VIRGINIA STATE CRIME COMMISSION

Intentional Homicide

2023 ANNUAL REPORT

INTENTIONAL HOMICIDE

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

During 2023, the Crime Commission conducted a comprehensive review of intentional homicides that occurred in Virginia between January 1, 2017, and December 31, 2022. For purposes of this study, intentional homicide was defined as a completed act punishable under the Virginia Code as aggravated murder, first or second degree murder, murder of a pregnant woman, felony homicide, voluntary manslaughter, lynching, or shooting or throwing objects at vehicles which resulted in death.

This review focused on a variety of matters relating to the nature and circumstances of intentional homicides, including the demographics and relationships of victims and offenders, the dispositions of intentional homicide charges, the prior in-state criminal history records of individuals convicted of intentional homicide, and whether individuals convicted of intentional homicide had any active matters in the court system when the homicide was committed. The key findings and themes which emerged from this review of intentional homicides that occurred between 2017 and 2022 in Virginia were as follows:

- Virginia experienced a significant increase in the number of intentional homicides between 2017 and 2022.
- Stakeholders and researchers point to a variety of possible reasons for the recent increase in intentional homicides; however, more time is needed to ascertain the main contributing factors, particularly those stemming from the COVID-19 pandemic.
- Firearms were used in the large majority of these intentional homicides, and the rate of firearm use in such homicides increased during this time period.
- The majority of these intentional homicide incidents took place in urban or metro areas.
- The known relationships between intentional homicide victims and offenders remained similar between 2017 and 2022 (acquaintance, family, intimate partner, and stranger); however, almost half of the relationships were unknown or missing.
- The majority of intentional homicide victims, as well as individuals charged with and/or convicted of intentional homicide in Virginia were male, between the ages of 18 and 35, and Black.
- Black males were disproportionally overrepresented as intentional homicide victims, as well as persons charged with and convicted of intentional homicide.
- The large majority of individuals convicted of an intentional homicide occurring in Virginia between 2017 and 2022 had a prior in-state criminal history record.

- The vast majority of individuals convicted of an intentional homicide that occurred between 2017 and 2022 did not have pending charges, were not on state probation or parole, were not on local probation, were not under pretrial services agency supervision, and were not subject to a protective order at the time of the homicide.
- Virginia is consistent with the rest of the United States in terms of the recent increase in intentional homicides, firearm use, location of homicides, clearance rates, demographics of victims and offenders, and the criminal history records of convicted offenders.

Intentional homicide is a serious criminal justice and public health concern both nationally and in Virginia. Localities across the United States have engaged in various evidence-based violent crime prevention strategies shown to be effective in suppressing violent crime and interrupting the spread of violence when properly implemented for the individual community. Virginia recently implemented *Ceasefire Virginia* and *Operation Bold Blue Line*, while also allocating tens of millions of dollars to violence intervention measures, such as the Firearm Violence Intervention and Prevention Fund, Operation Ceasefire Grant Fund, Safer Communities Program, and witness protection. The Crime Commission will continue to monitor these measures, as the budget requires the Virginia Department of Criminal Justice Services to send quarterly updates and an annual report on community-based violence intervention efforts to the Crime Commission.

BACKGROUND AND METHODOLOGY

The Executive Committee of the Crime Commission directed staff to examine intentional homicides that occurred in Virginia between January 1, 2017, and December 31, 2022. Based on their guidance, staff developed the following research questions:

1. What were the nature and circumstances of intentional homicides that occurred in Virginia between 2017 and 2022?
2. What were the case dispositions of individuals charged with an intentional homicide that occurred in Virginia between 2017 and 2022?
3. What were the prior in-state criminal history records of individuals convicted of an intentional homicide that occurred in Virginia between 2017 and 2022?
4. Did any of the individuals convicted of an intentional homicide that occurred in Virginia between 2017 and 2022 have other active matters in the court system at the time of the homicide (i.e., pending charges, under pretrial or post-trial supervision, or subject to a protective order)?

For purposes of this study, intentional homicide was defined as a completed act of aggravated murder (Va. Code § 18.2-31), first or second degree murder (Va. Code § 18.2-32), murder of a pregnant woman (Va. Code § 18.2-32.1), felony homicide (Va. Code § 18.2-33), voluntary manslaughter (Va. Code § 18.2-35), lynching deemed murder (§ 18.2-40), or shooting or throwing objects at vehicles which resulted in death (Va. Code § 18.2-154). The definition of intentional homicide did not include any attempt, conspiracy, or solicitation to commit one of these previously specified acts. Furthermore, the definition of intentional homicide required that the person charged with or convicted of such an act meant to cause the physical harm that resulted in the death of another person. For example, charges and convictions for felony homicide related to driving under the influence were not included in the definition of intentional homicide, as the statute requires criminally negligent conduct, but does not require one to have the intent to cause physical harm to another person. Finally, the definition of intentional homicide included acts committed by adults, but did not include acts committed by juveniles or by juveniles tried as adults.[1]

Staff performed the following activities as part of this study:

- Reviewed relevant literature and reports;
- Conducted a historical review of Virginia's homicide statutes;
- Collected and analyzed both national and Virginia-specific intentional homicide data;
- Manually reviewed, entered, and analyzed Virginia in-state criminal history records for 930 individuals convicted of intentional homicide;
- Consulted with a wide variety of practitioners; and,
- Identified recent violence prevention measures in Virginia, including programs and funding.

Data Sources

Data was collected and analyzed from both the criminal justice and public health perspectives in order to ascertain the nature of intentional homicide incidents and determine whether the overall trends from each perspective were consistent. The following criminal justice and public health data sources were examined:

- Alexandria Circuit Court;[2]
- Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC);[3]
- Fairfax Circuit Court;[4]
- Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI);[5]
- Office of the Executive Secretary of the Virginia Supreme Court;[6]

- Virginia Department of Corrections;[7]
- Virginia Department of Criminal Justice Services;[8]
- Virginia Department of Health, Office of the Chief Medical Examiner (OCME);[9]
- Virginia Department of Juvenile Justice;[10] and,
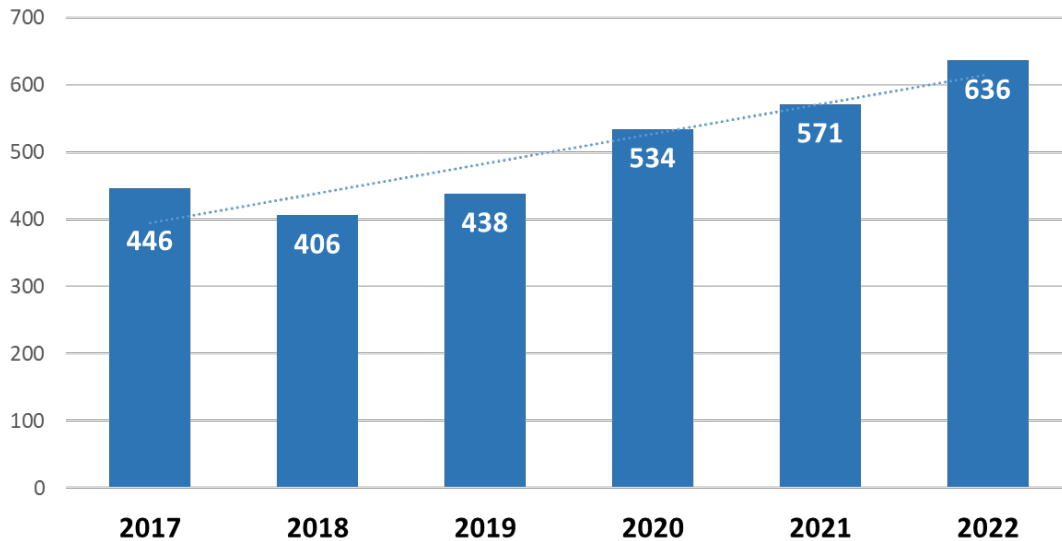- Virginia State Police (VSP).[11]

There are a number of challenges when analyzing federal and state homicide-related data because these data sources are not precisely comparable due to variations in scope, definitions, and methodologies, not only for each data source, but within certain data sources over time.[12]

> **RESEARCH QUESTION #1: What were the nature and circumstances of intentional homicides that occurred in Virginia between 2017 and 2022?**

Staff reviewed a wide variety of information to identify the nature and circumstances of intentional homicides that occurred in Virginia between 2017 and 2022. Additionally, staff attempted to determine whether there were any changes to the nature and circumstances of intentional homicides over this time period. Analysis of this information revealed the following key findings:

> ❖ *Virginia experienced a significant increase in the number of intentional homicides between 2017 and 2022.*

As seen in Chart 1, the number of intentional homicides in Virginia increased by 43% when comparing 2017 (446 intentional homicides) to 2022 (636 intentional homicides).[13] Both criminal justice and public health data indicated this increase in the number of intentional homicides in Virginia.[14] This increase was not unique to Virginia, as many other states and localities experienced similar significant increases in intentional homicides throughout this time period.[15] It should be noted, however, that preliminary 2023 UCR-IBR data suggests a marked decrease in intentional homicides in Virginia.[16]

Chart 1: Intentional Homicides in Virginia, 2017-2022

Source: Virginia State Police, UCR-IBR Program, 2017-2022 as of April 2023; N= 3,031 victims.

While numerous factors can impact overall intentional homicide rates, the following correlates have been suggested by leading researchers, along with stakeholders across the Commonwealth, as contributing to the recent increase in intentional homicides, such as:

- COVID-19 pandemic;[17]
- Individuals feeling "disrespected";[18]
- Gang and group disputes;[19]
- Decrease in proactive policing;[20]
- Access to firearms and firearm thefts;[21]
- Drugs, drug sales, and drug markets (in-person and online);[22]
- Mental health challenges and lack of treatment resources;[23]
- Substance abuse, with particular emphasis on the opioid epidemic;[24]
- Lack of substance use treatment resources;[25]
- Domestic violence incidents;[26]
- Lack of cooperation in investigations by the community;[27]
- Increase in police-community tensions;[28] and,
- Decrease in perceptions of police legitimacy.[29]

❖ *Firearms were used in the vast majority of intentional homicides that occurred in Virginia between 2017 and 2022, and the rate of firearm use in such homicides increased during this time period.*

As seen in Chart 2, the vast majority of intentional homicides each year were committed with a firearm. Furthermore, the proportion of intentional homicides committed in Virginia with a firearm increased from 73% in 2017 to 84% in 2022.

Chart 2: Firearm Use in Virginia Intentional Homicides, 2017-2022
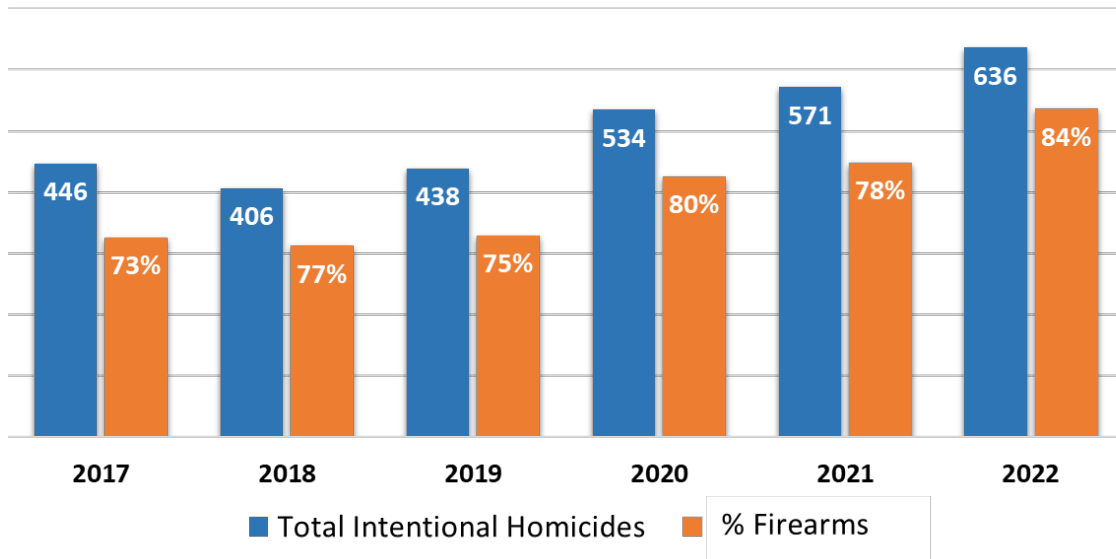
Source: Virginia State Police, UCR-IBR Program, 2017-2022 as of April 2023; N=3,031 victims.

Firearm violence continues to remain a significant public health concern in the United States.[30] Virginia is consistent with the rest of the nation in terms of intentional homicides committed with a firearm, with FBI data from reporting law enforcement agencies showing that firearms have been used to commit the majority of intentional homicides in the United States for decades.[31] Further, this national data also reveals that the proportion of intentional homicides committed with a firearm has been increasing. For example, 67% (9,146 of 13,636) of intentional homicides in the United States in 2009 were committed with a firearm as compared to 74% (10,258 of 13,927) in 2019.[32]

❖ *The majority of intentional homicide incidents that occurred in Virginia between 2017 and 2022 took place in urban or metro areas.*

As seen in Table 1, 57% (1,588 of 2,810) of intentional homicide incidents that occurred in Virginia between 2017 and 2022 took place in ten specific Virginia urban or metro areas.[33]

Table 1: Virginia Intentional Homicides, Top 10 Localities, 2017-2022

Rank	Locality	Incidents (n)	Incidents (%)	Victims (n)	Murder Rate per 100,000
1	Richmond City	375	13%	394	28.6
2	Norfolk City	271	10%	289	20.7
3	Newport News City	156	6%	161	14.6
4	Portsmouth City	155	6%	169	29.0
5	Hampton City	115	4%	120	14.5
6	Petersburg City	115	4%	123	61.4
7	Fairfax County	110	4%	124	1.8
8	Henrico County	108	4%	115	5.7
9	Virginia Beach City	96	3%	113	4.1
10	Roanoke City	87	3%	90	15.3
	Total Across 10 Localities	*1,588*	*57%*	*1,698*	*---*
	Total Statewide Incidents	**2,810**		**3,031**	**5.8**

Source: Virginia State Police, UCR-IBR Program, 2017-2022, as of April 2023 and rates based on U.S. Census Bureau, 2021 ACS 5-Year Estimates Data Profiles.

In addition to total intentional homicide incidents and rates, several aggregate economic factors were examined across Virginia's localities from 2017 to 2022, including unemployment rates, median household income, and per capita income.[34] It is important to place the total number of intentional homicide incidents in context with such factors as two localities can have nearly the same number of intentional homicide incidents but vastly differing intentional homicide rates due to population size differences and other economic conditions. For example, Petersburg City experienced 115 intentional homicide incidents with an intentional homicide rate of 61.4 per 100,000 residents, an unemployment rate of 7.4%, a median household income of $44,890, and a per capita income of $26,091.[35] However, Fairfax County, which experienced nearly the same number of intentional homicide incidents (110 incidents) during the same time period had a murder rate of 1.8 per 100,000 residents, an unemployment rate of 2.9%, a median household income of $133,974, and a per capita income of $61,957.[36]

Virginia is consistent with the rest of the United States in terms of the location of intentional homicide incidents. Research consistently demonstrates that intentional homicides are disproportionately concentrated in cities throughout the United States.[37] For instance, FBI data shows that in 2020 homicides increased over 30% in cities with populations between 10,000 and 25,000 and those between 250,000 to 1 million in the United States.[38] Urban communities marked by poverty, low socioeconomic status, neighborhood disorder, high unemployment rates, low educational attainment levels, low levels of collective efficacy, and residential instability experienced even higher levels of intentional homicides.[39]

Criminological research indicates that economic factors such as poverty, unemployment, and income inequality are correlated to crime, including violent crime.[40] Economic inequality is one of the most common variables examined in studies seeking to understand homicide and homicide rates.[41] Individuals residing in low-income communities are more likely to experience intentional homicides, particularly those involving a firearm.[42] Several criminological theories have been used to explain how economic factors can lead to homicide such as strain theory, routine activities theory, and social disorganization theory.[43]

Research on the relationship between employment rates and aggregate homicide rates is mixed.[44] Research has examined the employment status of homicide offenders, with some focusing on all types of offenders and others focusing on specific types, such as repeat homicide offenders and intimate partner homicide offenders.[45] Research on the employment status of homicide victims also varies.[46] For example, one study examining overall risk factors for homicide victimization found unemployment to be a significant risk factor, even when controlling for race.[47] However, a study specifically examining stranger sexual homicide, found that the majority of these homicide victims were employed across various types of occupations.[48]

❖ *The known relationships between intentional homicide victims and offenders remained similar for homicides that occurred in Virginia between 2017 and 2022; however, almost half of the relationships were unknown or missing.*

As seen in Table 2, the known relationships between intentional homicide victims and offenders remained consistent for homicides that occurred in Virginia between 2017 and 2022. For intentional homicides where the relationship between the victim and offender was known, 25% were acquaintance relationships, 10% were family relationships, 10% were intimate partner relationships, and 5% were stranger relationships. However, almost half of the data on the relationship between the victim and offender was "unknown" or "missing." This lack of information does not allow for a definitive finding of the overall nature of the relationship

between victims and offenders in any given year or across time. Virginia is consistent with national data in that much information on victim-offender relationships is not available.[49]

Table 2: Virginia Intentional Homicides, Victim-Offender Relationships, 2017-2022

	2017	2018	2019	2020	2021	2022	TOTAL n (%)
Acquaintance	107	99	123	128	163	150	770 (26%)
Family	46	49	51	52	49	61	308 (10%)
Intimate Partner	54	43	40	63	52	56	308 (10%)
Stranger	22	11	26	25	39	32	155 (5%)
Missing	22	46	70	112	133	153	536 (18%)
Unknown	142	143	124	154	133	184	880 (30%)
Total	**393**	**391**	**434**	**534**	**569**	**636**	**2,957**

Source: Virginia State Police, UCR-IBR Program, 2017-2022, as of April 2023; missing n=103. Percentages may not equal 100% due to rounding.

❖ *The majority of intentional homicide victims were male, age 18 to 34, Black, and residents of the locality in which they were murdered.*

As seen in Table 3, there were 3,031 victims of intentional homicides that occurred in Virginia between 2017 and 2022. Demographic information was captured for 98% (2,957 of 3,031) of these victims. Analysis of this demographic information showed that 76% (2,234 of 2,957) of intentional homicide victims were male, 50% (1,470 of 2,957) were between the ages of 18 and 34, and 65% (1,907 of 2,957) were Black. Further, the percentage of Black individuals who were victims of intentional homicide increased from 58% (228 of 393) in 2017 to 75% (477 of 636) in 2022. Finally, 76% (2,233 of 2,957) of these victims were residents of the locality in which they were murdered.

Table 3: Virginia Intentional Homicides, Victim Demographics, 2017-2022

	2017	2018	2019	2020	2021	2022	TOTAL n (%)
Sex							
Male	270	297	331	417	429	490	2,234 (76%)
Female	123	94	103	117	140	146	723 (24%)
Race							
Black	228	233	257	353	389	477	1,907 (65%)
White	154	147	160	176	174	177	988 (33%)
Asian	7	5	3	1	3	5	24 (1%)
AI/AN	0	0	1	0	0	1	2 (<1%)
NH/PI	0	0	0	0	0	1	1 (<1%)
Unknown	4	6	13	4	3	5	35 (1%)
Age							
10 and under	16	18	21	23	19	21	118 (4%)
11 to 17	19	20	20	29	37	35	160 (5%)
18 to 24	84	98	97	122	130	147	678 (23%)
25 to 34	107	105	105	158	138	179	792 (27%)
35 to 44	59	51	89	78	98	125	500 (17%)
45 to 54	48	43	33	54	64	52	294 (10%)
55 to 64	39	20	30	39	47	48	223 (8%)
65 to 74	7	19	28	16	27	12	109 (4%)
75 to 84	10	10	7	8	7	10	52 (2%)
85 and older	2	2	4	4	1	3	16 (<1%)
Unknown	2	5	0	3	1	4	15 (<1%)
Locality of Residence							
Resident of Locality	305	311	327	393	425	472	2,233 (76%)
Not Resident of Locality	76	63	85	116	117	129	586 (20%)
Unknown	12	17	22	25	27	35	138 (5%)
TOTAL	**393**	**391**	**434**	**534**	**569**	**636**	**2,957 (100%)**

Source: Virginia State Police, UCR-IBR Program, 2017-2022, as of April 2023; missing n=103. Percentages may not equal 100% due to rounding.

