

The Homicide Exceptionalism Problem: When Fatal Outcome is Mistaken for Etiological Distinctiveness

Zul Khaidir Kadir¹

¹Universitas Muslim Indonesia, Indonesia

Correspondence: zulkhaidir.kadir@umi.ac.id

Article Info

Article History:

Received Aug 15th, 2026

Revised Aug 21th, 2026

Accepted Aug 30th, 2026

Keyword:

Etiological Distinctiveness; Fatal-outcome conditioning; Homicide; Lethal violence; Serious nonfatal violence.

ABSTRACT

This article examined the homicide exceptionalism problem, defined as the inferential tendency to treat fatal outcome status as evidence that homicide possessed an etiologically distinct structure from serious nonfatal violence. A critical conceptual review with structured literature synthesis was conducted using purposively selected peer-reviewed studies on homicide, serious assault, fatal and nonfatal violence, firearm lethality, injury severity, victim survival, and trauma care. The review compared what each study sought to explain and whether its design retained variation in violent occurrence, fatal outcome, or both. The synthesis showed that homicide-only evidence could describe and explain variation within homicide but could not by itself establish that a factor uniquely distinguished lethal from serious nonfatal violence. The analysis separated violence generation from violence lethalization and treated fatal-outcome conditioning as a limit on inferential scope rather than a defect in homicide research. The article concluded that etiological distinctiveness should be demonstrated through comparative leverage or explicitly narrow claims, not inferred from death alone.



© 2026 The Authors. Published by Punggawa Legacy Center. This is an open access article under the CC BY license (<https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/4.0/>)

INTRODUCTION

Homicide has an unusual status in criminology. Death makes the event socially visible, legally consequential, and comparatively resistant to the underreporting that complicates many measures of violence. Those advantages help explain why homicide is often treated as the hardest endpoint of serious interpersonal violence. They also create a less obvious problem. Once death defines the cases under study, it can begin to shape the explanation offered for them. A fatal event may then be read as evidence of a distinct kind of violence even when the evidence only shows that a violent encounter ended differently. The issue is not whether homicide matters as a category. It is whether fatal outcome, by itself, can carry the additional burden of proving a distinct etiology.

Death is a legitimate boundary for law, mortality statistics, and criminal investigation. It is not automatically a boundary between causal processes. A broader lethal-violence framework reaches a related point by treating intentional homicide as legally indispensable without equating it with every death produced by human force (Kadir, 2026e). Two violent events can differ in outcome because the conduct was different, because the weapon was more lethal, because injuries were distributed differently, or because one victim reached effective care sooner. Homicide research can accommodate all of those possibilities. Trouble begins when the first possibility is assumed from the outcome itself and the others are treated as secondary details.

Comparative research has never settled whether lethal and serious nonlethal violence belong to one continuum. Pokorny (1965) asked the question decades ago. Harries (1989) later found considerable neighborhood-level correspondence between homicide and assault, while Gelles (1991) warned that a severity continuum could conceal meaningful differences within family violence. Event-based studies reached a similarly mixed position. Felson and Messner (1996) examined why some injurious attacks become lethal, and Weaver et al. (2004) showed that lethal and nonlethal encounters share important

situational features without becoming interchangeable. The disagreement persists because continuity and difference can appear in the same evidence.

Recent work makes the problem harder to dismiss. van Breen et al. (2023) found that homicide cannot be assumed to function as a stable indicator of nonlethal violence, and their later cross-national analysis again showed that the correspondence varies across settings (van Breen et al., 2024). Scott et al. (2025) reported substantial overlap between fatal and nonfatal shooting incidents, whereas Eriksson et al. (2026) found differences that gave stronger support to a typological account in their Australian data. Klein et al. (2025) separated aggressors' lethal intent from firearm lethality in school shootings and found that both mattered for fatal outcome. These studies do not point toward a single continuity thesis. They show why outcome and mechanism need to be kept apart before claims of distinctiveness are made.

An earlier conceptual paper by Kadir (2026i) separated violence risk from lethality risk at the level of individual prediction and proposed a Homicidal Threshold Model to explain why most high-risk people never kill. The present article addresses a different problem. It does not ask why an individual crosses a threshold into homicide. It asks what homicide-only evidence can legitimately claim once death has already defined the cases being studied. That difference in inferential target is central to the present argument.

