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# Wisconsin Office of Justice Assistance



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# HOMICIDE IN WISCONSIN 1961 - 1997

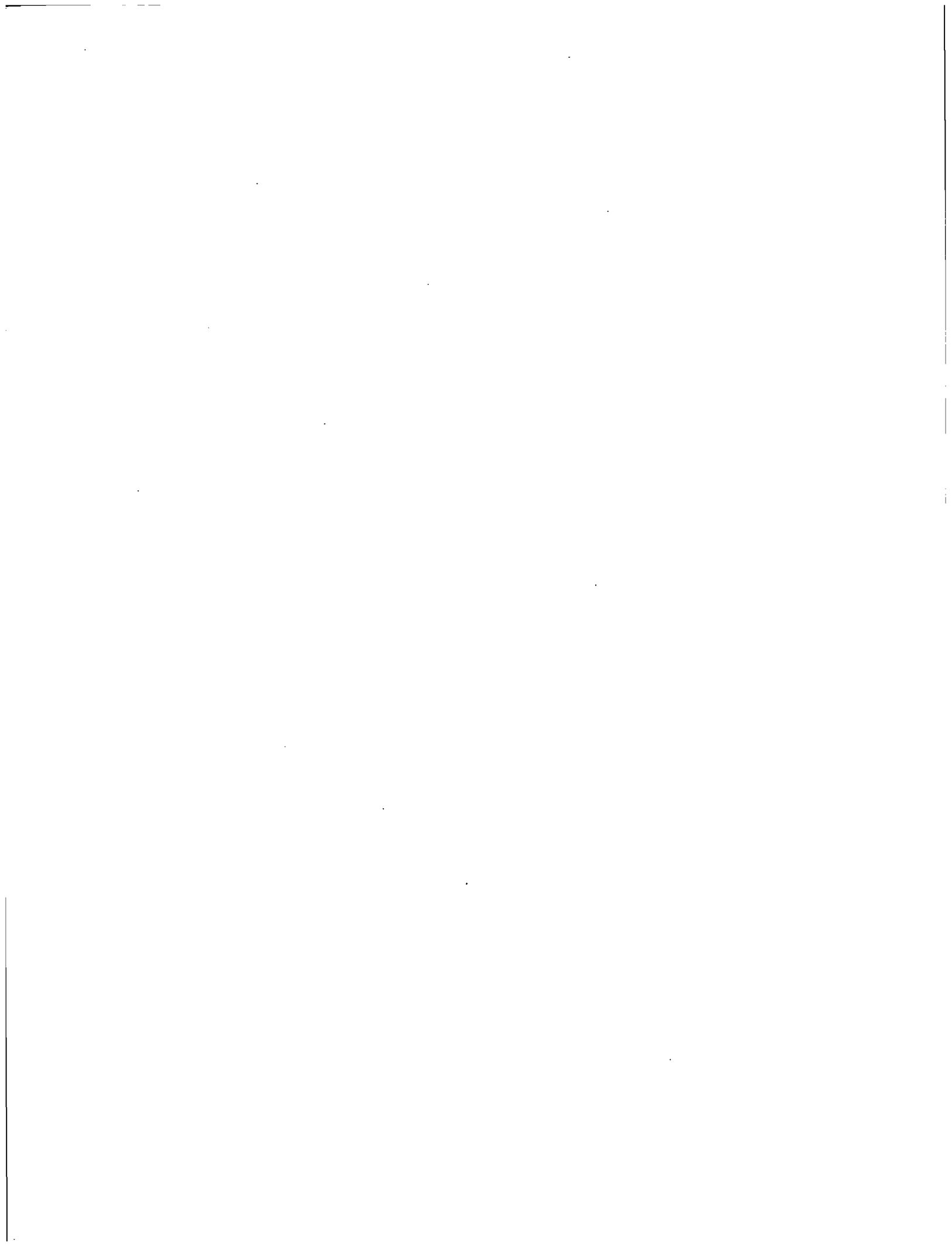
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**Statistical Analysis Center  
Uniform Crime Reporting Program**

131 West Wilson Street, Suite 202, Madison, Wisconsin 53702

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## Wisconsin Office of Justice Assistance - Statistical Analysis Center

The Statistical Analysis Center is a program of the Wisconsin Office of Justice Assistance. The Center collects, analyzes, interprets and disseminates criminal justice data in Wisconsin.

The Center also provides technical assistance to local criminal justice agencies. Further, it provides state and local government with access to federal criminal justice statistical information. The Statistical Analysis Center also promotes the coordination and development of criminal justice statistical systems in Wisconsin.

### Acknowledgements

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# Homicide in Wisconsin 1961 - 1997

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# Executive Summary

## General

Wisconsin homicides increased quite steadily, from 63 in 1961 to 205 during 1997. However, total homicides decreased by 15% from a high of 240 during 1991 to 205 in 1997.

Wisconsin's homicide rate was 34<sup>th</sup> among the fifty states in 1996. Its rate was nearly 46% less than the national homicide rate and about 38% less than the Midwest homicide rate.

Milwaukee County accounted for 63.7% of all Wisconsin homicides between 1984 and 1997.

## Victims

Nearly 16% were less than eighteen years of age.

Approximately 70% were male.

The proportion of black victims increased sharply from 1984 to 1989, remained fairly stable through 1993, but declined from 1994 to 1997.

## Offenders

Approximately 70% were less than thirty years of age.

Approximately 88% were male.

While the proportion of white offenders decreased sharply from 65.3% in 1984 to 27.3% in 1993, it increased to 45.9% in 1997.

## Relationship

The victim and offender were strangers in 18.4% of all homicides.

Both male and female offenders were much more likely to kill males.

Approximately 90% of all homicides involved a victim and offender of the same race.

## Offense Characteristics

Nearly 59% of homicides were committed between the nine hours of 6 p.m. and 3 a.m.

While handguns accounted for an average of 37% of all 1984 – 1988 homicides, they accounted for an average of 51% of homicides in subsequent years.

Nearly two-thirds of all homicides took place either in the victim's residence or on a public street.

“Arguments” led to nearly 55% of all homicides.

# Executive Summary (continued)

## Milwaukee and Non-Milwaukee Homicides

The City of Milwaukee accounted for about 61% of homicides from 1984 through 1997.

Milwaukee homicides reached a peak of 163 in 1991, but declined by 25% to 122 in 1997.

Approximately 78% of all Milwaukee victims were male.

About 72% of all Milwaukee victims were black.

Milwaukee offenders were about three years younger than non-Milwaukee offenders.

Milwaukee homicides were twice as likely to involve strangers than were non-Milwaukee homicides.

About 54% of Milwaukee homicides occurred in the seven hours between 8 p.m. and 3 a.m.

While nearly 65% of Milwaukee homicides involved a firearm, less than half of non-Milwaukee homicides involved a firearm.

Although nearly 93% of total Milwaukee firearm homicides involved handguns, less than 55% of non-Milwaukee firearm homicides involved handguns.

While nearly 39% of Milwaukee homicides occurred in a street/alley, only 11% of non-Milwaukee homicides occurred in this location.

## Other Homicide Issues

Statewide homicide clearance rates averaged 83.7% from 1984 to 1997, much greater than the United States average homicide clearance rate of 68.1% during the same time period.

Milwaukee homicide clearance rates were much greater than those of comparable cities in the United States.

There were a total of 87 justifiable homicides in Wisconsin from 1985 through 1997, 58 by police officers and 29 by citizens.

Thirty-four Wisconsin law enforcement officers were killed in the line of duty from 1984 through 1997.

There were eighty-three infant (less than two years of age) homicide victims from 1990 through 1997.

From 1990 through 1997 there were seventy-seven homicide incidents in which the offender committed suicide. Males were much more likely to commit suicide after committing a homicide.

There were an estimated 84 homicides in the first six months of 1998, 7.7% less than the 91 during the first six months of 1997.

## **I. INTRODUCTION**

While homicide is among the least frequent crimes reported, this offense receives more attention and creates more concern than any other criminal behavior. While annual homicide statistics are presented in each year's "Crime and Arrests in Wisconsin", a more historical perspective on Wisconsin homicides is needed. This report presents general trends in homicides in the State of Wisconsin between 1961 and 1997. However, there is a more detailed analysis of homicides from 1984 through 1997.

The information contained in this report was obtained from Supplementary Homicide Reports (SHRs) filed by Wisconsin law enforcement agencies as part of their participation in the Uniform Crime Reporting (UCR) Program. These reports are filed with the State on a monthly basis, with homicide forms completed as necessary. Although the homicide form has changed slightly over time, the current homicide form and relevant coding are shown in Appendix I. Note that there is no specific coding for "domestic violence" homicides. Information on this homicide type can be obtained from contacting the Office of Crime Victims Services of the Wisconsin Department of Justice at (608) 264-9497.

For purposes of this report, homicide is defined as the willful and nonnegligent killing of one human being by another. The classification of this offense is based solely on police investigation as opposed to the determination of a court, medical examiner, coroner, jury, or other judicial body. Not included in the count for this offense classification are deaths caused by negligence, suicide, or accident; justifiable homicide, which are the killing of felons by law enforcement officers in the line of duty or by private citizens during commission of a felony; and attempts to murder or assaults to murder, which are classified as aggravated assault.

This report is divided into several major sections including:

- Historical trends from 1961 to 1997, including comparisons with national and regional homicide.
- Patterns in Wisconsin homicides from 1984 to 1997. Details are presented on victim and offender characteristics, victim/offender relationships, timing of homicides, weapon, location, and circumstances.
- Patterns in City of Milwaukee homicides from 1984 to 1997. Again, details are presented on victim and offender characteristics, victim/offender relationships, timing of homicides, weapon, location, and circumstances. Comparisons between Milwaukee and non-Milwaukee homicides are described.
- Related issues including clearances, justifiable homicide, law enforcement officers killed, homicide of infants, murder/suicide situations, and homicides reported in the first six months of 1998.
- Appendices detailing year-by-year information on offenders, victims, weapons, and justifiable homicide.

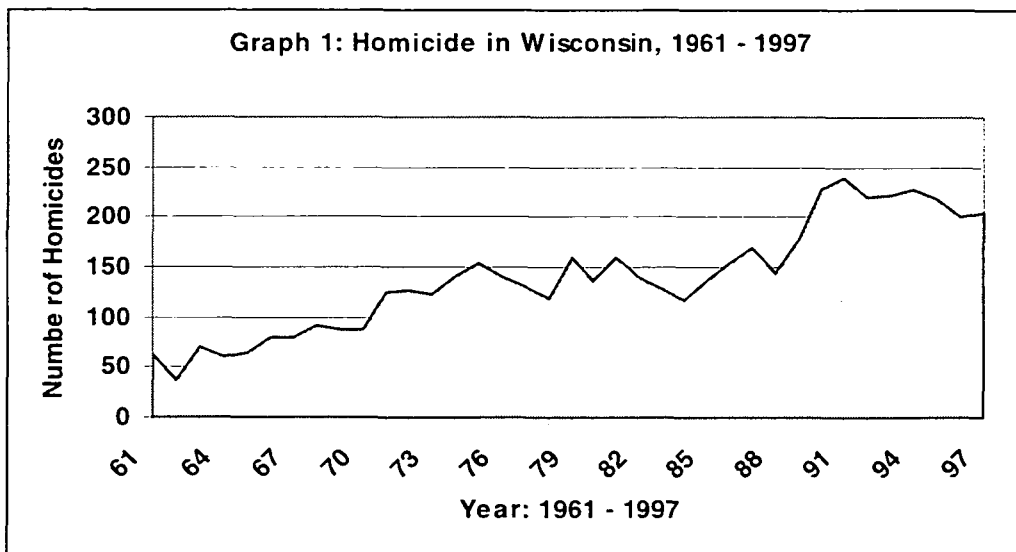
## II. HISTORICAL TRENDS: 1961 - 1997

### A. WISCONSIN

Table 1 and Graph 1 show the total number of Wisconsin homicides from 1961 through 1997.

**Table 1: Homicide in Wisconsin, 1961 - 1997**

<u>Year</u>	<u>Number of Homicides</u>	<u>Year</u>	<u>Number of Homicides</u>
1961	63	1979	160
1962	37	1980	136
1963	70	1981	159
1964	60	1982	141
1965	64	1983	128
1966	80	1984	117
1967	80	1985	136
1968	92	1986	153
1969	87	1987	170
1970	88	1988	145
1971	124	1989	177
1972	127	1990	228
1973	122	1991	240
1974	140	1992	220
1975	154	1993	222
1976	140	1994	227
1977	130	1995	218
1978	118	1996	201
		1997	205



The figures show a relatively steady increase in homicide during the three decades from 1961 through 1991. There were particularly dramatic increases in the years 1964 to 1968, 1970 to 1975, 1979, 1984 through 1987, and 1988 to 1991. However, Wisconsin homicides have declined from a high of 240 in 1991 to 205 during 1997, a decline of nearly fifteen percent.



