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Newspaper Selection Bias in Phoenix Homicides

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of
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by

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We recommend that the thesis
prepared under our supervision by

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ABSTRACT

The present study examines media selection bias in newspaper coverage of homicides in Phoenix, AZ, 2003-2005, by suspect and victim race. It replicates similar research conducted in Columbus, OH (Lundman, 2003), and Newark, NJ (Gruenewald et al., 2009), but fills a significant void in this literature by examining a city in which Whites are the majority and Latinos are the largest minority—a pattern that exists in many major U.S. cities and reflects the demographics of the U.S. as a whole. Drawing from the literature on crime and media selection bias, three major sets of hypotheses are derived and tested: that homicide newsworthiness (and, by extension, newspaper coverage) is a function of (1) relative frequency of homicide across racial groups, (2) cultural typifications attached to racial groups, and/or (3) status deviance. Findings partially support the relative frequency and cultural typification hypotheses, and strongly support the status deviance hypothesis. Implications of the findings for our understanding of media selection bias are discussed.

I wish to dedicate this Master's thesis to Dr. Andy Dick, who first sparked my interest in crime, and who first believed in my academic potential.

He is the very reason I began studying sociology.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

At the intersection of crime and media studies emerges the question of what makes a homicide newsworthy. Of the many homicides that take place each year in large metropolitan cities, only a fraction actually become news. A critical examination of crime news shows that, with respect to participant demographics and incident characteristics, there exists a considerable disparity between the reality of homicide and the media coverage it receives. Yet the reality of crime that the public holds to be true is largely that which is constructed by the news media. This has profound implications for public opinion, public policy, and the construction of homicide as a social issue.

Research on media selection bias seeks to identify which homicide characteristics best predict incident coverage. A few prevailing themes can be identified in the literature to date. First, there is support for the notion that homicide newsworthiness is a function of relative frequency of homicide type: common homicide types receive less coverage and uncommon homicide types receive more (Peelo et al., 2004 Johnstone et al., 1994; Pritchard, 1985). Second, research has found cultural typification to be central to news organizations' assessments of newsworthiness. From this perspective, homicides are more newsworthy if they align with stereotypical narratives of homicide as a threat from racial minorities to majorities and from men to women (Gruenewald, Pizarro, & Chermak, 2009; Lundman, 2003). Third, Pritchard & Hughes (1997) find selection bias to be contingent upon status deviance, with homicides that involve higher status individuals—those that are White, male, and/or wealthy—to be more newsworthy.

The present study develops and tests hypotheses derived from the aforementioned literature. It replicates similar research conducted in Columbus, OH (Lundman, 2003), and Newark, NJ (Gruenewald et al., 2009), but fills a significant void in this literature by examining coverage of homicide in a major western city—Phoenix, AZ—as reported by the *Arizona Republic*, which is a very widely distributed newspaper (ranked 10th in the country). Phoenix is an ideal city to examine from the standpoint of race in that Whites are the majority and Latinos are the largest minority—a pattern that exists in many major U.S. cities and reflects the demographics of the U.S. as a whole. While the results lend partial support to relative frequency and cultural typification, strongest support is for the status deviance perspective. In Phoenix, AZ, a homicide is more likely to receive coverage if it involves a White participant, and less likely if it does not.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

Constructing crime news

The present study assumes a constructionist understanding of crime news. Although popular discourse often holds the news media to be a neutral source which serves as a "mirror" on the world (Tuchman, 1980)—indeed, the news media present themselves as such (Surette, 1998)—it can be said that the act of making news is "the act of constructing reality itself rather than a picture of reality..." (Tuchman, 1980, p. 12). Thus the news media's crime coverage does not simply reflect the reality of crime; it is a construct in its own right. Yet because the public generally lacks direct experience with daily crime events, it relies heavily on the news media for its information on crime (Surette, 1998; Tuchman, 1980). A well-founded consequence of this is the disparity between the public's conception of crime as an increasingly pressing social issue and the reality that crime rates have steadily declined or remained constant since the early 1990s (Zimring, 2007; Blumstein & Wallman, 2005; Entman & Rojecki, 2001).

By the time news of a crime reaches the public, it has endured a process of competition among alternative and competing frames for the interpretation of the actual event (Chermak & Chapman, 2007; Surette, 1998; Chermak, 1995). Which narrative prevails has profound implications not only for public opinion but public policy as well. Surette (1998) cites the example of the beatings of Rodney King as a case in point—although constructs were put forth that framed the incident as a just outcome of resisting arrest, or as an unjust but isolated incident, the dominant construct that emerged framed the beating as unjust and representative of a larger systemic issue. That a Black police

chief was hired to replace the previous White police chief further highlights this point. Given the media's capacity to shape public opinion, intergroup relations, electoral politics, and public policy (Gruenewald, Pizarro, & Chermak, 2009; Peelo et al., 2004; Gilliam & Iyengar, 2000; Surette, 1998), it is crucial to examine media outlets critically; news reports play an integral role in the construction and reconstruction of stereotypes, as well as in the construction and reconstruction of crime as a social issue.

Chermak and Chapman (2007) assert that media coverage decisions can best be understood from the perspective of news agencies as profit-seeking bureaucracies. At the same time that local news producers are obligated to deliver news without bias, they must cope with increased market competition for an audience (Entman & Rojecki, 2001). Primary to news organizations' editorial decisions is that they must present their stories in such a way that they are easy for readers to digest (Chermak & Chapman, 2007). Thus although the media are often charged with distorting the issues they cover, it is critical to note that they are driven more so by organizational pressures than by ideology (Surette, 1998).

Pritchard and Hughes (1997) explain that the news media make their assessments of newsworthiness based on the first facts they obtain (e.g., participant race, gender, and age) because the complexities of a homicide, such as the nature of the relationship between those involved, take more time to surface (p. 63). Because (a) audiences are interested in news about crime and violence (Entman & Rojecki, 2001), (b) news reporters must conform to strict time constraints (Tuchman, 1980), and (c) violent crime incidents contain easily presentable material (Surette, 1998), news organizations have a

stake in giving priority to these stories, and in presenting them in the way that they do.

Crime and the news media

It is well-established in the literature that the news media do not accurately represent the reality of crime in society. Chermak and Chapman (2007) describe crime that becomes news as having survived a filtering process. Just as not all crimes that occur are observed by police, not all crimes observed by the police are reported by the news media. As early as 1952, it was found that there exists little covariation between crime rates and newspaper coverage of crime, and that numerous newspapers within the same city can vary independently of one another in their coverage of local crime (Davis, 1952). The question then is, What drives media organizations' decisions in crime coverage?

