



United States White Victim Homicide Clearance

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There is increasing awareness that race-of-victim analysis is an insufficient lens on race discrimination in homicide prosecutions. There is no question that defendants with white victims are treated more harshly than ones with black victims, but it does not follow that black and white defendants in white victim cases are treated equally.

On the contrary, all my studies have found the gap between severe and mild treatment of black defendants, depending upon the race of the victim, is the area of largest statistical imbalance among the four possible offender/victim combinations of black and white. Furthermore, any initial gap only widens as prosecutions extend step by step through the dozens of months from arrest to final judgment. This was true in both of my recent studies of Louisiana and Georgia², where 97% of the chi-square goodness-of-fit statistical significance in each study was in the black defendant cases - 80% too many B-W and 17% too few B-B in Louisiana, and 76% too many B-W and 21% too few B-B in Georgia.

Yet each of these imbalances started with the first step, that of homicide “clearance,” the FBI term for the identification of a person or persons for arrest in filings to the FBI, usually four times a year, for annual reports called Supplemental Homicide Reports (SHRs).

“Persons” in plural - those cases with multiple defendants identified for arrest - is the subject of this study. Fifty percent of black defendants with white victims (B-W case defendants) nationwide have co-defendants in their case, while only 30% of W-W case defendants have them. This large gap, visible here at the first step of prosecution, is hidden by race-of-victim analysis.

The above percentages are from the *population* of this study, 692,604 “offenders” (the FBI term for arrestees) identified not by name but by demographics in the SHRs for all 50 states plus the District of Columbia, from the inception of SHRs in 1976 through 2023, the last full year on record at the time of writing³. To get this population, all negligent and justified homicides have been removed. Also, the 3.2% (19,197) of cleared homicides that did not include both a black-or-white offender and a black-or-white victim as principals have been counted but set aside. The 96.8% of cleared homicides involving blacks and whites as principals (B&W Only), are the 692, 604 offender population to be analyzed for multiple defendants.

STUDY METHODS

This is an observational study, not an experiment. Furthermore, it is an exploratory or descriptive observational study, meaning no variables are being framed as influencing any others. Various categorical subsets, or “samples,” are here compared to the whole

¹ See all of the author’s studies at <https://ssrn.com/author=1603675>

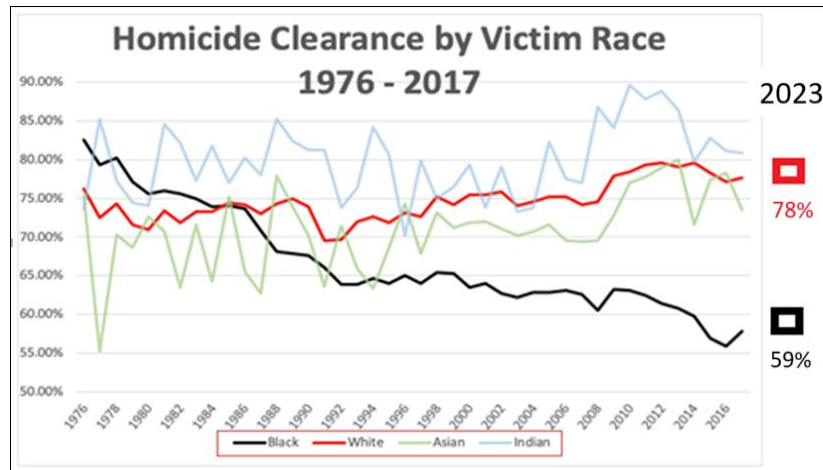
² Chi-Grams of Louisiana Capital Charging at <https://ssrn.com/abstract=4148636> and Reassessing Baldus Study Data of Georgia at <https://ssrn.com/abstract=4690530>.

³ Special thanks to IT guru Matthew Dugal for his help in corraling this data.

population race category distribution to see how well they agree, thus testing the null hypothesis that “homicide defendants are arrested without regard to race.”

CLEARANCE AND THE MURDER ACCOUNTABILITY PROJECT (MAP)

The clearance rate of homicides has diminished steadily these nearly 50 years since Death Penalty reinstatement. Black victims account for the entire decline in law enforcement’s rate of clearing murders through the naming of suspected offenders for arrest (the precise definition of clearance).



The annual national total of cleared homicides was above 12,000 between 1971 and 1995, and below that number every year since. Uncleared homicides have vacillated between 6,000 and 10,000 per year, generally smaller during Democratic presidencies and larger during Republican.⁴

The Murder Accountability Project received approval by the FBI to modify the SHRs so that they are easier to count. Specifically, they separated the first line of data from successive lines in multi-line homicide incident reporting, and counted these extra lines in separate columns. Thus the first line Offender / Victim demographic establishes the race category ID for each homicide incident. (It stands to reason that the first people listed in the police filing would best represent the incident, and the FBI concurred.) Then, extra offenders and victims in the incident record are summed in new independent columnar fields called VicCount and OffCount.

It is the sum of OffCount (OC) that is of primary interest in this analysis, since extra victims are mere aggravators in any defendant’s case against a life or death sentence.

CLEARANCE GAPS IN RACE CATEGORIES, BY HOMICIDE SITUATIONS

The 50% to 30% difference between B-W and W-W frequency of co-defendants in homicide cases is clearly visible on the next page. Extra defendants proliferate in B-W homicides, relative to the other race categories, and W-W extra defendants trail the other race categories nationwide.

