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Crime and Deviance Topics

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An independent academic psychologist, based in England, who has written extensively on different areas of psychology with an emphasis on the critical stance towards traditional ideas.

A complete listing of his writings at http://psychologywritings.synthasite.com/.

CONTENTS

1. HONOUR-BASED CRIMES

1.1. INTRODUCTION

Khan (2018) outlined the situation: "Despite their historic and ubiquitous occurrence, honour crimes are now more commonly associated with Middle Eastern or South Asian families living in patriarchal collectivist cultures in countries of origin and diasporic communities worldwide. Honour abuse victims – mostly young females – are reportedly controlled, coerced, forced into marriage, humiliated, beaten, tortured and even murdered by close relatives in the name of so-called 'honour'. This cultural conceptualisation of honour is both powerful and pervasive. Built upon rigid gender-based hierarchies, it is often used to promote and excuse aggressive hypermasculinity and female dehumanisation" (p237).

Henry et al (2018) noted that "some have argued that using the term honour killing, rather than domestic violence or femicide, may create 'bright boundaries' between those considered insiders and outsiders and between immigrants and the majority (Shier and Shor 2016). Labelling an incident an honour killing also draws attention away from the broader issue of patriarchy and maintains hierarchies in social structures. Perry (2001) has argued that both violence against women and ideologically motivated homicides allow offenders to maintain dominance and power" (p272).

A key issue for Khan (2018) was why some men use or support honour-based violence (HBV), and why some women endorse it.

The UK Crown Prosecution Service defined HBV as "a collection of practices, which are used to control behaviour within families or other social groups to protect perceived cultural and religious beliefs and/ or honour" (quoted in Gangoli et al 2018).

Baker et al (1999) distinguished three elements to honour killings:

- Control of female behaviour.

- Feelings of shame as a male has lost control.

- The role of the community in relation to this shame (eg: enhancing it).

The United Nations estimated that 5000 women and children are victims of honour killings each year, though Henry et al (2018) believed this an under-reporting of the actual numbers (appendix 1A).

The motivations behind HBV vary between communities. For example, perceived sexual misconduct in Jordan, versus perceived westernisation in the USA (Henry et al 2018).

Henry et al (2018) suggested a parallel between HBV and "hate homicides" - to punish the "other".

These researchers analysed data from the US Extremist Crime Database (ECDB), which includes "completed and attempted domestic extremist homicides" in the USA since 1990. The database includes official government sources, reports from specialist "watch groups", scholarly work, and web searches. This study used data up to the end of 2016.

Honour killings were defined using the following criteria - actual or perceived behaviour by the victim that shamed the family, and the motivation of the killing was to regain the honour of the family or community. Sixteen cases were found (n = 40 victims). These were compared to twenty-one cases (with 28 victims) of anti-LGBTQ [lesbian, gay, bisexual, trans, queer] homicides in the ECDB.

Shame to the family was common with the honour killings, but not reported in the anti-LGBTQ cases. The causes of shame were victim too westernised (n = 10 cases), victim wanting a divorce or rejecting an arranged marriage (n = 5 cases), and perceived inappropriate sexual behaviour (n = 3 cases).

"In contrast, shame within the anti-LGBTQ homicides was partially the consequence of personal ignominy. Evidence suggests that 23.81 percent of the anti-LGBTQ homicides were committed as a result of the offender attempting to suppress homosexual urges. For example, two brothers shot and killed a gay couple during a hate crime spree. One brother later admitted to being gay and that he was ashamed of his sexuality" (Henry et al 2018 p277).

Both groups of homicides involved responses to "acts that are shameful according to religious tenets".

Protecting masculinity was more common as a motive with the anti-LGBTQ cases, while protecting honour generally was more important in the honour killings.

1.2. INTIMATE PARTNER HBV

Lowe et al (2018) investigated HBV against wives in a survey of 579 participants in four countries (India, Iran, Malaysia, Pakistan). A scenario of infidelity was read first (table 1.1), followed by questions about the perceptions of damage to the husband's reputation, and approval of use of HBV against the wife.

- "Asfia/Kimi/Maryam [name varied in each country] and Pasha/Zuala/Ali have been having an affair for 6 months; they work together as teachers at a local college. Asfia/Kimi/Maryam's husband, Rizwa/Tluanga/Riza, had no idea of her infidelity although he himself was having an extra-marital affair. He only became suspicious when he saw them holding hands in a photo taken at a college social event. When Asfia/Kimi/Maryam came home from work that night, Rizwa/Tluanga/Riza called her 'a whore', punched her to the ground and kicked her. He threatened that unless she ended her affair with Pasha/Zuala/Ali, he would kill her".

(Source: Lowe et al 2018) p285)

Table 1.1 - Scenario of infidelity.

Male participants were more approving of the use of HBV by the husband than female participants in all four countries, but this was strongest in Pakistan. "Contrary to predictions, no gender differences were found for perceptions of damage to the husband's honour or how he was perceived. Interestingly, both males and females responded that the husband's honour had been damaged by the wife's infidelity. This implies that within honour cultures, males and females endorse honour-based beliefs in similar measure, and both believe that female infidelity to be damaging to a husband's reputation" (Lowe et al 2018 p288).

This fits with other research that shows female support for HBV. For example, Lowe et al (2018) quoted one study that found that over half of female participants in Pakistan approved of a husband "honour-killing" his wife after discovering her affair with a stranger.

Table 1.2 summarises the key methodological issues with Lowe et al's (2018) study.

- Multi-nation study.
- The samples were recruited via advertisements around university campuses.
- The participants in all four countries were young adults with higher educational levels than the average, and "their opinions may not be representative of their older or less-educated counter-parts" (Lowe et al 2018 p288).
- No information on demographic factors that may be relevant to attitudes towards HBV (eg: socio-economic status; rural/urban background).
- The questionnaire was completed online.
- One hypothetical scenario only, and it lacked ecological validity. However, "hypothetical scenarios provide a scientific way to test specific variables while not confounding results by including extraneous factors that may be apparent in real and uncontrolled cases" (Lowe et al 2018 p289).
- Different scenarios (eg: not involving marital infidelity or with a female HBV perpetrator) may have elicited different attitude responses.

Table 1.2 - Key methodological issues with Lowe et al (2018).

1.3. COLLECTIVE VIOLENCE

Concentrating on HBV in Finland, Lidman and Hong (2018) commented that while it is "closely linked with cultural perceptions of honour and gender norms, collectivity ought to be perceived as an equally important part of this context" (p262). Thus, the concept of "collective violence", which overlaps with HBV, and is defined as "the attempts - both criminalised and non-criminalised acts - to prevent and punish the behaviour that conflicts with the collectivist moral norms" (Lidman and Hong 2018 p262) (eg: violence against women; domestic abuse). Gender expectations, especially for women and girls, underpin this idea [1]. So, "the desirable behaviour code for girls and women consists mainly of chastity and loyalty to male members of the family, whereas an honourable man lives under the social pressure forcing him to guard the women that are under his control and, if necessary, to punish them for breaking social norms. In

[1] Goffman (1976) described subtle gender stereotyping in advertisements, including:
- "function ranking" - "the tendency to depict men in executive roles and as more functional when collaborating with women" (Jones 1991 p232).
- "ritualisation of subordination" - "an overabundance of images of women lying on floors and beds or as objects of men's mock assaults" (Jones 1991 p232).
- "feminine touch" - "the tendency to show women cradling and caressing the surface of objects with their fingers" (Jones 1991 p232).

the eyes of the community, this system is largely justified" (Lidman and Hong 2018 p262).

Lidman and Hong (2018) were at pains to emphasise the cultural, not religious, basis of HBV, and that different minority communities behave in different ways in relation to it (eg: wrong to say that all Muslim immigrant communities in Finland support HBV).

Lidman and Hong (2018) produced an online survey on collective violence, which was completed by 111 anti-violence professionals in Finland (eg: police officers; shelter personnel). A number of the respondents also participated in a conference on the subject.

Responses varied between participants working in the justice system and victim services. For example, the justice system concentrates on physical abuse and homicide, which can be charged, but misses forms of domestic abuse like psychological control and coercion (which the victim services see as important).

On the other hand, not all domestic abuse in minorities communities is honour-based or collective violence, and professionals may not be able to recognise this (Lidman and Hong 2018).

Lidman and Hong (2018) summed up about the concept of collective violence: "The application of the criminal code is focused on punishing the one perpetrator who committed the actual, concrete violation. Even when this one individual would be sentenced, from the victim's perspective, the threat of violence will not disappear unless the community perceives the honour restored... There is a risk that the victim is a target for new violations, perpetrated either by the same perpetrator (after serving the possible sentence), or by other members of the community" (p269).

1.4. FEMALE PERPETRATORS OF HBA

Bates (2018) considered the role of female perpetrators of HBA, particularly in cases in England and Wales.

Male victims are a minority (eg: one-fifth of forced marriage victims according to UK government data), as are female perpetrators (eg: 14% of defendants in HBA cases in 2016-17 in England and Wales) (Bates 2018).

How to explain female perpetrators? There is a debate about the active choice they have, and Bates (2018) noted cases where the "women's roles seem to be more complex and the line between 'perpetrator' and something more akin to a 'coerced victim' blurred" (p294). on the other hand, Giovannini (1987), for instance, found women who exposed their sister's secret

affairs through "fear of being tainted by association" (Bates 2018).

Kandiyoti (1988) used the idea of "patriarchal bargain" to suggest that some women (eg: older ones) gain some power in the patriarchal family by "policing" other women (eg: younger ones). Payton (2011) stated that "patriarchal structures do not just unite men against women, but the older generation against the younger. Older women may be included in family councils and take a role in conspiracies, provided they have internalised the gender roles of the 'honour' system and play a masculine role in enforcing them on the younger generation" (quoted in Bates 2018).

Bates's (2018) research involved analysis of 162 cases classed as HBA by a police force in South England, or two domestic abuse services in the North and Midlands [2].

Where the gender of the primary perpetrator was clear, 8% were female, but including secondary perpetrators, half of all cases involved women. Women as perpetrators were involved in HBA against family members, but not against intimate partners. The victim's mother was the most common female perpetrator.

Bates (2018) summed up the nature of the abuse: "Abuse from mothers commonly took the form of controlling behaviour and emotional manipulation, including threats to harm to kill themselves or crying/pleading with victims not to shame them. Less physical violence was recorded from mothers; this tended to come from fathers and brothers. By contrast, mothers-in-law were more associated with trapping victims at home, physically preventing them from leaving, domestic servitude and carrying out physical abuse – including slapping, pushing, beating" (p297).

Nineteen cases gave a fuller description of the women's involvement, and from them three roles emerged:

i) "Controllers" - Women took the lead and directed others (eg: mothers-in-law towards daughters-in-law) (five cases).

Example - "a 30-year-old Muslim Indian women experiencing domestic abuse from her husband (verbal, physical, coercive control and rape). She said the assaults were ordered by her mother-in-law, some carried out herself, and some by the victim's husband under the mother-in-law's direction" (Bates 2018 p297).

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[2] There are two key methodological issues with this study:
a) Only cases reported to three agencies in three areas of England.
b) Data collected for different purposes to the researcher (eg: for prosecution by the police).

ii) "Collaborators" - Women supported the male perpetrators (eleven cases).

Example - "a 24-year-old British Asian woman who had fled a forced marriage from her brother and mother. There was physical abuse from her brother, and policing from her mother who prevented her wearing make-up and checked on her whereabouts constantly. She was locked in the house, not allowed out on her own and not fed for periods of time. Her mother had threatened to kill herself if the victim ever left home" (Bates 2018 p298).

iii) "Coerced" - Women forced to help (eg: victims of domestic abuse themselves) (three cases).

Example - "a 20-year-old British Pakistani women whose parents were preparing to marry her to a cousin in Pakistan. Her father was physically and verbally abusive and controlling, and had tried to strangle her. Her mother was suspected of passing information to the father about the victim, but police records show her to be a repeated victim of previous domestic abuse herself from her husband (the father)" (Bates 2018 p298).