There is a consensus in the literature that news organizations select crime incidents for coverage based on their newsworthiness (Jacobs, 2000; Oliver & Myers, 1999; Clayman & Reisner, 1998; Meyers, 1997; McCarthy, J. D., McPhail, C., Smith. J., 1996; Chermak, 1995; Tuchman, 1980). However, newsworthiness as a concept is elusive (Lundman, 2003); the factors influencing media coverage decisions are many (Oliver & Myers, 1999), newsworthiness is defined subjectively (Hunt, 1999; Surette, 1998), and news organizations themselves are unclear about what is involved in their news selection decisions (Meyers, 1997). Thus, to establish what makes an event newsworthy, Clayman and Reisner (1998) find it most effective to approach newsworthiness as an "observable social action" (p. 197); in other words, a grounded theory approach in which the observations speak for themselves. Rather than rely on

journalists' explanations of what constitutes newsworthiness, researchers examine patterns in the characteristics of events that do and do not get made into news.

The aforementioned approach is the basis for the method that Gruenewald et al. (2009) refer to as *media distortion analysis,* in which a universe of crime incidents for a particular city is searched for through local news archives in order to examine the statistical disparity between the reality of crime and the news attention it receives. This approach serves to identify patterns in the characteristics of crimes that receive more and less coverage, contributing to an improved picture of what makes a crime newsworthy. Studies consistently show that a crime's newsworthiness depends largely upon its severity, with homicide being the most likely crime to receive media attention (Chermak & Chapman, 2007; Gilliam & Iyengar, 2000; Chermak, 1998, 1995; Meyers, 1997; Pritchard, 1985). Yet in large metropolitan cities with hundreds of homicides each year, only a portion of the incidents get covered. The negative relationship observed between the size of the city and the percentage of local homicides covered by the local news media (Chermak & Chapman, 2007; Chermak, 1995; Graber, 1980) demonstrates that larger cities are more selective in their homicide coverage. Thus, research on homicide newsworthiness tends to focus on larger cities where selection bias is most pronounced.

Homicide newsworthiness and media selection bias

Early utilizations of *media distortion analysis* (Gruenewald et al., 2009) lay the foundation for the notion that the "novelty" (Meyers, 1997) or unusualness of a homicide incident is what makes it newsworthy. Pritchard's (1985) and Johnstone, Hawkins, and Michener's (1994) findings suggest that relative frequency may be the driving force

behind media coverage decisions, with common homicide occurrences receiving less coverage, and rarer homicide occurrences receiving more. These early studies find race to be a significant predictor of media coverage, with more common types of homicides involving Blacks and Hispanics being underrepresented in newspaper coverage of homicides (Johnstone et al., 1994; Pritchard, 1985).

The literature to date shows extensive support for the notion that a homicide's unusualness is what makes it newsworthy. This is illustrated by findings that increased media attention come to incidents with multiple victims (Peelo, Francis, Soothill, Pearson, & Ackerly, 2004; Paulsen, 2003; Johnstone et al., 1994), multiple suspects (Paulsen, 2003), White victims (Peelo et al., 2004; Lundman, 2003; Paulsen, 2003; Weiss & Chermak, 1998; Pritchard & Hughes, 1997; Johnstone et al., 1994), especially young or old victims (Peelo et al., 2004; Paulsen, 2003; Pritchard & Hughes, 1997; Johnstone et al., 1994;)—but not infant victims (Peelo et al., 2004)—incidents that take place in relatively wealthy neighborhoods (Paulsen, 2003; Johnstone et al., 1994), and incidents that are particularly striking, such as those that are sexually motivated or had no apparent motive (Peelo et al., 2004).

Although relative frequency is a well-established and developed predictor of homicide media coverage, recent research on newspaper selection bias suggests that relative frequency cannot alone account for the whole picture of what makes an incident newsworthy. Pritchard and Hughes (1997) find the social status of those involved to be a more telling predictor of newsworthiness. In this sense, incidents that do not involve individuals who are White, male, and/or wealthy are less likely to receive coverage.

Further at odds with the relative frequency approach, Lundman (2003) and Gruenewald et al. (2009) find race and gender typifications to be central to news organizations' conceptions of newsworthiness, insofar as homicides that align with narratives of homicide as a threat from racial minorities to majorities, or from men to women, receive increased media attention. Conversely, homicides that challenge these narratives receive less news attention. From this perspective, although the relative frequency approach remains somewhat telling, uncommon incidents only receive increased media attention if they conform to these popular narratives of homicide. For instance, in Lundman's (2003) study of homicide news in Columbus, OH, uncommon White female on White male homicides are not the target of more attention, whereas uncommon Black male on White female homicides are the target of significantly more attention (p. 377).

Yet there is limited generalizability from Lundman's (2003) study insofar as it only examined homicides involving Black and White perpetrators and victims, leaving other racial minorities unaccounted for. As Latinos are the fastest growing minority group in the United States (U.S. Census Bureau, 2011), it is necessary to examine how media selection bias might occur in cities where Whites are the racial majority and Latinos the largest minority. Lending support to the social threat hypothesis (Liska, 1992; Blalock, 1967) as applied to the Latino population, Chiricos and Eschholz's (2002) study of local television news in Orlando finds that "criminal typification of Hispanics is both stronger and more consistent than it is for Blacks" (p. 416). In their expansion of Lundman (2003), Gruenwald et al. (2009) find that in Newark, NJ—a city where Blacks are the majority and Latinos and Whites are the minorities—homicides in which Latinos

are the offenders and Blacks or Whites are the victims receive increased attention as compared to other similarly uncommon homicides. This is consistent with Lundman's (2003) findings regarding cultural typification and selection bias, but suggests that these phenomena may be geographically relative—that is, cultural typification may vary according to the demographic makeup of the respective area (Gruenwald et al., 2009). Indeed, in the largest nationally representative study to date of racial-ethnic portrayals in crime news, Bjornstrom, Kaufman, Peterson, and Slater (2010) demonstrate that, in cities where their share of the population is greater, Latinos tend to be overrepresented as perpetrators relative to their actual market share in homicide.

Further research is needed in order to establish a comprehensive framework with which we can assess selection bias in homicide news, particularly involving Latinos. Although previous studies have substantively examined newsworthiness of homicides involving Latinos (Chiricos & Eschholz, 2002; Johnstone et al., 1994; Pritchard, 1985), they did not take into account the effect of cultural typification (Gruenwald et al., 2009; Lundman, 2003) on selection bias. Gruenewald et al. (2009) are an exception to this, but the unique demographic makeup of their research site (Black majority, Latino and White minority) limits the study's generalizability. As they point out, "it is important for future research to continue to study selection bias in homicide news coverage in various geographic regions, similar and dissimilar to Newark, in order to better generalize findings across studies, and to uncover whether 'newsworthy' is better explained by place" (p. 271). Therein lies the basis for the present study.