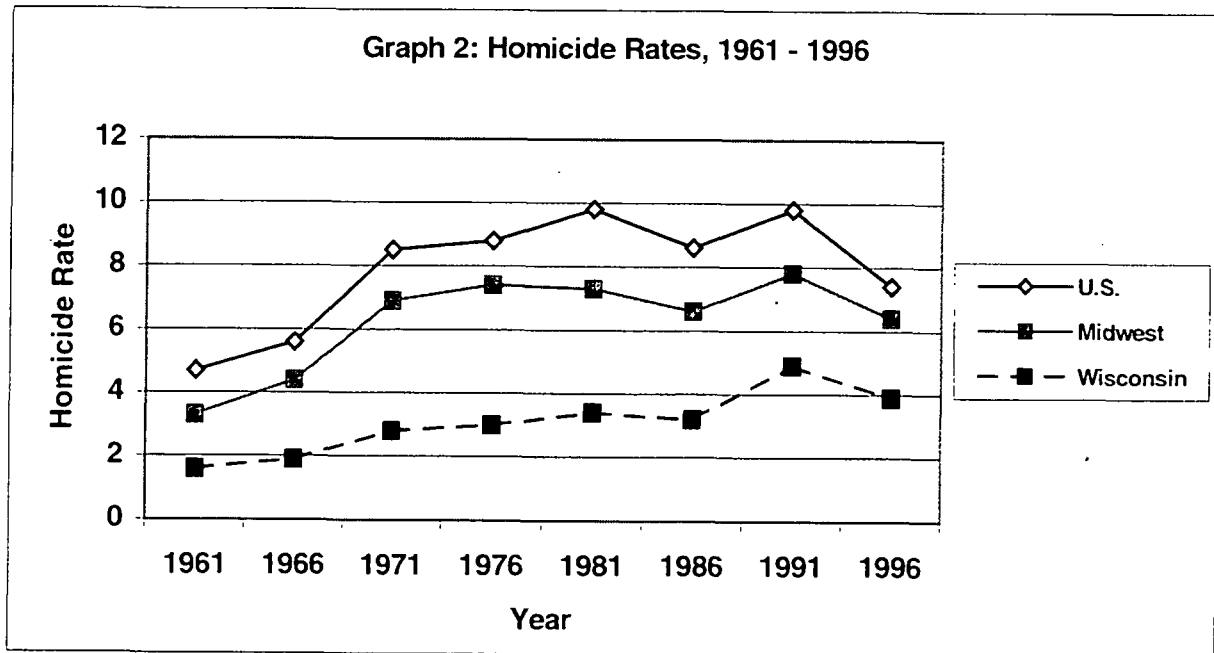
## B. COMPARISON WITH NATIONAL AND REGIONAL HOMICIDE DATA

Table 2 and Graph 2 show long term trends in both homicide and homicide rates for the United States, the twelve states of the Midwest\*, and Wisconsin. All homicide rates are expressed in terms of homicides per 100,000 residents. Note: while 1997 murder rates were not available for the United States or the Midwest, the 1997 Wisconsin homicide rate was 3.9 homicides per 100,000 residents.

**Table 2: Number of Homicides and Homicide rates per 100,000, 1961 - 1996**

Year	United States		Midwest		Wisconsin	
	Number	Rate	Number	Rate	Number	Rate
1961	8,599	4.7	1,746	3.3	63	1.6
1966	10,918	5.6	2,368	4.4	80	1.9
1971	17,627	8.5	3,978	6.9	124	2.8
1976	18,784	8.8	4,256	7.4	140	3.0
1981	22,516	9.8	4,318	7.3	159	3.4
1986	20,613	8.6	3,941	6.6	153	3.2
1991	24,703	9.8	4,709	7.8	240	4.9
1996	19,645	7.4	3,957	6.4	201	3.9

- Note: The Midwest includes the states of Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Kansas, Michigan, Minnesota, Missouri, Nebraska, North Dakota, Ohio, South Dakota, and Wisconsin.



Recent historical trends in homicide rates were quite similar for the United States, the Midwest, and Wisconsin. While homicide rates increased quite steadily from 1961 to 1991, they declined in the past five years.

In terms of ranking among the fifty States, Wisconsin's homicide ranking has ranged between a high of 34<sup>th</sup> and a low of 42<sup>nd</sup> during the past decade. While Wisconsin ranked 34<sup>th</sup> among the states in 1996, its homicide rate was nearly 46 percent less than the national rate and was approximately 38 percent less than the Midwest homicide rate.

### III. WISCONSIN HOMICIDE PATTERNS: 1984 - 1997

#### A. INTRODUCTION

The remainder of this report focuses on Wisconsin homicide patterns during the past fourteen years. This period of time has been selected since more detailed information is available for these cases and since these fourteen years include the most dramatic changes in Wisconsin homicide patterns.

#### B. COUNTY DATA

Table 3 shows the number of homicides reported by each Wisconsin county from 1984 to 1997. The twenty-five counties reporting twelve or more homicides in this period are listed individually and the fourteen years are divided into two seven year periods. The last column in the table shows the number of homicides reported in 1997. Homicides for each of the remaining forty-seven counties are shown at the end of the table.

**Table 3: Homicides by County, 1984 - 1997**

<u>County</u>	<u>1984 - 1997</u>	<u>1984 - 1990</u>	<u>1991 - 1997</u>	<u>1997</u>
Milwaukee	1,693	661	1032	127
Racine	134	49	85	12
Dane	87	48	39	8
Kenosha	76	43	33	4
Brown	47	23	24	6
Rock	44	19	25	7
Waukesha	35	13	22	4
Outagamie	27	11	16	0
Winnebago	26	13	13	2
La Crosse	21	13	8	1
Marathon	20	13	7	1
Fond du Lac	18	7	11	0
Washington	16	13	3	1
Jefferson	14	7	7	1
Monroe	14	9	5	0
Polk	14	6	8	0
Walworth	14	2	12	5
Columbia	13	5	8	0
Manitowoc	13	4	9	4
Portage	13	6	7	2
Sheboygan	13	6	7	1
Waupaca	13	6	7	0
Douglas	12	6	6	1
Eau Claire	12	5	7	0
Vilas	12	8	4	1
25 County Total	2,401	1,023	1,378	188
Other 47 Counties	<u>258</u>	<u>103</u>	<u>155</u>	<u>17</u>
<b>State Total</b>	<b>2,659</b>	<b>1,126</b>	<b>1,533</b>	<b>205</b>

**Table 3: Homicides by County, 1984 – 1997 (continued)**

**Total Number of Homicides in Remaining Forty-Seven Counties: 1984 - 1997**

11 =	Chippewa	Dodge	Wood			
10 =	Marinette	Sauk				
9 =	Ozaukee	Taylor	Washburn			
8 =	Adams	Clark	Grant	Jackson	Juneau	
7 =	Barron	Pierce	St. Croix	Vernon		
6 =	Door	Oconto	Price	Rusk	Sawyer	Shawano
5 =	Bayfield	Burnett	Kewaunee	Oneida	Trempealeau	Waushara
4 =	Calumet	Crawford	Dunn	Green	Iron	Menominee
3 =	Forest	Langlade	Richland			
2 =	Ashland	Green Lake	Lincoln			
1 =	Buffalo	Florence	Iowa	LaFayette	Marquette	
0 =	Pepin					

Basic findings from Table 3 include the following:

Milwaukee County accounted for 63.7 percent of all homicides between 1984 and 1997. Racine County, with the second highest percentage of total homicides, accounted for 5.0 percent of total homicides. The twenty-five counties with twelve or more homicides accounted for 90.3 percent of all homicides between 1984 and 1997.

The total number of homicides in the two seven-year periods increased by 36.1 percent. However, while Milwaukee County homicides increased by 56.1 percent in the second period, homicides in the remainder of the State increased by only 7.7 percent. As a result, the percentage of total homicides accounted for by Milwaukee County increased from 58.7 percent in the 1984 - 1990 period to 67.3 percent in the 1991 - 1997 period.

When comparing the number of homicides between the two seven-year periods, there were major increases in homicide in the Counties of Milwaukee, Racine, Walworth, and Waukesha. However, there were substantial declines in homicide in the Counties of Dane, Kenosha, La Crosse, Marathon, and Washington.

**C. VICTIM CHARACTERISTICS (see Appendix II for detailed information)**

**1. Age**

Table 4a summarizes information on the age of homicide victims over the past fourteen years. The categories of “less than 18” and “less than 5” include both the number and percentage of total victims. Note: all offenders in the “less than 5” group are also included in the “less than 18” group.

**Table 4a: Age of Homicide Victims, 1984 - 1997**

<u>Year</u>	<u>Total Victims</u>	<u>Average (Mean) Age</u>	<u>Less than 18</u>		<u>Less than 5</u>	
			<u>Number</u>	<u>Percent</u>	<u>Number</u>	<u>Percent</u>
1984	117	35.9	11	9.4	6	5.1
1985	136	32.9	11	8.1	6	4.4
1986	153	29.7	18	10.6	11	7.2
1987	170	33.6	23	13.5	15	8.8
1988	145	33.3	20	13.8	8	5.5
1989	177	29.6	30	16.9	14	7.9
1990	228	30.6	27	11.8	10	4.4
1991	240	27.3	45	18.8	19	7.9
1992	220	30.4	44	20.0	12	5.4
1993	222	29.6	41	18.5	16	7.2
1994	227	28.4	39	17.2	12	5.3
1995	218	28.7	35	16.0	17	7.8
1996	201	29.4	37	18.4	17	8.4
1997	205	30.5	33	16.1	15	7.3

The average age of Wisconsin homicide victims was 30.2 years, ranging from a high of 35.9 years in 1984 to a low of 27.3 years in 1991. However, as shown in Table 4b, there has been a larger percentage of young victims during the past seven years.

**Table 4b: Age of Homicide Victims, 1984 - 1997**

<u>Time Period</u>	<u>Average Age</u>	<u>Victims Under 18</u>		<u>Victims Under 5</u>	
		<u>Number</u>	<u>Percent</u>	<u>Number</u>	<u>Percent</u>
1984 - 1990	31.9	140	12.4%	70	6.2%
1991 - 1997	28.9	274	17.9%	108	7.0%

While the percentage of very young victims (under five years of age) rose slightly in the latter seven-year period, the percentage of juvenile victims (all those under eighteen years of age) increased considerably. During the fourteen year period, 15.6 percent of all victims were less than eighteen years of age.

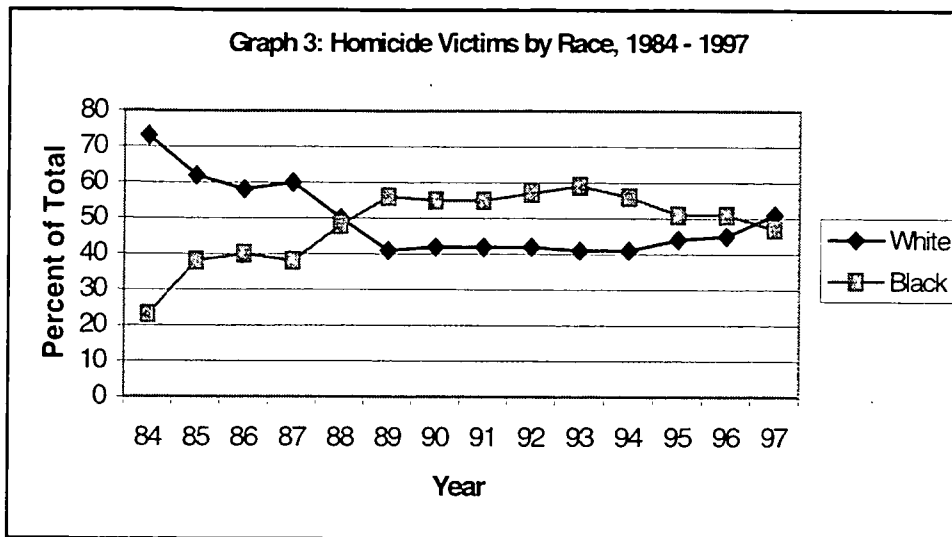
There were no apparent trends in the proportion of older homicide victims. A total of 195 victims (7.3 percent of total homicide victims) was aged sixty or greater between 1984 and 1997. The percentage of victims over sixty has been relatively constant except for the higher proportion years of 1984 (14.5 percent), 1987 (12.9 percent), and 1988 (14.5 percent), together with the lower proportion years of 1989 (4.5 percent) and 1996 (5 percent).

## 2. Sex

Approximately 70 percent of homicide victims from 1984 to 1997 were male. With the exceptions of 1984 (56.4 percent male victims) and 1990 (78.4 percent male victims), the male victim percentage ranged between 65.9 and 73.8 percent.

### 3. Race

Data on the race of victims are shown in Graph 3 and Appendix II.



The proportion of white victims decreased sharply from 1984 through 1989, remained fairly stable through 1993, but increased from 1994 through 1997. Conversely, the proportion of black victims increased sharply from 1984 through 1989, remained fairly stable through 1993, but declined from 1994 through 1997.

### D. OFFENDER CHARACTERISTICS (see Appendix III for detailed information)

#### 1. Age

Table 5a summarizes the age of known homicide offenders over the past fourteen years. Homicide offenders are defined as all those persons so identified at the time the murder came to the attention of a law enforcement agency. The table also shows all offenders less than thirty years of age and those less than eighteen years of age.

