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Criminology (Mostly Violence)

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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/. See also material at https://archive.org/details/orsett-psych.

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1. SEXUAL-RELATED VIOLENCE

1.1. SEX WORKER HOMICIDE

Marginalised groups in society are particularly vulnerable to crime. This is due to "their lack of protection against criminal victimisation and their insufficient resources for responding to such victimisation" (Chan 2021 p403).

Sex workers are one such group. "In view of the solitary nature of their work, especially for those who work on the street, prostitutes are highly susceptible to assault... The sexual services they perform are often done in isolated locations, which are potentially dangerous for the sex workers, and sometimes for the clients themselves. Similar to female sex workers, male sex workers also have an increased vulnerability to physical dangerousness, sexually transmitted infections, and blood borne virus infections... The inherent vulnerability of sex workers makes them attractive targets for all sorts of criminal offenders, including murderers" (Chan 2021 p403).

Murder of sex workers is little researched academically, particularly in comparison to sexual homicide cases. Burgess et al (1986) defined the latter as the "killing (of) another in the context of power, control, sexuality, and aggressive brutality" (quoted in Chan 2021). Chan (2021) used US data for 1976 to 2012 to rectify the dearth of information on sex worker homicide (SWH).

"Many sex workers live a transient lifestyle, with limited interpersonal relationships. They are often regarded as the 'missing missing' (ie: missing people who have never been reported as missing), and the police are typically unaware of offences against them... Moreover, the lack of public interest (given society's low opinion of sex workers as victims), the lack of credible witnesses, the lack of client records, the reluctance of both sex workers and clients to cooperate with the police, and at times the presence of DNA evidence from various sources on the victim's bodies, have made the investigation of homicides against sex workers a challenging task" (Chan 2021 p404).

Chan (2021) began by noting that "it cannot be simply assumed that killings of victims who are sex workers are sexually motivated. Previous research has indicated that sex workers who had experienced violence, or who were eventually murdered, claimed that the most common reasons for clients to become violent were disagreements over the time and quality of the services provided to them, attempts by the clients to get their money back or drinking with clients" (p406). This is important in distinguishing SWHs and sexual homicides (SxHs).

The data were compiled for the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) from Supplementary Homicide Reports (SHRs) by James.A.Fox in 2014. SHRs are provided to the FBI by the local police. In the 37-year study period, 591 homicides were identified as murder of sex workers (out of a total of 709 075 homicides). Chan (2021) concentrated on 243 single-victim single-offender heterosexual SWHs (ie: 189 male and 54 female offenders). This excluded serial murderers. A comparison sample of 2608 SxHs was used.

Thirteen weakly significant group differences were found between SWHs and SxHs. These included:

i) Offender - SWH offenders were older. "Although young adults were equally likely to commit sex worker homicides and sexual homicides, middle-aged adults were more likely to perpetrate violence of a sexual nature against sex workers, and juveniles were more likely to commit such sexual violence against other victims" (Chan 2021 p420). More non-White individuals were arrested for SWHs than for SxHs.

ii) Victims - Young adults were more likely to be SWH victims, and more males, and non-White individuals

than with SxHs (eg: one-quarter of SxH victims were under 18 years old; Chan 2021).

iii) Offence - Strangers were more likely to be victims of SWHs and non-strangers of SxHs. SWH offenders used edged weapons (eg: knife, machete) or firearms compared to personal weapons (eg: strangulation, beating without a weapon) in SxH. Put another way, SWHs involved less physically demanding means and SxHs more physically demanding ones.

Chan (2021) summed up: "The findings suggest that the offender, victim, and offence characteristics of sex worker homicides are essentially different from those of sexual homicides" (p420).

The following key limitations of the study were noted by Chan (2021):

a) SHRs are based on arrests, not convictions.

b) Only known cases were included. "It is likely that offenders who successfully evaded police apprehension or avoided police detection remain unknown" (Chan 2021 p422).

c) SHRs contain basic details only. There was no information, for example, on offender's motivations or diagnoses of mental disorders.

d) The data were coded by the police authorities, and "there is always the potential for reporting errors, misclassifications, or omissions to occur. Among these types of omissions, missing data is by far the most problematic issue with the SHR data... Data from individual cases become missing when participating agencies fail to report some or all of their homicide cases to the FBI" (Chan 2021 p423).

It should also be noted that the cases studied were specially selected sub-set of all the SWHs and SxHs.

Chan (2021) ended with this warning - "in interpreting these findings, caution is required in view of the correlational nature of the analysis. Homicides are complex phenomena. Multiple factors may influence the offenders' decisions. Additional potential contributing factors need to be taken into account when analysing the offender's modus operandi, such as the offender's

psychological and emotional state during the offence (eg: instrumental vs. expressive violence), the offender's true motives (eg: sexually motivated vs. non-sexually motivated), or the availability of a weapon (eg: weapon of choice vs. weapon of opportunity)" (p424).

1.2. NECRO-SADISM

Pettigrew (2022) noted how necro-sadism is an under-researched topic which is "not only poorly understood but poorly defined" (p605). After criticisms of "incorrect labelling", Pettigrew (2022) quoted Aggrawal's (2009) definition: "The [sexual paraphilic disorder] involves deliberate assaults on dead bodies, subjecting them to considerable indignities, and wanton mutilations" [1].

Another problem for Pettigrew (2022) was that the term necro-sadism was "somewhat oxymoronic, for the essence of sadism is domination and degradation" (p606). He continued: "According to the definition in the Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders (DSM), sadism is the gratification derived from the infliction of pain through either psychological or physical suffering. If the recipient of such behaviour is a corpse, not a living being but an object, it would logically follow that sadism cannot be present in those behaviours but, instead, they are simply acts of wanton destruction" (Pettigrew 2022 p606) (appendix 1A). Mellor (2016) preferred the term "necro-multilophobia", but this has not been adopted generally (Pettigrew 2022).

Krafft-Ebing first described necro-sadism formally with the emphasis on the sexual motivation for the post-mortem mutilation. While the psychodynamic approach to sexual homicide described post-mortem mutilation as "acting out a sexual fantasy in which the victim is the central prop" (Pettigrew 2022).

In an analysis of over 1200 Korean homicide cases, Sea and Beauregard (2019) (appendix 1B) found post-mortem mutilation in around 5%. "However, in that research mutilation was broadly defined and six of the 12 research variables pertained to the method of mutilation: foreign object insertion (appendix 1C); setting fire to the corpse (particularly the face and fingers); scattering a foreign object over the body (such as sulfuric or hydrochloric acid); necrophilic rape; and cutting into

[1] McManus et al (2013) defined a paraphilia as "recurrent, intense sexually arousing fantasies, sexual urges, or behaviours generally involving i) non-human objects, ii) the suffering or humiliation of oneself or one's partner, or iii) children or other non-consenting persons that occur over a period of at least 6 months" (quoted in Pettigrew 2022).

pieces. It is unclear, however, how post-mortem stabbing wounds were recorded in the study and no reference is made to any sexual motivation for their infliction" (Pettigrew 2022 p607).

Pettigrew (2022) described a case of a middle-aged man who was convicted of four homicides of men. Knife wounds were inflicted post-mortem (including mutilation of the genitals) for sexual arousal (as emerged in a psychiatric report).

In terms of categorising this man's behaviour, Pettigrew (2022) placed it as a combination of offensive and necro-maniac mutilation (according to Puschel and Koops's (1987 quoted in Pettigrew 2022) criteria) (table 1.1), but not wholly fitting Chopin and Beauregard's (2021) offender types involving genital mutilation in necrophilic behaviours in sexual homicide (table 1.2). Pettigrew (2022) explained: "An offender may stab, slash or mutilate a victim during the homicide event and some of those wounds may be inflicted post-mortem but that, however, is not necessarily indicative of necro-sadism. The necro-sadistic behaviour in this case is confirmed by the time lapse between death and the infliction of post-mortem wounds; the offender specifically wanted to return to his victims after several hours to inflict further wounds to their corpses" (p614).

- 1. Defensive - to prevent identification of a body or as part of its disposal.
- 2. Aggressive - "a frenzied attack" in everyday language.
- 3. Offensive - to inflict pain on a living individual (and can continue after death).
- 4. Necro-maniac - on an already dead body (which the mutilator may not have killed themselves).

Table 1.1 - Four motivations for mutilation (Puschel and Koops 1987 quoted in Pettigrew 2022).

A post-conviction psychiatric report emphasised the case's enjoyment of dominance and power with live and dead victims. There was also evidence of him being sexually abused at eleven years old by a man, and later homosexual fantasies. The psychiatrist wrote: "From his early 20's [he] told me that he would go out under cover of darkness and assault men who were usually drunk. He

- 1. Opportunistic - associated with home invasion robbery, and consumption of alcohol.

- 2. Experimental - by an individual usually in a relationship, alcohol and drug consumption beforehand, female victims, and insertion of foreign objects was common.

- 3. Preferential - sexual dysfunction leading to post-mortem sexual activity.

- 4. Sadistic - violent behaviour before and after death by an individual usually in a relationship.

Table 1.2 - Post-mortem mutilation of the genitals and four offender types of necrophilic behaviours in sexual homicide (Chopin and Beauregard 2021).

would threaten them, remove their clothing and humiliate them by making sexual threats to degrade them. Sometimes he would grab their penises and pull them to hurt them... The feeling of power that he experienced during these episodes led to a feeling of sexual arousal and erection of his penis. In between episodes however he would masturbate whilst fantasising and developing both the memories and new fantasies of degradation" (quoted in Pettigrew 2022).

The case grew up in the rural UK during a time of "legal and social disapproval of homosexuality", so "the combination of his sexual victimisation and the constraints on the free expression of his homosexuality combined to form a contempt for homosexuality and, particularly, homosexual men" (Pettigrew 2022 p617).

1.3. INCEL VIOLENCE

"Involuntary celibates" or "incels" who commit violence have been likened to the "anger-retaliatory" rapist type (Groth 1979) or the "vindictive rapist" (Aggrawal 2009), and "perhaps the incel identity, mobilised via the Internet, is a new, more violent version of a pre-existing phenomenon" (Williams et al 2021 p387).

Donnelly et al (2001) categorised three groups of incels based on sexual trajectories:

i) "Virginal" - little or no dating experience in adolescence.

ii) "Single" - slightly older than (i).

iii) "Partnered" - "in current relationships but the majority of those relationships started out satisfactorily, although eventually became devoid of sexual activity due to various reasons" (Williams et al 2021 p388). These individuals are not viewed as "true" incels by the online sub-culture.

Incel has a particular online sub-culture. Williams et al (2021) summed it up: "Incel ideology is steeped in misogyny and is based on the belief that feminism is ruining Western society, thus warranting a violent gender revolt to re-establish male and White superiority... Subsequently, incels believe that attractive women, whom they refer to in their cryptic lexicon as 'Stacys', can now acceptably choose, across diverse relationship statuses, to have sexual relations with physically desirable men, known in the incel parlance as 'Chads', thus depriving less desirable men of sexual experiences... Incels, then, believe they are unfairly deprived of sexual experiences and blame their sexual frustration mostly on Stacys and Chads, and to some degree society at large (members known as 'Normies') which supports increased sexual and relationship freedom. Incels in turn believe they are entitled to the sexual experiences they desire, and that contemporary liberal culture, impacted by feminism, is therefore responsible for their lack of sexual experiences and their involuntary celibate status" (p387).

The online sub-culture with the associated hate speech is an example of what Arntfield (2020) called "deviant cyber-communities", and part of "a diffuse electronic frontier now collectively referred to as the 'manosphere'" (Williams et al 2021 p388). Occasionally the online moves into the offline as incels attempt or commit (mass) murder, though "quantifying a confirmed set of canonical incel attacks has heretofore proven problematic, as is confirming a total number of incel adherents or sympathisers active at any given time" (Williams et al 2021 p389).

The first "unofficial incel act of mass violence" could be in Montreal in 1989 when an engineering student (Marc Lepine) killed fourteen female college students and injured many more with a semi-automatic rifle [2]. His suicide note expressed rage at "radical feminism" which was blamed for women studying engineering" (Williams et al 2021).

The first "true" incel attack could be George Sodini, who in 2009 killed three women at a health club

[2] Details at https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Marc_L%C3%A9pine.

in New Jersey [3]. He "expressed his sexual frustration online and spent much of his disposable income on various 'pick-up artistry' books and workshops, yet ultimately reached a tipping point to commit murder for reasons that remain unclear" (Williams et al 2021 p389).

Elliot Rodger is "best known" of "incel killers". He murdered six people in a rampage in Isla Vista, California in 2014 [4]. After his death, "it was discovered that he had previously uploaded a number of monologues and confessionals to YouTube..., insinuating that an attack against 'sexually active' Americans was imminent. He also composed and electronically published a rambling and largely autobiographical manifesto, entitled 'My Twisted World', in which he laid the blame for his current predicament, as a 'gentleman' unable to attract the types of desirable women to whom he felt he was entitled, on interference from competing men, the coldness and superficiality of women, and the social acceptance of mixed race couples... The manifesto has, in the years since the attack, become something of an incel doctrine and is widely cited within the virulent subculture, with Rodger himself having been elevated to the level of patron sainthood" (Williams et al 2021 p390) (appendix 1D).

Based on digital evidence, at least seven other events (totalling around fifty mostly female deaths) could be described as incel-related (eg: Nikolas Cruz 2018 [5]; Alek Minassian 2018 [6]) (Williams et al 2021).

Williams et al (2021) sought to identify common characteristics of "extremely violent incel offenders". For inclusion in the study, the individual had to clearly self-identify as incel, and to kill or attempt to kill another person(s) because of incel ideology. A search was made of media reports, publicly available forensic documents, and peer-reviewed academic papers. Some cases clearly fitted these inclusion criteria.

a) Basic demographics - all male, 70% White, and only two older than 40 years old.

b) Victims - "Some offenders targeted females exclusively, while a few attempted to kill quite

[3] Also known as the he "Collier Township Shooting" (https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2009_Collier_Township_shooting#Perpetrator=).
[4] Details at https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2014_Isla_Vista_killings.
[5] At the Stoneman Douglas High School, Parkland, Florida (https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Stoneman_Douglas_High_School_shooting#Perpetrator=).
[6] Details at https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Toronto_van_attack#Perpetrator=.

indiscriminately. As a whole, there were twice as many female victims (fatal + plus non-fatal) as males. Demographic characteristics of victims also varied depending on the precise location of the attack" (Williams et al 2021 p395).

c) Incel type (Donnelly et al 2001) - Four of the offenders were "virginal", one was "single", and the other two could not be determined as "virginal" or single".

d) Self-perception - Williams et al (2021) described a bimodal distribution with "evidence of substantial overall self-deprecation in nearly half of the sample regarding their self-perception, while the others presented clear self-perceptions of grandiosity" (p395).

e) Potential psychiatric issues - More than half of the offenders potentially showed characteristics of autism spectrum disorders, but, Williams et al (2021) warned, "this finding is significantly limited and must be interpreted very cautiously, especially as data utilised for this study rely on various reporting but do not include valid psychiatric assessments" (pp395-396).

f) Cognitive patterns - "Dense clusters of neutralisation techniques, criminal thinking errors, and over-generalisations were observed across the sample. Offenders' verbal and written communications commonly reflected denial of victim and lack of empathy, power thrust, entitlement, all-or-nothing thinking, and victim stance" (Williams et al 2021 p396) (table 1.3).

g) Helplessness and hopelessness - These were "specifically related to future sexual and/or romantic relationship experiences, but also to having broader life needs and desires" (Williams et al 2021 p397).

h) Revenge - "Revenge motivations were evidenced across all offenders in the sample. Consistent with incel ideology, blame, anger, and revenge were directed toward females" (Williams et al 2021 p398). In some cases, the revenge was widened to society more generally.

Williams et al (2021) summed up their findings: "The violent incel offenders identified in this study are inarguably extremely misogynistic, narcissistic, nihilistic, and apparently also prone to ideas of racial segregation. Six of the seven offenders' intentions were

- Denial of victim - blames victim for harm.
- Denial of responsibility - attributed their behaviour to forces outside their control.
- Lack of empathy - no consideration of others' feelings.
- Power thrust - boosts self-esteem by use of violence.
- Entitlement - offender's desires justify their behaviour.
- All-or-nothing thinking - "failure to see complexity in situations" (p393).
- Victim stance - offender sees themselves as the victim.

(After table 2 p393 Williams et al 2021)

Table 1.3 - Common neutralisation techniques used by offenders.

to commit mass violence and one offender stabbed victims in a manner consistent with serial, rather than mass, murder. Cognitive features across the sample were consistent and clearly show over-generalisation and all-or-nothing appraisals (across multiple contexts), entitlement, lack of empathy, and denial of victim, which then seem to fuel victim-stancing and overcompensation via power-thrusting and commission of extreme violence" (p398). Most of the cognitive patterns were "similar to those of other violent mass offenders, including motivations of revenge, power, and hate" (Williams et al 2021 p399).

In terms of the limitations of the data: "Some offenders diarised extensively, adequately, and/or had a strong social media presence, while others produced little text. Some data came from primary sources (ie: police documentation), while other data were obtained from secondary sources (ie: media reports)" (Williams et al 2021 p394).

1.4. PREGNANCY-ASSOCIATED HOMICIDE

Pregnancy and after the birth (post-partum) is a time of increased risk of homicide victimhood. This is within the category of "pregnancy-associated mortality", which is defined as "the death of a woman while pregnant or within 1 year of the termination of pregnancy,

regardless of the site or duration of the pregnancy and irrespective of the cause of death" (Wallace et al 2016 p364.e1).

Wallace et al (2016) analysed official data for 2005 to 2010 (covering females aged 10 to 54 years). Complete data were available for thirty-seven of fifty US states, and the outcome measure was the number of homicides among pregnant or post-partum women divided by the number of live births. The number of suicides was also measured in the same way.

In total, there were 465 097 deaths certificate of women of the relevant age in the study period, of which 5928 died during pregnancy or within one year after. The majority of deaths were natural causes (obstetric or non-obstetric conditions and diseases). Among non-pregnant (and post-partum) women who died, 2.1% were homicides, but 10.2% of the pregnancy deaths, 2.1% of early post-partum (0-42 days post-end of pregnancy), and 4.6% late post-partum (43 days to one year) women.

"Pregnancy-associated homicide" was a greater risk for adolescents (compared to other age groups), non-Hispanic Black women (compared to other ethnic groups), less educationally qualified women, and unmarried (vs married) women.

After adjusting for variables, risk of homicide among pregnant/post-partum women was just under double that of non-pregnant women. But suicide was a lowered risk for pregnant/post-partum women.

Pregnancy-associated homicide was calculated at 2.9 - 6.2 per 100 000 population by Wallace et al (2016), which was higher than 1.7 in the "Pregnancy Mortality Surveillance System" (PMSS) (Chang et al 2005) covering 1991-1999. The difference may have been due to better data collection in the 21st century (Wallace et al 2016).

However, the researchers found that on death certificates "a significant proportion of records were marked unknown data despite the presence of temporal pregnancy items" (Wallace et al 2016 p364.e8). Also data were not complete for certain states, which meant their exclusion from the analysis.

Wallace et al (2016) summed up: "Pregnancy and post-partum appear to be times of increased risk for homicide and decreased risk for suicide among women in the United States" (p364.e1).

1.5. UNWANTED SEXUAL ATTENTION

The venues of the night-time economy (NTE) (eg:

bars) employ staff who are physically attractive to bring the customers into the establishments. This can lead to unwanted sexual attention (UWSA) for employees, particularly female bartenders (Green 2022).

Aborisade (2022), for example, found that female bar staff in Nigeria experienced sexual harassment from customers, colleagues, and management, and were "punished for implementing combative strategies to deflect perpetrators' actions" (Green 2022 p97) (eg: deduction in wages). The limited number of studies "contend that experiences of sexual harassment are normalised in licensed venues. Nevertheless, much of the current literature surrounding unwanted sexual attention in the NTE claim that the workforce actively creates an environment where sexualised behaviours are normalised, tolerated, and encouraged" (Green 2022 p97). Fileborn (2017) noted that UWSA is "a highly complex, fluid, and situated occurrence. It is not necessarily an experience that can be defined easily or neatly" (quoted in Green 2022). However, Fileborn (2012) had defined it as "any unwanted advances or behaviour that participants interpreted as being sexual in nature and intent" (quoted in Green 2022). This definition includes behaviours not specified as sexual offences by law (Green 2022).

Green (2022) performed a participant observation as bar staff in a pub in London (given the pseudonym "The Watch Tower") in 2017-18, and interviewed fifteen staff there.

Female bar staff work in a particular environment with gender expectations about male and female sexual behaviours. Men are "allowed" to free themselves from restraints, while "many young women who enter the NTE are expected to conduct themselves with actions that simultaneously radiate a sense of freedom but also constraint. This includes being 'sassy and independent — but not feminist; to be ''up for it'' and to drink and get drunk alongside young men — but not to ''drink like men''... act as agentically sexy... but to distance themselves from the troubling figure of the ''drunken slut''' (Griffin et al 2012...)" (Green 2022 p101). Gunby et al (2019) coined the term "feisty femininity" to describe how women in the NTE can resist the sexualised actions of men. "Feisty femininity is said to be produced by the female bar-goer through verbal 'overt retaliatory responses' (Gunby et al 2019...) and/or, in some circumstances, by strategical retaliation in mimicking unwanted actions and bestowing them onto the initial perpetrators. Verbal responses could include telling the wrongdoer to 'fuck off' (ibid...), whereas strategical

retaliation consists of 'doing it back to them' (ibid...) in the form of, for example, pinching back a male's buttocks" (Green 2022 p102). Green (2022) considered the concept of "feisty femininity" and female bar staff.

The forms of UWSA, Green (2022) divided into "common" and "infrequent". "Vinne" described an example of the former: "They'll be ordering a drink and say, 'can I have a...' whilst staring directly at your chest" (p104). Lewd comments were also common (eg: "Martha" recalled that "someone once said that I have good blow job eyes"; p105). These were daily experiences, while "infrequent" UWSA occurred 3-4 times per month, and "consisted of unwanted physical contact, overtly and covertly taking pictures, and stalking" (Green 2022 p105).

The perpetrators were men as summarised by "Jonas": "it's only been male customers. I've never had any unwanted sexual advances from women here, or in the service industry at all. Women flirt as much as men do, but my experiences... as soon as I tell them that I have a girlfriend or I'm not comfortable with this it stops. They're friendly, they take it on the nose and it's fine. Whereas men seem to be more aggressive about it" (p105). Green (2022) divided the perpetrators into "laddish groups" (who tended to be "showing off for the lads"; Gunby et al 2019 quoted in Green 2022), and "the loner".

Green (2022) applied "feisty femininity" to the bar staff, noting that it was different to female bar-goers, in particular because of the role as employee. Two aspects were developed by Green (2022) - "veterans and the naive", and "the bar top divide". Concerning common UWSA, experience was crucial. New staff tended to accept it, or felt that they had to accept it, while experienced staff developed strategies like "being passive aggressive and employing dismissive tactics: '... if you sense a situation is getting dodgy sometimes the only way to get out of it is to be, kinda like, ''oh I can't give you my number, I'm not allowed''' ('Patricia')" (Green 2022 p109). The "bar top divide" described how the staff were restricted in their reactions because of being employees. "Unlike bar-goers, they are unable to retaliate and mimic the perpetrators actions... or acutely 'say things you wouldn't say to male strangers in the street' (Griffin et al 2012...) without having to deal with repercussions from irate customers and management" (Green 2022 p110).

1.6. RUNAWAYS AND SEXUAL ABUSE

Runaway behaviour in adolescence is a high-risk behaviour associated with criminality and delinquency, and mental health problems, for example. The revictimisation theory (Iratzoqui 2018) explained the behaviour thus: "child maltreatment triggers negative emotions, including depression, fear, and hopelessness. As a result, victims show maladaptive coping strategies/risky behaviours such as using drugs or running away to avoid these negative-oriented emotions.... [Though] running away from home might serve as a survival strategy; however, those risky behaviours lead to further victimisations" (Kocturk and Bilginer 2022 p462).

Kocturk and Bilginer (2022) focused on Turkey, where there is little research on adolescent runaways, particularly females, and the role of sexual abuse in the behaviour. Seventy-six 15-18 year-old runaway females were interviewed, and completed the Brief Symptom Inventory (BSI) (covering psychological problems), and the Beck Hopelessness Scale (BHS).

Around two-thirds, in total, reported at least one experience of sexual abuse (half before running away) (figure 1.1), and most often by a boyfriend (figure 1.2).