It is crucial that research addresses how homicide selection bias occurs in cities where Whites are the majority and Latinos the largest minority given that many major cities in the U.S.—particularly in the West—exhibit exactly this pattern according to the 2010 Census (e.g. Austin, TX; Denver, CO; Las Vegas, NV; Phoenix, AZ; Portland, OR; Sacramento, CA; Salt Lake City, UT; San Diego, CA; Seattle, WA; Tucson, AZ). Moreover, the U.S. population as a whole in the 2010 Census mirrors this pattern (White majority, Latino largest minority). Thus, the present study fills this void in the literature by examining media selection bias of homicides in Phoenix, AZ, as portrayed in its largest newspaper, the *Arizona Republic*.

Chapter 3: Analytical Approach of the Present Study; Hypotheses

Analytical approach

The present study is a media distortion analysis of homicide. It examines the statistical disparity between a universe of homicide occurrences and the news attention it receives. As the literature shows that news organizations make assessments of homicide newsworthiness based on the first facts they receive (participant characteristics), this study will identify which characteristics most influence newspaper selection bias.

Newspaper coverage of homicide has traditionally been viewed as a reflection of relative frequency: groups who less frequently engage in homicide incidents receive more coverage, as they are unique cases. But Lundman (2003) asserts that a sufficient explanation of homicide newsworthiness cannot rely solely on relative frequency; we must also take into account the effects of cultural typification. Moreover, Pritchard & Hughes (1997) argue that status deviance ought to be an important consideration. Whereas the influence of relative frequency on homicide newsworthiness is well-established, research on cultural typification and status deviance in newsworthiness is still in its developing stages. The present research therefore will account for the impact of relative frequency, cultural typification, and status deviance on newspaper selection bias in homicide incidents in cities where Whites are the majority and Latinos the largest minority group.

Hypotheses

Focusing on homicide participant characteristics, the present study tests three hypotheses. First, it tests the relative frequency hypothesis, wherein statistically atypical

homicide suspects and victims receive more news media attention, and statistically common typical homicide suspects and victims receive less news media attention. Specific to homicides in Phoenix during this time period, the relative frequency hypothesis would break down as follows:

> *Hypothesis 1a:* Homicides involving Latino victims will receive significantly *less* coverage than those involving White victims, net of other factors; homicides involving Black victims will receive significantly *more* coverage than those with White victims, net of other factors.
>
> *Hypothesis 1b:* Homicides involving Latino suspects will receive significantly *less* coverage than those involving White suspects, net of other factors; homicides involving Black suspects will receive significantly *more* coverage than those with White suspects, net of other factors.
>
> *Hypothesis 1c:* Latino-on-Latino homicides will receive significantly *less* coverage than White-on-White homicides, net of other factors; homicides involving all other race combinations will receive significantly *more* coverage than White-on-White homicides, net of other factors.

Second, like Lundman (2003) and Gruenewald et al. (2009), this study tests the hypothesis that the impact of relative frequency on homicide newsworthiness is a function of whether it aligns with cultural stereotypes of homicide suspects and victims. Statistically uncommon homicides will receive increased news attention if they are consistent with popular narratives of who typical homicide participants are, and will receive decreased news attention if they contradict those narratives. Conversely,

statistically common homicides will receive increased news attention if they align with cultural stereotypes of homicide suspects and victims, and will receive decreased news attention if they do not. This leads to the following specific hypotheses regarding cultural typification as it relates to Phoenix homicide:

> *Hypothesis 2a*: Homicides involving Latino victims or Black victims will receive significantly *less* coverage than those involving White victims, net of other factors.
>
> *Hypothesis 2b*: Homicides involving Latino suspects or Black suspects will receive significantly *more* coverage than those involving White suspects, net of other factors.
>
> *Hypothesis 2c*: Interracial homicides involving White suspects will receive significantly *less* coverage, and conversely, interracial homicides involving White victims will receive significantly *more* coverage, net of other factors.[1]

Third, like Pritchard and Hughes (1997), this study hypothesizes status deviance to be an accurate predictor of homicide newsworthiness, insofar as homicides that involve White participants will receive increased coverage. Specific hypotheses for status deviance are:

> *Hypothesis 3a*: Homicides involving Latino victims or Black victims will receive significantly *less* coverage than those involving White victims, net of other factors.

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[1] Although Lundman (2003) and Gruenewald et al. (2009) took into account race and gender typification together (i.e. suspect-victim race-gender combinations), the small sample size in the present study made this impossible.

Hypothesis 3b: Homicides involving Latino suspects or Black suspects will receive significantly *less* coverage than those involving White suspects, net of other factors.

Hypothesis 3c: Homicides in which the suspect-victim race combination does not include at least one White (i.e. Latino-on-Latino, Black-on-Black, and Black-on-Latino) will receive significantly *less* coverage than White-on-White homicides, net of other factors.

Chapter 4: Data, Variables, and Methods

Research site

Phoenix is a large southwestern city located in the state of Arizona. Four characteristics of Phoenix make it an ideal setting to further the research on homicide selection bias. First, its population in 2006 was roughly 1.5 million, making it the 5th largest city in the United States (U.S. Census, 2007). Second, relative to cities with over 1 million people, Phoenix's homicide rate the time of study was above average and showing a slight increase (McEwen, 2009). In such a large city with an above average crime rate, one can expect selection bias to be rather pronounced. Third, recent research (Bjornstrom et al., 2010; Gruenewald et al., 2009; Chiricos & Eschholz, 2002) finds racial typification in crime news to be more severe for Latinos than for Blacks. These authors cite "social threat" (Liska, 1992; Blalock, 1967) as a possible explanation behind this, given recent Census data which show Latinos to be the largest racial minority group and the fastest growing racial group in the U.S. (U.S. Census Bureau, 2011). Phoenix is an ideal site to address social threat, as its Latino population is prominent and increasing. Whereas Phoenix's population was 55.8 percent White and 34.1 percent Latino in 2000, it was 46.5 percent White and 40.8 percent Latino in 2010 (U.S. Census, 2012). Fourth, Phoenix is the largest U.S. city this demographic makeup (majority White, largest minority Latino), making it an ideal site to address the aforementioned gap in the research.[2]

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[2] A fifth reason that Phoenix was selected as the research site is the availability of data. Whereas it can be difficult to obtain a rich universe of homicide occurrences, the universe used in McEwen (2011) is available online at the Inter-university Consortium for Political Social Research.