⁴ The graphic and trends in cleared and uncleared homicides reported to the FBI are from the Clearance Rate tab of MAP at www.murderdata.org.

CONFEDERACY		HOMICIDE ID CLEARANCE RATES			CLEARANCE RATES FOR EXTRA DEFENDANTS IN HOMICIDE INCIDENTS								ALL OFF-VIC RATES				
1861 Secession States	CSA Admit Date (1861)	B&W Only Homicides Cleared	% Of All, B&W Only Off-Vic IDs	% of All, Other Races, Off-Vic IDs	B&W Only Extra Suspects	Extra Suspects:	Extra Suspects:	B-W – W-W Difference	Extra Suspects:	Extra Suspects:	Extra Suspects: Avg All	Compare White Victim Cases: B-W / W-W	B-B %	B-W %	W-B %	W-W %	Other Races %
						B-W	W-W		B-B	W-B							
ALABAMA	13-Mar	12,822	99.4%	0.6%	1,032	14.1%	6.5%	7.6%	7.1%	8.4%	7.4%	217%	63	6	3	27	1
GEORGIA	16-Mar	20,068	98.8%	1.2%	4,018	28.9%	12.6%	16.3%	16.5%	21.9%	16.7%	230%	65	7	3	24	1
LOUISIANA	21-Mar	17,276	99.2%	0.8%	3,359	29.1%	13.6%	15.5%	15.2%	23.7%	16.3%	214%	69	7	3	20	1
TEXAS	23-Mar	59,483	98.2%	1.8%	15,948	32.7%	19.9%	12.8%	19.0%	28.7%	21.1%	164%	31	7	4	56	2
MISSISSIPPI	29-Mar	7,008	99.2%	0.8%	1,385	28.7%	12.7%	16.0%	16.2%	17.3%	16.5%	226%	72	6	3	19	1
S CAROLINA	03-Apr	14,563	99.2%	0.8%	6,897	45.9%	21.9%	24.0%	34.0%	36.9%	32.1%	210%	57	8	3	31	1
FLORIDA	22-Apr	31,575	99.2%	0.8%	5,262	25.1%	11.2%	13.9%	20.1%	14.0%	14.3%	224%	39	11	6	44	1
VIRGINIA	07-May	16,146	98.5%	1.5%	5,024	34.4%	17.1%	17.3%	25.5%	28.4%	23.7%	201%	52	8	4	35	2
ARKANSAS	18-May	7,896	99.3%	0.7%	2,240	36.8%	16.3%	20.5%	23.0%	34.4%	22.1%	226%	50	7	3	39	1
N CAROLINA	20-May	21,037	96.4%	3.6%	6,036	36.0%	16.5%	19.5%	22.6%	31.0%	22.3%	218%	52	8	3	33	4
TENNESSEE	02-July	16,288	99.1%	0.9%	4,466	34.8%	16.0%	18.8%	22.3%	27.2%	21.6%	218%	53	8	4	34	1
MISSOURI	28-Nov	13,013	99.1%	0.9%	3,381	28.2%	15.7%	12.5%	22.5%	26.5%	20.6%	180%	51	7	4	37	1
KENTUCKY	10-Dec	7,692	99.3%	0.7%	1,614	31.3%	15.0%	16.3%	18.3%	23.1%	17.3%	209%	24	7	3	65	1
Total:		244,867		2,861	60,662	Cleared B/W Only Total=			305,529 (cols C + F)								
Average:		18,836	98.8%	1.2%	4,666	31.2%	15.0%	16.2%	20.2%	24.7%	19.4%	208%	52	7	4	36	1
Range:		7K - 59K	96.4 - 99.4	0.6 - 1.8		14 - 46	7 - 22	8 - 24	13 - 24	16 - 28	15 - 23	166%-230%					
Median:		16.1 K	99.1	0.8		31.3	15.7	16.3	20.1	26.5	20.6	208%					

REGIONAL OVERVIEW

Comparing the other regions of the USA to the Confederacy, the same B-W to W-W gaps appear, only to a slightly lesser degree. Even in the Far West, where W-W cases dominate the race categories, there are still excess arrests of extra suspects in B-W cases, a lack in W-W, with the other two categories in between.⁶