Bates (2018) commented on these findings: "there has been some 'essentialising' (Gill and Mitra-Kahn 2010), in which the roles and motives of female perpetrators have been flattened together to become one-dimensional. This can create a falsely dichotomous discourse, where it is tempting to see women as either wholly innocent or wrongly whitewashed. In fact, these data suggest that women's roles are more varied than current conceptual and policy understandings allow, and that female perpetrators are no single, homogenous group. There is evidence of female solidarity and advocacy on behalf of the victim, as well as of females actively acting against the victim. As Elden (2011) has argued, women perpetrators play different roles – and these roles may point to as yet not sufficiently understood power relations within families" (p301).

1.5. VULNERABLE ADULTS

Aplin (2018) focused on vulnerable victims and honour-based abuse (HBA). "Vulnerable" in the legal sense in the UK includes under 18s, or individuals with a mental disorder, learning disability, or physical disability, and key is the lack of capacity to make decisions (to marry or not, for example).

In her research with 100 incidents of HBA reported to one English metropolitan police force, Aplin (2018) found that nine were categorised as vulnerable in the sense of disability or disorder. This meant that

specialist police officers more often than not had no experience investigating vulnerable victim cases. Twenty-two cases involved under 18s.

"The practice of marrying vulnerable victims appears to be effected to ensure that vulnerable offspring were cared for, due to their perceived limited options and because their parents were ageing. Furthermore, exploiting vulnerability provides visas for foreigners wanting to reside in the UK" (Aplin 2018 p241).

Aplin (2018) argued that some of the cases showed a lack of effective intervention by professionals (eg: leaving the vulnerable individual in the care of the family even after HBA), and other cases illustrated how professionals downplayed victim vulnerability (eg: the free-will to stop a forced marriage). "What was notable, within the 'free-will' argument, was the way professionals overlooked protestations by the victim and unquestioningly accepted explanations proffered by perpetrating relatives. For instance, a mentally disabled and blind victim had, according to the victims' sister, threatened to harm herself unless she was permitted to marry her first cousin (case 46). This explanation was accepted and consequently neither police or Adult Social Care took action to rescue the vulnerable victim from Pakistan" (Aplin 2018 p242).

Aplin (2018) also noted 29 cases of self-injuring HBA victims, with overdosing being the most common method, and thirty-nine cases of depression (one-quarter of them children).

On the other hand, the perpetrators used the label "mental" to undermine the credibility of the victim in nine cases. For example: "A male cousin, told police 'he believes she doesn't really know what she is doing' that 'she is not all there' and 'may not tell officers the truth if other people are present (case 14)" (Aplin 2018 p245).

Aplin (2018) drew out two points here: "First, the ease by which professionals, at face value, accepted the perpetrators assessment of victims. Second, the real or perceived vulnerability of the victim becomes the central 'problem' and focus for professionals. This served to deflect attention from criminal behaviours and medicalised, under-policed and under-protected victims" (p245).

The problematising of victims was sometimes easier than dealing with the wider issue of HBA for professionals. Aplin (2018) stated: "Practitioners, certainly within this sample, appear to focus on problems that are easier to resolve, such as having a meeting, managing a teenager's perceived problematic behaviour or a victim 'impairment', 'waiting' for a disclosure, dealing with ancillary health issues, rather than dealing

with the allegation of HBA. It is argued that professionals retreated behind the process of rules and regulations as an 'avoidance strategy' (Knott and Miller 1987), which allowed them to disengage from the victims' needs" (p247).

1.6. FEMALE GENITAL MUTILATION

Gangoli et al (2018) reported the findings from fourteen interviewees with adult victim-survivors of female genital mutilation (FGM) living in the UK.

Advocates of FGM refer to "tradition, religion, protecting virginity and familial honour, aesthetics and hygiene, although these vary according to country and area. In some cultures, girls are circumcised during a rite of passage, in which FGM may symbolise their transition from childhood to adulthood... In several parts of the world, FGM is an accepted social expectation and families who do not follow this custom may be stigmatised and isolated... It may also be difficult for girls and women who have not experienced FGM to get married... In this way, FGM, not unlike forced marriage, is in many instances clearly aligned to codes of honour, particularly because non-adherence can have serious consequences for the family" (Gangoli et al 2018 p252).

In terms of the negative consequences, studies have reported long-term effects on sexuality, pregnancy and reproductive health, as well as psychological consequences from FGM (Gangoli et al 2018).

FGM is illegal in the UK, though successful prosecutions are very rare.

Gangoli et al's (2018) interviewees were from Sierra Leone, Somalia, Somaliland, and Nigeria, and had experienced FGM in their country of origin between five and fourteen years old. Tow key barriers emerged from the interviews to reporting new cases of FGM to the authorities in this country - fear of retribution from the wider community, and interference in the private family life. These were summed up by one interviewee: "... we cannot report to the police because I don't want to interfere with other people's lives. If I see someone is doing FGM, I don't want to interfere with other people. That's not fair. [...] If someone does FGM and I report to the police that family will come to me and I get into trouble" (p256).

But even within families, FGM may be kept quiet. One interviewee said: "Even my sister, I wouldn't know what she was going to do. We are a very close family but we don't talk about those kinds of subjects... It's hard to know [...] until, when they come back [from visiting the parent's country of origin], and you overhear them with

the children" (p256).

This idea of "overhearing" was difficult, Gangoli et al (2018) pointed out that "in order to be in a position to report something that one had overheard one would need to be in close enough proximity that it would be hard to maintain anonymity. Further, there are difficulties in trusting such accounts. We suggest that respondents felt that such 'overheard' comments may not be taken seriously by the police, as they are unreliable; and that respondents were concerned that they may suffer retribution within the community if they were seen as reporting on these practices" (p256).

Add to that professionals with "race anxiety" (Burman et al 2004) (ie: the fear of being labelled "racist"), who may hesitate to act. On the other hand, two interviewees reported insensitive interactions with the police. One case was "where one family had made a false allegation to the police of FGM within another family, as part of an ongoing feud. Participants felt that the police had taken the report at face value and had searched the family's property without first establishing the 'facts'. This incident may well have fed into wider fears within the community that the police treats allegations of FGM insensitively" (Gangoli et al 2018 p257).

All in all, the interviewees did not see "the criminal justice system as the most feasible route to justice. For FGM victim-survivors who are first-generation immigrant women, these perceptions are often linked to their multiple marginalisations, including poor English language skills and previous negative experiences with the police. Others held in tension the horror of what they have endured with feelings of loyalty towards their family and/or community, and found the law unable to attend to their more pressing needs and desires – for example, to have a smear test without interrogation, gasps from the medical staff or attitudinal changes within their community. Their experiences offer an important insight into the intersections of gender, race, immigration status and religious faith that FGM victim-survivors must negotiate in their encounters with the state" (Gangoli et al 2018 p258).

1.7. APPENDIX 1A - REPORT OR NOT REPORT

1.7.1. Decision-Making

Game theory (Morgenstern and Von Neumann 1980), and particularly "prisoners' dilemma" (PD) can be applied to decisions. Game theory considers individual decision-making when decisions and outcomes are dependent on the choices of others. The PD is an application of this idea

to a hypothetical situation of two prisoners in separate rooms who must decide to confess to the joint crime or not. There are different outcomes depending on the decisions made (figure 1.1).

The rational decision for the individual is to confess because staying silent when the partner confesses is the worst option. On the other hand, if the partner can be trusted, staying silent is best for both.

Prisoner 1	Prisoner 2: Confess	Stay silent
Confess	Both 5 years in prison	1 - freed 2 - 10 years
Stay silent	1 - 10 years 2 - freed	Both 2 years in prison

(Source: Conway et al 2009)

Figure 1.1 - Hypothetical pay-off matrix for PD.

1.7.2. Non-Reporting of Rape

With the development of the "#MeToo movement" in 2017, the emphasis has been on reporting sexual violence. However, many rape survivors do not report the crime. This is viewed by activists as "a problematic form of inaction". But such a view "can have the unintended consequence of implicitly taking away agency from rape survivors by failing to acknowledge other, less visible, forms of action as legitimate. For some survivors, bringing the perpetrator to justice may not be their primary concern. Thus, the decision not to report may be an expression of agency and control" (Huemmer et al 2019 p436).

Huemmer et al (2019) explored this idea in interviews with five non-reporting (known perpetrator) rape survivors who were female undergraduates in the south-western USA. The researchers summed up the findings: "The survivors' accounts consistently demonstrated that the rape serves as a traumatic event that shatters pre-existing routines and includes loss of agency and control, which disrupts how the survivor interprets and understands the self, leading her to search for ways to regain agency, thereby restoring and reconstructing a 'new self', which is accomplished by detaching and leaving behind the 'old self'. Specifically, the women constructed narratives about a new self that sheds 'rape' as a central identity by leaving their old self behind" (Huemmer et al 2019 p440).

The researchers used a symbolic interactionism approach that sees the social world as "learned,

negotiated, and refined through an ongoing process of interaction with social others" (Huemmer et al 2019 p437). The self is part of the social world, and individuals construct narratives to make sense of it all. "Narratives about the self are not just a personal affair – they are constructed through interaction with the social world... Personal narratives exist within socio-cultural contexts that contain complex systems of meaning... The stories a person feels they can tell may be constrained by prevailing norms and values, institutional regulations, widely available social narratives, and so on. Individuals will have an acute awareness of how others will perceive certain stories, as well as an internalised understanding that certain accounts of their life and/or actions are simply not to be told" (Huemmer et al 2019 p438).

Exploring the key themes of the interviews further:

a) "A break in routines" - Labelling an experience as "rape" meant that for the women "the seemingly ordered and intelligible world they had come to know had been disrupted in a significant way and would no longer be what it once was" (Huemmer et al 2019 p441).

The nature of the prior relationship with the perpetrator further complicated the experience. "Grace", for example, pointed out: "I invited him in because I trusted him because we were friends before we started messing around" (p441). Later, she said: "I didn't want to scream because I felt like I could probably ruin his life if that happened" (p441).

b) "The disruption of self" - "The more intimate the pre-existing relationship, the less likely it is for a rape survivor to view the rape as a clear-cut situation with a clearly prescribed response, such as reporting the event... The people a person associates with, especially if they are in a romantic relationship, play an important role in determining a person's self-identity and sense of self-worth... If a person is assaulted by a friend or loved one, then they may feel that it reflects badly on the self because the relationship was self-defining" (Huemmer et al 2019 p441).

The loss of control and agency was important, as "Nicole" described: "rape, sexual assault, sexual harassment takes away [our] autonomy... that kind of taints how we see ourselves and how we see our control... that's at the very core of us to act [for] ourselves and rape takes that away" (p442). Regaining control became crucial.

c) "The restoration of self" - This was done by constructing "an old self" and "a new self". The "old self" was to blame, whereas the "new self" was wider and

agentic. For example, "Jane, who was raped by her boyfriend, began her story by critically reflecting on her prior actions with that boyfriend. She states, 'I felt bad because I let it get to that point and I should have left or broken up with him earlier'. Jane explains further, 'At the time, it didn't matter; now it does. And I felt like it was probably because I didn't know my worth'. Jane constructs her old self as naïve and ignorant of her worth. In doing so, she clearly establishes a 'new' self that is more self-aware, more understanding of who she is and who she is supposed to be" (Huemmer et al 2019 p444).

d) Not reporting the rape - The change to the "new self" was part of the reason for not reporting, as well as the context of the university campus which "provides a social environment that is both particularly conducive to rape, as well as unreceptive to reporting" (Huemmer et al 2019 p445).

"Jane's" comments summed it up: "I didn't want to go through the whole like court process. And like well tell your story again, tell it again, tell it again. I felt like that was going to be holding me back from a lot of stuff. And then I didn't want people thinking that I was stupid. Because I think I was stupid. But I didn't want people like, 'well you stayed. Well what did you do to make him do that?' Basically switching the roles like I was the bad guy. Like I was the reason that it happened. And I already feel like it was my fault and I didn't want to keep hearing it" (p446).