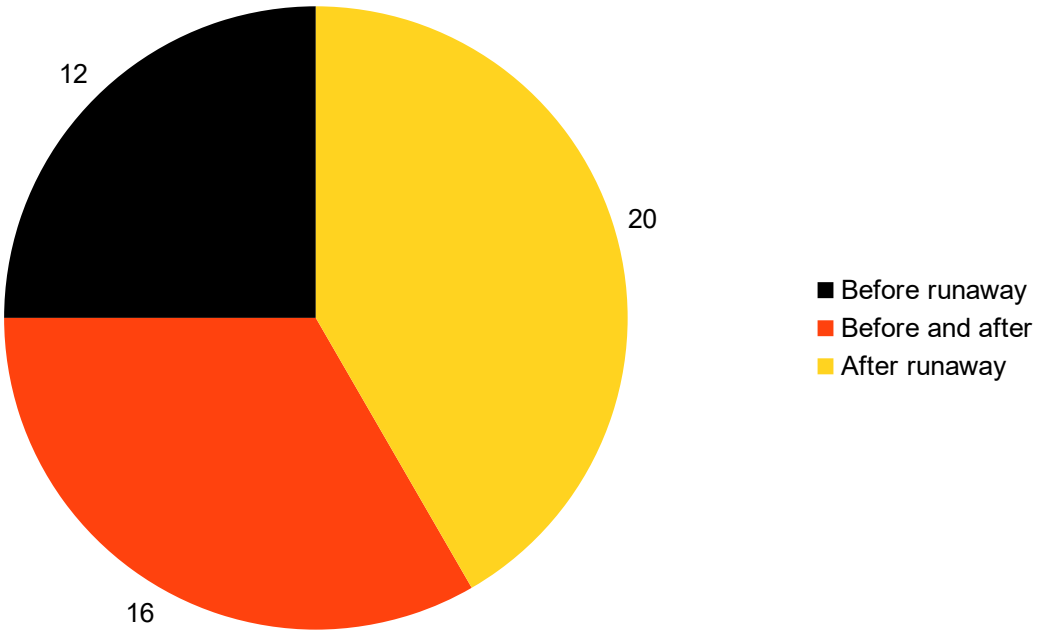
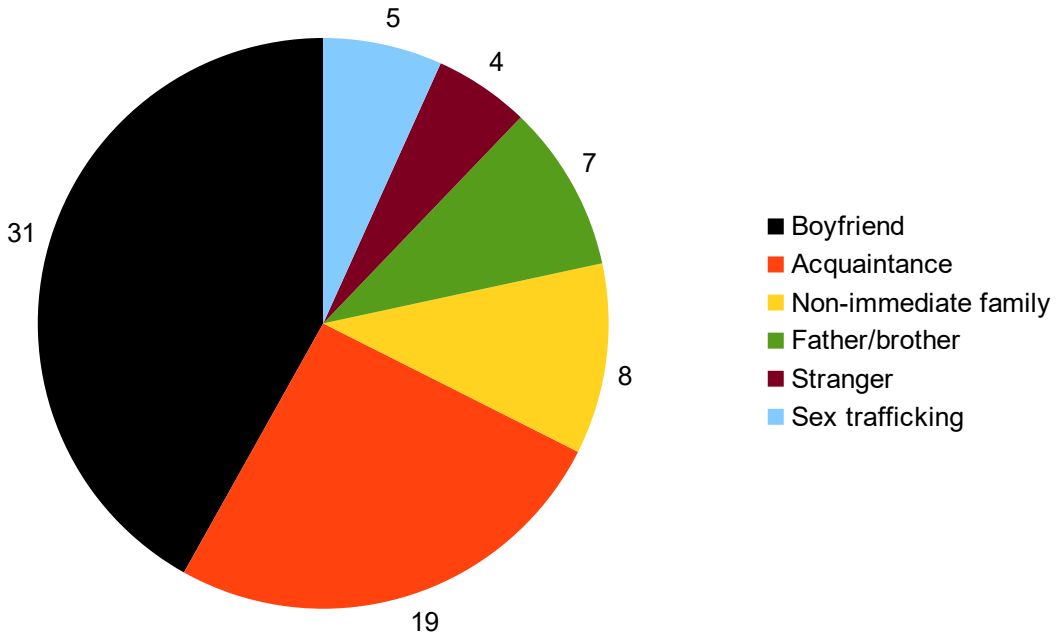


Figure 1.1 - When sexual abuse was experienced (n = 48 participants).



(Because more than one perpetrator in some cases, total higher than 48)

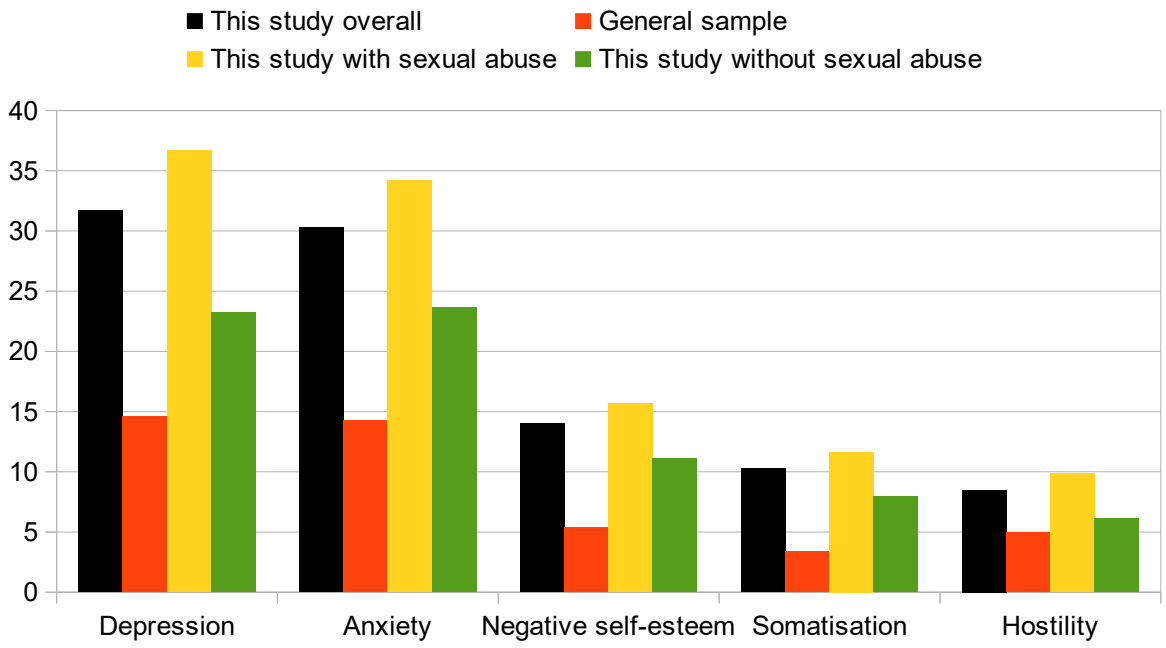
Figure 1.2 - Perpetrators of sexual abuse (number of participants).

The most common triggers for running away were family problems (eg: "to avoid a forced marriage by parents"; "running away to a boyfriend" [7]) or related to the sexual abuse (eg: "not wanting to live in the same house with the abuser").

The BSI has various cut-off scores for psychological problems, and 58% of the sample scored above the cut-off for depression, 53% for anxiety, 54% for negative self-esteem, 51% for somatisation, and 38% for hostility. These high rates of psychological problems have been found in other studies around the world (eg: Baker et al 2003). The mean scores for the BSI were significantly higher than a general population sample of Turkish adolescents used to validate the Turkish language version of the scale (Sahin et al 2002 quoted in Kocturk and Bilginer 2022) (figure 1.3).

The BHS has twenty items, each scored as 0 or 1 (absent or present), and a total score between 4 and 8 is categorised as "mild", 9 to 14 as "moderate", and fifteen and above as "severe" levels of hopelessness. The percentages found were 31.6%, 67.1%, and 1.3% respectively. So, no participants scored as no

[7] This has been called a "runaway match", where parents do not approve of the boyfriend (Kocturk and Bilginer 2022).



(Depression out of 48; anxiety out of 52; negative self-esteem out of 48; somatisation out of 36; hostility out of 28)

(Data from tables 2 and 3 p467 Kocturk and Bilginer 2022)

Figure 1.3 - Mean scores for BSI.

hopelessness.

Runaways who had experienced sexual abuse had significantly higher BSI scores, and a non-significantly higher BNS mean score than runaways who were not victims of sexual abuse.

In summary, runaway behaviour during adolescence "may result from sexual abuse and result in sexual abuse" (Kocturk and Bilginer 2022 p466). In the sample, around one-quarter experienced sexual abuse for the first time after running away, and this fits with revictimisation theory.

The study did not have a control or comparison group. Purposeful sampling was used to recruit interviewees. Data were not collected on duration of running away nor recurrence of the behaviour, which have been found to influence psychological symptoms (Kocturk and Bilginer 2022).

1.7. "ACCEPTABILITY" OF "WIFE-BEATING"

Hossain et al (2022) began with this sad statement: "Violence against women is omnipresent" (p1).

Concentrating on Bangladesh, these researchers observed that "there is widespread acceptability of 'wife-beating', a typical form of IPV [intimate partner violence], frequently perpetrated by societal conventions and gender roles" (Hossain et al 2022 p2).

Hossain et al (2022) supported this statement with data from the "Multiple Indicator Cluster Survey" (MICS) 2019, which included over 64 000 married women aged 15-49 years. The women stated whether they believed a beating was justified in five situations - "goes out without telling husband", "neglects the child", "argues with husband", "refuses sex with husband", and "burns the food".

Around 20% accepted that arguing with husband justified a beating (highest), and around 5% if burns the food (lowest). The findings were higher in rural than urban areas. Violence was found to be more common among younger women (below 30 years old), less educated women, those of a lower socio-economic status, and those who could not get pregnant.

1.8. FEMALE PERPETRATORS AND MALE VICTIMS

Loxton and Groves (2022) began: "The existence and discourse of male victimisation challenges traditional gender stereotypes generally, but especially so when victimisation results from female-perpetrated sexual violence... Not only do such actions and experiences confront long-held social and cultural values and norms, contradicting typical definitions of both masculinity and femininity, they often lead to diminished victim-reporting, and subsequent support, due to victims' intense fears of disbelief, stigma and ostracism" (p192). For example, only 5% of reported sexual offending in Australia is female-perpetrated (against all types of victims), while 18% of victims of all reported sexual violence are male (ie: perpetrated by men and women) (Loxton and Groves 2022).

Male victims and female perpetrators of sexual violence do not fit Christie's (1986) "ideal victim" (and offender). This means that a situation of male victim-female perpetrator is not perceived as legitimate. It does not matter than the reality of sexual violence generally does not fit the socially constructed "ideal" template of "'believable rape' as when a male stranger commits violent penile-vaginal penetration against a resisting female" (Loxton and Groves 2022 p194).

Rape myths are linked to perception of sexual

violence. "One of the more commonly held myths is that male arousal equates to consent; men are unable to 'perform', unless they desire it. Formative research by Sarrel and Masters (1982) revealed that male sexual arousal, in the context of rape, is comparable with females' experiences of orgasms during rape. Arousal is an uncontrollable response, not indicative of consent, as erections and orgasms are physical responses that can be triggered by intense emotions including fear and anger" (Loxton and Groves 2022 pp195-196).

Loxton and Groves (2022) analysed 28 Facebook posts from thirteen different newspapers' social media pages in Australia between 2009 and 2019 covering incidents of female-perpetrated sexual assault against men. The researchers considered three broad themes:

i) "Unpacking masculinity" - Comments were linked to the belief that "'real men'... 'cannot be rape victims'" (Turchik and Edwards 2012 quoted in Loxton and Groves 2022). For example, "Poor guy I feel for him not wanting sex all the time!... SAID NO MAN EVER! Lol" (sic), and words used like "a soft cock", "a weirdo", and a "Loser" (sic) (p202).

The seriousness of the crime was reduced as in comments like "wrong sex buddy no one cares", and "is that a joke?" (p203).

ii) "Gendered expectations of sexuality" - Around 10% of the comments endorsed male rape myths, in particular, male rape does not occur (eg: "a woman raping a man, get real!"; p203), erection must mean consent (eg: "Man doesn't have an erection it's not going to happen and if he does, he is turned on - rape?"; p204), and men always initiate sex.

Homophobic comments were noted (n = 20), and the perception that the victim must have been gay: "Some people make up such stories to get out of marriage. Maybe he is gay and got married in the first place just to keep society happy. By saying 'she is sex crazy' it's putting blame on other party!" (p205).

iii) "Trial by social media" - "Users' commentary also engaged more critically, challenging the extent of the harms of female victimisation, with many users noting how 'women are far more likely to get killed by domestic violence than men are'... This commentary appeared more contemplative, as the tone highlighted a more serious and critical reflection of the social and cultural impacts of

sexual violence. Nonetheless, despite their considerate discussions, many users' responses continued to deny or challenge male victim scripts..." (Loxton and Groves 2022 p206).

Loxton and Groves (2022) concluded with this observation: "Given the majority of social media users in this study projected outdated male stereotypes, this paper has highlighted how contemporary online platforms can contribute to the disparity in recognition of victims of sexual violence, where current social trends suggest that male victims do not exist, or conversely, should not exist" (p208).

1.9. APPENDIX 1A - SADISM VS PARAPHILIC COERCION

Sadism involves "the eroticised infliction of pain and injury in fantasy or behaviour", as well as "controlling, physically restraining, or humiliating the victim" (Longpre et al 2020 p1). Paraphilic coercion (PC) "focuses on controlling and dominating an unwilling victim" (Longpre et al 2020 p1). How are these two concepts related?

One view (eg: Money 1986) is that they are separate types and different in kind. However, Knight (2010) argued that "the two constructs are distributed along a single continuum, called the Agonistic Continuum, which varies from no coercive fantasies, through fantasies of forcing sexual compliance, to fantasies and behaviours of hurting, humiliating, and torturing during sex" (Longpre et al 2020 p2). Knight et al (2013) tested this theory with 529 incarcerated sexual offenders, and found that "a probabilistic scale with PC at the lower end and sadism at the high end. A probabilistic scale constitutes a set of items that are ordered in a hierarchy, such that individuals located at each level of the scale would have a high probability of endorsing all items below their level but would be unlikely to endorse items above their level... If PC and sadism were so ordered, sadists would always qualify as likely having PC fantasies and behaviours, but there would also be individuals lower on the scale who are aroused by coercing their victims but do not manifest more severe sadistic characteristics" (Longpre et al 2020 p2).

Longpre et al (2020) provided further data in support of this idea from a sample of 680 adult male sexual offenders (including child sex offenders, rapists, and sexual homicide offenders) at four locations in North

America. All participants completed the self-reported inventory, the "Multi-dimensional Inventory of Development, Sex and Aggression" (MIDSA) [8], which measures coercive sexual behaviour.

Longpre et al (2020) admitted: "The data were generated from self-reports, which are vulnerable to response biases (appendix 1E). Although self-report provides access to more detailed information, valid responses are difficult to obtain unless gathered in a research context with assurances of total confidentiality. Half of the sample were research participants who were assured total confidentiality, but the other half were assessed in clinical evaluation contexts" (p9).

In terms of non-sexual offenders, Longpre et al (2018) studied a sample of college students, adults from the local community, and offenders convicted of non-sexual crimes.

1.10. APPENDIX 1B - CATEGORIES OF KOREAN HOMICIDE

Feshbach (1964) distinguished between expressive (hostile) and instrumental aggression. This dichotomy can be applied to homicide behaviours (eg: Salfati and Canter 1999; 82 British cases). "The expressive theme is composed of behaviours that centre on the victim as a specific person. An offender following this theme kills in a rage following an argument with someone known to him, explaining why emotions are typically one of the precipitating factors involved in these cases" (Sea and Beauregard 2021 p185). The offender may have a history of violent offences, and makes some attempt to disrupt future forensic analysis of the body. "On the other hand, the behaviours typical of the instrumental theme focus more on the benefits that the victim provides to the offender. Here the offender treats the victim as a vehicle to obtain something, such as sexual gratification or material gain" (Sea and Beauregard 2021 p185).

Sub-categories or sub-themes have been added to the expressive/instrumental distinction in homicide, including "instrumental sex-arousal" (the victim as a means to sexual gratification), "instrumental cognitive" (activities upon the body that remove incriminating evidence), "expressive blood" (a loss of control that leads to homicide, and an attempt to hide evidence afterwards), and "expressive impulsive (as the previous category with no hiding of evidence) (Sea and Beauregard

[8] See https://midsa.us/.

2021).

Most studies of homicides using these classifications are in Western countries. Hence the motivation for Sea and Beauregard's (2021) study of 487 homicides in Korea. This was a sample of the homicides analysed by Sea and Beauregard (2019). Fifty-seven crime scene actions were scored (including eg: manner of disposal of body, wounds, and method of killing used).

Four categories/themes were distinguished based on common crime scene behaviours:

i) "Instrumental sex-arousal" - "[T]he actions the offender engaged in are indicative of treating the victim as a vehicle to reach his ulterior motive, which was predominantly sexual gratification. All the actions of this theme co-occur with sexual behaviour. For example, one offender decided and attempted to rape the victim, but when she resisted, he suffocated her. As soon as the victim stopped resisting, he partially undressed her and performed anal sex. The offender left semen at the crime scene" (Sea and Beauregard 2021 p195).

ii) "Expressive overkill-blood" - No prior intention to kill, and an attempt to hide evidence afterwards (eg: that there was a relationship between the victim and the offender).

iii) "Expressive impulsive" - As (ii), and "the absence of of intention to hide, cover, or transport the body" (Sea and Beauregard 2021 p197).

iv) "Instrumental cognitive" - Crime scene behaviours related to the offender coming prepared to the crime scene (eg: bringing binding equipment). Theft was the main motivation and homicide was a means to that end if required.

The above categories confirmed previous research in Western countries, but there were differences. Instrumental themes were more common in this sample, and the use of arson and poison were more frequent compared to the use of guns in Western homicides (Sea and Beauregard 2021).

1.11. APPENDIX 1C - FOREIGN OBJECT INSERTION

"Foreign object insertion" (FOI) is "the unwanted placement of any object, by another individual, into any

orifice (eg: mouth, vagina, anus, ear) of the victim" (Koeppel et al 2019 quoted in Beauregard et al 2022). In homicides generally, it is rare (eg: 1% of cases), but much higher in sexual homicides (eg: over half) (Beauregard et al 2022).

Schlesinger et al (2010) made the distinction between "ritualistic behaviours" and "signature behaviours" of sexual homicide offenders. Ritualistic behaviours are actions beyond those required to cause death (and includes FOI), while signature behaviours are a sub-set of ritualistic behaviours unique to a perpetrator (eg: the object used in FOI) (Beauregard et al 2022).

Among 260 cases of sexual homicide in the USA, Koeppel et al (2019) found 65 different objects used in FOI, with the most common categories being "tools" (eg; screwdriver), "natural materials" (eg: sticks), "weapons", "clothes", and "food" in that order. Over half the objects were phallic-like. Most objects were acquired at the crime scene, and about half the FOI was post-mortem (where this could be established) (Beauregard et al 2022).

Chopin and Beauregard (2020) found an over-representation of FOI with elderly victims (around three times more) than with adult victims generally.

Beauregard et al (2022) analysed 662 cases of sexual homicide in France and Canada between 1948 and 2018 (taken from the "Sexual Homicide International Database"; SHIelD). The presence or absence of FOI was scored along with thirty-six variables covering victim characteristics (eg; age; gender), offender characteristics (eg: sexual dysfunction; use of alcohol/drugs prior to crime), and crime characteristics (eg: relationship between victim and offender; intercourse).

The significant variables found with FOI were victim older than 65 years, victim loner, and victim had used alcohol/drugs prior to the crime, while the offender was more likely to experience sexual dysfunction, and to have used alcohol/drugs prior to the crime. In terms of crime characteristics, FOI was less likely with strangers, and more likely with post-mortem sexual activities, for example.

Overall, FOI was "mainly perpetrated against the most vulnerable victims" (Beauregard et al 2022), and by offenders with sexual dysfunction. FOI was associated with sadism (eg: beating; mutilation of genitals).

This study challenged an earlier view, mostly from US samples, that FOI was associated with mental

disordered offenders (Beauregard et al 2022).

Beauregard et al (2022) added: "Even though FOI is uncommon, it probably fulfils different psychological needs for different offenders. Clinically it is important to understand the function of the behaviour in the context of the other characteristics of the case. FOI into sexual orifices (vagina, anus, urethra, sometimes mouth if the object is phallic) should be seen as an indicator of deviant sexual interests (specifically sexual sadism) and/or sexual inexperience/inadequacy. Particularly brutal sexual acts of FOI (for example inserting a broom handle so far into a victim's vagina that it penetrates the abdominal and chest cavity) maybe the cause of death and indicative of rage and/or sadism. Non-sexual FOI (into the ear or mouth if the object is non-phallic) may fulfil other needs, for example silencing a victim, torturing a victim, or having non-sexual symbolic significance" (pNP3566).

1.11.1. Necrophilic Behaviour

Necrophilia is the "sexual gratification that is attained by having sex with corpses" (Chopin and Beauregard 2021 p1676), though the American Psychiatric Association in DSM-5 defines it more generally as "recurrent and intense sexual arousal involving corpses" (quoted in Chopin and Beauregard 2021). Chopin and Beauregard (2021) explained: "Most necrophiles do not engage in sexual intercourse with the dead and are content simply with fantasying about post-mortem sexual acts... If they decide to take action, necrophile individuals use different contexts to find bodies of people who are already dead... For instance, some individuals steal corpses from morgues, dig up bodies from cemeteries, or retain the body of their partner after their death... In some cases, however, homicide may precede the necrophilic act" (p1676).

Concentrating on the latter, studies have estimated post-mortem sexual acts at between 8 and 36% of sexual homicides (Chopin and Beauregard 2021). Necrophilic sexual homicide offenders (nSHOs) are "always male" (Chopin and Beauregard 2021). In a study of sixteen such individuals (from 211 sexual homicide cases), Stein et al (2010) found the average age was in the mid-20s, labouring work or unemployment was common, and there were prior arrests, while the victim's body was usually left at the crime location with no effort to conceal it.

Rosman and Resnick (1989) distinguished between

"pseudo-necrophile" and "true necrophile". The former having a transient sexual interest in the corpse (eg: because intoxicated or opportunistic). The latter includes "necrophilic homicide" (murder to obtain a corpse for sexual reasons), "regular necrophilia" (the use of an already dead body), and "necrophilic fantasy" (without any behaviour) (Chopin and Beauregard 2021).

The concept of "Post-Mortem Sexual Interference Offenders" (PMSIOs) has been recently introduced. This includes "homicide offenders whose offence contained at least one of the following characteristics, the perpetrator disclosed that he had sexually assaulted the victim after killing them, there was evidence from a pathologist of post-mortem sexual behaviour, the perpetrator had disclosed post-mortem sexual behaviour, there was evidence of sex with an unconscious or dead victim or the perpetrator disclosed since conviction that they had sexually assaulted the victim after killing them" (Carter et al 2008 quoted in Chopin and Beauregard 2021). This is a wider category than necrophilia.

Chopin and Beauregard (2021) used the same sample as Beauregard et al (2022), and selected 109 solved sexual homicides with post-mortem sexual acts. Forty variables were categorised as present or absent. Four patterns of necrophilia in sexual homicide emerged from latent class analysis with the following key characteristics:

i) "Opportunistic" - offender single; no sexual dysfunction; ante-mortem sexual intercourse; robbery; previous convictions; used alcohol/drugs prior to crime. Necrophilic acts were not the primary motivation of the crime.

ii) "Experimental" - ante-mortem sexual intercourse; FOI; killing by strangulation; no genital mutilation; no sadism; preference for sexual acts with living victims.

iii) "Preferential" - offender single; sexual dysfunction; no ante-mortem sexual intercourse; "loner"; older victims; "true necrophile".

iv) "Sadistic" - ante-mortem sexual intercourse; FOI and genital mutilation; used restraints and strangulation; previous convictions; used alcohol/drugs prior to crime; sadistic SHOs.

The cases came from police data, so only those reported to the authorities, included only solved cases,

and the post-mortem acts depended on the accuracy of coroners' work (Chopin and Beauregard 2021).

1.12. APPENDIX 1D - EXPLAINING SPREE KILLING

A spree killing is where an individual kills a number of individuals in a short period of time (eg: minutes or hours). Here I present two representations of the factors involved in such events.

Figure 1.4 includes three elements that combine to explain such behaviour:

i) General background - factors common to other killers and violent individuals (and even the general population).

ii) Specific background - factors particular to the individual.

iii) Triggers - (i) and (ii) prime the individual, but the actual behaviour is released by trigger(s) which may be general and/or specific.

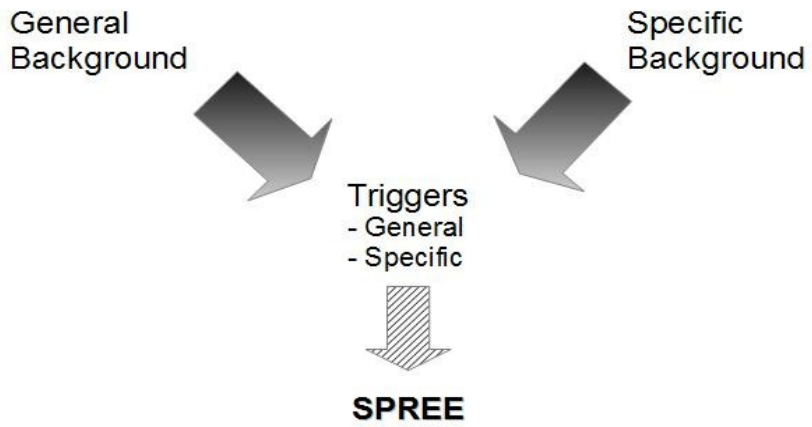


Figure 1.4 - Representation of factors involved in spree killing.

The important point is that the spree killer has both similarities and differences to other murders, and to the general population.

This is further emphasised in figure 1.5, which

presents a series of stages, and a barrier (as applied to adolescents).

The factors are common to many adolescents, and include less individuals as each one is added to the last - for example: "unhappy teenager", and "disenchanted", and "alienated". But there are many adolescents who show all these characteristics, but do not participate in extreme violence. This is because there is a "barrier to extreme action". The question is what leads to crossing it - "positive" factors to encourage the individual to cross (eg: disinhibition through substance use) versus "negative" factors that discourage crossing (eg: fear of consequences).