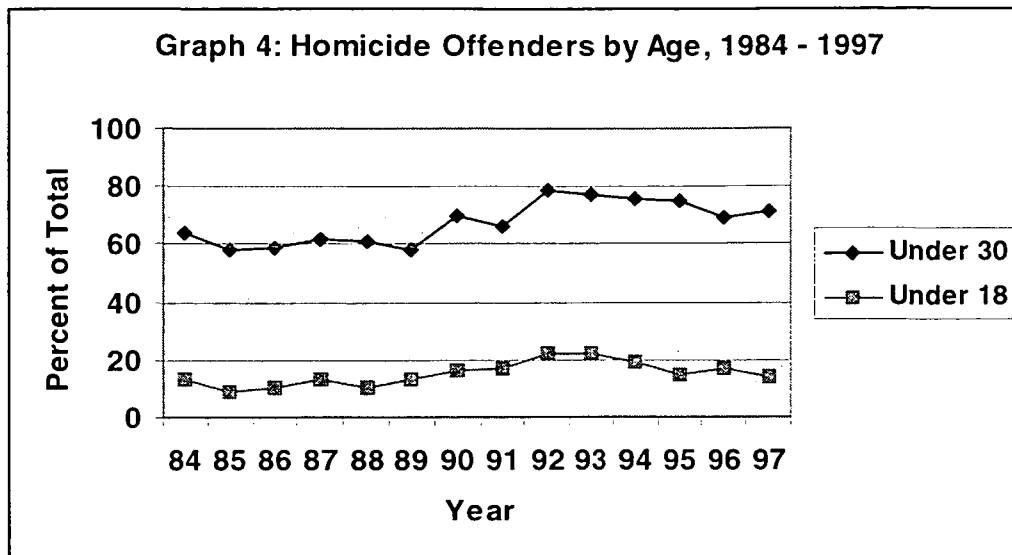
Note: all offenders in the "under 18" group are also included in the "under 30" group.

**Table 5a: Age of Homicide Offenders, 1984 - 1997**

Year	Total Offenders	Average (Mean) Age	Less than 30		Less than 18	
			Number	Percent	Number	Percent
1984	101	29.0	65	64.4	13	12.9
1985	134	29.1	77	57.5	12	9.0
1986	140	28.6	82	58.6	14	10.0
1987	170	27.9	105	61.8	22	12.9
1988	127	29.5	78	61.4	13	10.2
1989	158	29.3	92	58.2	21	13.3
1990	235	26.6	165	70.2	38	16.2
1991	249	26.2	165	66.3	43	17.3
1992	243	24.3	191	78.6	53	21.8
1993	241	24.6	186	77.2	54	22.4
1994	230	25.6	175	76.1	44	19.1
1995	212	26.1	160	75.5	31	14.6
1996	199	26.9	137	68.8	33	16.6
1997	185	28.3	131	70.8	26	14.1

The average age of Wisconsin homicide offenders was relatively constant from 1984 to 1989. However, the average age declined by five years from 1989 to 1992, basically due to a substantial increase in the number of offenders less than thirty years of age. The average offender age increased by four years since 1992, largely due to a decline in the number and proportion of younger offenders.

Graph 4 illustrates these age patterns for homicide offenders.



As the following chart summarizes, there has been a much larger percentage of young offenders (both under 30 and under 18 years of age) during the second seven-year period. However, the percentage of offenders under 18 years of age has declined considerably since 1993.

**Table 5b: Age of Homicide Offenders, 1984 – 1997**

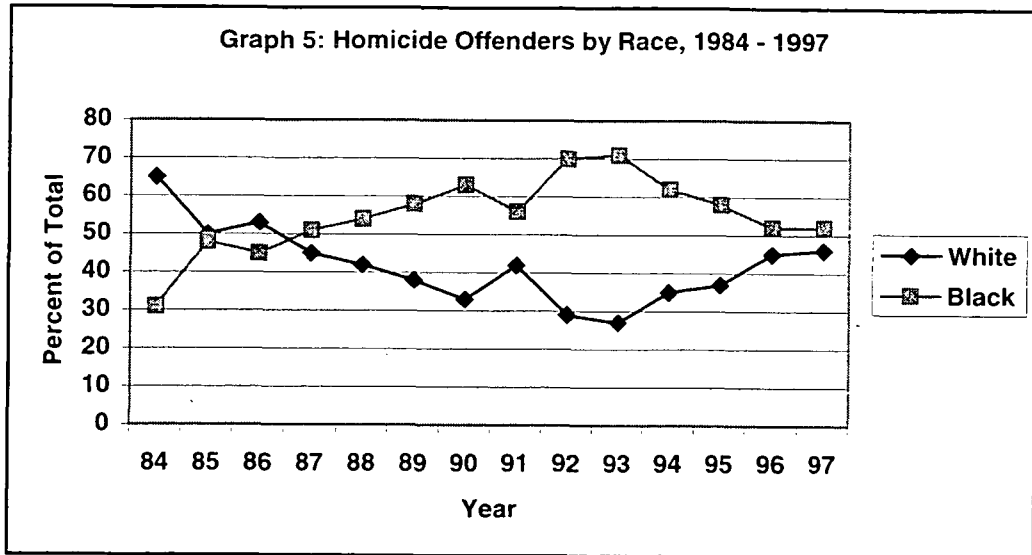
Time Period	Number of Offenders	Average Age	Offenders Under 30		Offenders Under 18	
			Number	Percent	Number	Percent
1984 - 1990	1,065	28.4	664	62.3%	133	12.5%
1991 - 1997	1,559	25.8	1,145	73.4%	284	18.2%

**2. Sex**

The percentage of homicide offenders by sex has remained very consistent from 1984 to 1997. While the male offender proportion averaged 88.1 percent over the fourteen year period, it ranged between a low of 82.7 percent in 1988 and a high of 91.3 percent in 1993.

**3. Race**

The percentages of white and black offenders are summarized in Graph 5.



The proportion of white offenders decreased sharply from 65.3 percent in 1984 to 27.3 percent in 1993, but increased to 45.9 percent in 1997. Conversely, the proportion of black offenders increased sharply from 30.7 percent in 1984 to 71.4 percent in 1993, but declined to 50.8 percent in 1997. These trends in offender race parallel victim race trends outlined earlier.

### E. RELATIONSHIP OF VICTIM AND OFFENDER

The relationship between victim and offender was known in approximately 75 percent of all Wisconsin homicides over the past fourteen years. Cases in which the relationship is unknown are excluded from this analysis. These relationships are separated into three categories: Family (including parent, child, spouse, other relative); Friend/Acquaintance (all known excluding relative); and Stranger.

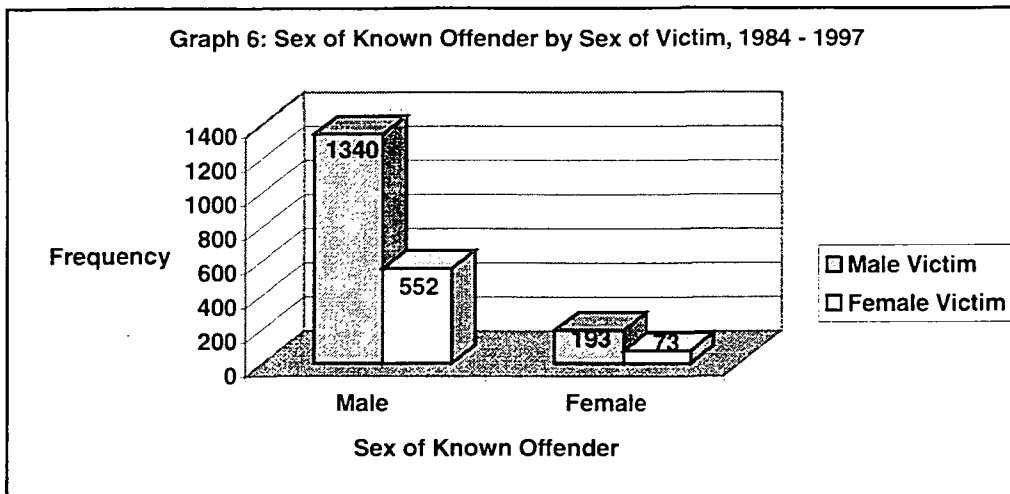
Basic statistics on these three relationship categories are summarized in Table 6.

**Table 6: Relationship of Victim and Offender**

<u>Relationship of Victim/Offender</u>	<u>Average % 1984 - 1997</u>	<u>High %</u>	<u>Low %</u>
Family	22.7	30.0	17.1
Friend/Acquaintance	58.8	67.5	52.4
Stranger	18.4	24.6	11.4

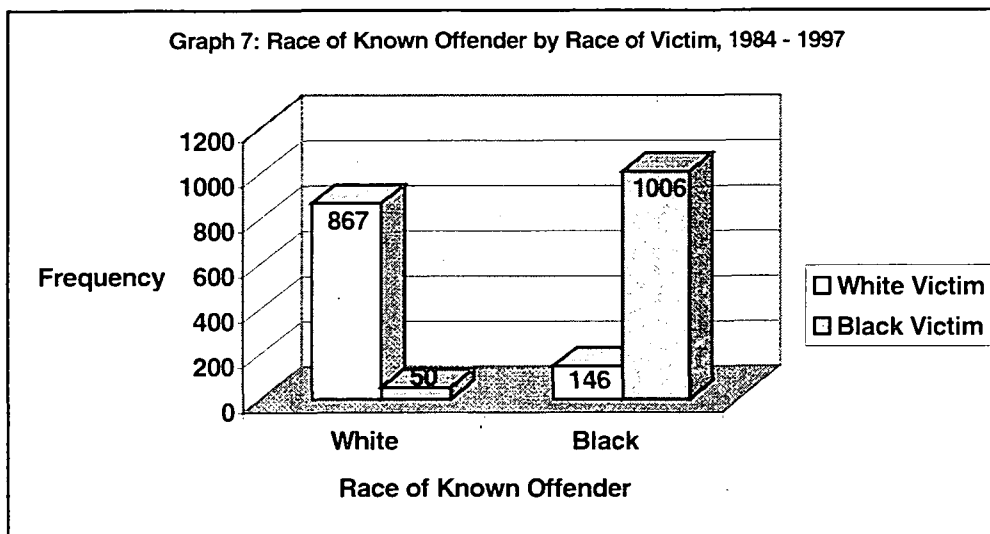
Over time there were no identifiable trends at the Statewide level with regard to the relationship of victim and offender.

Graph 6 shows the relationship between the sex of known offenders and the sex of their victims. Appendix IV provides details of this relationship from 1984 through 1997.



An analysis of victim/offender relationship shows that both male and female offenders were much more likely to kill males than females. While 70.8 percent of the victims of male offenders were male, 72.6 percent of the victims of female offenders were male. The male offender/male victim category did increase from 58.7 percent of total murders in 1984 - 1990 to 64.6 percent of total murders in 1991 - 1997. The proportion of two relationships (male offender/female victim and female offender/male victim) declined somewhat between the two seven-year periods. However, the female offender/female victim relationship increased somewhat, from 2.6 percent of total murders in 1984 - 1990 to 3.9 percent of total murders in 1991 - 1997.

Graph 7 shows the relationship between the race of known offenders and the race of the victim. Appendix V provides details of this relationship from 1984 through 1997. Note that unknown and other racial combinations of victim/offender are excluded from Graph 7.



While black offenders had a higher tendency towards interracial (of a different race) homicide, the large majority of homicides were intraracial (of the same race). While 94.5 percent of the victims of white offenders were white, 87.3 percent of the victims of black offenders were black.

Excluding unknown and other racial relationships, the black offender/black victim category increased from 43.5 percent of murders in 1984 - 1990 to 52.4 percent of total murders in 1991 - 1997. Conversely, the white offender/white victim category declined from 47.5 percent to 37.8 percent. However, by 1997 the black on black category had declined to 46.1 percent while the white on white category had increased to 43.5 percent.

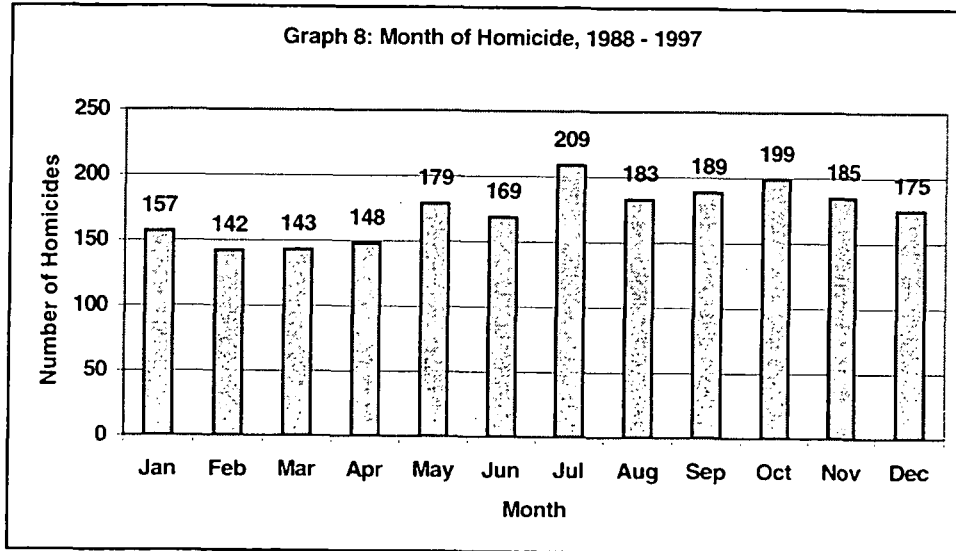


## F. OFFENSE CHARACTERISTICS

### 1. Timing of Homicide

#### a. Month

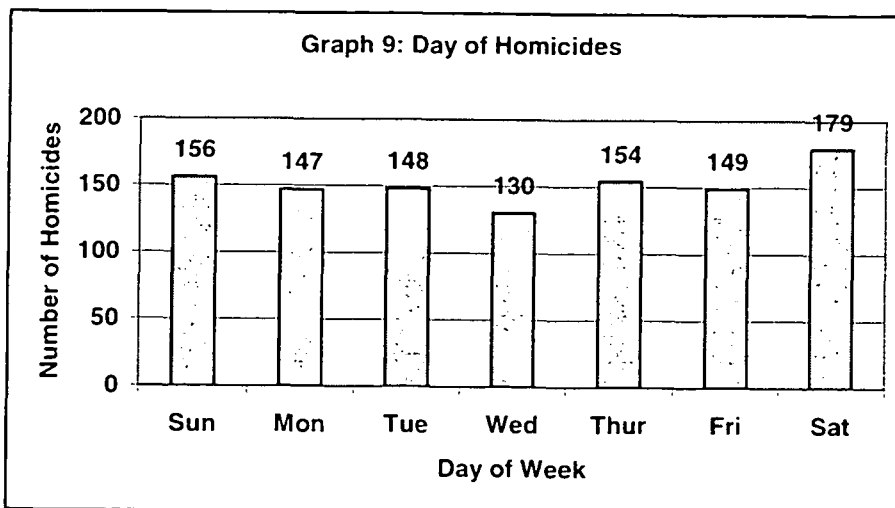
Graph 8 shows the number of homicides per month from 1988 through 1997.