Huemmer et al (2019) ended with this statement: "To be clear, we are not arguing against reporting. Social mechanisms that work to deter sexual assault, as well as assure social justice, are vitally important. This much is obvious. At the same time, it is irresponsible to assume that outside observers understand what survivors of sexual assault are going through and that we know better than they do. It is crucial that we first listen to rape survivors and give them agency and voice in the process" (p448).

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2. POLICE RACIST VIOLENCE

2.1. INTRODUCTION

Dukes and Kahn (2017) outlined the topic: "Disproportionate use of force toward racial and ethnic minorities ranges on a continuum from low levels of non-lethal force to highest levels of lethal force... In the United States, people of colour are more likely to experience both threats of..., and actual use of, all levels of non-lethal force in interactions with police... Similarly, in England and Wales, Blacks and other ethnic minorities, refugees, and migrants experience a disproportionate level of force compared to Whites" (p691).

What can social science research tell us about this situation? In the case of fatal encounters with the police in the USA, for example, the term "shooter bias" (appendix 2A) has been coined (Payne 2001). This is "a racially biased pattern of decisions to shoot... such that people are more likely to make shooting mistakes consistent with Black racial stereotypes" [eg: Black men as dangerous, aggressive, and criminal] (and Latinos and Muslims) (Dukes and Kahn 2017 p692).

This links to implicit or unconscious bias (Greenwald and Banaji 1995) (ie: biases "held beneath an individual's conscious awareness"; Dukes and Kahn 2017). These ideas are part of the contextual approach to the problem [3].

[3] Carpenter (2008) commented on out-of-character offensive outbursts by celebrities by reference to implicit bias: "Because most people have no conception of the bias in all of us, they react with shock and alarm when racist, anti-Semitic or anti-gay remarks surface from those they admire, and the offenders are sometimes similarly perplexed. But to know how the mind works is to better understand the origins of such unappealing utterances: they stem, of course, from sub-conscious connections embedded in all our minds. And the unsettling truth is that just about any of us could have made them. After all, we cannot fully choose our attitudes, because our conscious minds are not always in the driver's seat: thus, wanting to be non-prejudiced is not the same as being non-prejudiced" (p38).

An alternative approach is the disposition framework (appendix 2B), which focuses on characteristics of individuals as in a "distinct 'police personality'" (Dukes and Kahn 2017). Such a personality shows right-wing authoritarianism (RWA) ("a tendency to adhere to authority figures (appendix 2C), engage in aggression toward out-group members when sanctioned by authority figures, and support traditional values endorsed by authority figures"; Dukes and Kahn 2017 p693), and social dominance orientation (SDO) ("the degree to which a person desires to see their in-group as dominant over other out-groups [4], combined with a willingness to endorse beliefs that support the subjugation of out-groups"; Dukes and Kahn 2017 p693). Both these characteristics link to prejudice, and it is argued that police officers are higher on these characteristics than the general population. However, evidence is inconclusive (Dukes and Kahn 2017).

"Racial profiling" is also a concern. Aymer (2016) referred to the idea of "DWB" (driving while black) for African American men stopped by police if they were "driving an expensive car, or happen to be in a neighbourhood that is dissimilar to their own" (quoted in Bryant-Davis et al 2017).

2.2. FATAL SHOOTINGS

The "Washington Post" newspaper maintains a database of fatal shootings by the police in the USA - for example, 991 in 2015. Of these cases, half the victims were White and on-quarter Black, but for shootings of unarmed individuals (n = 94), 40% were Black men (Jones 2017). "Not only are Black men more likely to be fatally killed by police, they are even more likely when they are unarmed" (Jones 2017 p873) [5].

Possible explanations include:

i) "Racially based policing" (RBP) - The police are

[4] Intragroup processes refer to behaviours within a group, like conformity to the majority, while intergroup relations is the interactions between groups. Dovidio (2013) noted that research bridging both these areas is "surprisingly rare". He recommended the "common ingroup identity model" (Gaertner and Dovidio 2000) [4] as a way of rectifying this problem. Intergroup conflict is reduced by encouraging individuals "to conceive of themselves as a single, more inclusive superordinate group rather than as two completely separate groups" (Dovidio 2013 p11). But it is not perfect, as "creating a sense of common ingroup identity may arouse social comparisons with other groups and thus activate new forms of intergroup biases" (Dovidio 2013 p12).

[5] Nine out of ten people killed by police in 2017 in the state of Rio de Janeiro in Brazil were Black, according to official sources (Sakamoto 2019). Sakamoto (2019) offered two important reasons - the police are trained to protect the rich (ie: White) individuals in the "postcard" areas of the city, and state authorities support police lethality (as in shoot first and ask questions later).

more likely to shoot a Black suspect than a White suspect even controlling for racial differences in criminal activity (Scott et al 2017; appendix 2D)

ii) "Hoodie effect" - "The hoodie is a warning that the person wearing it, 'in this context', may be dangerous — a perception that lowers the threshold for fear response!" (Jones 2017 p874).

iii) The role of attitudes, perceptions and beliefs (eg: negative stereotypes of Black men; victim blaming).

iv) "The gorilla effect" - Goff et al (2008) analysed historical reports of individuals convicted of serious crimes. It was found that "news articles written about Blacks who were convicted of capital crimes were more likely to contain ape-relevant language than news articles written about White convicts. Moreover, those who were implicitly portrayed as more ape-like in these articles were more likely to be executed by the state than those who are not. Dehumanisation withholds sentiments that humanise others and enables violence without compunction" (Jones 2017 p877).

v) "Marley hypothesis" - This is different perceptions between Whites and Blacks of the level of racial discrimination (appendix 2E)

Hirschfield (2015 quoted in Jones 2017) offered four reasons for differences in police shootings between the USA and European countries.

a) Guns more common in the USA, so there is a greater perceived risk for the police officer, and a greater possibility of misidentifying an object as a gun.

b) Racism.

c) US police forces are more local-based, which means variations in standards and behaviours between areas. "In Europe, police forces are provincial, regional, or national, enabling a more uniform set of codes and standards to be enforced" (Jones 2017 p880).

d) Different legal frameworks under which police forces operate. For example, a police officer who thinks a suspect has a gun and so shoots is treated differently in terms of absolution (ie: finding guilty) (Jones 2017).

However, Jones (2017) made this point: "Yes, there are fewer lethal use-of-force incidents in Europe directed at racial and ethnic minorities. However, the sentiments underlying stereotyping and dehumanising beliefs are not different. The difference lies, it seems,

in the conception and administration of policing that suggests an important avenue for amelioration of this problem in the United States" (pp881-882).

2.2.1. Police-on-Police Shootings

A rare occurrence is police-on-police shootings, where an off-duty police officer, say, is mistakenly shot by an on-duty officer as a crime perpetrator. In the state of New York, for example, between 1989 and 2009, there were ten such fatalities (eight of which were Black individuals) (Stone et al 2010).

In fact, the New York State data identified, in total, 26 fatal shootings of police officers with fifteen on-duty (mostly plain clothes and/or undercover) (two of which were Black officers), and one situation unknown.

Charbonneau et al (2017) commented on the data: "The racial distribution of officers who were fatally shot while on duty is similar to the racial distribution of all officers in 2007. Based on the more conservative 2007 benchmark, we estimate that the likelihood of a Black off-duty officer encountering, being misidentified as a civilian offender, and being fatally shot by another officer was more than 50 times as high as the likelihood that a White off-duty officer would meet the same circumstances and fate" (p750).

These official data are collected by the FBI, and identification of ethnicity may not be entirely accurate. The reports "rely heavily on the narratives from the officers present at the scene and are subject to any number of reporting biases. The high profile and tragic nature of these incidents, as well as the civil and criminal legal implications, could produce strong incentives to selectively report specific details" (Charbonneau et al 2017 pp753-754).

2.2.2. General Discrimination

Perceived and actual discrimination has negative consequences for the health of individuals in minority groups, and Kauff et al (2017) focused on one particular aspect of this - discrimination by members of the police and security firms against immigrant minority groups in Germany, the Netherlands, and Sweden

Though extreme violence like police shootings are rarer in these countries than the USA, police discrimination "seems to be commonplace in Europe", and "a small but substantial number of police officers hold xenophobic attitudes" (Kauff et al 2017 p835).

Kauff et al (2017) used data from the "Children of Immigrants Longitudinal Survey in Four European Countries" (CILS4EW), which began with around 13 000 14

year-olds in 2010-11. This study used data on 4334 immigrant students. The key measures were self-reported health problems in the last six months, ethnic victimisation in school, and perceived discrimination in three situations (eg: "how often do you feel discriminated against or treated unfairly by police or security guards?"). The other two situations were public transport, and leisure services (eg: shops, cafes, nightclubs).

It was found that "perceived police and security discrimination has the most negative link with immigrant students' health problems, yielding a significantly stronger association than ethnic victimisation in school..., perceived discrimination in public transportation..., and perceived discrimination in leisure services" (Kauff et al 2017 p842). The perceived discrimination was low but considerably frequent.

The data were self-reported, and the measures were "sub-optimal" for these researchers. This is a problem of using secondary data (ie: collected by other researchers for their purposes). The use of single-item measures for discrimination meant, as Kauff et al (2017) pointed out, "we cannot disaggregate discrimination by the police (officials of the state) from discrimination by private security companies, whose officials occupy a less prominent public role, and whose personnel selection process is not as carefully controlled. Moreover, it would be interesting to additionally study the influence of discrimination (by the police and security) on objective health variables" (p845).

They continued: "Most importantly, our research is, like most other research in this field, limited in that we were unable to objectively measure discrimination. Instead, we had to rely on immigrant minority group members' self-reported experiences of discrimination. In line with previous studies, it is likely that participants in our study underestimated the extent to which they are discriminated against" (Kauff et al 2017 p845).

2.2.3. Victim Blaming

Dukes and Gaither (2017) focused on the post-humous portrayal of victims of police shootings in the USA. Put simply, "victim blaming". For example, unarmed Black teenager Michael Brown shot in 2014 was described by one newspaper as "no angel", and by a talk show host as "acting like a thug" (quoted in Dukes and Gaither 2017).

Smiley and Fakunle's (2016) content analysis of media coverage after the shootings of six unarmed Black men found four key themes:

- Fixation on the victim's past, particularly criminal.

- Focus on the victim's physique (eg: large stature) and clothing (eg: hoodie).

- Description of the victims' neighbourhood as crime-ridden and impoverished.

- Negative stereotypes about the victims' lifestyles.

Dukes and Gaither (2017) studied victim blaming experimentally with 475 US participants recruited online. Participants read a story about a minor traffic accident which developed into an altercation where one driver fatally shot the unarmed other driver. There were three independent variables:

- Victim - Black or White.
- Shooter - Black or White.
- Victim - Negative background information (eg: time in jail) or positive (eg: honours student).

The dependent variable was the attribution of blame/fault, measured by statements like "the victim is at fault in this incident". It was predicted that a Black victim with negative background information would be blamed more for their own death. This was the case in part. The victim with negative information was viewed as being more at fault than the victim with positive information, irrelevant of ethnicity (mean 3.55 vs 2.53 out of 7, where a higher score is more at fault).

2.3. APPENDIX 2A - SHOOTER BIAS

Kahn and Davies (2017) undertook two experimental studies on "shooter bias".

Study 1 - It was hypothesised that "shooter bias will be more pronounced in perceived dangerous neighbourhoods that are stereotype consistent with Black racial stereotypes, and reduced in Black stereotype inconsistent, perceived safe neighbourhoods" (Kahn and Davies 2017 p727).

Eighty undergraduates in California played the "shooter bias game" on the computer, which presented targets and the participants had to respond ("shoot" or "not shoot") as quickly as possible. The male targets (pictures) varied in terms of gun/neutral object, Black/White, and neighbourhood of event (Beverly Hills - safe/South Central Los Angeles - dangerous). The error rate was recorded, and an error was defined as "shoot" an unarmed suspect or "not shoot" an armed suspect.