I use the term homicide exceptionalism problem for a narrow inferential error. Fatal violence may be genuinely distinctive in some settings, yet the fact of death cannot establish that distinctiveness on its own. The article separates violence generation from violence lethalization. Violence generation concerns the processes through which serious interpersonal violence occurs or escalates. Violence lethalization concerns the processes that make death more or less likely once serious violence has occurred. These are different objects of explanation even when the same factor operates across both. Firearm use is an obvious case because it can alter how an encounter unfolds and also alter the chance that injury becomes fatal.

Two questions guide the review. How has homicide scholarship distinguished homicide from serious nonfatal interpersonal violence, and what problems arise when fatal status is interpreted as evidence of a separate etiology. The purpose is not to argue that homicide is merely aggravated assault followed by death. It is to set a stricter inferential rule. Evidence drawn only from homicide can describe homicide well, but claims that a factor is uniquely homicidal need comparative leverage or a clearly stated limit on what the evidence can show. The argument is therefore about the reach of explanation, not about dissolving homicide as a legal or criminological field.

RESEARCH METHODS

A critical conceptual review was used because the research questions concern the meaning and inferential reach of homicide evidence rather than the estimation of a population effect. Conceptual reviews are suited to problems in which existing findings need to be reorganized around a sharper distinction instead of aggregated statistically (Jaakkola, 2020). The review also follows the broader view of literature review as a research method when selection and synthesis are tied to a defined analytical problem (Snyder, 2019).

Evidence came entirely from secondary material. Peer-reviewed studies were selected purposively when they addressed homicide and serious assault, fatal and nonfatal violence, injury severity, firearm instrumentality, victim survival, or case fatality. Foundational studies were retained when they shaped the continuum debate or weapon research. Recent comparative papers updated that discussion, while citation tracing located closely related work. The corpus was not treated as exhaustive, and no claim is made about the prevalence of any theoretical position across homicide scholarship.

Sources were compared by asking what each study was actually trying to explain and what comparison its design retained. Particular attention was given to whether a finding concerned the occurrence of serious violence, fatality after serious violence, or a mechanism that could plausibly affect both. The term fatal-outcome conditioning is used here only for the inferential constraint created when analysis is restricted to cases in which death occurred. It is not presented as a formal claim about collider bias. The synthesis is interpretive, so the discussion does not estimate causal effects or treat reported associations as proof that any one mechanism determines homicide.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Homicide and Inferential Scope

Legal classification gives death a decisive role because criminal responsibility and offense grading can turn on the victim's outcome, even though similar homicide labels can encode different culpability structures across legal systems (Kadir, 2026b). Causal explanation has a different task. It asks what produced the violent event and what produced the eventual harm. Felson and Steadman (1983) showed how disputes develop through interaction before violence occurs. Felson and Messner (1996) then asked why some injurious attacks become lethal. Their distinction prevents the terminal outcome from becoming a summary of everything that happened before it. A homicide can be analyzed as a completed legal event while still sharing processes with nonfatal violence.

Ganpat et al. (2013) reached the boundary by comparing lethal and nonlethal events. Event characteristics and actors' behavior mattered to the outcome without requiring the assumption that every homicide emerged from a wholly different process. Similar reasoning appears in injury-severity research. Apel et al. (2013) examined variation in injury within assaultive violence, keeping the violent event and its consequence visible at the same time. Such designs are useful when the question concerns what happens after serious violence has begun.

Some findings do support differentiation. Baglivio and Wolff (2017) identified characteristics that distinguished juvenile homicide offending from other serious juvenile violence. DiCataldo and Everett (2008) also found differences between juvenile homicide offenders and violent nonhomicide offenders. Offender-history research adds further variation. Ganpat et al. (2014) reported that serious nonlethal offenders could have more extensive criminal histories than homicide offenders, while Ganpat et al. (2017) showed that prior history and immediate situational features jointly mattered for lethal outcome. Suonpää et al. (2020) found considerable resemblance in trajectories leading to homicide, attempted homicide, and aggravated assault even though some dimensions still differed. None of these findings requires a single answer for every form of violence.