ALL USA REGIONS	RACE HOMICIDE ID CLEARANCE RATES				CLEARANCE RATES FOR EXTRA DEFENDANTS IN HOMICIDE INCIDENTS							ALL OFF-VIC RACE RATES					
Overview of Homicides by Off-Vic Race Category	Homicide Incidents Cleared	% Cleared, B&W Only Off-Vic IDs	% Cleared, Other Races in Off-Vic IDs	B&W Only Extra Suspects	Extra Suspects: B-W	Extra Suspects: Off-Wic W-W	B-W to W-W Difference	Extra Suspects: B-B	Extra Suspects: W-B	Extra Suspects: Avg. All	Compare White Victim Cases: B-W / W-W	B-B %	B-W %	W-B %	W-W %	Other Races %	
		Column C		Column E													
1. Confederacy																	
13 State Total:	247,870	244,867	3,003	60,662	Cleared B/W Only Total=			305,529 (colC+colE)									
Average:	19,067	98.8%	1.2%	4,666	31.2%	15.0%	-16.2%	20.2%	24.7%	19.9%	204%	52	7	4	36	1	
2. Northeast																	
12 State Total:	96,013	93,900	2,113	22,232	Cleared B/W Only Total=			116,132 (colC+colE)									
Average:	8,001	97.8%	2.2%	1,853	28.9%	16.0%	-12.9%	18.8%	25.1%	19.1%	170%	48	9	5	36	2	
3. Plains																	
13 State Total:	106,864	102,280	4,584	29,798	Cleared B/W Only Total=			132,078 (colC+colE)									
Average:	8,220	95.7%	4.3%	2,292	31.8%	17.2%	-14.6%	24.3%	29.1%	22.6%	189%	42	8	4	42	4	
4. Far West																	
13 StateTotal:	117,799	108,302	9,497	30,563	Cleared B/W Only Total=			138,865 (colC+colE)									
Average:	9,061	92.0%	8.0%	2,351	28.7%	21.0%	-7.7	21.6%	27.5%	22.0%	142%	12	5	4	71	8	
					Grand Total=			692,604									
TOTALS	568,546	549,349	19,197	143,255	19,972	53,575		63,162	6,546	20.7%							
AVERAGE ALL					30.8%	18.0%	-12.8	20.8%	26.8%	20.7%	176%	47	8	4	38	3	

THE GAP BETWEEN ID AND OC FREQUENCY

A deeper metric is found after tallying the homicide incident IDs - that is, the race of offender and victim on the first line in the SHR report, which establishes the incident race category as B-B, B-W, W-B, or W-W. This delivers a state's baseline of homicide race category frequency.

⁶ The rightmost Other Races category increases in the Far West, where more Asians and American Indians live. It is not the thrust of this study, but in those states where O-W is greater than B-W, extra defendant totals are also a much greater percentage than W-W extra defendants. (Note that Hispanic is an ethnicity, not a race, and their race is recorded as W or, rarely, as B.)

B
1
01/23/13
SWITCH = N

PAGE 203
SUPPLEMENTARY HOMICIDE REPORT - FILE LISTING 2011
UCR44306

Homicide ID

BY STATE WITHIN GROUP

OC (Extra Offenders)

AGENCY	G	MO	HOM	INC#	SIT	VICTIM				OFFENDER				WEAP	REL	CIR	SUB	AGENCY NAME	STATE
						A	S	R	E	A	S	R	E						
17 LA01000	9	04	A	001	C	20	M	W		17	F	W		12	UN	45		CALCASIEU	LA
										18	M	W		12	FR	45			
										20	M	W		12	UN	45			
17 LA01000	9	06	A	001	A	49	F	W		43	M	W		14	WI	45		CALCASIEU	LA
17 LA01000	9	09	A	001	D	31	F	W		50	M	W		12	IL	45		CALCASIEU	LA
						49	F	W											
17 LA01000	9	12	A	001	A	62	M	B		52	F	B		90	HU	45		CALCASIEU	LA
17 LA01700	9	02	A	001	D	26	F	B		30	M	B		12	AQ	99		EAST BATON ROUGE	LA
						28	M	B											

These state homicide ID frequencies are then compared to those of the Extra Offenders from subsequent lines in the SHR incidents, counted by MAP in a single column labeled Off Count (OC), that take on the incident ID's race category. This allows all homicide incidents to sum to the same number of offenders, victims, and other SHR fields as the number of incidents. Finally, the OCs are tallied, and their race category frequencies are compared to those of the homicide IDs. Without this MAP technique approved by the FBI, mixed races among offenders and victims are quite uncountable⁷. The gap between ID and OC frequency of B-W and W-W is similar in most all US states, and reveals a bit more about the B-W to W-W patterns of disparity across the land.

CONTINUING THE FOCUS ON OFFENDER RACE DIFFERENCE IN WHITE VICTIM CASES

Before looking at the rank of all states in the combined gap between ID and OC frequency in the B-W and W-W race categories, let's review the bottom line in the Regional Overview above, the average representation of Extra Offenders in total clearances for each race category:

Race Category	Count of OC	Count of ID	Count of Both	OC, % of All Clearances
B-B	63,066	241,132	304,198	20.7%
B-W	19,957	44,951	64,908	30.8%
W-B	6,538	17,869	24,407	26.8%
W-W	53,694	245,397	299,091	18.0%
Total, Average All	143,255	549,349	692,604	20.7%

B-B, the largest category, is right at the overall average. Cross-race extra arrests are above that average⁸, and W-W below it. Now let us look at the ID to OC frequency gaps between B-W and W-W in all states.

THE ID TO OC FREQUENCY GAP IN WHITE VICTIM DEFENDANT RACE

The state rankings of the ID to OC gaps, both for B-W and for W-W, plus the sum of both, are below:

⁷ In Louisiana, with its fluid racial history, I spent many hours counting the particular identified races in mixed race homicide incidents, resulting in negligible differences from the race totals using the simpler FBI-sanctioned MAP method.

⁸ Note that W-B is only 3.5% of all clearances, and that the history of U.S. vigilantism is rife with W-B extra arrests.

