ESSAYS IN CRIMINAL AND FORENSIC PSYCHOLOGY NO.3

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1.1. INTRODUCTION

In Western societies, approximately a quarter of women report unwanted sexual experiences, and about one in six the experience of rape or attempted rape (Gannon et al 2008). The vast majority of cases of rape are males against adult women, though other types of rape can occur (eg: male against male), and the exact legal definition of the act varies between countries [1].

There is much interest in finding the patterns among offenders, and, in this case, the common characteristics of rapists. Disproportionately more convicted rapists are from lower socio-economic groups, are poorly education, and in unskilled manual jobs. These characteristics are similar to the general prison population (Gannon et al 2008).

The socio-demographic characteristics of rapists are different to child sex offenders, but similar to violent offenders in terms of offending history. Simon (2000) compared the offending history of individuals from these three groups. Rapists and violent offenders were more likely to commit other crimes like theft, burglary, and drug-related offences (ie: non-sexual crimes).

Not all rapists are the same in the sense that there will be different types of rape. This is the search for categories or taxonomies. For example, Groth et al (1977) made the distinction between power or anger motivated rapists. More sophisticated is the Massachusetts Treatment Center Rapist Typology (Knight and Prentky 1990) with nine types:

1. Opportunistic (high social competence) - unplanned and impulsive.
2. Opportunistic (low social competence).
3. Pervasively angry - high level of aggression and anti-

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[1] Rape is a specific legal act, whereas sexual violence is a wider category of behaviours which includes non-rape acts. Most legal definitions of rape refer to penile penetration.

social behaviour generally (ie: anger against the world).

4. Sexually sadistic (overt aggression) - preoccupation with sexual fantasies involving violence.
5. Sexually sadistic (muted aggression).
6. Sexually non-sadistic (high social competence) - preoccupation with sexual fantasies not involving violence.
7. Sexually non-sadistic (low social competence).
8. Vindictive rapists (high social competence) - anger and aggression towards women, not generally.
9. Vindictive rapists (low social competence).

Studies have challenged these categories (Gannon et al 2008).

Canter and Heritage (1990) analysed the victim statements from 66 UK sexual assaults, and found three ways in which the victim is treated:

i) Victim as person - this involves conversation during the attack, even asking whether the woman has a boyfriend. The attacker mistakenly believes they are forming a relationship;

ii) Victim as object - this involves blindfolding and/or gagging. The offender is concerned with control;

iii) Victim as vehicle - violence is used to demean the victim, and is a reflection of the offender's anger.

1.2. THEORIES OF RAPE

As with any theories of criminal and offending behaviour, the explanations can be grouped under two headings - theories that explain why offenders are different to the general population (ie: only certain individuals commit crimes), and theories that explain why anybody could become an offender (ie: any individual is potentially an offender).
Ward and Hudson (1998) divided the explanations into single factor, multi-factor (a combination of single factors), and micro theories (descriptions of how offending occurs).

Gannon et al (2008) proposed a set of criteria by which to assess the theories of rape:

• Empirical adequacy and scope - does the theory account for the existing findings?
• Internal coherence - is the theory logical and consistent?

- Unifying power - does the theory combine other separate theories?
- Fertility - does the theory provide new predictions that can be researched?
- Explanatory depth - does the theory explain underlying processes?

1.2.1. Rapists are Different to the General Population

1. Developmental theories

These theories seek the cause of the rapist's behaviour in their childhood and development. For example, rapists have often experienced sexual and physical abuse, and attachment problems that limit their ability to form intimate relationships as adults. However, such differences are not conclusive (ie: non-rapists experience similar events or some rapist do not) (Gannon et al 2008).

Psychodynamic theories can be included here. Sexual aggression generally originates in the first few years of life, according to Sigmund Freud, as the personality is developing. The consequence effects are in the unconscious mind (ie: inaccessible to consciousness) and determine behaviour.

2. Mental illness

This idea is that rapists are mentally ill in some way and this causes the rape behaviour. The evidence is far from unequivocal. For example, Langstrom et al (2004) investigated all rapists and child molesters released from Swedish prisons between 1993 and 1997 for pre-imprisonment diagnosis of mental illness. Only 1.7% of the rapists had been diagnosed with psychosis, 2.6% any personality disorder, and 9.3% alcohol dependence. It may, of course, have been that many rapists did not seek treatment and thus were not diagnosed. The rates were higher than in the child molester group.