A homicide-only sample cannot resolve that issue by itself. Once every observation ends in death, variation in survival is no longer available to the analysis. The study may still answer many important questions about motives, victim-offender relationships, offender careers, or differences among homicide subtypes. Indonesian studies likewise separate official homicide visibility from relational and situational information lost in aggregate categories (Kadir, 2026d, 2026h). What homicide-only cases cannot show on their own is whether the same characteristic also appears in otherwise comparable serious nonfatal violence. Distinctiveness needs a comparison at the point where the proposed distinction is supposed to operate.

Fatal-outcome conditioning names that limited problem of inference. It does not mean that homicide-only research is defective, nor does it convert every homicide study into a selection-bias argument. The point is narrower. When death has already been fixed by design, the evidence should not be asked to prove that death arose from a uniquely homicidal mechanism unless some other source of comparison is available. A descriptive boundary and a causal boundary are not the same thing.

Continuity, Difference, and the Wrong Binary

Evidence on the continuum question remains mixed because the underlying comparisons differ. Harries (1989) found strong spatial congruence between homicide and assault across Dallas neighborhoods. Gelles (1991) reached a more cautious conclusion in family violence and argued that distinct forms of violence can disappear inside a single severity scale. These studies are often placed on opposite sides of a continuum debate, yet they do not examine the same mechanism or level of analysis. One concerns aggregate spatial correspondence. The other concerns behavioral differentiation within family violence. Treating them as direct competitors makes the debate look cleaner than the evidence really is.

The proxy literature shows the same difficulty from another direction. van Breen et al. (2023) reviewed whether homicide can stand in for nonlethal crime and concluded that the assumption cannot be made automatically. Their later analysis found that relationships between homicide and other violent crime vary across countries and over time (van Breen et al., 2024). Homicide may still be useful where nonfatal data are weak, but its value as an indicator is an empirical question rather than a property of the measure itself.

Direct incident comparisons are more informative at the fatality boundary. Hipple and Magee (2017) found differences between nonfatal shootings and gun homicides in victim characteristics and

motive. Scott et al. (2025) found many similarities as well as several differences when fatal and nonfatal shootings were compared in NIBRS. Eriksson et al. (2026) added attempted murder as an intermediate category and reported patterns that more often favored a typological interpretation. Read together, the studies do not show that fatal and nonfatal violence are the same. They show that the degree of similarity depends on what is compared, which variables are retained, and how close the nonfatal comparison comes to the lethal event.

The usual continuum versus typology binary therefore asks too much of one distinction. Serious violence can share generating mechanisms and still differ at the point where injury becomes death. The reverse is also possible. Events with the same fatal outcome may arise from different motives, relationships, or situational paths. A better question is whether the proposed mechanism explains entry into serious violence, the probability of death after serious violence, or some part of both processes. Cross-national work makes the same distinction at an ecological level (Kadir, 2026c). That formulation allows continuity and difference to coexist without turning either into a default theory.

Weapon research makes the advantage of that formulation clear. Zimring (1972) argued that firearm caliber can affect death independently of the reasons that brought an assault about. Phillips and Maume (2007) later showed that firearms can also contribute to escalation, although the relationship changes when situation-specific intent is considered. Klein et al. (2025) went further by measuring lethal intent and firearm lethality in the same study of injurious school shootings. Both were related to fatal outcomes. Non-firearm patterns also resist a gun-centered account (Kadir, 2026a). Fatality need not be interpreted as a simple behavioral readout of murderous purpose.

Violence Generation and Violence Lethalization

Violence generation and violence lethalization provide a modest way to keep those processes separate. The first term refers to the production or escalation of a serious interpersonal violent event. The second refers to the conditions that make death more or less likely once that event exists. Neither term identifies a closed set of causes. An offender's intent can affect both stages. A weapon can alter both. The distinction is useful because it identifies two questions that are often compressed into a single homicide outcome.

Firearm instrumentality is especially revealing because it crosses the proposed boundary. Libby and Corzine (2007) found that firearm type was associated with lethal outcomes after contextual factors were considered. Braga and Cook (2018) reported higher case fatality in criminal shootings involving larger-caliber firearms. Braga et al. (2021) reviewed a broader body of work and concluded that guns can make violent situations more lethal. Altheimer et al. (2019) also showed that victim and situational features affect the lethality of urban gun violence. None of this removes offender agency. It shows that the final outcome is produced through an interaction between conduct, instrumentality, injury, and circumstance rather than by intent alone.