	WHITE VICTIM EXTRA DEFENDANT GAPS (OC), BLACK AND WHITE DEFENDANTS							Total
	States	Percent of Total ID and of Total OC				B-W Gap	W-W Gap	Gap Difference
Region		B-W ID	B-W OC	W-W ID	W-W OC	(ID – OC)	(ID – OC)	BW Gap – WW Gap
Plains	Iowa	8.2%	13.4%	68.4%	37.7%	-5.20%	30.70%	35.90%
Plains	Minnesota	10.6%	14.8%	49.2%	24.3%	-4.23%	24.89%	29.11%
Northeast	Maine	4.9%	14.3%	91.9%	73.6%	-9.37%	18.28%	27.65%
Plains	Wisconsin	8.6%	13.3%	41.3%	21.0%	-4.70%	20.31%	25.01%
Plains	North Dakota	6.2%	12.0%	84.6%	66.7%	-5.77%	17.97%	23.74%
Confederacy	Florida	10.0%	20.1%	45.5%	34.5%	-10.10%	11.05%	21.15%
Northeast	New Jersey	9.7%	19.5%	36.4%	25.5%	-9.77%	10.86%	20.62%
Confederacy	Arkansas	7.4%	15.1%	39.3%	26.9%	-7.75%	12.43%	20.18%
Confederacy	South Carolina	8.6%	15.4%	30.4%	18.0%	-6.80%	12.45%	19.25%
Far West	Washington	8.0%	15.3%	73.4%	61.5%	-7.23%	11.90%	19.13%
Confederacy	Tennessee	8.2%	15.9%	36.0%	24.9%	-7.74%	11.08%	18.82%
Confederacy	North Carolina	8.4%	16.5%	34.0%	23.3%	-8.05%	10.66%	18.72%
Confederacy	Kentucky	6.7%	14.4%	65.9%	55.3%	-7.78%	10.57%	18.35%
Far West	Colorado	8.4%	14.0%	72.0%	60.2%	-5.60%	11.82%	17.42%
Plains	Indiana	9.4%	18.0%	43.0%	34.3%	-8.60%	8.69%	17.29%
Confederacy	Virginia	8.2%	13.8%	34.8%	23.1%	-5.58%	11.66%	17.24%
Northeast	Connecticut	11.6%	18.8%	47.1%	37.2%	-7.20%	9.90%	17.10%
Plains	South Dakota	5.6%	12.0%	88.6%	78.0%	-6.44%	10.61%	17.06%
Northeast	Delaware	9.2%	11.1%	34.1%	19.1%	-1.90%	14.95%	16.86%
Far West	Nevada	9.9%	17.8%	61.8%	53.6%	-7.94%	8.24%	16.19%
Northeast	Rhode Island	11.3%	17.9%	63.0%	53.7%	-6.55%	9.32%	15.87%
Plains	Oklahoma	7.8%	14.1%	60.4%	50.9%	-6.22%	9.46%	15.69%
Northeast	Pennsylvania	8.2%	14.6%	35.1%	25.9%	-6.47%	9.22%	15.69%
Plains	West Virginia	4.9%	10.2%	81.3%	71.5%	-5.35%	9.82%	15.16%
Far West	Alaska	8.4%	11.4%	73.2%	61.4%	-2.93%	11.85%	14.78%
Confederacy	Missouri	7.8%	11.8%	36.5%	26.1%	-4.00%	10.38%	14.38%
Plains	Nebraska	7.7%	13.2%	64.4%	55.6%	-5.50%	8.74%	14.24%
Confederacy	Georgia	6.8%	13.9%	24.7%	17.7%	-7.05%	6.95%	14.00%
Plains	Ohio	8.9%	13.9%	35.1%	26.0%	-4.92%	9.05%	13.97%
Northeast	Vermont	5.3%	4.1%	87.8%	72.6%	1.22%	15.18%	13.95%
Plains	Kansas	10.1%	17.3%	57.6%	50.9%	-7.20%	6.67%	13.87%
Plains	Michigan	7.9%	11.4%	25.2%	16.3%	-3.55%	8.96%	12.51%
Confederacy	Louisiana	7.5%	15.9%	20.5%	16.6%	-8.36%	3.90%	12.26%
Northeast	Massachusetts	9.7%	15.0%	57.3%	50.4%	-5.25%	6.84%	12.09%
Confederacy	Mississippi	6.3%	12.9%	18.9%	13.9%	-6.59%	4.94%	11.53%
Northeast	Maryland	7.7%	12.6%	21.4%	15.3%	-4.93%	6.14%	11.07%
Rockies	Utah	5.5%	8.0%	89.5%	81.0%	-2.55%	8.50%	11.05%
Northeast	New York	11.1%	17.8%	36.8%	32.5%	-6.64%	4.31%	10.95%
Confederacy	Texas	7.9%	14.4%	56.8%	52.7%	-6.48%	4.12%	10.60%
Confederacy	Alabama	6.5%	13.2%	27.6%	23.7%	-6.70%	3.89%	10.59%
Far West	Oregon	5.0%	8.4%	83.1%	76.7%	-3.43%	6.41%	9.84%
Plains	Illinois	6.7%	11.2%	27.7%	23.4%	-4.50%	4.35%	8.85%
Far West	Arizona	7.9%	11.7%	78.1%	73.2%	-3.74%	4.91%	8.65%
Far West	Wyoming	1.8%	6.3%	94.3%	90.2%	-4.41%	4.14%	8.54%
Far West	California	8.0%	10.5%	63.3%	62.5%	-2.47%	0.77%	3.23%
Far West	Montana	1.6%	3.4%	95.5%	94.6%	-1.78%	0.92%	2.69%
Far West	New Mexico	5.1%	5.9%	86.9%	85.3%	-0.85%	1.61%	2.47%
Northeast	New Hampshire	2.4%	2.4%	94.7%	92.8%	0.02%	1.95%	1.94%
Far West	Idaho	1.6%	0.0%	96.4%	95.6%	1.56%	0.72%	-0.84%
Northeast	Dst of Columbia	4.5%	4.7%	3.4%	4.5%	-0.17%	-1.08%	-0.92%
Far West	Hawaii	8.4%	8.8%	84.0%	91.2%	-0.45%	-7.15%	-6.70%
	AVERAGE	7.4%	12.6%	56.0%	47.1%	-5.18%	8.92%	14.09%