Virginia is consistent with the rest of the United States in terms of the demographics of intentional homicide victims. National data consistently shows that males, younger adults, and Black individuals comprise the majority of intentional homicide victims. For instance, in 2022, FBI

data from reporting law enforcement agencies revealed that 77% (12,747 of 16,485) of homicide victims were male, 28% (4,592 of 16,485) were between the ages of 20 and 29, and 56% (9,220 of 16,485) were Black or African American.[50] Additionally, research highlights the connection between race, place, and poverty in understanding the observed high rates of community gun violence.[51] Firearm violence is also disproportionately experienced by Black individuals.[52] Specifically, Black youth and young adults who reside in urban, disadvantaged communities are more likely to experience community gun violence.[53]

❖ *Black males were disproportionally overrepresented as victims of intentional homicides that occurred in Virginia between 2017 and 2022.*

While Black males comprise approximately 9% of Virginia's overall population, Table 4 shows that 54% (1,595 of 2,957) of intentional homicide victims in Virginia between 2017 and 2022 were Black males.[54] Furthermore, when examining 2021 OCME data specifically, the victimization rate for Black males in Virginia was 11.5 times higher than that of White males.[55] This disproportionality is not unique to Virginia. National research suggests that Black males are overrepresented as both homicide victims and offenders.[56]

Table 4. Virginia Intentional Homicides, Victims by Race and Sex, 2017-2022

	Male n (%)	Female n (%)	TOTAL n (%)
Black	1,595 (54%)	312 (11%)	1,907 (65%)
White	608 (21%)	380 (13%)	988 (33%)
Asian	12 (<1%)	12 (<1%)	24 (1%)
AI/AN	0 (0%)	2 (<1%)	2 (<1%)
NH/PI	0 (0%)	1 (<1%)	1 (<1%)
Unknown	19 (<1%)	16 (<1%)	35 (1%)
TOTAL	**2,234 (76%)**	**723 (24%)**	**2,957 (100%)**

Source: Virginia State Police, UCR-IBR Program, 2017-2022, as of April 2023; missing n=103.

❖ *Clearance rates for intentional homicides that occurred in Virginia between 2017 and 2022 declined over that same time period.*

As seen in Table 5, clearance rates for intentional homicides declined in Virginia from 66% in 2017 to 58% in 2022.[57] While the figures in Table 5 represent the overall statewide average, clearance rates across individual Virginia localities varied significantly during this time period. For example, the clearance rate for intentional homicides occurring in 2022 for Henrico County was 72% as compared to 29% for Hampton City.[58]

Table 5: Virginia Intentional Homicides, Clearance Rates, 2017-2022

Year of Intentional Homicide	Clearance Rate
2017	66%
2018	67%
2019	66%
2020	64%
2021	58%
2022	58%

Source: Virginia State Police, UCR-IBR Program, 2017-2022, as of June 2024.

This decline in intentional homicide clearance rates has also been observed nationally. While intentional homicides remain the most serious and thoroughly investigated crime, case clearance rates have steadily declined across the United States.[59] For example, the clearance rate for homicide offenses in the United States was 79% in 1976, before declining to 61% in the mid-2000s and remaining at 61% in 2019.[60] Recent data suggests even lower clearance rates in 2022, with the national homicide clearance rate declining to 52% in 2022.[61]

The ability of a law enforcement agency to clear a crime is viewed as a measure of its effectiveness.[62] Researchers contend that there are several factors that influence homicide clearance rates.[63] However, research has also demonstrated that variations in clearance rates exist across cities,[64] neighborhoods within cities,[65] crime types,[66] victims,[67] and offense circumstances.[68]

Homicides with a greater likelihood of clearance commonly involve child victims (less than age 14),[69] female victims,[70] domestic disputes with intimate or familial victim-offender relationships,[71] sharp or blunt instruments, strangulation, and non-firearm methods,[72] or occur indoors.[73] Homicides with a lower likelihood of clearance often involve uncooperative witnesses,[74] racial/ethnic minority victims,[75] victims with prior criminal histories or violent criminal histories,[76] drug or gang-related circumstances,[77] a firearm,[78] those occurring outdoors[79] or those occurring in disadvantaged urban neighborhoods.[80]

Researchers examining homicide clearance rates across law enforcement agencies have found that there are several procedures that can help increase homicide case clearance rates, such as standardizing investigative practices, working with external criminal justice agencies, and establishing strong community policing.[81]

RESEARCH QUESTION #2: What were the case dispositions for individuals charged with an intentional homicide that occurred in Virginia between 2017 and 2022?

Staff collected and analyzed data on the number and types of intentional homicide charges between 2017 and 2022, the case dispositions of these charges, and the demographic information of charged individuals. The following are the main takeaways from this analysis.

❖ *The case dispositions for the 3,060 individuals charged with an intentional homicide that occurred in Virginia between 2017 and 2022 varied significantly.*

Staff was able to identify 3,060 individuals who were charged with an intentional homicide that occurred in Virginia between 2017 and 2022. Table 6 provides a breakdown of the disposition of the charges against these individuals as of May 2023. As seen below, 28% (870 of 3,060) of these individuals were convicted of intentional homicide and 13% (405 of 3,060) were convicted of an offense other than intentional homicide. Conversely, 27% (826 of 3,060) of these individuals had the charges against them *nolle prosequi*; however, these charges may have been or could still be reinstituted. Finally, charges remained pending against 25% (773 of 3,060) of these individuals. It is important to note that Table 6 provides an incomplete picture of the ultimate disposition status of these individuals due to the recentness of many of the cases; however, this was an important step for staff to identify which individuals had thus far been convicted in order to identify individuals to examine in more depth for the third and fourth research questions of the study.[82]

Table 6: Disposition of Intentional Homicide Charges in Virginia, 2017-2022

Disposition (*as of May 2023*)	Charged Individuals n (%)
Convicted of intentional homicide	870 (28%)
Nolle prosequi	826 (27%)
Pending	773 (25%)
Convicted of a different offense	405 (13%)
Dismissed	93 (3%)
Found not guilty	81 (3%)
Other disposition	12 (<1%)
Total	**3,060**

Source: Virginia State Police, CCRE, as of May 2023. Analysis by Crime Commission staff. Percentages may not total 100% due to rounding.

❖ *The majority of individuals charged with an intentional homicide that occurred in Virginia between 2017 and 2022 were male, age 18 to 35, and Black.*

As seen in Table 7, the demographic information of the 3,060 individuals charged with an intentional homicide that occurred in Virginia between 2017 and 2022 revealed that the majority were male, age 18 to 35, and Black. Specifically, 88% (2,687 of 3,060) were male, 72% (2,196 of 3,060) were age 18 to 35, and 64% (1,949 of 3,060) were Black individuals.

Table 7: Demographics of Individuals Charged with Intentional Homicide in Virginia, 2017-2022

	2017	2018	2019	2020	2021	2022	TOTAL n (%)
Sex							
Male	457	428	451	464	461	426	2,687 (88%)
Female	71	62	47	80	57	56	373 (12%)
Race							
Black	310	308	324	337	354	316	1,949 (64%)
White	211	178	167	204	159	163	1,082 (35%)
Asian	4	3	5	1	3	1	17 (1%)
AI/AN	3	1	2	1	2	1	10 (<1%)
Unknown	0	0	0	1	0	1	2 (<1%)
Age							
17 or under	11	8	4	7	0	0	30 (1%)
18-20	89	85	99	95	97	75	540 (18%)
21-25	145	113	100	118	120	111	707 (23%)
26-30	90	87	89	107	93	83	549 (18%)
31-35	60	71	66	70	70	63	400 (13%)
36-40	39	39	48	52	51	55	284 (9%)
41-45	28	25	29	26	33	25	166 (5%)
46-50	25	19	22	18	17	24	125 (4%)
51-55	16	14	13	22	12	16	93 (3%)
56-60	9	16	16	15	12	14	82 (3%)
61-65	9	5	6	9	4	8	41 (1%)
66-70	3	4	2	3	8	4	24 (1%)
Over 70	4	4	4	2	1	4	19 (1%)
TOTAL Individuals Charged	**528**	**490**	**498**	**544**	**518**	**482**	**3,060**

Source: Virginia State Police, CCRE, as of May 2023. Analysis by Crime Commission staff.

❖ *Black males were disproportionally overrepresented as individuals charged with an intentional homicide that occurred in Virginia between 2017 and 2022.*

As seen in Table 8, Black males were disproportionally charged with intentional homicides that occurred in Virginia between 2017 and 2022. As previously noted, Black males account for approximately 9% of Virginia's overall population, but represented 57% (1,759 of 3,060) of individuals charged with an intentional homicide that occurred in Virginia between 2017 and 2022.

Table 8. Individuals Charged with Intentional Homicide in Virginia by Race and Sex, 2017-2022

	Male n (%)	Female n (%)	TOTAL n (%)
Black	1,759 (57%)	190 (6%)	1,949 (64%)
White	907 (30%)	175 (6%)	1,082 (35%)
Asian	15 (<1%)	2 (<1%)	17 (1%)
AI/AN	5 (<1%)	5 (<1%)	10 (<1%)
Unknown	1 (<1%)	1 (<1%)	2 (<1%)
TOTAL	2,687 (88%)	373 (12%)	3,060 (100%)

Source: Virginia State Police, CCRE, as of May 2023. Analysis by Crime Commission staff.
Percentages may not total 100% due to rounding.

RESEARCH QUESTION #3: What were the prior in-state criminal history records of individuals convicted of an intentional homicide that occurred in Virginia between 2017 and 2022?

A significant body of research has documented the prevalence of prior criminal histories amongst homicide offenders.[83] Staff requested hard copies of the in-state criminal history records for the 930 individuals who were identified as having been convicted of an intentional homicide that occurred in Virginia between 2017 and 2022.[84]

Staff manually reviewed the in-state criminal history records for each of these 930 individuals and captured various metrics, such as prior charges, convictions, probation violations, and sentences. When conducting this review, staff only captured charges with an offense date that *preceded* the offense date of the intentional homicide for which the individual was convicted, and did not capture any charges with an offense date after the date of the intentional homicide. Analysis of this data produced the following findings.

❖ *The majority of individuals convicted of an intentional homicide that occurred in Virginia between 2017 and 2022 were male, age 18 to 35, and Black.*

As seen in Table 9, of the those convicted of an intentional homicide that occurred in Virginia between 2017 and 2022, 90% (833 of 930) were male, 70% (649 of 930) were age 18 to 35, and 60% (559 of 930) were Black individuals.

Table 9: Demographics of Individuals Convicted of Intentional Homicide in Virginia, 2017-2022

	n	%
Sex		
Male	833	90%
Female	97	10%
Race		
Black	559	60%
White	355	39%
Asian	3	<1%
Unknown	13	1%
Age		
18-20 years old	190	20%
21-25 years old	204	22%
26-30 years old	136	15%
31-35 years old	119	13%
36-40 years old	83	9%
41-45 years old	55	6%
46-50 years old	44	5%
51-55 years old	37	4%
56-60 years old	34	4%
61-65 years old	15	2%
66-70 years old	7	<1%
Over 70 years old	6	<1%
TOTAL	**930**	**100%**

Source: Virginia State Police, CCRE. Analysis of in-state criminal history records by Crime Commission staff.

❖ *Black males were disproportionally overrepresented as individuals convicted of an intentional homicide that occurred in Virginia between 2017 and 2022.*

While Black males account for approximately 9% of Virginia's overall population, the analysis set forth in Table 10 shows that Black males represented 55% (513 of 930) of the total number of individuals convicted of an intentional homicide that occurred in Virginia between 2017 and 2022.

Table 10: Individuals Convicted of Intentional Homicide in Virginia by Race and Sex, 2017-2022

	Male n (%)	Female n (%)	TOTAL n (%)
Black	513 (55%)	46 (5%)	559 (60%)
White	305 (33%)	50 (5%)	355 (38%)
Asian	3 (<1%)	0 (0%)	3 (<1%)
Unknown	12 (1%)	1 (<1%)	13 (1%)
TOTAL	**833 (90%)**	**97 (10%)**	**930 (100%)**

Source: Virginia State Police, CCRE. Analysis of in-state criminal history records by Crime Commission staff.

❖ *The majority of individuals convicted of an intentional homicide that occurred in Virginia between 2017 and 2022 were convicted of first or second degree murder.*

As seen in Table 11, 69% (653 of 935) of individuals convicted of an intentional homicide that occurred in Virginia between 2017 and 2022 were convicted of first or second degree murder.

Table 11: Individuals Convicted of Intentional Homicide in Virginia by Code Section, 2017-2022

Code Section(s)	Number of Individuals	Percent of Individuals
§ 18.2-32 – First or second degree murder	653	69%
§ 18.2-35 – Voluntary manslaughter	206	22%
§ 18.2-33 – Felony homicide	56	6%
§ 18.2-31 – Aggravated murder	15	2%
§ 18.2-40 – Lynching deemed murder	4	<1%
§ 18.2-154 – Shooting at or throwing missiles, etc., at train, car, vessel, etc.	1	<1%
Total	**935***	**100%**

Source: Virginia State Police, CCRE. Analysis of in-state criminal history records by Crime Commission staff.
*Note: Five of the 930 defendants were convicted for intentional homicides occurring on two distinct dates. In these instances, the defendant was not apprehended until after the second intentional homicide occurred.

❖ *The majority of individuals convicted of an intentional homicide that occurred in Virginia between 2017 and 2022 had a prior in-state criminal history record.*

The review of the in-state criminal history records for the 930 individuals convicted of an intentional homicide that occurred in Virginia between 2017 and 2022 revealed that 71% (656 of 930) of these individuals had a prior in-state criminal history record before the commission of the homicide, while no prior in-state record was identified for the remaining 29% (274 of 930) of individuals.

❖ *The majority of individuals with a prior in-state criminal history record who were convicted of an intentional homicide that occurred in Virginia between 2017 and 2022 had both felony and misdemeanor charges on their record.*

As seen in Chart 3, of the 656 individuals with a prior in-state criminal history record, 70% (462 of 656) had both prior felony and misdemeanor charges, 17% (111 of 656) had prior misdemeanor charges only, and 13% (83 of 656) had prior felony charges only.

Chart 3: Individuals Convicted of Intentional Homicide, Prior In-State Criminal Charges
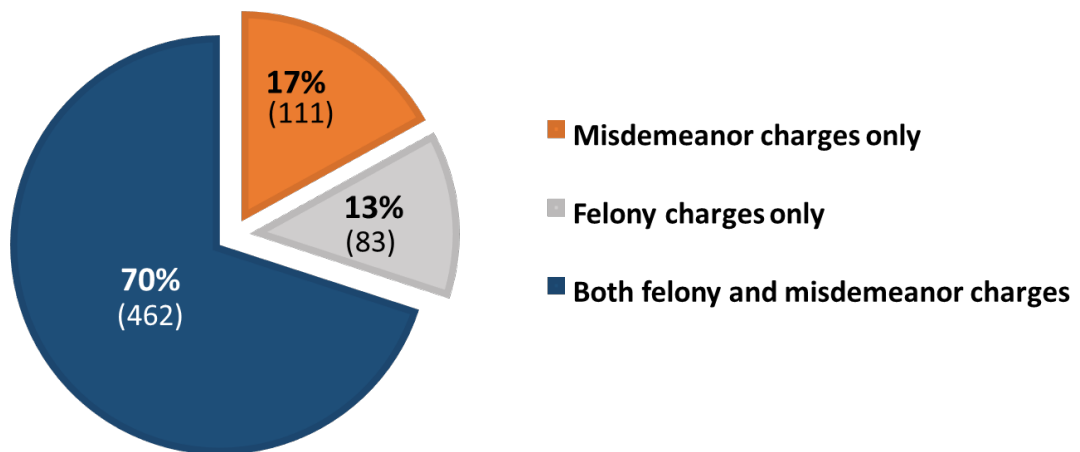
Source: Virginia State Police, CCRE. Analysis of in-state criminal history records by Crime Commission staff. n= 656 individuals convicted of intentional homicide with a prior in-state criminal history record.

As seen in Table 12, there were a combined 7,908 prior charges across the 656 individuals with a prior in-state criminal history record. The top three categories of prior felony and misdemeanor charges combined were assault, larceny, and weapon law violations. Specifically, 93% (609 of 656) of these individuals had prior assault charges, 63% (414 of 656) had prior larceny charges, and 53% (349 of 656) had prior weapon law violation charges.

Table 12: Individuals Convicted of Intentional Homicide, Prior In-State Charges by Offense Type

Type of Offense (felony and misdemeanors combined)	Individuals n (%)	Charges n (%)
Assault	609 (93%)	1,448 (18%)
Larceny	414 (63%)	874 (11%)
Weapon Law Violation	349 (53%)	643 (8%)
Narcotics	280 (43%)	640 (8%)
Failure to Appear	272 (41%)	535 (7%)
Contempt of Court	257 (39%)	599 (8%)
Felony Probation Violation	187 (29%)	529 (7%)
Vandalism	164 (25%)	222 (3%)
Obstruction of Justice	143 (22%)	200 (3%)
Fraud	141 (21%)	354 (4%)
Burglary	136 (21%)	234 (3%)
Misdemeanor Probation Violation	105 (16%)	192 (2%)
DWI	104 (16%)	166 (2%)
Robbery	103 (16%)	186 (2%)
Trespassing	94 (14%)	123 (2%)
Kidnapping	62 (9%)	82 (1%)
Protective Order Violation	41 (6%)	69 (1%)
Murder	39 (6%)	54 (1%)
Rape	28 (4%)	57 (1%)
All Other Charges	—	701 (9%)
	656	**7,908**

Source: Virginia State Police, CCRE. Analysis of in-state criminal history records by Crime Commission staff. Percentages may not total 100% due to rounding.

❖ *The majority of individuals with a prior in-state criminal history record who were convicted of an intentional homicide that occurred in Virginia between 2017 and 2022 had both felony and misdemeanor convictions on their record.*

As seen in Chart 4, of the 656 individuals with an in-state criminal history record who were convicted of an intentional homicide that occurred between 2017 and 2022, 45% (295 of 656) had both prior felony and misdemeanor convictions, 30% (195 of 656) had prior misdemeanor convictions only, 11% (69 of 656) had prior felony convictions only, and 15% (97 of 656) did not have any prior convictions.

Chart 4: Individuals Convicted of Intentional Homicide, Prior In-State Criminal Convictions
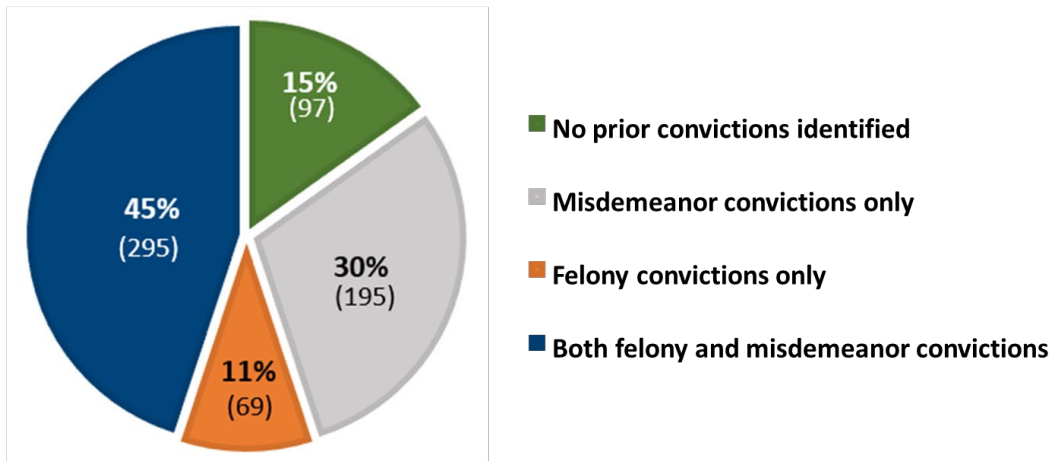
Source: Virginia State Police, CCRE. Analysis of in-state criminal history records by Crime Commission staff. n= 656 individuals convicted of intentional homicide with a prior in-state criminal history record.