"Shooter bias was more likely to occur in the perceived threatening neighbourhood compared to the

perceived safe neighbourhood" (Kahn and Davies 2017 p732) - eg: neutral object/Black target shot more often than neutral object/White target in South Central Los Angeles condition.

Study 2 - This study controlled the variable of clothing worn by the target - dark sweatshirt and baseball cap (threatening) or light coloured shirt and tie (safe). The targets were either Black or White, and carried a gun or a neutral object. Fifty-five more undergraduates were the participants.

"Unarmed Black targets in threatening attire... were marginally more likely to be mistakenly shot compared to unarmed White targets in threatening attire..., such that they were perceived to be more dangerous than unarmed Whites in threatening attire" (Kahn and Davies 2017 p736).

Together these two studies showed experimentally that aspects of racial stereotyping, in this case neighbourhood and clothing, increase the risk of "shooter bias". Put simply, the perceived threat is heightened and a shoot error is made.

Kahn and Davies (2017) made this point in conclusion: "In order to lessen biased shooting decisions, efforts need to be made to reduce the association between context cues (clothing, location), race, and decisions to shoot among officers and members of the public. The primary emphasis must be on changing perceivers' decision making. This may entail a long-term process through training, education, and other intervention routes focused on decision makers and perceivers" (p738).

2.4. APPENDIX 2B - GENERAL AGGRESSION

Kaldewaij et al (2019) observed: "Although police officers are carefully selected for their high emotion-regulation abilities, excessive aggression in police officers has been reported, particularly in socially challenging situations known to elicit high state testosterone levels" (p1161).

These researchers studied 275 recruits at the Dutch Police Academy using functional magnetic resonance imaging (fMRI). The participants performed an approach-avoidance task while in the scanner. This involved responding as quickly as possible to a picture of a facial expression by moving a joystick. For happy faces, they were told to move the joystick towards themselves, and away when angry faces appeared (congruent condition), or the opposite in the incongruent condition. There were 36 face stimuli (half happy, half angry; half male, half

female faces). The task measured the control of impulsivity.

The reaction time overall was fastest for congruent happy faces, and with the least errors, and the opposite for incongruent happy faces. Reaction times and errors were higher in the incongruent than congruent condition.

Looking at the results of the scan, recruits with high self-reported aggression and high levels of testosterone (based on a saliva sample) had less activity in the anterior prefrontal cortex (aPFC), which is involved in controlling impulsive reactions. The upshot was that these individuals would react more impulsively to a stimulus. These individuals made more errors in the incongruent condition (ie: impulsive reaction).

Usually, for individuals with high levels of aggression, the aPFC compensates and controls any impulsive reaction, but high testosterone levels over-ride this mechanism. So, such recruits are more likely to react with aggression in a challenging situation (eg: arresting a difficult suspect) (Kaldewaij et al 2019).

2.5. APPENDIX 2C - OBEDIENCE AND FOLLOWERSHIP

Studying obedience to authority has moved in recent years to understanding "followership" as well as the characteristics of authority and leaders (Edmonds 2011). In other words, leaders are only effective because individuals follow them.

Kelley (1988) distinguished five followership patterns in an organisation:

- Sheep - passive followers.
- Yes people - dependent on leaders.
- Alienated followers - passive followers, but critical.
- Survivors - individuals who survive change by "going with the flow".
- Effective followers - independent, critical thinkers ("courageous followers"; Chaleff 1995).

In the case of destructive obedience (eg: following unethical orders), Padilla et al (2007) referred to a "toxic triangle" - destructive leaders (eg: authoritarian), susceptible followers, and conducive environments (eg: fear of violence for disobedient).

Individuals follow the leader for "both conscious and unconscious reasons", and these include the hope of reward (eg: money, power), and "being part of a meaningful enterprise" (Riggio et al 2008).

Real-life events can help in understanding the complexity of the situation. For example, in the

documentary, "Jonestown: The Life and Death of the People's Temple", talking to the small number of survivors, it is clear that many of the incidents and events before the mass killing were ambiguous at the time, but now are obvious either with hindsight or in the "cold light of day" (ie: outside the situation). For example, the leader Jim Jones made claims before moving to Guyana (Jonestown) that the followers should believe him and not the Bible.

After moving to Jonestown, there was full control over the followers due to the isolation, which was heightened with paranoia and the fear of attack, as well as the belief that individuals couldn't go back. Loudspeakers were playing Jones's recordings continuously.

For many followers, this group appeared to be "hope" in a time when "hope had died" in the USA with the assassination of Kennedy. While on a day-to-day basis, individuals were often too busy with People's Temple activities to think about what was happening.

In relation to destructive obedience, Staub (1990) emphasised the social context: "When a whole society moves along the continuum of destruction, as individuals are re-socialised, the mistreatment and destruction of others become easier and more possible for many people" (quoted in British Medical Association 1992).

Lifton (1987) reported how Nazi doctors were able to divide the self into two parts ("doubling") - eg: "Auschwitz self". The factors involved include (British Medical Association 1992):

- Identification with the cause of torturers;
- Fear of consequences of refusing to co-operate;
- "Bureaucratisation" of medical role (eg: doctor as technician);
- An inadequate understanding of medical ethics.

2.5.1. Recent Obedience Studies

Caspar et al (2016) investigated destructive obedience and the sense of agency.

In the first of two experiments, sixty female students were paired together to play "agent" and "victim", which they did equal amounts of time. The agent could inflict financial pain (ie: take money from the victim) or physical pain (ie: an electric shock) via the computer depending on the group. The conditions were free choice (active control condition) or coercion, where the experimenter told the agent to press the computer key (passive control condition).

The researchers were interested in the interval between command and pressing the key. They predicted that "if coercion indeed reduces the core experience of agency, interval estimates should be longer in the coercive than in the free-choice condition" (Caspar et al 2016 p585). This was found as the interval in the passive control condition was significantly longer (437 vs 370 ms). "Crucially, the effect of coercion was not related to whether harm actually occurred on any specific trial or to the content of any individual instruction (financial loss versus painful shock), but was rather a contextual effect of receiving coercive instructions... 'Only obeying orders' may not merely be a retrospective narrative of behaviour, aimed at secondary gain such as blame avoidance, but may rather reflect a genuine difference in subjective experience of agency. Coercive instructions appear to induce a passive mode of processing in the brain compared to free choice between alternatives" (Caspar et al 2016 p587).

The second experiment with 22 female students measured the EEG of the participants as they followed the procedure as above. The electrical activity in the brain supported the idea of a particular "passive mode of processing" in a situation of coercion. "Both results can be interpreted as a cognitive operation of 'distancing', or reducing the linkage between one's own decision-making, action, and outcome" (Caspar et al 2016 p590). They concluded: "our results do suggest that people may indeed experience reduced agency at the point of being coerced to perform abhorrent actions" (Caspar et al 2016 p590).

2.6. APPENDIX 2D - SCOTT ET AL (2017)

Scott et al (2017) used data from 213 metropolitan areas in the USA over twenty years to test two hypotheses for "the disproportionately high number of Black suspects killed in police officer-involved shootings" (p1):

a) Racially biased policing (RBP) - police use more force against a Black suspect than a White one, all else being equal (eg: behaviour; clothing; location) because of their race.

b) Differential criminal activity (DCA) - Police officers respond to the behaviour of the suspect, and Black suspects show the behaviour that elicits a shooting response more often than White suspects.

Data for the period 1980 to 2000 from the FBI (based on reports provided by law enforcement agencies) were statistically analysed. The researchers calculated

"differential homicide", which is the difference in rates of shootings for Black and White suspects (mean 2.29 vs 0.83 per million population respectively). Scott et al (2017) concluded: "Consistent with the RBP account, we found that officers tended to use deadly force more in response to Black compared to White suspects even after criminal activity was equated" (p16).

Though the data were large-scale, there was a lack of detail about each shooting incident, or the behaviour of a particular suspect. The data did not include cases where the police shot at a suspect and missed. Also the researchers' statistical model involved extrapolation (ie: assumptions - eg: an equal arrest rate for Black and White suspects).

2.7. APPENDIX 2E - DIFFERENT PERCEPTIONS

Leach et al (2017 quoted in Reinka and Leach 2017) showed 99 Black and 96 White US adults recruited online fifteen photographs of police violence against African Americans. The images related to high publicised recent cases, less publicised recent cases, and less recent cases. The Black participants were more familiar with all three groups of cases.

"Their differential familiarity with past instances of police and other violence against Black victims should lead Black and White people to differentially attend to and cognitively process novel examples" (Reinka and Leach 2017 p771). So, an experiment by Reinka and Leach (quoted in Reinka and Leach 2017) showed sixty African American and 74 Euro-American undergraduates photographs of little known cases of police violence against Black and White victims. Participants had their brainwaves measured during the experiment. White participants' brainwave activity showed more attention to all images signalling novelty, while the Black participants' responded more to Black victims. "In addition to being more familiar with past incidents of police and other violence against Black people, Black participants reported feeling more 'attentive' (ie: attentive, alert, concentrating, determined) to the novel images we presented them of police violence against Black victims. In contrast, White participants reported more 'surprise' (ie: surprised, amazed, astonished) at these same images" (Reinka and Leach 2017 p771).

Reinka and Leach (2017) investigated the reaction to the response to police violence as in protests like the "Black Lives Matter" movement with 96 White and 99 Black US online participants. The participants were shown thirty less publicised images of mostly Black protests, and asked, "In your own words, please briefly describe

what was happening in the set of images you just saw?". The answers were coded for words that suggested a positive, negative, or uncertain response.

Reinka and Leach (2017) summed up the findings: "Black participants were more likely than Whites to use justice-related words in phrases such as 'people fighting for equal rights', or 'protests for equality'... Consistent with this, Black participants used more positive language to describe the images of protest, such as 'peaceful protest' or, as one participant described the scenes, 'African Americans are standing up for their rights'... These findings affirm past research that African Americans interpret collective action by their group as an empowering act of solidarity against injustice. However, contrary to our hypotheses, Whites were no more likely than Blacks to use negative descriptions of the protest (such as 'riot' or 'thug')... This may be due, in part, to the small percentage of negative descriptions of the protest by both groups of participants" (p771).

2.7.1. Police Generally

Nadal et al (2017) investigated the perceptions of the police by different ethnic groups in the USA using the Perceptions of Police Scale (POPS) (Nadal and Davidoff 2015). This has twelve statements, rated from 1 (strongly disagree) to 5 (strongly agree), which cover general attitudes towards the police (eg: "police officers protect me"), and perceptions of bias (eg: "police officers treat all people fairly"). A higher score is a more positive perception of the police.

Study 1 involved a convenience sample of 533 psychology students and community members in New York, of which 194 self-identified as Latina/o or Hispanic, 97 as Asian American, 97 as Black/African American, 124 as White, and the reminder as "multi-racial".

The overall mean score was 39 (out of 60), with the White participants' mean highest and the Black participants' mean lowest. Adding gender to the analysis, Black men viewed the police least favourably. There was no overall gender or age differences in POPS scores.

Study 2 looked at the personal experience with the police of 222 psychology undergraduates. They were asked how often they had been stopped by the police in the last six months, the reason why, and how they felt about it. Sixty-one participants had been stopped, and they completed open-ended questions about the experience. The responses were analysed for themes:

i) Perceived reasons for stop by police.

a) Situational factors (most common response)- eg: "driving with music too loud" (Latina female).

b) Race - eg: "they thought I looked like I'm up to no good... because of my race" (Hispanic male).

c) Appearance - eg: "I feel like this happened because it was really dark and I was on my way home and I had my hood on my sweater up so you couldn't see my face" (Black/Latino male).

d) Age - eg: "because my car seems to be too expensive for a person of my age" (Latino male).

e) Random bag search - eg: "I was carrying a large bag onto the train" (Hispanic male).

f) Attributions of police officer - eg: "I think the police officer had nothing better to do" (Hispanic female).

ii) Responses to being stopped.

a) Emotional - Varying between neutral (eg: "I'm real used to it"; Black/Latino male) to anger (eg: "It made me upset and kind of pissed me off"; Hispanic/Puerto Rican female), and offence (eg: "made me feel sort of violated"; multi-racial female).

b) Cognitive - Cognitive coping strategies to make the experience more manageable (eg: "realised that cops only do this to assert their dominance, and not all cops are assholes or try to belittle people"; Latino male). Also increased awareness (eg: "made me realise that cops can pretty much do whatever they want to people with zero justification"; multi-racial female).

c) Behavioural - Three behaviours were evident: discussing with others (eg: "I cried and called my mom"; White/Hispanic female); safety behaviours (eg: carrying identification); and changing appearance (eg: "shave more often"; South Asian male).