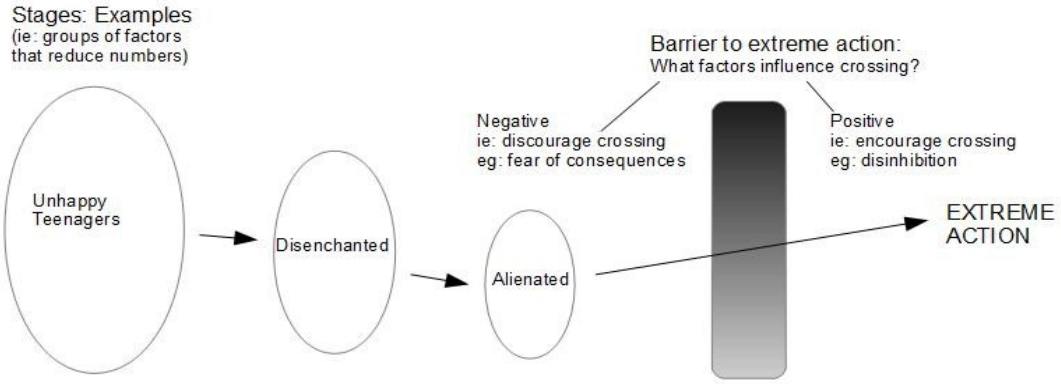


Figure 1.5 - Representation of factors involved in spree killing by adolescents.

1.13. APPENDIX 1E - OFFENDER NON-PARTICIPATION IN RESEARCH

Self-report surveys of crime over come the problem of official data missing unreported and undetected cases, but there are issues with honesty, and non-response. "If non-response to self-report surveys on criminal involvement is selective, it potentially generates bias and jeopardises not only conclusions about the extent of criminal involvement of the population but also conclusions about the validity of theories that postulate causal relations between criminal behaviour and other behaviours and characteristics" (Bernasco et al 2022 p1404).

Non-response can include to specific questions or

items while answering others (known as "item non-response") or non-participation in the survey at all (known as "unit non-response") (Bernasco et al 2022). It is suggested that offenders are less likely to participate in surveys than non-offenders. "One possible reason is that the lifestyle of offenders makes them more difficult to contact, for example because they are homeless..., detained or otherwise institutionalised... An additional reason could be that offenders' presumed lower levels of self-control make them less willing to participate in research when they are contacted and invited" (Bernasco et al 2022 p1405).

Unit non-response can occur for two main reasons:

i) Non-contact - "Non-contact occurs when the researchers are unable to locate the individual or to communicate with him or her, to the effect that the individual cannot be invited to participate in the survey" (Bernasco et al 2022 p1406).

A sampling frame is a list of potential participants, which may come from an official database of some kind. However, frequent offenders are more likely to change their address often, and so the database may be out of date, as well as the individual being uncontactable due to incarceration. "In sum, because frequent offenders are more geographically mobile than incidental offenders, they will be more difficult to contact" (Bernasco et al 2022 p1406).

ii) Refusal - "Refusal occurs only if and after contact has been established, when the individual is invited but declines the invitation or is otherwise not eligible to participate, either by explicitly declining the invitation or implicitly, for example by not showing up for an appointment" (Bernasco et al 2022 p1406).

Refusal to participate generally can be due to unwillingness to invest the time and energy in the survey, but with crime surveys, there is also the fear of disclosing information that could be harmful to themselves. An offender may hold a negative attitude towards authorities, and though crime researchers may be independent of the criminal justice system, this distinction may not be perceived.

However, Bernasco et al (2022) wanted to distinguish between frequent and incidental offenders. In their study, they tested three hypotheses:

1 - Frequent offenders will have higher non-response rates than incidental offenders.

2 - Frequent offenders will have higher non-contact rates than incidental offenders.

3 - Frequent offenders will have higher refusal rates.

Data were analysed from the "Online Activity Space Inventory Survey" (OASIS) in the Netherlands. A sample of 4170 individuals aged 18-25 years old were selected from the crime suspect database of the National Police in the Hague [9]. The survey took place in May-October 2016, and the database in 2014 was used. Information was out of date for 718 individuals who could not be contacted. The remaining 3452 individuals were sent a postal invitation to the online survey. Of these, 123 letters were returned as undelivered by the postal services, and 413 individuals completed the online survey.

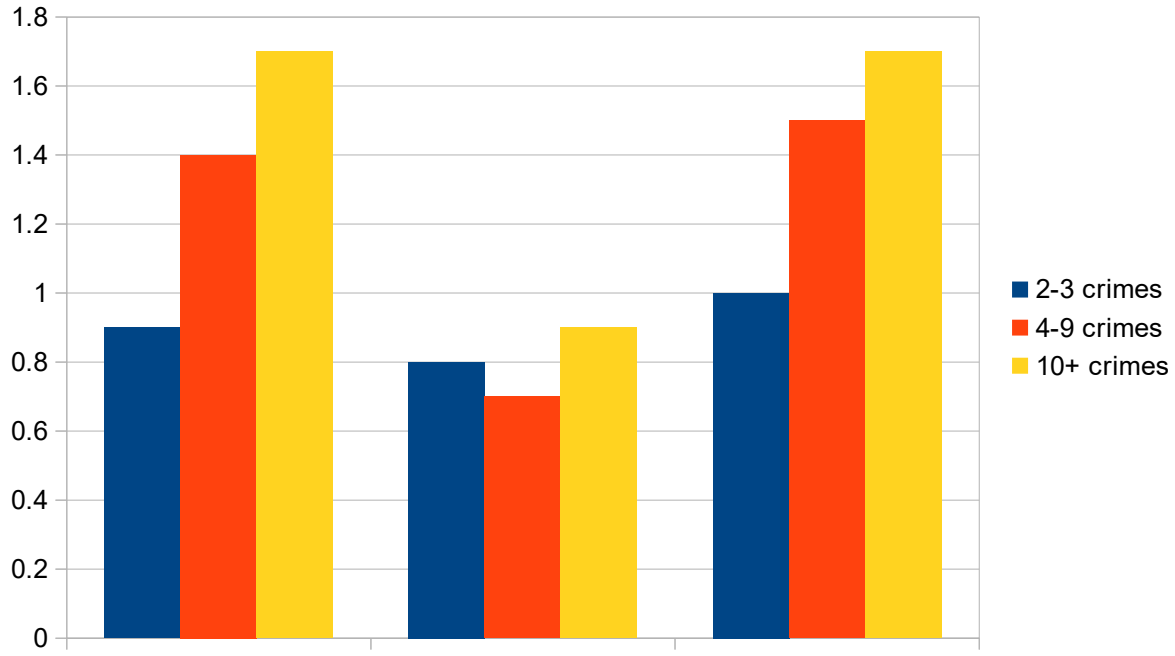
Offending frequency since twelve years old was based on police data, and one crime was defined as "incidental offender", and compared to three groups - 2-3 crimes, 4-9, and 10+ crimes.

Concerning Hypothesis 1, frequent offenders (4 or more crimes) had a significantly higher non-response rate. Thus, the hypothesis was supported. Hypothesis 2 was rejected as "the association between prior offending frequency and non-contact is curvilinear, as both one-time offenders (who had only one recorded crime) and notorious offenders (who had 10 or more recorded crimes) were more likely to be contacted than offenders who had 2–9 recorded crimes" (Bernasco et al 2022 p1414). Refusal rates were as predicted by Hypothesis 3 (figure 1.6).

Bernasco et al (2022) summed up: "Controlling for gender and age as potential confounders, our findings do not confirm that frequent offenders are less likely to be successfully contacted, but they do confirm that, if contacted, they are less likely to participate" (p1414).

In the Netherlands there is a digital population registry (Basis Registratie Personen; BRP), but individuals can ask to opt out of their information being shared for non-essential purposes, like research.

[9] It is known, Bernasco et al (2022) explained, that "police records underestimate involvement in criminal conduct. Not all crimes are reported to the police, and the police do not solve all crimes reported. Both selection mechanisms (whether a crime is reported and whether it is solved) may be subject to bias and thus lead to biased estimates in our analysis. For example, crimes committed by adolescents who reside in affluent neighbourhoods might be less likely to be reported to the police, or they might be less likely to be solved by the police, than crimes committed by adolescents from deprived neighbourhoods. If this were the case, we would underestimate the prior offending frequency of the former (affluent) group more strongly than the prior offending frequency of the latter (deprived) group, and our results would be biased" (p1417).



(Based on data from Bernasco et al 2022 table 3 p1412)

Figure 1.6 - Odds ratio of response behaviour (where 1 = incidental offender; ie:1 crime).

Frequent offenders were more likely to opt out. Bernasco et al (2022) felt that "this may reflect a greater distrust of governmental agencies and authorities by frequent offenders than by less active offenders" (p1415).

More letters were returned as undeliverable for frequent offenders. The researchers made the assumption that "if the invitation letter has not been returned undeliverable by the postal services, the potential respondent has received and read it. This need not always be the case. The invitation letter might not have been found, or it might have been discarded without being read, by either the prospective respondent, a family member or somebody else. If this is what happened to the first letter and the reminder, and if the offender did consequently not participate, the offender is incorrectly assigned to the 'refusal' category, whereas 'non-contact' might have been the more appropriate category" (Bernasco et al 2022 pp1416-1417). This would lead to an underestimation of the non-response and an overestimation of the refusal categories. Personal contact would be a way to overcome this problem.

1.13.1. Inappropriate Samples

In response to "knife crime" in the UK, for example, media campaigns have been tried that "typically focus on fear and the mortality-related risks of carrying knives (eg: the potential for people to be seriously injured or killed...). These campaigns are often accompanied by images of knives and/or the aftermath of a stabbing, with the rationale being that exposure to such information will provoke fear and deter people from carrying out such behaviour" (Hobson et al 2022 pNP21574). Is this the case?

According to rational choice theory, individuals weigh up the costs and benefits of behaviours, and such a campaign should be effective as it emphasises the cost of knife-carrying. "Terror Management Theory" (TMT) (Greenberg et al 1997) predicts the opposite.

TMT explains social behaviour based on how individuals deal with the inevitability of their own death. Reminded of their mortality, individuals embrace ideas that give their life meaning, and bolster self-esteem through group membership [10]. "Identifying with a group, religion, friends or family can provide, literally or symbolically, a sense of immortality. If people abide by the norms of these groups, then their self-esteem will be bolstered, since such adherence indicates group membership and standing... For example, if one identifies with a group that values perceived strength from carrying a weapon, then one should feel good about oneself when following this norm" (Hobson et al 2022 pNP21577).

The upshot is that individuals involved in risky behaviours as part of their group membership become more risky after being reminded of their mortality (eg: fast driving increased among those who valued that behaviour after viewing death-related messages about it; Jessop et al 2008).

Hobson et al (2022) tested the following prediction in their two experiments: "exposing the mortality-related risks of knives to young people whose self-esteem and cultural worldviews are strongly linked to knife-carrying may actually make them more likely to engage in knife-carrying behaviour by strengthening commitment to their sub-cultural and group norms. As such, fear-based media campaigns that emphasise the mortality-related risks of carrying knives may be at risk of backfire effects"

[10] The human awareness of death means, according to Sheldon Solomon (one of the originators of Terror Management Theory), that we are all just "anxious meat puppets tranquillised by culturally constructed trivialities" (quoted in Cossins 2022).

(pNP21578).

Experiment 1

The participants were 479 18-25 year-old males recruited online in the UK in 2020. They were randomly allocated to one of six conditions based on two independent variables (campaign imagery and message prime) (table 1.4).

The campaign imagery was Twitter screenshots of anti-knife campaigns using the fear appeal (ie: risk of being stabbed) or a control (eg: media campaigns about sugary drinks). The message prime was one of three: "likelihood of death" ("carrying a knife can result in your own death – you are three times more likely to be stabbed if you go out carrying a knife"), "primed responsibility" ("carrying a knife can have devastating consequences on your friends and family – no parent or grandparent would ever want to see their child get injured or be killed"), or control (no message).

(1) Knife-related message/Likelihood of death	(2) Knife-related message/Primed responsibility	(3) Knife-related message/Control prime
(4) Control message/Likelihood of death	(5) Control message/Primed responsibility	(6) Control message/Control prime

Table 1.4 - Six conditions in the two experiments of Hobson et al (2022).

Then followed a series of questions about knife-carrying (eg: "I would consider carrying a knife when I leave the house"; "Carrying a knife would make me feel protected when in public").

It is expected that individuals who saw the knife-related message and the likelihood of death prime will be more aware of their mortality. Overall, "viewing knife-related campaign images neither decreased or increased participants' attitudes towards knife carrying" (Hobson et al 2022 pNP21586).

This experiment had a key problem - the sample was a general population one, who it can be assumed are not knife-carrying as a rule, and "TMT suggests that mortality salience will only increase intentions to engage in risky behaviour for those who have high levels

of self-esteem/cultural worldviews related to the risky behaviour (eg: knife carrying)" (Hobson et al 2022 pNP21586).

Experiment 2

A more relevant sample was recruited via Youth Justice Services (ie: diversionary schemes from offending) (n = 57 14-18 year-olds). The procedure of this experiment was the same as the previous one. The findings were the same. The sample still may not have been the most relevant one.

Both experiments used the measure of intention to carry a knife, which is different to actual behaviour, and relies on the honesty of responses. It is also not known, "due to ethical constraints", whether any of the participants had carried a knife in the past or how frequently.

In Experiment 1 the sample was volunteers online (at "Prolific Academic") for a social media campaign research project. "One must question how likely it is that an individual who engages in knife-carrying behaviour would also self-select to answer a survey about crime, or indeed sign up to a social research platform in general. This recruitment method therefore likely targeted generally 'law-abiding' individuals..." (Hobson et al 2022 pNP21590).

The experiments used specifically-prepared information as the stimuli, and "fictional messages cannot fully replicate real instances of people viewing social media campaigns, as influential factors relating to the context, timing and situation were not fully accounted for here" (Hobson et al 2022 pNP21590).

What about the use of fear-based messages in other research? Fear appeals have been common in health messages (eg: smoking), and a meta-analysis (Tannenbaum et al 2015) found that fear-based campaigns "can be effective at positively changing people's attitudes, intentions and behaviour when the message includes statements about efficacy, is high in depicted susceptibility and severity, and targets a one-time behaviour rather than a repeat behaviour" (Hobson et al 2022 pNP21575).

Specifically with knife-carrying, Palasinski et al (2021) found that injury-related messages were more persuasive among 18-25 year-old males than messages

emphasising deviance, respect, control or masculinity. However, this study "measured tolerance towards knife-carrying (eg: whether it could be seen as acceptable and justified), rather than intentions or behaviours surrounding knife crime" (Hobson et al 2022 pNP21576).

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2. SEXUAL HOMICIDE

2.1. CLASSIFYING THE TOPIC

"Sexual homicide combines the act of murder with acts of a sexual nature, often as a form of rape or other sexual assault. Rape and murder are considered to be 'evil', and when combined, sexual homicide is the most serious crime that can be committed... Although sexual homicide is relatively infrequent, studies have shown that the most serious crimes are perpetrated by around 5% of the criminal population" (Beauregard and Chopin 2020 p1).

It has been lamented that there is a lack of interest in this subject by criminologists, maybe in part because it is "too sensationalistic, a type of crime mainly associated with popular culture and not worthy of scientific empirical investigation" (Beauregard and Chopin 2020 p1).

Beauregard and Chopin (2020), in introducing a special issue of the "Journal of Criminal Justice" entitled "Criminology and Criminal Extremity: New Development for Sexual Homicide", argued strongly that sexual homicide is a specific crime. The offender is not a murderer, nor "just a sex offender", but it is a "hybrid offence" (p1). Stefanska et al (2020) observed that "the sexual behaviours can consist of vaginal or anal penetration, masturbation, other evidence of sexual arousal as well as acts suggestive of sexual fantasies such as genital mutilation or arranging victim's body into a sexually provocative position. It may occur before, during or after the act of killing. The homicide can take place in a variety of contextual situations. While killing in pursuit of sadistic pleasure is commonly

noted, it is not a feature of all cases" (p1).

Historically, Brittain (1970) proposed a profile based on specific cases and clinical experience, while the FBI Behavioural Science Unit sought larger samples to interview and analyse for patterns (eg: Burgess et al 1986).

Next came studies including control or comparison groups (eg: non-sexual homicides or non-lethal sexual assaults). For example, Prouix et al (2007) compared forty sexual murderers and 101 rapists on many variables. "Although no significant differences were observed between the two groups as to personality, the study showed that sexual murderers were more likely to exhibit anger prior to crime, as well as a greater use of alcohol and weapons" (Beauregard and Chopin 2020 p2). The limited differences between the two groups in this and other studies, supported the view that sexual murderers are not a distinct type of offender.

Beauregard and Chopin (2020) were critical: "While the idea of comparing sexual homicide to rape furthered our understanding of the sexual murderer, something particularly important was overlooked. It was assumed that we could compare sexual homicides to sexual assaults that included both violent and non-violent sexual assaults. The inclusion of both violent and non-violent sexual assaults in the same group may have introduced some noise in previous findings. To shed some light on possible differences that may have been missed between these two types of offenders, a third generation of studies compared sexual homicide cases to cases of both violent and non-violent sexual assaults" (p2). This is the work of Eric Beauregard and others.

For example, Beauregard and Martineau (2016) found engagement in paraphilic behaviour as significantly more likely among sexual homicide offenders than violent and non-violent sexual assault perpetrators. Furthermore, Beauregard and DeLisi (2021) noted Personality Disorders, particularly the co-morbidity of Schizoid, Borderline, and Anti-Social types, as more common in sexual homicide offenders. These studies view sexual homicide as "a very distinct type of crime" (Beauregard and Chopin 2020 p3).

Burglary often occurs before (ie: early in the offender's "career"), and with sexual homicide. Thus the idea of "sexual burglary" (table 2.1). One possibility is that "the situational cues that make a location appealing for a burglary also make that same location appealing for a violent offence and the sexual assault is not accidental" (Beauregard and Chopin 2020 p3). The

STUDY	CLASSIFICATION
Vaughn et al (2008)	4 types of burglar, including the "sexual predator burglar"
Schlesinger & Revitch (1999)	Overt - direct sexual contact Covert - voyeuristic
Pedneault et al (2012)	Fetishistic non-contact (eg: accessing female clothing; no theft) Versatile contact (rape and theft) Sexually oriented contact (rape and no theft)

Table 2.1 - Classifications of sexual burglary.

alternative views are burglary as the goal and sexual assault as a "bonus", or vice versa (Beauregard and Chopin 2020).

De Veauuse Brown and Watson (2022) used data from the "National Violent Death Reporting System" (NVDRS) in the USA in their study of sexual homicide and non-sexual homicide of women. The NVDRS was set up in 2002 by the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC) to link data from death certificates, law enforcement reports, coroner/medical examiner records, and toxicology reports on suicide and homicide (De Veauuse Brown and Watson 2022) [11].

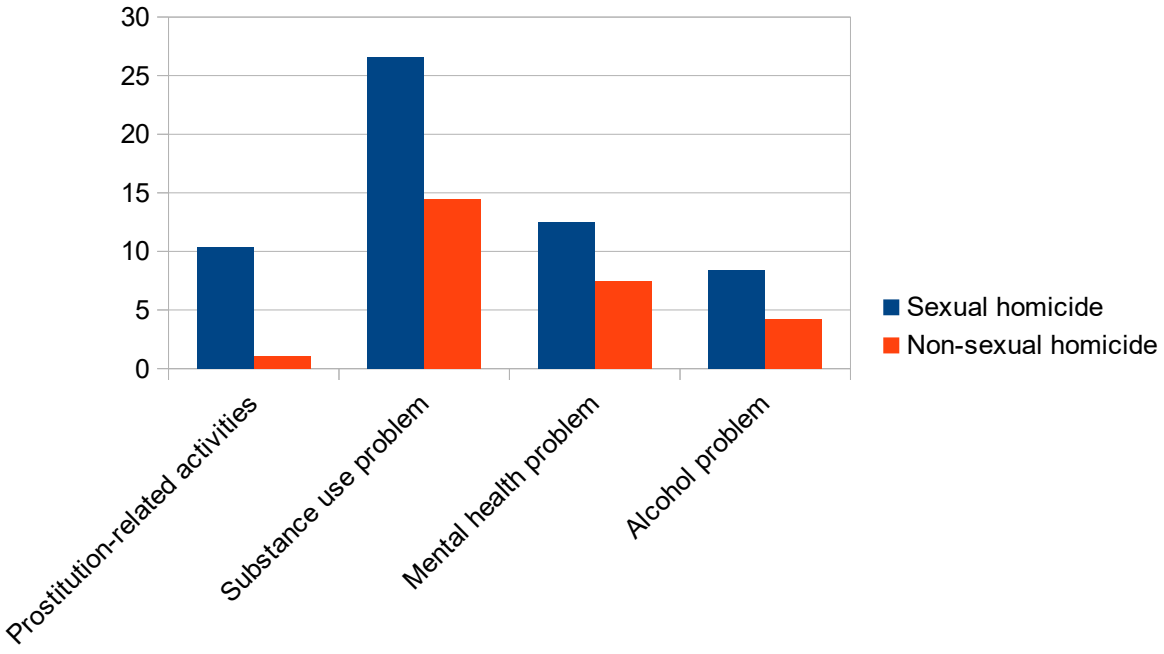
De Veauuse Brown and Watson (2022) focused on 2015 to 2018, and homicides of 20-64 year-old women (n = 324 sexual homicides and 6137 non-sexual homicide cases). Variables were scored as present/absent relating to the victim, suspect, and incident.

Statistically significant differences were found between the two groups of homicide:

i) Victim - In sexual homicide, more likely to be White, single, had a substance abuse and/or alcohol problem, used alcohol prior to death, had mental health problems, been involved in prostitution-related activities, and had experienced violence in the month before death (figure 2.1). The strongest relationship was prostitution-related activities.

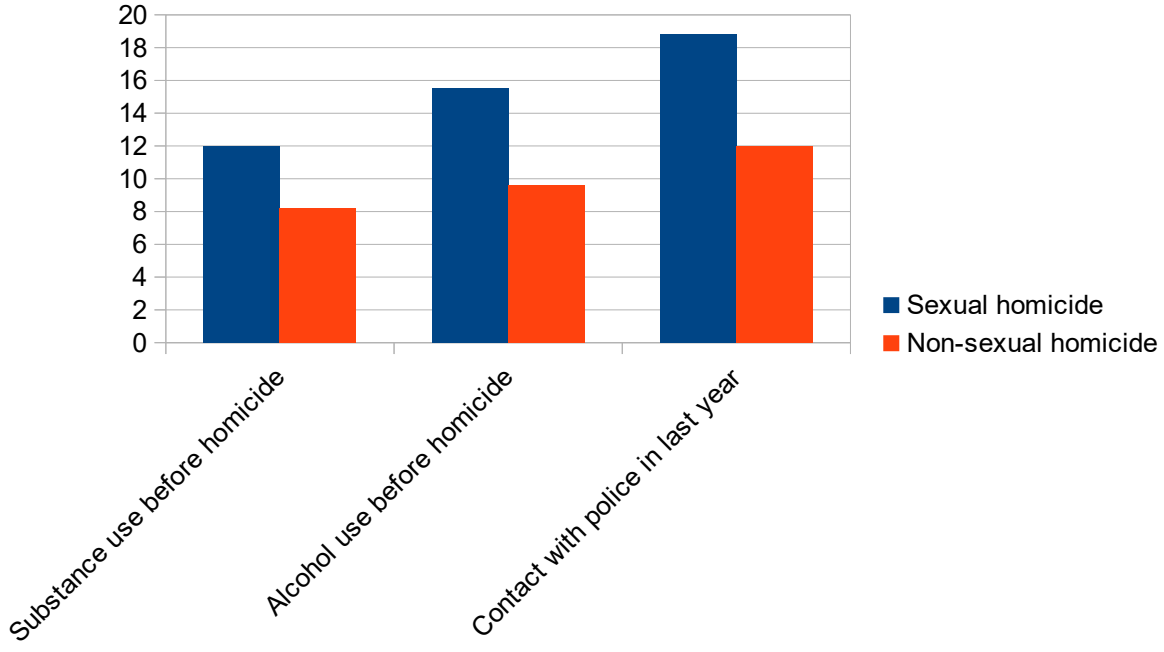
ii) Suspect - Sexual homicide suspects had had contact with the police in twelve months prior to murder, and used alcohol and/or illicit drugs before homicide (figure 2.2).

[11] See https://www.cdc.gov/injury/wisqars/nvdrs.html.



(Data from table 2 De Veauuse Brown and Watson 2022)

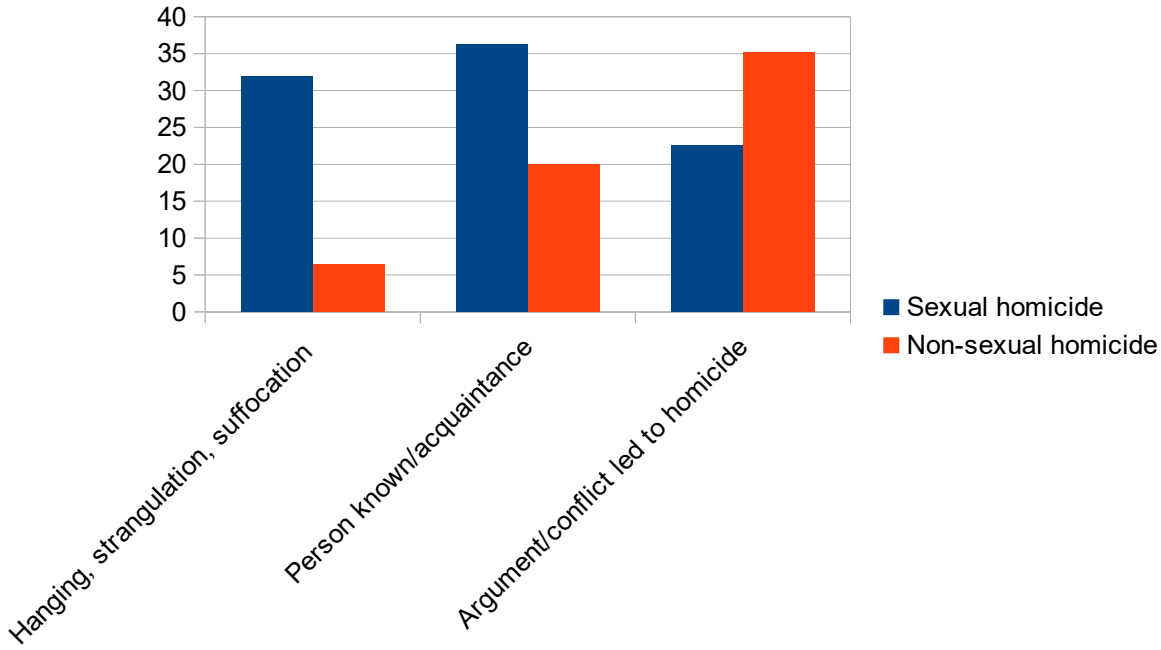
Figure 2.1 - Selected significant differences in victim characteristics (%).