3. Psychopathy

Rapists are more likely to have high PCL-R (Psychopathy Checklist-Revised) scores (the traditional measure of psychopathy) than child molesters - eg: 43% of rapists compared to 7% of child molesters in US prison sample (Vess et al 2004).
The question then becomes what is the cause of the psychopathy.

4. Neurobiological impairment

One way that rapists could be different to the general population is the presence of minor brain damage (or differences) which cause the rape behaviour.

This could appear as structural differences in the brain (eg: smaller areas, blood flow abnormalities) in neuroimaging studies. Any differences found tend to be based on very small samples (eg: ten or less individuals), and not replicated across different studies (Gannon et al 2008).

5. Social-cognitive theories

These ideas focus on how the rapist makes sense of the world using social cognitive processes like beliefs and attributions. For example, Polaschek and Gannon (2004) proposed schemata held by rapists ("rape supportive implicit schema"), which developed in childhood and adolescence:

- "Women as sexual objects" - the belief that women are preoccupied with sex and always interested in that. Thus their behaviour is interpreted in relation to that (eg: clothes worn).

- "Women are dangerous" - women are deceptive, unpredictable, and malevolent. Thus violence as a response towards such beings is "logical".

- "Entitlement" - beliefs in male power and control as a right.

These beliefs go with the view that strong sexual urges cannot (and should not) be controlled (uncontrollability).

Polaschek and Gannon analysed the offence accounts of thirty-seven rapists, and found all the schema present in two-thirds of the cases (eg: belief that women wanted sex despite being forced with a weapon present).

These schema mean that the interactions with women are distorted for men who hold such implicit beliefs. Malamuth and Brown (1994) added a "suspiciousness schema" present in sexually aggressive men generally. Participants in their experiment were shown a video clip of a man approaching a woman in a bar. Her responses were varied between groups to include rejection and acceptance. Men rated as high on sexual aggression misperceived the rejection communication as seduction (eg: playing hard to get), and the acceptance communication as being hostile (eg: women can't be

trusted).

In some cases, non-sexual offending men can show similarities to rapists in such beliefs [2]. Kanin (1985 quoted in Sabini 1995) interviewed around 300 male American undergraduates, of which one-third had admitted to "date rape". The research compared the attitudes of the rapists and the non-rapists, and found little difference in their attitudes, only the matter of degree.

> Both groups admitted attempting to intoxicate the partner with alcohol or falsely professing love in order to manipulate the woman to have sexual intercourse on the date. The 'date rape' was not perceived as an offence when there was a history of intercourse between the couple, or when the man had paid for an expensive outing, or when the woman had agreed to go to the man's house after the date. The same was true if the women asked the man out, or when she waited until late in the sexual encounter to protest (for example, when they were kissing) (Brewer 2000 p34).

More recently, a poll of 715 students at the University of Ulster in Northern Ireland found that many students saw the women to blame for her rape in certain situations. For example, 46% said partially or totally responsible if she behaved in a flirtatious manner, and 30% if wearing "sexy or revealing clothes" (Amnesty International UK 2008).

The problem in communication between men and women is seen in Tannen's (1990) "miscommunication" model. Because men and women use different conversational styles, miscommunication is inevitable, and at the extreme, "neither the man nor the woman involved is able to interpret the other's verbal and non-verbal cues accurately, and the resulting communication breakdown ends in rape" (O'Byrne et al 2006 p134). This has led to the onus on women to clearly say "no": "if more women were able to communicate their disinterest , more of the unwanted sex would be eliminated" (Murnen et al 1989 quoted in O'Byrne et al 2006).
Kitzinger and Frith (1999) were critical of such a view: "male claims not to have 'understood' refusals that conform to culturally normative patterns can only be heard as self-interested justifications for coercive sexual behaviour - justifications that are readily

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[2]   The rape victim is blamed more in scenarios where she was cheating on her husband, had consumed alcohol, had many previous sexual partners, wearing "sexually provocative" clothing, or was acquainted with the perpetrator (Viki et al 2007).

validated by the widespread endorsement within our society of the miscommunication model of rape" (O'Byrne et al 2006 p135).