Case-fatality research expresses the same idea without requiring a theory of homicide exceptionalism. Cook et al. (2017) examined firearm assaults by asking whether the lethality of gunshot injuries changed over time. The outcome was death among a broader set of gunshot injuries, not homicide treated as a self-contained behavioral type. Apel et al. (2013) used injury severity in assaultive incidents for a related reason. Designs of this kind retain information that disappears when the sample is limited to completed homicides. They can still be imperfect, but they make clear which part of the process the analysis is trying to explain.

Picture 1 summarizes the argument without turning it into a causal model. Social, relational, and situational conditions may lead to no serious violence or to a serious violent event. Once violence occurs, the outcome can remain nonfatal or become fatal. Some mechanisms act mainly before the event, some matter around injury and survival, and others cross both parts of the process. The figure does not assume independent or neatly ordered stages. It keeps the occurrence of serious violence separate from the production of death.

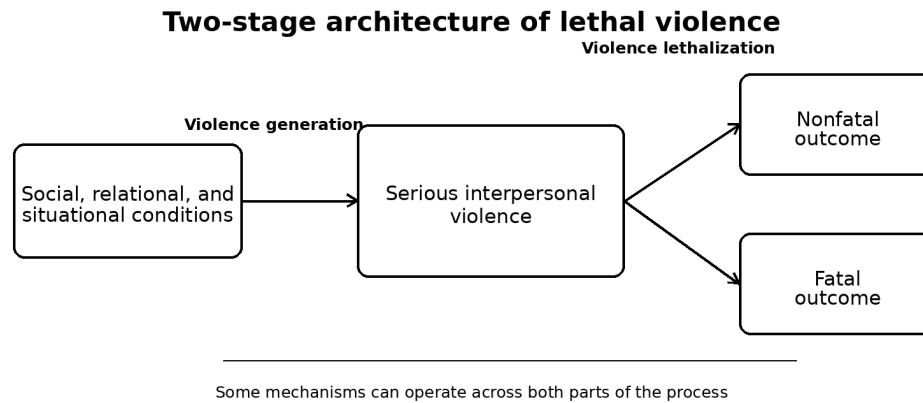


Figure 1 Two-Stage Architecture of Lethal Violence

Medical and trauma research makes the survival side difficult to ignore. Doerner and Speir (1986) linked medical resources to criminally induced lethality, and Doerner (1988) refined the analysis with improved measures. Giacomassi et al. (1992) found additional evidence that emergency medical care can suppress homicide mortality. Harris et al. (2002) argued that changes in medicine and support services altered the probability that criminal assaults ended in death over several decades. More recent work has continued to connect trauma care and access to survival. Griffin et al. (2014) examined the temporal distribution of homicide mortality after trauma care, while Summers and Rogers (2020) linked access to emergency medical care with violent assault lethality. Oliver et al. (2017) also showed why prehospital conditions matter in traumatic death.

Survival creates a useful counterfactual for criminological explanation. Imagine two attacks with closely similar conduct and comparable injury production. One victim survives after rapid treatment and the other dies before definitive care can be provided. The cases will be classified differently because outcome matters. Yet a theory of the antecedent violent conduct should not automatically change merely because survival differed. The question is not whether law should ignore death. It plainly should not. The question is whether the criminological explanation of the violence would have changed if the victim had survived. When the answer is no, fatal status cannot do all of the etiological work assigned to it.

What Homicide-Only Evidence Can Claim

Claims about homicide should therefore be matched to the comparison retained by the design. Table 1 sets out that inferential reach. Homicide-only research is strong for description within homicide and for comparison among homicide subtypes. It becomes less decisive when the claim concerns what makes homicide different from serious nonfatal violence. Fatal and nonfatal event comparisons preserve that contrast directly. Injury-severity and case-fatality studies approach the same boundary by keeping variation in outcome visible. No design is universally superior. The relevant issue is whether the design contains the variation needed for the claim being made.