(Data from table 3 De Veauuse Brown and Watson 2022)

Figure 2.2 - Selected significant differences in suspect characteristics (%).

iii) Incident - Sexual homicides were more likely to occur outdoors, with an acquaintance relationship, and use asphyxiation. An argument before the murder was significantly less likely in sexual homicide (figure 2.3).



(Data from table 4 De Veauuse Brown and Watson 2022)

Figure 2.3 - Selected significant differences in incident characteristics (%).

The dataset was nationally representative of the USA, but the NVDRS "does not always include pertinent victim, suspect, and incident information relevant to assessing cases. For instance, paraphilic disorders (eg: voyeurism, paedophilia) are under-documented in the NVDRS..." (De Veauuse Brown and Watson 2022 pNP21991). A sexual homicide was defined by the researchers based on content analysis of the documents for "sexual elements".

2.1.1. Issues

Because of a lack of an agreed legal definition of sexual homicide, other criteria have been used, like those of Ressler et al (1988) based on physical evidence. "In order for the homicide to be considered sexual, it requires at least one of the following to be met: (a)

victim lacks attire (totally or partially), (b) exposure of the sexual parts of the victim's body, (c) the body is found in a sexually explicit position, (d) an object has been inserted into a body cavity (anus, vagina, or mouth), (e) there is evidence of sexual intercourse, (f) there is evidence of substitutive sexual activity (eg: masturbation and ejaculation at the crime scene), or of sadistic sexual fantasies (eg: genital mutilation)" (Stefanska et al 2020 pp1-2). Carter et al (2017) found the criteria reliable. But the criteria "might sometimes be overly inclusive" (Stefanska et al 2020 p2).

An alternative set of criteria from Chan (2015) assumed that a murder is sexual homicide "if there is physical evidence of sexual assault against the victim; physical evidence of substitute sexual activity against the victim; a legally admissible confession by the killer of a sexual motive; or an indication of a sexual element from the killer's personal belongings" (Greenall and Wright 2020 p163).

Other issues in understanding sexual homicide include the difference between serial and non-serial offenders, and the different motivations (eg: sadistic vs angry; Beauregard and Prouix 2002) (Stefanska et al 2020).

Stefanska et al (2020) were interested in the connection between the sexual element and the killing. Stefanska et al (2017) had considered a direct or indirect link. "The perpetrator was considered direct if sufficient evidence suggested that the act of killing was a source of sexual stimulation for the perpetrator or when the killing (even if opportunistic) enabled the perpetrator to carry out sexual acts with the victim's body. Within a timeline, the sexual element must have occurred either around the time of killing or after the murder. Contrary, the indirect killing did not have any sexual function and as such it was purely instrumental. It was carried out to eliminate the witness (albeit the victim) or when the victim was killed while defending herself or trying to escape a sexual assault" (Stefanska et al 2020 p3).

Stefanska et al (2020) analysed data (including pre-sentence reports, police interrogation files, and post-sentence reports) on 361 male sexual killers of women in prisons in England and Wales. Eight variables were found to distinguish between direct and indirect sexual homicide offenders. Direct sexual homicide was significantly more likely to involve sexual sadism, use of sexually related disinhibitors (eg: pornography),

stalking behaviour, use of restraints, post-mortem sexual activity, other sexual activities (eg: masturbation), an unusual interest following the murder (eg: return to crime scene, follow media reports, bragging, and volunteer information to the police), and biting of the victim. These can be reduced to sexual sadism and unusual sexual practices, and predatory behaviour.

2.2. PREDICTING LETHAL SEXUAL ASSAULT

Reid and Beauregard (2020) observed: "While the benefits of preventing or avoiding rape completion cannot be over-emphasised, reducing the likelihood of the assault escalating to murder is the paramount concern" (p1). It is estimated that between 1-4% of all homicides are lethal sexual assaults (Reid and Beauregard 2020).

Predicting which sexual assaults will become lethal, studies comparing sexual homicide offenders and non-sexual homicide offenders identify three sets of factors - those of the offender (eg: "angry resentment"; anti-social personality disorder), the victim (eg: living alone), and the crime context (eg: less planning) (Reid and Beauregard 2020). In terms of combining factors, Reid and Beauregard (2017), for example, considered victim resistance type and offender weapon type. "The study found that physical resistance in the context of firearm possession was particularly dangerous and resulted in victim death, while physical resistance when the offender possessed other types of weapons (eg: knives) was protective" (Reid and Beauregard 2020 p2).

Reid and Beauregard (2020) pointed out that sexual homicide (ie: lethal sexual assault) is rare. "Rare events are difficult to study in a systematic manner. Standard statistical procedures can fail badly, and usefully accurate forecasts of rare events often are little more than an aspiration" (Berk and Sorenson 2020 quoted in Reid and Beauregard 2020). This led Reid and Beauregard (2020) to use machine learning analytical techniques on Canadian data collected from 624 imprisoned sexual offenders between 1995 and 2000. Over 150 variables relating to the offender, the victim, and the situation of the crime were coded.

The following key variables emerged as increasing risk of lethality of the sexual assault:

i) Offender stress or conflict prior to the assault (eg: fighting with the victim within 48 hours prior of the attack).

ii) Victim-offender relationship (eg: greater intimacy of the relationship reduced the risk).

iii) Method of offender (eg: offender possessed a weapon).

iv) Characteristics of the sexual assault (eg: forcing victim to perform sex act).

2.2.2. Older Victims

Sexual attacks on older adults could be more likely to end lethally, partly due to the reduced physical state and strength of the victim (Beauregard et al 2020). Beauregard et al (2020) asked "whether a lethal outcome in elderly sexual assaults is the result of an escalation in violence or a different intent" (p1).

Previous research suggests the latter with a higher level of violence than with younger victims (Beauregard et al 2020). Chopin and Beauregard (2020a), for example, compared sexual assaults upon women 65 years and above, and 18-45 year-olds. "Specifically, elderly sexual assault was more likely to be characterised by targeting a physically/psychologically disabled victim, who was involved in domestic activities or was sleeping when attacked. Moreover, cases of elderly sexual abuse were more likely to involve a blitz approach from the offender, the beating of the victim at a deserted location, and serious injuries to the victim" (Beauregard et al 2020 p1).

Concentrating on motivations of offenders against older adults, Chopin and Beauregard (2021a) distinguished sexual, anger, opportunity, and experiment. Similarly, Chopin and Beauregard (2020b) categorised four motivations of sexual, robbery, sadistic, and experimental.

Beauregard et al (2020) analysed the cases of 199 offenders convicted of a violent sexual offence against an older woman (65 years and above) in France or Canada between 1979 and 2014. The majority of cases (n = 145) did not lead to death (violent sexual assault; VSA). The outcome measure was homicide or not. Each case was coded for four categories of variables - non-sexual characteristics of the crime (8 - eg: use of restraints), sexual characteristics of the crime (4 - eg: vaginal intercourse occurred), post-crime characteristics (2 - eg: offender destroyed forensic evidence), and victim

characteristics (6 - eg: victim lived with somebody).

Comparing the two groups (VSA and sexual homicides) on individual variables, the following characteristics were statistically significant in terms of ending with death:

a) Victim characteristics - living with somebody; consumed alcohol prior to crime; avoided social contact; assaulted during domestic activities. The victim-offender relationship completely strangers less likely to end in death (appendix 2A).

b) Non-sexual characteristics - use of beating, stabbing, or weapon; restraints; take items from victim. The use of a surprise approach was more likely to end in VSA.

c) Sexual characteristics - the insertion of foreign object into the victim. Vaginal or anal intercourse occurred, and semen left at crime scene predicted VSA.

d) Post-crime characteristics - forensic evidence destroyed.

Putting all the variables together in the statistical analysis, Beauregard et al (2020) concluded that "elderly sexual abuse ending with the death of the victim constitutes a different type of crime that involves a specific type of crime-commission process... Although various motivations are involved in elderly sexual abuse..., it appears as if the outcome of the crime – severe physical injury versus death of the victim – is mainly influenced by the adoption of specific criminal behaviours that could originate from a different intent to sexually attack an elderly victim" (p6).

Beauregard et al (2020) felt that "offenders who killed the victims had the intent do so compared to those offenders who inflicted severe physical injuries" (p7). For example, the use of a weapon even when not necessary, the taking of items from the victim, and insertion of a foreign object were key variables in the sexual homicides. "These findings suggest that elderly sexual abuse cases ending with a lethal outcome are not accidental or due to situational factors. Instead, they follow a specific pathway – or a script – chosen by the offender to achieve his goal" (Beauregard et al 2020 p7).

2.3. PREDICTING USE OF FORENSIC AWARENESS STRATEGIES

The "CSI effect" suggests that depictions of forensic techniques in both fictional and factual television programmes has influenced the jury's response to scientific evidence. Though the existence of such an effect is debated, but Cole and Dioso-Villa (2007) argued that "the CSI effect could be in fact educational for criminals, providing them with new strategies to learn how to avoid police detection as well as an increased sophistication in the commission of their crimes" (Chopin et al 2020 p1). This is the use of "forensic awareness strategies" (FAS) (Davies 1992), and offenders vary in their employment of them. Is it possible to predict the use of FAS?

Chopin et al (2020) focused on sexual homicide offenders. From the theoretical position of the "rational choice approach" (Cornish and Clarke 1986), criminal decision-making is based on cost-benefit analysis. The main cost being capture by the police, and so any strategy that reduces this risk, like FAS, should be used. This is the micro-level application of rational choice. "Rational choice theory suggests two levels of decision. At the macro-level, it consists of deciding to commit a crime or not, according to the various parameters known by the offender and the outcome of the cost-benefit analysis. At the micro-level, it concerns all the decisions made by the offenders to achieve their goal" (Chopin et al 2020 p1).

However, not all sex offenders use FAS. Chopin et al (2020) outlined three categories of explanations:

i) Differences in "criminal expertise" - Criminal expertise is a combination of "criminal sophistication" (eg: level of planning), and "offender experience". Part of the latter is previous contact with the criminal justice system. Davies et al (1997), for example, found that, among over 200 rapists, the use of gloves (to avoid fingerprints) and the removal of DNA from the crime scene were used by individuals 3-4 times more likely to have previous sexual offence convictions.

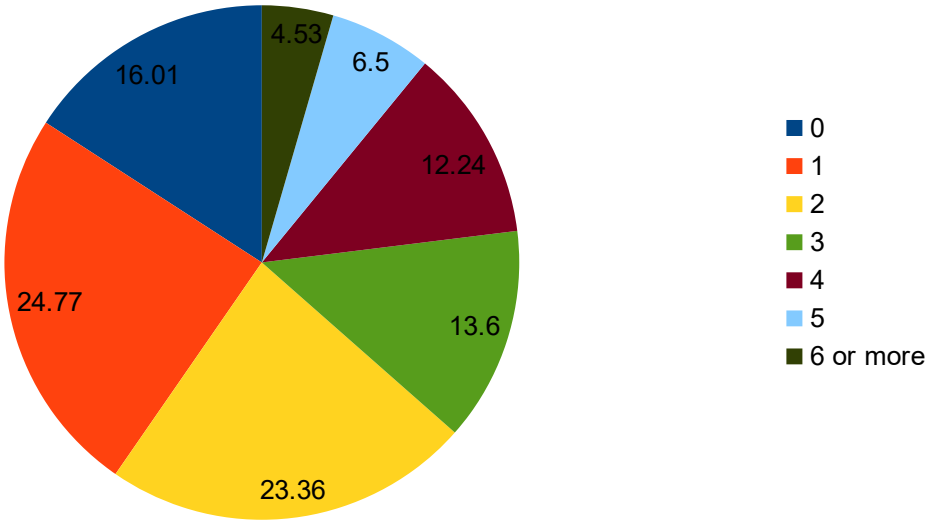
ii) The situational context of the crime - eg: the use of alcohol and drugs prior to offending was linked to less use of FAS; the time available to "clean up" the crime scene depends on the location of the offence (eg: deserted area).

iii) Crime characteristics (ie: the types of acts

committed during the crime) - For example, in a study of sexual homicide offenders, Reale et al (2020) found that individuals "perpetrating acts of sexual sadism were more often forensically aware. They [the researchers] also found that sadistic SHOs [sexual homicide offenders] were more likely to act on victims and/or the environment (eg: deactivate a home alarm, blindfold or tie up the victim), destroy and remove forensic evidence (eg: cleaning or setting fire to the crime scene), and use other precautions such as staging the crime scene or protecting their identity" (Chopin et al 2020 p2).

Chopin et al (2020) analysed data from the "Sexual Homicide International Database" (SHIelD), specifically 662 sexual homicide cases from France and Canada. The outcome measure was the use of FAS, as scored by ten variables (eg: use of a condom; wore gloves; concealed victim's body after homicide). For each case 25 explanatory variables were coded, based on offender expertise (eg: previous criminal convictions), situational characteristics (eg: alcohol consumption prior to crime; crime in deserted location), and crime characteristics (eg: number of sexual acts committed).

Overall, 16% of the sample used no FAS, while the majority of offenders employed 1-2 different strategies (figure 2.4). Most commonly, move and/or conceal the victim's body, and remove or destroy forensic evidence.



(Data from table 1 Chopin et al 2020)

Figure 2.4 - Percentage of offenders using different number of FAS.

Chopin et al (2020) grouped the FAS into three

categories:

a) Disposal of the body - This was most popular for sexual homicide offenders, "despite the fact that its use tends to increase the risk of being identified by the police" (Chopin et al 2020 p5) (eg: around one-third of offenders removed the victim's body from the crime scene).

b) Destruction of evidence - "This set of strategies is generally used by SHOs once the crime is completed. The objective of these strategies is not to avoid leaving traces of evidence, but rather to erase them once the crime is completed" (Chopin et al 2020 p4).

c) Protection of identity - Most uncommon of three categories (eg: use of a condom by 5% of offenders).

In terms of predicting the use of FAS, crime expertise and crime characteristics were significant, but not situational factors.

Chopin et al (2020) accepted the following key methodological limitations of their study:

- Use of data collected by the police (ie: missed unreported cases).

- The researchers "did not consider... the process of killing a victim as an avoiding detection strategy in itself while it could be the case in some SHs" (Chopin et al 2020 p8).

- Each variable was coded as present or absent, and "the use of dichotomous variables leads to the simplification of a complex set of interactions that constitute the criminal event and consequently limit the depth of details" (Chopin et al 2020 p8).

2.4. MULTIPLE PERPETRATORS

"Perpetrators of sexual homicide are usually conceptualised as acting alone and almost all research has considered them as individual actors. Despite this, 14% to 28% of cases have been found to involve co-offenders" (Clarkson et al 2020 p1). Co-offenders are more common in sexual homicides than non-sexual ones, and non-lethal sexual assaults (Clarkson et al 2020).

There is little research on multiple offenders in sexual homicides, and the models of sexual homicide are based on individual perpetrators (Clarkson et al 2020).

In one of the few studies, Higgs et al (2019) reported on cases in France (18 offenders with nine victims). All cases were pairs of males with a single female victim. The researchers found that "co-offenders tended live together, have histories of violence (with use of weapons), have histories of sexual offending, be socially disconnected, have employment/financial problems and use substances. They did not find evidence for a dominant/passive dynamic within the pairs, concluding offenders and offences were very similar to single perpetrator sexual homicides. These findings contrast with those on multiple perpetrator rape and non-sexual homicide" (Clarkson et al 2020 p2). Leader and follower(s) is more evident in multiple-perpetrator rape (Clarkson et al 2020).

Clarkson et al (2020) examined a sample of cases since 1964 in Australia and New Zealand (23 groups, 62 offenders and fifty victims) [12]. Various variables were coded for each case, including the role of each offender (leader, follower, equally involved, unknown), and the level of sadism as measured by the "Sexual Sadism Scale" (SeSaS) (Nitschke et al 2009), based on objective crime scene behaviour from police reports, legal reports, and victim statements [13].

The descriptive findings of this exploratory study were presented under key headings:

i) Make-up of groups - Fifteen were pairs, and the remainder larger. Most were exclusively male, but there was one all-female group. The groups comprised friends (most commonly), intimate partners, or biological relatives.

ii) Victims - Two-thirds were female. "Under a fifth of victims were intoxicated with alcohol or drugs and few were vulnerable through illness or disability" (Clarkson et al 2020 p4).

iii) Offenders - Average age was 24 years old. All

[12] Publicly available databases and online sources were used (and "therefore does not include offenders whose details have been suppressed due to being minors"; Clarkson et al 2020 p9). Detailed clinical assessments, and prison and police documents were not available. "Cases may have been missed: sexual homicides in the larger sample classified as having a single perpetrator may have actually been committed by multiple offenders not detected by police; the search process may have missed cases; and unsolved cases were obviously not included" (Clarkson et al 2020 p9).

[13] Note that the SeSaS was "developed with single offenders in mind" (Clarkson et al 2020 p8).

but seven of them were White. "Almost a third were intoxicated with alcohol and a third were under the influence of drugs at the time of the offence. A half had previous convictions and two fifths had been in prison" (Clarkson et al 2020 p4).

iv) Offence characteristics - "Most groups committed offences in the evening or at night. A con approach was most common, with some groups using a blitz approach, but a surprise approach was rare" (Clarkson et al 2020 p5). Vaginal intercourse was common, sometimes genital mutilation, but no post-mortem sexual activity.

v) Motivation of offender - Seven were classified as sadistic, seven as having a grievance, 29 actively involved followers, 2 coerced followers, and the others incidental to the crime or unknown.

vi) Leader - Seventeen offenders were identified as leader/dominant, 31 as subordinate/follower, and thirteen equally involved (with one offender unknown).

vii) Gender - Fourteen offenders were female with four identified as leaders and the remainder as followers. "In all four groups led by females the sub-type was grievance, in three towards a specific individual who was tortured, and in the other towards men generally" (Clarkson et al 2020 p7).

viii) Sadism - Nearly half of the offenders had a SeSaS score indicating sexually sadistic behaviour, with leaders having a higher average score.

Clarkson et al (2020) summed up: "Although the offenders, victims and offences in this sample had much in common with samples of single perpetrator sexual homicides... there were also some apparent differences: more multiple victim cases, more male victims, fewer sex worker victims, more female offenders, younger offenders, more offenders in relationships, more use of a con approach, less anal penetration, less post-mortem sex, more genital mutilation, more use of restraints and blindfolds/gags, less use of strangulation and asphyxiation, more burning of victims, more dismemberment and more use of detection avoidance behaviours. These differences may be due to the types of individuals drawn into group offending, the impact of having more than one offender present, the group interactions and dynamics in such cases, or a lack of activities that an offender

might typically indulge in if alone" (p7).

They continued: "There seem to be two broad types of sexual homicide offender groups: those with a dominant leader, which may be pairs or larger, where leadership and group dynamics play a key role; and those with equal partnerships of usually two male offenders, of similar ages and backgrounds, who may have felt rejected from mainstream society and found a 'kindred spirit' in their co-offender" (Clarkson et al 2020 p9).

2.5. REACTIVE AND PROACTIVE AGGRESSION

Reactive and proactive aggression have been distinguished in studies of behaviour. The former is conceptualised as an immediate behavioural response to frustration, threats, or physical aggression and is usually accompanied by high, uncontrolled autonomic arousal (ie: physical symptoms of anger such as heart rate)..." (James et al 2020 p1). Reactive individuals have often experienced physical maltreatment or bullying in childhood, and they have "deficits in social information processing (bias towards interpreting others' attitudes as hostile...) and to develop internalised problems such as hostility..., anxiety..., depression ... and low self-esteem" (James et al 2020 p2).

Proactive aggression is associated with planning and thinking ahead about rewards. "Thus, the terms predatory, pre-meditated, instrumental, and cold-blooded are often used as synonymous for proactive" (James et al 2020 p1). These individuals perform well academically, and are perceived in positive terms by peers, in the main. Their upbringing includes a lack of parental control, and exposure to parental or peer anti-social behaviour, more often than not (James et al 2020).

In terms of reactive and proactive aggression by sexual homicide offenders, James et al (2020) analysed data from criminal case files from 46 courts in France convicted between 1975 and 2012. The sexual homicide was categorised as using reactive or proactive aggression based on the level of pre-meditation exhibited. Thirty-one cases were classed as impulsive (reactive) and 58 as planned (proactive). These two groups were then scored on variables like adverse childhood experiences, and psychopathic and sadistic traits.

Characteristics of adverse childhood experiences, like parental maltreatment, were significant associated with reactive aggression, while sadism was associated with proactive aggression. The relationship for

psychopathy depended on the type - Factor 1 (interpersonal traits - eg: charming) and proactive, but Factor 2 (anti-social traits) and reactive aggression.

The study used secondary data recorded in court documents, whereas interviews with offenders using the validated Reactive-Proactive Aggression Questionnaire (RPQ) (Raine et al 2006) [14], say, would have been ideal.

Where there was more than one sexual homicide by the offender, only the first offence was included in the analysis. James et al (2020) admitted that this "analytical strategy does not permit to take into consideration: (1) possible evolution in the type of aggression expressed in the course of a series of offences, and; (2) the preponderance of a type of aggression (eg: if the first sexual homicide committed by an individual was reactive, then that individual was categorised as reactive in the present study despite the possibility that he subsequently committed a proactive sexual homicide)" (p7). Among thirty-three serial cases, only 5 were classed as changing from reactive to proactive or vice versa (James et al 2020).

All variables were scored by the researchers based on information available, and the cases were of individual caught and convicted.

2.6. CRIMINAL DISMEMBERMENT

Despite their rarity, sexual homicides receive a large amount of media attention, in particular because of the shocking nature of aspects of the crime. "One of the most exemplary among these acts is the criminal dismemberment of the victim's body, which is considered to be the ultimate act of aggression... This act, whatever its motivation, is not only shocking but also demoralising as it constitutes a way to deny the victim's integrity" (Chopin and Beauregard 2021b p869) [15].

Stone and Brucato (2019) defined criminal dismemberment (CDis) as "'the entire removal, by any means, of a large section of the body of a living or dead person, specifically, the head (also termed decapitation), arms, hands, torso, pelvic area, legs, or feet'. It should be distinguished from mutilation, which is defined as 'the removal or irreparable disfigurement,

[14] The RPQ has 23 items, of which eleven cover reactive aggression (eg: "Gotten angry when frustrated"), and twelve proactive aggression (eg: "Vandalised something for fun"). Each item is scored "never" (0), "sometimes" (1) or "often (2) (Bas and Yurdabakan 2012).

[15] Holmes (2017) preferred the term "criminal dismemberment" here because "body dismemberment" can occur in other situations like accident or suicide (Chopin and Beauregard 2021b).

by any means, of some smaller portion of one of those larger sections of a living or dead person. The latter would include castration (removal of the testes), evisceration (removal of the internal organs), and flaying (removal of the skin)'" (Chopin and Beauregard 2021b p870).

Two main motivations of CDis have been distinguished - to avoid detection ("defensive dismemberment"), and sexual gratification ("offensive dismemberment") (Chopin and Beauregard 2021b). In the latter case, it is a paraphilic behaviour, "an extreme form of picquerism (ie: gratification from the process of penetration such as cutting, biting or stabbing)", and/or "associated with erotophonophilia (ie: sexual gratification found in the act of committing murder). This paraphilia is often associated with amputation of limbs or breasts, as well as the dissection and the evisceration of victims' bodies" (Chopin and Beauregard 2021b p872).

Most studies of CDis have not distinguished sexual and non-sexual homicide. Chopin and Beauregard (2021b) sought to rectify this problem using SHIelD data. Between 1948 and 2018 in France and Canada, there were 77 sexual homicide cases involving CDis, and 585 sexual homicides without dismemberment. Forty-eight variables were scored covering victim selection, sexual behaviour, non-sexual behaviours, body recovery and FAS. The CDis cases were also classified as defensive ("rational act") or offensive ("lust murder") using factors like post-mortem sexual activities, and destroying forensic evidence.

CDis was more strongly associated with lust murder. Statistical modelling of the different variables showed significant factors, including post-mortem sexual activities, mutilation of genitals, and extreme behaviours on victim's body (eg: skinning victim; cannibalism; drinking of victim's blood). Chopin and Beauregard (2021b) favoured a necrophilia explanation, where "the body dismemberment is an essential condition to reach sexual gratification" (p882).

The researchers accepted limitations to their study: "Despite most homicide cases reported to the police..., we cannot exclude that some cases will never be identified or that missing person cases are in fact homicides that were misclassified. We also cannot exclude that in some cases, the sexual motivations were not identified by coroners and police investigators, especially when they had to analyse a dismembered body. Consequently, findings of this study concern only cases

reported to the police and identified as sexual murders" (Chopin and Beauregard 2021b p884).