O'Byrne et al (2006) analysed two focus groups involving nine heterosexual male undergraduates at an Australian university talking about sexual encounters. It showed that the men were able to understand subtle refusals (both verbal and non-verbal) by women. Obviously, this is not a group of rapists, but it does present evidence to challenge the miscommunication idea.

1.2.2. All Men are Potentially Rapists

1. Feminist theories

A number of feminist writers have seen rape as "a conscious process of intimidation by which all men keep all women in a state of fear" (Brownmiller 1975). This is sometimes called "the social control theory of rape" where women generally are controlled and dominated in different ways by men generally in a patriarchal system. Rape is just another means of control within that system. So men are socialised into such a system, which supports rape generally with beliefs ("rape myths") (eg: blaming the victim) [3]. This means that all men are potentially rapists.

Feminists have also highlighted the weakness in the presentation of rapists as strangers. Within the patriarchal system, the rapist is more likely to be a known man (eg: acquaintance, boyfriend, husband [4]) making use of the mechanisms of social control.

Not surprisingly, such ideas produce strong responses (especially from men who do not see themselves as potentially rapists). There is the fact that most men are not convicted of rape. Feminists would reply that "ordinary" men show their social control in the normality of the use of coercion in sexual relations, indirectly with the "rape" of women in pornography, and the support for "rape myths" [5].

Kelly (1988) listed some of the myths about sexual

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[3] Rape myths are "stereotypic beliefs about rape that blame the victim and exonerate the rapist" (Bohner et al 1998).

[4] In a survey of around 1000 married women in 1991, one in seven reported having been raped by their husbands, of whom over 90% had never reported or discussed it with an official agency (Painter 1991).

[5] Among Spanish male students, 15% admitted to some sexual activity with a female partner against her wishes (Martin et al 2005). Lee et al (2005) compared the attitudes of Asian and Caucasian male students towards rape. The former group were more likely to blame the victim.

violence generally [6]:

- "They enjoy/want it".
- "No" means "yes" with a little encouragement.
- "They ask for/deserve it".
- Rape is only "rough sex".
- "They tell lies/exaggerate".
- "If they had resisted they could have prevented it"
  (ie: no marks means consent).

Gavey (1992) highlighted the cultural supports for coercion:

i) The inevitability of penetration;

ii) The absence of female discourses in heterosexual acts;

iii) No meaning in consent or restraint by women as "no" means "yes". so what does "yes" mean?

iv) The fear of abnormality; eg: being seen as "frigid";

v) Female socialisation of self-sacrifice.

Gavey (1992) interviewed women about their sex lives, and, in particular, their coerced experiences of intercourse. One interviewee reported being accused of not caring if she did not have sex when her partner wanted, and a consequent argument developing. While another interviewee admitted giving in to his demands for sex, just for "a few hours rest and peace and quiet".

While Gavey (1996) admitted:

> [S]everal women reported experiences which seemed to me like clear cases of rape or sexual aggression, but which they were reluctant to label as such - thus implicitly accepting them to be within the realm of ordinary heterosexual practice.

In a series of experiments, Jones and Aronson (1973) varied the scenarios around a rape; from a victim who was a virgin, or was provocatively dressed, or was divorced. The latter scenarios were not perceived as so bad by the

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[6] In films like "Gone With The Wind", and Mills & Boon romances women resist while "yearning to be overwhelmed". "Men are therefore able to argue that victims of rape said 'No' but meant 'Yes', scratched, bit and kicked but none the less 'wanted it' because these things happen in 'normal sex'" (Radford 1996 p237).

participants reading the stories.

Bohner et al (1998) found a strong correlation among 125 male students between rape myth acceptance (RMA) (ie: the victim is to blame) and the proclivity to rape (RP). This latter behaviour was measured using the "Attraction Toward Sexual Aggression" Scale, which includes items like "many women really want to be raped" [7].

Viki et al (2007) explored the role of sexist humour in increasing the "acceptability" of rape by increasing the blame on the victim and reducing the perceived seriousness of the behaviour. One hundred and twenty male students at a British university were divided into four independent groups based on exposure to sexist or non-sexist humour, and a scenario about stranger or acquaintance rape (table 1.1). These were the two independent variables.