Table 1 Inferential Reach of Common Homicide Research Designs

Evidence base	What the design retains	Claim it can support	Claim needing more leverage
Homicide-only cases	Variation within completed homicide	Description and explanation of variation among homicides	That a factor uniquely distinguishes homicide from serious nonfatal violence
Homicide subtype comparison	Differences across homicide forms	Heterogeneity within lethal violence	Whether the same distinction also appears in nonfatal serious violence
Fatal and nonfatal event comparison	Variation at the survival boundary	Whether characteristics differ across fatal and nonfatal serious violence	Strong causal claims without further design support
Injury severity or case-fatality study	Variation in harm or death after violence	Factors associated with severity or fatality conditional on violence	Why serious violence occurred in the first place

Studies of homicide risk illustrate why this distinction matters. Loeber et al. (2005) identified predictors of violence and homicide among young men, and DeLisi et al. (2018) developed a circumplex intended to organize heterogeneity among homicide offenders. These are legitimate projects because

homicide can be studied as an important outcome in its own right. The inferential step becomes harder only when a factor associated with homicide is described as uniquely homicidal without evidence from a relevant nonfatal comparison. A variable may predict homicide because it predicts serious violence strongly, because it increases lethality after violence occurs, or because it contributes to both. Those possibilities cannot always be separated inside a homicide-only sample.

Criminal-history studies are instructive because they resist a simple exceptionalist story. Ganpat et al. (2014) found that the criminal histories of serious nonlethal offenders could be more extensive than those of homicide offenders. Suonpää et al. (2018) linked social disadvantage and criminal history to the severity of violent offending rather than assuming a separate homicidal career. Their later trajectory analysis again found substantial overlap across homicide, attempted homicide, and aggravated assault (Suonpää et al., 2020). These findings do not prove continuity. They show why a fatal outcome is an insufficient substitute for comparison when the claim concerns offender distinctiveness.

Three recurring problems remain after the literature is read in this way. Fatal-outcome conditioning limits what can be learned about differences in survival when survival has already been removed from the sample. Outcome-defined distinctiveness appears when a legal or administrative endpoint is treated as though it were itself a behavioral type. The survivor counterfactual exposes cases in which broadly similar antecedent violence can receive different outcome classifications because later conditions change survival. Contagion research shows the same problem because clustering is not transmission (Kadir, 2026g). Table 2 states the corresponding corrections in deliberately narrow terms. None requires homicide scholars to abandon specialized datasets or theories.

Table 2 Inferential Problems and Narrow Corrections

Problem	What is observed	Main inferential risk	Safer correction
Fatal-outcome conditioning	Only cases ending in death	Within-homicide patterns are treated as proof of lethal distinctiveness	Narrow the claim or retain a serious nonfatal comparison
Outcome-defined distinctiveness	A legal or administrative category based on death	Fatal status is treated as evidence of a separate behavioral mechanism	Separate the occurrence of violence from the production of death
Survivor counterfactual	Similar antecedent violence can end differently	Later survival conditions are mistaken for differences in the earlier violent process	Ask whether the explanation would change if the victim had survived

Research design can improve without becoming heavy. A study explaining patterns within homicide can remain homicide-only. A study that claims a mechanism separates lethal from nonlethal violence needs a comparison that preserves that boundary. Near-lethal events, attempted homicide, serious assault, and fatal versus nonfatal shootings can provide such leverage when definitions are defensible. Where those data are unavailable, conceptual restraint is still possible. Authors can state that a finding explains variation among homicides or is associated with homicide without extending the conclusion to a uniquely homicidal etiology.

The framework also changes how prevention is interpreted, although the present review cannot estimate policy effects. Reducing homicide can involve reducing the generation of serious violence. It can also involve reducing the chance that serious violence produces death. Pre-lethal policy work makes a similar prevention distinction (Kadir, 2026f). Weapon lethality, access to emergency care, trauma-system performance, and injury response belong to the second question when the evidence supports them. The conceptual gain is that a fall in homicide should not automatically be read as equivalent to a fall in serious violence, just as persistent violence does not imply that mortality is fixed.

Several limits remain. The purposive literature base cannot show how common homicide exceptionalism is across the entire field, and the review does not rank competing mechanisms. Violence generation and lethalization may also unfold recursively within an encounter. Intent can change as an event develops, and treatment or weapon effects can be correlated with the circumstances that produced the attack. The framework is not designed to solve those empirical identification problems. It provides a narrower discipline for interpretation. Fatal status can be central to the outcome being studied without being allowed to establish causal distinctiveness by definition.

