fear of revealing the circumstances in which they are identified for violence, or as more likely to be wealthy. Instrumental homicides occur in various ways; however, the offenders always seek a LGBT victim primarily to rob. Homicides frequently occur during initial encounters at a predetermined meeting time and place (usually under the

guise of a sexual encounter). In other cases, offenders became acquainted with specific LGBT individuals in order to gain their trust prior to committing a robbery-homicide.

Responsive

The second umbrella category of anti-LGBT homicide is responsive homicide, which is characterized by expressive violent acts that are typically unplanned or involve "little rational planning" on the offender's behalf (see Block & Block, 1992, p.65). Responsive homicides are distinguished from predatory homicides by the former's confrontational nature. In responsive homicides victims play a role in the escalation of violence, often inadvertently. These crimes may be best understood as those in which offenders are attempting to restore lost honor after being affronted by the LGBT victims. There are three situational variants of responsive anti-LGBT homicide: undesired advance, mistaken identity, and gay bash homicide.

Responsive-Undesired Advance

The first subcategory of responsive anti-LGBT homicide is undesired advance homicide and these crimes are the second most common responsive homicide type. Undesired advance homicide offenders select victims in response to a real or perceived sexual or romantic advance made by the victim. Victims either erroneously conclude that offenders are interested in a physical relationship or, in some cases, offenders suddenly change their mind after initially conveying interest in participating in a physical relationship. Fatal attacks come either directly following perceived sexual or romantic affronts or several days later when offenders returned to confront victims.[iii] Advances frequently occur in private settings, such as the victims' residences. Victims and offenders might meet under the pretense of using drugs or alcohol and are found to be under the influence of drugs or alcohol about one-third of the time.

Responsive-Mistaken Identity

The second subcategory of responsive homicide is mistaken identity homicide, which is the least common subcategory of anti-LGBT homicide. Mistaken identity homicide is characterized by offenders who engage in or plan to engage in a sexual encounter with the victim. Offenders kill victims after they find that the victims' sex is not what the offenders had perceived it to be. In other words, victims are killed after offenders discover the victims' sex does not align with their gender display. In the majority of situations, the homicide occurs between biologically male offenders and biologically male victims who identify as transwomen and may be prostitutes. The realization of the victims' sex occurs prior, during, or after a sexual encounter between the offender and victim. In such cases, offenders feel deceived, leading them to respond to the situation by killing the victim. It is important to understand that the small number of mistaken identity cases identified in the current study (n = 5) likely reflects the unlikelihood of these homicides being reported or investigated as anti-LGBT attacks in the United States (see Witten & Eyler, 1999). Additionally, offenders often remained unidentified for potential cases of mistaken identity homicide, meaning that these cases did not meet the inclusion criteria of the current study.

Responsive-Gay Bash

The third subcategory of responsive homicide is known as gay bash homicide and it is the most common responsive homicide type. Whereas, undesired advance and mistaken identity homicides are characterized by offenders responding to specific wrongdoings by the victims, gay bash offenders are responding to any perceived wrongdoing by the victim (excluding the homicides captured by undesired advance and mistaken identity subcategories). Gay bash homicides are those in which offenders choose victims based on a perceived insult or show of

disrespect by the victim. Victims contribute to the escalation of violence, but this does not mean that victims necessarily initiated the violence or that they were conscious of their wrongdoing. For example, the mere physical presence of a LGBT individual may be considered an insult to the offender. Gay bash offenses are unlike predatory offenses, because gay bash homicides are unplanned and involve some form of victim provocation. Once the initial provocation occurs, the victim and offender often find themselves in a mutual interchange of verbal insults and physical assaults, which lead to the death of the victim. Although it could be possible to further disaggregate gay bash homicide by the specific "type" of affront by victims, it is likely that these additional subcategories would lack the theoretical importance of undesired advance and mistaken identity homicide subcategories.

Descriptive Statistics

Prior to conducting the multivariate analyses, descriptive statistics are examined. As shown in Table 3, predatory and responsive homicides have similar frequencies of multiple offender, residential, and non-firearm situations, though some differences are apparent. Predatory

Table 3. Descriptive Statistics for Predatory and Responsive Anti-LGBT Homicides

	All (n = 120) %	Predatory (n = 61) %	Responsive (n = 60) %
Multiple Offenders	42.0	43.1	41
Occurred in Residence	41.2	39.7	42.6
Profit-Related Circumstances	32.2	50.8	14.5***
Non-Firearm	72.7	72.9	72.6
Gender & Sexuality-Based Remarks	26.4	16.9	35.5*
Offender Age (mean)	24.9	24.5	25.2

*****p ≤ .001, **p ≤ .01, *p ≤ .05**

homicides are proportionately more likely to contain profit-related circumstances and chi-square analysis show this finding is significant ($p \leq .001$). This is likely due to the inclusion of

instrumental homicides, those in which robbery is the primary reason for targeting a LGBT person, in the predatory homicide category. As expected, responsive homicides are proportionately more likely to have offenders who use gender- and sexuality-based remarks during the criminal event and this difference is significant ($p \leq .05$).

Findings from Multivariate Analysis

The following section presents findings from a multivariate comparative analysis of predatory and responsive anti-LGBT homicide. While the descriptive findings indicated some potentially important differences, they are unable to describe the relative significance of each predicting variable. Binary logistic regression is used to statistically identify meaningful differences in variables across predatory and responsive homicide categories. As the dependent variable is measured with a binary-coded variable, logistic regression is an appropriate regression tool (1 = responsive, 0 = predatory) (see Long, 1997).

Table 4. Binary Logistic Regression (n = 121)

	β	SE	Odds Ratio
Offender Age	-.004	.027	.996
Multiple Offenders	.613	.457	1.845
Stranger	-.173	.571	.841
Occurred in Residence	.316	.506	1.371
Profit-Related Circumstances	-1.670**	.494	.188
Non-Firearm	-.164	.477	.848
Gender- & Sexuality-Based Remarks	.911*	.495	2.487
Constant	.116	.878	1.123
Nagelkerke R Square	.224		
-2 Log-likelihood	132.199		

****p ≤ .05, *p≤.1**

There are no significant differences in offender age across predatory and responsive anti-LGBT homicide categories. There are also no significant differences in multiple offender, stranger, residential, or non-firearm homicide situations across homicide categories. Descriptive statistics shown in Table 3 indicate that predatory homicides are proportionately more likely to

have profit-related circumstances (i.e. offender theft) and the logistic regression results presented in Table 4 show that the difference in profit-related circumstances is still significant net the effects of other variables. Descriptive statistics show that gender- and sexuality-based remarks are more prevalent in responsive homicides and when controlling for other potential influences gender- and sexuality-based remarks slightly differs across homicide categories ($p \leq .1$).

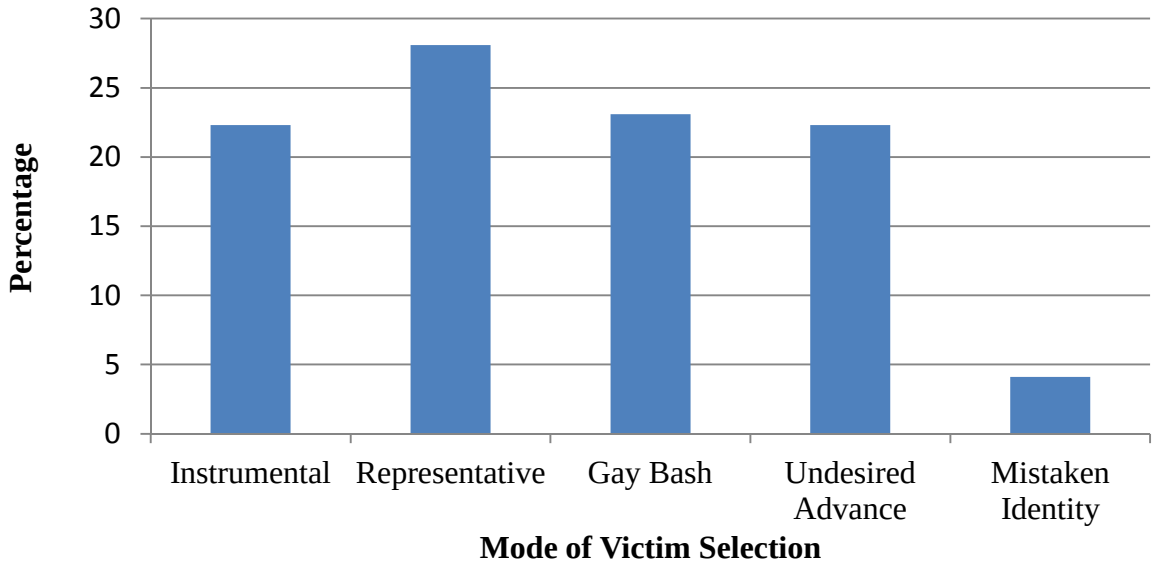
Binary logistic regression is used to test claims made in prior literature pertaining to anti-LGBT homicide situations. As the descriptive findings suggest, the predicting variables are unable to distinguish between predatory and responsive homicide categories net the effects of other variables. The logistic regression results show that past research may not capture all of the potentially important distinguishing characteristics found within anti-LGBT homicide situations. Thus, subgroup analyses are required to more closely examine multiple offender-, victim-, and incident-level variables across subcategories of predatory and responsive anti-LGBT homicide.

Findings from Subgroup Analyses

Subgroup analyses are used to examine similarities and differences in multiple variables across four of the anti-LGBT homicide event subcategories. Figure 1 shows the proportional distribution of each homicide subcategory of the proposed typology.

Table 5 shows the distribution of each homicide event variable measured in the current study. The subsequent four columns present the comparative findings for four of the anti-LGBT homicide subcategories. Each of the anti-LGBT homicide subcategories, with the exception of mistaken identity homicides, is compared to each other subcategory. Of the anti-LGBT homicides occurring in the United States between 1990 and 2010, approximately 50 percent are predatory homicides (n = 61), while the other half are comprised of responsive homicides (n = 60).

Figure 1. Percentage of Anti-LGBT Homicide Events by Mode of Victim Selection (N=121)



As shown in Table 5, anti-LGBT homicide offenders are disproportionately White. Of four anti-LGBT homicide subcategories, representative offenses have the greatest frequency of White offenders; however, this difference is not statistically significant. Overall, very few offenders are found to be juveniles, but undesired advance cases have the greatest prevalence of offenders under the age of 18 and are significantly more likely to be perpetrated by juvenile offenders. Additionally, undesired advance offenders are significantly more likely than offenders in each other homicide subcategory to use drugs or alcohol prior to perpetrating the anti-LGBT homicide.

Differences in victim demographic variables are also examined across homicide subcategories. Victims are usually male in each homicide subcategory, but gay bash homicides are proportionately less likely to have male victims compared to each other subcategory. In regard to victim race, substantial variation is found across homicide subcategories. Generally, victims of predatory homicide subcategories (representative and instrumental) are

proportionately more likely to be White compared to responsive victim groups. In contrast, undesired advance victims are White just over half of the time, and a minority of gay bash victims are White. Gay bash victims are significantly less likely to be White compared to each other homicide category, with the exception of undesired advance homicide. Like offenders, very few victims are juveniles.

The current study conceptualizes criminal events based on the criminal event perspective (CEP) (Sacco & Kennedy, 2002), meaning that in addition to offender- and victim- level variables, incident-level variables that reveal the situational context of anti-LGBT homicides are also measured. To begin with, significant variation occurs across the place in which homicides are perpetrated. Gay bash homicides are significantly less likely than all other subcategories to occur inside of a residence, while the other responsive homicide subcategory, undesired advance, is proportionately most likely to occur inside of a residence. Next, bystanders are proportionately more likely to be present for both responsive homicide subcategories, particularly gay bash offenses. This is logical, as predatory crime types are planned and orchestrated to be outside of the purview of others.

Examining weapons shows that a majority of homicides in each anti-LGBT homicide subcategory are perpetrated with a non-firearm weapon, with the greatest contrast occurring between the two predatory subcategories, representative and instrumental offenses. This is unsurprising, considering that representative homicides are meant to be symbolic, leading offenders to use weapons other than firearms, which tend to be associated with more expressive murder. In contrast, instrumental offenders are primarily concerned with robbing the victim.

A close look at victim-offender relationships shows that victims and offenders are usually known to one another prior to the homicide, particularly in undesired advance homicides in

Table 5. Anti-LGBT Homicide Characteristics	All	Predatory		Responsive	
		Representative	Instrumental (Robbery)	Gay Bash	Undesired Advance
Offender Characteristics					
Offender White (n=99, 23, 31, 21, 19)	69.7	80.6	69.6	61.9	73.7
Offender Juvenile (n=115, 26, 33, 24, 27)	7.8^{u}	0.00	3.8^{u}	8.3	$22.2^{a,i}$
Offender Drug/Alcohol Use (n=121, 26, 35, 33, 29)	$14.9^{U,r}$	$5.7^{U,a}$	3.8^{U}	15.2^{u}	$34.5^{g,A,R,I}$
Victim Characteristics					
Victim Male (n=121, 26, 35, 33, 29)	95.0	91.4	100.0	87.9	100.00
Victim White (n=92, 20, 28, 24, 29)	$56.5^{r,G}$	$75.0^{a,G}$	70.0^{G}	$20.8^{R,A,I}$	52.6
Victim Juvenile (n=118, 25, 34, 32, 29)	9.3	5.9	$0.00^{G,U}$	12.5^{I}	10.3^{I}
Situational Characteristics					
Occurred in Residence (n=119, 26, 34, 32, 29)	$41.2^{G,U}$	$35.3^{g,u}$	46.2^{G}	$12.5^{A,r,I,U}$	$62.1^{A,r,G}$
Bystanders Present (n=119, 26, 35, 31, 29)	$16.0^{G,R}$	$2.9^{A,U,G}$	$0.00^{A,U}$	$41.9^{A,R,U}$	$17.2^{G,r}$
Non-Firearm (n=121, 26, 35, 33, 29)	72.7	77.1	69.2	75.8	72.4
Stranger (n=114, 25, 32, 25, 28)	$30.7^{G,U}$	$28.1^{g,U}$	36.0^{U}	$64.0^{A,r,I,U}$	$3.6^{A,R,I,G}$
Multiple Offenders (n=119, 26, 34, 26, 28)	42.0^{r}	$26.5^{I,g,a}$	$61.5^{R,U}$	50.0^{r}	32.1^{I}
Multiple Victim Deaths (n=121, 26, 35, 33, 29)	6.6	8.6	0.00	6.1	6.9
Attack Characteristics					
Gender/Sexuality-Based Remarks (n=121, 26, 35, 33, 29)	$26.4^{I,G}$	22.9^{G}	7.7^{AG}	$57.6^{A,R,I,U}$	10.3^{G}
Profit-Related Circumstances (n=121, 26, 35, 33, 29)	$32.2^{G,r}$	17.1^{a}	100.0	9.1^{A}	20.7
Overkill (n=121, 26, 35, 33, 29)	37.2	42.9	38.5	27.3	41.4
Aftermath Characteristics					
Offender Manipulation of Body (n=121, 26, 35, 33, 29)	6.6	8.6	7.7	15.2	3.4
Offender Mutilation (n=121, 26, 35, 33, 29)	8.3	8.6	11.5	9.1	6.9
Offender Revelation (n=121, 26, 35, 33, 29)	15.7	17.1	15.4	6.1	24.1
Offender Admission of Motive (n=121, 26, 35, 33, 29)	50.4^{G}	60.0^{G}	65.4^{G}	$12.1^{U,A,R,I}$	62.1^{G}

1: Capital letters indicate differences are significant at alpha level p≤.01, while lowercase letters indicate differences are significant at level p≤.05. **2:** Responsive cases of mistaken identity are not included in the table due to the limited number of known cases.

which offenders and victims are very rarely strangers. Considering that undesired advance cases involve a sexual or romantic advance between the actors, this finding is unsurprising. In contrast, gay bash homicides are significantly more likely than all other groups to have victims and offenders who are strangers to one another.

Multiple offenders are found in approximately 42 percent of all anti-LGBT homicides, supporting prior research that has found frequent group offending in bias offenses (Herek et. al, 1997; NGLTF, 1995). Multiple offender situations are most prevalent in instrumental homicides and this situation is significantly less likely to be found in representative cases. Multiple offenders perpetrate together to ensure a successful outcome to the homicide. Also, it is not unusual for offenders to incite violence in one another throughout the criminal,l event. There are very few homicides with multiple victim deaths; however, it is notable that instrumental cases are the only group with no multiple victim homicides. Those cases that do involve multiple deaths usually involve offenders who target victims that are intimately known to one another.