2.7. INTERNATIONAL COMPARISONS

International comparisons can be important as they "allow researchers to establish to what extent theories and results are generalisable, and the trans-national conditions under which such generalisations do and do not hold... This allows for a better understanding of the phenomenon under consideration, and also the impact of factors that differ between jurisdictions, such as societal, cultural, demographic, legal and geographic factors. This means not only differences pertaining to age or gender, but also differences in motivation, execution, location and definition of the crime" (Skott et al 2021 p19). However, there are challenges including differences in definitions of concepts and behaviours, and in "the underlying crime process (eg: differences in motivation, psychopathology, sexual functioning or developmental antecedents) or differences in more general cross-national factors (eg: culture, demographics, geography, laws, social factors or climate) which may affect overt manifestations despite the underlying process being the same" (Skott et al 2021 p19).

Not surprisingly, there are a limited number of studies comparing sexual homicide offenders in different countries (Skott et al 2021). One example, however, James et al (2018) compared seventy-two murderers in Canada and 56 in France on multiple variables, and found few significant differences. "The small number of differences were suggested to reflect a higher degree of childhood dysfunction, substance misuse, criminality, impulsivity and anger in the Canadian cases, as opposed to a higher degree of sexual problems and sexual deviance in the French cases, with these due to differences between countries and differences in family environment, perhaps influenced by cultural differences, such as drug availability and criminalisation processes" (Skott et al 2021 p19).

The previous studies have compared characteristics of sexual homicides , but Skott et al (2021) also investigated sub-types of sexual homicide in Scotland and Canada. The Scottish sample came from the "Police Scotland" database ("Scottish Homicide Database") (n = 89 male offenders in 78 cases between 1990 and 2015), and the Canadian sample from a database held by the "Royal Canadian Mounted Police" (n = 150 cases between 1990 and

2010). Dichotomous victim, and incident variables were scored. Simple comparisons of the samples on the variables (bivariate comparisons) found a number of significant differences (eg: known or acquaintance victim more often in Canada; evidence destroyed more likely in Canada; more male victims in Scotland).

Using latent class analysis on each sample, three sub-types emerged in Canada and two in Scotland. "However, the Scottish 2-class solutions included one quite diverse class and one class with high levels of 'unknown' variables, indicating this could be a statistical artefact... Since the three-class solutions were the substantively most interpretable and straightforward of the various models run, they were therefore chosen for both samples" (Skott et al 2021 p25). The three sub-types were "controlled-organised", "diverse", and "familial" (or "unknown" in Scottish sample).

Skott et al (2021) felt that the "bivariate differences may represent general differences between the jurisdictions in relation to issues such as culture, ethnicity, weapon availability and laws, rather than the underlying sexual homicide process, which may actually be the same regardless of jurisdiction" (pp27-28). The researchers preferred to concentrate on the similarity of the sub-types:

a) "Controlled-organised" - eg: brings weapon to crime scene; targeted strangers and prostitutes; destroyed evidence.

b) "Diverse" - eg: knew victim; use of sharp instrument.

c) "Familial" - eg: family members; diverse methods of killing; destroyed evidence.

These sub-types related to how the crime was committed, whereas other studies which have found four sub-types, say, related to "why it was committed" (Skott et al 2021 p29). Skott et al (2021) emphasised: "There appear to be only a limited number of scripts used by offenders when committing a sexual homicide..., regardless of jurisdiction" (p30). Saying that, the researchers accepted that the first two sub-types were more universal (at least in North America and Western Europe) than the "familial" ("unknown") type, which "is more culturally dependent or is actually a more heterogeneous group, perhaps reflecting further types

(for example angry and incidental offenders)" (Skott et al 2021).

Only twenty-three variables were compared because of the different datasets used.

2.7.1. Non-Western Perspective

Studies of sexual homicide outside of Western countries is rare. Concentrating on China, Chan and Li (2020) noted only three studies (all linked to the same research project).

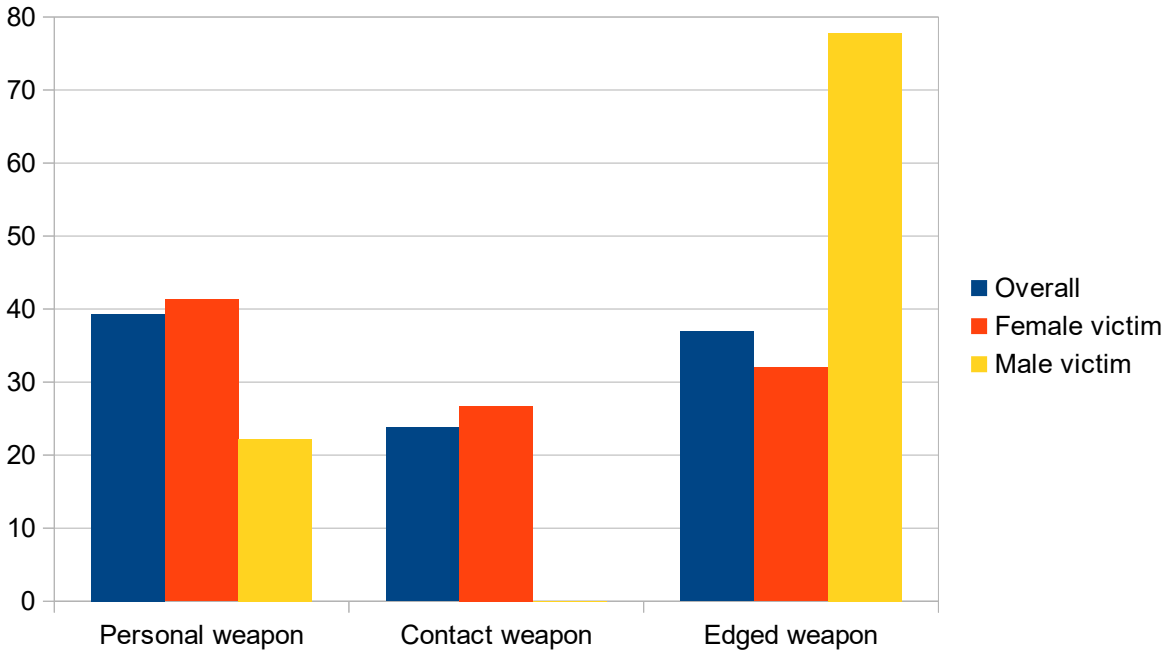
Firstly, Chan et al (2019a) examined published case reports and police data on fifty-nine sexual homicides in three regions of China between 1994 and 2016. Chan et al (2019b) extended the sample to 67 cases up to 2017, and Chan and Li (2019) 82 cases up to 2018.

Chan and Li (2020) further extended the sample to eighty-four sexual homicides committed by males (75 of the victims were female) between 1998 and 2018 in the three regions of Shanghai municipality, and Guangdong and Hubei provinces. They focused on murder weapon. In Western studies, "personal weapons (eg: strangulation, physical assault) remained as the most frequently observed murder weapons used among sexual murderers, followed by edged weapons (eg: sharp instrument)" (Chan and Li 2020 p2).

Chan and Li (2020) found that around 40% of offenders used personal weapons, and about the same number edged weapons. The remainder involved contact weapons (eg: blunt objects) (figure 2.5). Edged weapons, however, were more common when the victim was male. Guns were not used at all, "highly due to the prohibition of firearms in China" (Chan and Li 2020 p8).

The researchers considered the differences in sexual homicide depending on the sex of the victim. "The victims of same-sex sexual homicides were significantly older than the victims of opposite-sex sexual homicides. In general, male offenders who targeted opposite-sex victims were motivated mainly by sex and used relatively physically demanding murder weapons (ie: personal weapons) [16]. These findings are relatively consistent with the existing literature in sexual homicide that mainly sampled Western populations" (Chan and Li 2020 p7). However, in a South Korean study (Sea et al 2019), the knife was most frequently used with female victims.

[16] Physically more demanding = personal and contact weapons, while edged weapons are physically less demanding.



(Data from Chan and Li 2020 table 2)

Figure 2.5 - Type of weapon used (%) based on sex of victim.

In the nine male-on-male sexual homicides in their sample, Chan and Li (2020) found a preference for edged weapons, and the motivation being financial gain. Other differences based on victim's sex included:

- Female victim - Offenders "who used con tactics to approach their victims were likely to have used personal weapons to kill them, and those who mutilated their victims were likely to have used contact murder weapons" (Chan and Li 2020 p1).

- Male victim - Offenders "who had pre-meditated their offences and abducted their victims were likely to use less physically demanding weapons, and edged weapons in particular" (Chan and Li 2020 p1).

The four studies in China were based on publicly available data, which, because of "the inaccessibility of official crime data" was "arguably... the best available data" (Chan and Li 2020 p8). The studies were using secondary data (ie: not collected by the researchers directly from participants), which is common practice in criminology, but "it is possible that misclassification, reporting errors, or omissions may have occurred" (Chan

and Li 2020 p8).

Two other key methodology issues arise. One is that "cautious interpretation is required in view of the correlational nature of the analysis. The choice of murder weapon in sexual homicides is a complex phenomenon. Sexual murderers can be presumed to make rational choices, yet multiple factors may influence their decision-making... Other potential contributing factors need to be taken into consideration when analysing the offender's final choice of murder weapon. These include the offender's psychological and emotional state during the offence (eg: instrumental versus expressive violence), the offender's true motive (eg: serial versus non-serial murder), and the availability of a weapon (eg: weapon of choice versus weapon of opportunity...)" (Chan and Li 2020 p8). Detailed information on these variables was lacking.

The small sample, particularly for male victims, from three regions of China limit the generalisability of findings to the entire population of the country. However, Chan and Li's (2020) findings fit with Western studies, which "support the notion of universality in the offending dynamics in sexual homicide..., specifically in the choice of murder weapon used by sexual murderers" (p8).

2.8. APPENDIX 2A - STRANGER SEXUAL HOMICIDE

Stranger sexual homicide can be defined as "killings that occur in the context of there being little or no pre-existing relationship between the offender and victim, such that the victim would not have recognised her assailant the day before the homicide..., as the offender's actions may be the only clues available" (Greenall and Wright 2020 p163).

A different approach to understand sexual homicide is by analysing crime scene activities using multi-dimensional scaling (MDS) (as in the "Investigative Psychology" approach). "The purpose of this approach is not necessarily to infer motivation, but to develop hypotheses about the interpersonal nature of violent crime" (Greenall and Wright 2020 p165).

Greenall and Wright (2020) used this approach with UK data on stranger sexual homicide. Eighty-one cases of male perpetrator and female victim were found between 1970 and 2010. MDS not only involves scoring variables of the crime scene as present or absent, but shows the correlations between variables to produce "visual

spaces". Variables closer together in the visual space are more often likely to happen at the same crime scene. MDS makes use of sophisticated statistical analysis techniques.

One way of presenting the data is a circle with variables close to the centre if common together. While another way is to have dimensions like expressive and instrumental aggression, and place the variables in the quadrants (figure 2.6).

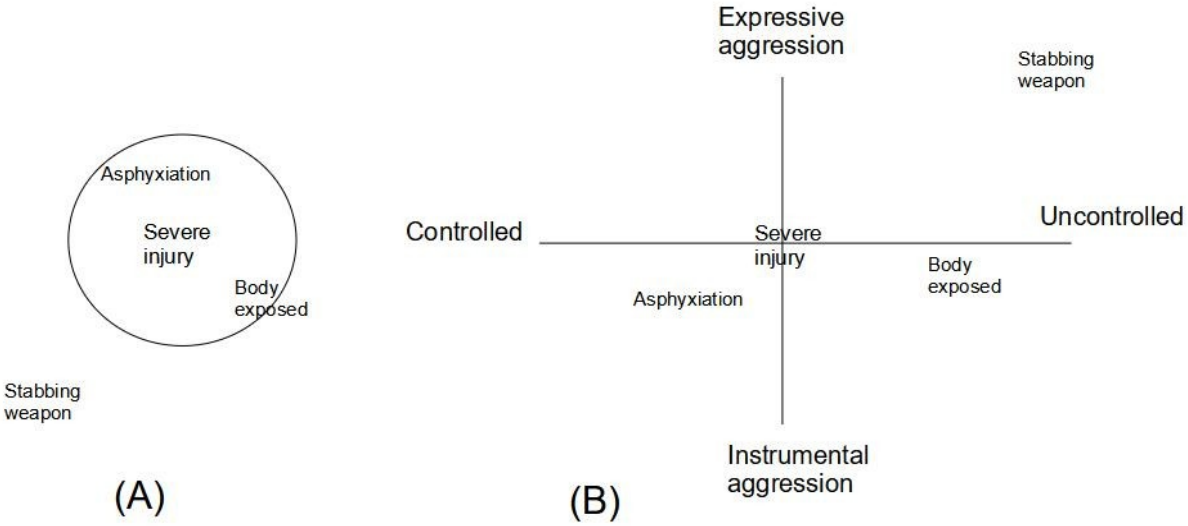


Figure 2.6 - Two hypothetical examples of "visual space" in MDS.

Greenall and Wright's (2020) analysis elicited four patterns of crime scene activities:

i) "Rape" - Actions by the offender that suggested "a highly sexualised assault with no physical violence" (Greenall and Wright 2020 p169), even "pseudo-intimacy" (Canter and Heritage 1990) (ie: offender behaves as if some kind of intimate relationship).

ii) "Impersonal" - Actions linked to instrumental violence (ie: the victim was "a woman" as a means to an end).

iii) "Overkill" - Actions showing highly expressive violence (eg: injuries beyond these necessary to cause death). Sexual element secondary (or covert).

iv) "Controlled" - Expressive violence, but controlled, actions. Sexual element covert and limited (eg: no penetration).

The data were recorded by the police based on crime scenes, which had "its limitations as the absence of victim accounts means the true prevalence of some offender actions as well as the context in which they occurred are unknown, especially if there is no forensic evidence. Examples include sexual acts such as fondling, kissing or knowing who disrobed who or whether the victim was already undressed before encountering her assailant, plus violent acts such as verbal threats or brandishing but not using a weapon" (Greenall and Wright 2020 p173).

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3. RAPE (WITH A NORDIC SLANT)

3.1. INTRODUCTION

Skilbrei et al (2020) observed: "Several countries are currently experiencing an increase in reported cases of rape. Since increased attention towards and understanding of the phenomenon affect identification and people's willingness to report, this increase does not necessarily mean that more people are victimised than earlier. But it does make rape into a phenomenon that policy-makers have to address" (p1).

The increasing attention is mostly due to momentum gained since 2017 with the "#MeToo movement", but that is not to forget previous efforts, like the women's movement in the 1970s (eg: Brownmiller 1975). Importantly, sexual violence is presented "not only as attacks on individual women but also as attacks on women as women... [ie:] understandings of rape as a social phenomenon, with causes and effects which reach far beyond the people who are directly affected by such acts" (Skilbrei et al 2020 pp1-2).

Whatever the strengths of this view, Skilbrei et al (2020) noted certain issues that emerge like the downplaying of alternatives to the male perpetrator-female victim model. Rape can also be treated as separate from other forms of sexual harm, which leads to a continuum of sexual harm with differing degrees of severity, and "to separate rape from other acts and crimes is difficult for the people involved, including witnesses and police, which means that to sharply separate rape from 'rape-like' or 'grey zone' acts means that we miss a great deal of information about why and how rape occurs" (Skilbrei et al 2020 p2). There is also a debate about "an essence of rape, a constant across time and space" (Skilbrei et al 2020 p8) ie: is it the

same or a varied experience in different times and places?

"Ideas about rape have never been constant. Reconceptualisations of rape have a long history, from rape being a property crime that men commit against other men – ie: the theft of their women's sexuality or honour... – to an affront to women's modesty, to the sexual integrity and freedom arguments that today are central in international fora but also within many other jurisdictions. The definition of rape as an attack on the person is thus a rather new construction" (Skilbrei et al 2020 p8) [17].

The social and historical view can also be seen in concerns about the labels used. For example, the preference for "survivor" over "victim", as the latter can suggest "something weak, fundamentally broken and powerless" (Skilbrei et al 2020 p6). But Khan et al (2018) noted "understandings of rape that are organised around identity categories such as 'survivor' and 'perpetrator', as 'such words suggest a kind of person rather than an act or experience'... And further, because these words encompass so much they 'may serve as impediments to people making sense of their experiences or getting the kinds of help that they need'... Their point is that there is not a one-to-one relationship between experiencing rape and taking up a survivor or victim identity; rather, people who experience rape will often shy away from these labels and associated identities" (Skilbrei et al 2020 p6).

Legal terms like "complainant", "assailant" or "accused" may be better. Skilbrei et al's (2020) position was that it depends - "The victim label may mean and do different things within different frameworks. From some perspectives, the victim label makes sense and is productive, while from other perspectives, it is problematic" (p7) [18].

Another issue, related to the definition of rape, is the question of who can be raped. For example, in many countries, sexual violence within marriage is outside the legal definition of rape. "One priority of 1970s feminism was to bring violations that take place in the home to the attention of politicians and to make sure that such crimes were illegal, on par with physical and sexual crimes that take place between strangers" (Skilbrei et al 2020 p10).

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[17] "Rape is wrong, Cahill states (2001 p170), precisely because ‘it undermines the integrity of the personhood of the victim by denying their right of consent over that property that is most personally, most intensely held: the body’" (Rosten 2020 p34).

[18] "Victim-survivor" is used by some researchers.

3.2. CONTINUUMS

Victims of domestic violence/interpersonal violence do not necessarily distinguish rape/sexual violence from violence generally. For example, victims in Sorensen's (2013 quoted in Bjornholt 2020) study talked of sexual violence as "just part of the whole". Sorensen (2013 quoted in Bjornholt 2020) favoured a continuum (not of degree of seriousness) as Kelly (1987) had proposed - ie: "the idea that violence is present in all women's lives, while differences exist in the forms the violence takes and how different women define particular incidents" (Bjornholt 2020 p20). In fact, Kelly (1987) used the term "sexual violence" to describe all forms of violence against women "because of the difficulty in distinguishing between physical violence and sexial violence" (Bjornholt 2020 p20).

Sorensen (2013 quoted in Bjornholt 2020) viewed violence as linked to power relations between men and women, and always involving a victim, a perpetrator, and witness(es) (based on Riches's (1986) tripartite theory of interpersonal violence). Witness(es) include "all actors who may have an effect on the interpretation of the violent act" (Bjornholt 2020 p20).

Stefansen et al (2014 quoted in Bjornholt 2020) also used the idea of a continuum in their study of unwanted sexual touching by acquaintances and strangers. These mild sexual violations are different from severe sexual violations, but they are all "demonstrations of the same problem of women being constituted as sexualised" (Smart 1995 quoted in Bjornholt 2020). An example might be a woman having her breasts squeezed in public by a stranger. But Stefansen et al (2014 quoted in Bjornholt 2020) pointed out that "it is also important to recognise the potential ambiguity of such experiences, since the same incident may simultaneously make a woman feel attractive and incite fear within her" (Bjornholt 2020 p21).

Stefansen et al (2014 quoted in Bjornholt 2020) distinguished three forms of unwanted touching - sexual invasion, explorative touching, and aggressive touching.

Gender relations (or gender and power) as the root of sexual violence is the view of Brownmiller (1975), for instance, that "rape is a political act, the purpose of which is to frighten and degrade women as a group" (Bjornholt 2020 p23). Andersson et al (2016 quoted in Bjornholt 2020) argued that "the benefit of this perspective, which separated rape from sexuality, was to make the question of consent irrelevant; thus, issues of

shame and guilt, and the related victim role, are also irrelevant" (Bjornholt 2020 p23).

For some writers, it is difficult to distinguish "just sex" and sexual violence because of the similarities in the discourses of heterosexual romance and sexual pursuit, and rape (eg: Gavey 1999), and where male power and female submission is eroticised (eg: Mackinnon 1989). Thus, normative heterosexuality is infused with violent dynamics and can be thought of as a continuum in which typical male behaviours and 'aberrant' male behaviours shade into one another..." (Bjornholt 2020 p24).

3.3. UNWANTED SEXUAL TOUCHING

One approach to sexual violence is not to list specific behaviours, but to define it as "acts that violate a person's 'gender freedom', ie: the right to decide for oneself when and how to engage in sexual interactions and how far these interactions can go" (Stefansen 2020 p51). So Cahill (2014) argued that "sexual situations can be differentiated according to the degree of agency and possibility to affect the situation that the interaction allows for those involved. She identifies two main situations: ethically acceptable sex (or 'just sex') and ethically problematic sex, or 'unjust sex'. In ethically acceptable sex, both parties have agency, meaning that they both have recognised will in the situation, while in ethically problematic sex, the agency of one person is compromised" (Stefansen 2020 pp52-53).

Concentrating on unwanted sexual touching (UST), Stefansen (2020) categorised it as "acts that can potentially disrupt some of the normal flow of meaning that takes place in a given situation" (p52) in her study. She talked of "acts that in common parlance are referred to as groping, fondling, feeling up and similar terms. These are forms of unwanted and unsettling sexualised touching that may happen everywhere – on the bus, at school, at work and during parties and other social events. Viewed from a penal or hierarchical perspective on sexual violence, such acts may represent 'minor events' (Smart 1995...) compared to violent rape, but they are prevalent and part of the everyday sexism that many girls and women encounter and must handle" (p49).

In the study, 18-19 year-old female pupils in Norway wrote about UST, and 164 relevant incidents were included

in Stefansen's (2020) analysis. The experiences were distinguished based on the perpetrator:

i) Friends/acquaintances (97 incidents) - Stefansen (2020) used the term "performative touching" (table 3.1) to describe acts that were directed to an audience of other boys in the school playground, say, while the term "explorative touching" described a "pass" at a party that was rejected. Kavanagh (2013) referred to the latter as stemming from "competing definitions of the situation" (quoted in Stefansen 2020).

A third type was "aggressive touching", "where the boy takes advantage of a girl while she is sleeping or heavily intoxicated, or where the boy uses physical force or other forms of coercion and constraint, such as by locking her in a room or car" (Stefansen 2020 p56).

ii) Boyfriends (10 incidents) - Stefansen (2020) labelled all the cases as "aggressive touching.

iii) Strangers (57 incidents) - Stefansen (2020) categorised these as "blind sexual violence: "blind in the sense that they neither follow from any prior personal interaction nor are sparked by any social energy or shared definition of the situation" (p56). Kavanagh (2013) talked of "opportunistic predation" when the UST occurred in a crowded dance floor, for example.

In summary, Stefansen (2020) saw "performative touching", "aggressive touching", and "blind sexual violence" as unrelated to the victim's interest: "what she says or does has no implication in the situation. Her presence is that of an object; it is not a social presence. The act therefore represents sexual violence" (p61). "Explorative touching", Stefansen (2020) felt, falls short of sexual violence because the victim has agency to reject the "pass". But it feeds into the "phenomenology of fear" (Cahill 2001) among girls and women. This fits with Munroe's (2010) idea of UST, like other forms of sexual violence, as "a personal and systemic attack" (quoted in Stefansen 2020).

- "Performative touching" - "A classmate touched my breasts, and it was pretty obvious: right in the middle of the school hall" (p54).
- "Explorative touching" - "He made a pass at me; it wasn't much. He stopped right away when I told him off" (p55).

- "Aggressive touching" (friend/acquaintance) - "[I] was taken advantage of the first time I drank alcohol, by the boy next door. He locked us in a restroom" (p56).

- "Aggressive touching" (boyfriend) - "I woke up because my boyfriend was fingering me. Earlier that evening, I'd made it clear that i didn't want to have sex" (p57).

- Strangers - "He started to touch me when I was standing in the streetcar. I screamed and hit him, and he left" (p58). "[I] was out dancing at a club when a boy came over to dance. After a while, he put his hands on my boobs. I removed his hands and told him off. He was offended and left" (p60).

- "Opportunistic predation" (Kavanagh 2013) - "Nothing serious, but sometimes people pass you and touch you at parties and so on" (p55).

Table 3.1 - Examples of the different categories of UST according to Stefansen (2020).

3.4. JURORS' PERCEPTIONS

Many cases of rape do not include forensic evidence, so the jury is faced with two parties' contrary claims (the complainant and the defendant) around sexual consent [19]. "As a result, jurors are heavily reliant on their perceptions of both parties when attempting to determine guilt" (Parsons and Mojtahedi 2022 p1).

"Rape myth acceptance" (RMA) has been found to be a key cognitive bias here. It describes "stereotypical misconceptions about rape, rape victims and rapists (eg: 'women who wear revealing clothes want to have sex'...), often used to justify and excuse sexual violence" (Parsons and Mojtahedi 2022 p1). Mock jury studies have found that higher RMA is associated with not guilty verdicts, and a greater assignment of blame upon the complainant (Parsons and Mojtahedi 2022).

It is theorised that jurors try to make sense (or make a "story"; Pennington and Hastie 1986) of the evidence using previous experience, knowledge and expectations. "Therefore, if jurors are drawing on their

[19] "The concept of consent tends to mean different things to different people, both in academic discourse and in everyday life. In relation to sexuality, 'consent' can be defined as the 'the freely given verbal or non-verbal communication of a feeling of willingness' (Hickman and Muehlenhard 1999 p259). In sexual-violence prevention in the Western world, according to Beres (2014 p373), the message 'no means no' has gradually been replaced by 'yes means yes'" (Rosten 2020 p34). But "the communication of consent is not necessarily the same as actually wanting to participate... In other words, consent is never given in a social vacuum and therefore should be discussed with reference to the ethical negotiations related to consent, since it occurs within a social context of unequally distributed opportunity for freedom and equality" (Rosten 2020 pp34-35).

own knowledge or beliefs about rape that are biased, this is likely to be incorporated into the stories they construct and thus are likely to return a 'not guilty' verdict for the defendant" (Parsons and Mojtahedi 2022 p2). The upshot is high defendant believability and low complainant believability.