CONCLUSION

Homicide deserves specialized study because death changes the legal and social meaning of violence. The reviewed literature does not support the automatic inference that fatal status identifies a

separate etiology. Comparative studies show both overlap and difference between lethal and serious nonlethal violence. Weapon and survival research adds another reason for caution because death can vary with conditions that do not simply restate the offender's propensity for violence. Homicide exceptionalism becomes a problem only when those distinctions are skipped and the outcome is asked to prove the theory built around it.

A more defensible approach begins with the object of explanation. Research may ask why serious violence occurs, why serious violence becomes fatal, or how the same mechanism contributes to both. Homicide-only evidence remains valuable when the claim stays within the information that such data retain. Stronger claims about etiological distinctiveness require stronger comparative leverage. The proposed distinction between violence generation and violence lethalization is therefore not another threshold model and does not claim that homicide is merely the end point of assault. It is a rule of inferential restraint. Whether homicide is genuinely exceptional should be demonstrated in the mechanism and comparison, not inherited from the fact that the victim died.

REFERENCES

- Altheimer, I., Schaible, L. M., Klofas, J., & Comeau, M. (2019). Victim characteristics, situational factors, and the lethality of urban gun violence. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence*, 34(8), 1633-1656. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0886260516652264>
- Apel, R., Dugan, L., & Powers, R. (2013). Gender and injury risk in incidents of assaultive violence. *Justice Quarterly*, 30(4), 561-593. <https://doi.org/10.1080/07418825.2011.619558>
- Baglivio, M. T., & Wolff, K. T. (2017). Distinguishing homicide, violent sexual, and violent juvenile offending. *Journal of Criminal Psychology*, 7(2), 81-92. <https://doi.org/10.1108/JCP-11-2016-0036>
- 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), e180833. <https://doi.org/10.1001/jamanetworkopen.2018.0833>
- Braga, A. A., Griffiths, E., Sheppard, K., & Douglas, S. (2021). Firearm instrumentality. Do guns make violent situations more lethal? *Annual Review of Criminology*, 4, 147-164. <https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev-criminol-061020-021528>
- 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. <https://doi.org/10.2105/AJPH.2017.303837>
- DeLisi, M., Drury, A., & Elbert, M. (2018). The homicide circumplex. A new conceptual model and empirical examination. *Journal of Criminal Psychology*, 8(4), 314-332. <https://doi.org/10.1108/JCP-03-2018-0015>
- DiCataldo, F., & Everett, M. (2008). Distinguishing juvenile homicide from violent juvenile offending. *International Journal of Offender Therapy and Comparative Criminology*, 52(2), 158-174. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0306624X07303906>
- Doerner, W. G. (1988). The impact of medical resources on criminally induced lethality. A further examination. *Criminology*, 26(1), 171-179. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1745-9125.1988.tb00837.x>
- Doerner, W. G., & Speir, J. C. (1986). Stitch and sew. The impact of medical resources upon criminally induced lethality. *Criminology*, 24(2), 319-330. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1745-9125.1986.tb01498.x>
- Eriksson, L., Allen, J., McGee, T. R., Lockwood, K., Martin, P., & Mazerolle, P. (2026). It's not just a matter of chance when no one dies. Characteristics of offenders, victims, and situations in lethal versus non-lethal violence. *Homicide Studies*. Advance online publication. <https://doi.org/10.1177/10887679251407105>
- Felson, R. B., & Messner, S. F. (1996). To kill or not to kill? Lethal outcomes in injurious attacks. *Criminology*, 34(4), 519-545. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1745-9125.1996.tb01218.x>
- Felson, R. B., & Steadman, H. J. (1983). Situational factors in disputes leading to criminal violence. *Criminology*, 21(1), 59-74. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1745-9125.1983.tb00251.x>
- Ganpat, S. M., Liem, M., van der Leun, J., & Nieuwbeerta, P. (2014). The influence of criminal history on the likelihood of committing lethal versus nonlethal violence. *Homicide Studies*, 18(2), 221-240. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1088767912466082>