Language degrading sexuality or gender is proportionately more likely to be used in gay bash homicide situations and least likely to be observed in instrumental homicides. Findings show significant differences between gay bash homicides and each other subcategory. This is logical, as instrumental offenders are primarily concerned with robbing the LGBT victim. Meanwhile, gay bash offenders are attempting to restore lost honor or "save face." Findings also show variation across homicide subcategories in regard to profit-related circumstances. As instrumental homicides are characterized by offenders who primarily seek to rob a LGBT victim, profit-related circumstances are always present in these crimes. Interestingly, each other homicide subcategory contains some instances of profit-related circumstances as well, which supports evidence that robbery may be the primary reason for selection or, on the other hand,

have an “incidental relation” to the anti-LGBT homicide (Tomsen, 2009). Gay bash homicides are least likely to have offenders who stole from victims, demonstrating that offenders are most likely concerned with overcoming perceived wrongdoings or challenges to their manhood.

Overkill, violence beyond that required to kill a victim, also gives us some idea of the expressive nature of a homicide, though it does not significantly vary across homicide subcategories. Representative homicides are proportionately most likely and gay bash offenses proportionately least likely to have offenders using excessive violence. Offender manipulation and mutilation of the victim’s body are rare in all categories. Although unusual, gay bash offenders are proportionately most likely to have offenders manipulate the victims’ bodies in the aftermath of the homicide.

In regard to offender revelation and offender admission of motive, there is some variation. Gay bash offenders are proportionately less likely to reveal their homicides to family, friends, or others, but the variation in offender admission of motive is more drastic. Gay bash offenders are significantly less likely than all other offenders to admit to a motive, meanwhile, over half of all other offenders reveal an anti-LGBT motive. Gay bash offenders may be less likely to reveal their crime or admit to an anti-LGBT motive, because they do not feel that they are at fault. Indeed, gay bash offenders perceive themselves to be responding to a wrongdoing by the victim. Although, undesired advance offenders are also provoked by their victims, the distinct nature of the victim’s wrongdoing—the sexual advance—may make offenders more likely to be aware of their own anti-LGBT motive or to perceive that the anti-LGBT motive admission is unavoidable.

The differences within predatory groups and within responsive groups on several variables (occurred in residence, bystanders, stranger, multiple offenders, gender- and sexuality-

based remarks, profit-related circumstances) show that it is essential to disaggregate anti-LGBT homicide beyond the initial predatory or responsive categories. After finding many initial similarities between the two umbrella categories, subgroup analyses revealed that many differences exist across subcategories of anti-LGBT homicide. In order to further explain the offender selection processes and interpret key differences between the subcategories of anti-LGBT homicide, the next chapter contains five in-depth case studies of each unique anti-LGBT homicide situation.

VII. FINDINGS: IN-DEPTH CASE STUDIES

The following chapter reveals the findings from five in-depth case studies, which represent each subcategory of anti-LGBT homicide. A mixed-method design is advantageous, as it allows the current study to comparatively examine the categories and subcategories of the anti-LGBT homicide typology, while also providing in-depth case studies of each subcategory. The quantitative results show key similarities and differences between anti-LGBT homicide categories and subcategories, but the case studies show details of the offender selection processes that the multivariate and bivariate analyses do not reveal. The case studies serve three purposes. First, the case studies narrate the events of a homicide that represents each typology subcategory and describe the quantitative variables and results, which were discussed previously, in more detail. Second, the case studies show how doing gender theory and other potential explanations for anti-LGBT homicide can be applied to offenders' actions within the contexts of five unique anti-LGBT homicide situations. While motive is not used for the initial data collection or for discerning between the categories and subcategories of the typology, in this section the evidence from qualitative data is used to make inferences of offender motive through the application of masculinity theories. Case studies also elaborate on how specific case findings support or negate findings of past studies on anti-LGBT homicide and other bias crimes. Third, the case studies reveal how each homicide event unfolds within a macro (e.g., legal, geographic, social, political, and cultural) and micro (situational) context.

Case Study One: Gay Bash Anti-LGBT Homicide

The first case study to be discussed is a gay bash homicide. Gay bash homicides are characterized by offenders who target LGBT victims due to a perceived wrongdoing by the victim, which serves as an affront to the offender's masculinity. In the following case, the

perceived wrongdoing occurs when a young lesbian rebuffs the advances of a heterosexual male. A "perceived wrongdoing" can be any number of actions by the offender, including the victim simply being in the vicinity of the offender. Gay bash cases are confrontational by definition, with victims always playing some role in the escalation of violence, which distinguishes them from predatory anti-LGBT homicides.

Stage One: Precursor Attributes

Sakia Gunn was a 15-year old Black girl, who was living in Newark, New Jersey[i] at the time of her death. At 5 feet and 3 inches tall and 130 pounds, she was small in stature. Four years prior to her death she informed her mother that she liked girls and not boys. It was well-known that Gunn was gay at her high school, but friends claim that she was not harassed for her sexual orientation. Gunn's mother and family were also accepting of her gender identity, despite her grandmother's religion-based concerns regarding her lifestyle. Gunn's family and friends claim that she was proud of her lesbian identity and remained obstinate when it came to participating in traditionally feminine practices, such as wearing dresses.

Gunn identified in a unique sexual orientation group known as "aggressives" or "AG" lesbians, which is unique to Black females (Fogg-Davis, 2006). An aggressive lesbian is "a biological woman who communicates her homosexual attraction to and for other women through embodied performances of masculinity" (Townsend, 2012, p. 170). Gunn's aggressive status was evidenced by her adherence to a style that included wearing oversized male clothing (e.g., baggy blue jeans, extra-large white- t-shirts and "do-rags").[ii] Gunn was occasionally mistaken for a male which she reportedly enjoyed (Zook, 2006, p. 32). In some ways, Gunn was not the typical gay bash victim. For example, female victims are not characteristic of gay bash homicide cases, though this study finds that this subcategory of anti-LGBT homicide involves the most female

victims of any anti-LGBT homicide subcategory. Juvenile victims are also not characteristic of gay bash homicides, though again, gay bash homicides involve the greatest percentage of juvenile victims among all anti-LGBT homicides.

At the time of the homicide, the offender, Richard McCullough, was a 29-year-old Black male, nearly twice the age of the victim and slightly older than the typical anti-LGBT homicide offender (see Gruenewald, 2012). Research indicates that bias crimes are usually committed by males, who are more likely than females to use criminal offending as a means to construct their gender (Bufkin, 1999). In regard to his family life, McCullough had fathered two children (Pearson, 2005), though his relationship with his children and their mother(s) is unclear.[iii] McCullough had only a minor, non-violent criminal record and had held a job for most of his adult life. According to Zook, he worked at a fast food chain or "spinning records" and was known by some as "the weed man" (2006, p. 31). McCullough arguably held a particularly low social status and had few legitimate resources or opportunities for achieving masculinity, such as a conventional family status or respected employment. Gender and criminal theorists both claim that men who cannot achieve the ideal family life with marriage, owning a home, and acting as the head of a family are those most likely to seek a hegemonic masculine identity by participating in crime or through the subordination of women (Messerschmidt, 1993; 2012; Perry, 2001; Polk, 1994; Tomsen, 2009). Tomsen and Mason (2006) found that anti-LGBT perpetrators were typically younger, working class, and poor. Although McCullough did have a job, his working class position likely gave him little means to achieve a *hegemonic* form of masculinity that he likely sought (see Connell, 2005).

On the night of the murder, Gunn was with a group of four friends who also identified as Black lesbians. They had spent the evening in the New York City "Gay Mecca," a popular

hangout for gay and lesbian teens of color[iv] located in Manhattan's Greenwich Village at the Christopher Street piers. In the early hours of the morning, Gunn and her friends took a train back to Newark, where they planned to catch a bus home. Characteristic of gay bash homicides, the violent event would occur in a public setting. Ironically, the bus station in which Gunn would be murdered was located across from a police booth. Unfortunately, on the night of Gunn's murder the booth was unstaffed, apparently due to budget shortages.[v] The location of the homicide event and the absence of potential aid undoubtedly served as advantages for the offender (see Bufkin, 1999).

Stage Two: Dynamic Transaction

At approximately 3:20 a.m., while standing at the Newark[vi] bus station, Gunn and her friends were approached by Richard McCullough and Allen Pierce, who had been cruising the streets of Newark in a station wagon. The prosecuting district attorney, Thomas McTigue, claimed that "the men [had been] drinking beer" that evening (Zook, 2006, p.41; see also Sprinkle, 2011).[vii] Alcohol has been found to contribute to bias offending beyond the impairment of cognition (see Tomsen, 2009). Offenders have been shown to be "easily prompted to engage in violent acts" because "both behaviors, the drinking and the violence, result from the same stimulus—the need to assert masculinity" (Bufkin, 1999, p. 166). This study previously showed that only about 15 percent of gay bash offenders are found to use drugs and alcohol before fatal attacks, though this is relatively more than other types of anti-LGBT homicide offenders.

Richard McCullough and Allen Pierce[viii] began to speak to Gunn and her friends as they waited for a bus. Gunn and McCullough were strangers, which is the more common type of victim-offender relationship found among gay bash homicides. A number of sources indicate that the words the men spoke to the girls included sexual innuendo and romantic and sexual

propositions. By propositioning Gunn and her young friends, something considered to be an essential masculine act, the men were demonstrating masculinity. The fact that the girls were all between the ages of 15 and 17 is important as well, as the girls were young and McCullough may have considered them more vulnerable and more easily dominated. According to Bufkin (1999), individuals are more likely to perpetrate a bias offense in situations where they are more likely to be successful in completing a criminal offense and constructing a hegemonic masculinity.

Richard McCullough called out to Gunn, "Yo, shorty, come here…we wanna talk to you" (Zook, 2006, p.37).[ix] McCullough apparently assumed the right to beckon to the young girls in this manner. An interview with Gunn's friend Valencia shows that Richard McCullough asked Gunn, "You the ringleader?" and said, "I should knock yo ass down right now" (Zook, 2006, p.37).[x] This type of speech reflects elements of dominance and demonstrates McCullough's desire to take control of the situation. Enacting dominance is one way for males to do gender (see West & Zimmerman, 1987). The girls rebuffed the advances and insulted McCullough by saying "We're gay," and "[w]e're not interested" (Zook, 2006, p.31). Thus, the men's first attempt at gender accomplishment failed and presumably served as an affront to McCullough's masculinity (see Perry, 2001). Although McCullough was the sole offender, his gender performance occurred in front of another male to whom he was accountably masculine. Doing gender theory recognizes that all individuals perform with the knowledge that they are being assessed in regard to their gender accountability (West & Zimmerman, 1987). Moreover, this study showed earlier that gay bash homicides have the greatest percentage of bystander presence of all anti-LGBT homicide cases.

According to the Essex County Prosecutor's Office News Release on March 3, 2005 "upon having their 'advances' rebuffed by the young women, on the basis that they were of gay

sexual orientation, both men directed anti-gay epithets at the young women." This also supports quantitative findings that showed gay bash offenses are proportionately more likely than all other homicide groups to have offenders who used homophobic or gender- and sexuality-based language. Other research also shows that assaultive and gender- and sexuality-based language in bias offenses demonstrates the offender's expectation that women "should reciprocate his[xi] desire for (hetero)sexual gratification" (Tomsen & Mason, 2006, p.263) and that such language is a form of "sexual harassment" that "often escalates into lesbian baiting" (Perry, 2001, p.117). After his propositions are rejected, the perpetrator's masculinity is threatened and this can occasionally result in violence. McCullough's language indicates his belief that the teenage girls were "wrong" for being romantically and sexually attracted to other females and that Gunn's sexual orientation was inferior to his own, as it violated common expectations of femininity (Perry, 2001; Tomsen & Mason, 2006). Bufkin (1999) contends that language is one way offenders justify their actions and draw boundaries between themselves and those they deem as inferior.

Clearly affronted, McCullough moved the transaction from verbal to physical when he placed Gunn's friend into a choke hold. He eventually released her at Gunn's defense. McCullough again called out for Gunn to come to him and she replied, "No, I don't gotta come…you ain't my father" (Zook, 2005, p.38). Gunn's exclamation that McCullough was not her father indicated to him that he had no authority over her actions. This served as another blow to McCullough's manhood and fueled his desire to regain his masculine identity. Messerschmidt claims that gender and sexuality are more salient to certain situations than others (1993; 2002; 2012). Considering McCullough was an adult male, surrounded by five young lesbians and his

male acquaintance, it is likely that his gender status was more significant in this particular situation.

Eventually McCullough grabbed Gunn and put a knife to her neck, but she was able to subsequently break loose. A physical fight followed, as McCullough continued to challenge the 15-year-old Gunn. One way to understand McCullough's reluctance to back down is to consider the continual assaults to his dominance and masculinity. It would have been masculine suicide to leave the situation after Gunn had broken away from his grasp. As Gunn turned to throw another punch McCullough stabbed her in the chest with a switchblade.[xii] The use of a non-firearm is characteristic of gay bash homicides, as nearly 76 percent of such cases involved alternative weapons. As is the case in most gay bash homicides, elements of overkill were not observed in this fatal transaction.

The attack on Gunn and her friends exemplifies an extreme and persistent attempt to regain honor and gender dominance. This assessment aligns with prior studies (Bufkin, 1999; Luckenbill, 1977; Tomsen, 2009) which found that lost honor or masculine status must be regained in the moment of the criminal transaction. In this way, McCullough's refusal to back down and his subsequent physical attack on the girls can be at least partially explained by doing gender theory.

Stage Three: The Aftermath

After the attacks, McCullough fled the scene with his acquaintance. This is expected because offenders frequently flee when unsupportive bystanders, in this case Gunn's four friends, are present (Luckenbill, 1977). The girls eventually flagged down a driver and rode with Gunn to University Hospital in Newark. She bled to death on the way to the hospital.[xiii]

After surrendering himself days later, Richard McCullough was charged with murder, bias intimidation, four counts of aggravated assault, and weapons violations. Though gay bash murder offenders are less likely to admit that anti-LGBT bias was a motive, McCullough did admit to the anti-LGBT element of his crime when he confessed he called Sakia Gunn a "dyke" and pled guilty to bias intimidation in regard to aggravated manslaughter and aggravated assault.[xiv] He was the first person in Newark to be charged with a bias crime. In the end, McCullough pled guilty to first degree aggravated manslaughter, bias intimidation in regard to that offense, second degree aggravated assault upon one of Gunn's friends, first degree bias intimidation in regard to that offense, and unlawful possession of a weapon (knife).[xv] He was sentenced to 20 years in prison.

Case Study Two: Undesired Advance Anti-LGBT Homicide

This second case study involves an undesired advance anti-LGBT homicide. Undesired advance homicides occur when an offender perceives the victim to make a romantic or sexual advance, which could consist of a simple verbal compliment, as well as a physical act by the victim that was perceived by the offender to be sexual or romantic in nature. In the current case, both of these actions occur, as the victim grabbed the offender's genital region, in addition to asking the offender for oral sex.

Stage One: Precursor Attributes

Marcell Eads[i] was a 58-year old gay hairdresser who lived in a small house in Wichita, Kansas. As an adult male, Eads was demographically representative of an undesired advance homicide victim; only approximately 10 percent of victims were juveniles and all victims were male. On June 29, 2001, he was fatally attacked by two teenage males, Brandon Clark Boone and Zachary Aaron Steward. Multiple offenders are not characteristic of undesired advance

homicides, but are found in about one-third of these cases. Eads was the sole victim in this case, which is characteristic of all anti-LGBT homicide subcategories. Both offenders[ii] are White males who were also from Wichita, Kansas. Undesired advance cases have the second highest prevalence of White offenders, behind the representative subcategory of anti-LGBT homicides. Boone was a juvenile at the time of his crime, 16-years-old, but Steward was an 18-year-old adult. Juvenile offenders are found in very few anti-LGBT homicides overall (7.8 percent); however, undesired advance homicides have the greatest percentage of juvenile offenders (22.2 percent). Research has identified that young men are more likely to perpetrate anti-LGBT homicides in general (Gruenewald, 2012), as well as homicides of gay men who had made a sexual advance toward the offender (Bartlett, 2007). As discussed in the first case study, bias offending by young males has been theorized as an attempt to construct a hegemonic masculine identity when other outlets are obstructed (Bufkin, 1999; Tomsen, 2009).

Zachary Steward lived with his father at the time of his offense and his mother had always been absent from his life. Their home was in disrepair and they lived on very little income. Steward had a history of mental illness.[iii] Similar to the offender in case study one, Steward's background is characteristic of bias offenders, who are often poor, socially marginalized men and are unable to achieve a hegemonic masculinity through their social or economic status.[iv] In contrast to the offender and the victim in the first case study, Steward and Eads were acquaintances prior to the homicide,[v] which is common to undesired advance homicides. Eads reportedly told family members that he and Steward were having an affair. Undesired advance cases are proportionately less likely than all other homicide groups to have offenders and victims unknown to one another (3.6 percent). In contrast, average anti-LGBT homicide victims and offenders have more distant, stranger relationships approximately 30

percent of the time. Unfortunately, little is known of Boone's background based on open-sources, though his mother described him as "kind, caring, and very loving" (Associated Press, 2002). Prosecutors claim he had a history of anti-social behavior.