The proportion of homicides per month ranged from a low of 6.8 percent in February to a high of 10.4 percent in July. While there were no dramatic seasonal effects with respect to Wisconsin homicides, nearly 55 percent of homicides were reported in the last six months of the year.

#### b. Day

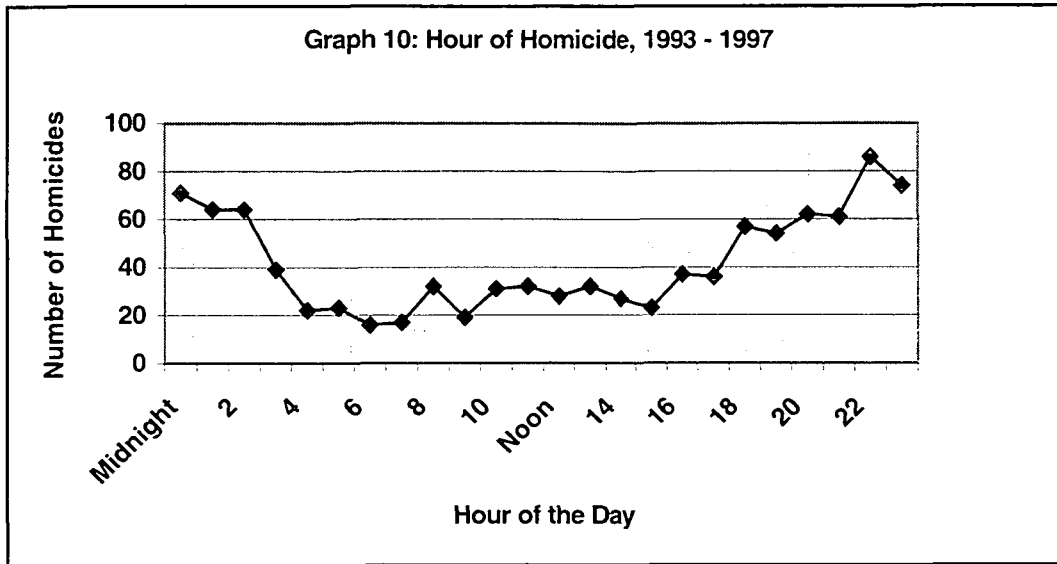
Graph 9 shows patterns in the known day of the week on which homicides were reported. This variable was collected beginning in 1993 and the data include all homicides reported from 1993 through 1997.



There were no dramatic effects with respect to the day of Wisconsin homicides. The proportion of homicides per day ranged from a low of 12.1 percent on Wednesday to a high of 16.9 percent on Saturday.

**c. Hour**

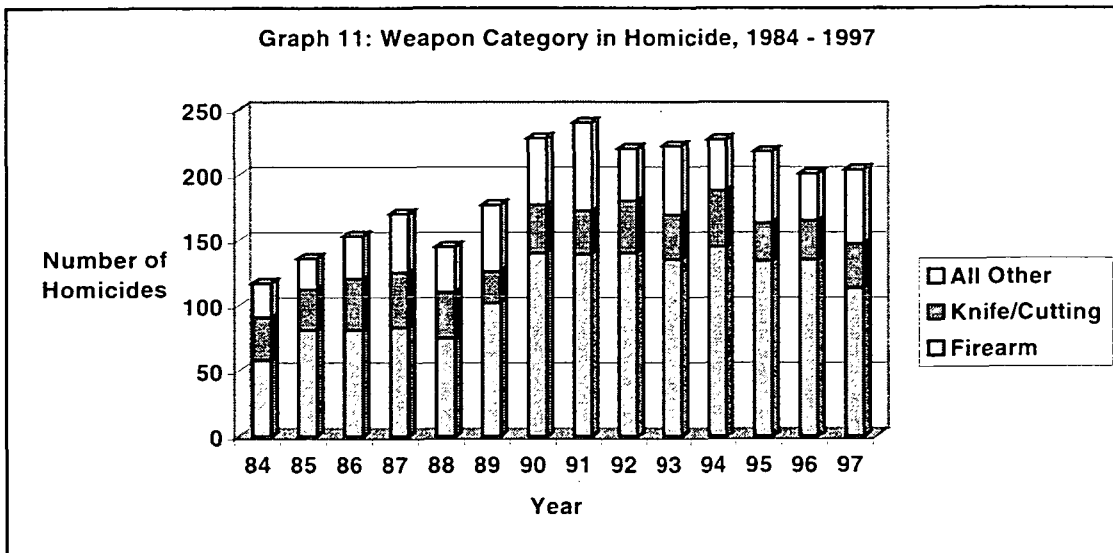
Graph 10 shows patterns in the known hour of the day on which homicides were reported. Again, this variable was collected beginning in 1993 and the data include all homicides reported from 1993 through 1997. Note that the time periods on the horizontal axis are expressed in military time (e.g., period 4 = 4:00 a.m. to 4:59 a.m.).



There have been many more homicides committed between the nine hours of 6 p.m. and 3 a.m. These nine hours accounted for nearly 59 percent of all homicides during the five year period.

**2. Weapon (see Appendix VI for detailed information)**

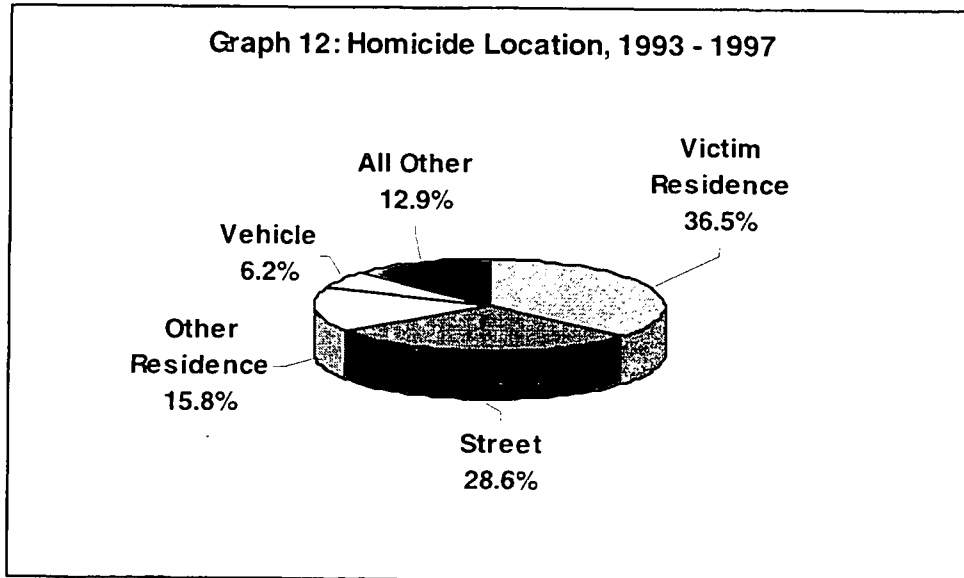
Graph 11 shows the type of weapon used in Wisconsin homicides for each of the past fourteen years. While only three categories (total firearm, knife/cutting instrument, and all other) are used in this graph, more detailed weapon data are shown in Appendix VI.



The major change in weapon usage involved firearms, especially handguns. While handguns accounted for an average of 37 percent of all homicides from 1984 to 1988, they accounted for an average of 51 percent of all homicides in subsequent years. By contrast, the proportion of homicides involving either other firearms or knives/cutting instruments declined after 1988.

### 3. Location

Location of homicides has been coded since 1993. Graph 12 shows the most common locations of recent Wisconsin homicides.



Nearly two-thirds of all homicides took place either in the victim's residence or on a public street. The most common "all other" locations included park/field, business, and parking lot.

### 4. Circumstances

For at least two critical reasons, data on the circumstances of Wisconsin homicides are somewhat unreliable. First, a large proportion (approximately 19 percent) of homicides have unknown circumstances. Second, a homicide incident often may have multiple circumstances (e.g., an argument over drugs involving gang members.) However, individual agencies may score similar incidents differently since there is no "hierarchy" among the circumstance categories.

Data on the known circumstances of homicides occurring between 1989 and 1997 are summarized below:

Circumstances involving "arguments" accounted for 54.6 percent of all homicides.

The commission of other crimes led to 20.8 percent of all homicides. Approximately two-thirds of these crimes involved robbery.

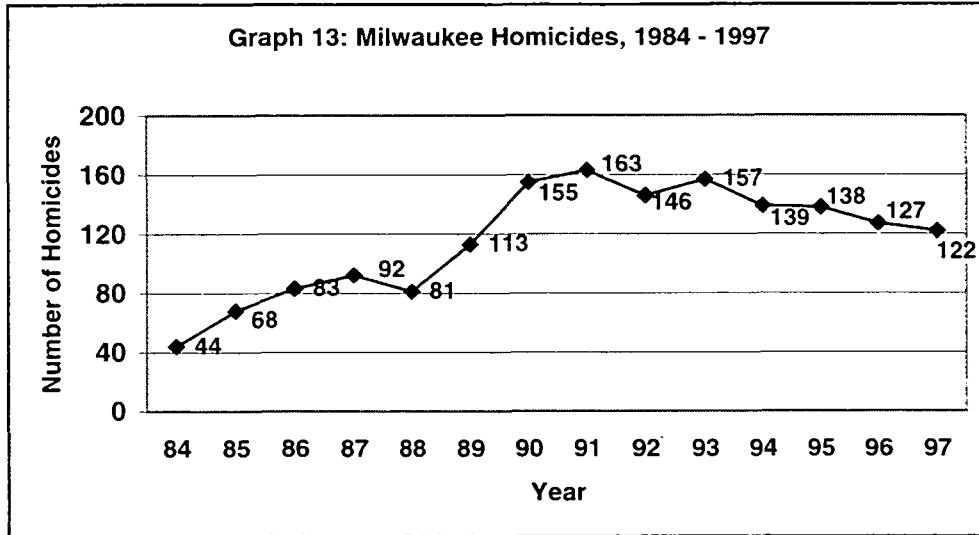
"Other circumstances" accounted for the remaining 24.6 percent of all homicides. Some of the most common of these circumstances are "lovers triangle", "mercy killing", "child abuse", and "during divorce/separation".

## IV. HOMICIDE IN THE CITY OF MILWAUKEE

### A. INTRODUCTION AND OVERVIEW

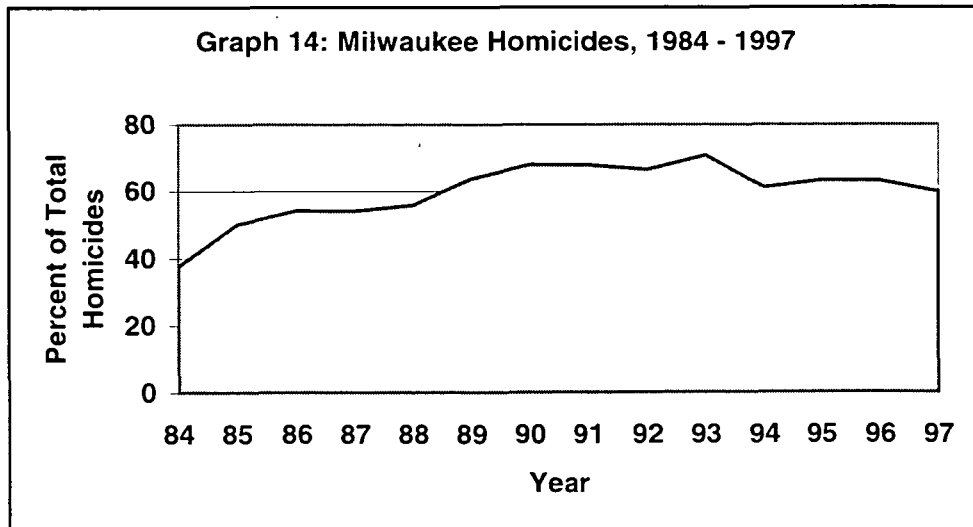
As shown in Table 3, the County of Milwaukee accounted for over sixty percent of all Wisconsin homicides during the past fourteen years. However, the vast majority of Milwaukee County homicides were reported by the City of Milwaukee. This section will summarize characteristics of Milwaukee homicides and list the most important differences between City of Milwaukee homicides and those which occurred in the remainder of the State.