As seen in Table 11, there were a combined 3,868 prior convictions across the 559 individuals with a prior in-state criminal history record. The top three categories of prior felony and misdemeanor convictions combined were assault, larceny, and narcotics. Specifically, 61% (343 of 559) of individuals had prior assault convictions, 49% (272 of 559) had prior larceny convictions, and 35% (194 of 559) had prior narcotics convictions.

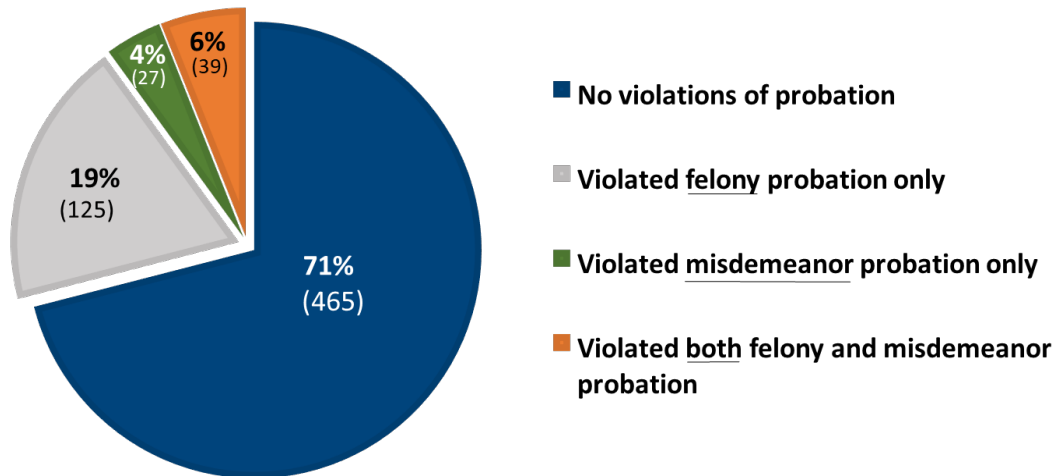**Table 13: Individuals Convicted of Intentional Homicide, Prior In-State Convictions by Offense Type**

VCC Description (felony and misdemeanors combined)	Individuals n (%)	Convictions n (%)
Assault	343 (61%)	552 (14%)
Larceny	272 (49%)	468 (12%)
Narcotics	194 (35%)	334 (9%)
Weapon Law Violation	185 (33%)	237 (6%)
Felony Probation Violation	164 (29%)	421 (11%)
Failure to Appear	141 (25%)	239 (6%)
Contempt of Court	138 (25%)	253 (7%)
Fraud	91 (16%)	193 (5%)
Obstruction of Justice	91 (16%)	115 (3%)
Vandalism	87 (16%)	107 (3%)
DWI	78 (14%)	110 (3%)
Misdemeanor Probation Violation	66 (12%)	117 (3%)
Trespassing	64 (11%)	89 (2%)
Burglary	50 (9%)	89 (2%)
Robbery	44 (8%)	61 (2%)
Protective Order Violation	21 (4%)	25 (1%)
Kidnapping	14 (3%)	15 (<1 %)
Murder	12 (2%)	13 (<1 %)
Rape	9 (2%)	12 (<1 %)
All Other Convictions	—	418 (11%)
	559	**3,868**

Source: Virginia State Police, CCRE. Analysis of in-state criminal history records by Crime Commission staff

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❖ *The majority of individuals with a prior in-state criminal history record who were convicted of an intentional homicide that occurred in Virginia between 2017 and 2022 did not have prior in-state probation violations.*

As seen in Chart 5, of the 656 individuals with a prior in-state criminal history record who were convicted of an intentional homicide that occurred between 2017 and 2022, 71% (465 of 656) were not found to have violated probation before the homicide, 19% (125 of 656) violated felony probation only, 6% (39 of 656) violated both felony and misdemeanor probation, and 4% (27 of 656) violated misdemeanor probation only.

Chart 5: Individuals Convicted of Intentional Homicide, Prior In-State Probation Violations

Source: Virginia State Police, CCRE. Analysis of in-state criminal history records by Crime Commission staff. n= 656 individuals convicted of intentional homicide with a prior in-state criminal history record.

❖ *Two-thirds of the individuals with a prior in-state criminal history record who were convicted of an intentional homicide that occurred in Virginia between 2017 and 2022 were sentenced to at least one active term of incarceration for an offense before the commission of the homicide.*

Of the 656 individuals with a prior in-state criminal history record who were convicted of an intentional homicide that occurred between 2017 and 2022, 67% (438 of 656) were sentenced to at least one active term of incarceration before the commission of the homicide.

RESEARCH QUESTION #4: Did any of the individuals convicted of an intentional homicide that occurred in Virginia between 2017 and 2022 have other active matters in the court system at the time of the homicide?

Staff attempted to determine whether any of the 930 individuals convicted of an intentional homicide that occurred in Virginia between 2017 and 2022 had other active matters in the court system at the time of the homicide. Specifically, staff sought to identify whether any of these individuals had the following when the intentional homicide occurred:

- Pending charges;
- State probation or parole supervision (Virginia Department of Corrections);
- Local community corrections probation supervision;
- Local pretrial services agency supervision; or,
- Subject to a protective order.[85]

These efforts revealed the following findings.

❖ *The majority of individuals convicted of an intentional homicide that occurred in Virginia between 2017 and 2022 did not have pending charges at the time of the homicide.*

Of the 930 individuals convicted of an intentional homicide that occurred in Virginia between 2017 and 2022, 81% (754 of 930) did not have pending charges at the time of the homicide, while 19% (176 of 930) had at least one pending charge at the time of the homicide. As seen in Table 12, these 176 individuals had a total of 394 pending charges.[86] Of the 176 individuals with pending charges, 50% (88 of 176) had one pending charge, 23% (40 of 176) had 2 pending charges, and 12% (22 of 176) had 3 pending charges. Only 15% (26 of 176) had 4 or more pending charges at the time of the homicide. An analysis of the 394 pending charges showed that 62% (246 of 394) of the charges were classified within the assault, narcotics, larceny, and weapon law violation categories.

Table 14: Individuals Convicted of Intentional Homicide, Pending Charges at Time of Offense

Number of Pending Charges	Individuals n (%)	Count of Charges
1	88 (50%)	88
2	40 (23%)	80
3	22 (12%)	66
4	9 (5%)	36
5	6 (3%)	30
6	4 (2%)	24
7	3 (2%)	21
11	1 (1%)	11
12	1 (1%)	12
13	2 (1%)	26
TOTAL	**176**	**394**

Source: Virginia State Police, CCRE. Analysis of in-state criminal history records by Crime Commission staff.

❖ *The vast majority of individuals convicted of an intentional homicide that occurred in Virginia between 2017 and 2022 were <u>not</u> under state probation or parole supervision (Virginia Department of Corrections) at the time of the homicide.*

At the request of staff, the Virginia Department of Corrections (DOC) attempted to link the 930 individuals convicted of intentional homicide that occurred in Virginia between 2017 and 2022 to individuals in their CORIS system to determine whether any were under state probation or parole supervision for a prior offense at the time of the homicide event. After receiving this information from DOC, staff conducted further analysis and found that the vast majority of these individuals were <u>not</u> under the supervision of DOC (state probation or parole) for a prior offense at the time of the homicide. Specifically, 82% (762 of 930) of these individuals were not under supervision, while 18% (168 of 930) were under supervision. Nearly 60% (98 of 168) of those under supervision were on medium level supervision. All 168 individuals were being supervised for at least one prior felony offense. Of the felony offenses for which supervision was being provided to the 168 individuals, slightly over half were classified as larceny, narcotics, or weapon law violation offenses.

❖ *An overwhelming majority of individuals convicted of an intentional homicide that occurred in Virginia between 2017 and 2022 were not under local community corrections supervision at the time of the homicide.*

Staff requested information on all individuals under local community corrections supervision during the study's timeframe from DCJS, which maintains the Pretrial and Community Corrections (PTCC) case management system. Staff analyzed this information and found that only 3% (30 of 930) of the individuals convicted of an intentional homicide that occurred in Virginia between 2017 and 2022 were under local community corrections supervision at the time of the homicide. Assault, narcotics, and larceny comprised the majority of the classifications of offenses for which local community corrections supervision was being provided for these 30 individuals.

❖ *An overwhelming majority of individuals convicted of an intentional homicide that occurred in Virginia between 2017 and 2022 were not under pretrial services agency supervision at the time of the homicide.*

Staff requested information on all individuals under pretrial services agency supervision during the study's timeframe from DCJS' PTCC case management system. Staff analyzed this information and found that only 6% (53 of 930) of the individuals convicted of an intentional homicide that occurred in Virginia between 2017 and 2022 were on pretrial services agency supervision at the time of the homicide. Narcotics, assault, and weapons law violations comprised the majority of the classifications of offenses for which pretrial services agency supervision was being provided for these 53 individuals.

❖ *Very few individuals convicted of an intentional homicide that occurred in Virginia between 2017 and 2022 were subject to a protective order at the time of the homicide.*

At the request of staff, the Virginia State Police (VSP) attempted to link the 930 individuals convicted of intentional homicide that occurred in Virginia between 2017 and 2022 to individuals in the VSP protective order case management system. After receiving this information from VSP, staff conducted further analysis and determined that 14% (133 of 930) of these individuals were subject to a protective order *at some point* between 2017 and 2022 prior to the commission of an intentional homicide.

Specific examination of these 133 individuals revealed that 29 individuals were subject to a protective order *at the time* of the intentional homicide. Of these 29 individuals, at least six individuals were convicted of the intentional homicide per the named petitioner in the protective

order, with the victim's relationship to the offender being grandmother, mother, father, estranged wife, girlfriend, and 2-year-old son.

CONCLUSION

Intentional homicide is a serious criminal justice and public health concern both nationally and in Virginia. In an effort to address serious violent crime within communities, localities across the United States have engaged in various evidence-based violent crime prevention strategies shown to be effective in suppressing violent crime and interrupting the spread of violence when properly implemented for the individual community.[87] Such strategies include:

- Focused deterrence interventions;[88]
- Community-led public health interventions;[89]
- Hospital-based violence intervention programs;[90]
- Conflict mediation;[91]
- Crime prevention technology;[92] and,
- Blight remediation efforts.[93]

Similarly, Virginia recently implemented initiatives designed to mitigate the rise in intentional homicide and other types of violent crime, including *Ceasefire Virginia*[94] and *Operation Bold Blue Line*.[95] Additionally, Virginia has devoted significant financial resources to violence intervention. Virginia's amended FY2024 budget increased funding for the Firearm Violence Intervention and Prevention Fund from $4 million to $9 million,[96] increased funding for the Operation Ceasefire Grant Fund from $2.5 million to $17.5 million,[97] appropriated $10 million for the creation of a Safer Communities Program,[98] and authorized $1 million for a new witness protection program.[99] These funding measures continued into the FY2025 to FY2026 budget, with $9 million each year for the Firearm Violence Intervention and Prevention Fund,[100] $10 million each year for the Operation Ceasefire Grant Fund,[101] $14 million each year to the Safer Communities Program,[102] and $1.2 million each year for a witness protection program.[103] Finally, the budget requires the Virginia Department of Criminal Justice Services to continue providing quarterly updates and an annual report to the Crime Commission on all community-based violence intervention efforts.[104]

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

ENDNOTES

[1] *See* Appendix A for a summary on juvenile offenders convicted or adjudicated delinquent of an intentional homicide that occurred between 2017 and 2022 in Virginia.

[2] Staff examined data from the Alexandria Circuit Court case management system, which is housed at the Alexandria Circuit Court.

[3] Staff examined data from the the WISQARS™ — Web-based Injury Statistics Query and Reporting System and the National Violent Death Reporting System (NVDRS), which are housed at the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC).

[4] Staff examined data from the Fairfax Circuit Court case management system, which is housed at the Fairfax Circuit Court.

[5] Staff examined data from the national Uniform Crime Reporting (UCR) Program, which is housed at the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI).

[6] Staff examined data from Virginia circuit court case management systems, which are housed at the Virginia Supreme Court's Office of the Executive Secretary (OES). Note: Fairfax Circuit Court and Alexandria Circuit Court case management systems are maintained on separate systems.

[7] Staff examined data from the Virginia Corrections Information System (VirginiaCORIS), which is housed at the Virginia Department of Corrections.

[8] Staff examined data from the Pretrial and Community Corrections (PTCC) case management system, which is housed at the Virginia Department of Criminal Justice Services.

[9] Staff examined data from the Office of the Chief Medical Examiner of Virginia (OCME), as well as information from the Virginia Violent Death Reporting System (VVDRS), which are housed at the Virginia Department of Health. *See OCME annual reports* at https://www.vdh.virginia.gov/medical-examiner/annual-reports/ and information relating to the VVDRS data at https://www.vdh.virginia.gov/medical-examiner/division-of-death-prevention/virginia-violent-death-reporting-system/.

[10] Staff examined data from the Balanced Approach Data Gathering Environment (BADGE) case management system, which is housed at the Virginia Department of Juvenile Justice.

[11] Staff examined data from the Virginia Uniform Crime Reporting (UCR) Program, the Central Criminal Records Exchange (CCRE), and the protective order case management system, which are housed at the Virginia State Police.

[12] *See, e.g.,* FBI, UCR Program, National Incident-Based Reporting System. (Fall 2019). *NIBRS offense definitions,* at https://ucr.fbi.gov/nibrs/2018/resource-pages/nibrs_offense_definitions-2018.pdf. The FBI Uniform Crime Reporting (UCR) Program collects the number of murders and non-negligent manslaughters reported by participating law enforcement agencies in each state and territory and defines murder and non-negligent manslaughter as the "willful (nonnegligent) killing of one human being by another." The primary limitation is that not all law enforcement agencies participate in the program; for instance, at one point only 66.5% (12,725 of 19,139) of law enforcement agencies covering 73% of the US population participated in the NIBRS program in 2022 (*see* Department of Justice. (2023, January 17). The Report of the Attorney General Pursuant to Section 18(a) of Executive Order 14074: Department of Justice Review of the Transition of Law Enforcement Agencies to the National Incident-Based Reporting System, at https://www.justice.gov/opa/speech/file/1563061/dl); ***See also*** Virginia State Police, Virginia UCR-IBR Program, *Virginia Incident-Based Reporting User Manual,* at https://vsp.virginia.gov/wp-content/uploads/2022/07/Virginia-IBR-User-Manual-2019.1-NOV-2021.pdf. Virginia's UCR-IBR Program adopts the same definition as the national UCR-NIBRS program (p.26); however, Virginia's UCR-IBR Program, while voluntary, has nearly a 100% participation rate; ***See also*** Virginia Central Criminal Records Exchange, at https://law.lis.virginia.gov/vacode/title19.2/chapter23/. The Virginia State Police houses the Central Criminal Records Exchange (CCRE), which is the repository that receives, classifies, maintains, and disseminates individual criminal history records. Unlike the FBI UCR-NIBRS and Virginia UCR-IBR program data for murder offenses, CCRE data provides the number of arrests and dispositions for specific intentional homicide Code section violations and will frequently include the offense severity (misdemeanor and felony) and classification level, along with individual demographics. The CCRE also houses the in-state computerized criminal history records (CHR) that staff requested for analysis of prior in-state criminal charges and convictions, as well as information relating to the intentional homicide occurring between 2017 and 2022 in Virginia. One limitation of the CCRE is that the defendant's fingerprints must be submitted in order for an offense to be applied to that person's criminal history

record. In some instances, fingerprints may have been obtained for an offense, but there was a submission error where the fingerprints did not reach the CCRE. In other instances, information for an offense may have been submitted to the CCRE without fingerprints. In either instance, the offense is placed in a "Hold File" within the CCRE until a fingerprint is submitted to the CCRE and the offense is applied to a person's criminal history record. Another limitation is that information contained in the CCRE is based on data entered by court clerks into their respective court case management systems. Therefore, if there was a data entry error, that error will be reflected in the CCRE; *See also* Circuit court case management systems maintained by the Office of the Executive Secretary of the Supreme Court of Virginia, Fairfax Circuit Court, and Alexandria Circuit Court. It should be noted that OES case management system data is charge-based (i.e., each count of each charge appears as a unique record in the system). As mentioned above, the information contained in the CCRE is based on information entered by clerks of court into their respective court case management systems, which as with any type of manual entry can introduce certain limitations. For instance, if the clerk did not enter a Virginia Crime Code (VCC), the analysis relied on the *Code* section and offense description entered by the clerk to assign a VCC. If the clerk entered an incorrect VCC or statute reference, or the clerk entered the statute in a non-standardized format, the case may not have been identified and included in the analysis. However, unlike the CCRE, these circuit court case management systems have information on intentional homicide offenses where a fingerprint was not obtained or transmitted to the CCRE due to various reasons; *See also* CDC, National Vital Statistics System, Fatal Injury Reports on WISQARS™ — Web-based Injury Statistics Query and Reporting System, at https://wisqars.cdc.gov/. The mortality statistics in WISQARS fatal injury modules are based on codes in the International Classification of Disease-10th Revision (ICD-10). The *International Classification of Diseases- 10* (ICD-10) is used in various countries worldwide for coding death in a consistent manner and defines homicides as "injuries inflicted by another person with the intent to kill or injure, by any means." This public health data consistently has a higher count of homicides as compared to FBI UCR Program data due the differences in definitions and the fact that the public health data collection is mandatory rather than voluntary; *See also* Virginia Department of Health, OCME annual reports, at https://www.vdh.virginia.gov/medical-examiner/annual-reports/. The Virginia Department of Health, Office of the Chief Medical Examiner (OCME) is responsible for the investigation of sudden, violent, or unexpected deaths, which include homicides. The OCME data defines homicide as the "manner of death in which death results from the intentional harm of one person by another." Each year, the OCME publishes an annual report which includes details relating to homicides by characteristics such as victim demographics, cause/method of injury, location of injury, and ethanol levels. The reported count of homicides is generally greater in OCME data as compared to Virginia UCR-IBR Program data due to the OCME's definition being broader with fewer exclusions.

[13] *See* Appendix B for the aggregate number and rate of intentional homicides per 100,000 by locality for 2017-2022 combined (Virginia State Police, UCR-IBR Program, 2017-2022). It should be further noted that Virginia experienced a similar increase in the number of reported aggravated assaults each year from 2017 to 2022, as follows: 10,135 (2017), 10,386 (2018), 11,199 (2019), 12,494 (2020), 13,336 (2021), 14,028 (2022) per Virginia State Police, UCR-IBR Program data. Specifically, there was a 38% increase in the number of reported aggravated assaults when comparing 2017 (10,135) to 2022 (14,028).

[14] *See* Appendix B for the aggregate number and rate of intentional homicides per 100,000 by locality for 2017-2022 combined (Virginia State Police, UCR-IBR Program, 2017-2022) and Appendix C for the number and rate of homicides by locality of event and year of death, 2017-2022 (Virginia Department of Health, Office of the Chief Medical Examiner (OCME)).