On the evening of June 28, 2001, Steward went missing from a drug treatment facility, where he was participating in a court-ordered residential treatment program. On the same day in Wichita, Steward and Eads attended a barbecue at the home of a mutual friend. Steward and Eads later left for Eads' home together. About one hour later, Eads returned to their friend's home and reportedly stated that he and Steward had smoked crack cocaine and that he had performed oral sex on Steward. Steward did not return to the barbecue but instead met with other friends, including Boone.

Approximately another hour later, Steward returned to the barbecue and left with Eads again, taking with them three cans of beer.[vi] After approximately an hour in Eads' home, Steward reported back to Boone and others that Eads had tried to sell him cocaine, grabbed Steward's crotch, and offered him drugs to perform oral sex on him. Steward claimed he took beer and cigarettes from Eads' home and then left.[vii] The finding that Steward used alcohol and drugs[viii] is not uncommon of anti-LGBT homicides. Undesired advance cases are proportionately more likely than all other groups to have offenders who use substances in the precursor phase of the criminal event (34.5 percent). Research shows that in homicides precipitated by a homosexual advance, alcohol was frequently consumed by offenders and victims prior to the killing (Bartlett, 2007).

Steward "repeatedly said that he 'wanted to kick the fag's ass and take his shit' in front of [Boone]" (*Kansas v. Boone*, 2004). Steward also invited another male to join himself and Boone in an assault on Eads, but Steward's invitation was declined.[ix] Another offender would have

further advantaged Steward and ensured his accomplishment of a hegemonic masculinity (see Bufkin, 1999). Steward's use of an anti-homosexual term is atypical for undesired advance cases. His language demonstrates the boundary he drew between himself and gay men and his view and rationale that his retaliatory act was justified. Additionally, this statement is evidence of how an offender's heterosexist language may incite others to partake in anti-LGBT violence, as it appears to have been used to convince Boone to join in the attack against Eads. This action suggests that Boone was accountably masculine to Steward, meaning that Boone was aware that his own masculinity may have been subordinated had he refused to participate in a hyper-masculine behavior like violence (see Perry, 2001).

Steward used the anti-homosexual epithet after he reported that Eads sexually advanced on him by grabbing his crotch. Although Eads had performed oral sex for Steward earlier, Steward was affronted when Eads suggested that he reciprocate. Bartlett (2007) explains how different sexual acts have different meanings for offenders. It may be the case that Steward perceived that receiving oral sex from another male was not emasculating, but to perform oral sex would be an insult to his manhood. Thus, Steward perpetrated this bias offense in an effort to restore his masculine honor. It could also be the case that Steward and Eads had a prior sexual relationship, but it was no longer desired by Steward. Prior acts or plans for sexual acts are irrelevant, as the offender may decide at any time that an advance is undesired. Research on anti-LGBT homicides and gay killings also identify this unique situation (Bartlett, 2007; Tomsen, 2009).

Stage Two: Dynamic Transaction

Boone and Steward arrived at Eads' residence with the intention to assault and steal from Eads,[x] surprising him on the way inside[xi] (*Boone v. Kansas*, 2007). Residential homicides occur

in undesired advance cases more frequently than in all other homicide categories (62.1 percent). Homicides marked by a sexual advance by one male toward another have been identified as a distinct class of anti-LGBT homicides that typically occur in a private context, usually the victim's home (Bartlett, 2007; Tomsen, 2009). There were no bystanders to the homicide, which again are found in less than 20 percent of all undesired advance cases. As observed in other cases, these situational variants of the crime, the absence of bystanders and the private context, likely served as advantages for Steward and Boone's successful homicide (see Bufkin, 1999).

Inside the home, both men repeatedly struck Eads, though it remains unclear if either offender contributed more than the other.[xii] One or both of the offenders made pinpricks to Eads' arm that were approximately 1/15 an inch deep and both offenders beat Eads with multiple weapons (*Boone v. Kansas,* 2007). They used a candlestick holder and a wooden staff, most likely a broomstick, the end of a table, or both, to beat Eads and a knife to stab him in the head. The weapons used in this case are consistent with the finding that a majority of all anti-LGBT homicides (72.7 percent) and undesired advance cases (72.4 percent) are perpetrated with non-firearms. Additionally, Bartlett (2007) found that blunt instruments were a key weapon used by homicide offenders reacting to an undesired homosexual advance. The use of weapons, which are more personal or intimate than firearms, reveals the expressivity of anti-LGBT homicides.

Steward and Boone also stole computer and stereo equipment from Eads. Although theft is not characteristic of undesired advance cases, these homicides have the greatest prevalence of profit-related circumstances (20.7 percent), outside of instrumental anti-LGBT homicides. Research on anti-LGBT homicide has demonstrated that robbery can be the primary motive of an anti-homosexual offense or that property may be stolen as "an after-thought or a further means of victim degradation" (Tomsen, 2009, p.67). Examining Steward's earlier statement that he

"wanted to kick the fag's ass and take his shit" in context suggests that Steward's theft was his attempt to further insult his victim and to restore his lost honor. Thus, the theft could be understood as a means for Steward to further reestablish his subordinated masculinity following Eads' sexual advance.

After initially leaving the victim's home, the offenders discussed the crime with Boone's girlfriend. Although offender revelation is not characteristic of undesired advance cases, these have a greater percentage of offenders who reveal the crime to others than any other homicide category (24.1 percent). It may be that more instances of offender revelation are identified in undesired advance cases because these crimes are typically private. Therefore, in order for the anti-LGBT homicide to effectively restore an offender's lost honor and to repair his subordinated masculinity, the offender must share the details of his crime with others.

They also decided that it was necessary to return "back to the fag's house to wipe up the fingerprints they had left" (*Kansas v. Boone*, 2004). Steward and Boone returned to Eads' home, struck Eads with a rock, and started a fire in Eads' home.[xiii] At the time the fire was started, Eads was still alive. The cause of death was smoke inhalation and thermal burns, but the injuries to Eads' head had contributed to his death, as well. The continuous beating and use of fire is an example of overkill, or excessive violence. While overkill is not a characteristic finding of any homicide group, it has been shown to be more prevalent in bias offenses (Bartlett, 2007; Bufkin, 1999) and is found in slightly more than 41 percent of undesired advance cases.

Stage Three: The Aftermath

When Eads was discovered dead by firefighters, half of his body was burned, he was covered in soot and blood, and the blunt force injuries to his head and arms were severe enough to bruise his brain and expose bone.[xiv] Later that day, Steward was caught attempting to pawn

stolen items and trying to sell them to neighbors. Shortly after, police executed a search warrant for the home of a mutual friend of the offenders. Boone was found hiding in the attic and was arrested. Steward and Boone admitted to an anti-LGBT motive and blamed Eads' unwanted sexual advance for the crime. Such admissions occur in approximately 62 percent of undesired advance cases.

Steward and Boone were not charged with hate-crime enhancements, which would have lengthened their sentences under Kansas law, despite this claim: "Other than the victim's attempt to sell cocaine to Steward in exchange for a blow job, there is no evidence to suggest any provocation for the killing. The evidence establishes…and supports the inference that the victim's sexual orientation provoked Steward and the defendant" (*Kansas v. Boone*, 2004). Brandon Boone was charged with premeditated first-degree murder, aggravated burglary, aggravated robbery, and aggravated arson. Boone was convicted of all charges and sentenced to life imprisonment with the possibility of parole after 20 years and a consecutive term of 72 months' imprisonment. Zachary Steward pled guilty to first-degree felony murder and one count of aggravated robbery. He was sentenced to consecutive sentences of life imprisonment for first-degree felony murder and 72 months' imprisonment for aggravated robbery.[xv]

Perhaps the reason investigators and prosecutors were reluctant to file bias crime charges, is due to the widespread notion that offenders in such cases were provoked by the victim's sexual advance, making the victim partially responsible for his death. Legal defenses have emerged in anti-LGBT offense trials, such as "homosexual panic," which argue that "episodes of violence directed against homosexuals may result from a lack of sexual integration in an unstable individual characterized by guilt about past homosexual experience, abuse or homosexual desire" (Tomsen, 2006, p.400). More recently "defense arguments about the occurrence of an actual

homosexual advance have [had] more success when linked to contemporary and commonplace notions of masculine heterosexual identity" (Tomsen, 2006, p.401).

Case Study Three: Mistaken Identity Anti-LGBT Homicide

The third case study is representative of mistaken identity homicide, which is the least prevalent type of anti-LGBT homicide in the current study. Mistaken identity homicides occur when an offender and victim agree to have a sexual encounter and at some point before, during, or after the sexual encounter the offender discovers that the victim does not belong to the sex category of which the offender perceived the victim to originally belong. Although mistaken identity cases may be framed similarly to undesired advance cases in the media, these homicides are distinct because a *consensual* sexual encounter is anticipated by both victim and offender prior to the homicide. The offender targets the victim for violence due to gender confusion, rather than an unwanted sexual advance by the victim, as in cases of undesired advance homicides. In the following case study, the findings of the average anti-LGBT homicide in the current study are used to compare the narrative to quantitative findings, as there were not enough mistaken identity cases for this subcategory to be analyzed in subgroup analyses.

Stage One: Precursor Attributes

At the time of her death, Gwen Araujo was a 17-year-old living with her mother and siblings in the San Francisco Bay.[i] As a Hispanic juvenile, Araujo was unique in her anti-LGBT victim status. Non-White victims made up slightly less than half of all anti-LGBT homicides in the current study. Juvenile victims are found in only 9.3 percent of anti-LGBT homicides, though juveniles are most often found in responsive subcategories. As a male-to-female transgender individual, Araujo was effeminate and began to embrace her female gender identity at the age of 14. Preferring to be called Gwen,[ii] she was attractive and wore feminine clothing and makeup.

Despite the harassment Araujo received from others,[iii] her family eventually accepted her female identity. Anatomically male,[iv] she identified as a female and was attracted to males. In one study, Shilt and Westbrook (2009) found that transgender individuals who had not received sex reassignment surgery were increasingly likely to be perceived as gender deviants and to become targets of violence due to their gender identity.

The four male offenders responsible for the killing of Gwen Araujo, Jose Antonio Merel, Michael William Magidson, Jaron Chase Nabors, and Jason Cazares, were close friends from the San Francisco area. Earlier findings showed that 42 percent of anti-LGBT homicides involved multiple offenders. Violence is typically considered to be a *masculine* resource for constructing gender (Bufkin, 1999; Tomsen, 2009), and violence against transgender people occurs most often between men and transwomen (Shilt & Westbrook, 2009). Merel is described as African-American and Mexican American and the other men are described as Latino (Leonard, 2009). This is unique as 70 percent of anti-LGBT offenders were White. As in the undesired advance case, the offenders were all young males, between ages 19 and 22, and fit the age profile of typical anti-LGBT offenders. Generally speaking, the offenders' family backgrounds are non-traditional. Although three of the men had children, none of them were married. As being married, owning a home, and providing for children are ways to do gender for males, it is possible the men were not able to achieve a hegemonic masculinity through their family lives.[v]

One offender had an upcoming apprenticeship as an electrician. Another worked at an upscale restaurant for 30 hours a week, while being a full-time student[vi] (Fernandez, Kuruvila, & Reang, 2002). Neither held status-earning jobs and it is unclear whether the other two offenders held jobs at the time of the murder. What is known of the offenders' occupational statuses does not contradict findings that bias offenders typically hold working class positions. The lack of

masculine capital, typically acquired through careers, may lead youth to perpetrate bias violence in order to achieve masculinity within particular situational contexts. Interestingly, at the time of the murder, only one of the offenders had a prior adult criminal record, and it was related to an incident of public intoxication.[vii]

During the summer of 2002, Nabors, Magidson, Merel, and Cazares spent time together at Merel's house,[viii] enjoying a hypermasculinzed environment where they frequently drank, did drugs, and had sex. [ix] As discussed in the first case study, drinking together represents a traditionally masculine behavior that is often found in the context of bias offenses. Although alcohol's role in the gay bash homicide is unclear, the contribution of drinking to a masculinized context is more apparent in the current mistaken identity case and in the undesired advance case that was previously discussed.

Araujo, known as "Lida" to the offenders, visited Merel's house and would flirt with the men who were present.[x] Two weeks prior to the homicide, two of the offenders realized that they both had engaged in oral and anal sex with Araujo[xi] and considered the possibility that Araujo might be male.[xii] One offender, Magidson,[xiii] "…appeared to be disgusted, but not angry or anxious, and Merel appeared 'a little agitated'" (*The People v. Merel and Magidson,* 2009). It also came forth that others in the house had had sexual encounters with Araujo but these other men implied that there was no reason to question her sex.[xiv] It is somewhat unusual that Araujo and the offenders had an established acquaintanceship, as research on violence against transgender individuals shows that homicides most often occurred shortly after meeting the victim, after a brief sexual encounter, or after the first physical contact or sexual proposition (Schilt & Westbrook, 2009). During the same conversation, the offenders proceeded to discuss how someone could get killed for engaging in homosexual sex or cross-dressing, as well as the

complications of disposing a human body. It is reported that Magidson contributed to Merel's emerging anxiety by repeatedly asking, "Do you want to be fucking gay?" (*The People v. Merel and Magidson*, 2009). This shows the extent to which men can become extremely uncomfortable with being associated with homosexuality and alternative gender identities.

On the evening of October 3, 2002, the offenders frequented bars and consumed alcohol. Merel also smoked marijuana that evening. Returning home, they decided that they would question Araujo about her gender.[xv] Nicole Brown, a girlfriend of Merel's brother, and Araujo, both intoxicated, were also at Merel's home.[xvi] This study finds that anti-LGBT homicides occur in private residences slightly over 41 percent of the time. Another study found that anti-transgender violence most often occurs in a private context (Schilt & Westbrook, 2009).

As the offenders continued to drink and play games, Araujo interfered, which provoked Merel to rub his fingers across her throat and through the front of her hair. Araujo asked what he was doing and Merel replied in a demanding tone, [xvii] "We want to know why everybody—you want everybody to fuck you in the ass…Are you a woman or sloppy ass nigga?" Araujo responded, with, "How can you ask me that?" (*The People v. Merel and Magidson*, 2009). Here, Merel equates the derogatory term "sloppy ass nigga" with a transgender person; this as an example of language use that draws boundaries between dominant and subordinate groups. Next, Magidson suggested that Araujo let him feel of her genitals. Araujo declined and claimed that she would not let Magidson molest her. As she attempted to exit the room, another offender suggested that she accompany Magidson to the bathroom so that he could investigate her anatomical sex. This action represents an attempt by the offenders to police sex in response to having potentially broken hegemonic masculine norms. Schilt and Westbrook (2009) suggested that some may "react more strongly toward transgender people who become the 'opposite

gender' but are presumed to still be the 'same sex,' as they—and their entire gender—now run the risk of unwittingly engaging in homosexuality" (p.452). Other research indicates that dressing as the opposite sex can induce anger among anti-LGBT offenders, particularly when an offender perceives that he has been duped by the victim (Tomsen, 2009, p.85).[xviii] The offenders' anger also demonstrates how sex, gender, and sexuality intersect. It is unlikely that the offenders would be as concerned that Araujo's sex and gender did not align if this discovery had not occurred in a sexualized context (Schilt & Westbrook, 2009). Research shows that anti-LGBT attacks are marked by the policing of gender *and* sexual boundaries (Perry, 2001; Tomsen, 2009) and that "the combined threat to both gender and sexuality posed by transgender bodies in private, sexual relationships can result in hypergendered responses by" men (Schilt & Westbrook, 2009, p.453). At this time, Merel claims that he was questioning his sexuality, because he believed that it was not possible for a heterosexual man to receive sexual pleasure from another male. Tomsen (2009) found that "the greatest sense of offense and dread [among anti-LGBT offenders] referred to the fundamental importance of views about hygienic and intact bodies and the actual sexual practices they engage in" (Tomsen, 2009, p.32).

After discovering that the victim was wearing multiple pairs of underwear, Magidson claimed that Araujo has "got to be a man." While outside, Merel learned of the news and began to vomit and cry uncontrollably. Upon learning that the victim was anatomically male, Merel cried "I can't be fuckin' gay" (*The People v. Merel and Magidson*, 2009). Schilt and Westbrook (2009) claimed that males are "constantly at risk of losing their claim to heterosexual status" so they must "prove [gender and sexuality] through fulfilling the appropriate criteria, including having the 'right' genitals and never desiring someone with the 'wrong' genitals" (p.457). Moreover, males who have engaged in sex with transgender women may use violence, a

masculinized activity, to repair the offenders' subordinated masculinity and destroy the evidence of a gender norm transgression (Schilt & Westbrook, 2009). As observed in the undesired advance homicide examined previously, engaging in bias violence is also a way to produce a collective masculinity. Group attacks provide males with "instant positive feedback," so that others may be motivated to act similarly, and group attacks also have the advantages of diffusion of blame and increased likelihood of success (Bufkin, 1999, p.163). This homicide also occurred in the presence of bystanders, including Merel's two brothers and a girlfriend of one of the brothers, which is the case in 16 percent of anti-LGBT homicides.