Only the last seven states have less than a large total gap. (MT, NH, and ID each have >94% WW ID.)

Why Does This Matter?

The playing field is not level at arrest. The tilt is moderate, but it is uniform in all but a few states. Because the black arrestees in white victim homicides are generally poor with slight access to overworked public defender systems, they sit in jail for months with neither the

means of participating in their defense nor of knowing what co-defendants are saying and being offered. So the tilt increases with time.

Below are new distillations of tables from my previous two papers that look at homicides and cases researched through to the end, the final case outcome. B-W cases result in a three-time ratio of death verdicts versus W-W cases in the larger Louisiana dataset, and a four-time ratio of death verdicts in the smaller 1970s Georgia data (see the summary row *Death Verdicts/N* in each table).

WINNOWING THE HOMICIDE POPULATION TOWARD DEATH, LYMAN STUDY DATA, LOUISIANA, 1976-2014

A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M	N	O	P	Q
LYMAN LA DATA 1976-2014	n	not B-W #	B-W #	% not B-W	% B-W	n/N, All	n/N, B-W	Ratio, Col G:H	B-B %	B-W %	W-B %	W-W %	B-B #	B-W #	W-B #	W-W #
↓ (Sample)	Col C + D			Col. C / B	Col. D / B	n / 7344*	B-W n / 723**	Col. G / Col. H***								
formulae:	Col C + D			Col. C / B	Col. D / B	n / 7344*	B-W n / 723**	Col. G / Col. H***								
	counts															
N: All Homs, Study Places	7344	6621	723	.90	.10	-	-	-	0.66	0.10	0.02	0.22	4828	723	167	1626
All Homs, Study Years	6512	5768	744	.89	.11	.89	1.03	.86	0.63	0.11	0.03	0.23	4085	744	169	1514
Solo Offender Homicides	4677	4317	360	.92	.08	.64	.50	1.28	0.66	0.08	0.02	0.24	3073	360	115	1129
Multiple Off Homicides	1835	1451	384	.79	.21	.25	.53	.47	0.55	0.21	0.03	0.21	1012	384	54	385
Capitally Indicted Cases	1822	1420	402	.78	.22	.25	.56	.45	0.51	0.22	0.04	0.23	929	402	64	427
Case-to-Hom Matches	1388	1095	293	.79	.21	.19	.41	.47	0.53	0.21	0.04	0.22	737	293	48	310
Multiple Def Cases	978	727	251	.74	.26	.13	.35	.38	0.49	0.26	0.03	0.22	485	251	31	211
Solo Defendant Cases	844	693	151	.82	.18	.11	.21	.55	0.52	0.18	0.04	0.26	444	151	33	216
Final Charge First Degree	385	263	122	.68	.32	.052	.17	.31	0.31	0.32	0.02	0.35	118	122	11	134
Case Match to Uncleared	213	142	71	.67	.33	.029	.10	.30	0.44	0.34	0.02	0.20	94	71	5	43
Uncleared Match Mults	144	89	55	.62	.38	.020	.076	.26	0.45	0.38	0.00	0.17	64	55	0	25
Death Verdicts	107	63	44	.59	.41	.015	.061	.24	0.26	0.41	0.02	0.31	28	44	2	33
Death Verdicts/N	1.5%	1.0%	6.1%										0.6%	6.1%	1.2%	2.0%
Color Key:	Population			decreasing	increasing		see Note	ratio drops to 1.4	drops at end	jumps at mults		jumps at end	Black defendant error	White defendant error		
Note:	In the many months post-FBI clearance reporting, the B-W count comes to exceed its clearance total (N=723), due to extra and uncleared defendants added after the SHR filing.															
	* n/N All (Col. G) is the percentage of the blue top row Population N for all four race categories (7,344) that is the Sample size n (all four B-W race categories, Col. B).															
	** n/N B-W (Col. H) is the percentage of the Black offender vs. White victim homicide population (723) that is the row's B-W Sample size n (Col. D).															
	*** Ratio, Col G:H (Col. I) is not to be confused with the synonymous terms Sample to Population, Observed to Expected, and n/N; instead, it simply compares Col. G to Col. H for each Sample.															

The Baldus Study data below went to a 5-4 US Supreme Court decision (*McCleskey v. Kemp*) in 1988, nixing statistical analysis of death sentencing in favor of proving a racist actor, an impossible hurdle.