Universe of homicide occurrences

The present study uses a dataset constructed by the Institute for Law and Justice, Inc. (ILJ) for an evaluation of the Homicide Clearance Project in the Phoenix Police Department (McEwen, 2011). It combines data from Phoenix Police Department's records management system and the crime laboratory's information management system. It not only includes information on victim and offender race and gender, but includes also many other incident-level variables, some of which were included as control variables, such as the suspect's motive and whether a firearm was used.

The universe of homicide occurrences is based on 532 homicide cases that took place between July 1, 2003 and June 30, 2005 (McEwen, 2011). In order to account for the influence of cultural typification on newspaper selection bias in homicide incidents, and to allow for meaningful comparison to previous similar studies (Gruenewald et al., 2009; Lundman, 2003), many cases are excluded from the study. First, cases in which the victim did not die (attempted homicide) are excluded. Second, in order to effectively search for incidents in the *Arizona Republic* archives, cases with an unknown victim or suspect are excluded. Third, cases for which there were multiple suspects or victims are excluded. Although Lundman (2003) and Gruenewald et al. (2009) were able to account for such cases by only considering the race and gender of the first victim or suspect brought to the attention of the police, the data used in the present study do not specify who is the first.[3] The resultant universe of homicide occurrences consists of 93 incidents.

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[3] An additional benefit of excluding cases in which there are multiple suspects or victims is that it is cleaner in terms of race and race interactions, as some cases with multiple suspects or victims involve different races of suspects or victims.

Importantly, these 93 cases are representative of the data as a whole, especially on the key variables of interest for this study (see Table 1 brackets).

Newspaper data source

The newspaper data source is the *Arizona Republic.* It is an appropriate newspaper for the present study because it is Phoenix's most widely read daily newspaper, as well as the 10th most nationally distributed newspaper (Burrelles*Luce*, 2008). Coverage of incidents are searched for through the newspaper's online archives, primarily through keyword searches of participant names.

Variables

Dependent variables

Consistent with previous research (Lundman, 2003; Gruenewald et al., 2009), the present study measures two primary dependent variables. The first dependent variable dichotomously measures whether at least one article was written about the homicide incident (1=covered, 0=not covered). 24.7% of the incidents considered receive the attention of at least one article (see Table 1). This is a considerably lower percentage than in previous similar studies. For instance, Lundman (2003) and Gruenewald et al. (2009) observe respective percentages of 73 percent and 62 percent on this variable. There are a few possible explanations for the lower rate of coverage in this study. First, it aligns with previous findings wherein the percentage of homicide incidents covered by the local news media is inversely proportional to the number of homicides in that city (Graber, 1980; Chermak, 1995; Chermak & Chapman, 2007). Whereas Newark (Gruenewald, 2003) and Columbus (Lundman, 2003) respectively averaged

approximately 76 and 136 homicides per year, Phoenix averaged approximately 266 homicides per year. Second, as the 10th most nationally distributed newspaper in the U.S. (Burrelles*Luce*, 2008), the *Arizona Republic* may designate more attention to national news than to local crime. Third, as noted above, homicides involving multiple suspects and/or victims were eliminated from analysis. Therefore, the lower rate of coverage in the present study may be a latent effect of this tactic, given findings that the news media tend to cover such cases at much higher rates (Gruenewald et al., 2009; Peelo et al., 2004; Lundman, 2003; Paulsen, 2003; Johnstone et al., 1994). Fourth, McEwen (2009) notes that the Phoenix Police Department's homicide clearance rate was below 45 percent at the time of study, whereas the national average is 62.1 percent (Federal Bureau of Investigation, 2005). Thus, we can speculate that the abundance of open homicide cases in Phoenix may have some impact on the lower coverage rate in this study.

The second dependent variable measures the total number of articles written about the homicide incident. The mean number of articles written is approximately .56 (see Table 1). This is lower than Lundman's (2003) and Gruenewald et al.'s (2009) observed means of 2.93 and 1.29, respectively. However, this is consistent with the below average observation on the first dependent variable (see Table 6 for correlations between variables).

Lastly, although the present study also measures the number of words written on each incident and whether the incident received front page coverage, these variables are not included in the present analyses in order to remain consistent with Lundman (2003) and Gruenewald et al. (2009).

Independent variables

The distinguishing feature of this study and those it replicates (Gruenewald et al., 2009; Lundman, 2003) is the use of the interactions between suspect race and victim race as the primary independent variables of interest. In this approach, the unit of analysis is the homicide incident, rather than the individual participant. This is necessary for an examination of racial typification, which hypothesizes newsworthiness assessments to depend heavily on the interaction between suspect race and victim race. Furthermore, it is a logical approach, as the homicide itself is, by definition, an interaction.

Thus, in order to examine how racial typification influences homicide newsworthiness in large cities where Whites are the majority and Latinos are the largest minority group, this study creates six dummy variables that account for possible combinations between suspect race and victim race. The most common suspect-victim race combination is Latino-on-Latino (44.1 percent), followed by White-on-White (24.7 percent), Black-on-Black (14 percent), Black-on-Latino (6.4 percent), Latino-on-White (5.4 percent), and White-on-Latino (5.4 percent) (see Table 1). Suspect-victim race combinations for which cell sizes were less than five are eliminated; therefore, this study cannot account for Black-on-White homicides nor Latino-on-Black homicides. For comparative purposes, this study also performs analyses that focused exclusively on suspect (see Table 2) and victim (see Table 3) characteristics, controlling for incident characteristics.

Control variables

In addition to the primary independent variables of interest (suspect-victim race combinations), the present study also controls for a number of participant and incident characteristics. The four participant control variables are suspect and victim age and gender. The mean suspect and victim ages are 30.36 and 31.33, respectively. 93.5 percent of offenders are male, and 88 percent of victims are male. The four incident control variables represent whether the homicide involves a gun (74.2 percent), whether it is drug-related (16.1 percent), whether it involves a robbery (10.8 percent), and whether the incident is expressive (78.5 percent) rather than instrumental (i.e., whether it is spontaneous rather than calculated) (see Table 1). These controls were selected for the present analyses because they had been found significant in previous studies (Gruenewald et al., 2009; Lundman, 2003).