Stage Two: Dynamic Transaction

When Araujo exited the bathroom, she was forced to the floor and her underwear was removed to reveal testicles,[xix] which exemplifies another extreme attempt at policing Araujo's sex and gender identity.[xx] Magidson grabbed Araujo by the throat and yelled "Do you think this is a game? Why would you do something like this?" (St. John, 2005). Magidson proceeded to put Araujo in a chokehold several times and she was slapped as she screamed, "No, please don't. I have a family"[xxi] (*The People v. Merel and Magidson*, 2009). At some point Araujo claimed that she had family members in a gang that would "shoot up the house" and kill the offenders if they did not free her.[xxii] It is possible that this response further incited the offenders' anger and served as an affront to their manhood, as the threat insinuated that they would ultimately lose their lives for "standing up" to Araujo. Reportedly, Merel used canned food and a frying pan to strike Araujo's head. Meanwhile, Cazares asked Nabors if he was "down," meaning whether he "had the back" of the others. Nabors agreed to participate in the assault on Araujo (*The People v. Merel and Magidson*, 2009). This is an example of how males in groups can provoke violence in

one another. To back down from violence or to be unsupportive of other males would mean losing a hegemonic masculine status.

Nabors and Cazares left to retrieve three shovels and a pick axe[xxiii] so they could "kill the bitch" (*The People v. Merel and Magidson*, 2009). When they returned they found Araujo sitting on the couch, conscious, with her face covered in blood. Magidson and Merel were standing in front of her holding a dumbbell bar with free weights attached. Cazares told Magidson to "knock that bitch out" and Nabors added, "Yeah, knock that bitch out." The offenders do not use Araujo's name throughout the transaction, but instead refer to her by the derogatory term "bitch." This term can be used to degrade females and to emasculate males. Magidson punched and forcefully kneed Araujo twice in her face, causing her head to strike and dent the wall behind her. Magidson bound Araujo's wrists and ankles with rope, Cazares wrapped her unresponsive body in a blanket, and Merel, worried she would become conscious, gagged her with a "do-rag." They carried Araujo to the garage where Magidson strangled her.[xxiv] Magidson and Cazares carried Araujo to a truck parked at the house and Nabors hit her twice with the shovel in her head to be certain that she was dead (*The People v. Merel and Magidson,* 2009).[xxv]

The weapons used in this crime were all non-firearms, which is consistent with anti-LGBT homicides in general, as over 72 percent of these offenses are perpetrated with weapons that are not firearms. The offenders used their bodies, available household objects, a rope, and a shovel to attack Araujo. The continuous and varied physical assaults represent overkill, or violence going above and beyond that required to kill a human being.[xxvi] Bias offenses are often characterized by excessive violence, which may be a way to symbolically remove a victim from the offender's "social universe" (Bufkin, 1999), and to show that the victim's gender identity is improper and subordinate.

Stage Three: The Aftermath

The four offenders took Araujo's body to an unpaved road in the Sierra Nevada Foothills. Digging a hole for her burial, Merel said he was "still so mad that he could still kick her a couple times'" (*The People v. Merel and Magidson*, 2009). They covered her with rocks, dirt and a log, and wiped away all of their footprints. Before returning home, the offenders stopped to eat breakfast and they swore one another to secrecy.[xxvii] In the days following the murder, Nabors revealed the killing to friends. Anti-LGBT offenders revealed the murder to others following the crime nearly 16 percent of the time. Nabors was contacted by police officers and he led them to Araujo's body two weeks after she had disappeared. The remaining three offenders were subsequently arrested and charged with murder.

In February 2003, Nabors negotiated his murder and hate crime charge with the court and pled guilty to voluntary manslaughter in exchange for his testimony against the other offenders. He was sentenced to 11 years in prison. Magidson, Merel, and Cazares were charged with murder and a hate crime allegation. The first trial in June 2004 was declared a mistrial. During the second trial in June 2005, the jury found Magidson and Merel guilty of second degree murder, not guilty of the hate crime allegation, and they were sentenced to prison for 15 years to life. The jury ultimately rejected hate crime enhancements against Merel and Magidson because some panelists believed that the defendants killed Araujo not necessarily because of her transgender identity, but to "cover up a situation that had gotten out of control" (Lee, 2005). Cazares' case was declared a mistrial again and he eventually pled no contest to voluntary manslaughter and was sentenced to six years in prison (*The People v. Merel and Magidson*, 2009). About half of anti-LGBT homicide offenders confess to an anti-LGBT motive, which occurred in this case. The defense used a "gay panic" or "trans panic" strategy in both trials

suggesting that the crime was one of passion in which the defendants were pushed into a rage due to the victim's sexual deception. Mentioned earlier, the use of the "gay panic" and the homosexual advance defenses represents the heterosexism rooted in the criminal justice system (Herek, 1990). That these defense strategies have been effectively used in court to affect jury decision-making shows that gender essentialist discourses are also rooted in the broader social structure (Mison, 1992; Tomsen, 2009). Attorneys frame the offenders' actions as necessary attempts to protect masculine honor, which partially excuses the offenders' violence against LGBT victims. This occurred in Araujo's case when one defense lawyer described the crime as one of "passion" after learning Araujo's anatomical sex and said the offenders had "their masculinity, sexual identity and self-esteem called into question at a time when they had been drinking heavily" (St. John, 2005). The homicide is viewed as logical, because there is a presumed binary difference between LGBT individuals and heterosexuals that is expected to be maintained (Tomsen, 2006). The deception narrative is also often reflected in media reports of the crime (Schilt & Westbrook, 2009).

Case Study Four: Representative Anti-LGBT Homicide

The fourth case study illustrates the subcategory of representative anti-LGBT homicide. Representative crimes are the most common type of homicide in the current study. Meant to be symbolic, representative homicides are those in which the offender plans to kill a lesbian, gay, bisexual or transgender person who serves as a "representative" for the LGBT community. The act is meant to demonstrate that the victim's sexual orientation is inappropriate and will not be tolerated. Offenders who perpetrate these crimes draw from heterosexist social structures and discourses that promote hegemonic masculinities and regard homosexuality as inferior. As

demonstrated in the following case, the offenders are men who believe that dominance, aggression, and the practice of heterosexuality are necessary to attain a dominant male identity.

Stage One: Precursor Attributes

Before their deaths, Gary Matson, 50, and his partner of 16 years, Winfield Scott Mowder, 40, lived together in the rural outskirts of Redding, California. Matson was a prominent member of the community and had founded the Redding Farmer's Market, a community garden, an arboretum, and a natural science children's museum. Well-known and respected in their community, the couple ran an internet-based business which sold plants by mail.[i] The two men had formed a non-conventional family with Matson's ex-wife and his 19-year-old daughter. As White, middle-aged males, Matson and Mowder were demographically characteristic of representative anti-LGBT homicide victims, a group including mostly White victims (75 percent) and very few juvenile victims (5.9 percent). Homicide events targeting LGBT victims rarely involve more than one fatality, though multiple fatalities were most common to the representative homicide cases (8.6 percent).

The two homicide offenders in this case were brothers, Benjamin Matthew Williams (BMW) and James Tyler Williams (JTW), who happened to sell plants at the farmer's market founded by Matson. Acquaintance victim-offender relationships are typical of representative homicides, in which victims are known to their offenders over 70 percent of the time. The offenders were relatively young White males—BMW was 31 and JTW was 29. Compared to other anti-LGBT homicide groups, representative homicides have the greatest prevalence of White offenders (80.6 percent) and include no juvenile offenders. Though multiple offenders are found less often in representative homicides compared to the other homicide subcategories, multiple offenders are found in over a quarter of these cases. Like most bias offenders examined

by prior research and the anti-LGBT offenders previously examined in this study, the brothers were economically disadvantaged (Bull, 1999), which aligns with others who suggested that bias crimes are disproportionately committed by low and working class White males.

The brothers were raised in Gridley, California and had recently moved to the Redding area. The two offenders were home-schooled by their mother until high school and were not allowed to participate in extra-curricular activities. Religion was an integral component of the lives of the private Christian Fundamentalist family and little time was spent with those outside of their church. The brothers' father was a domestic extremist who taught his sons to live off of the land in preparation for what he believed to be the impending apocalypse. A review of the brothers' background reveals how their family had a long history of creating social boundaries between themselves and others.

As an adult in the 1990s, BMW experienced multiple ideological transitions. In 1990, BMW was serving as a nuclear electronics technician for the Navy.[ii] For no known reason, BMW put in for an early discharge. Shortly after that, BMW began dating a woman who became pregnant. When she decided against marriage, BMW became upset because having a child out of wedlock went against his religious beliefs. Based on open-sources, it does not appear that BMW had a relationship with the child.[iii] The unwillingness of his ex-girlfriend to marry likely served as an affront to his masculinity, as he was prevented from fulfilling the hegemonic male role as a husband, father, and leader of a family. In other words, one important pathway to do masculinity was blocked for BMW. After his girlfriend left him in 1993, BMW enrolled at the University of Idaho. It does not appear that he attended the University for long, however.

During the same time period (early 1990s), BMW belonged to an Evangelical Christian church, though he later moved on to join the Living Faith Fellowship,[iv] which took a strong

stance against homosexuality. BMW's deep involvement in organized religion demonstrates how some religious institutions which condemn homosexuality may play a key role in the production and maintenance of heterosexism in society (see Herek, 1990). Disillusioned with organized religion, BMW eventually left the church and began identifying with the White separatists and White supremacists, as well as other quasi-religious groups characterized by their dislike for the government and their belief that Jews, homosexuals, and non-Whites were inferior beings.[v] Engaging in White supremacist discourse was one way that BMW sought to construct his masculinity. According to Abby Ferber (1998), White supremacist discourse constructs White masculinity in order to draw boundaries between White men and the social groups they consider themselves elite to—homosexual men, women, Jews, and racial and ethnic minorities. This construction of differences is assumed to reflect natural differences among White males and other groups deemed inferior.

Interestingly, there was speculation that BMW was himself homosexual. Before the homicide, BMW attempted to obtain the phone number of a man who later claimed to have engaged in a romantic relationship with BMW in the early 1990s.[vi] BMW was extremely upset when he learned that the man identified as gay (Bull, 1999). Another report claimed that BMW confessed to an associate that he was gay and was extremely upset about this realization (Stanton, 2003). It is possible that BMW's uncertainty with his own sexual orientation could have in part fueled him to perpetrate the anti-LGBT homicide in an attempt to reaffirm what he felt was his fleeting masculinity. According to Ferber (1998, p.21), "the production of gender occurs through the performance of heterosexuality; motivating this performance is the threat of punishment…those who do not partake in the heterosexual performance are seen as not properly gendered." In other words, it was necessary for BMW to proactively exhibit his heterosexuality

so that he could be considered masculine by himself and his peers, to whom he was accountable. The fear of punishment from those peers and the gender "challenges" BMW experienced drove him to construct a hegemonic masculinity through violence (see Messerschmidt, 2012). As in previous cases, one partial explanation for the fatal attacks is that conventional avenues for constructing hegemonic masculinity were blocked for BMW, and an alternative resource for achieving masculinity came through the punishment of those who do not do gender properly (Bufkin, 1999; Perry, 2001).

Just prior to the homicide, BMW had moved from his parents' home into a rental house that was in disrepair while JTW continued to reside with their parents. JTW was an honor roll student in high school and did not have many friends.[vii] The offenders' backgrounds are characteristic of socially marginal offenders that seek to do gender with violence. Neither brother was married nor did they have traditional employment, though the brothers planned to begin a landscaping business.[viii] JTW lived with his parents and BMW had only recently moved out on his own. Growing up, the offenders were kept from peer groups and marginalized by their family. Those who knew the family claimed that BMW was always looking for a place to fit in and that JTW was reserved and heavily influenced by his brother. It appears that, through perpetrating an anti-LGBT homicide, JTW was working to earn BMW's acceptance, while BMW sought the social acceptance from the extremist groups of which he was associated. In other words, the Williams brothers were accountably masculine to each other, to the supremacist groups they followed, and also to their extremist father. They were aware that their behavior and adherence to hegemonic masculine values were constantly being assessed (see West & Zimmerman, 1987). Neither brother had a prior criminal record; however, two weeks before the

homicide the brothers set three Sacramento-area synagogues afire as symbolic of their anti-Semitic religious beliefs.

The murder of Matson and Mowder was premeditated. JTW claimed, "My brother brought the open homosexuality of Mr. Mowder and Mr. Matson to my attention and reminded me that if he and I really believed as we stated that we had an obligation to kill them" (Vovakes, 2003a). BMW justified the homicide by invoking God's word, again revealing the role that religion can play in anti-LGBT violence (see Herek, 1990). Moreover, White supremacists seek to keep the White male status dominant to females, minorities, and gender deviants by policing gender and racial boundaries. Since sexuality is entangled into gender expression, boundaries between White heterosexual men and all homosexual men are constructed through White supremacist discourse in order to distinguish White men from men who do not embody a dominant masculinity. Differences are understood as part of the natural order and efforts to establish social equality among groups are viewed as threats to White male dominance (Ferber, 1998). Anti-LGBT violence is often viewed as one way to stunt progress toward social equality (Bufkin, 1999; Perry, 2001) and to perpetuate the notion of a hegemonic masculinity that is embodied by White, heterosexual males.

Stage Two: Dynamic Transaction

During the night of June 30, 1999, the Williams brothers drove to Matson and Mowder's home. Residential homicides are less commonly found among representative homicides (35.3 percent) than among other anti-LGBT homicides. No bystanders were present, which is common of both subcategories of predatory anti-LGBT homicide. Privacy maximizes the offenders' likelihood of success, ensuring that a dominant masculine status is achieved, rather than further degraded through an unsuccessful homicide attempt (see Bufkin, 1999). Uncommon to both

predatory homicide subcategories, the offenders had not been drinking or using drugs in the precursor phase of the criminal event. In contrast, the responsive cases examined previously each had instances of alcohol use. Bufkin (1999) claims that alcohol use is part of the masculinized context in which bias offenses frequently emerge, but the current case did not share this situational variant. Rather, this case shows that a masculinized context was already well-established and reflexively internalized (see Messerschmidt, 2012) through the Williams brothers' strict upbringing and their association with religious and extremist groups.

The evidence shows that one of the victims was forced to record a new outgoing message for their answering machine, which stated that they were sick and had left for San Francisco to see a doctor. The voice in the message sounded distressed and someone was heard saying "just calm down" in the background. Then, it appears that Matson and Mowder were forced onto their bed and one or both of the offenders stood on a chair to shoot the men (Stanton & Delsohn, 1999). JTW gave a description of the homicide; however, it did not account for the outgoing voicemail message. According to JTW, BMW entered the home first and JTW heard gunshots as he entered. Inside, JTW heard the victims' labored breathing and believed they had been asleep when they were shot. JTW estimated that BMW used two clips. Matson and Mowder had many bullet wounds. Uncommon to all anti-LGBT homicide subcategories, firearms are found less frequently in representative homicides (22.9 percent) compared to other groups. Obvious differences are observed between this representative homicide and the confrontational homicides previously examined. In particular, the Williams brothers planned this attack and did not have any confrontation with Matson or Mowder during or prior to the homicide that provoked the offenders' violent actions. On the other hand, responsive homicide offenders had

dynamic transactions with their victim that were characterized by an interchange of insults and the steady escalation of violence.

Overkill is found in about 43 percent of representative anti-LGBT homicides, which is more frequent compared to other homicide subcategories, but it is not evident that the offenders' actions constituted excessive violence. Typical of representative offenses, there is no evidence of anti-homosexual language used by the offenders during the homicide transaction and offender manipulation or mutilation of the victims' bodies did not occur. The Williams brothers stole Matson's credit card, his wallet, his driver's license, his Social Security card, and his car. Approximately 17 percent of representative homicides are characterized by such profit-related circumstances. In this case, it is apparent that the Williams brothers targeted Matson and Mowder for their sexual orientation and that the theft held only an "incidental relation" to the crime (Tomsen, 2009, p.67).