Graph 13 shows the number of homicides in Milwaukee for the past fourteen years.



The number of Milwaukee homicides increased by 177 percent from 1984 to 1997. However, after reaching a peak of 163 in 1991, Milwaukee homicides declined to 122 in 1997, a decrease of 25 percent.

Graph 14 shows the proportion of total Wisconsin homicides which occurred in the City of Milwaukee from 1984 through 1997.



The proportion of Wisconsin homicides accounted for by the City of Milwaukee increased from 37.6 percent in 1984 to 59.5 percent in 1997. The City of Milwaukee accounted for 61.2 percent of total Wisconsin homicides during the entire fourteen year period. However, after reaching a high of 70.7 percent of total Wisconsin homicides in 1993, Milwaukee's proportion of total Wisconsin homicides declined to 59.5 percent by 1997.

During this fourteen year period, Milwaukee's homicide rate per 100,000 residents ranged from a low of 7.3 in 1984 to a high of 25.9 in 1991. The average Milwaukee homicide rate was 18.5 per 100,000 residents during the entire fourteen year period.

While Milwaukee's homicide rate was much greater than that of the remainder of Wisconsin (1.7 homicides per 100,000 residents), it has been somewhat less than that of comparable cities in the United States. The average homicide rate for all other cities between 500,000 and 1,000,000 residents was 19.7 homicides per 100,000 residents, about 6.5 percent greater than Milwaukee's homicide rate of 18.5 homicides per 100,000 residents.

## B. VICTIM CHARACTERISTICS

### 1. Age

The average (mean) age of Milwaukee homicide victims was 29.4 years, ranging from a high of 36 in 1985 to a low of 27 in both 1989 and 1992. While the average age of victims was 30.3 years from 1984 through 1990, this figure declined to 28.8 years from 1991 to 1997. Nearly two-thirds of all victims were thirty years of age or less.

The average age of Milwaukee victims was about one year less than the average age of all Wisconsin homicide victims.

### 2. Sex

The percentage of homicide victims by sex remained very consistent from 1984 to 1997. Approximately 78 percent of all Milwaukee victims between 1984 and 1997 were male. This male proportion is somewhat greater than the Statewide male proportion of 70.8 percent during the same fourteen year period.

### 3. Race

Table 7 shows the racial breakdown of Milwaukee homicide victims

**Table 7: Race of Milwaukee Homicide Victims**

<u>Time Period</u>	<u>Black</u>		<u>White</u>		<u>Other</u>		<u>Total</u>
	<u>Number</u>	<u>Percent</u>	<u>Number</u>	<u>Percent</u>	<u>Number</u>	<u>Percent</u>	
1984 - 1990	436	68.6	194	30.5	6	0.9	636
1991 - 1997	741	74.8	233	23.5	17	1.7	991
Total	1177	72.4	427	26.2	23	1.4	1627

Although the proportion of white victims declined in the latter seven years, the proportion of both black and other races (American Indian and Asian) increased.

## C. OFFENDER CHARACTERISTICS

### 1. Age

As summarized in Table 8, there was a much larger percentage of young offenders (both under 30 and under 18 years of age) during the second seven-year period. Note: all offenders in the “under 18” group are also included in the “under 30” group.

**Table 8: Age of Milwaukee Homicide Offenders**

<u>Time Period</u>	<u>Number of Offenders</u>	<u>Average Age</u>	<u>Offenders Under 30</u>		<u>Offenders Under 18</u>	
			<u>Number</u>	<u>Percent</u>	<u>Number</u>	<u>Percent</u>
1984 - 1990	516	28.4	331	64.2%	67	13.0%
1991 - 1997	1,056	24.3	803	76.0%	187	17.7%

The average (mean) age of Milwaukee homicide offenders ranged from a high of 31.1 in 1988 to a low of 24.0 in five of the years between 1991 and 1996. While the average age of offenders was 28.4 years from 1984 through 1990, this figure averaged only 24.3 years in the years between 1991 to 1997. Over three-fourths of all offenders from 1991 through 1997 were less than thirty years of age.

The average age of Milwaukee offenders was identical to the average age of all Wisconsin homicide offenders in the seven year period between 1984 and 1990. However, the average age of Milwaukee offenders was about one and half years less than the average age of all Wisconsin homicide offenders in the seven year period between 1991 and 1997.

### 2. Sex

The percentage of homicide offenders by sex has remained very consistent from 1984 to 1997. While 85.5 percent of all Milwaukee offenders between 1984 and 1990 were male, 88.5 percent were male between 1991 and 1997. The overall male proportion of 87.5 percent for Milwaukee is virtually the same as the Statewide male proportion of 88.1 percent during the same fourteen year period.

### 3. Race

Table 9 shows the racial breakdown of Milwaukee homicide offenders

**Table 9: Race of Milwaukee Homicide Offenders**

<u>Time Period</u>	<u>Black</u>		<u>White</u>		<u>Other</u>		<u>Total</u>
	<u>Number</u>	<u>Percent</u>	<u>Number</u>	<u>Percent</u>	<u>Number</u>	<u>Percent</u>	
1984 - 1990	396	76.4	112	21.6	10	1.9	518
1991 - 1997	846	80.6	192	18.3	11	1.1	1049
Total	1242	79.2	304	19.4	21	1.3	1567

While the proportion of white offenders declined somewhat in the latter seven year period, the proportion of black offenders increased.

## D. RELATIONSHIP OF VICTIM AND OFFENDER

The relationship between victim and offender was known in approximately 80 percent of all Milwaukee homicides over the past fourteen years. Cases in which the relationship was unknown are excluded from this analysis. These relationships are separated into three categories: Family (including parent, child, spouse, other relative); Friend/Acquaintance (all known excluding relative), and Stranger. Basic figures on these three relationship categories are shown in Table 10.

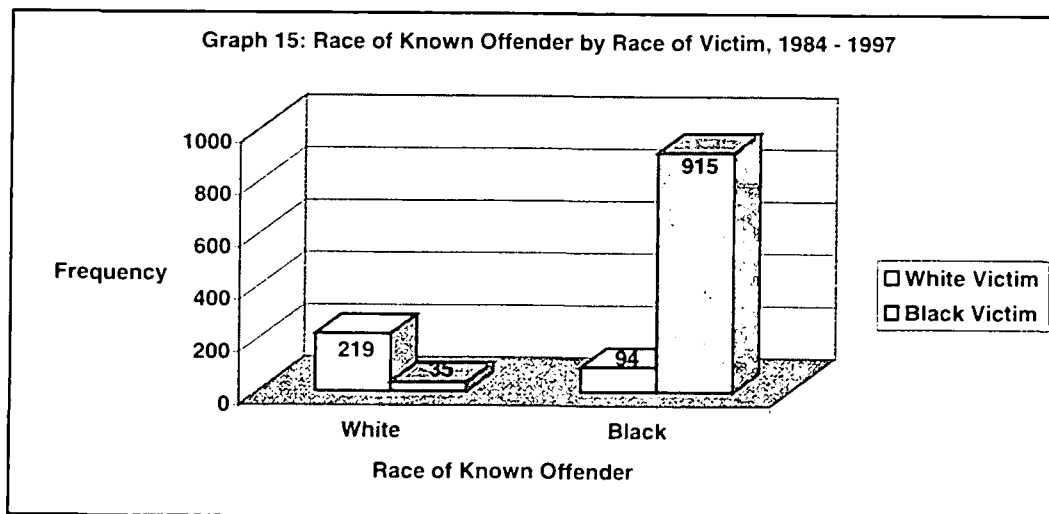
**Table 10: Relationship of Victim and Offender**

<u>Relationship of Victim/Offender</u>	<u>1984 - 1990</u>	<u>1991 - 1997</u>	<u>1984 - 1997</u>
Family	22.7	10.8	15.8
Friend/Acquaintance	55.2	66.2	61.6
Stranger	22.0	23.0	22.6

While the proportion of friend/acquaintance relationships increased in the second seven year period, the proportion of family relationships declined. When compared to Statewide relationships in Table 6, the Milwaukee victim/offender relationships were more likely to involve either friend/acquaintance or stranger. Conversely, Milwaukee victim/offender relationships in homicides were less likely to involve family relationships.

An analysis of victim/offender relationship for Milwaukee shows that both male and female offenders were much more likely to kill males than females. While 80 percent of the victims of male offenders were male, 75 percent of the victims of female offenders were male. These ratios were very stable over time.

Graph 15 shows the relationship between the race of known offenders and the race of the victim. Note that unknown and other racial combinations of victim/offender are excluded from Graph 15.



In terms of race of victim/offender, white offenders had a higher tendency towards interracial (of a different race) homicide. However, the large majority of homicides were intraracial (of the same race). While 86.2 percent of the victims of white offenders were white, 90.7 percent of the victims of black offenders were black. By comparison, Statewide numbers showed that black offenders had a higher tendency towards interracial homicide than did white offenders.

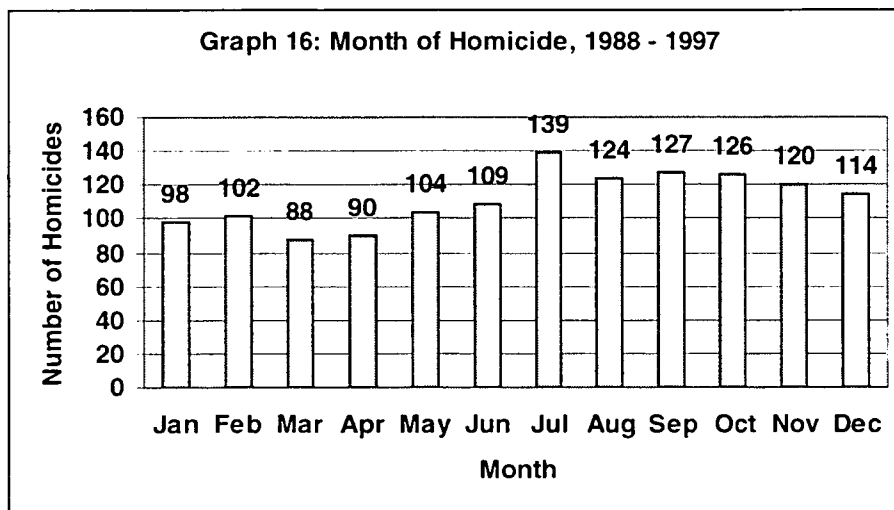
Excluding unknown and other racial relationships, the black offender/black victim category increased from 70.2 percent of Milwaukee murders in 1984 - 1990 to 73.9 percent of total murders in 1991 - 1997. Conversely, the white offender/white victim category declined from 19.9 percent to 15.6 percent. However, by 1997 the black on black proportion had declined to 70.1 percent while the white on white figure had increased to 21.6 percent.

## E. OFFENSE CHARACTERISTICS

### 1. Timing of Homicide

#### a. Month

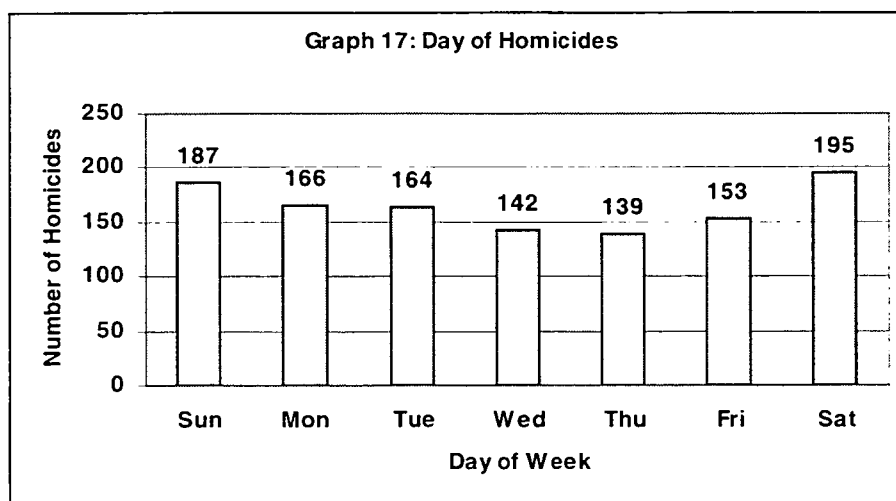
Graph 16 shows the number of Milwaukee homicides per month from 1988 through 1997.



The proportion of Milwaukee homicides per month ranges from a low of 6.6 percent in March to a high of 10.4 percent in July. While there are no dramatic seasonal effects with respect to Milwaukee homicides, about 56 percent of homicides were reported in the last six months of the year.

#### b. Day

Graph 17 shows patterns in the known day of the week on which homicides were reported. This variable was collected for all Milwaukee homicides reported from 1990 through 1997.