Methods

Consistent with Lundman (2003) and Gruenewald et al. (2009), logistic regression is the analytic technique used for the dependent variable "covered at least once" (1 = covered, 0 = not covered), and negative binomial regression is the technique used for the continuous dependent variable "total number of articles." As a supplement to Lundman (2003) and Gruenewald et al. (2009), this study also discusses predicted values of significant independent variables where possible.[4]

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[4] Predicted values could only be calculated for the dichotomous dependent variable, not the continuous dependent variable.

Chapter 5: Results

The findings are presented in four sections. The first section examines the effect of suspect race while controlling for suspect demographics and incident characteristics (see Table 2). The second section examines the effect of victim race while controlling for victim demographics and incident characteristics (see Table 3). The third section examines the effect of the previous suspect and victim variables when regressed in the same equation, controlling for participant demographics and incident characteristics (see Table 4). In this model, much of the independent variable significance seen in the first two models is lost, suggesting the presence of an interaction effect and the necessity of the final, suspect-victim race combination model (see Table 5). Thus, the fourth section examines the effect of suspect-victim race interactions, controlling for participant demographics and incident characteristics. That independent variable significance reappears in this model lends tentative support to Lundman's (2003) and Gruenewald et al.'s (2009) notion of racial typification in newspaper selection bias, insofar as newsworthiness may depend less so upon who the suspect and victim are independently, but upon the relationship between the two.

Analysis of suspect variables

Table 2 presents the results for the regressions involving suspect race, while controlling for suspect demographics and crime characteristics. It shows that Black suspects are likely to receive the attention of significantly fewer articles than Whites. Furthermore, although the result for Black suspect on the dichotomous dependent variable does not quite reach significance, it is close enough ($p < .1$) that it is worth

mentioning. Black suspects are predicted to be 16.6% less likely than White suspects to receive the attention of at least one article (see Figure 1). This result contradicts both the relative frequency hypothesis and the cultural typification hypothesis—although Black suspects make up the smallest suspect racial group and align with stereotypes of homicide suspects, they are the least likely to receive coverage. Instead, this lends support to Pritchard and Hughes' (1997) notion of status deviance, in which homicides that do not involve White participants are less likely to get covered.

One suspect control variable is found significant. Male suspects receive the attention of significantly more articles than do female suspects. Although this study focuses primarily on competing explanations of differences in coverage of racial/ethnic groups, this finding stands at odds with the relative frequency hypothesis, and lends support to the cultural typification hypothesis, as applied to gender. Consistent with Lundman (2003) and Gruenewald et al. (2009), homicides in which a female is the suspect—despite being statistically rare—do not receive increased news attention because they challenge popular narratives of who stereotypical homicide suspects are. However, it is critical to note that this result also supports the status deviance perspective, which hypothesizes male suspect homicides to be more newsworthy.

Lastly, one incident control variable was sound significant. Consistent with Gruenewald et al. (2009), significantly fewer articles were written about drug-related homicides.

Analysis of victim variables

Table 3 presents the results for the regressions involving victim race, while controlling for victim demographics and crime characteristics. Relative to White victims, both Latino and Black victims are significantly less likely to receive any news coverage, and these homicides are likely to receive significantly fewer articles. Black victims are predicted to be 19.9% less likely than White victims to receive the attention of at least one article, and Latino victims are predicted to be 21.6% less likely than White victims to receive the attention of at least one article (see Figure 2).

The finding regarding Latino victims lends support to all three hypotheses. Consistent with the relative frequency hypothesis, Latino victims constitute the largest victim group and therefore receive less media attention. Consistent with the cultural typification hypothesis, Latino victims receive less news attention because they do not align with stereotypes of homicide as a threat to Whites. And consistent with the status deviance perspective, homicides that do not involve White participants are less likely to be covered.

The finding regarding Black victims stands at odds with the relative frequency hypothesis and lends support to the cultural typification hypothesis. Black victims constitute the smallest victim group, but do not receive increased news attention because they do not conform to narratives of homicide victims. However, this also lends support to Pritchard and Hughes' (1997) findings regarding status deviance, in which homicides that do not involve White participants are likely to receive less coverage.

Analysis of integrated suspect and victim variables

Table 4 presents the results for the regressions involving suspect and victim race, while controlling for the demographics of suspect and victim, as well as crime characteristics—that is, an integration of the previous two models. The only independent variable to show significance is Latino victim; significantly fewer articles are written about Latino victims relative to White victims. That Black victim and Black suspect lost the significance they have in the previous models (see Tables 2 and 3) suggests the presence of an interaction effect and the necessity of the final, suspect-victim race combination model (see Table 5).

Two participant control variables also display significance in this model. First, as in the suspect race model (see Table 2), male suspects are the attention of significantly more articles than are female suspects. Second, victim age is inversely related to the likelihood of coverage. This is consistent with Gruenewald et al.'s (2009) finding that homicides involving young victims are seen as more newsworthy.[5] However, this also lends support to Pritchard and Hughes' (1997) notion of cultural deviance, insofar as homicide newsworthiness increases if the victim is seen as vulnerable.

Analysis of suspect-victim combination variables

Table 5 presents the results for the regressions involving suspect-victim race combination variables. Black-on-Black homicides, despite being the relatively uncommon, are the least likely group to receive any coverage, and receive the attention of significantly fewer articles, relative to White-on-White homicides. Black-on-Black

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[5] Lundman (2003) did not measure the effect of participant age.

homicides are predicted to be 22.6% less likely than White-on-White homicides to receive any coverage (see Figure 3). This result contradicts the relative frequency hypothesis and provides partial support to the cultural typification hypothesis, insofar as statistically rare homicides are only newsworthy if they align with stereotypes of homicide as a threat from racial minorities to Whites. However, this finding more clearly supports the status deviance hypothesis, in which homicides that do not involve White participants are less likely to get covered.

Although the results for Latino-on-Latino homicide are not quite significant, they are close enough to be worth mentioning. Similar to Black-on-Black homicides, Latino-on-Latino homicides are less likely to receive any coverage, and likely to receive fewer articles when covered, relative to White-on-White homicides. Latino-on-Latino homicides are predicted to be 16.6% less likely than White-on-White homicides to receive any coverage (see Figure 3). This finding supports all three hypotheses. It aligns with the relative frequency hypothesis insofar as Latino-on-Latino homicides, the most common type, received decreased coverage. This also lends partial support to the cultural typification hypothesis; it is seen as less newsworthy because it does not speak to homicide as a threat from racial minorities to Whites. Lastly, it also further supports the status deviance hypothesis in that the absence of White participants makes the homicide less newsworthy.

In this final race-interaction model, two control variables were also found significant. First, like Gruenewald et al. (2009), victim age is inversely related to the dependent variable 'covered at least once,' such that as the victim's age increases, the

incident is less likely to receive coverage. Second, male suspect homicides receive significantly more coverage than those in which a female is the suspect. Again, this conradicts the relative frequency hypothesis and lends support to the both the cultural typification and status deviance hypotheses.