Stage Three: The Aftermath

On July 2, after listening to an unusual outgoing voicemail message on Matson and Mowder's machine, Matson's brother went to check on the men and found Matson and Mowder dead in their blood-covered bed. Matson's station wagon was gone only to be later found by police near Yuba City where both offenders were arrested[ix] on July 7 as they tried to pick up a package of ammunition reloading equipment and gun belts they had ordered with Matson's credit card.[x] Continuing their spree of ideologically-motivated violence, the offenders had firebombed an abortion clinic the day following the murders. When police searched BMW's home they found a list of over thirty prominent Jewish individuals in the community who belonged to three Sacramento synagogues that had been burned, racist fliers, hate group literature,[xi] and a collection of automatic and semi-automatic weapons.[xii] The Williams brothers

targeted the synagogues, the abortion clinic, and Matson and Mowder due to their White supremacist belief that White men are superior to all other groups, including Jews, women, and homosexuals.

The homicides were investigated as hate crimes. Each offender was charged with two counts of murder, robbery, burglary, and theft of a vehicle. BMW claimed that JTW was not a participant in any of these crimes, but JTW's handprint was found on the pistol used in the homicide. BMW gave several media interviews, where he shared his White supremacist beliefs and admitted to killing Matson and Mowder because of their sexual orientation. Offender admission of an anti-LGBT motive is characteristic of representative homicides (60 percent). BMW also revealed the crime to his mother;[xiii] such revelations occur in about 17 percent of representative homicides. BMW claimed he was obeying biblical laws: "I'm not guilty of murder…I'm guilty of obeying the laws of the Creator" (Stanton, 2003). BMW described himself as a Christian martyr who hoped to incite further violence against Jews, non-Whites, and homosexuals.[xiv]

Still in jail, BMW and another inmate attacked a deputy with a homemade hatchet in an escape attempt.[xv] BMW was found guilty of attempted murder and faced a life sentence. He was moved to an isolation cell, where he committed suicide on November 17, 2001 with a disposable razor he had modified to cut his femoral arteries, his arms, and his neck.[xvi] JTW pled guilty to two counts of murder with special circumstances (using a firearm in the commission of a crime) and was sentenced to twenty nine years to life in prison, plus up to four additional years for hate crime enhancements.[xvii]

Case Study Five: Instrumental Anti-LGBT Homicide

This final case study is representative of instrumental homicide, or cases in which LGBT victims are primarily targeted as a means to another end—robbery. Earlier it was shown how

robbery is occasionally present in the other homicide subcategories, but theft in those cases plays only a minor role in the criminal event. Typically things of little value are stolen and theft is an after-thought or a way to further demean the victim. In contrast, instrumental anti-LGBT homicides are perpetrated by offenders who adhere to cultural assumptions of homosexual men;[i] offenders may perceive that homosexuals are not as capable of fighting back or less willing to report the robbery so that they may conceal their sexual orientation and related behaviors. In short, choosing a victim based on his homosexual status may have several perceived advantages from the perspective of the offender (see also Tomsen, 2009).

Instrumental homicides are what Berk, Boyd, and Hamner (2002) described as "actuarial crimes" involving offenders who "make lay estimates of central tendencies associated with particular social categories" in order to select victims (p.128). Thus, in instrumental crimes, offenders are not robbing gay men because of "what [their] sexual orientation represents to [the offenders] but because they apply a stereotype" that the gay men will be more affluent, less likely to fight back, or less likely to report the crime due to the circumstances in which they were targeted (p.128). Berk et al. (2002) suggested that these crimes are not hate motivated and should not be labeled as such.[ii] Indeed, it is debatable whether offenders who target victims based on their actuarial status are perpetrating bias homicides. In the current study, instrumental anti-LGBT homicides are examined as bias crimes because the victims were selected based on an integral component of their identity—their sexual orientation. This approach is supported by research on racial bias that has shown "bigotry may serve as a factor in the selection of the particular victim rather than as the catalyst to the criminal act" (Messner, Mchugh, & Felson, 2004, p.608). Additionally, instrumental crimes may still lead to an extended negative psychological effect on the LGBT community comparable to other types of anti-LGBT

homicides, including increased fear of crime, as victims are discriminately selected based on their sexual orientation or gender identity.

Stage One: Precursor Attributes

The current case study focuses on the death of Brian Keith Betts, 42, who lived in Silver Spring, Maryland.[iii] Previously a gym teacher, Betts moved on to become principal at a struggling Washington D.C middle school. He was well known in the area school systems for his exemplary school reform efforts and for his sensitivity to racial and class-based inequalities; he has been described as an "inspirational leader" (Lohr, 2010). Betts had strong relationships with parents, teachers, and students and was close with his family. As a White, adult male, Betts was demographically characteristic of the instrumental anti-LGBT homicide victim group, where all victims are adult males and 70 percent of the victims are White. In comparison, only approximately 20 percent of gay bash homicide victims are White.

The four offenders, Alante Saunders, Sharif Tau Lancaster, Deontra Gray, and Joel Johnson, were 18- and 19-year-old Black males. Most commonly found in gay bash offenses, non-White offenders are not characteristic of any anti-LGBT homicide group, but instrumental homicides have a greater prevalence of non-White offenders (30.4 percent) than other anti-LGBT homicides. The offenders were young men, similar to most bias offenders, but were all adults. Homicides perpetrated by multiple offenders are more frequently found among instrumental cases (61.5 percent) than all other homicide groups. Scholars have found that men perpetrating bias offenses in groups produce collective masculinity (Bufkin, 1999; Tomsen, 2009). However, the evidence in the current case does not support this finding. More likely, the offenders in this case sought to ensure the success of the robbery by offending as a group. There are no case facts that suggest the offenders experienced gender or sexual challenges from one

another that provoked them to perpetrate the anti-LGBT homicide or that offenders received "instant positive feedback from fellow offenders" when attacking a "non-hegemonic individual" (Bufkin, 1999, p.163). In fact, the transaction discussed below reveals that gender and sexuality were not salient characteristics to the criminal event.

The offenders all seemed to have volatile pasts. Saunders had no fixed address and was staying with Gray at the time of the homicide. Lancaster is described as having a "troubled childhood" (Morse, 2013) and his mother was found to be an unsuitable guardian. Although the evidence in the current case is not inconsistent with prior findings regarding offenders' increased propensity to come from disadvantaged backgrounds, overall, little information is known of the offenders' upbringings. The offenders resided in the D.C. area and, despite their youth, each one had an extensive criminal history. Collectively, the offenders had been charged with offenses including sex crimes, robbery, assault, multiple charges of theft, receiving stolen property, operating a stolen vehicle, gun crime, fleeing a law enforcement officer, unlawful possession of ammunition, stolen auto, cocaine distribution, multiple charges of unlawful entry, multiple charges of burglary, multiple charges of receiving stolen property, gun possession, and using a vehicle without permission. Saunders had absconded from a group home two weeks prior to killing Betts[iv] and Lancaster[v] and Gray had recently failed to appear to court hearings. Saunders, Lancaster, and Gray[vi] were wanted at the time of the homicide. Prosecutors claimed Lancaster and Saunders were both members of gangs. The extensive criminal histories of the offenders distinguish them from the offenders in the previous four case studies.

On the evening of April 14, 2010, Saunders relied on a national sex-chat line to select a robbery victim. This chat line catered to gay men who commonly sought other men for sex. A police source claimed that the site Betts used was "Adam4Adam," a free social-networking site,

which describes itself as a tool "for gay men looking for friendship, romance, dating or a hot hookup" (O'Bryan, 2010). Mentioned previously, research shows that offenders may target homosexual victims for robbery, based on cultural assumptions about gay men. Tomsen found that "in a minority of killings [robbery] appeared to be a principal motive, but this operated in the social context of perpetrator awareness of the homosexuality of the victim: they are 'soft targets' with an expected vulnerability to attack and robbery or a reluctance to report the crime" (Tomsen, 2002, p.29). Bartlett (2007) also found that victim homosexuality can be involved in the victim selection process. Offenders may utilize gay cruising areas, gay bars, or gay phone lines and websites to select their victims.

Saunders expressed interest in meeting the victim, who agreed to leave his door unlocked so that Saunders could meet him inside his house. Just under half of instrumental homicides occur inside of a residence (46.2 percent) and bystanders are never present for instrumental homicides. Also observed in the prior case studies, the situational circumstances of this crime ensured the success of the offenders. The agreement Saunders was able to make with Betts shows the advantage he gained by selecting a homosexual victim for robbery. Under the guise of a romantic or sexual encounter, Saunders was able to easily enter his victim's home and make certain that Betts would be found in a vulnerable situation. There was no evidence of a prior relationship between Saunders and Betts. Instrumental homicide victims and offenders are strangers 36 percent of the time, more frequently than in representative or undesired advance cases. Saunders claimed his reason for selecting a robbery victim was to obtain money for drugs, but instances of drug or alcohol abuse by the offenders prior to the homicide are not mentioned in open-sources. Substance abuse in the precursor phase is uncommon to instrumental homicides (3.8 percent). As in the representative homicide discussed earlier, there does not appear to be a

masculinized context of drinking or drug use established directly prior to the criminal transaction (see Bufkin, 1999). In contrast, in the gay bash, undesired advance, and mistaken identity cases, the anti-LGBT homicide emerges from a context that was masculinized in numerous ways. Offenders had engaged in drugs and alcohol, girlfriends and male friends were present, and some offenders (McCullough, Steward, Merel, and Magidson) had recently participated in gender norm transgressions. None of these contextual features are evident in the current instrumental case.

Stage Two: Dynamic Transaction

The four offenders arrived at Betts' house sometime between 11:30 p.m. and 1 a.m. Saunders entered first and walked up the stairs to the bedroom where Betts was waiting. Lancaster went inside second and saw Saunders, armed with a gun, robbing Betts. During the robbery, Saunders shot Betts from a distance at least one time, causing injuries to his heart, lungs and spine. It is unclear how the robbery escalated into a homicide. Saunders claimed that his only intention was to rob Betts. Research on homicides of homosexual men support this scenario: "While a number of cases are consistent with the perpetrator anticipating a robbery, in which some violence would be expected, in the more usual case, there is no evidence to suggest that the accused anticipated their encounter with the deceased would escalate into violence" (Bartlett, 2007, p.578). Research on anti-homosexual killings shows that perpetrators' "fury or contempt for the victims outweighed restraint" (Tomsen, 2009, p.67), but this is not evident in the current case. Here, the perpetrators appear to be a different kind of offender, driven by instrumental needs rather than symbolic ones. The offenders may have been drawing on essentialist beliefs about gay males while they planned the robbery; however, it is not apparent that the offenders

disliked homosexual men or that they were seeking to construct a hegemonic masculine identity by perpetrating an anti-LGBT homicide.

Characteristic of instrumental homicide, the offenders' actions do not constitute overkill. Excessive violence is found in instrumental homicides just under 40 percent of the time. While research has shown non-firearms are more prevalent for anti-LGBT homicides (Gruenewald, 2012), when instrumental homicides are examined separately the prevalence of guns increases (30.8 percent). Studies show that firearms may be more frequently used in homicides that have been premeditated or those that are less expressive. This is consistent with the current case, where offenders planned the homicide and were seeking instrumental, rather than ideological, gains.

At some point Gray[vii] and Johnson also entered Betts' home. The offenders stole Betts' television, his iPod, his computer, his wallet, several of his credit cards, and his car. Characteristic of instrumental homicides, the offenders did not use anti-homosexual epithets throughout the course of the crime. The current case is different from the predatory-representative homicide, in which the offenders had experienced challenges to their gender prior to the homicide event, and the responsive homicides, in which gender and sexuality were salient characteristics within the situational contexts of the homicides. The construction of gender and sexuality was clearly relevant to the offenders examined in the other cases, but the current case does not show that offenders were seeking to achieve a dominant masculine identity through their violent crimes.

Stage Three: The Aftermath

The day following the homicide, a coworker went to check on the victim when he did not show up for work and called the police when Betts' door was unlocked and a light was left on

upstairs. Betts, clothed, was found dead in his home. Later, Betts' vehicle was located in a D.C. neighborhood, where it had been abandoned by two people. Lancaster, his mom, and Saunders were caught on surveillance cameras using Betts' credit cards at several locations, which led to the identification of the offenders. The homicide was not investigated as a hate crime. Investigators and prosecutors claimed there was no evidence to support a hate crime charge and that the homicide motive was robbery. It is frequently the case in mixed-motive homicides that investigators and prosecutors choose to ignore bias elements of a criminal event (see the second endnote for an explanation of how motive is discussed in the current study). The offenders did not admit to an anti-LGBT motive, which is uncharacteristic of instrumental homicides where an anti-LGBT admission of motive is found in approximately 65 percent of the cases. Characteristic of instrumental homicides, there is no evidence that offenders revealed the crime to friends or family.

Saunders claimed the gun went off accidentally and said, "I didn't go there meaning to harm him in any way. And it was just over basically getting money for drugs. Drugs was the powerful force in this situation…" (Morse, 2010, p.13). Saunders was charged with first degree murder, armed robbery, and the use of a handgun in a felony crime of violence. He pled guilty to felony murder and was sentenced to life with all but 40 years suspended. Lancaster was charged with first degree murder, armed robbery, and the use of a handgun in a felony crime of violence. He pled guilty to charges of robbery and the use of a handgun during a felony and was sentenced to 27 years in prison. Deontra Gray was charged with one count of first degree murder, one count of armed robbery, and one count of conspiracy to commit armed robbery. Gray pled guilty to robbery and the use of a deadly weapon in a crime of violence and was sentenced to 30 years in prison. Joel Johnson was charged with conspiracy to commit first-degree murder, first-degree

murder, conspiracy to commit armed robbery and armed robbery. He agreed to testify against Saunders and pled to being an accessory after the fact to first degree murder and was sentenced to 5 years with all but 18 months suspended.[viii]

Cross-Case Analysis

The case studies provided a description of three stages of one "typical" homicide event for each of the five subcategories, while placing homicides within a situational context and showing how gender theories can explain the offenders' actions. The following section examines the event narratives in order to review the unique facets of each homicide and highlight the distinctions between each of the five anti-LGBT homicide subcategories. A more in-depth analysis of the general applicability of "doing gender" and other theories is given in the subsequent discussion.

To begin with, the case studies revealed the key differences between the umbrella categories of predatory and responsive anti-LGBT homicide. Both of the predatory crimes were planned by offenders. Before their crime, the Williams brothers discussed killing Matson and Mowder for their sexual orientation and Saunders planned to rob Betts, relying on a chat line to target a gay victim. While the responsive undesired advance homicide was somewhat premeditated, as Steward and Boone planned to "kick the fag's ass" when they arrived at Eads' apartment, there is no evidence of the careful planning that characterized predatory offenses. Indeed, Steward was affronted by Eads' sexual advance and decided to cause him harm very soon after the affront. Responsive and predatory homicides are also distinguished by the role the victims played in the criminal events. Each responsive homicide revealed a dynamic transaction between offenders and victims that was marked by a steady escalation of violence, in which

victims played a role in provoking the offenders, albeit inadvertently. Contrastingly, in the representative and instrumental cases neither victim provoked the offenders.

The case studies also highlighted the criminal event elements that were used to identify each homicide case with one of the five anti-LGBT homicide subcategories. All responsive cases were characterized by victim provocation and the lack of rational planning, but each case had meaningful differences as well. For instance, in the gay bash homicide, which was defined by a perceived wrongdoing by the victim, it was apparent that Gunn's wrongdoing was her rejection of McCullough's propositions by claiming that she was uninterested due to her lesbian identity. This provoked McCullough and led to the escalation of violence. In the second case study of an undesired advance homicide, Eads provoked Steward by sexually advancing on him—Eads grabbed Steward's crotch and asked him for oral sex, which was undesired by Steward. Interestingly, in the gay bash case the offender was provoked because his advances were not reciprocated by a member of the opposite sex, but in the undesired advance case the offender was provoked because he experienced an advance from a member of his same sex. In the third case study of a mistaken identity homicide, the offenders were provoked by Araujo after having sex with her and discovering her gender identity was not representative of her sex. Once again, to be considered mistaken identity homicide, the offender must always be provoked after mis-categorizing the victim's gender, but this could occur before, during, or after an expected sexual encounter.

Neither of the predatory homicide victims played any role in the provocation of the offenders, which is obvious after a close read of the criminal transactions of these homicides. In each of the predatory cases, the offenders selected a victim based on their LGBT status during the *precursor* phase of the criminal event, whereas responsive homicide offenders selected

victims in the *transaction* phase of the homicide or, in some cases, very late in the precursor phase. In the fourth case study of a representative homicide, the Williams brothers selected a gay couple, Matson and Mowder, to kill. BMW invoked God's word to rationalize his crime and confessed that he hoped the homicide would incite more violence against homosexuals. Representative homicides were characterized by their offenders who target LGBT individuals for their sexual identity and their representation of the LGBT community. In other words, the offender's actions were meant to be symbolic in that they were sending a message to the LGBT community that homosexuality and alternative gender identities were inferior to heterosexuality and would not be tolerated. In the fifth case study of an instrumental homicide, Saunders chose to use a relationship service that catered to gay men to select his robbery victim. Although open-sources do not clearly indicate his reasoning, it is likely that Saunders chose a gay chat line based on the stereotypical assumption that a gay man would be an easier target for robbery, allowing Saunders an advantage.