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3. BIOPSYCHOSOCIAL FRAMEWORK

3.1. INTRODUCTION

A biopsychosocial (BPS) framework is an interdisciplinary approach that presents behaviour as "the result of specific combinations of biopsychological (individual) and socio-cultural (environmental) characteristics that are interacting within the individual" (Fenimore and Jennings 2018 p249). Specifically, criminal and violent behaviours are viewed as a maladaptive behaviour that is "the result of a negative interaction between the biopsychological and socio-cultural factors" (Fenimore and Jennings 2018 p249).

This framework is attributed to Cortes and Gatti (1972), who pointed out that "traditional models of deviance and violence often do not account for the fact that not everyone with shared experiences become offenders and suggested that not all paths to deviance and violence are the same for every individual" (Fenimore and Jennings 2018 p250).

Cortes and Gatti (1972) explained: "Criminal and delinquent behaviour are the result of a negative imbalance within the individual in the interaction between (a) the expressive forces of his psychological and biological characteristics, and (b) the normative forces of familial, religious, and socio-cultural factors" (quoted in Fenimore and Jennings 2018).

Cortes and Gatti (1972) tested the BPS framework with data on 100 delinquent and 100 non-delinquent boys in Boston, and twenty offenders in Washington DC. Offenders/delinquents were more likely to have a mesomorphic physique (as opposed to ectomorphic or endorphic [6]), an aggressive temperament, higher need for

[6] Sheldon et al (1949) proposed that the general body shape was the key determinant of personality and behaviour. After collecting over 4000 photos of male students, and 650 possible personality traits, Sheldon delineated three basic body builds: (i) endomorphic (fat and soft) who tend to be sociable and relaxed; (ii) ectomorphic (thin and fragile) who are introverted and restrained; (iii) mesomorphic

power, and less parental discipline and affection (Fenimore and Jennings 2018).

However, Cortes and Gatti (1972) did not "provide specific measures to use when testing the perspective" (Fenimore and Jennings 2018 p252).

Fenimore and Jennings (2018) presented a method in the form of conjunctive analysis of case configurations (CACC). It is a statistical technique, in the main, "to model causal relationships with categorical variables" (Fenimore and Jennings 2018 p253).

Fenimore and Jennings (2018) applied the CACC method to data from the Longitudinal Study of Violent Criminal Behaviour, which included 1345 young adult male offenders in Tallahassee, Florida, incarcerated between 1970 and 1972, and followed after release until 1984. The outcome variable was violent (3 categories) or non-violent offender. The categories of violence were angry (intending harm to the victim), instrumentally (violence as a means to complete the offence), and potentially (eg: making threats, but violence not used).

Seven independent variables from Cortes and Gatti's (1972) BSP framework were measured - masculinity, ego control (eg: impulsivity), ego strength (eg: adaptability), underachievement, family incohesiveness, family problems, and religious fundamentalism. In the statistical analysis, each variable was coded as high or low. Simply, CACC distinguishes the pattern of variables that go together - in this example, 33 cases of interest (combinations).

In terms of the likelihood of violent offending, the important variables were ego strength, underachivement, ego control, and family incohesiveness. This is a combination of two individual factors (ego strength and control) and two socio-cultural.

3.2. RESTING HEART RATE

Resting heart rate (RHR) (ie: pulse - indicator of autonomic arousal) is a biological factor that has been studied in relation to violent and anti-social behaviours. For example, a prospective longitudinal study of 15-24 year-olds found that criminals had lower RHR than non-criminals (Raine et al 1990). While Raine et al (1995) found that higher RHR at fifteen years old predicted lower likelihood of criminal behaviour at 29

(muscular and hard) who tend to be aggressive and adventurous.

years old.

Other variables may also be involved. For instance, one study found that low RHR was associated with anti-social and criminal behaviours only for individuals from higher social classes, and, in another study, only for individuals from "intact childhood homes" (Fox et al 2018). The type of aggression is also relevant - low RHR and pre-meditated (instrumental) aggression, but high RHR and impulsive (reactive) aggression (Fox et al 2018).

There are studies which find no general relationship between RHR and anti-social behaviours, and some which find higher RHR and behavioural problems (Fox et al 2018).

There are main theories on the link between low RHR and anti-social behaviours (Fox et al 2018):

a) Sensation-seeking - Low RHR means low autonomic arousal, which is uncomfortable, and such individuals seek out sensation/risk to increase their heart rate/arousal level.

b) Fearlessness - Low RHR indicates lower fear response, and such individuals are, thus, less discouraged from avoiding risky situations because of the lack of fear.

Fox et al (2018) took a different road in their research, and focused on RHR among police officers and violent encounters with suspects. Data were collected on 544 officers in the south-eastern USA between 2010 and 2012. The outcome variable was the number of arrests made for resisting arrest with violence (RAV). RHR was measured and divided into four groups - low (47-60 beats per minute; bpm), low average (61-80 bpm), high average (81-100 bpm), and high (101-143 bpm).

The mean arrests for RAV was 0.8 per office per year. The mean RHR was 85 bpm for officers who made two or more arrests for RAV compared to 82 bpm for officers making 0 or 1 arrest for RAV. Thus, it was found that "higher RHR is associated with an increased risk of officers making arrests for RAV even after controlling for biological/fitness measures, and social/demographic features such as experience in law enforcement, age, gender, education and street officer status. Specifically, the negative binomial regression results show that each increase in RHR (ie: 1 bpm) is associated with a 2 percent increased risk of an officer making an arrest for RAV. Put into context, a modest increase of 10 bpm in RHR would correspond to a 20 percent higher increase in risk of engaging in a violent encounter with citizens, which presents potential issues for the community and the safety of the law enforcement officers" (Fox et al 2018 p277).

This finding is contrary to the hypothesis that low

RHR would be associated with more arrests for RAV, but it fits with previous research showing an association between high RHR and reactive violence.

Fox et al (2018) admitted, however, that "the dependent variable used in the study does not indicate if an officer antagonised or failed to de-escalate a situation which resulted in violence, which leaves uncertainty in terms of data interpretation" (p279).

3.3. UNIFIED THEORY

Boutwell et al (2015) developed the "unified theory" to combine evolutionary and criminological insights, with particular reference to the life course. Moffitt (1993) had distinguished life-course-persistent (LCP) offenders, who begin offending in adolescence and continue throughout their life, from adolescent-limited offenders, and abstainers (who never offend) [7]. The LCP offenders are the focus of the unified theory.

These individuals have neurological and cognitive deficits, and early life adversity, according to Moffitt (1993), to which the unified theory added a "fast life history" (drawing on the evolutionary "life history theory". Species are described as slow or fast life history based on age of first offspring, for instance. Species that live shorter lives usually have a fast life history with sexual maturity early and risky behaviours to reproduce. Slower life history species are the opposite. Applying these ideas to human criminal behaviour, the features of the fast life history "(having children at a younger age, having a higher number of children, a non-intact family, and personality traits related to risk taking and lower self-control) are robust correlates of offending" (Kavish and Boutwell 2018 p290).

These features develop in an unstable environment - ie: childhood environmental stress - which produces two patterns of response: hyper-reactive and hypo-reactive (Del Giudice et al 2011). The former is "characterised by increased physiological response to stress, resulting in anxiety, risky and impulsive behaviours, and reactive forms of aggression" (Kavish and Boutwell 2018 p291). While hypo-reactive is "associated with low anxiety, a lack of empathy, risk taking and proactive aggression" (Kavish and Boutwell 2018 p291). Both of these patterns are characteristics of the fast life history.

Put simply, the unified theory explains LCP offenders through the interaction of genes and childhood environmental stress, and the mechanism of fast life history.

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[7] There is also the adult-onset offender, which is rare.

3.4. PARENTAL REJECTION AND TESTOSTERONE

Perceived parental rejection is associated with anti-social behaviour, as is testosterone level (Woeckener et al 2018). What is the relationship between parental rejection, testosterone, and anti-social behaviour?

Woeckener et al (2018) attempted to answer this question with data collected from 322 US undergraduates on criminal justice courses. Parental rejection was measured by a twelve-item scale, including "in general, my parents have no idea what I am feeling or thinking", and " in general my parents are too busy or otherwise involved to help me". Testosterone was measured in picograms per millilitre (pg/mL) from daytime saliva samples. The outcome variable was anti-social behaviour [8], also self-reported. Other data were collected to control for self-control, depression, age, and ethnicity.

It was found that "individuals with higher levels of testosterone were more likely to respond to parental rejection with delinquent behaviour" (Woeckener et al 2018 p307). The authors continued: "This indicates both factors have separate effects on anti-social behaviour. This is important to emphasise because it shows both biological and social factors play a role in the development of anti-social behaviour" (Woeckener et al 2018 p307).

Interestingly, high testosterone individuals who experienced low parental rejection reported the least anti-social behaviour. Low testosterone individuals varied only slightly in level of anti-social behaviour based on high or low parental rejection.

The study was cross-sectional, which limits the ability to establish causality, and involved a specific sample. The statistical analysis "did not control for other more specific theoretical variables such as rejection from a mother vs from a father, peer relationship quality, and/or self-reported importance of parental relationship quality" (Woeckener et al 2018 p308).

Saliva samples were not taken at the same time of the day for all participants. This has the potential for the results to be "biased by individuals who came in earlier in the day and had higher levels of testosterone than individuals who came in later in the day" (Woeckener et al 2018 pp308-309).

[8] 35 items - eg: "taking a vehicle for a ride or drive without the owner's permission"; "buying or providing liquor for a minor"; "being drunk in a public place"; "involved in a gang fight".

3.5. HOMICIDE CIRCUMPLEX

Homicide is "the apex of criminal offending, the only form of anti-social behaviour that produces the death of the victim, and the form of crime that imposes the greatest societal costs" (DeLisi et al 2018 p314) [9].

It is strongly associated with "a versatile, generalised involvement in anti-social acts, such that a murder can be seen as a by-product of other risky, dangerous behaviours including street gang involvement, security threat group involvement, violent offending, drug selling and weapons offending" (DeLisi et al 2018 p314).

This "broader anti-social behavioural pattern" (DeLisi et al 2018) is seen in Cook et al's (2005) comparison of murderers and other offenders in Illinois state, USA (1990-2001). Murderers were more likely to have a prior arrest and conviction, particularly for violent crime.

Murderers are also more likely to have social risk factors - eg: anti-social peer associations; family violence and witnessed serious violence as child; household member in prison (Baglivio and Wolff 2017 - Florida state data).

DeLisi et al (2018) introduced the idea of "homicide circumplex" (HC) to combine the different ideas. This is "the set of behaviours, traits and psychological and psychiatric features that are associated with contemplation, attempts and completion of homicide, and homicide victimisation" (DeLisi et al 2018 p315).