Parsons and Mojtahedi (2022) considered the possibility that RMA could influence jurors' perceptions of independent or third-party witnesses as well in rape cases. Their online study involved 196 UK adults with no criminal record. Participants imagined themselves as jurors in a hypothetical rape case, which "upon returning to the student accommodation, one of the students (Sarah) alleged that she was raped by another student's visiting brother (Jake). Both parties admitted that sexual intercourse had taken place, however, there was a disagreement around whether consent had been given by Sarah. Sarah, the case complainant, had claimed that she had been taken advantage of in her intoxicated state and had not consented, whereas Jake, the case defendant, had claimed that the Sarah had consented to the act fully at the time" (Parsons and Mojtahedi 2022 pp2-3). A bartender was presented as the third-party witness. All the material of the case was read.

The participants were allocated to one of three conditions, which varied the evidence provided by the bartender. It was either supportive of the complainant/prosecution, the defendant, or neutral in the control condition. The outcome measure was a verdict of guilty or not guilty for "Jake".

The participants also completed various questionnaires, including the "Acceptance of Modern Myths about Sexual Aggression" (AMMSA) scale (Gerger et al 2007), and the "Juror Decision Scale" (JDS) (Willmott et al 2018). The AMMSA scale has thirty items (eg: "when a man urges his female partner to have sex, this cannot be called rape"), each scored on a seven-point scale. The JDS has sixteen items covering believability of complainant, defendant and witness.

Overall, the majority of participants chose a guilty verdict. Individuals with high RMA (AMMSA scale scores) were more likely to choose a not guilty verdict, and they found the eye witness believable only in the defendant support condition.

This study was very different to real jury situations because there was limited information provided, and the case was read. The bartender only described the behaviour prior to offending, and the participants may not have deemed it important.

"Presenting participants with a testimony from a witness that was present at the time of the offence may have been more influential, however, such a scenario would be unrealistic (participants would question why the witness did not intervene)" (Parsons and Mojtahedi 2022 p4).

The study took place online during the covid-19 pandemic. the researchers admitted: "Despite a growing body of evidence supporting the validity and generalisability of online survey-based data..., our approach prohibited us from monitoring participant engagement with the trial materials and did not allow us to examine the effects of jury deliberation on individual perceptions of witness credibility" (Parsons and Mojtahedi 2022 p5).

Only 44 of the participants were male. This is a problem because research has shown that "men display significantly higher levels of RMA... and are more likely to find rape defendants 'not guilty'" (Parsons and Mojtahedi 2022 p5).

3.5. PREVALENCE

Stefansen et al (2020) observed: "How to measure rape precisely has been a key topic in feminist research on violence against women since the 1980s" (p66). The problem is the "dark figure" (as with any type of crime), that is the difference between the incidents reported to the police/authorities and the actual number that occurred.

General surveys are a common method used, but they are dependent on the sample, and the definition used of "rape". In relation to the latter, Steine et al (2012 quoted in Stefansen et al 2020), for example, used "a six-item measure that included incapacitated sexual assault and the experience of feeling pressured to have intercourse without the use of threats or force, as well as forced or threatened penetration of bodily orifices by a sex organ, finger or object" (Stefansen et al 2020 p67). An overall prevalence of rape experiences of 16% of women was found. Thoresen and Hjemdal (2014 quoted in Stefansen et al 2020), however, used "a four-item measure covering different forms of penetration by the use of force or threats (against the victim or someone close to the victim), and they did not ask about pressure (which in most cases would not qualify as rape in the legal sense). They also excluded an item on incapacitated sexual assault" (Stefansen et al 2020 p67). They found a prevalence of less than 10% of women. Both studies had

nationally representative adult population samples in Norway.

Another issue is whether to ask direct questions about rape. There is a concern that "most respondents will respond in accordance with stereotypical ideas about rape. The result, most often, is massive under-reporting of rape, especially of rapes committed by partners and acquaintances and of date rape" (Stefansen et al 2020 p68). Fisher and Cullen (2000) have argued for a two-step approach where the first step involves questions about all types of sexual assault, and then the second step of questions around incidents that meet the legal criteria for rape. This approach "avoids both casting the net too wide (by excluding 'false' rapes) and casting it too narrowly (by including 'false' non-rapes)" (Stefansen et al 2020 p69). However, the two-step approach has been criticised as "confrontational" (Cook et al 2011) "because the interviewer asks the respondent about what 'actually' happened during the reported incident. This critique is a reminder that concerns other than accuracy – such as the potential for psychological distress – must be taken into account when assessing the usefulness of rape-measurement models" (Stefansen et al 2020 p69).

So Krebs (2014) argued for a "good enough" estimate of rape prevalence because of the many problems. Stefansen et al (2020) followed this approach in their survey of students (18-20 year-olds) in Norway in 2015. Over 4000 respondents were sampled via participating schools. Participants were randomly assigned to receive one of two rape questions in the questionnaire: "Before/after the age of 13, have you been subjected to any of the following against your will? Alternative 1 read: 'You have been raped'. Alternative 2 consisted of the following items: someone 'forced or threatened you to have intercourse', 'forced or threatened you to have oral sex', 'forced or threatened you to have anal sex', 'injected fingers or objects into your vagina or anus', and 'has had sex with you while you were asleep or too drunk to object'. The answer options for both versions were 'No, never', 'Yes, once', and 'Yes, several times'" (Stefansen et al 2020 p71). Alternative 1 was a direct, narrow approach whereas Alternative 2 covered the broader definition used in studies.

Overall, 5% of female respondents answered "yes" to Alternative 1 (and 1.1% of male respondents), compared to up to 7.6% (and 2.2% for males) for Alternative 2.

3.6. PERPETRATORS

Schierff and Heinskou (2020) interviewed three male self-identified "sexual transgressors" in Denmark. It is important to note that "although we cannot render the accounts of transgressions amongst the people committing them 'truths', they arguably represent 'unmistakable sources of evidence' (Presser and Sandberg 2015...)" (Schierff and Heinskou 2020 p172).

a) "David" attempted to rape a female friend after a private party while drunk.

b) "Jasper" "in his own words, sexually transgressed against a man he had met on an online dating platform" (Schierff and Heinskou 2020 p175).

c) "William" sexually transgressed against a woman at a private party also while drunk.

Two inter-related factors emerged from the interviews - the role of alcohol, and the misunderstanding of the signals of consent. "William" was very clear - "I don't think it would have if I hadn't been drunk" (p178) - what Schierff and Heinskou (2020) called the "sober-me would not have committed the transgression" (p179). Alcohol intoxication can be seen as an "excuse" rather than a "justification". Scott and Lynn (1968) defined the two concepts: "Justifications are accounts in which one accepts responsibility for the act in question, but denies the pejorative quality associated with it" and "Excuses are accounts in which one admits that the act in question is bad, wrong, or inappropriate but denies full responsibility" (quoted in Schierff and Heinskou 2020).

"Jasper" and "William" described difficulties in understanding refusal signals. "They both Described that they did not realise until afterwards that what had happened had not been consensus" (Schierff and Heinskou 2020 p182) - eg: "William" said: "I actually think that it wasn't until the next day that I realised that there was – there had been something where she had said or done something where I probably had – yes – basically ignored it" (p182). Schierff and Heinskou (2020) explained: "In the terminology of Scott and Lyman (1968), we can view this explanation as an appeal to accident, through which the transgression is explained as non-intentional... Through this explanation, the participants explain their actions, yet retain what Scully and Marolla (1984) refer

to as nice guy images" (pp183-184).

3.7. THE DIGITAL AGE

"Alex" was convicted in Norway of multiple counts of rape despite having never physically been with any of the victims. This was "Internet-mediated rape" (or "online rape" or "digital rape"), which has an "intrinsic paradox...: that people can be found guilty of raping someone they have never met, and who may be at a location far away" (Fransson et al 2020 pp189-190).

"Alex" was able to acquire nude photographs of males through his female fake profiles, and then via threat of exposure, forced victims to perform sexual acts on themselves for him to watch via Skype. The coercion and threats were the basis of the court's view that these behaviours were rape (Fransson et al 2020).

Computer-mediated communication (CMC) is different to face-to-face (F2F) interactions. For example, there is "hyper-personal communication" (Walther 1996) - "a more intimate and desirable communication than one would be able to establish face-to-face, combined with anonymity (or even deceit) in online interactions. Such hyper-personal communication is often seen to enhance intimacy in the exchange of information, combined with feelings of close group unity. These factors can produce deindividuation, or 'a weakened ability for an individual to regulate his or her own behaviour, reduced ability to engage in rational, long-term planning, and a tendency to react to immediate cues based largely on his or her current emotional state' (McKenna and Bargh 2000...)" (Fransson et al 2020 p192).

3.7.1. Image-Based Sexual Abuse

The digital environment also creates the opportunity for the non-consensual distribution of digital sexual images. Sometimes described as part of "technology-facilitated sexual violence", or called "image-based sexual abuse" (the preferred term of Harder et al 2020), or "image-based sexual exploitation" (Henry and Powell 2015). "But different scholars use different specifications of terms... regarding consent (to receive, send, distribute), content (nudity, or a lack of underwear or the wearing of intimate apparel), form (images, videos, text), activity (sharing, receiving,

sending/posting, exchanging) and media/sharing tools (digital media/social network sites [SNS], phones, the Internet)" (Harder et al 2020 p206).

The different terms are an attempt to resist the use of "revenge porn", by which Maddocks (2018) argued "one can counter victim blaming by pointing to the variety of motives behind the non-consensual sharing of digital sexual images... Those in the field resist the vocabulary of 'pornography' because the use of terms for legal sexual material risks legitimising non-consensual image sharing" (Harder et al 2020 p207).

Lack of self-control can be used to explain consensual "sexting" (sharing of sexual images) and non-consensual sharing. Harder et al (2020) hypothesised that "poor self-control will make the offence of image-based sexual abuse more likely to happen out of a need for instant gratification and personal interests and a lack of consideration of the negative consequences" (p208).

These researchers analysed survey data from 2017 of over 60 000 young Danes (aged 12-25 years). The outcome variable was measured by the item: "shared a sexual image/video of others within the last 12 months, eg: in their underwear or nude, without their consent". Overall, 3.4% of the sample answered "yes" (offender group). Self-control was measured by a version of the "Brief Self-Control Scale (BSCS) (Tangney et al 2004) (item eg: "Sometimes I take a risk, because it's fun"). Other measures of risky behaviour included binge drinking frequency, unsafe sexual activity, and sexting.

The offender group was compared to the rest of the sample, and significant differences were found between them. Offenders had less self-control (as shown by higher BSCS score), and more often binge drinking, unsafe sex, and sexting. Males were more likely to be offenders.

The lack of self-control plus "opportunity" factors explained image-based sexual abuse. The opportunity factors included receiving consensual sexual images, and being drunk.

There are three key points of evaluation of this study:

i) Self-reported data with no independent verification, and this, Harder et al (2020) pointed out, carries "biases related to reports of delinquent practices and personal issues, in that respondents are likely to be unwilling to admit to offending. That bias might be smaller in our survey, where all questionnaires

were answered anonymously, and thus the survey might reveal more offending than crime statistics would. That being said, several factors apply to our study: (1) the survey is one of the only quantitative datasets available on image-based sexual abuse in Denmark, (2) the sample size is very large and (3) the questions are quite detailed, so the survey includes a range of different ways in which people can be involved in an activity: as offender, sexter, bystander and victim" (p219).

ii) The BSCS was developed with 36 questions, covering task performance, impulse control, psychological adjustment, interpersonal relationships, and moral dimensions. Harder et al (2020) used a reduced version of thirteen questions, and a four-point Likert Scale for responses ("completely agree", slightly agree", slightly disagree", "completely disagree") (compared to 5-point in other research with a middle point of "neither agree nor disagree"). Other studies have used reduced number of items (from 3 to 24) (Harder et al 2020).

Note that the BSCS was translated into Danish, and the meaning of items may have changed in the process. The reliability and validity of the BSCS in this study could be questioned.

iii) Other variables not measured (eg: friends who engage in sharing non-consensual sexual images).

3.7.2. Social Media Disclosures

Disclosure of sexual violence victimhood has implications for the individuals, and so can be uncommon. Social media and the Internet have the potential to improve the general lack of disclosure, as one survivor said: "The day I talked about it, not just with those closest to me, but with the entire internet, was the day I finally became free" (quoted in Sigurvinsdottir et al 2020).

The social reaction to disclosure (akin to "coming out"), however, can be both positive and negative. "Positive reactions include providing emotional support and tangible aid, while negative reactions involve blaming the survivor for the violence, taking control away, distracting the person (for example by drawing attention away from the violent event), treating the person differently than before the disclosure or acting in an egocentric manner" (Sigurvinsdottir et al 2020 p226).

Sigurvinsdottir et al (2020) analysed 397 self-disclosure posts in Icelandic on Twitter or Facebook between April 2015 and March 2017.

The researchers found that "[S]eeing others disclose on social media is a powerful motivator for people to disclose" (Sigurvinsdottir et al 2020 p235). For example, one person said: "I'm so proud of you girls for telling your stories, because they've helped me get mine out and finally talking about it, and I encourage all women who've had to carry such a heavy burden to talk about it!" (p232). A "sense of community" was seen in comments like: "Thank you for sharing your stories. It's great to feel this solidarity in breaking the silence and giving back the shame" (p233).

The comments to individual posts varied from 0 to over 250, and the "likes" up to more than 2000. Sigurvinsdottir et al (2020) explained: "The comments to the posts were overwhelmingly positive, if superficial. For example, many of the comments simply included a heart emoji or a few positive words about the survivor. In our material, we did not find a single negative reaction (although it is possible that someone could have made and then deleted a negative comment)" (p234).

The study used posts that were the survivors' own words, "rather than them being framed by researchers... Having said that, online spaces also have informal social rules that will also shape the disclosure process and the language that is used" (Sigurvinsdottir et al 2020 p229).

The nature of online data also raises its own ethical issues. The Twitter posts were from public accounts and so visible to anybody, while the Facebook posts came from a semi-public group. Sigurvinsdottir et al (2020) explained: "Before we collected data from the group, we posted information on the site to say that we were planning to conduct this study; we gave survivors a week to remove their posts or asked them to contact us if they did not wish to be included (which no one did). The posts were then collected without any identifying information. The purpose of the analysis is to examine broad themes about disclosure, so there should be no risk to individual participants. When we have wished to anonymously quote specific survivors, however,... we have sought explicit permission from survivors. Those we have contacted have all given their permission, and some have specifically remarked that they felt respected and empowered by their words being presented and discussed publicly" (p230).

3.8. VICTIM-CENTRED JUSTICE IN SWEDEN

"Feminists often criticise the system of criminal prosecution of sexual violence by pointing to the 'justice gap', or the disparity between the number of reported cases of sexual assault and the low rate of prosecution and conviction" (Carroll 2023 p46). This is manifest in the way that "victim-survivors are often dismissed, discounted, and disempowered... Cases are dropped and labelled 'unfounded', particularly based upon the perceived inconsistency of a victim-survivor's statements or the lack of evidence to prove a crime occurred" (Carroll 2023 pp46-47). The dropping of cases (the attrition rate) is taken as a measure of the criminal justice system's success or not.

However, there are those that argue that a successful prosecution in court is not necessarily in the best interests of the victim-survivor. "In fact, Herman (2005...) writes that the traditional legal process is 'diametrically opposed' to the well-being of the victim, and 'if one set out intentionally to design a system for provoking symptoms of traumatic stress, it might look very much like a court of law'" (Carroll 2023 p47).

"Victim-centred justice" (VCJ) is a possible solution. This is "'kaleidoscopic justice': a 'constantly shifting pattern' of 'nuanced and lived experiences' [McGlynn and Westmarland 2019] that includes recognition and dignity in their interactions with the individuals with whom they disclose their assault, a focus on prevention of future abuse, and the opportunity to express their experiences and participate in the justice process" (Carroll 2023 p48). VCJ goes beyond just conviction, and aims for stories of victim-survivors to be taken seriously, and the prevention of future sexual violence. "Taylor and Norma (2012) call the decision to report rape a form of 'symbolic protest', not always in the best interest of the one reporting but important as a signal that sexual violence will not be tolerated" (Carroll 2023 p48).

Carroll (2023) explored the sexual violence "justice gap" and VCJ in Sweden in 48 interviews with "state and non-state actors involved in anti-rape professional work and activism, including social workers, therapists, feminist anti-violence activists, political elites, state bureaucrats at the Swedish Crime Victim Authority, and victim advocates" (p48).

In 2018 only 17% of reported rapes ended in conviction (maybe less depending on the definitions

used), and this is a decline in the previous decade (and a lower prosecution rate than many other EU countries) (Carroll 2023). This is even more disappointing when Sweden is viewed as a country with a "feminist government" that promotes women's rights and gender equality (Carroll 2023).

"In the past, most reports of rape were under circumstances of what Estrich (1987) calls 'real rape': that is, a physically violent rape by an unknown perpetrator in a public space... But now in many national contexts, reports of rape by an unknown perpetrator are declining while reports of rapes perpetrated by a known individual are increasing" (Carroll 2023 p50). Sexual violence perpetrated by intimate partners, family members, and acquaintances can be more difficult to prosecute, ending in a "she said, he said" situation sometimes (ie: no independent witnesses or forensic evidence). Part of the revictimisation experience of the victim-survivor is being faced by the "it was consensual" defence, and not being believed.

Carroll (2023) noted two policy reforms in Sweden based on VCJ, which try to avoid such situations, but are missed with the focus on conviction rates only:

i) Giving victims extensive participatory rights - The provision of an independent legal counsel ("victim-lawyer") paid for by the State from the beginning of the investigation. "By law, a victim of sexual violence in Sweden also has the right to challenge the prosecutor on the decision to press charges, how the charges should be filed, and what evidence is presented" (Carroll 2023 p52).

"Jasmeen" (a victim-lawyer) saw the role as "I will be there for her. Care for her physical and psychological mind during this time... it's a curative role. You have to be with her, supporting her. Helping her" (p52). While "Henrik" (a police officer) saw the role as "to take care that the process is right. They should be at the interviews with the victims so that they can see that everything is going on in a proper way" (p52).

"Lawyer Sarah described how she validates the emotions of her clients by telling them that 'we are only human. Being sad, being scared, is only human'. By doing so, she offers human connection and dignity. Their legal counsel interacts with the victim-survivor as 'a whole person in society', rather than simply a 'piece of evidence', as they might be seen by police investigators or other criminal justice actors" (Carroll 2023 p53). "Sarah" also said: "I have lots of cases that do not go

to trial, but the client is satisfied with the knowledge that he now knows that she made a police report against him, and he now knows you don't do that, at least to her" (p53).

Raitt (2010) viewed the independent legal counsel as "the single most significant contribution to the ability of rape complainants to withstand the legal process" (quoted in Carroll 2023).

ii) Financial compensation for victims - Many countries have such schemes, but the civil claim for compensation in Sweden is filed as part of the criminal investigation. The claim includes pecuniary damages (eg: to cover medical bills) as in other countries, and non-pecuniary damages "for the violation of a victim-survivor's 'integrity'" (Carroll 2023 p54). The money comes from the perpetrator, a private insurance company, or the State. The director of the Swedish Crime Victim Support Authority explained: "If there is a perpetrator who can't pay... You can get it from us [the government authority] instead. And then we turn to the perpetrator and make him pay in the long run, back to the state. That's also an important thing for the crime victim, that the one who really hurt you is the one who is going to pay, in the long run" (p55).

The compensation claim is based on written evidence, and has a lower burden of proof than criminal prosecutions.

Carroll (2023) ended: "I suggest that the justice gap — a high rate of attrition of rape cases — is not always a good measure of justice for victim-survivors or the relative success or failure of a criminal-legal institution. In Sweden, there has been a concerted institutional effort to give victim-survivors access to legal counsel and participation in the justice process and provide them with alternative justice like financial compensation. These policies do not necessarily increase the likelihood of the case going to trial and ending in a conviction, but they can provide justice that may be even more important than procedural justice. Research has found that incarceration is not even necessarily an effective deterrent or solution for sexual crimes, but rather disproportionately harms marginalised communities, even victim-survivors themselves... While procedural justice that sees a perpetrator convicted and removed from society may represent justice for the state, it often does not reflect justice for the victim-survivor. Rather, even the very process of the investigation and

trial process can leave victim-survivors worse off than if they had not reported at all" (pp57-58).

3.9. REFERENCES

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4. PSYCHOPATHIC PERSONALITY TRAITS

4.1. INTRODUCTION

Psychopathy is of great interest in many disciplines and areas of society. "This academically and clinically important concept is perhaps best understood as a multi-dimensional construct that contributes to maladjustment in society because of the deeply problematic trait dimensions of which it consists" (Bergstrom and Farrington 2022 p1).

One way to understand the many traits associated with it is "within a framework of three overarching symptom clusters of interpersonal, affective, and impulsive lifestyle traits" (Bergstrom and Farrington 2022 p1). The "complex clinical condition" of psychopathy has been conceptualised in slightly different ways, however, including four groups of core characteristics - interpersonal (eg: superficial charm; grandiosity), affective (eg: lack of remorse and empathy), lifestyle (eg: impulsivity), and anti-social (eg: "criminal versatility") (Salekin and Andershed 2022).

"Although there is considerable evidence to demonstrate the link between psychopathic traits and crime, there have been fewer investigations that have prospectively followed individuals to examine this relationship across longer time spans" (Salekin and Andershed 2022 p1). These authors highlighted two key issues - predicting future negative outcomes from current measures of psychopathy and psychopathic traits, and whether psychopathy adds "any incremental predictive value for crime when other risk factors are taken into account" (Salekin and Andershed 2022 p2). Exploring these issues is best done with prospective longitudinal studies. The studies vary on when the psychopathic traits are measured and the length of the follow-up (table 4.1).

Assessment of Psychopathy	Study	Details
Early childhood	Lopez-Romero et al (2022)	2247 3-6 year-olds in north-west Spain
	Colins et al (2022a)	1729 5-7 year-olds in Sweden
	Virtanen et al (2022)	12 394 9 & 12 year-olds in Sweden
	Rusevic & Andershad (2022)	175 5 year-olds in Croatia
	Bergstrom and Farrington (2022)	411 boys in London
Adolescence	Lussier et al (2022)	326 incarcerated teens in Canada
	Colins et al (2022b)	302 detained female adolescents in Belgium
	Lee & Kim (2022)	1354 juvenile offenders in the USA
Adulthood	Yoon et al (2022)	368 male sexual offenders in Austria

Table 4.1 - Studies of recent prospective longitudinal studies of psychopathy and future negative outcomes introduced by Salekin and Andershed (2022) in a special issue of the "Journal of Criminal Justice".

Too much attention to psychopathy ignores other risk factors for crime, So, "although psychopathic traits represent an individual's a strong criminal propensity, the likelihood of engaging in crime can vary based on the circumstances individuals face, the context in which they reside, and the risk factors they possess. Importantly, these mechanisms may operate over and above individuals' potentially high predisposition to crime" (Lee and Kim 2022 pp1-2). This is the "person-environment nexus".

4.2. VIOLENT OFFENDING

Psychopathic personality is associated with violence (ie: individuals high on psychopathic traits are more likely to engage in violent offences of different types) (Bergstrom and Farrington 2022). Longitudinal studies are needed to establish this relationship across the life course, like the "Cambridge Study in Delinquent Development" (CSDD). This began in the 1960s with over 400 boys from south London.

Farrington (2018), for example, used the data to

investigate childhood predictors of violence in the teenage and adult years. "At the individual level, being high on troublesomeness, high dishonesty, and high daring were the strongest predictors of violence convictions up to age 56. Having convicted parents (a parental factor) were also predictive of violence, and the strongest family predictors were harsh discipline and poor supervision. When comparing the strength of the odds ratios, the socio-economic factors appear to be less important, but the strongest amongst these factors were low family income, low SES [socio-economic status], and large family size" (Bergstrom and Farrington 2022 p2).

In the USA, the "Pittsburgh Youth Study" (PYS), begun in the 1980s with over 1500 boys, found factors like impulsiveness, receiving physical punishment, and not doing well at school were important in predicting adult violence. Meanwhile, another USA study, the "National Longitudinal Study of Adolescent Health" (Add Health) has collected data on over 20 000 young people since 1994-95, and found risk factors like access to weapons, mistreatment during childhood, Attention Deficit Hyperactivity Disorder (ADHD), and having anti-social peers (Bergstrom and Farrington 2022).

The findings from these three longitudinal studies can be classified into four risk factor groupings for violent offending - individual, parental and family, friends, and socio-economic (Bergstrom and Farrington 2022). Psychopathic personality is an example of an individual factor.