In addition to showing the dynamic processes that occur between victims and offenders and the way they interact based on the environment they are situated in, the case studies revealed the complexity of the homicides and the multiple decision points in which offenders chose to continue or intensify their violence, as well as the victims' reactions to the offender. For example, the gay bash homicide offender, McCullough, was provoked by Gunn's rebuffing of his propositions; however, by examining the case in detail, it is apparent that there were multiple points throughout the transaction where McCullough could have left the situation. Instead, McCullough seemed to be further provoked by Gunn's and her friends' refusals to come near him and the subordinating comments made by Gunn, such as "you're not my father." Similar situations of escalating violence occurred in the other two responsive homicides. In the undesired

advance case, Steward returned to Eads' apartment twice after the undesired advance. In the mistaken identity case, the bystanders and one of the offenders attempted to help Araujo leave, while the offenders ensured she stayed inside the Merel home. In comparison to the responsive homicides, neither predatory homicide was characterized by this dynamic interchange of insults nor did they reveal a string of crucial decisions made by the offenders. In the predatory subcategories, representative and instrumental, the offenders made a decision to offend against LGBT individuals *prior to interacting* with them. Another advantage to conducting case studies is that they showed how variables were expressed and how variable expression was dependent on the situational context of the homicide. For example, the roles of specific gender-based language and homosexual epithets used by offenders, the specific weapons chosen, and the bystanders' relations to the offenders and victims became clear.

Finally, the case studies drew attention to a particularly unique type of anti-LGBT homicide, instrumental crimes. Each homicide in this study is identified as an anti-LGBT homicide because the offenders selected victims based on their LGBT status and each subcategory of anti-LGBT homicide identified in the typology was distinct, but instrumental homicides were particularly different in nature due to their status as actuarial crimes. Betts' LGBT status did not appear to play a role in the actual transaction of the criminal event, but was relevant in the precursor phase of the homicide, in which the victim was targeted for violence. Although Saunders was selecting a victim primarily to rob, his selection process ensured that the LGBT community had an increased risk of being selected for Saunders' crime. Instrumental cases were included in the current study because the victims were discriminately selected for their LGBT identity, just as all other anti-LGBT homicide victims. While some scholars question the inclusion of this type of case into studies of "hate" or bias crimes (Berk et al., 2002), the

current study suggests that further empirical examination to instrumental bias violence is needed before excluding actuarial crimes from studies on anti-LGBT violence. Indeed, the case example shows that LGBT individuals may be at greater risk for robbery under certain circumstances. The theoretical implications of this case are elaborated in the next section.

In sum, the case studies showed how the five unique offender selection processes occurred and how process elements varied across specific anti-LGBT homicide categories and subcategories. The case studies also revealed the highly dynamic transactions that occurred between offenders and victims in responsive homicides, and the less dynamic transactions that occurred within predatory homicides. Revealing these processes lends the anti-LGBT homicide typology to future research and empirical examination.

VIII. DISCUSSION

The following section reviews the goals of the current study, its research design advantages, and discusses the applicability of "doing gender" and other masculinity theories to five unique situations of anti-LGBT violence. Also in this section, key quantitative and qualitative findings are integrated into the discussion to show how the results from statistical analyses and in-depth case studies align with prior literature.

An Anti-LGBT Homicide Typology

The first purpose of the current study was to develop a typification scheme of a unique form of homicide, anti-LGBT homicide, in order to elaborate on the different situational circumstances in which this violence occurs. To extend prior research and overcome the disadvantages of past studies that relied primarily on motive to categorize homicide, the proposed typology captured observable processes that offenders used to discriminately select LGBT victims. Additional advantages of the current research included its focus on one type of crime and one type of bias to avoid making the dangerous assumption that all types of violent crimes and all biases have identical causes and patterns. This study also relied on an innovative open-source database to overcome the weaknesses found in official data and used a mixed-method design to systematically compare different categories and subcategories of anti-LGBT homicide quantitatively and qualitatively. The "explanatory" mixed-method design (see Creswell & Plano Clark, 2007) allowed for broad comparisons of anti-LGBT homicide umbrella categories and subcategories, while providing rich descriptions of the dynamic processes offenders used to discriminately select LGBT victims for homicide. This design also allowed the current study to examine the applicability of theories of masculinity and violence to five unique anti-LGBT homicide situations. The quantitative analyses identified significant differences

between different homicide categories and subcategories, while the qualitative phase helped explain why anti-LGBT homicides occurred and how unique anti-LGBT homicide selection processes emerged from different situational contexts. Additionally, the case studies allowed for the examination of the mistaken identity homicide subcategory, which could not be considered in quantitative analyses due to the small number of cases.

There are some similarities between the proposed typology and that offered by McDevitt et al. (2002). For example, one category of the McDevitt et al. (2002) typology was "thrill" motivated violence, in which offenders often sought power and excitement through offending against minorities and other protected victim groups. Similar situations were found among the population of anti-LGBT homicides used to develop the typology proposed here, but because a goal of the current study was to capture observable offender selection criteria, rather than motive, "thrill" did not define a single category of anti-LGBT homicide. Thus, those which would be categorized as "thrill" by McDevitt et al. (2002) may be found among multiple subcategories proposed by this study.

Another important dynamic of bias crimes recognized by McDevitt et al. (2002) is the "peer dynamics" or the complex interactions between multiple offenders that occurred during bias crime events. According to McDevitt et al. (2002, p.313), "In some cases the young person actually disagreed with the sentiment of the group but did not know how to get out of the situation and save face with his/her peers. It is important to note that most hate crime offenders are young males for whom respect from their peers is incredibly important." In the current study, this finding is extended and explained by the notion of "collective masculinity" which is being produced through the collective perpetration of homicide against LGBT individuals. Indeed, the case studies revealed how offenders often incited violence in one another by explicitly

challenging their fellow offender's sexuality and gender or by merely suggesting that others join in on violence against homosexuals.

While McDevitt et al. (2002) also identified other situations of violence, such as "retaliatory" bias crimes, in which offenders committed bias attacks in response to other recent bias crimes, and "defensive" bias crimes, in which offenders sought to protect their "turf" due to the perceived threat of minority presence, neither of these situations were identified in the anti-LGBT homicides examined in the current study. This supports the claim that it is necessary to disaggregate bias offenses by crime and bias type in order to categorize a single type of violence into meaningful categories. General typologies of bias crimes are useful; however, the current study showed that more specific bias crime situations are better explained by typologies that capture distinct elements of a single crime and bias type.

Testing Claims of Prior Research

Flewelling and Williams (1999) stressed the importance of looking for meaningful differences and similarities in criminal events within homicide types. Prior research has also stressed how anti-LGBT homicide situations are not homogenous. Therefore, the current study developed a typology of two umbrella categories of anti-LGBT homicide which were further disaggregated into five total subcategories. Predatory and responsive umbrella categories loosely aligned with prior research, in that they were defined by some of the important differences that have been found between planned attacks and reactive, or confrontational, violence. Fisher and Salfati (2009) speculated that bias homicides may be loosely divided by crimes in which offenders are seeking power and those in which offenders are attempting to restore lost honor, whereas Tomsen's (2009) research identified even greater variation in anti-LGBT violence. He found that anti-LGBT homicides may be separated by 1) public, planned attacks, in which

offenders are characterized by extreme anger and 2) private attacks between men, in which the victim has romantically or sexually propositioned the offender who reacts violently to the advance. After examining this research and open-source accounts of anti-LGBT homicide situations, this study's two broad categories of anti-LGBT homicide, predatory and responsive, were developed. These categories were defined by the extent of offender planning and victim provocation.

In order to explore claims of prior research, the second purpose of this study was to conduct multivariate logistic regression to test for significant differences between predatory and responsive categories. The variables selected for this phase of the research were those which prior literature has identified as important distinguishing factors in anti-LGBT homicide types: age, multiple offenders, occurred in residence, profit-related circumstances, non-firearm, and gender- and sexuality-based remarks. Of these, profit-related circumstances was found to be a significant predictor net the effects of other variables. Anti-LGBT homicides characterized by profit-related circumstances were less likely to be found among responsive homicides, largely due to the inclusion of instrumental crimes in the predatory umbrella category. As expected, gender- and sexuality-based remarks were significantly more likely ($p \leq .1$) to be used by responsive offenders. The results clearly showed that it is essential to disaggregate anti-LGBT homicide beyond two general scenarios of violence defined by planning and the element of victim provocation. Important variables determined in prior research were not found to distinguish anti-LGBT homicides effectively until the two umbrella categories were disaggregated into subcategories.

Interpreting Subgroup Analyses and Applying Theories of Masculinity and Violence

In addition to multivariate logistic regression, the current study conducted bivariate comparative subgroup analyses between four unique subcategories of predatory and responsive anti-LGBT homicide to fulfill a third purpose of the research—to identify significant differences across subcategories of predatory and responsive anti-LGBT homicide. A fourth purpose was to utilize in-depth case studies to show representative narratives of each homicide subcategory, while applying explanatory theories to anti-LGBT fatal situations. The results highlighted differences and similarities across four anti-LGBT homicide subcategories and the five case studies gave insight into the circumstances that made each anti-LGBT homicide category unique, while showing how masculinity theories may be applied to offender and situational characteristics of anti-LGBT homicides. The following section draws attention to key findings by integrating discussion of the quantitative bivariate comparisons with an assessment of the overall relevance of "doing gender" and other masculinity theories to multiple situational circumstances of anti-LGBT homicide. Theories of violence and bias crimes have examined the relationship between gender and crime, specifically the importance of dominant masculinities to anti-LGBT fatal situations, but prior research has not been able to apply masculinity theories to the five unique situations of anti-LGBT violence identified in the current study. Findings support the notion that anti-LGBT homicide occurrences can be in part explained by doing gender theory in all but one anti-LGBT homicide subcategory-instrumental.

Offender Characteristics and Masculinity

Research shows that a majority of violent offenders, bias offenders, and anti-LGBT offenders are men who have had conventional avenues to achieving masculinity blocked (Bufkin, 1999; Messerschmidt, 2002; 2012; Perry, 2001; Polk, 1994; Tomsen, 2009). Men are

expected to enact aggression and dominance, which can be achieved by participating in violence. Violence is well-established as a resource for young men to construct a hegemonic gender identity and the finding that all offenders in the population of anti-LGBT homicides are male leads credence to theoretical and empirical findings that violence serves as an important masculine resource for doing gender. Also supporting prior research, this study found that a majority of the offenders were White. No significant offender racial differences were found across homicide subcategories, although gay bash homicides had a substantial minority of non-White offenders and victim race did vary across groups. Of the cases examined qualitatively, the gay bash and instrumental homicides were perpetrated by Black males and the mistaken identity homicide was perpetrated by males of Latino descent. One possible explanation for the overrepresentation of White offenders is that White heterosexual males are already the dominant group in the current social hierarchy (although this group may be further disaggregated into dominant and subordinate groups). Thus, White males have the most to lose as the nation moves towards social equality, meaning they are advantaged by perpetrating anti-LGBT crimes that attempt to stunt social equality. It may also be the case that men of different racial and ethnic backgrounds draw from different social structures informing them how to "be a man," which affects their use or disuse of violence in certain situational contexts. Future research should explore how males of different races and ethnicities may use bias violence to express their masculinity similarly and differently.

In regard to age, of the four homicide subcategories quantitatively examined, undesired advance homicides had a greater frequency of juvenile offenders, but not juvenile victims. The offenders reviewed in the case studies were all relatively young. While the offenders in the gay bash and representative cases were close to 30-years-old, the other offenders were in their late

teens or early twenties. The case studies support prior research finding that it is often young men who use violence to do gender to counteract the age subordination they experience.

Another avenue toward achieving a hegemonic masculinity is establishing a family and a professional career. Since the offenders' personal backgrounds could not be explored quantitatively, case studies allowed the current study to give some insight on relevant findings regarding the offenders' life experiences. One reason young males often maintain subordinate statuses is that they do not have access to as many opportunities to achieve a dominant masculine identity through family or work as older males do. Researchers have also found that criminal offenders are overwhelmingly lower or working class and poor (Messerschmidt, 2012; Polk 1994, Tomsen, 2009). The cases examined show that the offenders' histories are consistent with this finding. The offenders did not have professional jobs and those whose jobs were known had working class and service jobs. Only one offender was known to be attending college, despite finding that a majority of the offenders were college-aged. Interestingly, the only offenders with a violent criminal history were the four males who perpetrated the instrumental anti-LGBT homicide.

To achieve a traditional notion of masculinity, males often establish themselves as the head of a household, get married, and have children. Out of thirteen total offenders in the five cases, none of the men were known to be married, but at least five had children, with little evidence that offenders had established relationships with their children. While little is known of the majority of the offenders' upbringing, what is known of some offenders shows that they experienced childhood and adolescence with little support from one or both parents, meaning they were likely subordinate to males with stronger family backgrounds. The Williams brothers are unique, as they grew up in a two-parent family. A close examination of the role the Williams'

parents played, however, shows how the brothers' parents contributed to their social marginalization. As none of the offenders had achieved a conventional family life, this could mean they sought other, more accessible, avenues to achieve a dominant masculine identity, including anti-LGBT violence.

Anti-LGBT Homicide Situations and Masculinized Contexts

Drawing from the criminal event perspective (CEP), the variables measured in the current study were based on offender- and victim-level characteristics, but also on relevant situational factors. Meanwhile, the case studies extended the discussion of relevant contextual features and revealed how contexts in which the homicides occurred were masculinized in numerous ways. First, quantitative findings showed that offenders were found to use substances in a minority of homicides, but three of the five case studies showed evidence that offenders had engaged in drug use, alcohol use, or both. This allowed for an exploration of how alcohol and drugs may play a role in the offenders' perpetration of an anti-LGBT homicide. According to Tomsen (2009, p.94), social psychologists have found a "variation in reaction to intoxication in different social contexts" and Tomsen's own findings show that "heavy group drinking" is linked to "the importance of issues of male honor in the social interaction that leads to violent behavior." Thus, males may find themselves in an environment where they are particularly sensitive to the social necessity of achieving a hegemonic masculinity, which leads them to use violence. Findings from the undesired advance and mistaken identity cases support this research; however, the role of alcohol is not as well-established in the gay bash homicide despite some evidence that the offender was drinking prior to the homicide.

A second contextual variant of anti-LGBT homicide is the presence of multiple offenders. Although multiple offender homicides are not the norm in the current study, they

constitute a substantial minority of the current population of anti-LGBT homicides (42 percent). Some differences did exist across homicide subcategories in regard to the prevalence of multiple offenders. Instrumental violence was most likely to have instances of multiple offender homicides and representative homicides were least likely. As the quantitative analyses did not allow for the measurement of multiple offender dynamics, qualitative case studies were particularly important in that they showed how offenders interacted together based on the situation of anti-LGBT fatal violence. Four of the five homicides discussed in the case studies were perpetrated by multiple offenders. Evidence from the mistaken identity, undesired advance, and representative cases shows that the offenders were likely influenced by the presence of additional offenders, to whom they were accountably masculine. Additionally, it was not unusual to find that offenders encouraged each other to perpetrate the anti-LGBT homicide. Some examples of this include, in the undesired advance case, Steward inviting Boone and another male (who declined) to join him in "kicking the fag's ass;" in the mistaken identity case, Cazares ensuring that Nabors "had the back" of the other offenders; and, in the representative case, BMW explaining to his younger brother that if they believed homosexuality was a sin they "had an obligation to kill [Matson and Mowder]." Scholars have found that males who perpetrate bias offenses together are constructing a collective masculinity. It is possible that these offenders were influenced by norms of male honor and fearlessness. The exception to this is the instrumental case; though it involved four offenders, there were no indicators that they incited violence with challenges to one another's gender or sexuality. Rather, it appears the instrumental offenders were merely seeking to ensure a successful robbery by perpetrating together.

Third, bystanders may have inadvertently contributed to the escalation of violence in the homicides (see also, Luckenbill, 1977). Quantitatively, bystanders were much more prevalent in

both responsive subcategories, particularly gay bash homicides, compared to predatory subcategories. In the gay bash case that was examined, McCullough had a male acquaintance present, in addition to Sakia's four friends, throughout the homicide. In the undesired advance homicide, bystanders were not present for the crime, but the offenders did interact with friends intermittently throughout the homicide transaction. Bystander presence likely contributed to the offenders' actions in the mistaken identity case, as two males and a female were present in addition to the four male offenders. One of the central tenets of doing gender theory is that individuals are always aware that they are being assessed for accountability to their perceived gender (West & Zimmerman, 1987), meaning the offenders were aware that they might have been punished by co-offenders, bystanders, or others if the offenders had not performed according to the behaviors seen as appropriate for their gender in a particular situation.