The HC includes four elements:

i) Homicidal contemplation/ideation - eg: Anderson (2000) referred to the "code of the street", as "criminal offenders live in a state of homicidal hypervigilance where lethal violence is a sub-cultural adaptation to environmental threats from other street code-adhering offenders" (DeLisi et al 2018 p315). This type of situation and other factors, like a sense of alienation, mean that individuals think seriously about murder on a regular basis.

ii) Homicidal social cognitive style - eg: hostile attribution bias (ie: "perceiving neutral social

[9] There is an inequality gap in terms of the murder rate between the richest and poorest individuals in society (ie: poorer are more likely to be killed) (Szalavitz 2018). Explanations for this difference include the ability of the rich to provide security (eg: gated communities), or the greater number of murders driven by perceived lack of respect in poorer neighbourhoods. Martin Daly explained: "if it's your local bar, you are unemployed or underemployed, and your only source of status and self-respect is your standing in the neighbourhood, turning the other cheek looks weak, and everyone soon knows you are an easy mark" (quoted in Szalavitz 2018).

information in a threatening, violent and malevolent manner"; DeLisi et al 2018 p316). Drawing on Anderson's (2000) "code of the street", DeLisi et al (2018) pointed out that "among offenders that exhibit the street code, mundane social interactions, such as accidentally bumping into another person or making sustained eye contact with another person are interpreted as signs of disrespectful behaviour that, consistent with the criminal sub-culture, necessitate a violent response to save face. That a passing glance is cause and justification for homicide is obviously absurd to those with pro-social social cognition, but to those who harbour hostile attribution bias or worse social cognitive styles, it is not" (p316).

iii) Criminal lifestyle - Both homicide perpetration and victimisation are linked to involvement in criminal behaviours ("criminal lifestyle"). For example, Dobrin and Brusk (2003) compared 105 homicide victims and 105 non-victims, and found that ever having been arrested increased the likelihood of being murdered (eg: ten-fold).

iv) Psychopathology - "Strong evidence from multiple nations exists that demonstrates that homicide offenders and victims evince greater and more varied psychopathology than those in the general population and in some cases, even compared to other serious offenders" (DeLisi et al 2018 p318).

For example, in a twenty-five-year study of over 1000 homicide offenders in Austria, major mental illness increased the risk (Schanda et al 2004).

DeLisi et al (2018) applied the HC to the records of 865 offenders in the midwestern USA. Homicide ideation was scored as 0 (none), 1 (some), or 2 (definite) based on comments made by the offenders in interviews with the police or psychiatrists, for instance. Individuals scored as "2" were significantly more likely to have been arrested for murder or attempted murder, or to be a victim of attempted murder than "0".

Homicidal ideation is key in the HC because "as offenders develop along a chronic and serious criminal career with multiple arrests and imprisonments, they also increase their exposure to other serious offenders and prisoners, and as such, have significant opportunities to be situations where murder is likely to ensue" (DeLisi et al 2018 p324).

3.6. BIOSOCIAL AND ETHICS

The biosocial approach makes use of advances in molecular biology and neuroscience to find the bases of criminal behaviour. Guy and Chomczynski (2018) outlined

some ethical issues related to such an approach, including:

- Neuroscience has highlighted that individuals have limited control over their behaviour, particularly if there is minor brain damage, and so "there is an increasing recognition that commonly held assumptions about culpability are out of step with the workings of the brain" (Guy and Chomczynski 2018 p96).

- Genetic differences, which may "drive" anti-social behaviours, challenge the egalitarian position that all individuals are essentially equal.

- The "fear that biosocial theorising will lead down the slippery slope of eugenics" (Guy and Chomczynski 2018 p97) is held by some individuals, particularly those who support environmental-based explanations of crime. Walsh and Wright (2015) described this position as a "rage against reason".

- If biological causes of criminal behaviour are found, what about the application of the knowledge to the prevention of this behaviour?

The combination of both biology and environment (biosocial) in explaining criminal behaviour was seen in a study by Caspi et al (2002), which was "more plausible to conventional criminologists" (Guy and Chomczynski 2018 p98). A particular variation of a gene that produced the enzyme monoamine oxidase A (MAOA) and childhood maltreatment in males was associated with adult violence behaviour (Guy and Chomczynski 2018).

3.7. AGGRESSION

Loeber and Pardini (2009) considered four controversies in relation to the neurobiological basis to aggression:

i) The stability during the lifecourse of individual differences in neurobiological factors relating to violence - Individuals vary in their level of aggression during their life, and explanations include the age-violence curve, which sees aggression as high in childhood and declining over time. However, the individual differences in this decline "pose a considerable challenge for neurobiological studies based on the assumption that stable individual differences are trait-like for all aggressive or violent individuals and are already present early in life for all of those who eventually become violent" (Loeber and Pardini 2009 p7).

ii) Individual differences in aggression reflect underlying neurobiological mechanisms - Studies tend not to find consistent underlying mechanisms or factors (Loeber and Pardini 2009).

iii) The role of non-neurobiological factors in the development of aggression - The effect of neurobiological factors are mediated through a range of social and other factors in what is called gene-environment interactions (Loeber and Pardini 2009).

iv) How does the neurobiological explanation of aggression relate to changes in violence in society over time? It may be that it is unclear how neurobiological and non-neurological factors interact as in the previous controversy.

3.7.1. Animal Studies

Lin et al (2011) found that neurons within the ventrolateral region of the ventromedial hypothalamus (VMH-vl) were active in male-male encounters in mice, and when males were mating with females. There was about 20% overlap in the populations of neurons for each of these behaviours (Koch 2011).

Stimulating the VMH-vl nucleus produced no response when the mouse was alone, but in the presence of another mouse (irrelevant of sex) led to an aggressive response. "Silencing" these cells reduced aggression. This was done by optogenetics, where a modified piece of DNA sensitive to blue light was injected into this brain area. This meant that the neurons can be turned "on" and "off" by blue light (Koch 2011).

Golden et al (2016) found that certain areas of the basal forebrain were active in aggression-motivated mice. Individual differences in aggression were measured by placing an adult male in a cage with a subordinate juvenile male intruder who did not exhibit any aggression. Around three-quarters of the males were aggressive towards the subordinate ("aggressors"; AGGs) and the remainder were not aggressive ("non-aggressors"; NONs). Among the AGGs, speed of initiating attack was used to distinguish them.

AGGs had increased activity in the basal forebrain, compared to NONs, when exposed to an intruder, and this acted as a reward for the aggressive social interaction. Thereby, increasing the likelihood of aggression in the future.

Attempts have been made to isolate the genes involved in aggression in animals which are easy to breed and study, like mice and fruit flies.

Nilsen et al (2004) established the method for studying male aggression in flies, as well as the nine "combative moves" (Staff Writer 2007). A single gene ("fruitless") has been found to control distinctive male and female fighting behaviours. Males with the "female-version" of the gene showed female fighting patterns (Vrontou et al 2006).

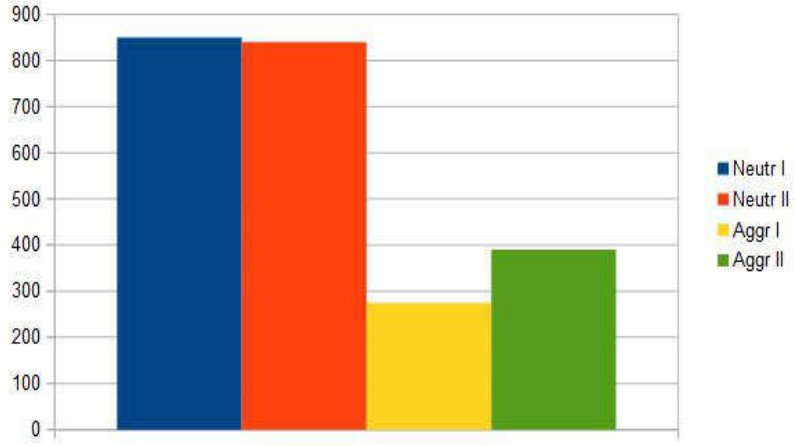
Dierick and Greenspan (2006) reported an experiment with the fruit fly (Drosophila melanogaster). Male flies were initially rated for aggression based on winning male-male contests. The most aggressive 15-30 individuals were allowed to mate, and this continued for twenty-one generations (Aggr lines). A control group of random males were used for comparison (Neutr lines).

The rating of aggression of later generations used frequency of fighting (% of contests fighting), latency to fighting (time until fighting began), fighting index (total time spent fighting), and intensity of fighting in male-male contests. Flies from the Aggr lines were "not only more likely to fight but also that the flies that engage in fighting fight faster, longer and more intensely" (Dierick and Greenspan 2006 p1024) (figure 3.1).

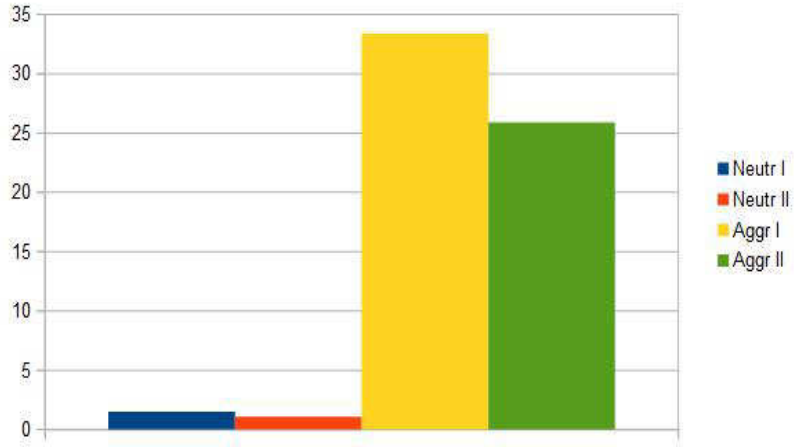
Gene analysis of the two strains after 21 generations found some differences between Aggr and Neutr lines [10]. One gene, for example, encoded an enzyme that was linked to sensitivity to male pheromones, among other functions. Other studies with fruit flies have found differences in serotonin-related genes, but this was not the case (Dierick and Greenspan 2006).

This experiment showed that the propensity to fight was linked to genes, but that the genes were specific to occasions where aggression occurred (eg: response to male pheromones in male-male contests for females). The applicability of this research to humans is debatable.

[10] Forty-two different genes, while Edwards et al (2006) reported over 1500 differences in similar experiments.



(a) Mean latency (time take to start fighting in seconds)



(b) Mean fighting index (% of time spent fighting)

(Source: Dierick and Greenspan 2006 table 1 p1023)

Figure 3.1 - Two differences in fighting between flies from Aggr and Neutr lines at Generation 21.

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4. SPOTTING DECEPTION AND CRIME

4.1. INTRODUCTION

The desire to find a reliable way to spot liars and lies has led to the use of different techniques, some better than others. Polygraph machines, for example, have been and are one popular method (eg: admissible in court in Ukraine; Howgego 2019b).

But polygraph machines measure pulse, blood pressure, and breathing, which may change during lying but may not, and so are only measures of physiological arousal. May see these machines as discredited as lie detectors (and good evidence is lacking) (Howgego 2019b).

However, other methods of "finding the truth" are being used. Here are two - concealed information tests (CIT), and eye movement tracking - along with the idea of listening to what people say rather than looking for "secret signs" of lying.

4.2. CONCEALED INFORMATION TEST

Based on polygraph measures, CIT is looking for physiological signs of concealing "guilty knowledge". For example, a question may be asked about the murder weapon along with a choice of option. "Innocent (ie: unknowledgeable) examinees are unable to discriminate between the critical and control items and are therefore expected to show similar responses to all items. Guilty (ie: knowledgeable) examinees, on the other hand, are able to make this distinction and are therefore expected to show differential responses to the critical items, namely, phasic increases in skin conductance (ie: skin conductance responses, SCRs), a suppression of the respiration (captured by the measure called respiration line length or RLL), and a larger decrease in heart rate (HR)... These stronger responses to the critical items compared to the control items have been labelled as the CIT effect" (Klein Selle et al 2017 p628).

The CIT presents a physiological profile of concealing, but the valid of this CIT effect can be challenged. In other words, does it measure what it

claims to measure - ie: is the CIT effect concealing information and not a sign of general arousal and anxiety, say?