WINNOWING THE HOMICIDE POPULATION TOWARD DEATH, BALDUS STUDY DATA, GEORGIA, 1973-1979

A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M	N	O	P	Q
BALDUS GA DATA 1973-1979	n	not B-W #	B-W #	% not B-W	% B-W	n/N All	n/N B-W	Ratio Col G:H	B-B %	B-W %	W-B %	W-W %	B-B #	B-W #	W-B #	W-W #
↓ (Sample)	Col C + D			Col. C / B	Col. D / B	n / 3254*	n / 186**	Col. G / Col. H***								
formulae:	Col C + D			Col. C / B	Col. D / B	n / 3254*	n / 186**	Col. G / Col. H***								
	counts															
N: All Cleared Homicides	3254	3068	186	.94	.06	-	-	-	0.64	0.06	0.02	0.28	2089	186	55	924
Baldus Universe Cases	2484	2251	233	.91	.09	.76	1.25	.61	0.58	0.09	0.02	0.30	1444	233	60	747
Murder Indictments	2343	2112	231	.90	.10	.72	1.24	.58	0.57	0.10	0.02	0.30	1347	231	55	710
Guilt at Murder Trial	606	476	130	.79	.21	.19	.70	.27	0.38	0.21	0.02	0.38	232	130	14	230
All Multiple Defendants	509	374	135	.73	.27	.16	.73	.22	0.41	0.27	0.01	0.31	207	135	7	160
Extra Defendants	305	219	86	.72	.28	.094	.46	.20	0.39	0.28	0.01	0.31	119	86	4	96
Death Penalty Trials	253	160	93	.63	.37	.078	.50	.16	0.17	0.37	0.02	0.44	44	93	4	112
Death Verdicts	130	78	52	.60	.40	.040	.28	.14	0.13	0.40	0.02	0.45	17	52	2	59
Executions	25	13	12	.52	.48	.008	.065	.12	0.08	0.48	0	0.44	2	12	0	11
Death Verdicts/N	4.0%	2.5%	28.0%										0.8%	28.0%	3.6%	6.4%
Color Key:	Population			decreasing	increasing		see Note	ratio drops to 1.8	drops at trial	jumps at trial		jumps at trial	Black Def error	White Def error		
Note:	In the many months post-FBI clearance reporting, the B-W total comes to exceed its clearance total (N=186), due to extra and uncleared defendants added after the SHR filing.															
	* n/N All is the percentage of the blue top row Population N of all four B/W race category homicides (3,254) that is the Sample size n (all four B/W race categories, Col. B).															
	** n/N B-W is the percentage of the Black offender vs. White victim homicide population (186) that is the row's B-W Sample size n (Col. D).															
	*** Ratio, Col G:H (Col. I) is not to be confused with the synonymous terms Sample to Population, Observed to Expected, and n/N; instead, it simply compares Col. G to Col. H for each Sample.															

CONCLUSION

The important factor in analyzing the B-W versus W-W clearance imbalance nationwide post-Gregg (1976) is that 50% of the B-W defendants have co-defendants also arrested at clearance of the homicide, while only 30% of W-W defendants do. In raw numbers, this was

12,665 too few (of 102,174 expected) white co-defendants, and 10,312 too many (of only 22,174 expected) black co-defendants.

This multiple defendant imbalance gets worse later, as shown in the completed post-clearance studies of Louisiana and Georgia outcomes. In the 39-year Louisiana study of almost half the state, B-W had 52% co-defendants to only 25% W-W co-defendants (also 25% combining W-W, B-B and W-B, termed 'not B-W'). In the seven year Georgia study, B-W had 73% co-defendants and W-W only 17% co-defendants, with the other race categories B-B at 10% and W-B at 13% co-defendants.

Baldus-modeled studies of race-of-victim bias only wash away these distinctions. Looking at white victim cases (WV) combines the two categories W-W and B-W, just as black victim cases (BV) combine W-B and B-B, black offender cases (BO) combine B-B and B-W, and white offender cases (WO) combine W-B and W-W.

This allows negative error and positive error, as well as large and small error in the same direction, to mix and cancel each other out, or to water down the larger error, rather than letting each of the four *uncombined* race categories be measured with absolute value distance from the population mean. Finding meaning in race discrepancies measured by combining distinct racial categories of suspect and victim is misguided.

Initial murder investigations ought to lead toward the one actor who did the deed, with rare exceptions. The size and consistency of the gap in the volume of multiple offenders cleared for arrest in white victim homicides, depending on the race of the defendant, is an initial tilt in what should be a level playing field, a tilt that only gets worse as these cases progress.