Chapter 6: Discussion/Conclusion

Examining newspaper coverage of homicides in Phoenix, AZ, 2003-2005, by victim and suspect race, this study tests three hypotheses that dominate the literature on selection bias: (1) relative frequency, (2) cultural typification, and (3) status deviance. All hypotheses find some level of support in the present study, but the status deviance hypothesis finds the strongest support.

Although the relative frequency hypothesis finds some support in the present study, the results seems to unequivocally support recent arguments that relative frequency is an incomplete explanation of homicide newsworthiness (Gruenewald, 2009; Lundman, 2003; Pritchard and Hughes, 1997). There are three instances in which relative frequency accurately predicts newsworthiness. However, these three results are also consistent with the status deviance hypothesis, a more consistent predictor throughout.

First, in the victim race model (see Table 3), most common Latino victim homicides receive significantly less media attention than less common White victim homicides. Second, in the suspect race and victim race model (see Table 4), most common Latino victims receive significantly less news attention relative to White victims. Third, in the suspect-victim race combination model (see Table 5), most common Latino-on-Latino homicides receive significantly less news attention than less common White-on-White homicides. On one hand, these results support the relative frequency perspective, in that these homicides were less newsworthy because they are relatively common. On the other hand however, they support Pritchard and

Hughes' (1997) notion of status deviance, in that these homicides were less newsworthy because they do not involve Whites.

In the same two models, uncommon Black victim homicides and Black-on-Black homicides (see Tables 3 and 5, respectively) are the least likely to receive any coverage and are likely to receive the attention of significantly fewer articles. This is a clear contradiction to the relative frequency hypothesis. Instead, it shares support for both the cultural typification and status deviance hypotheses. With regard to the former, Black victim homicides and Black-on-Black homicides, despite being relatively uncommon, do not receive increased news attention because they do not align with stereotypes of homicide as a threat from racial minorities to Whites. With regard to the latter, Black victim homicides and Black-on-Black homicides receive less news attention because Whites are not involved.

Thus, there is partial and inconsistent support in the present study for the competing hypotheses of relative frequency and cultural typification. However, there is consistent, strong support for the status deviance hypothesis. This is illustrated by findings that Black suspects receive less news attention than White suspects (see Table 2), Black and Latino victims receive less news attention than White victims (see Tables 3 and 4), and Black-on-Black and Latino-on-Latino homicides receive less news attention than White-on-White homicides. In each model, results are consistent with the notion that homicide newsworthiness is a function of whether Whites are involved.

More generally, there is considerable support in this study for the already well-supported notion that the bureaucratic nature of news organizations is such that

assessments of newsworthiness must be made on quick-to-emerge material (Chermak & Chapman, 2007; Surette, 1998; Pritchard and Hughes, 1997; Chermak, 1995; Tuchman, 1980)—namely, participant characteristics. Throughout the analyses, the most consistently significant predictors of selection bias are participant race, followed by participant gender and age. Moreover, in the four analyses run, only one type of incident shows significance: drug-related homicide. That this was the only significant incident control variable in all models emphasizes previous findings that news organizations make assessments of homicide newsworthiness based on the first facts they receive (participant characteristics), rather than more time consuming and slow-to-emerge material such as the motive and the nature of the relationship between the suspect and victim.

Although the effect of gender on selection bias was not the primary focus of this study, it is used in each model as a participant control variable and has results worth mentioning relative to past research. These results also further emphasize that selection bias is largely dependent upon participant characteristics. In the models for suspect race, integrated suspect and victim race, and suspect-victim race interaction (see Tables 2, 4, and 5, respectively), male suspects are the attention of significantly more coverage than are female suspects. This is a clear contradiction to the relative frequency hypothesis, insofar as common male suspect homicides are seen as more newsworthy than uncommon female suspect homicides. Rather, it supports the cultural typification hypothesis in that female homicide suspects, despite being statistically rare, do not receive increased news attention because they challenge stereotypes of homicide as a threat from men to women. However, this also supports Pritchard and Hughes' (1997)

notion of status deviance, in which homicides that do not involve male suspects are seen as less newsworthy.

This study also serves to address recent research (Bjornstrom et al., 2010; Gruenewald et al., 2009; Chiricos & Eschholz, 2002) that finds racial typification in crime news to be more severe for Latinos than for Blacks, insofar as they are found to be more overrepresented as suspects, more underrepresented as victims, and that homicide is more often framed as a threat from Latinos to the majority, rather than from Blacks to the majority. These authors cite "social threat" (Liska, 1992; Blalock, 1967) as a possible explanation behind this, given recent Census data that show Latinos to be the largest racial minority group and the fastest growing racial group in the U.S. (U.S. Census Bureau, 2011). There is one instance in the present study where racial typification is more pronounced for Latinos than Blacks. In the victim race model, Latino victims are predicted to be slightly less likely to receive coverage relative to Whites than are Blacks. However, Latinos generally do not appear to bear the brunt of newspaper selection bias in Phoenix homicides. They are less underrepresented as suspects than are Blacks, and they are not overrepresented as suspects. The trend in the present study is that homicides involving Black participants that are the least likely to receive any coverage and tend to receive the fewest articles when covered.

Perhaps the greatest point of deviation in the present study from the cultural typification hypothesis is the finding that racial minorities are underrepresented as suspects in homicide news. There is one possible explanation behind this. Although Phoenix, and Arizona generally, has a prominent and growing Latino population, its

racial majority is White. Thus, one could speculate that a sort of "black sheep effect" exists in Phoenix, wherein members of the majority/ingroup (Whites) are more harshly judged for deviant behavior (Marques, Yzerbyt, & Leyens, 1988), and, thus, receive more coverage as a form of judgment/punishment. In contrast, deviant minority/outgroup behavior is regarded with less consequence. From this perspective, it is fitting that the *Arizona Republic* would give priority to homicide occurrences that involve White suspects, and would deemphasize those that do not.

It is important to mention that there may be more support in the present study for the cultural typification hypothesis than the analyses show. Strong support for this hypothesis would come from significant findings on White-involved interracial homicides, in which selection bias would be a function of whether the incident conforms to or challenges narratives of homicide as a threat from racial minorities to Whites. Yet White-on-Latino homicide had to be omitted from the regressions because it predicted no coverage perfectly (see Table 5), and Latino-on-White homicide was found insignificant. Still, it is worth mentioning that between these two suspect-race combinations, Latino-on-White homicide was the only to receive any coverage (see Table 1). One could argue that this lends tentative support to the cultural typification hypothesis, and it is reasonable to suspect that the small sample size could have prevented this study from finding a more statistically robust pattern.