CIT has been criticised for "false negatives" - ie: evidence of the CIT effect ("guilty knowledge") among innocent individuals (eg: Meijer et al 2014). The "guilty knowledge" may come from media reports of the crime rather than first-hand knowledge of the offenders (Linda Geven in Howgego 2019b).

Recently advocates of this method, Klein Selle et al (2017) performed a laboratory study with 109 Israeli undergraduates. Participants were asked to reveal or conceal personal information while undergoing CIT. The typical CIT effect was observed in the conceal condition, but not the reveal condition.

Though the researchers tried to make the information concealed salient, the problem with laboratory studies is the fact that lying does not have the consequences that would happen with real crimes.

4.3. EYE TRACKING

Millen and Hancock (2019) provided evidence that eye fixations on known faces were different to unknown ones (ie: "longer fixations and disproportionate viewing of the eyes and inner face regions"; p2), even when the viewer denied knowing the person. This is a development of CIT and the idea of "guilty knowledge".

It is known from eye tracking research generally that familiar faces elicit "markers of recognition"; summed up as "fewer fixations, fewer areas of the face viewed (eg: eyes, nose, face and mouth), fewer return fixations to previously viewed areas of interest, smaller proportions of fixations to the inner regions of the face... and longer fixation durations" (Millen and Hancock 2019 p3).

These markers are involuntary, and so it is difficult for liars to use "counter-measures" (eg: gaze equally to all faces known and unknown).

Millen and Hancock (2019) encouraged half of their undergraduate psychology student-participants to control their eye movements in response to photographs of faces (n = 24) (counter-measure condition), while the other 24 participants did not (standard guilt condition). The experiment used the Concealed Information Test Three-Stimulus Protocol (CIT-3SP), which involved three different responses - deny knowing familiar face (no to familiar - lying), identify familiar face (yes to familiar - truth), and deny knowing unfamiliar face (no to unfamiliar - truth). The familiar faces were male staff of the university department attended by the students (at the University of Stirling, Scotland). Eye

tracking and fixation were measured by pupil and corneal reflection of a non-invasive laser as individuals looked at a computer screen.

The findings were summed up thus: "In the standard guilty group, lies about recognition of familiar faces showed longer average fixation durations, a lower proportion of fixations to the inner face regions, and proportionately more viewing of the eyes than honest responses to genuinely unknown faces. In the counter-measures condition, familiar face recognition was detected by longer fixations durations, fewer fixations to the inner regions of the face, and fewer interest areas of the face viewed. Longer fixation durations were a consistent marker of recognition across both conditions for most participants; differences were detectable from the first fixation" (Millen and Hancock 2019 p1).

The researchers were confident that length of fixation is an accurate measure of recognition of a face, whether the viewer is claiming to not know the face and/or consciously trying to use counter-measures.

But no method is foolproof, and a minority of participants "did not exhibit longer fixation durations during recognition compared to correct rejection of genuinely unknown faces" (Millen and Hancock 2019 p12). The researchers looked for an explanation - "Despite trying to carefully screen participants to determine those who had known lecturers for at least one semester, it is possible that some participants were more familiar with the faces of some lecturers than others... It is also possible that some of our unfamiliar irrelevant faces looked too similar to the familiar probe face or, indeed, to someone else they knew" (Millen and Hancock 2019 p12).

One issue with this method is "whether the test works equally well when people from one culture look at faces from another" (Howgego 2019b p19).

4.4. VERACITY TESTING

Behavioural indicators of deception relate to demeanour (eg: nervousness) and/or action (eg: eye contact), while verbal indicators include hesitations. Levine et al (2010) offered reasons for low rates of deception detection using behavioural indicators (eg: 54% in a meta-analysis of laboratory studies; Bond and DePaulo 2006).

i) Poor predictive validity of the indicators [11].

ii) Mistaken beliefs about indicators (eg: lack of eye contact is sign of lying [12]).

iii) "Truth bias" ("a predisposition to assume the truth of another person's account"; Ormerod and Dando 2015 p77).

"Veracity testing" (eg: tactical interviewing) involves questioning an individual about their account of events, and/or raising the cognitive load during the interview. "For example, asking unanticipated questions during interviews has been shown to raise the cognitive load of deceivers more than truth-tellers, leading to higher detection rates" (Ormerod and Dando 2015 p77).

Ormerod and Dando (2015) developed a technique called "controlled cognitive engagement" (CCE) to be used in security screenings that was based on evidence from laboratory studies showing deception detection [13]:

a) Use of evidence - ie: compare the individual's account with what is known from other sources.

b) Tests of expected knowledge - "For example, if you claim to have studied at Oxford University, it would be reasonable to expect you to know how to travel on public transport from the train station to your college. Lack of knowledge and an inability to explain its absence, or a marked change in verbal behaviour when providing answers, may suggest that the information supplied initially may not be veridical" (Ormerod and Dando 2015 p77).

c) Effective questioning - eg: open questions. These "do not constrain responses, but necessitate the provision of expansive answers" (Ormerod and Dando 2015 p77). Put simply, more information given, more chance of finding lies/inconsistencies.

d) Observation of verbal manoeuvring - This is "the strategic manipulation by deceivers of verbal content and delivery, which is intended to control a conversation to avoid detection... Specifically, deceptive individuals tend to be as verbose as truthful individuals when they

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[11] Based on an analysis of 158 cues to deception (DePaulo et al 2003) (facial expressions and body language), the lead authors asserted: "There are no behaviours that always occur when people are lying and never occur when they are telling the truth" (Bella DePaulo quoted in Spinney 2011).

[12] In surveys of the general public, this is the most commonly reported sign of lying (Spinney 2011).

[13] Similar to "strategic use of evidence" (SUE), where questioners use the evidence they have strategically rather than upfront which is common in many police interrogations (Spinney 2011).

are in control of the conversation (eg: during early exchanges), and they tend to produce as much unsolicited information (and sometimes more) than truth-tellers. However, deceivers become less verbose and deliver less information than truth-tellers when their accounts are being challenged under questioning" (Ormerod and Dando 2015 p77).

e) Cognitive loading (appendix 4A).

f) Changes in verbal behaviour - "Deceivers' response length, unique words, and type-token ratio (ratio of response length and token words) when answering prompts differ significantly to truth-tellers who speak longer, say more, and use more unique words than deceivers" (Ormerod and Dando 2015 p77).

Many studies of deception detection are laboratory-based, but Ormerod and Dando (2015) reported a field experiment at a UK airport. One hundred and sixty-two security screening staff were trained to use CCE or "suspicious signs" (ie: behavioural indicators) with 204 mock passengers and 204 genuine ones. All were interviewed prior to flying (genuine passengers) or claiming to be flying (mock passenger) (table 4.1).

- "One week before participation, mock passengers provided full names, gender, date and place of birth, passport number, and home and work addresses. Each participant received an apparently valid ticket, an itinerary of flights and a deceptive cover story to be maintained during the security interview, and a ticketing record was created on the airline electronic database. Cover stories were unique and age- and gender-appropriate.

- For example, one participant (a male police officer from Hull) was told: You have worked as a telecoms engineer for the past three years in Northampton where you grew up. You are travelling to Chicago to take part in an international amateur fencing competition.

- Participants were encouraged to undertake preparatory research to make their cover story convincing, by conducting Internet searches to gather information relevant to the cover story" (Ormerod and Dando 2015 p80).

Table 4.1 - Details of mock passengers.

The outcome measure was the detection of the mock from the genuine passengers (true positive) minus the false alarms (genuine passengers mistaken as mock). Security screening staff using CCE detected 66% of mock passengers correctly compared to 5% using "suspicious signs". There was no increase in false alarms with either technique.

The mock passengers were offered a financial

incentive to deceive, but this was still not the same as real-life deceivers at an airport. "However, on the few occasions when mock passengers were detected by agents using the suspicious signs approach, they were typically identified on the basis of nervousness, suggesting that the manipulation was successful to some degree" (Ormerod and Dando 2015 p83).

Ormerod and Dando (2015) considered other potential confounders - "we undertook a comparison of performance at two different times during the study under different passenger load volumes; we reduced investigator effects by not being present and by the agents being blind to the nature and timing of mock passenger participation; by standardising instructions across conditions; and equating demand characteristics by equalising financial incentives across conditions" (p83).

The researchers also reflected that "CCE might become less effective over time. For example, individuals with mal-intent might try to 'break' the method through extensive practice (eg: dry runs, rehearsal with unanticipated questioning, and careful preparation of scripted knowledge)" (Ormerod and Dando 2015 p83). A sub-set of twenty mock passengers experienced CCE more than once, and their detection rate did not change between the first and later occasions. So, "the fact that individuals who were intent on maximising their financial gain by evading detection were unable to do so, despite repeated prior exposure to the nature of the procedure, goes some way to assuring the longevity of the CCE method" (Ormerod and Dando 2015 p83).

Ormerod and Dando (2015) ended: "The low failure rate among security agents taking the CCE training course suggests that veracity testing methods lie within the competence of most adults: few of the agents had more than a high-school level education, yet they were able to implement the method successfully. Equipped with the right interview methods, humans can be entrusted with the task of security screening" (p83).

Combining both non-verbal clues and verbal information can be most effective. This is seen in research using videos of "family pleaders" (eg: McQuaid et al 2015) - televised pleas about missing relatives made by the later-discovered killers. The outcome is known which is a good way to establish who was lying. Detection of liars can be as high as 90%. In terms of verbal information, liars used "if", say, when truth-tellers used "when" (ie: tentative words more than concrete ones). Liars also showed brief expressions of surprise on their upper face (ie: trying to look distressed but failing). But this can only be detected if the video is slowed down and analysed at thirty frames per second (Spinney 2011).

4.5. ALGORITHMS

"Predictive policing" and "crime forecasting" are terms used to describe the collection and analysis of data to produce models to aid police officers. In the case of crime forecasting, this involves the use of previous cases to "forecast places and times with crime escalation" (Quijano-Sanchez et al 2018).

Kent police in southern England have been trialling an algorithm called the "Evidence-Based Investigation Tool" (EBIT) to assess the solvability of assaults and public order offices. The number of cases pursued has dropped from 75% to 40% with the algorithm, while the number of charges and cautions has remained the same (Howgego 2019a).

EBIT is based on eight factors (eg: presence of witnesses; CCTV footage available) (Howgego 2019a).

But there are critics, like Joshua Loftus: "When we train algorithms on the data on historical arrests or reports of crime, any biases in that data will go into the algorithm and it will learn biases and then reinforce them" (quoted in Howgego 2019a).

Talking about algorithms generally, Eubanks (2018a) emphasised that the models are built on the data collected. Some cases will not be recorded, for whatever reasons, and so bias is built into the model. She referred to "automating inequality" which ultimately punishes the poor (Eubanks 2018b).

Quijano-Sanchez et al (2018) investigated the use of algorithms to spot false reports of crime to the police. They stated: "Filing a false police report can have very serious consequences on both the individual and the system. Depending on the country, it may be considered as a misdemeanour or a felony, charges which could result in jail terms and/or fines. Besides, in the case of robberies, it has been observed that a false police report is generally followed by other crimes, such as frauds, which result in even more serious charges. For society, a false report represents a waste of public resources that should be dedicated to pursuing other crimes. Also, each undetected false report contaminates police databases used to carry out investigations as well as assessing the risk of crime in a territory, which is then used to take strategic decisions, at both local and national level" (Quijano-Sanchez et al 2018 p155).

Concentrating on Spain, it was estimated that around half of robbery reports in 2015 were false, and up to one-fifth were detected as so by the police (Quijano-Sanchez et al 2018).

It was proposed that true and false reports could be distinguished by the wording of the report, and so an algorithm called "Veripol" was designed (which had over

90% accuracy) (Quijano-Sanchez et al 2018) [14].

"VeriPol" was trained using 1122 robbery reports filed throughout Spain in 2015, of which 534 were classed as true by the authorities at the time. The data were anonymised, and only the declaration of the complainant was used (ie: details of verification by the police were removed).