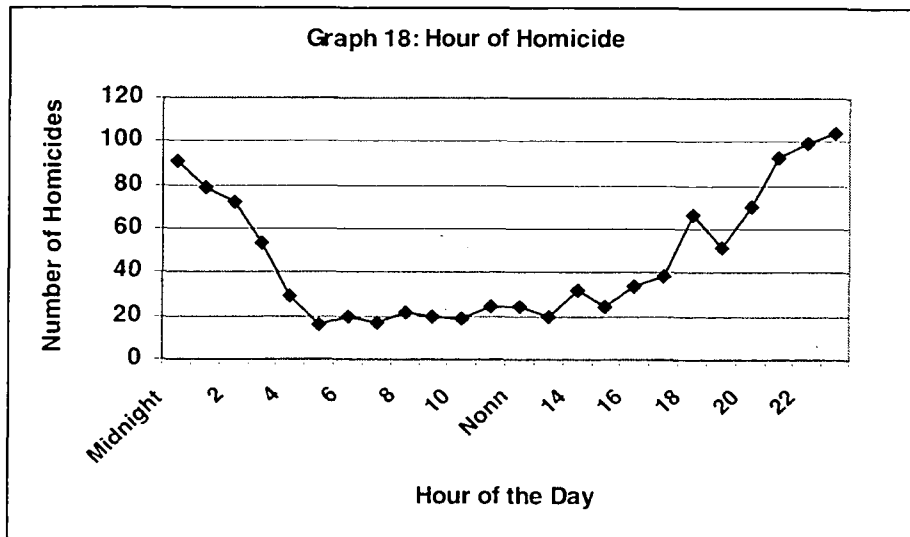


There were no dramatic effects with respect to the day of Milwaukee homicides. However, the two weekend days of Saturday and Sunday accounted for one-third of all homicides from 1990 through 1997.



**c. Hour**

Graph 18 shows patterns in the known hour of the day on which Milwaukee homicides were reported. Again, this variable was collected on all homicides between 1990 and 1997. Note that the time periods on the horizontal axis are expressed in military time (e.g., period 4 = 4:00 a.m. to 4:59 a.m.).



Many more homicides were committed between the seven hours of 8 p.m. and 3 a.m. These seven hours accounted for over 54 percent of all homicides during the eight year period.

**2. Weapon**

Table 11 shows the type of weapon used in Milwaukee homicides over the past fourteen years. (See Appendix VII for more detailed information.)

**Table 11: Milwaukee Homicides by Weapon Type, 1984 – 1997**

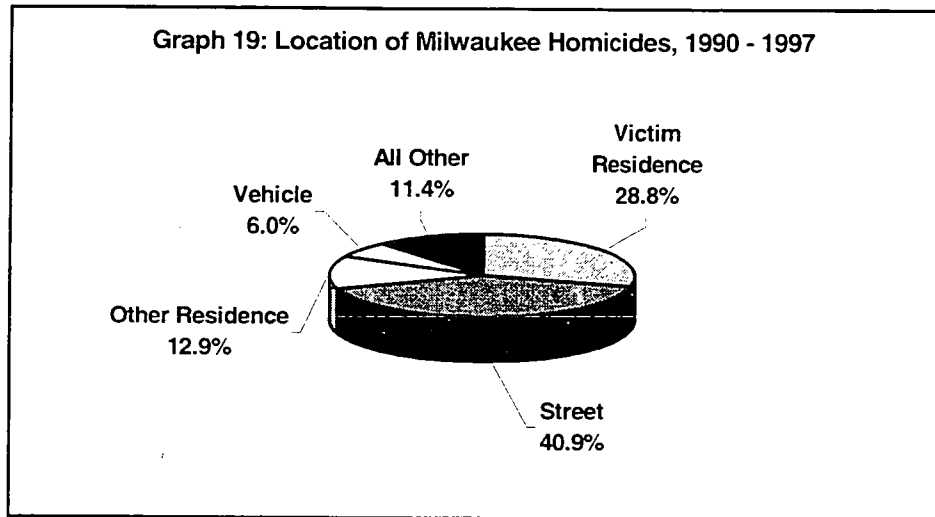
Type of Weapon	1984 – 1990		1991 - 1997	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Firearm	373	58.6	680	68.5
Knife/Cutting	140	22.0	136	13.7
Personal	57	9.0	113	11.4
All Other	66	10.4	63	6.4
Total	636	100.0	992	100.0

The proportion of Milwaukee homicides involving firearms increased in the second seven-year period. While nearly 65 percent of total Milwaukee homicides were committed with a firearm from 1984 through 1997, less than 59 percent of Statewide homicides were committed with a firearm.

The type of firearm used in homicides was quite different when comparing Milwaukee and the rest of the State. While nearly 93 percent of total Milwaukee firearm homicides involved handguns, less than 55 percent of out-State firearm murders involved handguns. Out-State homicides were much more likely to involve a rifle or shotgun

### 3. Location

Location of Milwaukee homicides has been coded since 1990. Graph 19 shows the most common locations of Milwaukee homicides.



Nearly seventy percent of all homicides took place either in the victim's residence or on a public street. The "street/alley" proportion of nearly 41 percent for Milwaukee homicides was much greater than the total Statewide proportion of 29 percent for "street/alley" homicides.

### 4. Circumstances

As noted earlier, information on the circumstances of the homicide is somewhat unreliable. Data on the known circumstances of Milwaukee homicides occurring between 1989 and 1997 are summarized below:

Circumstances involving "arguments" accounted for 63.3 percent of all homicides.

The commission of other crimes led to 17.1 percent of all homicides. Approximately two-thirds of these offenses involved robbery.

"Other circumstances" accounted for the remaining 19.6 percent of all homicides. Some of the most common of these circumstances are "lovers triangle", "child abuse", and "during divorce/separation".

## F. SUMMARY OF MILWAUKEE AND NON-MILWAUKEE HOMICIDES

As noted earlier, the City of Milwaukee accounted for 61.2 percent of total Wisconsin homicides during the entire fourteen year period. As a result, if patterns in Milwaukee homicides are compared to patterns in total Wisconsin homicides, clear distinctions become lost since such a large proportion of total Wisconsin homicides occurred in Milwaukee. As a result, it is preferable to compare Milwaukee homicides to non-Milwaukee homicides (i.e., all Wisconsin homicides not occurring in the City of Milwaukee). Table 12 summarizes key characteristics of Milwaukee and non-Milwaukee homicides in terms of general characteristics together with information on victim/offender relationships. The figures in Table 12 refer to all 1984 - 1997 homicides.

**Table 12: General and Victim/Offender Characteristics of Wisconsin Homicides**

<u>Homicide Characteristic</u>	<u>Milwaukee</u>	<u>Non-Milwaukee</u>
Total Homicides	1627	1032
Rate per 100,000 Residents	18.5	1.7
Victim - Average Age	29.4	31.5
- Percent Under 18	16.6	14.2
- Percent Female	22.1	40.3
- Percent Black	72.4	14.4
Offender - Average Age	25.6	28.7
- Percent Under 30	72.1	64.2
- Percent Under 18	16.2	15.5
- Percent Female	12.5	10.8
- Percent Black	79.2	24.3
Victim / Offender Relationship		
- Percent Family	15.8	34.9
- Percent Friend/Acquaintance	61.6	54.0
- Percent Stranger	22.6	11.0
- % Male Victims of Male Offenders	80.0	57.1
- % Female Victims of Female Offenders	75.0	69.1
- % White Victims of White Offenders	86.2	97.7
- % Black Victims of Black Offenders	90.7	63.6

In terms of victim/offender characteristics, the basic differences between Milwaukee and non-Milwaukee homicides include the following:

- Milwaukee victims were about two years younger and about five times more likely to be black.
- Non-Milwaukee victims were about two years older and about twice as likely to be female.
- Milwaukee offenders were about three years younger and were more than three times as likely to be black.
- Non-Milwaukee offenders were about three years older and a bit less likely to be female.
- In terms of the relationship of victim and offender, Milwaukee homicides were much less likely to involve family relationships but more likely to involve friends/acquaintances or strangers.
- Male offenders were much more likely to murder other males in Milwaukee.
- Male offenders were much more likely to murder females outside of Milwaukee.
- Black offenders were much more likely to murder other blacks in Milwaukee.

Table 13 summarizes key characteristics of Milwaukee and non-Milwaukee homicides in terms of basic characteristics of the offense. The years included in each comparison differ due to availability of data.

**Table 13: Offense Characteristics of Wisconsin Homicides**

<u>Homicide Characteristic</u>	<u>Milwaukee</u>	<u>Non-Milwaukee</u>
<b>Time</b>		
- Month (1988 - 1997)	56% from July – December	52.3% from July – December
- Day (1993 – 1997)	30% on Friday and Saturday	32.5% on Friday and Saturday
- Hour (1993 – 1997)	55.1% from 7 a.m. to 3 p.m.	46.3% from 7 a.m. to 3 p.m.
<b>Weapon (1984 – 1997)</b>		
- Firearm	64.7%	49.2%
- Knife/Cutting Instrument	17.0%	20.2%
- Personal Weapon	10.4%	6.1%
- All Other	7.9%	24.5%
<b>Location (1993 – 1997)</b>		
- Victim Residence	29.3%	49.2%
- Other Residence	12.6%	21.5%
- Street, Alley	38.6%	11.0%
<b>Circumstance (1989 – 1997)</b>		
- Argument	63.3%	38.3%
- During Another Crime	17.0%	27.6%
- All Other	19.6%	34.1%

In terms of offense characteristics, the basic differences between Milwaukee and non-Milwaukee homicides include the following:

- While there were minor differences between Milwaukee and non-Milwaukee homicides by both month and day of week, Milwaukee homicides were somewhat more likely to occur between the hours of 7 p.m. and 3 a.m.
- While Milwaukee homicides were much more likely to involve firearms, non-Milwaukee homicides were more likely to involve “all other” weapons (especially blunt objects.)
- While Milwaukee homicides were much more likely to occur on the street, non-Milwaukee homicides were much more likely to occur in a residence.
- While Milwaukee homicides were much more likely to occur as the result of an argument, non-Milwaukee homicides were more likely the result of another crime or circumstance.

## V. OTHER HOMICIDE ISSUES

### A. CLEARANCES

For purposes of this report, a homicide is “cleared” when a law enforcement agency has cleared the homicide by arrest or “exceptional means “ (e.g., offender killed by police/citizen or suicide of the offender). There is no necessary linkage between clearance and conviction.

Table 14 summarizes the clearance rate of Wisconsin homicides from 1984 through 1997.

**Table 14: Homicides and Clearances, 1985 – 1997**

<u>Period of Time</u>	<u>Milwaukee</u>			<u>Rest of Wisconsin</u>		
	<u>Homicides</u>	<u>Clearances</u>	<u>% Cleared</u>	<u>Homicides</u>	<u>Clearances</u>	<u>% Cleared</u>
1984 – 1990	636	534	84.0	490	401	81.8
1991 – 1997	992	851	85.8	541	439	81.1
1984 – 1997	1628	1385	85.1	1031	840	81.5

Clearance rates were very consistent across both agencies and time. Statewide homicide clearance rates averaged 83.7 percent over the fourteen years, ranging from a low of 79.3 percent in 1990 to a high of 90.6 percent in 1987. By comparison, the United States had an average homicide clearance rate of 68.1 percent during the same time period. Also, Milwaukee’s average clearance rate of 85.1 percent was much greater than that of comparable cities in the United States. When combining the homicide clearance rate of all cities between 500,000 and 1,000,000 residents for 1984 through 1996, these cities had an average clearance rate of only 64.5 percent.

### B. JUSTIFIABLE HOMICIDE

Certain willful killings are classified as justifiable and have been excluded from prior analysis. Justifiable homicides are limited to either the killing of a felon by a peace officer in the line of duty or the killing (during the commission of a felony) of a felon by a private citizen. Appendix VIII summarizes justifiable homicides in Wisconsin from 1985 through 1997 (1984 figures are unavailable).

There have been a total of 87 justifiable homicides in Wisconsin from 1985 through 1997. While there were seventeen justifiable homicides from 1985 through 1990, there were seventy justifiable homicides from 1991 through 1997. Fifty-eight of these were by police officers (30 in Milwaukee and 28 in the rest of Wisconsin). Twenty-nine were by citizens (21 in Milwaukee and 8 in the remainder of the State).

In terms of those situations in which a police officer killed a felon, all of those killed were male, 31 were white, and 22 were black. The average age of those killed was 33.2 years and four juveniles were killed. All but one of the police officers were male, while 48 officers were white, and 8 were black.

In terms of those situations in which a citizen killed a felon, all but one of those killed were male, 6 were white, and 23 were black. The average age of those killed was 29 years and two juveniles were killed. All but one of the citizens were male, while 12 citizens were white, and 18 were black.

### C. LAW ENFORCEMENT OFFICERS KILLED

Table 15 lists the number of Wisconsin law enforcement officers killed in the line of duty from 1984 through 1997. The data are divided into those killed feloniously and those killed accidentally. Only those fifteen incidents involving a felonious killing have been included in annual homicide figures.

**Table 15: Wisconsin Law Enforcement Officers Killed, 1984 - 1997**

<u>Year</u>	<u>Killed Feloniously</u>	<u>Killed Accidentally</u>
1984	0	1
1985	3	0
1986	0	1
1987	0	5
1988	0	1
1989	0	3
1990	3	0
1991	2	1
1992	0	0
1993	0	4
1994	4	2
1995	1	0
1996	2	0
1997	0	1
Total	15	19

A total of thirty-four Wisconsin law enforcement officers were killed in the line of duty from 1984 through 1997. While fifteen officers were killed feloniously, nineteen were killed accidentally. There were no apparent trends during the fourteen years as seventeen law enforcement officers were killed in each seven-year period.