Fourth, the place in which anti-LGBT homicides occurred varied greatly across the unique situations of violence. Just as perpetrating multiple offender homicides advantages offenders, violence that takes place in residences increases the likelihood that offenders' crimes will be successful. Undesired advance homicides were most likely to occur in private residences, which is not surprising once the nature of this crime is considered. Almost half of instrumental crimes occur in private, which is also to be expected considering that these crimes are planned ahead of time. Meanwhile, slightly less representative homicides are perpetrated in residences despite the element of planning that defines this category. It may be the case that offenders in instrumental cases are more concerned with ensuring privacy, as their main goal is to rob the victim. In representative homicides, offenders are likely more concerned about the symbolism of their crimes, meaning privacy may not be considered as relevant. Perhaps, some representative offenders may even feel that their homicides resonate more when an audience is more likely.

Although the representative case study was an example of a private representative homicide, it was apparent that BMW was enthused about sharing the circumstances of the anti-LGBT homicide, whereas the instrumental offenders were not. Gay bash homicides are the least likely to occur in a residence. Considering offenders are usually unknown to victims, it is much more likely that the confrontation occurs in a public area.

Fifth, the quantitative results showed that each of the four homicide subcategories had some instances of profit-related circumstances, however infrequent they were. Case studies allowed for the examination of the unique roles that theft had in different homicide circumstances. In the instrumental homicide case, robbery was the primary reason the offenders targeted a LGBT individual. In contrast, theft occurred in the undesired advance and representative homicide cases, but it was apparent that monetary gain played a secondary role to the homicide. In the undesired advance case, Eads was chosen to be a victim for his sexual advance and it appeared that the offenders stole items from Eads' apartment in an effort to further demean the victim, considering Steward's statement, which claimed he "wanted to kick the fag's ass and take his shit." In the representative case, the homicide was clearly meant to be symbolic and the theft of Matson's credit cards did not factor into the Williams brothers' decision to kill the gay couple. Theft appeared to be only an incentive of homicide to the offenders, who used the victim's credit cards to purchase weapons. Tomsen (2009) also found that robbery had a unique relation to anti-LGBT homicide, in that it could play a primary or secondary role to the offenders' discriminate selection of victims.

Sixth, research has examined the expressive nature of anti-LGBT violence by looking at the use of non-firearms, excessive violence, and the manipulation and mutilation of victims' bodies. Prior studies have found that non-firearms are more expressive weapons and studies have

suggested that excessive violence or overkill may be a way to symbolically remove the victim from the "offender's universe" (Bufkin, 1999). In this study, anti-LGBT homicides were typically perpetrated with non-firearms, with firearms being slightly more prevalent in instrumental homicides. A substantial minority of cases was characterized by overkill, or excessive violence, but manipulation and mutilation were rare. Overkill was observed in two of the cases examined, the undesired advance and the mistaken identity cases. The offenders in each case used multiple weapons and expressed violence beyond what would be required to kill the victim.

Seventh, in regard to offender admission of an anti-LGBT motive and offender revelation, there was some variation across homicide subcategories. While a majority of the representative, instrumental, and undesired advance offenders admitted to an anti-LGBT motive, very few gay bash offenders made this admission. It may be that gay bash offenders are more likely to feel that their confrontational homicide situations justified their attacks on LGBT victims, and so offenders felt that they were not "motivated" by anti-LGBT thoughts. In regard to the classification of these cases as "anti-LGBT," the current study was careful to identify cases in which there was clear evidence that the victim's homosexuality or transgender identity played a significant role in the victim selection process, whether offenders made an admission or not. Examining the case studies, the gay bash offender, McCullough, confessed to an anti-LGBT motive when he pled to bias charges; the undesired advance offenders, Steward and Boone, confessed that they were provoked by Eads' sexual advance; and the representative offenders, BMW and JTW, admitted to targeting Matson and Mowder for their homosexuality. Examining quantitative findings, it is apparent that all offenders were unlikely to reveal their crimes to outsiders (offender revelation); although, approximately a quarter of undesired advance

offenders did reveal the anti-LGBT homicide circumstances to others. It may be worth investigating whether there is a relationship between more private residential homicides and the likelihood of offenders revealing their crime to others, as undesired advance cases were most likely to occur in private settings. The achievement of a hegemonic masculinity may not be as successful for offenders who perpetrate their crimes in private, unless they share the details with outsiders. The case studies show that the undesired advance, mistaken identity, and representative offenders revealed their crimes to family or friends.

An eighth way to examine the context of anti-LGBT homicide is to look at language. The way anti-homosexual language is used by offenders varies; statements may be made by the offender toward the victim or by one offender to another offender about the victim or another offender's gender or sexuality. Quantitatively, gender- and sexuality-based remarks are most frequently found within gay bash homicides. Regarding the case studies, anti-homosexual language was used in each of the responsive homicides. Terms such as "dyke" and "fag" used in the gay bash and undesired advance homicides revealed the inferior status assigned to homosexual men and women by offenders. Occasionally, it is necessary to closely examine the context of the language usage, as offenders may not use a specifically gendered or sexualized term, but may use mainstream derogatory terms while referring to the victim's LGBT status. For example, during the mistaken identity homicide Merel asked Araujo if she was a "woman" or a "sloppy ass nigga," which applies a derogatory term to transwomen. Although anti-homosexual epithets were not observed in the predatory homicides, examining the language used by BMW outside of the immediate context of the criminal event in the representative case shows that BMW felt homosexuals were inferior to others. It is important to examine language use because it shows how offenders draw boundaries between dominant and subordinate groups and how

offenders justify their crimes to themselves and others. Language also shows how offenders draw from cultural and institutional "structures" regarding homosexuality and gender.

There are ways to examine the context of the anti-LGBT homicides that could not be measured quantitatively. One way is to explore the salience of gender and sexuality to the criminal event. Gender and sexuality are more relevant to certain situations than others, meaning that doing gender theory may be a better explanation of violence when offenders are presented with challenges to their gender or sexuality (Messerschmidt, 2012). In the gay bash homicide, McCullough attacked Gunn and her friends after they refused his propositions. The offender was prevented from "doing masculinity" because the girls did not reciprocate his sexual advance. The affront to McCullough's masculinity was heightened because he was in the presence of a male acquaintance and four other young lesbians who did not reciprocate his advances. These circumstances made gender and sexuality especially salient to the situation and led McCullough to assert his manhood, which Gunn had challenged, in the only way he perceived that he could—through violence. In the undesired advance case, Steward's manhood was challenged because another male sexually advanced on him. After initially leaving the situation, he reported back to friends. Sharing his experience shows that Steward felt challenged by Eads' homosexual advance and was concerned about the implications it had on Steward's own masculinity and heterosexuality. The relevance of gender and sexuality in the anti-LGBT homicides is most apparent in the mistaken identity homicide. The offenders, particularly Merel, questioned their sexuality and adherence to masculine norms after they discovered they had had sex with a transwoman, someone who identifies as a woman but who has male genitalia. The precursor to the criminal event showed a steady rise of aggression as the offenders took different approaches to discover Araujo's sex and to resolve the confusion surrounding their own sexual pursuits. To

the offenders, heterosexuality was central to being masculine. Once they became aware of their gender norm transgression, or the challenge to their masculinity, the offenders sought to correct their subordinated masculinities with violence to the one who affronted them-Araujo.

Bufkin (1999) and Luckenbill (1977) found that lost honor or masculinity must be repaired directly after the affront in order to "save face" or restore hegemonic masculinity, whereas Messerschmidt (2012) shows that challenges to one's sexuality or gender may be internalized in one context, but repaired in another. In contrast to the responsive homicides, the predatory cases did not happen in the immediate context of an affront to the offender's masculinity. This does not discount the relevance of "doing gender" to the representative homicide; however, it does not appear that the construction of gender or sexuality was relevant to the instrumental case. In the representative case, there is not a specific "affront" to either BMW's or JTW's masculinity during the criminal event. Rather, it appears that the planning and perpetration of the anti-LGBT homicide by BMW and JTW was a product of the offenders' upbringing and the ideologies to which they had exposed themselves. It is more relevant that both offenders had been raised in a heterosexist environment and had been exposed to multiple anti-gay and White supremacist discourses that appeared to have been internalized by BMW. Additionally, BMW may have also been questioning his own adherence to hegemonic masculine ideals, as his sexuality was questioned by friends.

In sum, it is likely the offenders examined in each qualitative case study believed violence was the only way to correct their gender norm transgressions, which there is evidence of in all cases, except the instrumental homicide. Multiple factors played a role in the escalation of violence, which ended in homicide. The interaction between offenders, bystanders, and victims contributed to the perpetration of the criminal event in obvious ways, but it is essential to

consider that the particular setting the actors found themselves in contributed to violence, as well. As symbolic interactionists have suggested, offenders make decisions after assessing every facet of the situation in which they find themselves. In this study, with the exception of instrumental homicide, the situational contexts and the interactants produced challenges to the offenders' gender and sexuality that could only be repaired through the commission of an anti-LGBT homicide.

IX. CONCLUSION

The following chapter concludes this study of anti-LGBT homicide. First, a summary of the study's contribution is given. Second, the implications of the key findings are discussed. Finally, the limitations of this research are addressed and recommendations for future research are given.

Summary

The current study extended prior research in several ways. First, this research utilized an alternative data set based on an open-source database. Using open-sources allowed the current study to overcome the limitations of official data, including reporting discrepancies and limited geographic scope. Second, by disaggregating by crime and bias type, the current study revealed the heterogeneous nature of a single type of bias crime, anti-LGBT homicide. In the past, bias crimes have been treated as a homogenous type of crime. Recent research has suggested this may be an overgeneralization and the current study built on this literature which has shown that bias crimes and anti-LGBT homicides occur within diverse situational circumstances. The findings of this study support the notion that bias crimes should be disaggregated, and more importantly, that there are also distinct differences within anti-LGBT homicide.

Third, the current study sought to identify anti-LGBT homicide through observable indicators of anti-LGBT violence, rather than relying on the determination of offender motive. Relying on Lawrence's (1999) "discriminatory selection model," it was not necessary to determine whether the offender "hated" the victim or what the offender's thoughts were throughout the criminal event. Using this method, the current study demonstrated that anti-LGBT homicides were not always predatory events and that it is possible for anti-LGBT homicide to be characterized by situations in which offenders have multiple reasons for discriminately targeting

a LGBT victim. These findings gave a deeper understanding of the nature of anti-LGBT homicide and go against conventional beliefs, which claim that bias crimes may only be determined by offender hatred or bigotry or that bias crimes can only occur absent of other offender motivations.

Finally, this mixed-method design allowed for a more systematic examination of victim-, offender-, and incident-level differences and similarities across various modes of anti-LGBT homicide, as well as an in-depth examination of offender selection processes and an explanation of anti-LGBT violence. Finding that anti-LGBT violence happened in diverse situations, multivariate and bivariate analyses were conducted to discover whether these situations of violence could be distinguished from one another. After finding important differences across categories and subcategories of the proposed typology of anti-LGBT homicide, in-depth case studies were used to examine offender selection processes in detail and to show how and why anti-LGBT homicides occurred by systematically applying theories and concepts. Additionally, the current study found that once anti-LGBT homicide was disaggregated into five diverse situations of violence, theories such as "doing gender" and "hegemonic masculinity" still held explanatory power in all subcategories but one—instrumental anti-LGBT homicide. Utilizing the "explanatory" design for mixed-method research outlined in Creswell and Plano Clark (2007), the current study was able to give a more complete understanding of the heterogeneous nature of anti-LGBT homicide. Using quantitative analyses and in-depth case studies in a single project allowed for increased insight into anti-LGBT homicide and stronger interpretations of initial quantitative findings, as well as explanations of the diverse processes offenders used to discriminately select victims.

Implications

The findings of the current research have several implications for policymakers, criminal justice actors, and future researchers. First, recognizing differences across offender selection processes can lead to the prevention of anti-LGBT violence. Depending on how victims are selected, different educational practices may be used to prevent violence. For example, to prevent predatory violence it is important to educate the LGBT community about the dangers associated with meeting strangers through internet and phone lines or other anonymous services, especially in their own residences.

Second, policymakers and law enforcement should consider the different modes that offenders use to select victims to inform bias legislation and the policies that law enforcement agencies use to identify these crimes. The current research would be particularly useful to law enforcement agencies, which are responsible for implementing their own bias crimes identification procedures. Making police officers and investigators aware of the diverse nature of anti-LGBT homicide by integrating the proposed typology into training materials and continuing education would allow for a more accurate identification of anti-LGBT bias crimes, especially in those that contain mixed-motive situations.

Third, if law enforcement actors have a greater ability to identify these crimes they are more likely to be prosecuted, as well. The offender selection typology of anti-LGBT homicide can provide prosecutors with additional tools for explaining the bias elements of an anti-LGBT homicide. Arguably, if anti-LGBT homicides are identified more frequently, this will send a message to potential offenders and lead to the deterrence of these fatal incidents. Greater identification of anti-LGBT homicide will also show that the criminal justice system is supporting the LGBT community, potentially reducing the psychological harm and fear

associated with discriminate threats of violence. In this way, the proposed typology of anti-LGBT violence can inform law enforcement and potentially curtail future crime.

Fourth, it is important to utilize alternative data sources when studying rare forms of violence, such as anti-LGBT homicide. National crime databases are not yet capable of providing the information necessary to empirically study this form of violence. Official data sets present challenges to researchers of bias crimes, considering the underreporting of these offenses, the difficulty of identifying them, and the discrepancies in identification occurring across individuals, agencies, and states. Relying on open-source information and innovative research designs significantly extends our understanding of the nature of anti-LGBT homicide and other rare forms of violence.

Finally, the current study has important implications regarding masculinity theories and anti-LGBT violence. While prior research and theorizing has suggested that "doing gender" and other masculinity theories are a fruitful explanation for anti-LGBT homicide and bias crimes generally, research has not systematically applied these theories to empirical data across the diverse situational circumstances of anti-LGBT homicide identified in this study. Finding that doing gender theory was an effective way to explain anti-LGBT homicide events across multiple selection processes supports prior research. However, finding that masculinity theories did not effectively explain instrumental anti-LGBT homicide shows that future research should seek other potential explanations for this type of anti-LGBT violence. In addition, future research should also empirically test whether theories of masculinity and violence are applicable across all bias and crime types.

Limitations

There are some limitations to the current research. First, a number of anti-LGBT homicide events that occurred during the time frame of the study remain unidentified. It is likely that authorities and victims' families wish not to "out" victims or draw attention to victims' LGBT statuses following their deaths in many cases, which means these homicides would not be identified by open-sources. Therefore, this study focused only on observable anti-LGBT homicide events in the United States during the years 1990 to 2010. It is unknown how unidentified cases may systematically vary from those included in this study. Second, the proposed typology should be submitted to additional empirical tests in future studies to determine whether anti-LGBT homicide can be categorized using the categories and subcategories outlined by the proposed typology. Third, this study focused only on fatal anti-LGBT attacks, which is necessary to gain a deeper understanding of this violence, but it is also necessary for future research to compare typifications of lethal anti-LGBT violence to non-lethal anti-LGBT violence. As the case studies revealed the escalation of violence, it would be interesting to examine attempted anti-LGBT homicide to find out how the processes that result in the de-escalation of violence occur. Finally, there is no "gold standard" for typifying homicide (Flewelling & Williams, 1999, p.99); however, the current research demonstrated the utility of relying on observable offender selection processes to categorize homicides in which offenders discriminately target a certain population. Thus, future research should test the generalizability of the proposed typology to other forms of bias-motivated violence.

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XI: APPENDIX: LIST OF OPEN-SOURCES

1. LexisNexis;
2. Proquest;
3. Yahoo ;
4. Google;
5. Copernic;
6. News Library;
7. Westlaw;
8. Google Scholar (both articles & legal opinions);
9. Amazon;
10. Google U.S. Government;
11. Federation of American Scientists;
12. Google Video;
13. Center for the Study of Intelligence;
14. Surf Wax;
15. Dogpile;
16. Mamma;
17. Librarians' Internet Index;
18. Scirus;
19. All the Web;
20. Google News;
21. Google Blog;
22. Homeland Security Digital Library;
23. Vinelink;
24. The inmate locator;
25. Individual State Department of Corrections (DOCs);
26. Blackbookonline.info

XII. ENDNOTES

Chapters I-VI

[i] The NCAVP also included reports by individuals who had been victimized due to their HIV-infected status; however, most homicides were reported as motivated by LGBT or queer statuses and very few of homicides were reported as motivated by the HIV-status of the victim.
[ii] As most of the bias crimes literature uses language such as "motive" and "motivation," the current discussion also relies on these terms when reviewing prior studies. This study maintains; however, that motive-based typologies are problematic and instead relies on observable modes of victim selection to categorize anti-LGBT homicide. It is not the objective to claim that offenders do not have motives, only that the current research does not attempt to identify them.
[iii] Although some undesired advance anti-LGBT homicides are premeditated, they are identified as responsive homicide events due to the element of victim provocation. Responsive homicide is distinguished from predatory homicide because responsive events are primarily defined by a real or perceived affront by the victim. Therefore, the decision was made that any homicides defined by this confrontational situation would be placed within the respective responsive anti-LGBT homicide subcategory. In contrast, victims play no role in the escalation of violence within predatory homicide subcategories.