Bergstrom and Farrington (2022) used the CSDD data to analyse the relationship between psychopathic personality and violence convictions. Psychopathic personality was measured in two ways:

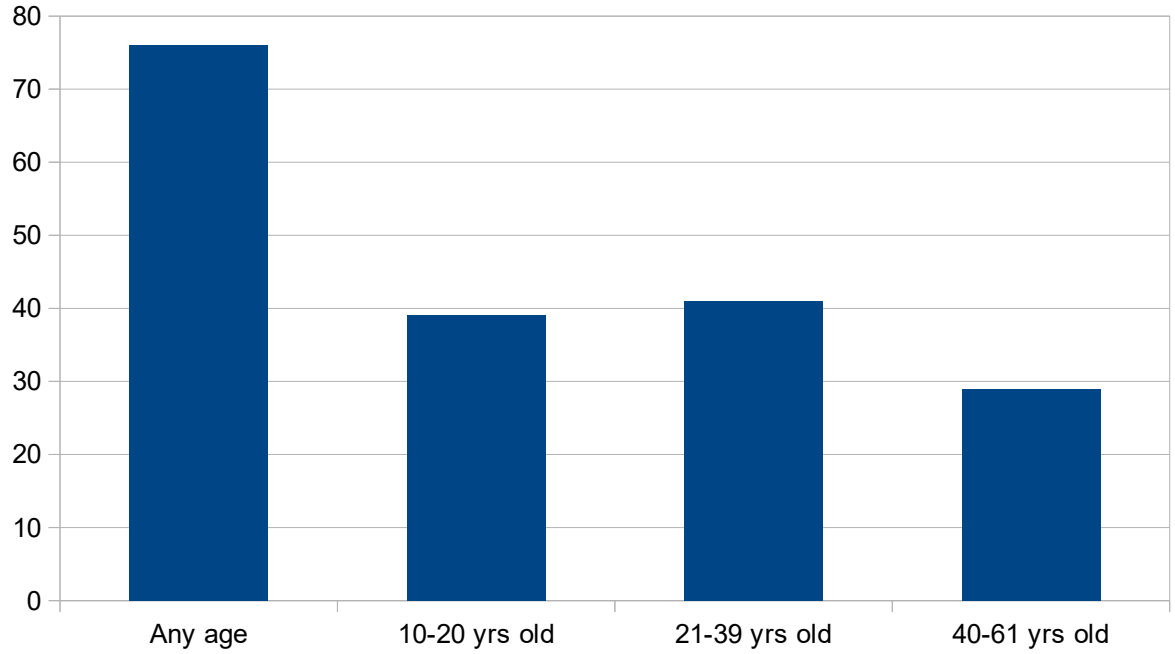
a) In childhood and young teenage by the twenty-item "Anti-Social Process Screening Device" (APSD) (Frick and Hare 2001).

b) In adulthood by the "Hare Psychopathy Checklist: Screening Version" (PCL-SV) (Hart et al 1995) with nine items covering the three aspects of psychopathy - interpersonal, affective, and impulsive lifestyle.

Violence conviction between ten and sixty-one years old was the outcome measure. This was also measured as four categories - robbery, assault, possessing offensive weapons, and threatening behaviour.

Overall, 19% of the sample had a violence conviction

at some time in their life (figure 4.1). Assault was most common, followed by threatening behaviour.



(Note that some individuals had more than one conviction)

Figure 4.1 - Number of individuals with violence convictions and age.

Individuals who scored higher on the measures of psychopathic personality were more likely to have violence convictions. After controlling for other risk factors, a high psychopathic personality score at 8-14 years old was a significant predictor of subsequent violent offending at any age. The traditional risk factors of disrupted family, harsh discipline, and a convicted father were confirmed.

The study used convictions (ie: offences discovered by the authorities), and so missed unconvicted cases.

4.3. CRIMINALITY GENERALLY AND PROBLEM BEHAVIOURS

Virtanen et al (2022) analysed data from the "Child and Adolescent Twin Study in Sweden" (CATSS) for the relationship between psychopathic personality traits in childhood and subsequent criminality generally. The CATSS includes all twins born in Sweden since 1st July 1992,

and over 5000 (of the original more than 12 000) individuals wee still part of the study at 21 years old.

Psychopathic personality traits had been assessed at nine and twelve years old with the 12-item version of the "Child Problematic Traits Inventory" (CPTI) (Colins et al 2014). It assessed 3 aspects in particular - grandiose-deceitful (eg: "Often lies to get what he/she wants"; "Thinks that he or she is better than everyone on almost everything"), callous-unemotional (eg: "Often does not seem to care about what other people feel and think"; "Never seems to have bad conscience for things that he or she has done"), and impulsive-need for stimulation (eg: "Seems to do certain things just for the thrill of it"; "Provides himself or herself with different things very fast and eagerly") [20].

Data on criminality after 15 years old included violent crimes, non-violent ones, and sexual crimes, while substance abuse, and depression and anxiety diagnoses were also recorded.

Overall: "Psychopathic personality traits at age 9/12 were associated with an increased risk of delinquency, problematic alcohol use, drug use, and anxiety and depressive symptoms at age 18..." (Virtanen et al 2022 p4). This was based on self-reports. There was also a relationship with crimes, substance use, and anxiety and depression using objective records.

After adjusting for variables like family background, high childhood psychopathic personality traits was "moderately associated" with later anti-social behaviour. There was no sex difference. High psychopathy and conduct disorder symptoms in childhood increased the risk of later anti-social behaviour further.

It was noted that among the participants dropping out of the study, disproportionately more of these with high psychopathy scores.

It was not possible to establish the relationship between the particular traits of psychopathy and later criminality, and some potential confounders were not controlled (eg: having delinquent friends; appendix 4A) (Virtanen et al 2022).

Rucevic and Andershed (2022) investigated the three aspects of psychopathy (grandiose-deceitful, callous-unemotional, and impulsive-need for stimulation) at five years old and subsequent conduct problems and aggression at ten years old using data from Croatia. The ECLAT study ("Problem behaviours in elementary school-aged children:

[20] One version of the CPTI has 28 items. The CPTI was specifically designed for children three years old and above (Colins et al 2022a).

The role of Executive funCtioning, individual, familiAL and geneTic factors") began in 2009-10 with 175 children born in a mid-sized town.

The 28-item version of the CPTI was completed by a parent when the child was five years old (ie: attending kindergarten). Parenting style was also measured, using the thirty-item "Parenting Styles Questionnaire" (PSQ) (Robinson et al 1995) The items covering three parenting styles included, "I am responsive to my child's feelings and needs" (authoritative style); "I spank my child when I don't like what he/she does or says" (authoritarian style); "I spoil my child" (permissive style). Parent-reported conduct problems and aggression at ten years old were the outcome measures. These behaviours at five years old were also recorded.

The three factors of psychopathy at five years old did not individually predict conduct problems at ten years old, but high scores in all three did (along with already existing conduct problems - ie: at five years old).

Three groups at five years old were distinguished for further analysis:

- Conduct problems/low psychopathy features (CP)
- High psychopathy/no conduct problems (PP)
- High psychopathy/conduct problems (CPPP)

After controlling for parenting style, children in the CPPP group at five years old "weakly" predicted conduct problems at ten years old.

The data were parent reports, though the advantage over teacher reports is that "parents have generally observed their child over prolonged periods across a broad range of real-life situations... and can thus provide a fuller picture of the child's every day functioning. In addition, parents tend to make fewer demands on rules and structure than do school teachers. As a result, a child is more likely to manifest behavioural problems at home than at school" (Rucevic and Andershed 2022 p8). On the positive side, the study had a longitudinal design, and no drop-out of participants over its length.

Studies tend to use three main informants either separately or combined - teacher, parent, and self/child. Colins et al (2022a) used all three informants with the CPTI in a Swedish study - the "Social and Physical Development, Interventions and Adaptation" (SOFIA) study. It began with all children born between 2005 and 2007 in

one Swedish municipality. Data were collected at 3-5 (Wave 1), 4-6 (Wave 2), 5-7 (Wave 3), 8-10 (Wave 4), and 11-13 years old (Wave 5; n = 1729).

Measures at 5-7 years old were used to predict outcomes at 11-13 years old. Wave 3 data collection included teacher-rated CPTI, teacher- and parent-rated conduct problems (eg: "Has beaten, torn, shoved, kicked, or thrown something on others without a reason"), and teacher-rated attention-deficit/hyperactivity disorder symptoms (eg: "He/she is running around, clutching or climbing more than what is considered appropriate"; "He/she is inattentive on details or is careless"). The outcome measures were teacher-, parent-, and child-rated psychopathic traits and anti-social behaviours.

Using teacher- and parent-rated measures, conduct problems and psychopathy scores at 5-7 years old predicted conduct problems and psychopathy at 11-13 years old. But child-rated measures showed no relationship.

Overall, teacher-rated total psychopathy score at wave 3 was the best predictor of severe anti-social behaviours (measured by any informant) six years later.

Table 4.2 summarises the key strengths and weaknesses of this study.

STRENGTHS	WEAKNESSES
1. All children born in a particular area that was chosen as representative of the general population of Sweden, rather than depending on volunteers, for example. 2. The SOFIA study had "relatively low rates of attrition over multiple waves" (Colins et al 2022a p7). 3. The CPTI was a validated, age-appropriate psychopathy assessment tool. 4. Multiple informant measures used.	1. All outcomes related to anti-social behaviour. "However, psychopathic personality does not only involve destruction to society and its citizens, but also result in considerable destruction to the self" (Colins et al 2022a p7). 2. The teachers who completed the measures at 5-7 years old were different to those at 11-13 years old. 3. The number of items varied for different outcomes (eg: two items for self-rated aggression; teacher- and parent-rated conduct disorder symptoms 13 and 17 items respectively). 4. Uncontrolled variables (eg: peers and siblings), and unmeasured behaviours (eg: aggressiveness and bullying at 5-7 years old).

Table 4.2 - Key strengths and weaknesses of Colins et al (2022a).

4.4. RECIDIVISM/CHRONIC OFFENDING

"Since the third edition of the Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders (DSM-III... 1980), the term 'psychopathy' has been used interchangeably with Anti-social Personality Disorder (ASPD), even though there are several distinctions between the two disorders" (Yoon et al 2022 p1). The similarity between them depends on the study.

For example, Widiger et al (1996) found over 90% of offenders with high psychopathy also had a diagnosis of ASPD, but this figure was closer to one=third, according to Coid and Ullrich (2010) (Yoon et al 2022).

Psychopathy, of course, can be quite different depending on Factor 1 (affective-interpersonal traits - eg: lack of empathy and remorse, superficial charm, and callousness) and 2 (lifestyle-anti-social traits, like conduct problems, and weak behavioural controls) types of the Psychopathy Checklist-Revised (PCL-R) (Hare 2003) [21]. So, "ASPD is captured by PCL-R Factor 2 more strongly, whereas prototypical psychopathy is primarily associated with PCL-R Factor 1" (Yoon et al 2022 p2).

In relation to offenders, the ability to predict recidivism is one of the important outcomes of measuring psychopathy and ASPD. Applying this to sexual offenders, Mokros et al (2021), for instance, in an Austrian study, distinguished "general offenders" and "highly anti-social/psychopathic offenders", with the latter having a higher risk of contact-sexual and overall recidivism (Yoon et al 2022).

As a predictor of recidivism, the PCL-R appears to be better in rapist samples than child molesters ones (Yoon et al 2022).

Yoon et al (2022) concentrated on recidivism among male sexual offenders using the PCL-R, and comparing diagnoses of psychopathy and ASPD. The data came from Austria and covered over 1100 individuals (with up to forty years post-release). General, non-sexual violence, and sexual recidivism data were available from the Ministry of Justice. Diagnosis of ASPD and PCL-R scores were on the official records.

The overall rates of recidivism were 37% for general (ie: any new crime), 18% for non-sexual violence, and 9% for sexual offences.

A diagnosis of ASPD was a strong predictor of

[21] This is an updated version, with the first edition constructed by Hare (1991). Twenty items are scored by a trained assessor as 0, 1 or 2 (Hare et al 2022).

general and non-sexual violence recidivism, while a high PCL-R score as well added to the prediction. The anti-social characteristics were key. Sexual recidivism was not predicted by ASPD alone, PCL-R score alone, or both together. "The non-significant results are probably due to the low base rate of sexual recidivism" (Yoon et al 2022 p6).

The study used official records, and so missed information not included in them (ie: undetected offences).

Lussier et al (2022) found that other risk factors were less important in chronic offending (or "criminal career") than high psychopathy score in the teenage years. Their data came from the "Incarcerated Serious and Violent Young Offender Study" (ISVYOS) in British Columbia, Canada. This ongoing study involves two cohorts of young offenders followed over many years (from 1998-2001 and 2005-11 onwards). A sub-sample of 326 individuals had completed the "Psychopathy Checklist-Youth Version" (PCL-YV) (Forth et al 2003) at 12-19 years old, and they were followed until twenty-nine years old. "Chronic offending" was defined as seven or more convictions between 12 and 17 years old.

Five trajectories of offending into their twenties emerged from the statistical analysis (figure 4.2):

1. "Low rate" - Nearly half of the sample, very few convictions in 20s. More women than any other group. Lowest prevalence of high PCL-YV scorers (20%), and lowest mean total and individual factor PCL-YV scores.

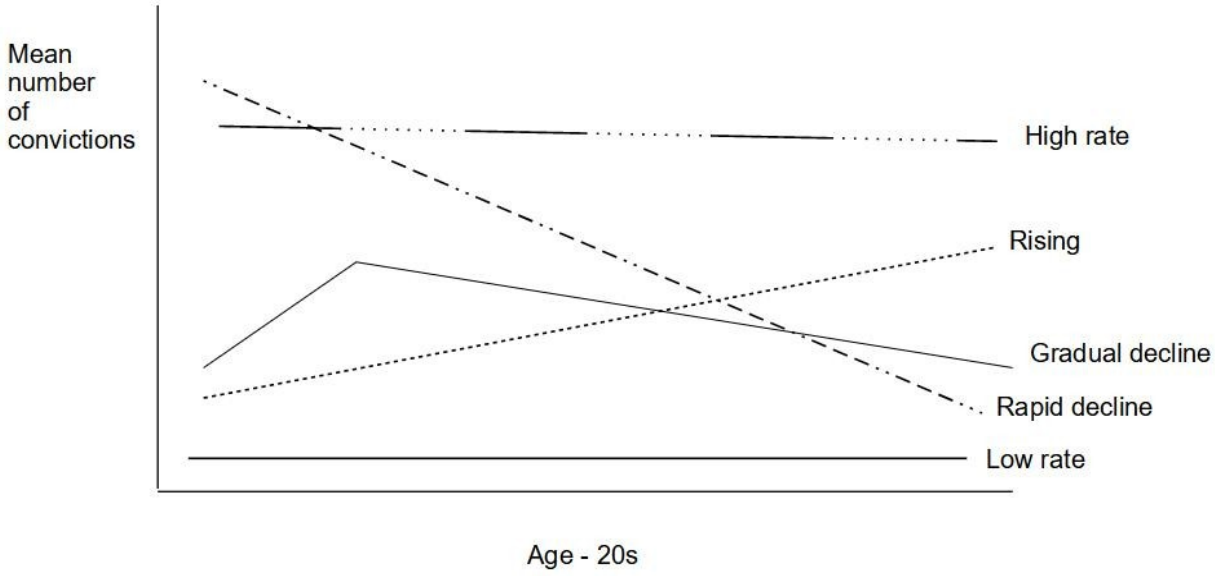
2. "Rising" (13% of sample) - An increasing number of convictions as got older. Almost half were high PCL-YV scorers, and a similar number were early onset offenders (ie: first conviction before 14 years old).

3. "Rapid decline" (11%) - Highest mean number of convictions at eighteen years old, but this dropped immediate to equal to "low rate" group.

4. "Gradual decline" (11%) - A small increase at 20-21 years old and subsequent decline in convictions. Vast majority of the group were men (95%). About half were early onset offenders.

5. "High rate" (15%) - Continued high number of convictions. Almost exclusively males.

Among juvenile offenders, a high psychopathy score



(Based on figure 2 Lussier et al 2022)

Figure 4.2 - The five trajectories found by Lussier et al (2022).

was key to continued and high offending throughout and by the end of the 20s.

Colins et al (2022b), however, did not find that psychopathy predicted recidivism in 302 female teenage offenders detained in Belgium. Psychopathy was measured by the self-report version of the APSD, while the outcome measure was future crimes during adolescence (divided into violent, serious non-violent, and drug crimes) from official sources that registered arrest charges. Control variables included conduct disorder, substance use disorder, and socio-demographics.

The mean APSD total score was 14 (out of 40), and around three-quarters of the sample scored below this figure. This is a skewed distribution, where the smaller number of individuals above the mean are high scorers. This group had high scores on all three dimensions of the APSD - narcissism, callous-unemotional traits, and impulsivity, and they were "tentatively labelled" as "putative psychopathic personality" (Colins et al 2022b). Though this group scored highest on criminality (ie: number of past crimes), conduct disorder, substance use

disorder, they "were not at a significantly higher risk for future criminality, relative to their counterparts..." (Colins et al 2022b p8). Thus, Colins et al (2022b) questioned "whether there is a compelling need to use the psychopathy construct for risk assessment purposes among criminal justice-involved girls, at least as assessed by means of the APSD self-report version" (p8). In fact, number of past crimes, and conduct disorder were "more often predictive of certain recidivism outcomes" (Colins et al 2022b p8).

The data were official arrests, and the follow-up time was variable. This is important because of the lack of standardised exposure time (ie: time after release during which to reoffend). The sample came from one youth detention centre between 2008 and 2014.

4.5. EARLY CHILDHOOD

Lopez-Romero et al (2022) reported a longitudinal study from Spain which rated psychopathy and problem behaviours at pre-school age, and then subsequently two years later. Baseline measures of 2266 3-6 year-olds included the parent-rated CPTI, conduct problems (CP), and ADHD symptoms. CP and aggression were parent- and teacher-rated one and two years later (outcome measures).

Based on the baseline scores, the children were divided into six groups for analysis purposes:

i) Control (70% of sample) - no psychopathic traits (ie: scores below 0.5 standard deviation below the mean for the sample) or CP.

ii) CU only (9%) - high score (ie: above 0.5 standard deviation above mean) on callous-unemotional dimensional of CPTI only.

iii) Psychopathic personality (PP) only (3%) - high score on all three dimensions of CPTI.

iv) CP only (6.5%) - no psychopathy but high CP score.

v) CU and CP (3.5%).

vi) PP and CP (8% of the sample).

The "PP and CP" group had the highest CP score subsequently, followed by the "CU and CP" group, and the

"CP only" group. Membership of "PP only" group and "CU only" group did not predict CP later. Similar findings emerged for aggression.

Controlling other variables, membership of the "PP and CP", and "CU and CP" groups at baseline predicted future CP and aggression.

4.6. CONCLUSIONS

Reviewing the recent studies published in a special issue of the "Journal of Criminal Justice", Salekin and Andershed (2022) concluded that "psychopathy indeed often is predictive of negative outcomes for individuals even when controlling for common risk variables" (p4). But the authors highlighted a number of issues for refining the findings of the studies, and for future research, including:

i) Conceptualisation of psychopathy - There are different models, both in children and adults. For example, some researchers argued that "anti-social and deviant behaviour represent a downstream correlate of psychopathic personality rather than a core feature of the disorder, while others have maintained that anti-social characteristics are central" (Salekin and Andershed 2022 p4). There may also be different "types" of psychopathy (appendix 4B).

ii) The predictive value of psychopathy - For example, does psychopathy plus another behaviour, like conduct problems, or callous-unemotional traits, predict future negative outcomes better than psychopathic traits by themselves?

iii) The underlying mechanisms or causal pathways from psychopathy to future crime.

iv) Psychopathy as predicting other future psychiatric problems.

v) When is the best time to assess psychopathy in the life span? Labelling individuals at an early age, for instance, could also be stigmatising. If early predictions are made, it is crucial to have prevention and intervention strategies "tailored to the specific needs of children showing psychopathic traits and conduct problems early in development" (Salekin and Andershed 2022 p6).

4.7. APPENDIX 4A - DEVIANT PEER ASSOCIATIONS

"Deviant peer associations" was found to be a significant risk factor in a US longitudinal study. It has been known that "when adolescents socialise with delinquent friends, their own likelihood of offending increases" (Lee and Kim 2022 p2).

But what is the relationship between psychopathy and peer associations? "Although it has been speculated that youth with psychopathic traits may have difficulty in maintaining long-term friendships..., it is also possible that, as they are known for superficial charm and manipulative ways, youth with psychopathic tendencies may actually easily attract friends through their glibness... Considering their grandiose sense of self-worth, they may also enjoy the attention they receive from peers when they engage in risky situations that portray them as 'cool kids' or 'bad asses'" (Lee and Kim 2022 p2).

Lee and Kim (2022) analysed data from the "Pathways to Desistance Study", which followed over 1300 juvenile offenders in two states. It began in 2000-03 and followed individuals for seven years. The outcome variables were 22 different types of offending as self-reported. The key predictor variables were:

i) Psychopathic traits - Measured by the "Youth Psychopathic Traits Inventory" (YPI) (Andershed et al 2002). It measures three aspects - grandiose-manipulative (eg: "It's easy for me to manipulate people"), callous-unemotional (eg: "To feel guilty and remorseful about things you have done that have hurt other people is a sign of weakness"), and impulsive-irresponsible (eg: "It often happens that i do things without thinking ahead"). There are fifty items, each scored on a four-point Likert scale of "does not apply at all" to "applies very well". Total scores are categorised as low, low-medium, medium-high, or high.

ii) Deviant peer associations - Twelve items about friends' behaviour in the past six months (eg: "sold drugs"; "been hurt in a fight"; "carried a knife").

iii) Alcohol use - Number of times drunk in past six months.

iv) Victimisation - Experienced (six items - eg: "chased where you thought you might be seriously hurt")

and witnessed (seven items).

It was found that psychopathy was related to offending, both directly and indirectly (eg: psychopathy increased alcohol use, which increased offending). But other risk factors also played a role. "That is, although individuals may be predisposed to anti-social behaviour, the manifestation of psychopathic traits can vary by the conditions that individuals face. Such a finding reflects the importance of the person-environment nexus, or the interaction between individual characteristics and environmental factors" (Lee and Kim 2022 p6).

Deviant peer associations was the consistent risk factor for all types of offending, after controlling other variables (eg: intelligence; parental education level; gender; age). "The salience of deviant peers is in line with previous research showing that adolescents with high psychopathic traits tend to associate with delinquent peers... Spending time with deviant peers may amplify subterranean values and provide more opportunities to engage in deviance... That is, affiliation with deviant peers itself can serve as a situational motivation... Therefore, psychopathic tendencies and deviant peer affiliation may have a synergistic effect" (Lee and Kim 2022 p6).

Lee and Kim (2022) continued: "Moreover, deviant peer associations of psychopathic youth may reflect the nature of their interpersonal relationships with others. In general, psychopaths are known to place little value on interpersonal relationships... Also, youth with high psychopathic traits tend to have poor social skills and create conflicts with others, making it difficult for them to maintain conventional friendships... Therefore, it is also possible that deviant peers may be the only friends with whom antisocial adolescents can socialise... In addition, affiliation with deviant peers may be also related to the absence of authority figures... Psychopathic youth with difficult temperaments would likely be rebellious at home and school and may often challenge authority figures. These characteristics may lead to disengagement and poor social bonds with authority figures, which may, in turn, increase youths' likelihood of deviant behaviour" (pp6-7).

The study also showed that experienced and observed victimisation were associated with certain types of offending. Because "individuals with psychopathic tendencies have difficulty learning from experiences, including victimisation..., therefore, the 'once bitten twice shy' hypothesis (Hindelang et al 1978) may not be applicable to those with psychopathic tendencies. Rather,

their fearless temper may instead fuel criminogenic behaviours. Being victimised may drive a desire for revenge or trigger anti-social characteristics such as being reckless and restless, which may then result in their subsequent criminal behaviour. Therefore, the 'once bitten, twice bitten' hypothesis (Farrell and Pease 1993) may indeed by more aptly suited for psychopathic individuals" (Lee and Kim 2022 pp7-8).

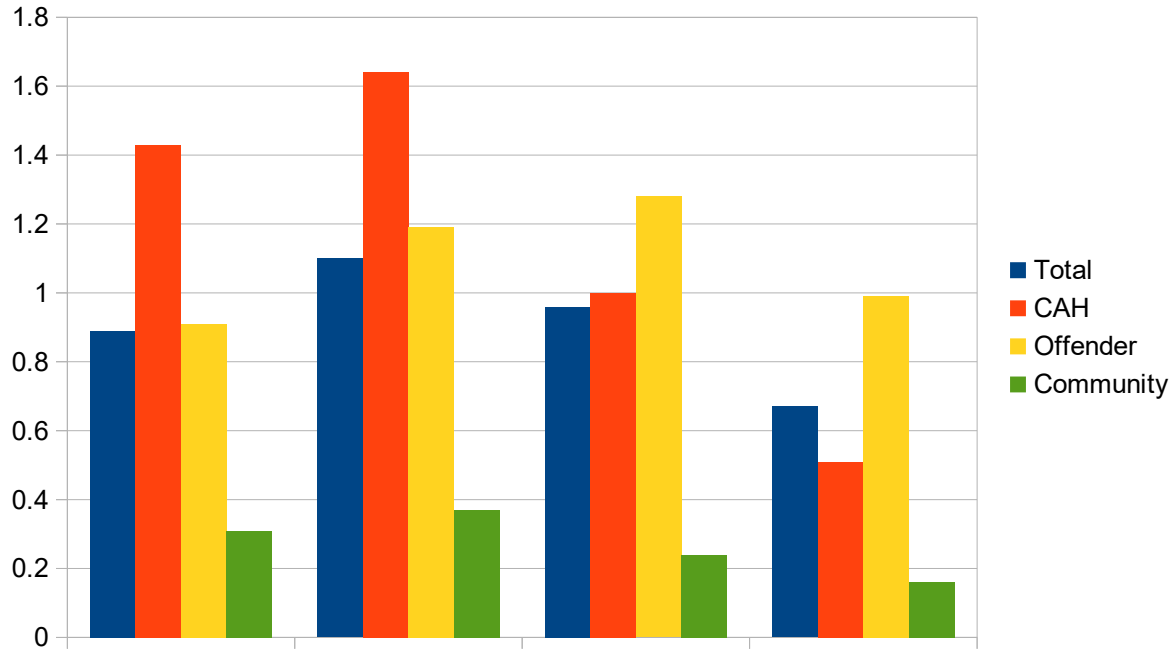
The study used a sample of youth offenders, and so generalising of the findings is limited. The variables were measured by self-reports, while other measures would help (eg: parent-reported), and details, like amount of time spent with deviant peers, were not measured.