Page | 52

Column	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M	N	O	P	Q	R	S	T	U	V	W	X	W/Vic diff	
Variables	Black Offender				White Offender				Total # ID				Percent of Race Category in Total # ID				Percent of Race Category Sum OC				Difference				W/Vic
State / Situation	# ID	Sum OC	White Victim	Sum OC	# ID	Sum OC	White Victim	Sum OC	Total # ID	Sum OC	Total Both	B - B	B - W	W - B	W - W	B - B	B - W	W - B	W - W	B - B	B - W	W - B	W - W	W/Vic	
Missouri	6885	1967	1015	399	368	133	4745	882	13013	3381	16394	52.9%	7.8%	2.8%	36.5%	58.2%	11.8%	3.9%	26.1%	-5.3%	-4.0%	-1.1%	10.4%	-14.4%	
MOmvm	208	328	34	50	9	11	106	150	357	539	896	58.3%	9.5%	2.5%	29.7%	60.9%	9.3%	2.0%	27.8%						
MOmvm	413	0	90	0	20	0	458	0	981	0	981	42.1%	9.2%	2.0%	46.7%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%						
MOmvm	1130	1639	241	349	76	122	504	732	1951	2842	4793	57.9%	12.4%	3.9%	25.8%	57.7%	12.3%	4.3%	25.8%						
MOmvm	5134	0	650	0	263	0	3677	0	9724	0	9724	52.8%	6.7%	2.7%	37.8%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%						
Montana	10	2	11	5	10	1	665	141	696	149	845	1.4%	1.6%	1.4%	95.5%	1.3%	3.4%	0.7%	94.6%	0.1%	-1.8%	0.8%	0.9%	-2.7%	
MTmvm	0	0	0	0	0	0	19	33	19	33	52	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	100.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	100.0%						
MTmvm	2	0	1	0	4	0	105	0	112	0	112	1.8%	0.9%	3.6%	93.8%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%						
MTmvm	2	2	2	5	1	1	73	108	78	116	194	2.6%	2.6%	1.3%	93.6%	1.7%	4.3%	0.9%	93.1%						
MTmvm	6	0	8	0	5	0	468	0	487	0	487	1.2%	1.6%	1.0%	96.1%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%						
Nebraska	336	96	106	48	47	17	884	202	1373	363	1736	24.5%	7.7%	3.4%	64.4%	26.4%	13.2%	4.7%	55.6%	-2.0%	-5.5%	-1.3%	8.7%	-14.2%	
NEmvm	2	2	5	7	1	1	18	34	26	44	70	7.7%	19.2%	3.8%	69.2%	4.5%	15.9%	2.3%	77.3%						
NEmvm	18	0	4	0	4	0	108	0	134	0	134	13.4%	3.0%	3.0%	80.6%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%						
NEmvm	47	94	20	41	10	16	106	168	183	319	502	25.7%	10.9%	5.5%	59.7%	29.5%	12.9%	5.0%	52.7%						
NEmvm	269	0	77	43	32	0	652	0	1030	0	1030	26.1%	7.5%	3.1%	63.3%	50.7%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%						
Nevada	1100	222	465	178	234	64	2910	535	4709	999	5708	23.4%	9.9%	5.0%	61.8%	22.2%	17.8%	6.4%	53.6%	1.1%	-7.9%	-1.4%	8.2%	-16.2%	
Nmvm	16	24	15	22	4	5	45	67	80	118	198	20.0%	18.8%	5.0%	56.3%	20.3%	18.6%	4.2%	56.8%						
Nmvm	67	0	37	0	10	0	288	0	402	0	402	16.7%	9.2%	2.5%	71.6%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%						
Nmvm	135	198	95	156	40	59	333	468	603	881	1484	22.4%	15.8%	6.6%	55.2%	22.5%	17.7%	6.7%	53.1%						
Nmvm	882	0	318	0	180	0	2244	0	3624	0	3624	24.3%	8.8%	5.0%	61.9%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%						
New Hampshire	8	1	17	2	12	3	664	77	701	83	784	1.1%	5.3%	1.2%	86.2%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	-0.1%	0.0%	-1.9%	2.0%	-1.9%	
NHmvm	0	0	0	0	0	0	6	6	12	0	12	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	100.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%						
NHmvm	2	0	2	0	2	0	101	0	107	0	107	1.9%	1.9%	1.9%	94.4%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%						
NHmvm	1	1	2	2	2	3	42	71	47	77	124	2.1%	4.3%	4.3%	89.4%	1.3%	2.6%	3.9%	92.2%						
NHmvm	5	0	13	0	8	0	515	0	541	0	541	0.9%	2.4%	1.5%	95.2%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.2%	-9.8%	-1.3%	10.9%	-20.6%	
New Jersey	5506	1277	1066	498	405	128	3994	653	10971	2556	13527	50.2%	9.7%	3.7%	36.4%	50.0%	19.5%	5.0%	25.5%						
NJmvm	62	100	38	63	15	19	53	54	150	236	386	41.3%	25.3%	10.0%	23.3%	42.4%	26.7%	8.1%	22.9%						
NJmvm	241	0	45	0	0	0	421	0	715	0	715	33.7%	6.3%	0.0%	58.9%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%						
NJmvm	751	1169	264	435	109	393	593	983	1473	2306	3779	51.0%	57.9%	4.4%	26.7%	50.7%	18.9%	4.7%	25.5%	3.8%	-6.6%	-1.4%	4.3%	-10.9%	