Chapter VII

Case Study One: Gay Bash Anti-LGBT Homicide

[i] Newark, New Jersey is a city characterized by a large population of American minority groups. Approximately half of Newark's residents are Black and about one-third of the city's residents are Hispanic. The remainder of the population is 11.6 percent White and there are very small percentages of other races and ethnicities.
[ii] "Aggressives" are even considered non-conformist among homosexual individuals. Due to their unique mixture of masculinity and femininity, they are often seen as "gender outlaws" and are deemed "too gay" (Sprinkle, 2011, p.167-168).
[iii] Zook (2006) was able to contact, Nekeida Galigher, who had a child with McCullough. She had lived with McCullough from ages 16 to 22 and she claimed that McCullough was not a bad guy. No further information on McCullough's living situation or family life at the time of the homicide is revealed. It is not apparent whether McCullough was involved in his children's lives, whether he had a child with another woman, or whether he had a current wife or girlfriend.
[iv] Boykin (2004) described the girls' trip from Newark to NYC as moving from a culture of "largely Black and working class" to a different culture, known as "a gay-friendly multicultural mecca." Gunn's friend, Valencia, described this area as "…a different environment. It seems like the gay community [is] as one, we don't play no nonsense. There's no beef there…you can just go and you can just relax, but you ain't got to worry about like nobody fighting" (Sprinkle, 2011, p.169). Such an area was not found in Newark.
[v] The mayor of Newark claimed that the police booth was unstaffed between 1:00 a.m. and 6:00 a.m. because the typical amount of activity during this time did not justify police presence.
[vi] Newark, New Jersey is well known for the vast amount of crime that occurs in the city. There were 81 total murders in 2003, the year of Gunn's death. That same year, Newark had 29.1

murders per 100,000 of the population, whereas the average U.S. city had 5.7. The year of Gunn's murder does not represent an unusually large amount of crime for Newark. These numbers were fairly consistent prior to 2003 and have remained fairly consistent over the past decade (City-Data, 2013).

[vii] While supplementary references claim McCullough was drinking the night of the murder, open-sources do not mention that McCullough had been drinking prior to murdering Gunn.

[viii] The night of Gunn's murder, McCullough was the passenger of a car driven by Allen Pierce, who was also Black (Green, 2009). Pierce was a bystander to Gunn's murder and was never charged with any crime.

[ix] When verbatim language is reported, the source is cited. Some sources have slightly different wording for the same exclamations by the offenders, victims, and bystanders. Although conflicting accounts exist, the differences are minor, do not contain different meanings, and are not reported in different contexts.

[x] Zook (2006) is the only source that reports that McCullough said "You the ringleader?" and "I should knock yo ass down right now" the night of Gunn's murder.

[xi] Since the author used the pronoun "his" and all offenders in the current sample were male, the current study relies on masculine pronouns to describe offenders.

[xii] Sprinkle (2011) was the only source that indicated that the knife was a switchblade.

[xiii] Gunn was pronounced dead after hospital staff attempted to revive her in the emergency room.

[xiv] It is important to note that it can be problematic to measure the admission of motive by the offender. In this case, admission of motive is coded as yes for the quantitative findings, considering that McCullough pled guilty to bias intimidation; however, it may be argued that pleading guilty to a bias charge does not count as admission of an anti-LGBT motive.

[xv] Interestingly, there were no bias homicides reported in New Jersey for any type of bias motivation (e.g. sexual orientation, race, disability) in 2003 (UCR, 2003), despite McCullough's charge and conviction of first degree aggravated manslaughter and aggravated assault, both with bias intimidation.

Case Study Two: Undesired Advance Anti-LGBT Homicide

[i] Eads race is unknown from open-source documents.

[ii] Boone was 5 feet and 8 inches tall and he weighed 180 pounds, whereas Steward was slimmer and described as skinny at 5 feet, 9 inches and 152 pounds (My Inmate Locator, 2013).

[iii] In an appeal to the court, Steward claimed that he had suffered from schizophrenia prior to the criminal event. Steward claimed to hear voices, hallucinate, experience paranoia and other psychotic problems, and that he had been taking the anti-psychotic medication Zyprexa (*Steward v. Kansas,* 2007). Steward had also taken Prozac in the past. A mental evaluation showed that Steward's mental illness did not reduce his culpability for the crime. Steward had a GED and he could read, write and understand English.

[iv] In homicides precipitated by a sexual advance made by a gay victim, it was found that offenders often came from a socially marginalized family, as Steward does (Bartlett, 2007).

[v] Eads had served as a hair stylist for Steward and his father.

[vi] The autopsy showed that "Eads had cocaine and marijuana metabolites in his system and a blood alcohol level of .18" (*Kansas v. Boone*, 2004).

[vii] Eads had previously taken classes to become a drug counselor after attaining his own sobriety, but had begun drinking again prior to his death.
[viii] It is not stated that Steward actually used the cocaine at this time; however, Steward had smoked crack with Eads on his first visit to Eads' home that same evening.
[ix] The man who declined the invitation was Nick Farinas, who corroborated the statement that Steward claimed to have been touched by some guy and that Steward wanted to find this man and "beat his ass" and "he wanted to steal items from the guy" (*Kansas v. Boone*, 2004). Farinas rejected Steward's invitation to go "kick [Eads'] ass."
[x] This crime contains elements of premeditation or planning prior to the criminal event; however, this is different from the careful planning that defines predatory offenses in the current study. Victim provocation is also an important distinguishing element between predatory and responsive homicides. Considering Eads' sexual advance which provoked Steward and Boone and the current study's focus on the primary victim selection criteria, this crime was placed in the undesired advance subcategory.
[xi] The arson investigator found that the front and back doors were unlocked and that there were no signs of forced entry.
[xii] Steward and Boone each claimed the other was responsible for carrying out a majority of the beating to Eads.
[xiii] The fire was most likely intentionally set in a bookshelf that was located in the dining room. Both offenders claim that they tried to extinguish the fire.
[xiv] "Eads' burns were not consistent with the position he was in during the time of the fire" (*Kansas v. Boone*, 2004).
[xv] Steward appealed, claiming he had been taking the anti-psychotic medication Zyprexa, which he later claimed was responsible for his confession to police. The mental evaluation showed that Steward however would "be lucid and capable if he remained on his medications" (*Steward v. Kansas*, 2007).

Case Study Three: Mistaken Identity Anti-LGBT Homicide

[i] Unless otherwise noted, the age, background, and status characteristics of the offenders and victims in each case study are reported as they were at the time of the homicide.
[ii] Gwen's birth name was Eddie. After Araujo's death, the family successfully petitioned a court to have the teen's first name legally changed to Gwen. Her offenders knew her only as "Lida."
[iii] The teasing grew worse as Araujo accepted her own transgendered lifestyle; she dropped out of school and could not find a job because of her transgender identity.
[iv] Since sex, not gender, is one of the variables coded for quantitative analysis, Araujo is coded as male. She had not had a sex-change operation.
[v] Little is known about the offenders' family backgrounds. However, friends and family report that Nabors and Cazares were in supportive relationships and it is possible that the offenders did not feel emasculated due to their non-conventional families.
[vi] Nabors studied Economics at a Community College.
[vii] Magidson was arrested at age 19 for public drunkenness.
[viii] Merel, Magidson, and most likely Nabors had had sexual relations with the victim. Upon discovering she was anatomically male, Merel questioned his sexuality; however, he never identified as homosexual and neither did the other offenders.

[ix] In 2003, while Magidson was out on bail, he was released to a substance-abuse recovery program, but he did not finish because his bail was revoked (Delventhal, 2004).
[x] The men perceived Araujo to be an attractive girl. Jose Merel's brother, Paul, noticed some masculine characteristics of Araujo, but Jose Merel and the other three offenders were not concerned or upset by Paul's speculation.
[xi] Araujo had avoided vaginal intercourse and had kept her masculine physical features covered during sexual activity.
[xii] A majority of the following findings and analyses rely on the testimony of Nabors. Any offender accounts that significantly deviated from Nabors's account are acknowledged.
[xiii] Magidson denied discussing Araujo's gender at any time prior to the homicide. He claimed the offenders only wondered whether Araujo preferred anal sex.
[xiv] Cazares appeared to be the only male in the group who had not engaged in sexual activity with Araujo.
[xv] Cazares, Merel, and Magidson each testified that they never discussed Araujo's gender that evening.
[xvi] News accounts claimed that the homicide occurred at a party and that police had 30 taped witness interviews, but court documents made no mention of a party or witnesses/bystanders who have not been explicitly referred to in the current study.
[xvii] Merel was loud and angry. He later claimed he had not actually believed Araujo to be male and was surprised that she did not deny their accusations.
[xviii] Prevented from going outside, Araujo entered the bathroom with Magidson. Merel angrily told the others, "I swear if it's a man, I'm going to fucking kill him" and "She ain't leaving" when Nabors tried to calm him (*The People v. Merel and Magidson*, 2009).
[xix] Merel denied that anyone pulled Araujo's underwear aside, but Magidson claimed that he held Araujo down, while another offender pulled her underwear aside. Magidson also claimed to be shocked at the revelation of testicles.
[xx] Typically outward appearance is taken to accurately represent our anatomical sex (West & Zimmerman, 1987), but the offenders sought sex confirmation by feeling and observing Araujo's anatomy.
[xxi] At this point, the order of the events taking place during the criminal transaction differed between offenders; however, this should not affect the variable expression or the application of "doing gender" and other theories, as it is established that the events reported did occur and the exact order of events does not change the analyses.
[xxii] Merel claimed that Araujo might have lived, had she not made this threat (Wronge, 2005).
[xxiii] Nabors testimony differed from Magidson and Cazares, who both claimed that they got shovels after Araujo was tied up and taken to the garage.
[xxiv] Magidson claimed he did not strangle Araujo and he blamed Nabors. Nabors and Merel both claimed Magidson is responsible, while Cazares claimed he was outside smoking and Merel was inside scrubbing the carpet at this time.
[xxv] Magidson testified that Nabors said, "She's not waking up. . . . She's dead. I killed her" (Wronge, 2005). "Magidson said he had not been sure whether or not [Araujo] was dead until he…had hit her with a shovel a couple of times" (*The People v. Merel and Magidson*, 2009).
[xxvi] The autopsy report shows that the blows to the head were sufficient to kill the victim.
[xxvii] Magidson agreed to take responsibility for murdering Araujo if they were questioned. Magidson claimed he did not want his co-offenders children to be raised without fathers and he

was the only one without kids. After being arrested, Magidson told police detectives that he had put a rope around Araujo's neck, but he later recanted his statement and told the deputy district attorney and an investigator that he had not put the rope around Araujo's neck.

Case Study Four: Representative Anti-LGBT Homicide

[i] Matson had earned a Master of Science in Environmental Horticulture and had served as a college instructor and horticulture consultant. Mowder had recently earned his degree in Anthropology and he worked part-time in a plant nursery.
[ii] BMW was stationed in the Washington area near Moscow, Idaho.
[iii] When the press contacted BMW's child's mother, they found that she had married another man. She and her husband did not comment on BMW. The child was not mentioned.
[iv] Reportedly, the Living Faith Fellowship had all-week bible study meetings and managed its members' lives.
[v] BMW identified groups by the mail and internet. Although he did not officially belong to any hate groups, BMW was captivated by the Christian Identity movement, which is anti-Semitic. He collected materials from these organizations and sold his belongings to buy guns. BMW once attended a Sacramento "Preparedness Expo" that displayed freeze-dried foods, power generators, and guides on guerrilla warfare and had presenters from the Militia of Montana. BMW urged friends to quit paying taxes and campaigned for an anti-Semitic presidential candidate (Fagan & Finz, 1999).
[vi] The man claimed that he and BMW traded poetry, skinny-dipped, hiked the mountains of Idaho, and swapped childhood stories. He said that BMW was his first love, and that the feelings were reciprocal, but the men would not admit it to one another.
[vii] Neither brother had exhibited symptoms of a mental illness in their lifetime.
[viii] BMW had worked at a Palo Cedro nursery, where his employer prevented him from sharing his extremist views.
[ix] The Williams brothers were arrested days after a man named Benjamin Smith, a member of the World Church of the Creator, went on a race-motivated shooting rampage through Illinois and Indiana. He killed a Black person, an Asian person, wounded nine, and killed himself. The World Church of the Creator is based in Illinois, but had 10 chapters in California. The leader denied that the hate group had any connection to the homicide of Matson and Mowder. Northern California had seen militia-style extremist groups in the past, but there were no recent bias crimes in the area. Redding had a small gay community who claimed they rarely faced hostility.
[x] Police found loaded weapons (9 mm pistols, two assault rifles, a shotgun, and five large cases of ammunition) inside of BMW's car. BMW was wearing a bullet proof vest at the time of his capture.
[xi] Hate group literature included materials from the World Church of the Creator.
[xii] The murder investigation led the police to investigate the connection between the Williams brothers and the arsons of the synagogues and the abortion clinic. In federal court, they were charged for arson, conspiracy to commit arson, destruction of religious property, and the use of fire to commit a felony. The arsons caused over $3 million in damage. In September 2001, the Williams brothers pled guilty to the arsons. BMW was sentenced to 30 years and JTW was sentenced to 21 years and 3 months in federal prison.

[xiii] In a conversation with his mom, BMW said he was compelled to "obey God's law, not man's law." BMW also wrote a letter to a bank employee that said "My brother James and I have been captured by occupational storm troopers while on a supply trip to Yuba City. Now we are incarcerated for our religious beliefs" (Stanton & Delsohn, 1999).
[xiv] Though BMW and JTW were not found to officially belong to any hate groups, they were associated with Christian Identity, a religious group that sees Jews and non-Whites as inferior.
[xv] The officer suffered a skull fracture and broken jaw.
[xvi]BMW had been taken off his medication Klonopin (used to prevent panic attacks and seizures) 10 days prior to the suicide in preparation for a brain scan his attorney hoped would show a mental defect.
[xvii] JTW will begin serving the murder sentence after he completes his 21-year sentence in federal prison for the Sacramento synagogue arsons. Although one article (Vovakes, 2003b) reported that the murder charges included hate crime enhancements, sources disagree on this matter. It is never clear if the official hate crime charge resulted in a conviction. Sources also disagree as to whether JTW pled guilty to 25 or 29 years to life in prison.

Case Study Five: Instrumental Anti-LGBT Homicide

[i] All instrumental victims in this study were male. Additionally, the prior literature that explains similar crimes explains these crimes with cultural assumptions regarding male homosexuals.
[ii] Berk et al. (2002) discusses the “but for” clause that police agencies employ to determine if a crime was hate-motivated. This clause is used by asking: “But for” the victim’s sexual orientation, would this crime have occurred? In this case, it is likely that the robbery still would have been perpetrated by Saunders; however, it is unlikely that Betts would have been selected as the robbery and homicide target. This is what it means to say that a victim was discriminately selected for homicide, which identifies the crime as anti-LGBT.
[iii] Betts graduated from the University of North Carolina and earned his Master’s degree from Hood College. He grew up in Manassas, VA.
[iv] D.C. Superior Court was notified by officials that Saunders had absconded two weeks after Betts’ homicide.
[v] Lancaster had been put on probation twice. Before the homicide, he was ordered to remain in a juvenile facility until he could be placed into a group home, but instead he was released to his mother, 46-year-old Artura Otey Williams, against the recommendation of a social worker. Lancaster failed to appear to subsequent hearings and there was an active warrant issued for his arrest at the time of the homicide. Williams was charged with two counts of knowingly receiving a stolen credit card with the intent to use it, attempted theft of less than 1,000 dollars in value, and attempted fraudulent credit card use in Betts’ case.
[vi] Saunders, Lancaster, and Gray had attended at least part of a retreat in Southern Maryland the previous month sponsored by Peaceoholics, a District-based nonprofit that works with at-risk youths.
[vii] Gray’s attorney claimed Gray was never inside of the house and that he did not know Saunders had a gun, but prosecutors argued that Gray went inside of Betts’ home.
[viii] In 2012, Johnson was killed in D.C. by a man he attempted to rob.