4.8. APPENDIX 4B - CRIMES AGAINST HUMANITY

Hare et al (2022) reported the "first study to use a validated clinical/ forensic measure of psychopathy among army and police officers convicted of a particular form of State terrorism, crimes against humanity [CAH]" (p1). A sample of 101 members of the armed forces in prison in Chile for involvement in atrocities during the right-wing Pinochet dictatorship (1973-1990) completed the PCL-R (CAH sample), along with a comparison sample of 101 men from the community (community sample), and 209 male inmates of a Chilean prison (offender sample). The "Self-Report Psychopathy-Short Form" (SRP-SF) (currently version four) (Paulhus et al 2016) was also completed.

The mean PCL-R total scores of the two groups of prisoners were similar (CAH 21.06, offenders 20.93, community 5.21), but differed on the pattern of responses (figure 4.3). The CAH group scored much higher on interpersonal/affective features and lower on lifestyle/anti-social ones than the offender group. The CAH offenders "generally were extremely grandiose, manipulative, deceptive, callous, and remorseless, about as impulsive, irresponsible, and sensation seeking as other offenders, yet not burdened with a manifest history of delinquent or severe anti-social behaviour. This particular pattern of clinically rated traits and behaviours in a well-defined group of human rights violators is remarkable, even unique, in the empirical literature on psychopathy and terrorism. It appears that ambitious, callous, and ruthless officers were suitable candidates for roles dedicated to suppressing and eliminating proclaimed enemies of the state" (Hare et al 2022 p14). The higher the military rank, the more psychopathic the individual. Almost all of the CAH group

"expressed little or no guilt or remorse and often



(CAH = crimes against humanity)

(Data from Hare et al 2022 table 1)

Figure 4.3 - Mean scores on four elements of PCL-R (out of 2) based on three groups.

claimed to be political prisoners, unaware of any wrongdoing, sworn to silence, and loyal to the cause. Still, the interviews suggested that those with the highest ranks had the most excuses and were the most fervent about their valiant attempts to save the country from the scourge of communism" (Hare et al 2022 p14).

An interesting finding from the SRP-SF was that the CAH group appeared to show little psychopathy (ie: less than the offenders and comparable with the community sample). This presents a challenge to the use of self-reports with individuals with psychopathy. Hare et al (2022), was unsure about this finding, that it "may relate to the extremely high Factor 1 scores of the CAH group, a lack of insight, or unusual ability to 'control the situation' through impression management" (p14).

The CAH sample was a convenience one, and a better comparison group would have been individuals serving in the regime who did not commit atrocities.

Hare et al (2022) ended thus: "we understand that our findings would not surprise the countless victims and

casualties of the Pinochet dictatorship or of any state-sponsored terrorism. Behavioural science often confirms the obvious. It also provides standard metrics for communication of theory and findings and rational discussions among the sundry disciplines and stakeholders concerned with terrorism and its actors. Recognition of the psychological make-up of actors who were responsible for the planning, oversight, and commission of crimes against humanity is of considerable importance. However, the challenge is to use this information for preventative and management purposes, difficult tasks in a world plagued with intractable ideologies and geo-political conflicts, many fostered and facilitated by actors with the temperaments described herein" (p15).

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5. COVID-19 AND HOMICIDE

5.1. INTRODUCTION

The covid-19 pandemic has impacted the world in so many ways, including the apparent increase in homicides in the USA, for example (Messing and AbiNader 2022). Introducing a special issue of the journal "Homicide Studies", Messing and AbiNader (2022) noted that "little is known about the nature and extent of the problem, causal mechanisms, effects of disease reduction policies, or the contexts of homicide during this time" (p327).

The seven articles in the special issue provided "preliminary evidence" that there has been an increase in violence and homicide during the pandemic. But Messing and AbiNader (2022) warned that the evidence is of correlation not causation at this stage.

5.2. HOMICIDE RATE

US homicide rates increased in 2020 compared to 2019 according to some studies (eg: by 30% in thirty-four cities; Rosenfeld et al 2021 quoted in Murray and Davies 2022), but not in others (eg: sixteen cities; Ashby 2020). Meanwhile, overall crime was reported as falling by others (eg: in San Francisco; Shayegh and Malpede 2020 quoted in Murray and Davies 2022).

Explaining any change in homicide rates depends on the theoretical position taken - for example, "strain theory" (eg: Agnew 1992) or "routine activities theory" (eg: Cohen and Felson 1979). The former idea is that "negative events in an individual's life may lead an individual to experience negative emotions that result in pressure that leads to crime" (Murray and Davies 2022 p422). Strains are "most likely to lead to crime when they (a) are seen as unjust, (b) are seen as high in magnitude, (c) are associated with low social control, and (d) create some pressure or incentive for

criminal coping" (Agnew 2006 quoted in Murray and Davies 2022).

Routine activities theory requires three elements - "a motivated offender, a suitable target, and the absence of a capable guardian. A motivated offender is one who is willing, able, and inspired to commit a crime. A suitable target is a person or property that the motivated offender can easily reach or obtain or use as a victim. Lastly, the absence of a capable guardian means there is no one to protect the suitable target or prevent the motivated offender from acting out the crime they intend. Beyond these elements is the routine activity of one's life that presents opportunities for crime" (Murray and Davies 2022 p422).

Murray and Davies (2022) made the following predictions based on these two theories - "we believe strain theory... suggests that homicides should increase following a SAHO [stay-at-home order], but, on the other hand, we believe routine activities theory... suggests that overall homicide should decrease following a SAHO. We expect the opposite effects when SAHOs are lifted. Homicides should decrease according to strain theory as the stresses created by SAHOs should be at least somewhat relieved and, according to routine activities theory, they should increase as the opportunities for interactions between motivated offenders and non-family victims increase" (p425). Data for 2020 on ten US cities (eg: New Orleans, Seattle, Boston) were used to test these predictions.

Murray and Davies (2022) summed up: "Although the majority of results are not statistically significant, the preponderance of substantive evidence suggests that when cities enacted SAHOs homicide increased, at least initially. It is an overstatement to say that the issuance of SAHOs led to more homicides in US cities, but it is also reasonable to believe that SAHOs contributed to a virulent mix of health, social, and economic factors during the early days of a global public crisis with dire and uncertain outcomes" (p439). This favoured the strain theory. In eight of the cities, homicide rates increased after the lifting of SAHOs, which favoured the routine activities theory.

The key evaluations of this study include:

i) The data were a combination of publicly available online sources, official police department information, and from news organisations. The aim was not to analyse statistics in a formal way, but to look for general

patterns (Murray and Davies 2022). In relation to the search terms, for example, "homicide" in news reports or "criminal homicide" in news databases, or charges of "first degree murder" or "second degree murder" in police reports.

ii) The variety of data sources meant different definitions of homicide. "This suggests the results are not as conceptually clear as they could be if a single source and definition had been available to use" (Murray and Davies 2022 p440).

iii) "While offering critical insights into the effects of stay-at-home orders on homicide rates, this study did not examine victim-offender relationship and future research should examine whether patterns differed across distinct types of homicides" (Messing and AbiNader 2022 p330).

5.3. DOMESTIC VIOLENCE AND INTIMATE PARTNER HOMICIDE

Dunne and Mathis (2022) observed: "Staying home might reduce exposure to the virus, but for some families it increases exposure to violence within the home" (p333). This expressed the reality of increased domestic violence (DV) and intimate partner homicide (IPH) with lockdowns and stay-at-home orders during the pandemic (eg: 10-20% more calls to police departments about these crimes in 2020 in the USA; Dunne and Mathis 2022) (table 5.1). Dunne and Mathis (2022) continued: "The global pandemic has exacerbated pre-existing risk factors and circumstances for women vulnerable to DV and intimate partner homicide, and seems to be a further barrier to women's help-seeking for DV" (p334) [22].

Study	Details
Leslie & Wilson (2020)	January-May 2019 & 2020; police calls in 14 cities; no significant increase overall, but an increase in the first five weeks of SAHOs
Piquero et al (2021)	Meta-analysis of 18 studies; overall increase in DV after SAHOs, especially in cities

(Details from Kim 2022)

Table 5.1 - Selected studies on SAHOs and DV in the USA.

[22] "Studies acknowledge that major disasters, whether natural (earthquakes, hurricanes), environmental (dam failures, oil spills), epidemics (Ebola, Zyka), or those caused by man (shootings), exacerbate factors related to behaviours that victimise women and consequently increase the numbers of violence" (dos Santos et al 2022 p404).

Concentrating on the USA, these researchers used data from the "Jeanne Geiger Crisis Centre" (JGCC) (which works with survivors and abusers).

Covid-19 impacted DV and IPH in the following ways:

i) Trends - Early in the pandemic, "an increase in both the complexity of cases and the severity of violence survivors experienced" (Dunne and Mathis 2022 p334). This includes a greater use of firearms, and gun purchases increased generally during the pandemic (eg: 35% increase; Dunne and Mathis 2022).

ii) Survivor decision-making - The pandemic made the decisions of survivors more difficult. Dunne and Mathis (2022) explained that "in the covid-19 era, especially before the development of a vaccine, women's decisions and choices were particularly truncated. Call the police? You were inviting someone into your home that was potentially exposing you and your children to the virus. Going to the hospital for an injury? You were exposing yourself to the virus that you might then bring back to vulnerable people at home. Survivors' decisions about trade-offs, and analysis of what the safer option would be, became skewed in a complicated gamble between a lethal virus and a violent partner, delaying women's connecting with DV services, and resulting in women being more likely to remain at home with an abuser" (p335).

iii) Abuser tactics - Isolation is a tactic often used by abusers, and lockdowns enhanced this strategy. While delays in courts and response systems also played into the hands of abusers.

iv) Response services - Police departments were stretched, probation officers were not undertaking home visits, and other services moved online [23]. Also "a global pandemic takes its toll on advocates, committed to providing the best possible options for survivors in difficult situations. Shifting service delivery options, less contact with colleagues for support, increasing case-loads, heightened risks, and fewer resources available for clients, as well as personal stressors from the pandemic heightened occupational stress and can contribute to secondary traumatic stress" (Dunne and Mathis 2022 p337).

AbiNader et al (2022) described a case of a project

[23] IPH is often in the context of previous violence, and a study in Brazil of a free telephone service for DV victims found that around 16% of homicide victims had called it in the past (dos Santos et al 2022).

impacted by covid-19. The "Preventing and Assessing IPH Risk" (PAIR) Studies were set-up in six (then eleven) US States involving law enforcement and medical examiner case files, interviews with next-of-kin of IPH victims, and surveys with survivors of non-fatal DV. The purpose was to identity risk and protective factors around IPH.

Building trust with face-to-face meetings was immediately impacted, while community partners had increased workloads which limited their participation (eg: helping researchers recruit victims). "At the same time, increased scrutiny on agencies due to high-profile police brutality cases increased department hesitancy to share data due to fears of audits or public critique, even though the PAIR Studies were not directly examining legal intervention deaths. Different understandings within a single department around their legal ability to share data with researchers sometimes created a disjointed, start-stop rhythm to formalising researcher-practitioner partnerships and data collection" (AbiNader et al 2022 pp355-356).

dos Santos et al (2022) analysed data on female homicides in the state of Pernambuco in North-East Brazil for 2015 to 2020 (n = 1222) [24]. The main findings were an increase in the state in 2020, and among the 20-39 age group in 2020. "Globally, this age group represents the majority of the women victims of homicide and may be at greater risk of exposure to intimate partner and family violence than other age groups" (dos Santos et al 2022 pp412-413).

5.4. GUN VIOLENCE

The impact of covid-19 on gun violence specifically in the USA has been described in different ways in different studies (eg: no change vs increase) (table 5.2). Short-term studies (eg: a few months), however, "failed to acknowledge that the pandemic might take a long time to exert its impact on gun violence" (Kim 2022 p380), or that city-level data disguise neighbourhood-level variations.

To overcome these limitations, Kim (2022) used census tract (neighbourhood) data in New York City (NYC) from January 2017 to March 2021, "adjusting for various neighbourhood structural factors that can possibly

[24] Putting these data in context, the UN calculated the global rate of female homicide as 2.3 per 100 000 women in 2017. In Brazil as a whole, it was 4.3 in 2018, and 4.9 in 2019 in Pernambuco (dos Santos et al 2022).

Study	Details
Ashby (2020)	January 2015-May 2020; 25 cities; no significant change in homicides and shootings
Brantingham et al (2021)	January 2016-September 2020; Los Angeles; no significant change in crimes
Kim (2021 quoted in Kim 2022)	January 2016-December 2020; NYC; increase in fatal and non-fatal gun violence in all boroughs
Kim & Phillips (2021)	January 2016-October 2020; Buffalo, New York state; increased gun violence, particularly non-fatal and gang related shootings
Rosenfeld & Lopez (2020)	January 2017-October 2020; 28 cities; aggravated assault, gun assault, and homicide all increased

(Details from Kim 2022)

Table 5.2 - Selected early studies on the pandemic and gun violence in the USA.

confound the pandemic-gun violence association and exploring whether the pandemic interacts with neighbourhood structural factors in its effect on gun violence" (p380).

Also the death of George Floyd and subsequent "Black Lives Matter" (BLM) protests, mostly peaceful, needs to be considered as a confounder. Kim (2022) explained: "There are three causal mechanisms underlying the association between George Floyd protests and gun violence. First, some protesters might be involved in looting, rioting, and shooting out of a sense of injustice after the police involved killing. Second, some vigilante citizens might engage in gun violence for self-defence out of a sense of insecurity during the protests and social unrest. Third, police officers might be disengaged from active law enforcement in response to public criticism and scrutiny about police brutality, in turn increasing gun violence in the absence of active police activities" (p382).

The control variables included the BLM protests, seasonality, poverty, unemployment, and racial/ethnic composition of a neighbourhood.

The overall pattern was no immediate increase in gun violence in March-April 2020 after SAHOs introduced, but dramatic increases in May onwards and peaking in July 2020. "Afterwards, gun violence substantially fell off... by March 2021, but its amount was still higher than that prior to the pandemic" (Kim 2022 p389).

Statistical analyses that controlled the confounding variables, and included interactions between them were

performed. Kim (2022) summarised the key findings as follows:

i) There was an increase in gun violence during the pandemic as the 2020 and 2021 figures were much higher than the three years prior. It was suggested that the stress of the pandemic was responsible (as per strain theory).

ii) Neighbourhood poverty and deprivation were key factors. "Overall, shootings are likely to occur in neighbourhoods with high levels of absolute and relative deprivation" (Kim 2022 p394).

iii) Neighbourhoods with higher percentages of African American and Hispanic residents had higher levels of gun violence, after controlling for deprivation.

iv) A contrary finding, which Kim (2022) could not explain, was that "Manhattan [low deprivation neighbourhood] is more likely than The Bronx [high deprivation] to experience gun violence" (p395).

The data only included shooting incidents reported to the NYC Police Department. Data and variables were analysed at a neighbourhood level, but that assumed a homogeneity in a neighbourhood. There was no information on the type of gun violence because the data were totals.

5.5. MASS SHOOTINGS

Public mass shootings receive disproportionate amounts of news coverage, but they are 1% of homicides in the USA, and homicides generally are less than 1% of all crimes in that country (Schildkraut and Turanovic 2022).

How did covid-19 impact mass shootings? In the first month of lockdown (March-April 2020), there were no news stories of school shootings (because most schools were shut), but 2020 as a whole was reported by "USA Today" as seeing an increase in mass shootings (Schildkraut and Turanovic 2022).

News outlets use the "Gun Violence Archive" (GVA), which defines a mass shooting as four or more people in any location or circumstances. The data comes from over 7500 sources including law enforcement, media, government, and commercial (Schildkraut and Turanovic 2022).

An average of 385 mass shootings per year between

2014 and 2020 emerges from this source. However, more stricter definitions find around twenty public mass shootings per year for the same period (Schildkraut and Turanovic 2022).

Schildkraut and Turanovic (2022) pointed out that "there is no one agreed-upon definition for 'mass shooting' either within or beyond the scholarly community nor is there a universal database cataloguing each event" (pp364-365). Also sources vary on inclusion criteria (eg: shootings that occur during the commission of other crimes, or related to gangs or drugs) (Schildkraut and Turanovic 2022).

Preliminary analysis of the GVA by Pena and Jena (2021) for April 2020 to June 2021 found an additional 343 shootings above expected counts (Schildkraut and Turanovic 2022).

Schildkraut and Turanovic (2022) asked whether public mass shootings moved "indoors" (ie: to more private spaces) during the pandemic. Historically, the 1920s and 1930s in the USA saw mass murders as acts of familicide (eg: farmers killing their families due to agricultural depression). Since the 1960s mass shootings have become more public (Schildkraut and Turanovic 2022).

Schildkraut and Turanovic (2022) analysed the GVA for 11th March 2019 to 14th March 2021 (n = 1067 incidents). The location of each event was coded as public (41.4%) or private (place of residence or just outside) (58.6%). The covid-19 pandemic was declared a national emergency in the USA on 13th March 2020, thus giving data for one year before the pandemic and one year during it. The data were converted into weekly counts for analysis.

Overall, "mass shootings appear to steeply increase in the weeks following the declaration of covid-19 as a national emergency, and then decline gradually until the end of 2020" (Schildkraut and Turanovic 2022 p367). A similar pattern was seen for public and private mass shootings. They "appeared to increase after the national emergency declaration, and each spiked during the week of July 4th... — a public holiday in the United States that commemorates the adoption of the Declaration of Independence... This typically is a time when people participate in large-scale outdoor gatherings and when alcohol-related and violent crimes increase... Although many localities cancelled July 4th celebrations in 2020 to help stop the spread of covid-19..., many individuals continued to gather and in parks, streets, and backyards, as well as with family members" (Schildkraut and

Turanovic 2022 p367).

Two potential confounding variables were controlled for in further analysis - (i) variations in the dates of SAHOs in different States, and (ii) the reaction to the killing of George Floyd on 25th May 2020. These confounders had no impacts on the overall findings.

In summary, private mass shootings increased as the pandemic forced people to stay at home, but public mass shootings also increased unexpectedly. Schildkraut and Turanovic (2022) explained: "Even though people were spending less time in public places such as schools, bars, restaurants, and workplaces — locations where public mass shootings often occur... — we found that many mass shootings still took place in public parks, streets, and open businesses... And though many public places were no longer frequented, there still were various areas where individuals congregated" (p372).

Key evaluations of Schildkraut and Turanovic (2022):

a) The study was based upon one database, though "it is believed that this is the most comprehensive data set including cases where four or more individuals, excluding the perpetrator(s), were shot" (Schildkraut and Turanovic 2022 p373), there may be some events missed.

b) The definition of mass shooting, as previously mentioned, is a point of debate.

c) The researchers' division of location into two categories simplified the wide variability of locations, particularly public.

d) Potential confounding variables not included in the analysis (eg: alcohol consumption and gun sales, which both increased in 2020; Schildkraut and Turanovic 2022).

e) Analysis of only one year of the pandemic.

5.6. HOMICIDE INVESTIGATION

It was estimated that the homicide rate in the USA increased by nearly one-third between 2019 and 2020 (ie: 6.0 to 7.8 homicides per 100 000 persons) (Swisher and AbiNader 2022). Thus, homicide investigation had to continue during the pandemic, and. in fact, caseloads of

police officers increased.

From semi-structured interviews with two police officers in a large metropolitan homicide unit on the East Coast of the USA, Swisher and AbiNader (2022) noted two primary themes:

i) Fear - Early in the pandemic "homicide investigations had to continue with detectives adapting and adjusting based on their limited understanding of covid-19, which was continually shifting. Making this more difficult, there was an increase in the number of homicides and, thus, workload for the homicide unit. Given the rate of infection and death early in the pandemic, there was a sense of dread in the unit, like half of them would be dead by the end. Further, detectives were afraid for the health and well-being of their families" (Swisher and AbiNader 2022 p347).

On the other side, fear of covid-19 magnified the distrust of the police by the public, leading to reduced community co-operation with investigations. "Fear permeated every aspect of homicide investigation, affecting officer capacity and interactions with the community" (Swisher and AbiNader 2022 p347).

ii) Covid-19's impact on homicide investigation - This occurred in a number of ways (sub-themes):

a) Staff capacity - eg: police officers testing positive for covid-19 and/or who became ill had to isolate. "Officers who had to isolate but were asymptomatic could complete writing tasks, such as search warrants, remotely. However, many aspects of homicide investigation cannot be done remotely, which forced the unit to function with less manpower when detectives isolated, regardless of their symptoms. This loss of manpower additionally affected case decision making, as they had to determine what investigative tasks needed to be prioritised and which needed to be dropped due to a decreased workforce" (Swisher and AbiNader 2022 pp347-348).

b) Mask-wearing - Interactions with suspects were more difficult with mandatory mask-wearing, particularly as experienced officers use facial cues during questioning. Masks also allowed suspects and witnesses to hide their identity on CCTV.

c) Meeting with families - Rapport building and connection between police officers and the victim's

family was inhibited.

d) Warrants - Arrests and searches were all impacted. "Detectives had to make difficult decisions about whether a search warrant was necessary, weighing the potential additional evidence gained to the threat of covid-19 exposure. When the potential gain of evidence would not surpass the health risks, detectives elected to strengthen their cases using other means" (Swisher and AbiNader 2022 p349).

e) Court closures - Delays due to the suspension of the court system had an effect on all parties in a case.

5.7. SUICIDE PACTS

A "suicide pact" is "the joint and actively self-induced death of two individuals occurring in the same period of time, in relation to similar reasons and previous mutual consent" (Nardi et al 2022 p1). These are rare, and studies have estimated a frequency ranging from 0.6% to 4% (Nardi et al 2022) (table 5.3).

- Married, socially isolated, and serious physical illness of one or both individuals.
- Reasons include health problems, external pre-marriage relationship complexities (eg: parents refuse to let young couple marry), social isolation, being unable to have children, psychological disorders, and financial problems.
- Recent variation of individuals committing suicide alone but connected via the Internet.

Table 5.3 - Key points from research on suicide pacts generally (Griffiths and Mamun 2020).

The "essential and unavoidable characteristic is mutual consent. Although this pact is generally carried out by mutual agreement, one of the partners (who is dominant in the relationship, commonly male) usually induces the action and, in most cases, is also the one who actively carries it out" (Nardi et al 2022 p1). Explanations include a narcissistic personality disorder in the dominant partner and a dependent personality disorder in the submissive one, along with "a high degree of mutual social isolation, defined as 'encapsulated

unity'. This type of mutual dependence can to transform any adverse external event (such as the loss of a house, deterioration of the health, or impediments to the relationship by third parties) into a threat to the couple's unity, thus eventually triggering the joint suicide" (Nardi et al 2022 p2).

This latter aspect seems relevant to "suicide pacts" during the covid-19 pandemic (eg: Griffiths and Mamun 2020; table 5.4). "The reasons behind covid-19-related suicide pacts may include fear of infection, financial problems, and not being able to return home from abroad" (Nardi et al 2022 p2). Griffiths and Mamun (2020) stated: "Covid-19 pandemic-related issues such as economic recession and movement restriction (ie: isolation, quarantine etc) have led to psychological suffering including anger, annoyance, fear, frustration, guilt, helplessness, loneliness, nervousness, sadness, and worry... For a small minority, this becomes so unbearable that suicide becomes the only option" (p2).

Dealing with overwhelming challenges produced by the pandemic, and a pre-existing psychological vulnerability, like autistic spectrum disorder, was proposed as an explanation of a "suicide pact" case in Italy presented by Nardi et al (2022).

A couple in their 60s, who attempted suicide via CO intoxication and benzodiazepine overdose, were brought to the emergency department of a hospital in January 2022. Subsequently, they were transferred to a psychiatric hospital. Information about the case came from interviews here.

There was no apparent history of psychiatric conditions. Both partners had contracted covid-19 in 2020. Over the period of the pandemic there were financial problems, and subsequent declines in mental heath (eg: suicidal ideation). While in the psychiatric hospital the couple individually completed the self-report "Adult Autism Spectrum" (AdAS Spectrum) questionnaire (Dell'Osso et al 2017). The cut-off score for "full-blown" autism spectrum disorder is 70. The woman scored 49, and the man 67. The AdAS Spectrum includes a number of dimensions, and the couple both scored particularly high on "restrictive interest and rumination", and "inflexibility and adherence to routine".

Though Nardi et al (2022) did gain a picture of the couple's life, much information was not acquired, and other psychiatric conditions were not assessed.

However, Nardi et al (2022) presented a picture of a couple facing stressful circumstances who ruminated (ie:

Location	Date (2020)	Details
Lockport, Illinois, USA	6th April	Man shot partner and self; fear of infection
Amritsar, India	2nd April	Husband and wife took poisonous substance; fear of infection
Uttarakhand, India	16th April	Husband and wife hung themselves from tree after one of them quarantined
Bangladesh	24th April	Couple hung themselves; poverty exacerbated by covid-19 lockdown
Bihar, India	4th May	Wife set fire to self and husband hung himself subsequently; unable to pay loan and find work during lockdown
Tiruchy International Airport, India	4th April	Malaysian attempted suicide with sleeping pills after refused sat on covid-19 rescue flight to home country

Table 5.4 - Six cases of suicide pacts in 2020 found by Griffiths and Mamun (2020) in press reports.

worried) about events, and found adaptation to change difficult. Simply, stressful events plus pre-existing vulnerability equals suicidal behaviour.

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