[15] The United States has two national data collection systems on homicides: (i) the FBI Uniform Crime Reporting Program's Supplementary Homicide Reports, which is a voluntary program based on offenses reported to law enforcement agencies, and (ii) the CDC's Fatal Injury Reports, which is a mandatory program based on death certificates as reported by medical examiners and coroners. Both sources noted the significant increase in the number of intentional homicides in the United States (particularly from 2019 to 2020). *See, e.g.,* FBI. (2021, September 27). *FBI releases 2020 crime statistics*, at https://www.fbi.gov/news/press-releases/fbi-releases-2020-crime-statistics; CDC, National Center for Health Statistics. (2021, October 6). *New CDC/NCHS data confirm largest one-year increase in U.S. homicide rate in 2020*, at https://www.cdc.gov/nchs/pressroom/nchs_press_releases/2021/202110.htm. For a report comparing these two national data sources, *see* U.S. Department of Justice, Bureau of Justice Statistics. (2014, July). *The nation's two*

measures of homicide. (NCJ 247060), at https://bjs.ojp.gov/content/pub/pdf/ntmh.pdf. Finally, from a historical perspective, it should also be noted that despite the large increase in intentional homicides observed in this time frame, the total number and rate of homicides in the U.S. was still much lower than what was seen in the mid-1980s to early 1990s, for example. *See, e.g.,* FBI. *Crime Data Explorer, Trend of homicide, Rate of homicide offenses by population, 1985-2022,* at https://cde.ucr.cjis.gov/LATEST/webapp/#/pages/explorer/crime/crime-trend.

[16] Virginia State Police, UCR-IBR Program, personal communication (June 18, 2024): preliminary UCR-IBR data indicates that 473 murders/non-negligent manslaughters occurred in Virginia in 2023, suggesting an approximate 26% decrease from 2022.

[17] *See, e.g.,* Pino, E. C., Gebo, E., Dugan, E., & Jay, J. (2022). Trends in violent penetrating injuries during the first year of the COVID-19 pandemic. *JAMA Network Open*, *5*(2), e2145708; Rosenfeld, R., & Lopez Jr., E. (2020). Pandemic, social unrest, and crime in U.S. cities. *Federal Sentencing Reporter*, *33*(1-2), 72–82.

[18] Stakeholder meetings with representatives from the Virginia Association of Chiefs of Police (personal communication, October 10, 2023), the Virginia Association of Commonwealth's Attorneys (personal communication, October 12, 2023, and October 18, 2023), and the Virginia Sheriffs' Association (personal communication, October 10, 2023).

[19] Stakeholder meetings with representatives from the Virginia Association of Chiefs of Police (personal communication, October 10, 2023), the Virginia Association of Commonwealth's Attorneys (personal communication, October 12, 2023, and October 18, 2023), and the Virginia Sheriffs' Association (personal communication, October 10, 2023).

[20] *See, e.g.,* Nix, J., & Wolfe, S. E. (2016). Sensitivity to the Ferguson Effect: The role of managerial organizational justice. *Journal of Criminal Justice*, *47*, 12-20; Oliver, W. M. (2017). Depolicing: Rhetoric or reality? *Criminal Justice Policy Review*, *28*, 437- 461.

[21] Stakeholder meetings with representatives from the Virginia Association of Chiefs of Police (personal communication, October 10, 2023) and the Virginia Sheriffs' Association (personal communication, October 10, 2023); *See also, e.g.,* Braga, A. A., & Cook, P. J. (2018). The association of firearm caliber with likelihood of death from gunshot injury in criminal assaults. *JAMA Network Open, 1*(3), el 80833; Cook, P. J., Rivera-Aguirre, A. E., Cerda, M., & Wintemute, G. (2017). Constant lethality of gunshot injuries from firearm assault: United States, 2003-2012, *American Journal of Public Health*, *107*(8), 1324-1328; Rosenfeld, R., & Fox, J. A. (2019). Anatomy of the homicide rise. *Homicide Studies, 23*, 202- 224.

[22] Stakeholder meetings with representatives from the Virginia Association of Chiefs of Police (personal communication, October 10, 2023), the Virginia Association of Commonwealth's Attorneys (personal communication, October 12, 2023, and October 18, 2023), and the Virginia Sheriffs' Association (personal communication, October 10, 2023). *See also, e.g.,* Gaston, S., Cunningham, J. P., & Gillezeau, R. (2019). A Ferguson effect, the drug epidemic, both, or neither? Explaining the 2015 and 2016 U.S. homicide rises by race and ethnicity. *Homicide Studies, 23*(3), 285-313; Rosenfeld, R. (2018). Studying crime trends: Normal science and exogenous shocks. *Criminology, 56*, 5-26; Rosenfeld, R., & Fox, J. A. (2019). Anatomy of the homicide rise. *Homicide Studies, 23*, 202-224; Rosenfeld, R., Gaston, S., Spivak, H., & Irazola, S. (2017). *Assessing and responding to the recent homicide rise in the United States*. Washington, DC: National Institute of Justice; Rosenfeld, R., Roth, R., & Wallman, J. (2023). Homicide and the opioid epidemic: A longitudinal analysis. *Homicide Studies*, *27*(3), 321-337; Rosenfeld, R., Wallman, J., & Roth, R. (2021). The opioid epidemic and homicide in the United States. *Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency*, *58*(5), 545-590; Wallman, J., Rosenfeld, R., & Roth, R. (2023). *The opioid epidemic and homicide*. Harry Frank Guggenheim Foundation: New York, NY, at https://www.hfg.org/wp-content/uploads/2023/05/Opioids_HFG-Brief.pdf.

[23] Stakeholder meetings with representatives from the Virginia Association of Chiefs of Police (personal communication, October 10, 2023), the Virginia Association of Commonwealth's Attorneys (personal communication, October 12, 2023, and October 18, 2023), and the Virginia Sheriffs' Association (personal communication, October 10, 2023).

[24] *See, e.g.,* Rosenfeld, R., & Fox, J. A. (2019). Anatomy of the homicide rise. *Homicide Studies*, *23*, 202- 224; Rosenfeld, R., Gaston, S., Spivak, H., & Irazola, S. (2017). Assessing and responding to the recent homicide rise in the United States (No. NCJ 251067); Gaston, S., Cunningham, J. P., & Gillezeau, R. (2019). A Ferguson effect, the

drug epidemic, both, or neither? Explaining the 2015 and 2016 U.S. homicide rises by race and ethnicity. *Homicide Studies*, *23*(3), 285-313; Rosenfeld, R., Roth, R., & Wallman, J. (2023). Homicide and the opioid epidemic: A longitudinal analysis. *Homicide Studies*, *27*(3), 321-337; Rosenfeld, R., Wallman, J., & Roth, R. (2021). The opioid epidemic and homicide in the United States*. Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency*, *58*(5), 545-590; Wallman, J., Rosenfeld, R., & Roth, R. (2023). *The opioid epidemic and homicide*. Harry Frank Guggenheim Foundation: New York, NY, at https://www.hfg.org/wp-content/uploads/2023/05/Opioids_HFG-Brief.pdf; Gaston, S., Spivak, H., & Irazola, S. (2017). *Assessing and responding to the recent homicide rise in the United States.* National Institute of Justice, at https://www.ojp.gov/pdffiles1/nij/251067.pdf. This body of research suggests that the opioid epidemic has impacted homicide rates, as a greater increase in drug-related homicides than homicides of other types has been documented. Researchers have specifically placed increased attention on how the opioid epidemic has played a role in the increase of drug-related homicides. For example, homicide rates were found to be considerably higher in areas with higher rates of opioid-related deaths and in regions of the United States where the opioid epidemic has had a strong presence. These areas and regions are also those that generally have pronounced economic disadvantage and more availability of firearms. Further, researchers have also uncovered racial differences in the increase in drug-related homicides among White and Black victims, with a significantly higher percentage increase in *drug-related* homicides among White victims as compared to Black victims.

[25] *See, e.g.,* Bondurant, S. R., Lindo, J. M., Swensen, I. D. (2016). Substance abuse treatment centers and local crime. *Journal of Urban Economics*, *104*, 124-133; Wen, H., Hockenberry, J. M., & Cummings, J. R. (2014). The effect of substance use disorder treatment use on crime: Evidence from public insurance expansions and health insurance parity mandates, NBER Working Paper No. 20537; Rosenfeld, R., Wallman, J., & Roth, R. (2021). The opioid epidemic and homicide in the United States*. Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency*, *58*(5), 545-590; Wallman, J., Rosenfeld, R., & Roth, R. (2023). The opioid epidemic and homicide. Harry Frank Guggenheim Foundation: New York, NY, at https://www.hfg.org/wp-content/uploads/2023/05/Opioids_HFG-Brief.pdf. This body of research suggests that substance abuse treatment can reduce involvement in violent crime, as substance use has been found to co-occur with violent offending. Research has found that the utilization of substance abuse treatment can reduce criminal offending, including engagement in violent crime such as homicide. Further, studies that have found a relationship between the opioid epidemic and homicide rates indicate that reductions in the demand for opioids and the violence associated with this illicit drug market can be achieved by utilizing the public health approach with a strong focus on treatment for the use of illicit substances.

[26] Stakeholder meetings with representatives from the Virginia Association of Chiefs of Police (personal communication, October 10, 2023), the Virginia Association of Commonwealth's Attorneys (personal communication, October 12, 2023, and October 18, 2023), and the Virginia Sheriffs' Association (personal communication, October 10, 2023). *See also, e.g.,* Demir, M., & Park, S. (2022). The effect of COVID-19 on domestic violence and assaults. *Criminal Justice Review*, *47*(4), 445-463; Kourti, A., Stavridou, A., Panagouli, E., Psaltopoulou, T., Spiliopoulou, C., Tsolia, M., Sergentanis, T. N., & Tsitsika, A. (2023). Domestic violence during the COVID-19 pandemic: A systemic review. *Trauma, Violence, & Abuse*, *24*(2), 719-745; Leslie, E., & Wilson, R. (2020). Sheltering in place and domestic violence: Evidence from calls for service during COVID-19. *Journal of Public Economics*, *189*, 104241; McNeil, A., Hicks, L., Yalcinoz-Ucan, B., & Browne, D. T. (2023). Prevalence & correlates of intimate partner violence during COVID-19: A rapid review. *Journal of Family Violence*, *38*, 241-261; Nix, J., & Richards, T. N. (2021). The immediate and long-term effects of COVID-19 stay-at-home orders on domestic violence calls for service across six U.S. jurisdictions. *Police Practice and Research*, *22*(4), 1443-1451; Piquero, A., Jennings, W. G., Jemison, E., Kaukinen, C., & Knaul, F. M. (2021). Domestic violence during the COVID-19 pandemic – Evidence from a systemic review and meta-analysis. *Journal of Criminal Justice*, *74*, 101806; Attorney General of Virginia, Office of the Attorney General. (2022, December 31). *Domestic and sexual violence in Virginia: 2022 annual report,* at https://www.oag.state.va.us/files/DomesticViolence/AnnualReports/2022-OAG-Annual-Domestic-and-Sexual-Violence-in-VA-Report.pdf

[27] Stakeholder meetings with representatives from the Virginia Association of Commonwealth's Attorneys (personal communication, October 12, 2023, and October 18, 2023).

[28] *See, e.g.,* Gaston, S., Cunningham, J. P., & Gillezeau, R. (2019). A Ferguson effect, the drug epidemic, both, or neither? Explaining the 2015 and 2016 U.S. homicide rises by race and ethnicity. *Homicide Studies, 23*(3), 285-313; Rosenfeld, R. (2016). *Documenting and explaining the 2015 homicide rise: Research directions* (NIJ Special Report,

NCJ-249895). Washington, DC: National Institute of Justice; Rosenfeld, R. (2018). Studying crime trends: Normal science and exogenous shocks. *Criminology*, *56*, 5-26; Rosenfeld, R., Gaston, S., Spivak, H., & Irazola, S. (2017). *Assessing and responding to the recent homicide rise in the United States*. Washington, DC: National Institute of Justice.

[29] *Id.*

[30] Firearm violence continues to remain a significant public health concern in the United States. *See*, e.g., Goin, D. E., Rudolph, K. E., & Ahern, J. (2018). Predictors of firearm violence in urban communities: A machine-learning approach. *Health & Place*, *51*, 61-67; Jay, J., Miratrix, L .W., Branas, C. C., Zimmerman, M. A., & Hemenway, D. (2019). Urban building demolitions, firearm violence and drug crime. *Journal of Behavioral Medicine*, *42*, 626-634; Knopov, A., Rothman, E. F., Cronin, S. W., Franklin, L., Cansever, A., Potter, F., Mesic, A., Sharma, A., Xuan, Z., Siegel, M., & Hemenway, D. (2019). The role of racial residential segregation in black-white disparities in firearm homicide at the state level in the United States, 1991-2015. *Journal of the National Medical Association*, *111*(1), 62-75; Magee, L. A. (2020). Community-level social processes and firearm shooting events: A multi-level analysis. *Journal of Urban Health*, *97*, 296-305.

[31] *See, e.g.,* Federal Bureau of Investigation. (1995). *Table 2.9, Murder, Types of Weapons Used, 1995,* https://ucr.fbi.gov/crime-in-the-u.s/1995/95sec2.pdf*;* Federal Bureau of Investigation. (2019). *Expanded Homicide Data Table 9, Murder Victims by Age by Weapon, 2019*. https://ucr.fbi.gov/crime-in-the-u.s/2019/crime-in-the-u.s.-2019/tables/expanded-homicide-data-table-9.xls.

[32] Federal Bureau of Investigation. (2009). *Expanded Homicide Data Table 9, Murder Victims by Age by Weapon, 2009*. https://ucr.fbi.gov/crime-in-the-u.s/2009; Federal Bureau of Investigation. (2019). *Expanded Homicide Data Table 9, Murder Victims by Age by Weapon, 2019*. https://ucr.fbi.gov/crime-in-the-u.s/2019/crime-in-the-u.s.-2019/tables/expanded-homicide-data-table-9.xls.

[33] *See* Appendix B for the aggregate number and rate of intentional homicides per 100,000 by locality for 2017-2022 combined (Virginia State Police, UCR-IBR Program, 2017-2022).

[34] *Id.*

[35] *Id.*

[36] *Id.*

[37] *See, e.g.,* Beard, J H., Morrison, C. N., Jacoby, S. F., Dong, B., Smith, R., Sims, C. A., & Wiebe, D. J. (2017). Quantifying disparities in urban firearm violence by race and place in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania: A cartographic study. *American Journal of Public Health*, *107*(3), 371-373; Branas, C. C., Kondo, M. C., Murphy, S. M., South, E. C., Polsky, D., & MacDonald, J. M. (2016). Urban blight remediation as a cost-beneficial solution to firearm violence. *American Journal of Public Health*, *106*(12), 2158-2164; Kegler, S. R., Dahlberg, L., L., & Vivolo-Kantor, A. M. (2021). A descriptive exploration of the geographic and sociodemographic concentration of firearm homicide in the United States, 2004–2018. *Preventive Medicine*, *153*, 106767; Kim, D. (2019). Social determinants of health in relation to firearm-related homicides in the United States: A nationwide multilevel cross-sectional study. *PLoS Medicine*, *16*(12), e1002978; Muggy, L., Griswold, M., Nekoul, F. E., McKenna, S., Smart, R., & Hunt, P. (2022). Accounting for socio-economic context in quantifying the attractive and repellent influence of built environment on firearms violence in multiple cities. *Journal of Quantitative Criminology*. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10940-022-09560-x; Patton, D., Sodhi, A., Affinati, S., Lee, J., & Crandall, M. (2019). Post-discharge needs of victims of gun violence in Chicago: A qualitative study. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence*, *34*(1), 135-155; Prevention Institute and Big Cities Health Coalition. (May 2021). *Community safety realized: Public health pathways to preventing violence*, at https://www.preventioninstitute.org/sites/default/files/publications/Community%20Safety%20Realized%20Final%20Report%20and%20Framework.pdf.

[38] *See, e.g.,* FBI. (2021, September 27). *FBI releases 2020 crime statistics*, at https://www.fbi.gov/news/press-releases/fbi-releases-2020-crime-statistics

[39] *See, e.g.,* Branas, C. C., Kondo, M. C., Murphy, S. M., South, E. C., Polsky, D., & MacDonald, J. M. (2016). Urban blight remediation as a cost-beneficial solution to firearm violence. *American Journal of Public Health*, *106*(12), 2158-2164; Dalve, K., Gause, E., Mills, B., Floyd, A. S., Rivara, F. P., & Rowhani-Rahbar, A. (2021). Neighborhood disadvantage and firearm injury: Does shooting location matter? *Injury Epidemiology*, *8*(1), 1-9; Dong, B., Branas, C. C., Richmond, T. S., Morrison, C. N., & Wiebe, D. J. (2017). Youth's daily activities and situational triggers of gunshot assault in urban environments. *Journal of Adolescent Health*, *61*, 779–785; Goin, D. E., Rudolph, K. E., &

Ahern, J. (2018). Predictors of firearm violence in urban communities: A machine-learning approach. *Health & Place*, *51*, 61-67; Huebner, B. M., Martin, K., Jr., Moule, R. K., Pyrooz, D., & Decker, S. H. (2016). Dangerous places: Gang members and neighborhood levels of gun assault. *Justice Quarterly*, *33*, 836–862; Kim, D. (2019). Social determinants of health in relation to firearm-related homicides in the United States: A nationwide multilevel cross-sectional study. *PLoS Medicine*, *16*(12), e1002978; Rowhani-Rahbar, A., Quistberg, D. A., Morgan, E. R., Hajat, A., & Frederick, P. R. (2019). Income inequality and firearm homicide in the US: A county-level cohort study. *Injury Prevention*, *25*, 125-130; Schmidt, C. J., Rupp, L., Pizarro, J. M., Lee, D. B., Branas, C. C., & Zimmerman, M. A. (2019). Risk and protective factors related to youth firearm violence: A scoping review and directions for future research. *Journal of Behavioral Medicine*, *42*, 706-723.

[40] *See, e.g.,* AbiNader, M. A. (2020). Correlates of intimate partner homicide in the rural United States: Findings from a national sample of rural counties, 2009–2016. *Homicide Studies*, *24*(4), 353-376; Andresen, M. A. (2012). Unemployment and crime: A neighborhood level panel data approach. *Social Science Research*, *41*, 1615-1628; Chon, D. S. (2020). Are competitive materialism and female employment related to international homicide rate? *Journal of Interpersonal Violence*, *35*(15-16), 2780-2799; Chon, D. S. (2012). The impact of population heterogeneity and income inequality on homicide rates: A cross-national assessment. *International Journal of Offender Therapy and Comparative Criminology*, *56*, 730-748; Ferguson, C. J., & Smith, S. (2021). Examining homicides and suicides cross-nationally: Economic factors, guns and video games. *International Journal of Psychology*, *56*(5), 812-823; Houghton, A., Jackson-Weaver, O., Toraih, E., Burley, N., Byrne, T., McGrew, P., Duchesne, J., Tatum, D., & Taghavi, S. (2021). Firearm homicide mortality is influenced by structural racism in US metropolitan areas. *Journal of Trauma and Acute Care Surgery*, *91*(1), 64-71; Light, M. T., & Ulmer, J. T. (2016). Explaining the gaps in White, Black, and Hispanic violence since 1990: Accounting for immigration, incarceration, and inequality. *American Sociological Review*, *81*(2), 290-315; Kim D. (2019). Social determinants of health in relation to firearm-related homicides in the United States: A nationwide multilevel cross-sectional study. *PLoS Medicine*, *16*(12):e1002978; Riddell, C. A., Harper, S., Cerdá, M., & Kaufman, J. S. (2018). Comparison of rates of firearm and nonfirearm homicide and suicide in Black and White non-Hispanic men, by U.S. state. *Annals of Internal Medicine*, *168*, 712-720; Roberts, A., & Willits, D. (2015). Income inequality and homicide in the United States: Consistency across different income inequality measures and disaggregated homicide types. *Homicide Studies*, *19*(1), 28-57; Rowhani-Rahbar A., Quistberg D. A., Morgan, E.R., Hajat, A., Rivara, F. P. (2019). Income inequality and firearm homicide in the US: A county-level cohort study. *Injury Prevention*, *25*(Suppl 1):i25–30; Schleimer, J. P., Pear, V. A., McCort, C. D., Shev, A. B., De Biasi, A., Tomsich, E., Buggs, S., Laqueur, H. S., & Wintemute, G. J. (2022). Unemployment and crime in U.S. cities during the Coronavirus pandemic. *Journal of Urban Health*, *99*, 82-91; Vieraitis, L. M., Britto, S., & Kovandzic, T. V. (2007). The impact of women's status and gender inequality on female homicide victimization rates: Evidence from U.S. counties. *Feminist Criminology, 2*(1), 57-73.