- Ganpat, S. M., van der Leun, J., & Nieuwbeerta, P. (2013). The influence of event characteristics and actors' behaviour on the outcome of violent events. Comparing lethal with non-lethal events. *British Journal of Criminology*, 53(4), 685-704. <https://doi.org/10.1093/bjc/azt017>
- Ganpat, S. M., van der Leun, J., & Nieuwbeerta, P. (2017). The relationship between a person's criminal history, immediate situational factors, and lethal versus non-lethal events. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence*, 32(17), 2535-2565. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0886260515593297>
- Gelles, R. J. (1991). Physical violence, child abuse, and child homicide. A continuum of violence, or distinct behaviors? *Human Nature*, 2(1), 59-72. <https://doi.org/10.1007/BF02692181>
- Giacopassi, D. J., Sparger, J. R., & Stein, P. M. (1992). The effects of emergency medical care on the homicide rate. Some additional evidence. *Journal of Criminal Justice*, 20(3), 249-259. [https://doi.org/10.1016/0047-2352\(92\)90049-F](https://doi.org/10.1016/0047-2352(92)90049-F)
- Griffin, R. L., Davis, G. G., Levitan, E. B., MacLennan, P. A., Redden, D. T., & McGwin, G. (2014). The effect of trauma care on the temporal distribution of homicide mortality in Jefferson County, Alabama. *The American Surgeon*, 80(3), 253-260. <https://doi.org/10.1177/000313481408000320>
- Harries, K. D. (1989). Homicide and assault. A comparative analysis of attributes in Dallas neighborhoods, 1981-1985. *The Professional Geographer*, 41(1), 29-38. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.0033-0124.1989.00029.x>
- Harris, A. R., Thomas, S. H., Fisher, G. A., & Hirsch, D. J. (2002). Murder and medicine. The lethality of criminal assault 1960-1999. *Homicide Studies*, 6(2), 128-166. <https://doi.org/10.1177/108876790200600203>
- Hipple, N. K., & Magee, L. A. (2017). The difference between living and dying. Victim characteristics and motive among nonfatal shootings and gun homicides. *Violence and Victims*, 32(6), 977-997. <https://doi.org/10.1891/0886-6708.VV-D-16-00150>
- Jaakkola, E. (2020). Designing conceptual articles. Four approaches. *AMS Review*, 10, 18-26. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s13162-020-00161-0>
- Kadir, Z. K. (2026a). Beyond firearms. Mapping global patterns of non-firearm homicide in comparative criminological perspective. *Punggawa Global Research. Jurnal Multidisiplin*, 1(2), 1-10.
- Kadir, Z. K. (2026b). Defining murder across legal traditions. Toward a transsystemic theory of intentional homicide. *LEXARA. Journal of Law and Legal Studies*, 1(1), 1-10.
- Kadir, Z. K. (2026c). The geography of lethal violence escalation. Cross-national differences in recorded homicide and serious assault across structural contexts. *Punggawa Law Review*, 1(4), 10-21. <https://doi.org/10.67707/plr.v1i4.158>
- Kadir, Z. K. (2026d). Mapping recorded homicide in Indonesia. An ecological criminological analysis using BPS data. *Punggawa Law Review*, 1(2), 9-18.
- Kadir, Z. K. (2026e). Melampaui kajian pembunuhan. Urgensi kekerasan mematikan lethal violence sebagai bidang analisis kriminologis tersendiri. *Jurnal Pendidikan Sosial dan Humaniora*, 5(3), 3992-4008.
- Kadir, Z. K. (2026f). Mengapa pembunuhan terjadi dan bagaimana negara dapat menghentikannya. Analisis perbandingan kebijakan kriminal pencegahan pembunuhan. *Sinergi. Jurnal Ilmiah Multidisiplin*, 2(6). <https://doi.org/10.66914/6fegf177>
- Kadir, Z. K. (2026g). Meninjau kembali konsep penularan pembunuhan homicide contagion. Membedakan transmisi dan pengelompokan kekerasan mematikan. *Journal of Research and Publication Innovation*, 4(3), 8-15.
- Kadir, Z. K. (2026h). The social anatomy of homicide. Relationships, situations, and legal categories in Indonesia. *SOCILEXIA. Journal of Social Sciences and Legal Studies*, 1(1), 1-10.
- Kadir, Z. K. (2026i). Who becomes a killer? Explaining why most high-risk individuals never commit homicide. *Punggawa Global Research. Jurnal Multidisiplin*, 1(3), 16-25. <https://doi.org/10.67707/pgr.v1i3.98>
- Klein, B. R., Schnell, C., Chermak, S. M., & Freilich, J. D. (2025). Examining the effects of firearm lethality and aggressors' intentions to kill on injurious firearm violence at American schools. A research note. *Criminology*, 63(3), 673-686. <https://doi.org/10.1111/1745-9125.70005>