### D. HOMICIDE INVOLVING INFANTS

In recent years, homicides involving infant victims (here defined as victims less than two years of age) have received much attention. The following summary of infant homicides is based on all Wisconsin homicides committed between 1990 and 1997. There were eighty-three infant victims in Wisconsin during this eight year period, ranging from a high of fifteen in 1995 to a low of seven during 1997. While 4.7 percent of all Wisconsin homicide victims were less than two years of age, this type of homicide was more common outside of the City of Milwaukee. There were thirty-seven infant homicides in Milwaukee, constituting 3.2 percent of all Milwaukee homicides. However, there were forty-six homicides of infants outside of Milwaukee, making up 7.5 percent of all non-Milwaukee homicides.

In terms of gender of known victims, there were forty-three males and forty females. By comparison, there were forty-three known male offenders and forty-one female offenders. Nearly eighty-eight percent of all known offenders were either a parent/step-parent or the boy/girl friend of a parent. Another seven percent of known offenders were baby-sitters. Seventy victims (84.3 percent of total victims) were killed by either personal weapons (usually beating or suffocation) or blunt objects.

## E. MURDER / SUICIDE

Another homicide type consists of those homicides in which the offender commits suicide as part of the incident. This summary of murder/suicide combinations is based on all Wisconsin homicides committed between 1990 and 1997. There were seventy-seven incidents in which the offender committed suicide following the homicide. Incidents ranged from a high of eighteen in 1996 to a low of three in 1993. While 4.4 percent of all Wisconsin homicide victims were killed in a murder/suicide circumstance, this type of homicide was more common outside of the City of Milwaukee. There were fourteen victims of a murder/suicide in Milwaukee, constituting only 1.2 percent of all Milwaukee homicides. However, there were sixty-three victims of a murder/suicide outside Milwaukee, making up 10.3 percent of all non-Milwaukee homicides.

Known offenders included seventy-five males and two females. While 3.2 percent of all male offenders committed suicide, only 0.6 percent of female offenders did so. There were twenty male victims and fifty-seven female victims in these incidents. Thirty-nine victims (50.6 percent of all victims) were a spouse, while twelve victims (15.6 percent) were either a boy friend or girl friend of the offender. Another six victims (7.8 percent) were children of the offender. Sixty-four victims (87 percent of total victims) were killed by a firearm.

## F. SUMMARY OF WISCONSIN HOMICIDE TRENDS

A useful way of summarizing Wisconsin homicide trends is to show homicide characteristics for several selected year. Table 15 summarizes Wisconsin homicides for three years – 1985, 1991, and 1997. While these years each are separated by six years, they mainly have been selected since 1985 was a relatively low year for homicides, 1991 was the highest year for Wisconsin homicides, and 1997 is the most recent year available.

**Table 15: Characteristics of Wisconsin Homicides, 1985, 1991, and 1997**

<u>Homicide Indicator</u>	<u>1985</u>	<u>1991</u>	<u>1997</u>
Total Homicides	136	240	205
- City of Milwaukee	68	163	122
- Rest of the State	68	77	83
Victim			
- Average Age	32.9	27.3	30.5
- Under 18	11	45	33
- White Percentage	61.8	41.7	49.3
- Black Percentage	37.5	55.4	48.8
Offender			
- Average Age	29.1	26.6	28.3
- Under 18	12	38	26
- White Percentage	50.0	33.2	45.9
- Black Percentage	48.5	62.6	50.8
Relationship (of all Known)			
- Stranger Percentage	16.7	24.6	15.9
- White Offender & White Victim	51.7	37.9	43.5
- Black Offender & Black Victim	36.0	50.0	46.1
Weapon – Firearm Percentage	59.6	57.9	54.6
Clearance Rate	85.2	82.5	80.4

The general pattern that emerges from this and other tables is an increasingly serious homicide problem from the mid-1980's through the early 1990's followed by a gradual easing of that problem during the remainder of the decade. For example, while both victim and offender were younger in 1991 than in 1985, both had become somewhat older by 1997. While the white proportion of both victim and offender declined from 1985 to 1991, these proportions increased by 1997. Contrariwise, while the black proportion of both victim and offender increased from 1985 to 1991, both proportions declined by 1997. While the proportion of homicides committed by strangers increased from 1985 to 1991, this proportion declined by 1997.

While the firearm proportion of total murders declined, the 1991 figure might be somewhat misleading. Either the 1990 figure of 61.7 percent or the 1992 figure of 63.5 percent of firearms as weapon type may more accurately reflect the early 1990's. While the overall clearance rate declined somewhat over the thirteen year period, it remained considerably greater than the national clearance rate.

### **G. HOMICIDE - FIRST SIX MONTHS OF 1998**

There were an estimated 84 homicides reported during the first half of 1998 – 43 from the City of Milwaukee and 41 from the remainder of Wisconsin. This estimated total of 84 homicides is 7.7 percent less than the 91 homicides reported in the first six months of 1997 and 11.6 percent less than the 95 homicides reported in the first half of 1996.

Approximately 52 percent of State homicides reported during the first six months of 1998 occurred in the City of Milwaukee. This figure continues a downward trend in the Milwaukee proportion of total Wisconsin homicides which peaked at 70.7 percent in 1993.



## V. DISCUSSION

The number of Wisconsin homicides more than doubled in the eight years from 1984 (117 homicides) to 1991 (240 homicides). During this same time period, annual homicides reported by the City of Milwaukee increased from 44 in 1984 to 163 in 1991. By comparison, homicides reported from the remainder of Wisconsin increased only slightly, from 73 in 1984 to 77 during 1991. While Milwaukee reported 636 homicides in the seven years from 1984 and 1990, a total of 992 were reported from 1991 through 1997, an increase of nearly 56 percent.

Changes in several measurable characteristics of Milwaukee homicides may help explain the dramatic increase in homicides from the first to the second seven year period.

Age: While the average age of both victim and offender decreased in the second seven-year period, the average age of offenders declined by over four years of age. The number of offenders less than 30 years of age increased from 331 to 803, an increase of over 142 percent.

Relationship: The proportion of Milwaukee homicides involving friends/acquaintances increased from about 55 percent to over 66 percent. The increase in the proportion of these types of homicides may indicate a greater number of drug-related or gang-related homicides among acquaintances.

Weapon: The proportion of Milwaukee homicides involving firearms increased from nearly 59 percent to over 68 percent. Combined with the increased volume of homicides, the result was an increase in the number of homicides involving firearms from 373 to 680.

In summary, there was a sharp increase in the number of homicides committed by younger armed offenders against acquaintances. However, it must be emphasized that this report lacks information on many other factors which may contribute to changes in the volume of homicide. These factors include such variables as family stability, the availability of firearms, nature and extent of the illicit drug trade, increases in gang membership, and economic conditions.

It should be noted that number of Wisconsin homicides has declined by nearly 15 percent, from the 1991 peak of 240 to a total of 205 during 1997. During this same time period, annual homicides reported by the City of Milwaukee declined by about 25 percent, from 163 in 1991 to 122 in 1997. By comparison, homicides reported from the rest of Wisconsin increased by 7.8 percent, from 77 in 1991 to 83 during 1997.

This recent decline in the volume of both Wisconsin and Milwaukee homicide suggests that at least certain of the factors related to earlier homicide increases may have begun to change direction. Improved economic conditions, the enhanced response of the criminal justice system to gang and drug-related violence, and changes in the age composition of residents may have contributed to the reduction in the number of homicides in recent years.

**Homicide Report**  
**Wisconsin Uniform Crime Reports**

Wisconsin Office of Justice Assistance  
 Statistical Analysis Center  
 131 W. Wilson Street, Suite 202, Madison, WI 53702

Appendix I

1 Incident #	2 Type of Homicide	3 Situation	4 Date of Homicide	5 Time of Homicide	VICTIM			OFFENDER				10 Weapon (up to 3)	11 Relation; Victim to Offender	12 Location	13 Circumstances (up to 2)	14 Drug/Alcohol	COMMENTS If Needed
					6 Age	7 Sex	8 Race	6 Age	7 Sex	8 Race	9 Offender Outcome						

\_\_\_\_\_  
 Month and Year

\_\_\_\_\_  
 Preparer

\_\_\_\_\_  
 Preparer Title

Completion of this form is required by S. 16.964, Wis. Statutes.

\_\_\_\_\_  
 Agency

\_\_\_\_\_  
 Agency Identifier (NCIC)

\_\_\_\_\_  
 Preparer Signature

OJA-309 Rev. 05/98

Homicide in Wisconsin. 1961 - 15

1. **Incident Number:** Your agency incident number for this homicide.
2. **Type of Homicide:** 1 - Murder / Non-negligent Manslaughter, 2 - Manslaughter by Negligence, 3 - Justifiable Homicide
3. **Situation:** A - Single Victim / Single Offender      C - Single Victim / Multiple Offenders      E - Multiple Victims / Multiple Offenders  
                   B - Single Victim / Unknown Offender(s)      D - Multiple Victims / Single Offender      F - Multiple Victims / Unknown Offender(s)
4. **Date of Homicide:** Use six digits (MMDDYY). Give date the homicide occurred. Approximate if necessary.
5. **Time of Homicide:** Use 24-hour clock to the nearest hour (e.g., 02, 18). Approximate if necessary. Leave blank if unknown.
6. **Age:** NN - Under 24 hours, NB - 1 to 6 days old, BB - 7 to 364 days old, 01 to 98 - years old, 99 - Over 98 years old, 00 - Unknown
7. **Sex:** M - Male, F - Female, U - Unknown
8. **Race:** W - White, B - Black, A - Asian or Pacific Islander, I - American Indian / Alaskan Native, U - Unknown
9. **Offender Outcome:** 1 - Offender Arrested, 2 - Offender Not Arrested, 3 - Warrant Issued but Known Offender Not Arrested,  
                                   4 - Death of Offender (e.g., murder/suicide), 5 - Justifiable Homicide
10. **Weapon:**

11 - Firearm (type not specified)	30 - Blunt Object (club, hammer, etc.)	65 - Fire / Incendiary Device
Up to 12 - Handgun	35 - Motor Vehicle	70 - Drugs / Narcotics / Pills
Three 13 - Rifle	40 - Personal Weapons (hands, fists, feet)	85 - Asphyxiation (suffocation, strangulation, drowning, etc.)
Can be 14 - Shotgun	50 - Poison	
Used 15 - Other Firearm	60 - Explosives	90 - Other
20 - Knife / Cutting Instrument (ax, ice pick)	62 - Starving / Abandonment	95 - Unknown
11. **Relationship of Victim to Offender:**

<u>Within Family</u>	<u>Outside Family But Known to the Victim</u>	
1 - Victim was Spouse/Estranged	14 - Victim was Cohabitant (i.e., Live-in Lover)	22 - Victim was Child of Boyfriend / Girlfriend
2 - Victim was Common Law Spouse	15 - Victim was Roommate (i.e., Dorm mate, etc.)	23 - Homosexual Relationship
3 - Victim was Parent	16 - Victim was Acquaintance	24 - Victim was Ex-Spouse
4 - Victim was Sibling	17 - Victim was Friend	25 - Victim was Professional Care Provider
5 - Victim was Child	18 - Victim was Neighbor	26 - Victim was Professional Care Receiver
6 - Victim was Grandparent	19 - Victim was Baby sittee (the baby)	27 - Victim was Employee
7 - Victim was Grandchild	20 - Victim was Baby sitter	28 - Victim was Employer
8 - Victim was In-Law	21 - Victim was Boyfriend / Girlfriend	29 - Other Business Relationship
9 - Victim was Stepparent	31 - Victim was Ex-Boyfriend / Girlfriend	30 - Victim was Otherwise Known
10 - Victim was Stepchild		
11 - Victim was Step sibling		
12 - Victim was Other Family	<u>Not Known by Victim</u>	
13 - Other Domestic Violence Victim	32 - Victim Was Police Officer	98 - Relationship Unknown
	99 - Victim was Stranger	
12. **Location of the Homicide:**

03 - Bar / Night Club	16 - Lake / Waterway	92 - Offender's Vehicle
04 - Church / Synagogue / Temple	17 - Liquor Store	93 - Other Vehicle
05 - Commercial / Office Building	18 - Parking Lot / Garage	94 - Victim Temporary Lodging (includes hotel/motel)
06 - Construction Site	21 - Restaurant (also cafeteria)	95 - Offender Temporary Lodging (includes hotel/motel)
07 - Convenience Store	22 - School / College / University	96 - Other Temporary Lodging (includes hotel/motel)
10 - Field / Woods	23 - Service / Gas Station	97 - Victim Residence (includes apartment and nursing home)
11 - Government / Public Building	24 - All Other Locations	98 - Offender Residence (includes apt. and nursing home)
13 - Highway / Alley / Street	90 - Park	99 - Other Residence (includes apartment and nursing home)
15 - Jail / Prison	91 - Victim's Vehicle	25 - Unknown Location
13. **Circumstances:** (up to two can be used - two should be used for a justifiable homicide)

<u>During a Felony</u>	<u>Other Than Felony</u>	<u>Negligent Manslaughter (w/Type 2 Homicide)</u>
02 - Rape	40 - Lover's Triangle	50 - Victim Shot / Hunting Accident
03 - Robbery	41 - Child Killed / Baby Sitter	51 - Gun Cleaning Death
05 - Burglary	42 - Fight Under Influence of Alcohol	52 - Children Playing / Gun
07 - Motor Vehicle Theft	43 - Fight / Under Influence of Drugs	53 - Other Negligent Handling Gun
09 - Arson	44 - Argument / Money or Property	54 - All Other Negligent Manslaughter
18 - Drug / Narcotic Laws	45 - Other Argument	<u>Justifiable Homicide (w/Type 3 Homicide)</u>
19 - Gambling	46 - Gangland	80 - Felon Killed by Private Citizen
20 - Hostage / Kidnapping	47 - Juvenile Gangs	81 - Felon Killed by Police Officer
25 - Abuse / Neglect	48 - All Other Non-Felony	
26 - All Other Felony	49 - Shaken Baby Syndrome	<u>All Homicide Categories (w/Type 1 Homicide)</u>
70 - All Suspected Felony	60 - During a Divorce / Separation	98 - No Apparent Motive
	61 - "Mercy" Killing	99 - Unknown Circumstances
14. **Drug/Alcohol Involvement:**