[41] Koeppel, M. D. H., Rhineberger-Dunn, G. M., & Mack, K. Y. (2015). Cross-national homicide: A review of the current literature. *International Journal of Comparative and Applied Criminal Justice*, *39*(1), 47-85.

[42] *See, e.g.,* Kim, D. (2019). Social determinants of health in relation to firearm-related homicides in the United States: A nationwide multilevel cross-sectional study. *PLoS Medicine*, *16*(12), e1002978; James, S., Gold, S., Rouhani, S., McLanahan, S., Brooks-Gunn, J. (2021). Adolescent exposure to deadly gun violence within 500 meters of home or school: Ethnoracial and income disparities. *Health Affairs*, *40*(6), 961-969; Muggy, L., Griswold, M., Nekoul, F. E., McKenna, S., Smart, R., & Hunt, P. (2022). Accounting for socio-economic context in quantifying the attractive and repellent influence of built environment on firearms violence in multiple cities. *Journal of Quantitative Criminology*, https://doi.org/10.1007/s10940-022-09560-x; Rowhani-Rahbar, A., Quistberg, D. A., Morgan, E. R., Hajat, A., & Frederick, P. R. (2019). Income inequality and firearm homicide in the US: A county-level cohort study. *Injury Prevention*, *25*, 125-130.

[43] *See, e.g.,* Agnew, R. (1985). A revised strain theory of delinquency. *Social Forces*, *64*, 151-167; Agnew, R. (1992). Foundation for a general strain theory of crime and delinquency. *Criminology*, *30*, 47-88; Agnew, R. (2001). Building on the foundations of general strain theory: Specifying the types of strain most likely to lead to crime and delinquency. *Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency 38*, 319-361; Caywood, T. (1998). Routine activities and urban homicides: A tale of two cities. *Homicide Studies*, *2*(1), 64-82; Cohen, L. E., & Felson, M. (1979). Social change and crime rate trends: A routine activity approach. *American Sociological Review*, *44*, 588-608; Cohen, L. E.,

Kluegal, J., & Land, K. C. (1981). Social inequality and criminal victimization. *American Sociological Review*, *46*, 505-524; Sampson, R. J., Raudenbush, S. W., & Earls, F. (1997). Neighborhoods and violent crime: A multilevel study of collective efficacy. *Science*, *277*(5328), 918–924; Shaw, C.R., & McKay, H.D. (1942). *Juvenile delinquency and urban areas: A study of rates of delinquency in relation to differential characteristics of local communities in American cities*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press. In general, strain theory emphasizes the stress of unemployment, the loss of "status," and maladaptive coping mechanisms (drugs/alcohol) as potential factors leading to homicide. Routine activity theory focuses on changes in lifestyle that can increase or decrease the likelihood of homicide victimization. Social disorganization theory is mainly discussed in relation to homicides occurring in urban communities that are marked by poverty, with specific attention placed on the interplay between high residential mobility, disconnectedness between residents, and low collective efficacy and how this can create circumstances in which homicide perpetration or victimization could occur.

[44] Research studies have found no relationship between unemployment and homicide, a positive relationship between unemployment and homicide, and a negative relationship between youth employment and neighborhood homicide rates. *See, e.g.,* Koeppel, M. D. H., Rhineberger-Dunn, G. M., & Mack, K. Y. (2015). Cross-national homicide: A review of the current literature. *International Journal of Comparative and Applied Criminal Justice*, *39*(1), 47-85; Kposowa, A. J., & Johnson K. A. C. (2016). A cohort analysis of employment status and homicide victimization in the United States. *Sociological Spectrum*, *36*(2), 93-108; Schleimer, J. P., Pear, V. A., McCort, C. D., Shev, A. B., De Biasi, A., Tomsich, E., Buggs, S., Laqueur, H. S., & Wintemute, G. J. (2022). Unemployment and crime in US cities during the Coronavirus pandemic. *Journal of Urban Health*, *99*, 82-91.

[45] *See, e.g.,* Cale, J., Plecas, D., Cohen, I. M., & Fortier, S. (2010). An exploratory analysis of factors associated with repeat homicide in Canada. *Homicide Studies*, *14*(2), 159-180; Dobash, R. P., Dobash, R. E., Cavanagh, K., Smith, D., & Medina-Ariza, J. (2007). Onset of offending and life course among men convicted of murder. *Homicide Studies*, *11*(4), 243-271; Kivisto, A. (2015). Male perpetrators of intimate partner homicide: A review and proposed typology. *The Journal of the American Academy of Psychiatry and the Law*, *43*, 300-312; Massachusetts Executive Office of Public Safety and Security. (2009, June). *Massachusetts intimate partner homicide review: An overview of district attorney cases between 2005–2007*. Boston, MA: Office of Public Safety and Security, at https://www.mass.gov/doc/massachusetts-intimate-partner-homicide-review-june-2009/download; Oram, S., Flynn, S. M., Shaw, J., Appleby, L., & Howard, L. M. (2013). Mental illness and domestic homicide: A population-based descriptive study. *Psychiatric Services*, *64*, 1006-1011; Sherman, L., & Harris, H. M. (2013). Increased homicide victimization of suspects arrested for domestic assault: A 23-year follow-up of the Milwaukee Domestic Violence Experiment (MilDVE). *Journal of Experimental Criminology*, *9*, 491-514; Suonpaa, K., Aaltonen, M., Tyni, S., Ellonen, N., & Kivivuori, J. (2023). Post-release outcomes of lethal and non-lethal offenders: Recidivism and participation in employment or education. *Journal of Criminal Justice*, *88*, 1-10; Thomas, K. A., Dichter, M. E., & Matejkowski, J. (2011). Intimate versus nonintimate partner murder: A comparison of offender and situational characteristics. *Homicide Studies*, *15*(3), 291-311; Weizmann-Henelius, G., Gronroos, L., Putkonen, H., Eronen, M., Lindberg, N., & Hakkanen-Nyholm, H. (2012). Gender-specific risk factors for intimate partner homicide–a nationwide register-based study. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence*, *27*(8), 1519-1539. For example, Cale et al. (2010) examined the characteristics of repeat homicide offenders and factors related to homicide recidivism found that that the strongest predictor of repeat homicide was the lack of any employment prior to the first homicide. Further, in terms of comparing intimate partner homicides to other types of homicides, Thomas et al. (2011) examined characteristics among men convicted of killing intimate partners and men convicted of killing non-intimates found that 73% of those who killed their intimate partner were employed compared to 45% of the men who killed non-intimates. Finally, when solely examining samples of males who committed intimate partner homicide, the body of research has found considerable variability in unemployment rates, with rates of unemployment ranging from 13% to 58% (Kistov, 2015; Massachusetts Executive Office of Public Safety and Security, 2009; Oram et al., 2013; Thomas et al., 2011).

[46] *See, e.g.,* Carmichael, H., Steward, L., & Velopulos, C. G. (2019). It doesn't just happen to "other" people – An exploration of occupation and education level of women who die from intimate partner violence. *The American Journal of Science*, *218*(4), 744-748; Caywood, T. (1998). Routine activities and urban homicides: A tale of two cities. *Homicide Studies*, *2*(1), 64-82; Greenall, P. V., & Richardson, C. (2015). Adult male-on-female stranger sexual homicide: Descriptive (baseline) study from Great Britain. *Homicide Studies*, *19*(3), 237-256; Kposowa, A. J., & Johnson K. A. C. (2016). A cohort analysis of employment status and homicide victimization in the United States.

Sociological Spectrum, *36*(2), 93-108; Rogers, R., G., Rosenblatt, R., Hummer, R. A., & Krueger, P. M. (2001). Black-White differentials in adult homicide mortality in the United States. *Social Science Quarterly*, *82*(3), 435-452; Vieraitis, L. M., Kovandzic, T. V., & Britto, S. (2008). Women's status and risk of homicide victimization: An analysis with data disaggregated by victim-offender relationship. *Homicide Studies*, *12*(2), 163-176.

[47] *See, e.g.,* Kposowa, A. J., & Johnson K. A. C. (2016). A cohort analysis of employment status and homicide victimization in the United States. *Sociological Spectrum*, *36*(2), 93-108. Note: these authors did not provide a theoretical explanation for the difference in homicide rates observed between employed and unemployed White and Black victims. They discussed how unemployment could generally increase instances of associating with individuals who were experiencing the same frustrations that come with job loss, "breakdown of social integration", and unemployment, as well as creating changes in neighborhood of residence, leisure activities, and friendship patterns that could explain homicide victimization.

[48] Greenall, P. V., & Richardson, C. (2015). Adult male-on-female stranger sexual homicide: Descriptive (baseline) study from Great Britain. *Homicide Studies*, *19*(3), 237-256.

[49] *See, e.g.,* WISQARS National Violent Death Reporting System (NVDRS) at https://www.cdc.gov/nvdrs/about/?CDC_AAref_Val=https://www.cdc.gov/violenceprevention/datasources/nvdrs/index.html; Fowler, K.A., Leavitt, R.A., Betz, C.J., Yuan, K., & Dahlberg, L.L. (2021). Examining differences between mass, multiple, and single-victim homicides to inform prevention: Findings from the National Violent Death Reporting System. *Injury Epidemiology, 8*, (49), https://doi.org/10.1186/s40621-021-00345-7, at Table 1.

[50] Federal Bureau of Investigation. (2022). *Crime data explorer. 2022 homicides.* https://cde.ucr.cjis.gov/LATEST/webapp/#/pages/explorer/crime/crime-trend.

[51] *See, e.g.,* Kravitz-Wirtz, N., Bruns, A., Aubel, A. J., Zhang, X., & Buggs, S. A. (2022). Inequities in community exposure on deadly gun violence by race/ethnicity, poverty, and neighborhood disadvantage among youth in large US cities. *Journal of Urban Health*, *99*, 619-625.

[52] *See, e.g.,* Beard, J H., Morrison, C. N., Jacoby, S. F., Dong, B., Smith, R., Sims, C. A., & Wiebe, D. J. (2017). Quantifying disparities in urban firearm violence by race and place in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania: A cartographic study. *American Journal of Public Health*, *107*(3), 371-373; Cheon, C., Lin, Y., Harding, D. J., Wang, W., & Small, D. S. (2020), Neighborhood racial composition and gun homicides. *JAMA Network Open*, *3*(11), e2027591; Jay, J., Miratrix, L .W., Branas, C. C., Zimmerman, M. A., & Hemenway, D. (2019). Urban building demolitions, firearm violence and drug crime. *Journal of Behavioral Medicine*, *42*, 626-634; Magee, L. A. (2020). Community-level social processes and firearm shooting events: A multi-level analysis. *Journal of Urban Health*, *97*, 296-305; Thomas, S., A., Harris, C. T., & Grant, D. (2022). Exploring the influence of elements of the social and physical environment on neighborhood gun crime. *American Journal of Criminal Justice*, *47*, 370-398.

[53] *See, e.g.,* Bailey, Z. D., Krieger, N., Agénor, M., Graves, J., Linos, N., & Bassett, M. T. (2017). Structural racism and health inequities in the USA: Evidence and interventions. *Lancet*, 389(10077), 1453–1463; Beard, J. H., & Sims, C. A. (2017). Structural causes of urban firearm violence: A trauma surgeon's view from Philadelphia. *JAMA Surgery*, *152*(6), 515–516; Jacoby, S. F., Dong, B., Beard, J. H., Wiebe, D. J., & Morrison, C. N. (2018). The enduring impact of historical and structural racism on urban violence in Philadelphia. *Social Science in Medicine*, *199,* 87–95; Mueller, K. L., Moran, V., Anwuri, V., Foraker, R. E., Mancini, M. A. (2022). An exploration of factors impacting implementation of a multisystem hospital-based violence intervention program. *Health and Social Care in the Community*, *30*, e6577-e6585; Walker, G.N., McLone, S., Mason, M., & Sheehan, K. (2016). Rates of firearm homicide by Chicago region, age, sex, and race/ ethnicity, 2005-2010*. Journal of Trauma and Acute Care Surgery*, *81*(4), S48-S53; Kegler, S. R., Dahlberg, L., L., & Vivolo-Kantor, A. M. (2021). A descriptive exploration of the geographic and sociodemographic concentration of firearm homicide in the United States, 2004–2018. *Preventive Medicine*, *153*, 106767; Cheon, C., Lin, Y., Harding, D. J., Wang, W., & Small, D. S. (2020). Neighborhood racial composition and gun homicides. *JAMA Network Open*, *3*(11), e2027591; Fowler, K. A., Dahlberg, L. L., Haileyesus, T., Gutierrez, C., & Bacon, S. (2017). Childhood firearm injuries in the United States. *Pediatrics, 140*, e20163486; Kravitz-Wirtz, N., Bruns, A., Aubel, A. J., Zhang, X., & Buggs, S. A. (2022). Inequities in community exposure on deadly gun violence by race/ethnicity, poverty, and neighborhood disadvantage among youth in large US cities. *Journal of Urban Health*, 99, 610-625.

[54] United States Census Bureau. *American Community Survey Data for 2022 - Virginia, Male, African American, Population* at https://www.census.gov/programs-surveys/acs/data/data-via-ftp.html. This data source showed that African American males comprised 9% (785,066 of 8,683,619) of Virginia's population in 2022.

[55] Virginia Department of Health. (2023, July). *Office of the Chief Medical Examiner annual report, 2021,* at p. 2: "Black males were victims of homicide at a rate 11.5 times that of White males, 10.0 times that of Hispanic males, and 6.9 times that of Black females."

[56] Fridel, E. E., & Fox, J. A. (2019). Gender differences in patterns and trends in U.S. homicide, 1976-2017. *Violence and Gender*, *6*(1), 27-36.

[57] Virginia State Police. Virginia crime online portal*, Murder and non-negligent manslaughter by city or county and by incident clearance, 2017-2022,* at https://va.beyond2020.com/va_public/Browse/browsetables.aspx. Note: A crime can be cleared through arrest or by exceptional means such as the confession by an individual already in custody or death of a suspect before apprehension.

[58] *Id.*

[59] *See, e.g.,* Braga, A. (2021). *Improving police clearance rates of shootings: A review of the evidence*. Manhattan Institute: New York, NY, at https://media4.manhattan-institute.org/sites/default/files/improving-police-clearance-rates-shootings-review-evidence-AB.pdf; Braga, A. A., Turchan, B., & Barao, L. (2019). The influence of investigative resources on homicide clearances. *Journal of Quantitative Criminology*, *35*, 337-364; Brookman, F., Maguire, E. R., & Maguire, M. (2019). What factors influence whether homicide cases are solved? Insights from qualitative research with detectives in Great Britain and the United States. *Homicide Studies*, *23*(2), 145-174.

[60] *See, e.g.,* Braga, A. (2021). *Improving police clearance rates of shootings: A review of the evidence*. Manhattan Institute: New York, NY, at https://media4.manhattan-institute.org/sites/default/files/improving-police-clearance-rates-shootings-review-evidence-AB.pdf; Braga, A. A., Turchan, B., & Barao, L. (2019). The influence of investigative resources on homicide clearances. *Journal of Quantitative Criminology*, *35*, 337-364; Federal Bureau of Investigation. (2019). *Table 25, Percent of Offenses Cleared by Arrest or Exceptional Means, 2019,* at https://ucr.fbi.gov/crime-in-the-u.s/2019/crime-in-the-u.s.-2019/topic-pages/tables/table-25.

[61] *See, e.g.,* Federal Bureau of Investigation. (2022). *Table 25, Percent of Offenses Cleared by Arrest or Exceptional Means, 2022,* at https://cde.ucr.cjis.gov/LATEST/webapp/#.

[62] *See, e.g.,* Bjerk, D. (2022). Does greater police funding help catch more murderers? *Journal of Empirical Legal Studies*, *19*, 528-559; Braga, A. (2021). *Improving police clearance rates of shootings: A review of the evidence*. Manhattan Institute: New York, NY, at https://media4.manhattan-institute.org/sites/default/files/improving-police-clearance-rates-shootings-review-evidence-AB.pdf; Brookman, F., Maguire, E. R., & Maguire, M. (2019). What factors influence whether homicide cases are solved? Insights from qualitative research with detectives in Great Britain and the United States. *Homicide Studies*, *23*(2), 145-174.

[63] *See, e.g.,* Bjerk, D. (2022). Does greater police funding help catch more murderers? *Journal of Empirical Legal Studies*, *19*, 528-559; Braga, A. (2021). *Improving police clearance rates of shootings: A review of the evidence*. Manhattan Institute: New York, NY, at https://media4.manhattan-institute.org/sites/default/files/improving-police-clearance-rates-shootings-review-evidence-AB.pdf; Braga, A. A., Turchan, B., & Barao, L. (2019). The influence of investigative resources on homicide clearances. *Journal of Quantitative Criminology*, *35*, 337-364; Brookman, F., Maguire, E. R., & Maguire, M. (2019). What factors influence whether homicide cases are solved? Insights from qualitative research with detectives in Great Britain and the United States. *Homicide Studies*, *23*(2), 145-174; Cook, P. J., Braga, A. A., Turchan, B. S., & Barao, L. M. (2019). Why do gun murders have a higher clearance rate than gunshot assaults? *Criminology & Public Policy*, *18*, 525-551; Cook, P. J., & Mancik, A. (2024). The sixty-year trajectory of homicide clearance rates: Toward a better understanding of the great decline. *Annual Review of Criminology*, *7*, 3.1-3.25.

[64] *See, e.g.,* Bjerk, D. (2022). Does greater police funding help catch more murderers? *Journal of Empirical Legal Studies*, *19*, 528-559; Roberts, A. (2015). Adjusting rates of homicide clearance by arrest for investigation difficulty: Modeling incident- and jurisdiction-level obstacles. *Homicide Studies*, *19*(3), 273-300.

[65] *See, e.g.,* Bjerk, D. (2022). Does greater police funding help catch more murderers? *Journal of Empirical Legal Studies*, *19*, 528-559; Mancik, A. M., Parker, K. F., & Williams, K. R. (2018). Neighborhood context and homicide clearance: Estimating the effects of collective efficacy. *Homicide Studies*, *22*, 188-123; Petersen, N. (2017).

Neighbourhood context and unsolved murders: The social ecology of homicide investigations. *Policing and Society*, *27*(4), 372-392

[66] *See, e.g.,* Cook, P., Braga, A., Turchan, B., & Barao, L. (2019). Why do gun murders have a higher clearance rate than gunshot assaults? *Criminology & Public Policy*, *18*(3), 525-551.

[67] *See, e.g.,* Regoeczi, W. C., Jarvis, J., & Mancik, A. (2020). Homicide investigations in context: Exploring explanations for the divergent impacts of victim race, gender, elderly victims, and firearms on homicide clearances. *Homicide Studies*, *24*(1), 25-44.

[68] *See, e.g.,* Bjerk, D. (2022). Does greater police funding help catch more murderers? *Journal of Empirical Legal Studies*, *19*, 528-559; Cook, P., Braga, A., Turchan, B., & Barao, L. (2019). Why do gun murders have a higher clearance rate than gunshot assaults? *Criminology & Public Policy*, *18*(3), 525-551; Regoeczi, W. C., Jarvis, J., & Mancik, A. (2020). Homicide investigations in context: Exploring explanations for the divergent impacts of victim race, gender, elderly victims, and firearms on homicide clearances. *Homicide Studies*, *24*(1), 25-44.