True and false robbery reports were found to differ in three ways:

i) "Modus operandi of the aggression" - False reports were more likely to include "aggressions coming from the 'back'" (eg: thefts from backpacks by unseen perpetrators), "attacks by someone that is wearing a motorcycle 'helmet'", and robberies of expensive mobile phones with special emphasis on the brand.

True reports were more likely to involve theft of necklaces or chains, mountain bikes (as stolen or used by the perpetrator), and aggressions on the "landing" or "entrance hall" of a block of flats.

ii) "Morphosyntax of the report" - The language varied between reports in that true reports included more pronouns, and details of the interactions between aggressor and victim, for example. False reports, for instance, had shorter sentences, and more negatives. "Examples of sentences found with this characteristic are: 's/he cannot report more data', s/he has not suffered injuries', 's/he could not see', 's/he could not recognise' or “'/he did not attend a medical facility'. Interestingly..., these very same sentences but in positive are very representative of truthful reports" (Quijano-Sanchez et al 2018 p165).

iii) Amount of details - Simply, true reports included more detail, while false reports were vaguer. "Some of the words that represent this situation are 'back', 'behind', 'helmet', referring to the situations where the victim could not see the attacker. Also, references to 'black' clothes are more likely in false reports. The word 'only' denotes vague descriptions as it usually appears in sentences like 'only being able to' or 'only having seen'. Other words suggest a high interest of the victim in claiming money to insurance companies, denoting the intention of the complainant in filing a false robbery report to commit a fraud: 'policy', 'insurance', 'iPhone', 'Apple', 'Grand', 'mobile phone', 'model', 'series', 'euro', 'cash', 'two hundred', 'company', 'contract' (with a mobile company)" (Quijano-

[14] This is an example of a new category called "methods for predicting the veracity of felony victims statements" (Quijano-Sanchez et al 2018). It fits with lie detection generally.

Sanchez et al 2018 p165) [15].

Quijano-Sanchez et al (2018) later ran a pilot study with VeriPol in two urban areas of Spain in one week in June 2017. The accuracy of spotting false reports was over 80%, as verified by further police investigation.

4.6. APPENDIX 4A - COGNITIVE LOADING

Aldert Vrij and colleagues have argued that lying is more cognitively demanding than telling the truth, and so clues to who is a liar can be detected here. One strategy is to ask difficult questions, like the exact timing of events, or to tell the story backwards, or to draw the scene. All of these tasks are easier (in terms of cognitive demands) for truth-tellers than liars (Spinney 2011).

An individual's true opinion can also be elicited by asking them to put forward arguments for and against a certain position. Better arguments are usually given to support the real opinion (Leal et al 2010).

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5. ONLINE WORLD

5.1. "FACEBOOK MURDERS"

Wiederhold (2013) picked up on the media term "Facebook murders" to ask if they were a growing trend. This is a term applied in the media to homicides which involve Facebook (or social networking sites (SNSs) generally) in some way. For example, an argument on a SNS that escalates into murder, or a man who killed his wife and posted pictures and details on Facebook (Yardley and Wilson 2015).

Yardley and Wilson (2015) suggested that "spurious causal links" between SNSs and crimes "combine with the negative news value attached to homicide... to make SNSs a much-discussed but little-understood feature of such cases" (p110). This motivated these authors to explore if "Facebook murder" involved homicide with unique features. Though Yardley and Wilson (2015) preferred not to use that label, and talked of how perpetrators used SNSs in relation to their killings.

It was important to Yardley and Wilson (2015) to establish the characteristics of homicide generally before attributing unique aspects to "SNS-homicides". "Examining some of the key socio-demographic features of homicide, scholars suggest that this is a largely male-perpetrated crime, with men over-represented as victims, and where the victim and perpetrator have a close social connection" (Yardley and Wilson 2015 p111).

"Domestic homicide" is most common, which includes parent(s) who kill their babies (family type), or male adults who murder their female adult partners (sexual intimacy type) (Brookman 2005; table 5.1). Men are more likely to be killed by a stranger (eg: confrontational homicide - fights that escalate) (Yardley and Wilson 2015).

Yardley and Wilson (2015) concentrated on 48 homicides (between 2008 and 2014) where "there was a conviction for a homicide offence (for example, murder, manslaughter, culpable homicide) in which the perpetrators' use of Facebook has been noted as central to the crime in media reporting of the case" (p115).

Forty-six of the perpetrators were male, and around two-thirds of the victims were female. This mirrored general homicide characteristics, except that "women

- Confrontational (eg: fights that escalate).
- Domestic (family intimacy) - parent-child.
- Domestic (sexual intimacy) - current or former partner.
- Jealousy/revenge (unrelated individuals).
- In course of other crime.
- Gang homicide.
- Reckless acts.
- Racial violence.
- Other (eg: motive unknown).
- Unusual cases (eg: serial murder).

Table 5.1 - Typology of homicide generally (Brookman 2005).

rather than men, are over-represented as victims" (Yardley and Wilson 2015 p126). However, Yardley and Wilson (2015) did not see homicides involving SNSs as unique, nor worthy of a category of their own. "Using terms such as 'Facebook Murder' will simply serve to obscure the complex and varied nature of the criminological and socio-demographic characteristics of homicide, reinforce the technological determinism in reporting such cases and, in turn, imply a lack of agency on the part of the perpetrator" (Yardley and Wilson 2015 p127).

In terms of domestic homicide sexual intimacy type, the perpetrators' angry reaction to Facebook content posted by the partner (or ex-partner) was a common motive. In the family intimacy type, perpetrators announced their intention to kill their child or that it had happened (or both), and "homicide-suicides were disproportionately represented" (Yardley and Wilson 2015 p127). Heated exchanges on Facebook between "strangers" prior to confrontational homicide was common.

Yardley and Wilson (2015) proposed six types of SNS usage by homicide perpetrators:

i) Reactor - Reaction to post on SNS, and anger is key (13 of 48 cases).

Example [16] - Wayne Forrester killed his wife Emma in London in 2008 after she posted changed her Facebook profile status to "single" after separating [17].

ii) Informer - The use of SNS to inform about intention or completion (or both) of homicide. "Informers use SNS as a way of performing self when power or control over their victim is central to their identity" (Yardley and Wilson 2015 p130) (11 cases of 48).

[16] Examples from Yardley and Wilson (2015) table 15 p130.
[17] See eg: https://www.theguardian.com/uk/2008/oct/17/facebook-murder (accessed 22nd June 2019).

Example - Merrick McKoy snatched daughter from ex-partner in Colorado in 2013, and shot her and himself. Posted "sinister message" beforehand: "I told u I can't live without u lol u thought I was joking now me n Mia out this b***" (p130) [18].

iii) Antagonist - Online hostile exchanges escalate (8 cases).

Example - An unnamed teenager (for legal reasons) stabbed Salum Kombo to death in London in 2009 after insults on Facebook [19].

iv) Fantasist - The perpetrator uses SNS to indulge in a fantasy (eg: creating fake "friends" and "likes"). "For fantasists, the line between fantasy and reality has become increasingly blurred and the homicide may be a way of maintaining the fantasy or preventing others from discovering the deception" (Yardley and Wilson 2015 p130) (6 cases).

Example - Mark Twitchell in Canada in 2008 created a Facebook account pretending to be the TV serial killer "Dexter", and killed John Altinger re-enacting the television programme [20].

v) Predator - A fake profile is used to lure victims to offline meetings (6 cases).

Example - Christopher Dannevig lured Nona Belomesoff to a remote area of Australia in 2010 after claiming a common interest in wildlife rescue through his Facebook profile [21].

iv) Imposter - "Posts in the name of someone else on SNS. This could be the victim in order to create the illusion that they are still alive, or another person, to gain acess to and monitor the victim's SNS profile" (Yardley and Wilson 2015 p130) (4 cases).

Example - In 2010 in the UK, Andrew Lindo continuing posting as and on his partner, Marie Stewart's, Facebook page after killing her, to give the impression she was abroad [22].

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[18] See eg: https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-2514032/Colorados-Merrick-McKoy-posted-chilling-Facebook-message-killing-daughter-died.html (accessed 22nd June 2019).
[19] See eg: https://www.theguardian.com/uk/2010/jun/22/teenager-jailed-facebook-insult (accessed 22nd June 2019).
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5.2. ONLINE MISOGYNIC ABUSE

Colloquially, Shaw (2014) observed that "people are jerks not only when they are in anonymous Internet spaces, but also when they are in spaces where they can get away with being jerks" (quoted in Lewis et al 2018).

This could be applied to Lewis et al's (2018) investigation of the experiences of participants in online feminist debate. A general survey was completed by 227 women in the UK, and seventeen of them were interviewed further. The researchers were considering "whether online misogynic abuse [OMA] is a form of hate crime" [23].

The findings were presented in terms of three themes of hate crime:

i) "The concept of hate" - Many respondents referred to their experiences in terms of hate crime, though this concept was never asked about directly. But distinguishing misogyny as a hate crime by itself was difficult as abusive comments covered other aspects of identity as well, like sexual orientation, and ethnicity. "Racist, homophobic, or disablist hatred is exacerbated by combination with misogyny but in ways that are unpredictable, mediated by context, and cannot be read simply from textual, visual or graphical content" (Lewis et al 2018 p528).

ii) "Exclusionary intent" - The abusive comments often not only challenged the views of the women, but their fundamental right of participation. "Respondents often described the starting point for their abuse as some contribution they had made to discussion on social media, suggesting they had somehow 'provoked' the response (even though the response was wholly disproportionate and unacceptable)" (Lewis et al 2018 p529).

For example, "respondent 115" said: "I had used a hashtag when discussing a recent news event and started to receive hostile or derailing tweets from racist and anti-feminist users who appeared to be monitoring the hashtag in order to prevent feminists having an uninterrupted discussion with each other" (p529).

iii) "The 'fuzzy boundaries' between online and offline space - A number of respondents reported personal information, like their home address, being made public

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June 2019).

[23] Gelber (2000) described hate crimes as "a form of signal crime, since they ‘have a ripple effect beyond their individual victims because they contribute to creating conditions in which violent crimes against some groups in society are able to be justified and condoned’" (Lewis et al 2018 p523).

by abusers with a clear intention, as described in "interview 3": "he had posted my home address in full online immediately after he had sent a tweet saying, 'This is how you rape a witch, you hold her under water and when she comes up for air that's when you enter her'" (p531).

Lewis et al (2018) commented: "There was no binary hierarchy such that the offline world was more significant than online spaces but rather, following other research, we found that the two were continuous" (p533).

Is OMA a hate crime? Lewis et al (2018) felt that "the concept of hate is itself problematic when applied to this type of offending" (p532). But this abuse does share an "exclusionary intent" of "established forms of hate crimes".

Lewis et al (2018) were concerned that OMA could be downplayed, whether defined as a hate crime or not, as with gender-based violence generally. They stated: "There was no binary hierarchy such that the offline world was more significant than online spaces but rather, following other research, we found that the two were continuous" (Lewis et al 2018 pp533-534).

5.3. MISCELLANEOUS

The "Elsagate" controversy in 2017 involved users uploading children's cartoons to YouTube that contained disturbing content within them (Papadamou et al 2019).

In a recent survey of YouTube, Papadamou et al (2019) found that "there is a 3.5% chance that a toddler following YouTube's recommendations will encounter an inappropriate video within ten hops if she starts from a video that appears among the top ten results of a toddler-appropriate keyword search (eg: Peppa Pig)" (p2).

A sample of 5000 YouTube videos linked to child-related keywords in November 2018 were categorised as:

- Suitable (for 1-5 year-olds) (eg: children's songs; educational videos) (32% of sample).

- Disturbing - "targets toddlers but it contains sexual hints, sexually explicit or abusive/inappropriate language, graphic nudity, child abuse (eg: children hitting each other), scream and horror sound effects, scary scenes or characters (eg: injections, attacks by insects etc)" (Papadamou et al 2019 p3) (19%).

- Restricted - Not aimed at toddlers, and containing content appropriate for over 18s (9%).

- Irrelevant - eg: appropriate content for older children (40%).

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