NJmvm	4452	0	719	0	317	0	3145	0	8633	0	8633	51.6%	8.3%	3.7%	36.4%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%						
New Mexico	184	25	184	46	106	43	3156	663	3630	777	4407	5.1%	5.1%	2.9%	86.9%	3.2%	5.9%	5.5%	85.3%	1.9%	-0.9%	-2.6%	1.6%	-2.5%	
NMmvm	0	0	2	6	0	0	53	93	55	99	154	0.0%	3.6%	0.0%	96.4%	0.0%	6.1%	0.0%	93.9%						
NMmvm	6	0	15	0	6	0	330	0	357	0	357	1.7%	4.2%	1.7%	92.4%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%						
NMmvm	21	25	21	40	23	43	405	570	470	678	1148	4.5%	4.5%	4.9%	86.2%	3.7%	5.9%	6.3%	84.1%						
NMmvm	157	0	146	0	77	0	2368	0	2748	0	2748	5.7%	5.3%	2.8%	86.2%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%						
New York	14576	3650	3537	1540	1957	659	11579	2813	31748	8666	40410	55.1%	11.1%	6.2%	36.8%	42.1%	17.8%	7.6%	32.5%						
NYmvm	223	383	87	156	33	50	233	389	576	978	1554	38.7%	15.1%	5.7%	40.5%	39.2%	16.0%	5.1%	39.8%						
NYmvm	571	0	174	0	99	0	853	0	1697	0	1697	33.6%	10.3%	5.8%	50.3%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%						
NYmvm	2374	3244	948	1379	430	609	1724	2416	5476	7648	13124	43.4%	17.3%	7.9%	31.5%	42.4%	18.0%	8.0%	31.6%						
NYmvm	11408	0	2328	0	1395	0	8868	0	23999	0	23999	47.5%	9.7%	5.8%	37.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%						
North Carolina	11513	1699	1767	995	609	274	7148	1410	21637	6048	27085	54.7%	8.4%	2.9%	34.0%	55.7%	16.5%	4.5%	23.3%	-1.0%	-8.1%	-1.6%	10.7%	-18.7%	
NCmvm	281	436	102	163	18	34	163	224	564	857	1421	49.8%	18.1%	3.2%	28.9%	50.9%	19.0%	4.0%	26.1%						
NCmvm	0	0	134	0	41	0	656	0	1513	0	1513	45.1%	18.9%	7.2%	43.4%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%						
NCmvm	1777	2921	483	832	147	240	792	1186	3199	5179	8378	55.5%	15.1%	4.6%	24.8%	56.4%	16.1%	4.6%	22.9%						
NCmvm	8773	0	1048	0	403	0	5537	0	15761	0	15761	55.7%	6.6%	2.6%	35.1%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%						
North Dakota	25	16	23	14	9	9	314	78	371	117	488	6.7%	6.2%	2.4%	84.6%	13.7%	12.0%	7.7%	66.7%	-6.9%	-5.8%	-5.3%	18.0%	-23.7%	
NDmvm	1	1	1	1	0	0	10	16	12	18	30	8.3%	8.3%	0.0%	83.3%	5.6%	5.6%	0.0%	88.9%						
NDmvm	4	0	3	0	1	0	43	0	51	0	51	7.8%	5.9%	2.0%	84.3%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%						
NDmvm	8	15	6	13	4	9	34	62	52	99	151	15.4%	11.5%	7.7%	65.4%	15.2%	13.1%	9.1%	62.6%						
NDmvm	12	0	0	0	4	217	0	256	0	256	4.7%	8.1%	1.6%	88.7%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%							
Ohio	9722	2481	1640	614	554	184	6436	1153	18352	4432	22784	53.0%	8.9%	3.0%	35.1%	56.0%	13.9%	4.2%	26.0%	-3.0%	-4.9%	-1.1%	9.1%	-14.0%	
OHmvm	233	419	37	57	30	50	88	140	388	666	1054	60.1%	9.5%	7.7%	22.7%	62.9%	8.6%	7.5%	21.0%						
OHmvm	519	0	109	0	39	0	659	0	1326	0	1326	39.1%	8.2%	2.9%	49.7%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%						
OHmvm	1413	2062	371	557	86	134	694	1013	2564	3766	6330	55.1%	14.5%	3.4%	27.1%	54.8%	14.8%	3.6%	26.9%						
OHmvm	7557	0	1123	0	399	0	4995	0	14074	0	14074	53.1%	8.0%	2.8%	35.5%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%						
Oklahoma	2262	670	632	340	301	177	4868	1231	8063	2418	10481	28.1%	7.8%	3.7%	60.4%	27.7%	14.1%	7.3%	50.9%	0.3%	-6.2%	-3.6%	9.5%	-15.7%	
OKmvm	32	237	49	73	41	80	237	423	343	600	943	9.2%	9.2%	12.0%	70.5%	12.8%	13.3%	70.5%							
OKmvm	119	0	37	0	13	0	464	0	633	0	633	18.8%	5.8%	1.1%	73.3%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%						
OKmvm	388	622	176	291	58	97	575	808	1197	1818	3015	32.4%	14.7%	4.8%	48.0%	34.2%	16.0%	5.3%	44.4%						
OKmvm	1722	0	387	0	189	0	3592	0	5890	0	5890	29.2%	6.6%	3.2%	61.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%						
Oregon	360	87	192	72	96	40	3182	654	3830	853	4683	9.4%	5.0%	2.5%	83.1%	10.2%	8.4%	4.7%	76.7%	-0.8%	-3.4%	-2.2%	6.4%	-9.8%	
ORmvm	4	12	4	4	3	4	63	87	74	107	181	5.4%	5.4%	4.1%	85.1%	11.2%	3.7%	3.7%	81.3%						
ORmvm	10	0	8	0	8	0	363	0	389	0	389	2.6%	2.1%	2.1%	93.3%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%						
ORmvm	48	76	38	68	22	36	282	567	740	1237	926	9													