[69] *See, e.g.,* Addington, L. A. (2006). Using national incident-based reporting system murder data to evaluate clearance predictors: A research note. *Homicide Studies*, *10*(2),140-152; Addington, L. A. (2007). Hot vs. cold cases: Examining time to clearance for homicides using NIBRS data. *Justice Research and Policy*, *9*(2), 87-112.

[70] *See, e.g.,* Alderden, M. A., & Lavery, T. A. (2007). Predicting homicide clearances in Chicago: Investigating disparities in predictors across different types of homicide. *Homicide Studies*, *11*(2), 115-132; McEwen, T., & Regoeczi, W. (2015). Forensic evidence in homicide investigations and prosecutions. *Journal of Forensic Science*s, *60*(5), 1188-1198; Regoeczi, W., Jarvis, J.,& Riedel, M. (2008). Clearing murders: Is it about time? *Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency*, *45,* 142-162.

[71] *See, e.g.,* Baskin D., & Sommers, I. (2010). The influence of forensic evidence on the case of homicide incidents. *Journal of Criminal Justice*, *38*, 1141-1149; Peterson, J., Sommers, I., Baskin, D., & Johnson, D. (2010). *The role and impact of forensic evidence in the criminal justice process*. National Institute of Justice: Washington, DC, at https://www.ojp.gov/pdffiles1/nij/grants/231977.pdf.

[72] *See, e.g.,* McEwen, T., & Regoeczi, W. (2015). Forensic evidence in homicide investigations and prosecutions. *Journal of Forensic Science*s, *60*(5), 1188-1198; Schroeder, D., & White, M. (2009). Exploring the use of DNA evidence in homicide investigations: Implications for detective work and case clearance. *Police Quarterly*, *12*, 319-342.

[73] *See, e.g.,* Litwin, K. J. (2004). A multilevel multivariate analysis of factors affecting homicide clearances. *Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency*, *41*, 327-351; Regoeczi, W., Jarvis, J., & Riedel, M. (2008). Clearing murders: Is it about time? *Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency*, *45*, 142-162.

[74] *See, e.g.,* Bjerk, D. (2022). Does greater police funding help catch more murderers? *Journal of Empirical Legal Studies*, *19*, 528-559; Braga, A. (2021). *Improving police clearance rates of shootings: A review of the evidence*. Manhattan Institute.

[75] *See, e.g.,* Alderden, M. A., & Lavery, T. A. (2007). Predicting homicide clearances in Chicago: Investigating disparities in predictors across diferent types of homicide. *Homicide Studies*, *11*(2), 115-132; Braga, A. A., Turchan, B., & Barao, L. (2019). The influence of investigative resources on homicide clearances. *Journal of Quantitative Criminology*, *35*, 337-364; DeCarlo, A. (2016). A reason for reasonable doubt in social justice: The weight of poverty, race and gender in lopsided homicide case clearances outcomes. *Contemporary Social Science*, *11*, 362-372; Fagan, J., & Geller, A. (2018). Police, race, and the production of capital homicides. *Berkeley Journal of Criminal Law*, *23*(2), 261-313; McEwen, T., & Regoeczi, W. (2015). Forensic evidence in homicide investigations and prosecutions. *Journal of Forensic Science*s, *60*(5), 1188-1198; Regoeczi, W., Jarvis, J.,& Riedel, M. (2008). Clearing murders: Is it about time? *Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency*, *45,* 142-162; Roberts, A., & Lyons, C. (2011). Hispanic victims and homicide clearance by arrest. *Homicide Studies*, *15*, 48-73.

[76] *See, e.g.,* Regoeczi, W., & Jarvis, J. (2013). Beyond the social production of homicide rates: Extending social disorganization theory to explain homicide case outcomes. *Justice Quarterly*, *30*, 983-1014; Rydberg, J., & Pizarro, J. (2014). Victim lifestyle as a correlate of homicide clearance. *Homicide Studies*, *18*, 342-362; Schroeder, D., & White, M. (2009). Exploring the use of DNA evidence in homicide investigations: Implications for detective work and case clearance. *Police Quarterly*, *12*, 319-342.

[77] *See, e.g.,* Braga, A. A., Turchan, B., & Barao, L. (2019). The influence of investigative resources on homicide clearances. *Journal of Quantitative Criminology*, *35*, 337-364; Hawk, S. R., & Dabney, D. A. (2014). Are all cases

treated equal? Using Goffman's frame analysis to understand how homicide detectives orient to their work. *British Journal of Criminology*, *54*, 1129-1147; Rydberg, J., & Pizarro, J. (2014). Victim lifestyle as a correlate of homicide clearance. *Homicide Studies*, *18*, 342-362.

[78] Baskin D., & Sommers, I. (2010). The influence of forensic evidence on the case of homicide incidents. *Journal of Criminal Justice*, *38*, 1141-1149.

[79] *See, e.g.,* Braga, A. A., Turchan, B., & Barao, L. (2019). The influence of investigative resources on homicide clearances. *Journal of Quantitative Criminology*, *35*, 337-364; Jarvis, J. P., Mancik, A., & Regoeczi, W. C. (2017). Police responses to violent crime: Reconsidering the mobilization of law. *Criminal Justice Review*, *42*, 5-25.

[80] *See, e.g.,* Regoeczi, W., & Jarvis, J. (2013). Beyond the social production of homicide rates: Extending social disorganization theory to explain homicide case outcomes. *Justice Quarterly*, *30*, 983-1014.

[81] *See, e.g.,* Bjerk, D. (2022). Does greater police funding help catch more murderers? *Journal of Empirical Legal Studies*, *19*, 528-559; Braga, A. A., Turchan, B., & Barao, L. (2019). The influence of investigative resources on homicide clearances. *Journal of Quantitative Criminology*, *35*, 337-364; Carter, D. L., & Carter J. G. (2016). Effective police homicide investigations: Evidence from seven cities with high clearance rates. *Homicide Studies*, *20*(2), 150-176; Cook, P. J., Braga, A. A., Turchan, B. S., & Barao, L. M. (2019). Why do gun murders have a higher clearance rate than gunshot assaults? *Criminology & Public Policy*, *18*, 525-551. This body of research discusses how a culture devoted to innovation, strong community policing, and working with external agencies assisted with the high rates of clearance, as well as how certain investigation procedures including peer review of open cases, standardization of investigation practices, increased number of homicide detectives working cases, increased assistance from other criminal justice organizations, and decreases in homicide unit response times helped to improve homicide case clearance rates.

[82] Staff identified these 870 individuals convicted of intentional homicide in the Virginia State Police CCRE data; however, additional convicted individuals were identified through court records for staff's criminal history record review. In order for an offense to be applied to a person's criminal history record, the defendant's fingerprints must be submitted or transmitted to the CCRE. In some instances, fingerprints may have been obtained for an offense, but there was a submission error where the fingerprints did not reach the CCRE. In other instances, information for an offense may have been submitted to the CCRE without fingerprints. In either instance, the offense is placed in a "Hold File" within the CCRE until a fingerprint is submitted to the CCRE and the offense is applied to a person's criminal history record. Examining court records in addition to the CCRE allowed staff to identify an additional 60 individuals who were convicted of an intentional homicide that occurred between 2017 and 2022 in Virginia.

[83] *See, e.g.,* Braga, A. A., & Cook, P. J. (2016). The criminal records of gun offenders. *Georgetown Journal of Law & Public Policy*, *14*(1), 1-16; Cook, P. J., Ludwig, J., & Braga, A. A. (2005). Criminal records of homicide offenders. *Journal of the American Medical Association*, *294*, 598-601; DeLisi, M., Hochstetler, A., Scherer, A. M., Purhmann, A., & Berg, M. T. (2008). The Starkweather Syndrome: Exploring criminal history antecedents of homicidal crime sprees. *Criminal Justice Studies*, *21*, 37-47; DeLisi, M., & Scherer, A. M. (2006). Multiple homicide offenders: Offense characteristics, social correlates, and criminal careers. *Criminal Justice and Behavior*, *33*, 367-391; Dobash, R. P., Dobash, R. E., Cavanagh, K., Smith, D., & Medina-Ariza, J. (2007). Onset of offending and life course among men convicted of murder. *Homicide Studies*, *11*, 243-271; Liem, M. (2013). Homicide offender recidivism: A review of the literature. *Aggression and Violent Behavior*, *18*, 19-25; Trojan, C., & Salfati, G. (2016). Criminal history of homicide offenders: A multi-dimensional analysis of criminal specialization. *Journal of Criminal Psychology*, *6*(1), 28-41.

[84] Individuals were identified by examining raw data from the Virginia State Police Central Criminal Records Exchange (CCRE), Office of the Executive Secretary of the Supreme Court of Virginia's court management systems, Fairfax Circuit Court case management system, and Alexandria Circuit Court case management system. Initially, staff identified 870 individuals convicted of intentional homicide in the CCRE data; however, additional convicted individuals were identified through court records for staff's criminal history record review. Ultimately, 930 individuals were identified as having been convicted of an intentional homicide that occurred in Virginia between 2017 and 2022. Note: Five of the 930 defendants were convicted for intentional homicides occurring on two distinct dates. In these instances, the defendant was not apprehended until after the second intentional homicide occurred.

[85] A number of data sources were linked between the in-state computerized criminal history (CCH) records from the Virginia State Police's Central Criminal Records Exchange (CCRE) with the status of the 930 individuals convicted of intentional homicide at the time of their homicide event, including: Virginia Department of Corrections (whether under state probation or parole supervision), Virginia Department of Criminal Justice Services (whether on pretrial services agency supervision or local community corrections supervision), and the Virginia State Police (protective order case management system).

[86] Of the 394 pending charges, 204 were pending felony charges and 190 were pending misdemeanors.

[87] *See, e.g.,* Braga, A. A., Weisburd, D., & Turchan, B. (2018). Focused deterrence strategies and crime control: An updated system review and meta-analysis of the empirical evidence. *Criminology & Public Policy*, *17*(1), 205-250; McManus, H. D., Engel, R. S., Cherkauskas, J. C., Light, S. C., & Shoulberg, A. M. (2020). *Street violence crime reduction strategies: A review of the evidence.* University of Cincinnati Center for Police Research and Policy, at https://www.theiacp.org/sites/default/files/Research%20Center/Violence%20Reduction%20Literature%20Review.pdf.

[88] *See, e.g.,* Fox, B., Allen, S. F., & Toth, A. (2022). Evaluating the impact of Project Safe Neighborhoods (PSN) initiative on violence and gun crime in Tampa: Does it work and does it last? *Journal of Experimental Criminology*, *18*, 543-567. Braga, A. A., Weisburd, D., & Turchan, B. (2018). Focused deterrence strategies and crime control: An updated system review and meta-analysis of the empirical evidence. *Criminology & Public Policy*, *17*(1), 205-250. Kennedy, D.M. 2006. Old wine in new bottles: Policing and the lessons of pulling levers. In (David L. Weisburd and Anthony Braga, eds.), *Police innovation: Contrasting perspectives*. New York: Cambridge University Press; Braga, A. A., Kennedy, D. M., Waring, E. J., & Piehl, A. M. (2001). Problem-oriented policing, deterrence, and youth violence: An evaluation of Boston's operation ceasefire. *Journal of Research in Crime & Delinquency*, *38*, 195-226; Papachristos, A. V., Meares, T. L., & Fagan, J. (2007). Attention felons: Evaluating Project Safe Neighborhoods in Chicago. *Journal of Empirical Legal Studies*, *4*, 223-272. As this body of research indicates, evidence-based violent crime prevention has taken various forms. There are place-based interventions such as proactive police patrols that target crime "hot spots" that are deemed high risk. Additionally, there are person-based interventions that are deterrence-based strategies that employ actions of law enforcement, increased sanctions, and social services that are focused toward known high risk offenders. Place-based strategies such as focused deterrence strategies, or "pulling levers", have been increasingly utilized in communities across the United States in an effort to reduce instances of serious violent crime. There are several key features of focused deterrence strategies. However, when utilizing a focused deterrence framework, it is important for communities understand the specific targeted crime problem to be addressed and "customize a response to identified underlying conditions and dynamics that fits both local community contexts and the operational capacities of criminal justice, social service, and community-based agencies." Evaluations of focused deterrence strategies have found that they are effective in suppressing crime.

[89] *See, e.g.,* McManus, H. D., Engel, R. S., Cherkauskas, J. C., Light, S. C., & Shoulberg, A. M. (2020). *Street violence crime reduction strategies: A review of the evidence*. University of Cincinnati Center for Police Research and Policy, at https://www.theiacp.org/sites/default/files/Research%20Center/Violence%20Reduction%20Literature%20Review.pdf; Butts, J. A., Roman, C. G., Bostwick, L., & Porter, J. R. (2015). Cure Violence: A public health model to reduce gun violence. *Annual Review of Public Health*, *36*, 39-53; Milam, A., Furr-Holden, C. D., Leaf, P., & Webster, D. (2018). Managing conflicts in urban communities: Youth attitudes regarding gun violence. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence*, *33*(24), 3815-3828; Whitehill, J. M., Webster, D. W., Frattaroli, S., & Parker, E. M. (2013). Interrupting violence: How the CeaseFire Program prevents imminent gun violence through conflict mediation. *Journal of Urban Health: Bulletin of the New York Academy of Medicine*, *91*(1), 84-95; Petrosino, A., Campie, P., Pace, J., Fronius, T., Guckenburg, S., Wiatrowski, M., & Rivera, L. (2015). Cross-sector, multi-agency interventions to address urban youth firearms violence: A rapid evidence assessment. *Aggression and Violent Behavior, 22*, 87-96; Welsh, B. C., Braga, A. A., & Sullivan, C. J. (2014). Serious youth violence and innovative prevention: On the emerging link between public health and criminology. *Justice Quarterly*, *31*, 500-523; Picard-Fritsche, S., & Cerniglia, L. (2013). *Testing a public health approach to gun violence: An evaluation of Crown Heights Save Our Streets, a replication of the Cure Violence Model*. New York, NY: Center for Court Innovation, at https://www.innovatingjustice.org/sites/default/files/documents/SOS_Evaluation.pdf; Skogan, W. G., Hartnett, S.

M., Bump, N., & Dubois, J. (2008). *Evaluation of CeaseFire Chicago*. Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Justice, Office of Justice Programs, National Institute of Justice, at https://www.ojp.gov/pdffiles1/nij/grants/227181.pdf; Webster, D. W., Mendel Whitehall, J., Vernick, J. S., & Parker, E. M. (2012). *Evaluation of Baltimore's Safe Streets program: Effects on attitudes, participants' experiences, and gun violence*. Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins Bloomberg School of Public Health, at https://www.jhsph.edu/research/centers-and-institutes/center-for-prevention-of-youth-violence/field_reports/2012_01_11.Executive%20SummaryofSafeStreetsEval.pdf; Wilson, J. M., & Chermak, S. (2011). Community-driven violence reduction programs: Examining Pittsburgh's One Vision One Life. *Criminology & Public Policy, 10*, 993- 1027. This body of research examines how communities have implemented community-led public health interventions to address community violence. The public health approach to community violence reduction regards violence as a community problem and endeavors to address larger conditions that have been shown to impact the health of community populations. These programs seek to change the attitudes of community members towards violence and address the social norms that uphold violence and retaliatory behavior. These interventions provide various resources to community residents that are delivered by numerous community stakeholders. The role of law enforcement varies across these types of interventions. In some interventions, law enforcement agencies are considered one of the many partners that participate; whereas, other interventions operate without any law enforcement involvement. Many community-led interventions have a primary prevention and secondary prevention focus. Therefore, many of the outcome variables examined during evaluations of their efficacy are associated with risk and protective factors instead of violence-related factors.

[90] *See, e.g.,* Evans, D., & Vega, A. (2018). Critical care: The important role of hospital-based violence intervention programs. New York, NY: Research and Evaluation Center, John Jay College of Criminal Justice, City University of New York, Foje, N., Raposo-Hadley, A. A., Farrens, A., Burt, J., Evans, C. H., Bauman, Z. M., Armstrong, G., Foxall, M., & Garman, J. (2022). Baseline needs assessment for a hospital-based violence intervention program 1-year pilot. *Trauma Care*, *2*, 373-380; National Network of Hospital-based Violence Intervention Programs. (2019). NNHVIP Policy White Paper: Hospital-based violence intervention: Practices and policing to end the cycle of violence. 1-16, at https://static1.squarespace.com/static/5d6f61730a2b610001135b79/t/5d83c0d9056f4d4cbdb9acd9/1568915699707/NNHVIP+White+Paper.pdf; Ranjan, S., Shah, A. K., Strange, C. C., & Stillman, K. (2021). Hospital-based violence intervention: Strategies for cultivating internal support, community partnerships, and strengthening practitioner engagement. *Journal of Aggression, Conflict and Peace Research*, *14*(1), 14-25; Mueller, K. L., Moran, V., Anwuri, V., Foraker, R. E., Mancini, M. A. (2022). An exploration of factors impacting implementation of a multisystem hospital-based violence intervention program. *Health and Social Care in the Community*, *30*(6), e6577-e6585; Watkins, J., Scoggins, M., Cheaton, B. M., Nimmer, M., Levas, M. N., Baumer-Mouradian, S. H., & Melzer-Lange, M. D. (2021). Assessing improvements in emergency department referrals to a hospital-based violence intervention program. *Injury Epidemiology, 8*. doi: 10.1186/s40621-021-00333-x; Monopoli, W. J., Myers, R. K., Paskewich, B. S., Bevans, K. B., & Fein, J. A. (2021). Generating a core set of outcomes for hospital-based violence intervention programs. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence*, *36*(9-10), 4771-4786; Chong, V. E., Smith, R., Garcia, A., Lee, W.S., Ashley, L., Marks, A., Liu, T.H., & Victorino, G.P. (2015). Hospital-centered violence intervention programs: A cost-effectiveness analysis. *The American Journal of Surgery*, *209*(4), 597-603; Purtle, J., Rich, J. A., Fein, J. A., James, T., & Corbin, T. J. (2015). Hospital based violence prevention: Progress and opportunities. *Annals of Internal Medicine*, *163*(9), 715–717. This body of research discusses how hospital-based violence intervention programs have been implemented across communities to reduce community violence. Hospital-based violence intervention programs are another public health approach to addressing community violence. Hospitals are viewed as a having a unique opportunity to engage in violence intervention due to hospitals being the main location where individuals who experience non-fatal firearm injuries go to for care and having access to victims immediately following their injury when they are most likely to be open to positive changes to their behavior. These programs recognize that there are risk factors that are related to violent injury and re-injury such as poverty, substance use, poor education, lack of employment opportunities, recidivism, and violent injury. Hospital-based violence intervention programs address these risks by utilizing both hospital and community-based resources in addition to intensive case management for those at the highest risk of re-injury. The goals of these programs are to break the cycle of violence (violent victimization)*,* decrease violent re-injury rate*,* change social norms that equate violence with respect*,* reduce criminal justice involvement*,* and to provide victims and their families with culturally competent,

multidimensional, and inclusive intervention programs*.* Hospital based violence intervention programs are typically implemented in urban areas. There are common elements across programs, however, the programs are customized to meet the needs of the community that is served. In assessing outcomes, researchers indicate that it is imperative to ensure that the outcomes examined are important to those who are most impacted by the program and represent the priorities of the program. Hospital based violence intervention programs have been found to be effective in reducing retaliations, recidivism, hospitalizations, hostility and aggression and assisting with educational attainment, housing, employment, family counseling, and court advocacy.