Thus, this study's greatest limitation is its small sample size, which limits the capacity to lend or refuse support for the cultural typification hypothesis. Whereas previously mentioned, clear support for this hypothesis would come from significant

findings on White-involved interracial homicides, the only interracial homicides involving Whites that had cell sizes of at least five were White-on-Latino and Latino-on-White, leaving other suspect-victim race combinations unaccounted for. Furthermore, the small sample size makes it impossible to test the intersections of race and gender typification, by using suspect-victim race-gender combinations as independent variables, as Lundman (2003) and Gruenewald et al. (2009) do.

Although the small sample size creates a couple problems for this study, it is remarkable that there are significant findings despite the small sample size. In small sample analyses, the greatest risk is that one may not find statistical evidence of a phenomenon that actually exists. However, in small sample analyses, there is little risk that one may find significance of a phenomenon that does not exist. That is, the risk of a false positive is less than the risk of a false negative. That this study has significant findings at all suggests that the pattern found is rather robust.

Concluding remarks

The results of this study further understandings of which homicide characteristics most influence media assessments of homicide newsworthiness. It addresses an important gap in the literature by replicating the methods of previous research (Gruenewald, 2009; Lundman, 2003) in a city where Whites are the majority and Latinos the largest minority: Phoenix, AZ. Like Gruenewald et al. (2009), it extends Lundman's (2003) work on selection bias by disaggregating Latino and Black participants, thereby clarifying the picture of how news organizations make assessments of newsworthiness for homicides involving Whites, Blacks, and Latinos.

Concisely put, this study demonstrates differing degrees of support for all three hypotheses tested: (1) relative frequency, (2) cultural typification, and (3) status deviance. Yet neither the relative frequency hypothesis nor the cultural typification hypothesis predict results that the status deviance hypothesis cannot. In each specific model and throughout the study as a whole, the status deviance hypothesis is the most consistently supported, and accounts for contradictions between results supporting the relative frequency and cultural typification hypotheses. Substantively, the prevailing theme in this study is the underrepresentation of racial minorities in news about homicide. Throughout the analyses, Latino and Black homicide participants are significantly less likely than Whites to receive any coverage, and are likely to receive significantly fewer articles when covered at all.

Explanations behind selection bias at this point are not entirely conclusive—indeed, this study illustrates that place/context may affect selection processes since patterns in Phoenix do not perfectly match those found in Columbus and Newark—but it is clear that in news organizations' assessments of homicide newsworthiness, race matters. And it seems to matter in a way that has little to do with groups' actual market share in homicide, inversely or not. Assessments of homicide newsworthiness do not appear to be objective or neutral—rather, they are culturally embedded. Given the implications for public opinion, public policy, and the construction of homicide as a social issue, it is crucial for future research to continue to examine and compare the effects of relative frequency, cultural typification, and status deviance on selection bias in homicide news. Moreover, as Gruenewald et al. (2009) note, future research ought to

study selection bias in cities similar and dissimilar to those in the research to date, so as to address the likely possibility that selection bias is geographically relative.

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Appendix

Table 1
Victim race, suspect race, suspect-victim race combinations, and control variables by dependent variables (N = 93)

Variables	N (%)	% Covered At Least Once	Mean Number of Articles
Victim Race			
Latino	52 (55.9) [60.7]	19.23	.21
White	28 (30.1) [23.2]	39.29	1.39
Black	13 (14) [12.4]	15.38	.15
Suspect Race			
Latino	46 (49.5) [46.5]	21.74	.33
White	28 (30.1) [29.4]	35.71	1.21
Black	19 (20.4) [20.9]	15.79	.16
Suspect-Victim Race Combinations			
Latino-on-Latino	41 (44.1)	21.95	.24
White-on-White	23 (24.7)	43.49	1.48
Black-on-Black	13 (14)	15.38	.15
Black-on-Latino	6 (6.4)	16.67	.17
Latino-on-White	5 (5.4)	20	1
White-on-Latino	5 (5.4)	0	0
Control Variables			
Expressive Homicide	73 (78.5) [80]	27.4	.58
Gun was used	69 (74.2) [63]	26.09	.44
Drug-related	15 (16.1) [17]	13.33	.13
Robbery	10 (10.8) [15]	20	.6
Grand Total and Means	93 (100)	24.7	0.56

a. Includes only suspect-victim combinations with cell sizes less of at least five
b. Original dataset (N = 532) percentages in brackets

Table 2
Unstandardized coefficients from logistic and negative binomial regressions of coverage and number of articles, respectively, on suspect race (reference = White), controlling for suspect demographics and crime characteristics (N = 93)

Variables	Covered at Least Once B (SE)	Number of Articles B (SE)
Suspect race		
Latino suspect	-0.534 (0.626)	-0.363 (0.623)
Black suspect	-1.133 (0.784)†	-1.643 (0.836)*
Suspect controls		
Suspect age	0.009 (0.023)	0.021 (0.026)
Male suspect	1.121 (0.987)	1.778 (0.772)*
Incident controls		
Expressive homicide	0.283 (1.083)	-0.753 (0.743)
Gun was used	0.857 (0.650)†	0.039 (0.550)
Drug-related	-0.962 (1.107)	-1.937 (1.121)*
Robbery	0.028 (1.075)	0.773 (0.773)
Constant	-1.758 (1.442)	-0.574 (1.128)
Pseudo R^2	0.071	0.109
Log-likelihood		-75.981
Chi-square	7.37	18.55

† = p < .10, * = p < .05, ** = p < .01, *** = p < .001, one-tailed tests

Table 3
Unstandardized coefficients from logistic and negative binomial regressions of coverage and number of articles, respectively, on victim race (reference = White), controlling for victim demographics and crime characteristics (N = 93)

Variables	Covered at Least Once B (SE)	Number of Articles B (SE)
Victim race		
Latino victim	-1.239 (.635)*	-2.066 (.599)***
Black victim	-1.568 (.941)*	-2.513 (.941)**
Victim controls		
Victim age	-.030 (.018)†	-.024 (.017)†
Male victim	.035 (.807)	-1.042 (.783)†
Incident controls		
Expressive homicide	.736 (1.059)	.272 (.793)
Gun was used	.661 (.670)	.383 (.621)
Drug-related	-.369 (1.056)	-.737 (1.047)
Robbery	.088 (1.095)	.255 (.832)
Constant	-0.435 (1.220)	.799 (.756)
Pseudo R^2	0.097	0.112
Log-likelihood		-75.707
Chi-square	10.11	19.10