- Libby, N. E., & Corzine, J. (2007). Lethal weapons. Effects of firearm types on the outcome of violent encounters. *Justice Research and Policy*, 9(2), 113-137. <https://doi.org/10.3818/JRP.9.2.2007.113>
- Loeber, R., Pardini, D., Homish, D. L., Wei, E. H., Crawford, A. M., Farrington, D. P., Stouthamer-Loeber, M., Creemers, J., Koehler, S. A., & Rosenfeld, R. (2005). The prediction of violence and homicide in young men. *Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology*, 73(6), 1074-1088. <https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-006X.73.6.1074>
- Oliver, G. J., Walter, D. P., & Redmond, A. D. (2017). Prehospital deaths from trauma. Are injuries survivable and do bystanders help? *Injury*, 48(5), 985-991. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.injury.2017.02.026>
- Phillips, S., & Maume, M. O. (2007). Have gun will shoot? Weapon instrumentality, intent, and the violent escalation of conflict. *Homicide Studies*, 11(4), 272-294. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1088767907306507>
- Pokorny, A. D. (1965). Human violence. A comparison of homicide, aggravated assault, suicide, and attempted suicide. *Journal of Criminal Law, Criminology and Police Science*, 56(4), 488-497. <https://doi.org/10.2307/1141678>
- Scott, T. L., Johnson, N. J., Martin, K., Pope, M., & Strom, K. J. (2025). Leveraging the National Incident-Based Reporting System to compare fatal and nonfatal shooting incidents. *Journal of Crime and Justice*. Advance online publication. <https://doi.org/10.1080/0735648X.2025.2490520>
- Snyder, H. (2019). Literature review as a research methodology. An overview and guidelines. *Journal of Business Research*, 104, 333-339. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jbusres.2019.07.039>
- Summers, L., & Rogers, T. G. (2020). Too far for comfort? Situational access to emergency medical care and violent assault lethality. *Crime Science*, 9, 16. <https://doi.org/10.1186/s40163-020-00124-7>
- Suonpaa, K., Aaltonen, M., & van der Geest, V. (2020). Crime and income trajectories preceding lethal and non-lethal violence. *Journal of Criminal Justice*, 68, 101685. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jcrimjus.2020.101685>
- Suonpaa, K., Kivivuori, J., & Aaltonen, M. (2018). Criminal history and social disadvantage as predictors of the severity of violent offending. *International Journal of Comparative and Applied Criminal Justice*, 42(2-3), 139-155. <https://doi.org/10.1080/01924036.2016.1270843>
- van Breen, J. A., Devarakonda, S. K., & Liem, M. (2023). Can homicide serve as an indicator of non-lethal crime? A systematic literature review. *International Criminology*, 3, 99-115. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s43576-023-00086-1>
- van Breen, J. A., Rabolini, A., & Liem, M. (2024). Old habits die hard. Assessing the validity of using homicide as an indicator of other violent crimes. *European Journal of Criminology*, 21(3), 452-466. <https://doi.org/10.1177/14773708231211170>
- Weaver, G. S., Wittekind, J. E. C., Huff-Corzine, L., Corzine, J., Petee, T. A., & Jarvis, J. P. (2004). Violent encounters. A criminal event analysis of lethal and nonlethal outcomes. *Journal of Contemporary Criminal Justice*, 20(4), 348-368. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1043986204269381>
- Zimring, F. E. (1972). The medium is the message. Firearm caliber as a determinant of death from assault. *The Journal of Legal Studies*, 1(1), 97-123. <https://doi.org/10.1086/467479>