[91] *See, e.g.,* Bailey, J. A., Jacovides, C. L., Butler, D., Bass, G. A., Seamon, M. J., Cannon, J., Martin, N. D. (2023). Adolescent gun violence shows and age group to focus trauma prevention. *Journal of Surgical Research*, *283*, 853-857; Butts, J. A., Roman, C. G., Bostwick, L., & Porter, J. R. (2015). Cure Violence: A public health model to reduce gun violence. *Annual Review of Public Health*, *36*, 39-53; McManus, H. D., Engel, R. S., Cherkauskas, J. C., Light, S. C., & Shoulberg, A. M. (2020). *Street violence crime reduction strategies: A review of the evidence*. University of Cincinnati Center for Police Research and Policy, at https://www.theiacp.org/sites/default/files/Research%20Center/Violence%20Reduction%20Literature%20Review.pdf; Stewart, D., Jessop, N., & Watson-Thompson, J. (2021). Examining conflict mediation to prevent violence through multisector partnerships. *Peace and Conflict: Journal of Peace Psychology*, *27*(2), 170-181; Harmon-Darrow, C. (2022). Conflict resolution interventions and tertiary violence prevention among urban nonintimate adults: A review of the literature. *Trauma, Violence, & Abuse*, *23*(1), 3-19; Whitehill, J. M., Webster, D. W., Frattaroli, S., & Parker, E. M. (2013). Interrupting violence: How the CeaseFire Program prevents imminent gun violence through conflict mediation. *Journal of Urban Health: Bulletin of the New York Academy of Medicine*, *91*(1), 84-95; Webster, D. W., Mendel Whitehall, J., Vernick, J. S., & Parker, E. M. (2012). *Evaluation of Baltimore's Safe Streets program: Effects on attitudes, participants' experiences, and gun violence*. Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins Bloomberg School of Public Health, at https://www.jhsph.edu/research/centers-and-institutes/center-for-prevention-of-youth violence/field_reports/2012_01_11.Executive%20SummaryofSafeStreetsEval.pdf. This body of research discusses how a component of many community-based violence intervention programs is the use of conflict resolution to mediate community gun violence. For example, there are three components of *Cure Violence* that include the identification and interruption of conflicts, identification of individuals who are at high risk for engaging in violence and interfering to change behaviors, and changing social norms that are in support of violence. In this program, conflict mediation involves de-escalation tactics that can range from the brief "talking down" of both sides involved in the conflict to longer face-to-face conversations with all parties. *Cure Violence* utilizes violence interrupters to mediate ongoing interpersonal conflict among community residents. Violence interrupters seek to prevent retaliatory shooting and engagement in other violent activities. In Baltimore, reductions in homicides were found in neighborhoods that experienced a greater number of conflict mediations. The use of conflict mediation has been expanded to include the greater community in addition to those directly involved in violence within communities. For example, the *Aim4Peace Violence Prevention Program* implemented Community Classrooms in an effort to foster a culture of peace within communities that experience high rates of community violence. Through these Community Classrooms, community residents were trained in conflict resolution techniques that focused on avoiding or deescalating conflict within the community. Training focused on decision making, problem solving skills, reasons for anger and conflict, alternatives to violence, and utilizing nonviolent communication.

[92] *See, e.g.,* Blount, K. (2024). Using artificial intelligence to prevent crime: Implications for due process and criminal justice. *AI & Society*, *39*(1), 359-368; Lavorgna, A., & Ugwudike, P. (2021). The datafication revolution in criminal justice: An empirical exploration of frames portraying data-driven technologies for crime prevention and control. *Big Data & Society*, *8*(2), https://doi.org/10.1177/20539517211049670; Piza, E. L., Welsh, B., C., Farrington, D. P., & Thomas, A. L. (2019). CCTV surveillance for crime prevention: A 40-year systematic review with meta-analysis. *Criminology & Public Policy*, *18*(1), 135-159; Wood, M. A., Ross, S., & Johns, D. (2021). Primary crime prevention apps: A typology and scoping review. *Trauma, Violence, & Abuse*, *23*(4), https://doi.org/10.1177/1524838020985560.

[93] *See, e.g.,* Branas, C. C., Jacoby, S., & Andreyeva, E. (2017). Firearm violence as a disease – "hot people" or "hot spots"? *JAMA Internal Medicine*, *177*(3), 333-334; Branas, C. C., Kondo, M. C., Murphy, S. M., South, E. C., Polsky, D., & MacDonald, J. M. (2016). Urban blight remediation as a cost-beneficial solution to firearm violence. *American*

Journal of Public Health, *106*(12), 2158-2164; Jay, J., Miratrix, L.W., Branas, C. C., Zimmerman, M. A., & Hemenway, D. (2019). Urban building demolitions, firearm violence and drug crime. *Journal of Behavioral Medicine*, *42*, 626-634; Moyer, R., MacDonald, J. M., Ridgeway, G., Branas, C. C. (2019). Effects of remediating blighted vacant land on shootings: A citywide cluster randomized trial. *American Journal of Public Health*, *109*(1), 140-144; Heinze, J. E., Krusky-Morey, A., Vagi, K. J., Reischl, T. M., Franzen, S., Pruett, N. K., et al. (2018). Busy streets theory: The effects of community-engaged greening on violence*. American Journal of Community Psychology*, 6*2*, 101-109; Kondo, M., Hohl, B., Han, S., & Branas, C. (2016). Effects of greening and community reuse of vacant lots on crime. *Urban Studies*, *53*, 3279-3295; Kondo, M. C., Keene, D., Hohl, B. C., MacDonald, J. M., & Branas, C. C. (2015). A difference-in-differences study of the effects of a new abandoned building remediation strategy on safety. *PLoS ONE*, *10*, e0129582; Kondo, M. C., Morrison, C., Jacoby, S. F., Elliot, L., Poche, A., Theall, K. P., et al. (2018). Blight abatement of vacant land and crime in New Orleans. *Public Health Reports, 133*, 650-657. An additional public health approach discussed in the body of research to reduce community violence, specifically community gun violence, is blight remediation programs. Researchers suggest that focusing on structural frameworks such as poverty and blight that exist in in "hot spots" within urban disadvantaged communities can create long term success for firearm violence prevention. These programs focus on the securing of abandoned houses, improving the conditions of vacant lots, and the introduction of green spaces within urban communities. Blight remediation programs have been found to decrease instances of gun violence.

[94] Blair, T. (2024, March 21). *Miyares credits Operation Ceasefire with decrease in murder, other crimes across Virginia*. ABC 8 News. https://www.wric.com/news/virginia-news/miyares-credits-operation-ceasefire-with-decrease-in-murder-other-crimes-across-virginia/; Burns, J. (2024, March 20). *Is Operation Ceasefire working to reduce gun violence in Virginia?* CBS 6 News. https://www.wtvr.com/news/local-news/operation-ceasefire-virginia-march-20-2024; Ceasefire Virginia. (2024). Ceasefire Virginia: Working together to reduce violent crime in Virginia. https://ceasefirevirginia.org/; Fields, O. (2024, March 21). *Attorney General Miyares releases 'Operation Ceasefire' report, murders down 17% in Virginia.* WFXR Fox. https://www.wfxrtv.com/news/regional-news/virginia-news/attorney-general-miyares-releases-operation-ceasefire-report-murders-down-17-in-virginia/.

[95] Bellamy, A. (2023, August 1). *Gov. Younkin updates law enforcement drug, safety initiative 'Operation Bold Blue Line'.* ABC 8 News. https://www.wric.com/news/virginia-news/gov-youngkin-updates-law-enforcement-drug-safety-initiative-operation-bold-blue-line/; Frolo, C. (2023, August 1). *Nearly 900 felony arrests made since the start of Youngkin's Operation Bold Blue Line*. ABC 13 News. https://wset.com/news/local/nearly-900-felony-arrests-made-since-start-of-youngkin-operation-bold-blue-linenfentanyl-illegal-narcotics-currency-virginia-august-2023; Governor of Virginia (2021, July 31). Governor Glenn Younkin celebrates successes of Operation Bold Blue Line partnership. https://www.governor.virginia.gov/newsroom/news-releases/2023/july/name-1010737-en.html; LaRoue, J. (2023, August 3). *Va. governor touts success of Operation Bold Blue Line partnership.* WAVY.com. https://www.wavy.com/news/local-news/va-governor-touts-success-of-operation-bold-blue-line-partnership/.

[96] 2023 Va. Acts, Sp. Sess. I, ch. 1. House Bill 6001 (2023 Sp. Sess. I), Item 408(N)(1)(c), https://budget.lis.virginia.gov/item/2023/2/HB6001/Chapter/1/408/.

[97] 2023 Va. Acts, Sp. Sess. I, ch. 1. House Bill 6001 (2023 Sp. Sess. I), Item 408(N)(2)(c), https://budget.lis.virginia.gov/item/2023/2/HB6001/Chapter/1/408/.

[98] 2023 Va. Acts, Sp. Sess. I, ch. 1. House Bill 6001 (2023 Sp. Sess. I), Item 408(N)(4)(a), https://budget.lis.virginia.gov/item/2023/2/HB6001/Chapter/1/408/.

[99] 2023 Va. Acts, Sp. Sess. I, ch. 1. House Bill 6001 (2023 Sp. Sess. I), Item 408(U), https://budget.lis.virginia.gov/item/2023/2/HB6001/Chapter/1/408/.

[100] 2024 Va. Acts, Sp. Sess. I, ch. 2. House Bill 6001 (2023 Sp. Sess. I), Item 394(N)(1)(c), https://budget.lis.virginia.gov/item/2024/2/HB6001/Chapter/1/394/.

[101] 2024 Va. Acts, Sp. Sess. I, ch. 2. House Bill 6001 (2023 Sp. Sess. I), Item 394(N)(2)(b), https://budget.lis.virginia.gov/item/2024/2/HB6001/Chapter/1/394/.

[102] 2024 Va. Acts, Sp. Sess. I, ch. 2. House Bill 6001 (2023 Sp. Sess. I), Item 394(N)(4)(a), https://budget.lis.virginia.gov/item/2024/2/HB6001/Chapter/1/394/.

[103] 2024 Va. Acts, Sp. Sess. I, ch. 2. House Bill 6001 (2023 Sp. Sess. I), Item 394(R), https://budget.lis.virginia.gov/item/2024/2/HB6001/Chapter/1/394/.

[104] 2024 Va. Acts, Sp. Sess. I, ch. 2. House Bill 6001 (2023 Sp. Sess. I), Item 394(N)(4)(c), https://budget.lis.virginia.gov/item/2024/2/HB6001/Chapter/1/394/.

APPENDIX A: JUVENILE OFFENDERS AND INTENTIONAL HOMICIDE SUMMARY, 2017-2022

Summary: Crime Commission staff requested information from the Virginia Department of Juvenile Justice (DJJ) relating to juveniles convicted or adjudicated delinquent of intentional homicide for offenses occurring between CY2017 and CY2022. There were 97 juveniles identified who were convicted or adjudicated delinquent of an intentional homicide occurring between CY2017 and CY2022. Some offenders were a juvenile at the time of the homicide event but were 18 or older on the date of conviction or adjudication of delinquency.

DEMOGRAPHICS OF JUVENILES CONVICTED OR ADJUDICATED DELINQUENT OF INTENTIONAL HOMICIDE

Sex (n=97)

92% (89 of 97) of the juveniles in the cohort were male.

- **92% (89 of 97) Male**
- 8% (8 of 97) Female

Race (n=97)

73% (71 of 97) of the juveniles in the cohort were Black.

- **73% (71 of 97) Black**
- 16% (16 of 97) White
- 10% (10 of 97) Other

Sex and Race (n=97)

69% (67 of 97) of the juveniles in the cohort were Black males.

- 69% (67 of 97) were Black males
- 13% (13 of 97) were White males
- 9% (9 of 97) were males with an unknown/missing racial classification
- 4% (4 of 97) were Black females
- 3% (3 of 97) were White females
- 1% (1 of 97) was a female with an unknown/missing racial classification

Age at time of Intentional Homicide (n=97)

66% (64 of 97) of the juveniles in the cohort were between the ages of 16 and 17 at the time of the intentional homicide.

- 1% (1 of 97) was 12 years of age
- 4% (4 of 97) were 13 years of age
- 9% (9 of 97) were 14 years of age
- 20% (19 of 97) were 15 years of age
- **29% (28 of 97) were 16 years of age**
- **37% (36 of 97) were 17 years of age**

Convictions/Adjudications by Year of Intentional Homicide Event (n=97)

The following indicates the proportion of convictions by the year the homicide offense occurred (as of October 2023):

- 15% (15 of 97) were convicted/adjudicated delinquent for a 2017 homicide offense.
- 19% (18 of 97) were convicted/adjudicated delinquent for a 2018 homicide offense.
- 14% (14 of 97) were convicted/adjudicated delinquent for a 2019 homicide offense.
- 23% (22 of 97) were convicted/adjudicated delinquent for a 2020 homicide offense.
- 17% (16 of 97) were convicted/adjudicated delinquent for a 2021 homicide offense.
- 12% (12 of 97) were convicted/adjudicated delinquent for a 2022 homicide offense.

Intentional Homicide Offense Code Section (n=97)

Over 90% of juveniles in the cohort were convicted or adjudicated delinquent of first or second degree murder (Virginia Code § 18.2-32).

- 3% (3 of 97) convicted pursuant to § 18.2-31
- **91% (88 of 97) convicted pursuant to § 18.2-32**
- 5% (5 of 97) convicted pursuant to § 18.2-33
- 1% (1 of 97) convicted pursuant to § 18.2-35

Disposition

The disposition status of the juveniles in the cohort was as follows:

- **60% (58 of 97) were adjudicated delinquent/not innocent.**
    - An adjudication order finding the juvenile to be delinquent of a criminal offense.
- **40% (39 of 97) were found guilty by a circuit court.**
    - The charge was appealed or certified to circuit court and the juvenile was found guilty.

APPENDIX B: INTENTIONAL HOMICIDE IN VIRGINIA BY LOCALITY, 2017-2022, VIRGINIA UCR-IBR DATA

Locality	Murder Incidents, 2017-2022	Murder Victims, 2017-2022	Murder Rate p/100,000 2017-2022	Unemployment Rate	Median household income (dollars)	Per capita income (dollars)	Population
Virginia	2,810	3,031	5.8	2.9%	80,615	43,267	8,683,619
Accomack County	29	34	17.1	2.1%	50,601	29,202	33,191
Albemarle County	21	25	3.6	2.1%	90,568	49,942	114,534
Alexandria City	21	22	2.4	2.5%	105,450	68,640	155,525
Alleghany County	6	7	7.9	1.7%	49,705	28,423	14,835
Amelia County	6	6	7.4	2.7%	57,420	32,131	13,455
Amherst County	6	8	4.2	3.1%	60,876	31,583	31,589
Appomattox County	3	3	3.0	2.2%	55,268	29,202	16,748
Arlington County	14	14	1.0	2.2%	128,145	77,535	234,000
Augusta County	7	7	1.5	1.8%	69,082	32,461	78,064
Bath County	1	1	4.1	0.9%	55,807	31,431	4,049
Bedford County	13	13	2.7	1.8%	70,870	36,891	80,848
Bland County	3	3	8.1	1.7%	54,556	24,486	6,148
Botetourt County	3	3	1.5	1.8%	72,941	37,525	34,135
Bristol City	7	7	6.9	2.1%	43,879	27,869	16,975
Brunswick County	5	5	5.2	3.4%	49,597	24,200	15,921
Buchanan County	8	8	6.9	2.2%	37,093	21,975	19,352
Buckingham County	6	6	5.9	3.4%	49,841	23,717	16,982
Buena Vista City	1	1	2.5	0.7%	42,156	32,082	6,591
Campbell County	16	16	4.8	2.6%	53,918	29,143	55,141
Caroline County	3	3	1.6	2.5%	76,528	36,953	31,957

Locality	Murder Incidents, 2017-2022	Murder Victims, 2017-2022	Murder Rate p/100,000 2017-2022	Unemployment Rate	Median household income (dollars)	Per capita income (dollars)	Population
Carroll County	7	7	4.0	2.7%	45,220	26,254	29,147
Charles City County	2	2	5.0	1.9%	59,543	37,059	6,605
Charlotte County	1	1	1.5	2.2%	45,567	25,577	11,475
Charlottesville City	13	17	6.2	2.8%	63,470	42,474	45,373
Chesapeake City	82	91	6.0	3.2%	85,563	38,952	252,488
Chesterfield County	67	73	3.2	3.2%	88,315	41,320	378,408
Clarke County	3	3	3.3	2.3%	86,633	44,129	15,266
Colonial Heights City	8	8	7.3	4.1%	65,570	34,081	18,294
Covington City	3	3	8.8	1.8%	41,242	23,589	5,679
Craig County	3	3	10.3	0.7%	60,283	28,973	4,847
Culpeper County	5	5	1.5	2.7%	85,274	35,826	54,381
Cumberland County	3	3	5.1	1.8%	57,568	32,735	9,746
Danville City	49	52	20.5	3.2%	38,904	24,535	42,229
Dickenson County	5	7	8.5	1.7%	33,905	22,719	13,725
Dinwiddie County	9	9	5.3	3.8%	68,918	32,485	28,161
Division 3 - Education	1	3	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	
Emporia City	9	9	27.4	9.4%	36,111	21,498	5,481
Essex County	3	3	4.7	4.8%	54,375	28,248	10,630
Fairfax City	1	1	0.7	2.6%	118,492	57,091	24,835
Fairfax County	110	124	1.8	2.9%	133,974	61,957	1,138,331
Falls Church city	1	1	1.1	3.8%	155,071	76,354	14,586
Fauquier County	16	18	4.0	1.9%	111,368	49,440	74,664
Floyd County	7	8	8.5	2.0%	51,612	28,832	15,619

Locality	Murder Incidents, 2017-2022	Murder Victims, 2017-2022	Murder Rate p/100,000 2017-2022	Unemployment Rate	Median household income (dollars)	Per capita income (dollars)	Population
Fluvanna County	1	1	0.6	1.7%	82,983	44,913	28,159
Franklin City	11	11	22.2	5.1%	49,424	26,519	8,247
Franklin County	27	29	8.8	1.5%	59,667	33,739	55,074
Frederick County	7	7	1.2	2.4%	84,317	39,429	95,051
Fredericksburg City	12	12	7.0	3.5%	72,293	40,619	28,757
Galax City	1	1	2.5	3.1%	39,808	29,297	6,730
Giles County	4	4	4.1	1.2%	57,911	28,945	16,453
Gloucester County	8	9	3.8	2.0%	77,733	36,361	39,493
Goochland County	5	5	3.2	1.8%	100,517	57,064	26,109
Grayson County	1	3	3.3	2.3%	43,022	24,822	15,343
Greene County	3	3	2.4	2.7%	73,844	35,942	21,107
Greensville County	9	10	14.8	3.5%	53,063	21,938	11,226
Halifax County	22	24	11.9	2.6%	45,962	24,899	33,644
Hampton City	115	120	14.5	3.6%	59,380	32,831	138,037
Hanover County	9	9	1.3	2.1%	96,911	44,911	112,938
Harrisonburg City	12	14	4.6	3.2%	51,055	24,388	51,158
Henrico County	108	115	5.7	2.8%	76,345	43,445	333,962
Henry County	26	28	9.4	3.0%	41,103	24,337	49,906
Highland County	1	1	7.2	7.8%	52,901	28,793	2,301
Hopewell City	26	30	21.8	5.2%	44,209	23,314	22,962
Isle Of Wight County	7	8	3.3	3.6%	84,673	42,122	40,151
James City County	11	12	2.5	2.5%	94,907	47,223	81,199
King and Queen County	2	2	5.0	2.0%	61,672	36,359	6,718