† = p < .10, * = p < .05, ** = p < .01, *** = p < .001, one-tailed tests

Table 4
Unstandardized coefficients from logistic and negative binomial regressions of coverage and number of articles, respectively, on suspect race and victim race (reference = White), controlling for victim demographics and crime characteristics (N = 93)

Variables	Covered at Least Once B (SE)	Number of Articles B (SE)
Participant race		
Latino suspect	-.0786 (.946)	.902 (1.055)
Black suspect	-.269 (1.552)	.267 (1.798)
Latino victim	-.836 (.986)	-1.910 (1.078)*
Black victim	-1.395 (1.787)	-2.302 (2.010)
Participant controls		
Suspect age	.044 (.030)†	.037 (.029)†
Male suspect	.524 (1.070)	1.364 (.740)*
Victim age	-.047 (.023)*	-.029 (.018)†
Male victim	-.015 (.825)	-.847 (.745)
Incident controls		
Expressive homicide	.975 (1.196)	-.187 (.893)
Gun was used	.755 (.698)	.375 (.603)
Drug-related	-.462 (1.134)	-1.252 (1.111)
Robbery	.549 (1.233)	.404 (1.045)
Constant	-1.780 (1.562)	-.585 (1.209)
Pseudo R^2	0.125	0.149
Log-likelihood		-72.566
Chi-square	13.01	25.38

† = p < .10, * = p < .05, ** = p < .01, *** = p < .001, one-tailed tests

Table 5
Unstandardized coefficients from logistic and negative binomial regressions of coverage and number of articles, respectively, on combinations/interactions of suspect and victim race (reference = White on White), controlling for victim and offender demographics and crime characteristics (N = 88)

Variables	Covered at Least Once B (SE)	Number of Articles B (SE)
Suspect-victim race combinations		
Latino-on-Latino	-.988 (.757)†	-1.019 (.671)†
Black-on-Black	-1.821 (1.013)*	-2.074 (.937)*
Black-on-Latino	-1.329 (1.332)	-1.738 (1.388)
Latino-on-White	-.089 (1.334)	.468 (1.151)
Participant controls		
Suspect age	.045 (.031)†	.037 (.029)
Male suspect	.328 (1.081)	1.292 (.737)*
Victim age	-.047 (.023)*	-.028 (.018)†
Male victim	-.029 (.815)	-.871 (.732)
Incident controls		
Expressive homicide	.824 (1.183)	-.114 (.887)
Gun was used	.730 (.720)	.278 (.598)
Drug-related	-.393 (1.115)	-1.172 (1.113)
Robbery	.556 (1.232)	.575 (1.048)
Constant	-1.468 (1.574)	-.549 (1.201)
Pseudo R^2	0.122	0.140
Log-likelihood		-72.143
Chi-square	12.37	23.42

† = $p < .10$, * = $p < .05$, ** = $p < .01$, *** = $p < .001$, one-tailed tests
a. Includes only suspect-victim combinations with cell sizes less of at least five
b. Suspect-victim combinations ordered from most to least common
c. White-on-Latino dropped from analysis, as it predicts failure perfectly

Figure 1
Suspect race model; Stata predicted values output of Black suspect in logistic regression (N = 93)

```
. eval4 logit OBlack "0 1"

*-------------------------------------------------------------------------------
WHOLE POPULATION STANDARDIZATION. Version Jan 2009. For help: eval4 help
      This is a logit model.
      I'll call fix_vars, just to be sure it runs OK (it checks dummies too)
      Fix_vars ran OK

    OBlack Predicted      s.e.    ci Low   ci High  Now-prev Now-begin Now/begin
         0     .2889     .1231     .1083     .5911         0         0         1
         1     .1231      .109    .02457     .4518    -.1658    -.1658     .4262
*-------------------------------------------------------------------------------
```

Figure 2
Victim race model; Stata predicted values output of Latino victim and Black victim in logistic regression (N = 93)

```
-------------+------------------------------------------------------------------

. eval4 logit VHispanic "0 1"

*-------------------------------------------------------------------------------
WHOLE POPULATION STANDARDIZATION. Version Jan 2009. For help: eval4 help
      This is a logit model.
      I'll call fix_vars, just to be sure it runs OK (it checks dummies too)
      Fix_vars ran OK

 VHispanic Predicted      s.e.    ci Low   ci High  Now-prev Now-begin Now/begin
         0     .3822      .148     .1423     .7223         0         0         1
         1      .166    .09886    .05838     .4459    -.2161    -.2161     .4344
*-------------------------------------------------------------------------------

. eval4 logit VBlack "0 1"

*-------------------------------------------------------------------------------
WHOLE POPULATION STANDARDIZATION. Version Jan 2009. For help: eval4 help
      This is a logit model.
      I'll call fix_vars, just to be sure it runs OK (it checks dummies too)
      Fix_vars ran OK

    VBlack Predicted      s.e.    ci Low   ci High  Now-prev Now-begin Now/begin
         0     .2871     .1196     .1114     .5804         0         0         1
         1     .0882     .1013    .01429     .4113    -.1989    -.1989     .3072
*-------------------------------------------------------------------------------
```

Figure 3
Suspect-victim race combination model; Stata predicted values output of Latino-on-Latino and Black-on-Black in logistic regression

```
. eval4 logit HispanicHispanic "0 1"

*------------------------------------------------------------------------------*
WHOLE POPULATION STANDARDIZATION. Version Jan 2009. For help: eval4 help
      This is a logit model.
      I'll call fix_vars, just to be sure it runs OK (it checks dummies too)
      Fix_vars ran OK

HispanicHispanic Predicted      s.e.    ci Low   ci High  Now-prev Now-begin Now/begin
         0      .3505      .1648      .1011      .7471         0         0         1
         1       .185      .1259     .05343      .5468    -.1655    -.1655     .5278
*------------------------------------------------------------------------------*


. eval4 logit BlackBlack "0 1"

*------------------------------------------------------------------------------*
WHOLE POPULATION STANDARDIZATION. Version Jan 2009. For help: eval4 help
      This is a logit model.
      I'll call fix_vars, just to be sure it runs OK (it checks dummies too)
      Fix_vars ran OK

BlackBlack Predicted      s.e.    ci Low   ci High  Now-prev Now-begin Now/begin
         0      .3081      .1435     .09764      .6602         0         0         1
         1     .08215      .1121     .01046       .45    -.2259    -.2259     .2667
*------------------------------------------------------------------------------*
```