DA - Drug Trafficking (Dealing, Growing)	DI - Drugs, Under the Influence	AI - Alcohol, Under the Influence
DB - Innocent Bystander in Drug-Related Violence	DO - Other Drug-Related	N - None      U - Unknown

## Appendix II: Homicide Victims

<u>Year</u>	<u>Total Number</u>	<u>Sex</u>	<u>Race</u>	<u>Age</u>
1984	117	Male - 66 Female - 51	White - 85 Black - 27 Indian - 4 Asian - 1	Juvenile 11 (under 5 = 6) Adult 106 (18 - 29 = 39) Ave. Age = 35.9
1985	136	Male - 98 Female - 38	White - 84 Black - 51 Indian - 1	Juvenile - 11 (under 5 = 6) Adult - 125 (18 - 29 = 54) Ave. Age = 32.9
1986	153	Male - 104 Female - 49	White - 88 Black - 61 Indian - 2 Asian - 1	Juvenile 18 (under 5 = 11) Adult 135 (18 - 29 = 65) Ave. Age = 29.7
1987	170	Male - 112 Female - 58	White - 102 Black - 64 Indian - 4	Juvenile 23 (under 5 = 15) Adult 147 (18 - 29 = 63) Ave. Age = 33.6
1988	145	Male - 100 Female - 45	White - 73 Black - 69 Indian - 2	Juvenile 20 (under 5 = 8) Adult 125 (18 - 29 = 56) Ave. Age = 33.3
1989	177	Male - 126 Female - 51	White - 73 Black - 99 Indian - 3 Asian - 2	Juvenile 30 (under 5 = 14) Adult 147 (18 - 29 = 71) Ave. Age = 29.6
1990	228	Male - 174 Female - 54	White - 96 Black - 125 Indian - 5 Asian - 2	Juvenile - 27 (under 5 = 10) Adult - 201 (18 - 29 = 97) Ave. Age = 30.6
1991	240	Male - 177 Female - 63	White - 100 Black - 133 Indian - 5 Asian - 2	Juvenile 45 (under 5 = 19) Adult 195 (18 - 29 = 95) Ave. Age = 27.3
1992	220	Male - 157 Female - 63	White - 93 Black - 126 Asian - 1	Juvenile 44 (under 5 = 12) Adult 176 (18 - 29 = 75) Ave. Age = 30.4
1993	222	Male - 151 Female - 71	White - 91 Black - 130 Indian - 1	Juvenile 41 (under 5 = 16) Adult 181 (18 - 29 = 78) Ave. Age = 29.6
1994	227	Male - 167 Female - 60	White - 94 Black - 126 Indian - 5 Asian - 2	Juvenile 39 (under 5 = 12) Adult 188 (18 - 29 = 100) Ave. Age = 28.4
1995	218	Male - 158 Female - 60	White - 95 Black - 112 Indian - 4 Asian - 7	Juvenile 35 (under 5 = 17) Adult 183 (18 - 29 = 96) Ave. Age = 28.7
1996	201	Male - 148 Female - 53	White - 91 Black - 103 Indian - 4 Asian - 3	Juvenile 37 (under 5 = 17) Adult 164 (18 - 29 = 78) Ave. Age = 29.4
1997	205	Male - 145 Female - 60	White - 101 Black - 100 Indian - 4	Juvenile 33 (under 5 = 15) Adult 172 (18 - 29 = 71) Ave. Age = 30.5

### Appendix III: Homicide Offenders

<u>Year</u>	<u>Total Number</u>	<u>Sex</u>	<u>Race</u>	<u>Age</u>
1984	101	Male - 84 Female - 17	White - 66 Black - 31 Indian - 3    Asian - 1	Juvenile - 13 Adult - 88 (18 - 29 = 52) Ave. Age = 29.0
1985	134	Male - 115 Female - 19	White - 67 Black - 65 Indian - 2	Juvenile - 12 Adult - 122 (18 - 29 = 65) Ave. Age = 29.1
1986	140	Male - 120 Female - 20	White - 74 Black - 63 Indian - 2    Asian - 1	Juvenile - 14 Adult - 126 (18 - 29 = 68) Ave. Age = 28.6
1987	170	Male - 150 Female - 20	White - 77 Black - 86 Indian - 7	Juvenile - 22 Adult - 148 (18 - 29 = 83) Ave. Age = 27.9
1988	127	Male - 105 Female - 22	White - 54 Black - 68 Indian - 5	Juvenile - 13 Adult - 114 (18 - 29 = 65) Ave. Age = 29.5
1989	158	Male - 135 Female - 23	White - 60 Black - 92 Indian - 4    Asian - 2	Juvenile - 21 Adult - 137 (18 - 29 = 71) Ave. Age = 29.3
1990	235	Male - 213 Female - 22	White - 78 Black - 147    Unknown - 2 Indian - 6    Asian - 2	Juvenile - 38 Adult - 197 (18 - 29 = 127) Ave. Age = 26.6
1991	249	Male - 223 Female - 26	White - 105 Black - 139 Indian - 4    Asian - 1	Juvenile - 43 Adult - 206 (18 - 29 = 122) Ave. Age = 26.2
1992	243	Male - 209 Female - 34	White - 71 Black - 170 Asian - 2	Juvenile - 53 Adult - 190 (18 - 29 = 138) Ave. Age = 24.3
1993	241	Male - 220 Female - 21	White - 66 Black - 172 Indian - 1    Asian - 2	Juvenile - 54 Adult - 187 (18 - 29 = 132) Ave. Age = 24.6
1994	230	Male - 201 Female - 29	White - 80 Black - 143 Indian - 5    Asian - 2	Juvenile - 44 Adult - 186 (18 - 29 = 131) Ave. Age = 25.6
1995	212	Male - 191 Female - 21	White - 79 Black - 124 Indian - 5    Asian - 4	Juvenile - 31 Adult - 181 (18 - 29 = 129) Ave. Age = 26.1
1996	199	Male - 181 Female - 18	White - 89 Black - 104 Indian - 4    Asian - 2	Juvenile - 33 Adult - 166 (18 - 29 = 104) Ave. Age = 26.9
1997	185	Male - 166 Female - 19	White - 85 Black - 94 Indian - 5    Asian - 1	Juvenile - 26 Adult - 159 (18 - 29 = 105) Ave. Age = 28.3

**Appendix IV: Sex of Known Offender by Sex of Victim, 1984 - 1997**

<u>Year</u>	<u>Male Offender</u>		<u>Female Offender</u>	
	<u>Male Victim</u>	<u>Female Victim</u>	<u>Male Victim</u>	<u>Female Victim</u>
1984	47	35	10	7
1985	73	26	16	1
1986	70	35	15	4
1987	78	46	13	3
1988	63	31	15	3
1989	82	41	19	3
1990	125	37	15	3
1991	141	37	11	8
1992	103	44	18	8
1993	117	53	10	7
1994	116	40	16	9
1995	115	42	11	7
1996	112	39	12	4
1997	98	46	12	6
<u>Totals</u>				
1984 - 1990	538	251	103	24
Percent of Total	58.7	27.4	11.2	2.6
1991 - 1997	802	301	90	49
Percent of Total	64.6	24.2	7.2	3.9
1984 - 1997	1340	552	193	73
Percent of Total	62.1	25.6	8.9	3.4

Note: Unknown combinations of victim/offender are excluded from this table.

**Appendix V: Race of Known Offender by Race of Victim, 1984 - 1997**

<u>Year</u>	<u>White Offender</u>		<u>Black Offender</u>	
	<u>White Victim</u>	<u>Black Victim</u>	<u>Black Victim</u>	<u>White Victim</u>
1984	63	1	25	5
1985	59	1	41	13
1986	64	4	47	4
1987	68	3	52	11
1988	43	4	49	11
1989	57	1	75	5
1990	62	4	92	12
1991	72	12	95	11
1992	59	2	99	11
1993	56	2	109	17
1994	61	6	90	14
1995	64	2	86	11
1996	72	4	75	8
1997	67	4	71	12
<u>Totals</u>				
1984 - 1990	416	18	381	61
Percent of Total	47.5	2.0	43.5	7.0
1991 - 1997	451	32	625	85
Percent of Total	37.8	2.7	52.4	7.1
1984 - 1997	867	50	1006	146
Percent of Total	41.9	2.4	48.6	7.1

Note: Unknown and other racial combinations of victim/offender are excluded from this table.

## Appendix VI: Type of Weapon in Wisconsin Homicides, 1984 - 1997

<u>Year</u>	<u>Handgun</u>	<u>Other Firearm</u>	<u>Knife or Cutting Instrument</u>	<u>Personal Weapon</u>	<u>Blunt Object</u>	<u>All Other</u>
1984	41	17	33	3	7	16
1985	49	32	31	7	6	11
1986	59	22	39	10	5	18
1987	61	22	42	15	16	14
1988	58	17	35	11	6	18
1989	76	26	24	10	15	26
1990	108	32	37	22	10	19
1991	110	29	33	23	10	35
1992	111	29	40	20	13	7
1993	109	26	34	27	10	16
1994	132	13	43	24	5	10
1995	119	15	29	31	7	17
1996	125	10	30	13	7	16
1997	98	14	34	17	22	20
<u>Totals</u>						
1984 - 1990	452	168	241	78	65	122
Percent of Total	40.1	14.9	21.4	6.9	5.8	10.8
1991 - 1997	804	136	243	155	74	119
Percent of Total	52.5	8.9	15.9	10.1	4.8	7.8
1984 - 1997	1256	304	484	233	139	243
Percent of Total	47.3	11.4	18.2	8.7	5.2	9.1



**Appendix VII: Type of Weapon in City of Milwaukee Homicides, 1984 - 1997**

<u>Year</u>	<u>Handgun</u>	<u>Other Firearm</u>	<u>Knife or Cutting Instrument</u>	<u>Personal Weapon</u>	<u>All Other</u>
1984	15	4	20	1	4
1985	31	10	18	4	5
1986	37	10	20	4	12
1987	36	10	23	12	11
1988	39	5	19	7	11
1989	63	11	17	15	7
1990	90	12	23	14	16
1991	101	2	16	39	5
1992	102	2	22	12	8
1993	99	2	25	18	13
1994	98	2	24	11	4
1995	91	2	16	17	12
1996	99	1	15	6	6
1997	79	0	18	10	15
<u>Totals</u>					
1984 – 1990	311	62	140	57	66
Percent of Total	48.9	9.7	22.0	9.0	10.4
1991 – 1997	669	11	136	113	63
Percent of Total	67.4	1.1	13.7	11.4	6.4
1984 – 1997	980	73	276	170	129
Percent of Total	60.2	4.5	17.0	10.4	7.9

## Appendix VIII: Justifiable Homicide in Wisconsin

The following charts show the number and location of justifiable homicides in Wisconsin from 1985 through 1997.

<u>Year</u>	<u>Total Number</u>	<u>By Police Officers</u>	<u>By Citizens</u>
1985	2	2	0
1986	0	0	0
1987	1	1	0
1988	6	2	4
1989	4	4	0
1990	4	4	0
1991	8	6	2
1992	14	9	5
1993	8	6	2
1994	9	6	3
1995	13	8	5
1996	7	6	1
1997	<u>11</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>7</u>
<b>Total</b>	<b>87</b>	<b>58</b>	<b>29</b>

### By Jurisdiction

<u>Year</u>	<u>By Police Officers</u>	<u>By Citizens</u>
1985	Milwaukee - 1, Brown Deer - 1	
1986		
1987	Milwaukee - 1	
1988	Milwaukee - 2	Milwaukee - 4
1989	Milwaukee - 3, Beloit - 1	
1990	Milwaukee - 4	
1991	Milwaukee - 4, West Allis - 1, Racine - 1,	Milwaukee - 1, Oak Creek - 1
1992	Milwaukee - 4, Bayfield SO - 1, Madison - 1, Juneau SO - 1, Kenosha SO - 1, Racine - 1	Milwaukee - 3, Racine - 2
1993	Milwaukee - 3, Green Bay - 1, Monona - 1, Superior - 1	Milwaukee - 2
1994	Milwaukee - 1, Madison - 1, Tomah - 1, Racine - 1, Caledonia - 1, Waushara SO - 1	Milwaukee - 3
1995	Milwaukee - 1, Dodge SO - 1, Superior - 1, Marathon SO - 2, Monroe SO - 1, Oconto SO - 1, Rusk SO - 1	Milwaukee - 3, Bayfield SO - 2
1996	Milwaukee - 3, St. Francis - 1, Racine PD - 1, Janesville - 1	Wausau - 1
1997	Milwaukee - 3, Madison - 1	Milwaukee - 5, Green Bay - 1, Racine - 1
<b>Total</b>	<b>Milwaukee = 30    Out-State = 28</b>	<b>Milwaukee = 21    Out-State = 8</b>

PROPERTY OF