Locality	Murder Incidents, 2017-2022	Murder Victims, 2017-2022	Murder Rate p/100,000 2017-2022	Unemployment Rate	Median household income (dollars)	Per capita income (dollars)	Population
King George County	4	4	2.4	1.9%	101,599	41,157	27,856
King William County	1	1	0.9	2.0%	74,592	33,408	18,492
Lancaster County	4	5	7.8	5.5%	64,460	44,978	10,750
Lee County	9	9	6.8	3.9%	37,574	19,671	21,982
Lexington City	0	0	0.0	1.40%	66,114	23,763	7,457
Loudoun County	19	21	0.8	2.5%	156,821	61,045	432,085
Louisa County	11	11	4.6	3.7%	70,974	38,360	40,116
Lunenburg County	8	8	11.1	2.4%	47,269	23,171	12,031
Lynchburg City	35	35	7.4	3.6%	54,015	26,513	79,287
Madison County	4	4	4.8	3.0%	72,349	35,538	14,000
Manassas City	9	9	3.5	3.7%	101,934	39,460	42,642
Manassas Park City	1	1	1.0	2.3%	90,544	37,363	16,703
Martinsville City	9	10	12.1	3.1%	36,832	23,592	13,725
Mathews County	2	3	5.9	3.4%	73,229	44,684	8,490
Mecklenburg County	18	20	10.9	1.8%	46,378	28,959	30,508
Middlesex County	4	4	6.1	3.3%	63,782	35,510	10,943
Montgomery County	11	11	1.9	2.0%	60,666	30,469	98,915
Nelson County	3	3	3.4	2.7%	67,707	41,790	14,652
New Kent County	6	6	4.0	2.0%	101,628	43,780	24,986
Newport News City	156	161	14.6	3.5%	57,463	33,082	184,306
Norfolk City	271	289	20.7	4.0%	56,244	32,811	232,995
Northampton County	2	2	2.8	2.7%	50,347	34,811	11,900
Northumberland Count	3	3	4.1	3.1%	61,291	41,562	12,302

Locality	Murder Incidents, 2017-2022	Murder Victims, 2017-2022	Murder Rate p/100,000 2017-2022	Unemployment Rate	Median household income (dollars)	Per capita income (dollars)	Population
Norton City	2	3	13.9	4.2%	35,592	25,135	3,609
Nottoway County	7	7	7.5	2.8%	54,614	25,843	15,559
Orange County	6	7	3.1	3.1%	79,211	36,839	37,991
Page County	5	5	3.5	2.6%	53,168	27,214	23,750
Patrick County	5	5	4.7	1.5%	47,215	29,049	17,643
Petersburg City	115	123	61.4	7.4%	44,890	26,091	33,394
Pittsylvania County	20	26	7.2	2.9%	49,486	26,821	59,952
Poquoson City	0	0	0.0	1.00%	112,026	44,265	12,582
Portsmouth City	155	169	29.0	3.7%	54,020	28,520	97,029
Powhatan County	0	0	0.0	1.10%	101,395	43,078	31,489
Prince Edward County	6	6	4.6	2.0%	49,019	21,455	21,927
Prince George County	8	9	3.5	3.7%	78,895	30,199	43,134
Prince William County	61	69	2.4	3.5%	113,831	45,240	486,943
Pulaski County	8	8	4.0	2.0%	55,446	31,071	33,706
Radford City	2	2	2.0	4.2%	44,360	23,229	16,738
Rappahannock County	0	0	0.0	2.20%	90,307	48,672	7,502
Richmond City	375	394	28.6	4.0%	54,795	38,132	229,395
Richmond County	1	1	1.8	1.1%	57,697	25,620	9,080
Roanoke City	87	90	15.3	4.1%	48,476	30,379	97,847
Roanoke County	14	16	2.8	1.8%	74,622	39,999	96,914
Rockbridge County	5	5	3.7	2.9%	57,828	34,342	22,593
Rockingham County	11	13	2.5	2.0%	67,484	34,094	85,397
Russell County	15	16	10.5	3.0%	41,100	23,540	25,448

Locality	Murder Incidents, 2017-2022	Murder Victims, 2017-2022	Murder Rate p/100,000 2017-2022	Unemployment Rate	Median household income (dollars)	Per capita income (dollars)	Population
Salem City	3	3	2.0	2.3%	66,472	36,244	25,523
Scott County	5	6	4.7	1.9%	42,561	24,214	21,476
Shenandoah County	4	4	1.5	2.4%	58,609	31,364	44,968
Smyth County	11	13	7.4	2.0%	42,588	24,633	29,449
Southampton County	6	6	5.6	3.5%	65,079	29,785	17,932
Spotsylvania County	14	19	2.2	4.1%	98,973	41,543	146,688
Stafford County	27	27	2.8	2.7%	119,818	45,618	163,380
Staunton City	4	4	2.6	3.1%	53,041	31,275	25,904
Suffolk City	33	33	5.6	4.2%	81,883	40,389	98,537
Surry County	0	0	0.0	4.00%	61,105	33,416	6,527
Sussex County	9	12	18.7	3.0%	56,968	26,055	10,680
Tazewell County	14	14	5.9	3.0%	42,937	25,317	39,821
Virginia Beach City	96	113	4.1	2.8%	81,810	41,803	455,618
Warren County	5	5	2.0	3.8%	72,840	34,850	41,440
Washington County	14	17	5.3	2.6%	54,737	30,771	53,958
Waynesboro City	5	5	3.7	3.0%	47,238	29,222	22,808
Westmoreland County	8	8	7.1	6.1%	53,113	33,823	18,712
Williamsburg City	5	6	6.3	3.1%	65,297	33,164	15,909
Winchester City	5	5	3.0	2.8%	61,321	33,908	27,936
Wise County	7	10	4.7	5.0%	44,884	22,225	35,421
Wythe County	10	11	6.5	2.9%	52,726	28,926	28,111
York County	12	15	3.5	2.8%	96,144	42,982	71,341

Source: Virginia State Police, UCR-IBR Program, CY2017-CY2022 and U.S. Census Bureau, 2021 ACS 5-Year Estimates Data Profiles.

APPENDIX C: INTENTIONAL HOMICIDES IN VIRGINIA BY LOCALITY, 2017-2022, OCME DATA

Event Locality	2017		2018		2019		2020		2021		2022*		Total	
	N	Rate	N	Rate	N	Rate	N	Rate	N	Rate	N	Rate	N	Rate
Accomack County	1	3.1	1	3.1	5	15.5	6	18.6	9	27.9	3	9.3	25	12.9
Albemarle County	5	4.6	1	0.9	2	1.8	6	5.4	0	0.0	4	3.6	18	2.7
Alexandria City	5	3.1	3	1.9	2	1.3	3	1.9	2	1.3	7	4.4	22	2.3
Alleghany County	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	6.8	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	1.1
Amelia County	1	7.7	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	7.7	0	0.0	1	7.7	3	3.8
Amherst County	0	0.0	0	0.0	3	9.5	0	0.0	2	6.3	1	3.2	6	3.2
Appomattox County	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	6.2	1	6.2	2	2.1
Arlington County	4	1.7	3	1.3	3	1.3	3	1.2	1	0.4	1	0.4	15	1.0
Augusta County	1	1.3	2	2.7	0	0.0	0	0.0	2	2.6	1	1.3	6	1.3
Bath County	1	23.3	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	4.0
Bedford County	1	1.3	3	3.8	1	1.3	3	3.8	4	5.0	4	5.0	16	3.4
Bland County	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	2	32.1	0	0.0	0	0.0	2	5.3
Botetourt County	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	3.0	0	0.0	1	3.0	2	1.0
Bristol City	0	0.0	3	18.2	1	6.0	1	5.8	1	5.8	2	11.5	8	7.8
Brunswick County	0	0.0	1	6.1	0	0.0	1	6.2	1	6.2	3	18.7	6	6.2
Buchanan County	1	4.6	0	0.0	1	4.8	1	4.9	1	4.9	1	4.9	5	4.0
Buckingham County	1	5.9	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	5.8	1	5.8	0	0.0	3	2.9
Buena Vista City	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	2	31.2	2	5.2
Campbell County	2	3.6	2	3.6	3	5.5	2	3.6	3	5.4	4	7.2	16	4.8
Caroline County	1	3.3	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	3.2	3	9.7	0	0.0	5	2.7
Carroll County	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	3.4	0	0.0	1	3.3	1	3.3	3	1.7
Charles City County	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	14.4	1	14.7	0	0.0	0	0.0	2	4.8
Charlotte County	0	0.0	1	8.4	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	1.4
Charlottesville City	5	10.4	1	2.1	2	4.2	4	8.5	0	0.0	6	12.8	18	6.3
Chesapeake City	11	4.6	11	4.5	9	3.7	14	5.7	24	9.7	25	10.1	94	6.4
Chesterfield County	12	3.5	5	1.4	13	3.7	16	4.5	14	3.9	20	5.6	80	3.8
Clarke County	1	6.9	0	0.0	1	6.8	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	2	2.3
Colonial Heights City	3	16.8	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	3	17.4	1	5.8	7	6.7
Covington City	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	17.7	0	0.0	4	70.9	5	14.9
Craig County	0	0.0	1	19.7	0	0.0	2	39.4	1	19.7	0	0.0	4	13.1
Culpeper County	1	2.0	1	1.9	1	1.9	2	3.7	2	3.7	1	1.9	8	2.5
Cumberland County	0	0.0	0	0.0	3	30.2	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	10.1	4	6.7
Danville City	14	34.0	13	31.9	8	20.0	5	12.5	6	15.0	9	22.6	55	22.8
Dickenson County	1	6.8	0	0.0	2	14.0	1	7.1	1	7.1	0	0.0	5	5.8
Dinwiddie County	0	0.0	2	7.0	0	0.0	2	7.0	4	13.9	4	13.9	12	7.0

Event Locality	2017		2018		2019		2020		2021		2022*		Total	
	N	Rate	N	Rate	N	Rate	N	Rate	N	Rate	N	Rate	N	Rate
Emporia City	2	37.9	1	19.5	1	18.7	2	38.0	1	19.0	4	76.1	11	34.9
Essex County	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	9.1	1	9.1	2	3.0
Fairfax City	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	4.3	1	0.7
Fairfax County	21	1.8	14	1.2	13	1.1	18	1.6	25	2.2	24	2.1	115	1.7
Falls Church City	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	6.8	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	1.1
Fauquier County	2	2.9	4	5.7	1	1.4	6	8.4	4	5.6	3	4.2	20	4.7
Floyd County	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	6.3	1	6.3	1	6.3	2	12.7	5	5.3
Fluvanna County	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	3.7	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	0.6
Franklin City	1	12.2	0	0.0	2	25.1	2	25.5	2	25.5	3	38.3	10	21.0
Franklin County	5	8.9	1	1.8	3	5.4	6	10.7	6	10.7	2	3.6	23	6.8
Frederick County	1	1.2	1	1.1	2	2.2	4	4.4	2	2.2	2	2.2	12	2.2
Fredericksburg City	2	7.1	2	6.9	3	10.3	2	6.8	3	10.2	0	0.0	12	6.9
Galax City	1	15.1	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	2.6
Giles County	1	5.9	1	5.9	0	0.0	3	18.0	1	6.0	0	0.0	6	6.0
Gloucester County	3	8.0	0	0.0	1	2.7	3	8.0	0	0.0	2	5.3	9	4.0
Goochland County	1	4.4	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	4.1	1	4.1	3	2.1
Grayson County	1	6.4	0	0.0	2	12.9	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	6.5	4	4.3
Greene County	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	5.0	1	5.0	0	0.0	1	5.0	3	2.5
Greensville County	3	25.7	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	8.9	1	8.9	0	0.0	5	7.3
Halifax County	2	5.8	4	11.7	4	11.8	4	11.9	6	17.8	6	17.8	26	12.8
Hampton City	19	14.1	16	11.9	14	10.4	24	17.7	31	22.9	27	19.9	131	16.2
Hanover County	2	1.9	3	2.8	0	0.0	0	0.0	2	1.8	4	3.7	11	1.7
Harrisonburg City	3	5.5	3	5.6	0	0.0	1	1.9	2	3.8	1	1.9	10	3.1
Henrico County	25	7.6	10	3.0	9	2.7	17	5.1	25	7.5	30	9.0	116	5.8
Henry County	1	2.0	3	5.9	2	4.0	9	17.9	3	6.0	8	15.9	26	8.6
Highland County	1	45.2	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	7.6
Hopewell City	2	8.8	7	31.0	5	22.2	6	26.8	3	13.4	9	40.2	32	23.7
Isle of Wight County	3	8.2	1	2.7	1	2.7	1	2.7	2	5.3	1	2.7	9	4.0
James City County	3	4.0	1	1.3	2	2.6	3	3.9	2	2.6	1	1.3	12	2.6
King and Queen County	0	0.0	1	14.2	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	2.4
King George County	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	3.7	2	7.3	1	3.7	4	2.5
King William County	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	5.8	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	1.0
Lancaster County	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	9.4	2	18.8	0	0.0	0	0.0	3	4.7
Lee County	0	0.0	3	12.7	2	8.5	0	0.0	3	12.9	2	8.6	10	7.1
Lexington	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
Loudoun County	3	0.8	5	1.2	0	0.0	3	0.7	4	0.9	7	1.7	22	0.9
Louisa County	3	8.4	1	2.7	4	10.6	0	0.0	1	2.6	3	7.9	12	5.3

Event Locality	2017		2018		2019		2020		2021		2022*		Total	
	N	Rate	N	Rate	N	Rate	N	Rate	N	Rate	N	Rate	N	Rate
Lunenburg County	1	8.2	1	8.3	3	24.6	1	8.2	1	8.2	1	8.2	8	10.9
Lynchburg City	6	7.4	7	8.5	2	2.4	5	6.1	9	11.0	8	9.8	37	7.6
Madison County	1	7.5	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	7.5	1	7.5	1	7.5	4	5.0
Manassas City	3	7.2	1	2.4	3	7.3	1	2.4	1	2.4	0	0.0	9	3.6
Manassas Park City	0	0.0	2	11.6	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	2	1.9
Martinsville City	2	15.2	2	15.5	2	15.9	2	16.2	3	24.3	1	8.1	12	15.9
Mathews County	1	11.4	1	11.4	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	2	22.8	4	7.6
Mecklenburg County	1	3.3	2	6.5	3	9.8	4	13.0	0	0.0	6	19.6	16	8.7
Middlesex County	1	9.4	1	9.3	1	9.5	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	3	4.7
Montgomery County	3	3.0	1	1.0	1	1.0	1	1.0	2	2.0	4	4.1	12	2.0
Nelson County	1	6.7	1	6.7	1	6.7	1	6.8	0	0.0	0	0.0	4	4.5
New Kent County	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	4.3	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	4.2	2	1.4
Newport News City	24	13.4	25	14.0	26	14.5	28	15.6	30	16.8	27	15.1	160	14.9
Norfolk City	35	14.3	37	15.2	38	15.7	52	21.4	65	26.8	64	26.4	291	19.9
Northampton County	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	8.6	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	1.4
Northumberland County	1	8.1	0	0.0	1	8.3	0	0.0	0	0.0	2	16.6	4	5.5
Norton City	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	3	75.3	3	12.6
Nottoway County	2	13.0	1	6.5	1	6.6	2	13.2	0	0.0	2	13.2	8	8.7
Orange County	0	0.0	2	5.5	0	0.0	1	2.7	2	5.3	1	2.7	6	2.7
Page County	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	4.2	0	0.0	3	12.5	1	4.2	5	3.5
Patrick County	0	0.0	3	17.0	0	0.0	1	5.7	0	0.0	1	5.7	5	4.7
Petersburg City	13	40.9	17	53.9	21	67.0	22	72.3	20	65.7	21	69.0	114	61.3
Pittsylvania County	3	4.9	3	4.9	8	13.3	2	3.3	4	6.7	6	10.0	26	7.2
Poquoson	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
Portsmouth City	16	16.9	20	21.1	18	19.1	32	33.7	37	38.9	40	42.1	163	28.7
Powhatan County	1	3.5	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	0.6
Prince Edward County	3	13.2	1	4.4	1	4.4	0	0.0	2	8.7	3	13.0	10	7.3
Prince George County	1	2.6	2	5.3	0	0.0	2	5.2	3	7.8	4	10.3	12	5.2
Prince William County	3	0.6	8	1.7	14	3.0	8	1.7	13	2.7	18	3.8	64	2.3
Pulaski County	3	8.8	0	0.0	1	2.9	0	0.0	3	8.8	1	2.9	8	3.9
Radford City	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	5.5	1	5.5	0	0.0	0	0.0	2	1.8
Rappahannock County	2	27.3	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	13.8	0	0.0	3	6.9
Richmond City	77	33.9	55	24.0	68	29.5	77	33.2	106	45.6	64	27.6	447	32.3
Richmond County	0	0.0	1	11.1	0	0.0	1	11.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	2	3.7
Roanoke City	18	18.0	16	16.0	15	15.1	17	17.2	19	19.2	19	19.2	104	17.4
Roanoke County	1	1.1	7	7.4	1	1.1	2	2.1	3	3.2	5	5.3	19	3.4
Rockbridge County	3	13.2	1	4.4	1	4.4	0	0.0	1	4.4	1	4.4	7	5.1

Event Locality	2017		2018		2019		2020		2021		2022*		Total	
	N	Rate	N	Rate	N	Rate	N	Rate	N	Rate	N	Rate	N	Rate
Rockingham County	1	1.2	1	1.2	2	2.4	4	4.9	5	6.1	4	4.9	17	3.5
Russell County	1	3.7	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	3.8	1	3.8	0	0.0	3	1.9
Salem City	0	0.0	1	3.9	0	0.0	1	3.9	0	0.0	0	0.0	2	1.3
Scott County	0	0.0	2	9.3	1	4.6	2	9.2	1	4.6	2	9.2	8	6.2
Shenandoah County	0	0.0	1	2.3	3	6.9	0	0.0	1	2.3	2	4.6	7	2.7
Smyth County	2	6.5	1	3.3	0	0.0	4	13.3	1	3.3	1	3.3	9	5.0
Southampton County	0	0.0	2	11.4	1	5.7	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	5.7	4	3.8
Spotsylvania County	3	2.3	3	2.2	6	4.4	5	3.6	7	5.1	2	1.4	26	3.2
Stafford County	3	2.0	4	2.7	4	2.6	2	1.3	4	2.6	4	2.6	21	2.3
Staunton City	0	0.0	1	4.0	0	0.0	2	7.9	0	0.0	1	4.0	4	2.7
Suffolk City	2	2.2	2	2.2	6	6.5	3	3.2	7	7.5	13	13.8	33	5.9
Surry County	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
Sussex County	2	17.6	2	17.8	2	17.9	2	18.3	0	0.0	2	18.3	10	15.0
Tazewell County	2	4.9	0	0.0	0	0.0	2	4.9	1	2.5	1	2.5	6	2.5
Virginia Beach City	14	3.1	19	4.2	36	8.0	20	4.4	14	3.1	20	4.4	123	4.5
Warren County	3	7.6	0	0.0	1	2.5	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	4	1.7
Washington County	6	11.0	4	7.4	2	3.7	5	9.3	2	3.7	1	1.9	20	6.2
Waynesboro City	0	0.0	1	4.4	2	8.8	2	8.8	1	4.4	0	0.0	6	4.4
Westmoreland County	1	5.6	0	0.0	0	0.0	2	11.0	0	0.0	1	5.5	4	3.7
Williamsburg City	1	6.7	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	6.6	0	0.0	2	2.2
Winchester City	0	0.0	1	3.6	1	3.6	3	10.8	1	3.6	1	3.6	7	4.2
Wise County	1	2.6	3	7.9	1	2.7	3	8.1	3	8.1	4	10.8	15	6.6
Wythe County	2	6.9	2	7.0	4	13.9	2	7.0	0	0.0	1	3.5	11	6.4
York County	1	1.5	4	5.9	1	1.5	5	7.2	2	2.9	1	1.4	14	3.4
Out of State	6	ND	8	ND	7	ND	6	ND	2	ND	14	ND	43	ND
Unknown	9	ND	14	ND	10	ND	6	ND	9	ND	15	ND	63	ND
Total	469	2.8	430	5.0	461	5.4	549	6.4	613	7.1	653	7.6	3,175	5.3

* Data for 2022 is preliminary as of October 2023 and is subject to change.

Note: Rates calculated for 2021 and 2022 use 2020 population estimates for denominator values.

Note: Crude rates are per 100K population.

Note: 'ND' represents no denominator value for which to calculate rate.

Source: Virginia Office of the Chief Medical Examiner