	SEXIST HUMOUR	NON-SEXIST HUMOUR
ACQUAINTANCE RAPE SCENARIO	1	3
STRANGER RAPE SCENARIO	2	4

Table 1.1 - Four conditions in the experiment by Viki et al (2007).

The participants were presented with four jokes to rate for funniness. In the sexist humour conditions, three of the jokes were sexist and one non-sexist, and the opposite for the non-sexist humour conditions (table 1.2). Then the participants read one of two stories: "The acquaintance rape scenario described a story of a woman (Kathy) who went to a party where she met and got acquainted to a man named Jason. Later that night she invited him to her apartment where he subsequently raped her. In contrast, the stranger rape vignette described a story of a woman (Kathy) who was approached and attacked by a man (Jason) while she was walking home from a restaurant" (Viki et al 2007 p125).

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[7] Rape proclivity and rape myth acceptance tend to be measured indirectly by self-reports. For example, scenarios are presented describing rape (without using the word) and the men indicate their views (eg: acceptability of male behaviour; degree to which victim is to blame).

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Non-Sexist Jokes

Psychiatrist: What's your problem?
Patient: I think I'm a chicken.
Psychiatrist: How long has this been going on?
Patient: Ever since I was an egg!

How do you know when elephants have had sex in your house? The trash
can liners are missing!

What's the difference between a golfer and a skydiver? A golfer goes
whack… "Damn!" A skydiver goes "Damn!" … whack.

Why was the leper stopped for speeding? He couldn't take his foot off
the accelerator!


Sexist Jokes

Why are women like carpets? If you lay them properly the first time,
you can walk all over them for years.

Why do women have small feet? So they can get closer to the sink!

How many men does it take to change a light bulb? None let her do the
dishes in the dark.

What is the best thing about a blowjob? Ten minutes silence (Viki et
al 2007 p131).
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Table 1.2 - Jokes used in Viki et al (2007)

The dependent variables were:

i) Self-reported rape proclivity - five questions
about how likely the individual would be to behave like
Jason:

- "How likely is it that you would have behaved like
  Jason in this situation?";
- "How sexually aroused would you have felt in the
  situation?";
- "How much would you enjoy getting your way in this
  situation?";
- "Do you agree that in sexual encounters women like to
  be taken?";
- "How likely is it that Kathy eventually enjoyed being
  taken in this situation?" (Viki et al 2007 p126).

ii) Victim blame - five questions used on a seven-
point scale:

- "How much do you think Kathy should blame herself for
  what happened?";
- "How much control do you think Kathy had over the

situation?"; "How much control do you think Jason had over the situation?";

- "How much do you agree Kathy should not have invited Jason over (or walked with Jason) if she did not want to have sex with him?";
- "Whose fault do you think it is, that things turned out the way they did?";
- "How much sympathy do you feel for Kathy?" (Viki et al 2007 pp125-126).

    iii) Perceived seriousness of rape - rated between 1 (not very serious) to 11 (very serious).
    Also recommendation for sentence length for the crime of between 0-21 years was asked for.

    Condition 1 (sexist humour/acquaintance rape) had significantly higher levels of rape proclivity and victim blame, and significantly lower levels of perceived seriousness of rape and recommended sentence length than the other conditions (table 1.3).
    Viki et al (2007) concluded that: "Our findings indicate that sexist jokes cannot only encourage the tolerance and expression of subtle discrimination in men, but may also lead to a greater self-reported propensity to commit sexual violence against women and also a greater propensity to blame rape victims for their victimisation. This appears to be especially the case within acquaintance rape situations" (p128).
    They explain the findings as sexist jokes provide a situational norm which makes violence towards women "acceptable", especially with acquaintance rape where the victim is more likely to be blamed anyway. Ford and Ferguson (2004) proposed the prejudiced norm theory which argued that acceptance of a prejudiced joke is acceptance of the norms implied in it.

Conditions:	Sexist/Acq	Sexist/Str	Non/Acq	Non/Str
Rape proclivity (out of 7) *	2.45	1.42	1.96	1.54
Victim blame (out of 7) **	4.01	3.47	3.67	3.62
Perceived seriousness (out of 11) ***	9.77	10.63	10.36	10.24
Recommended sentence length (years)	5.93	10.83	6.21	13.13

(* Higher score = behave like Jason; ** Higher score = blame victim; *** Higher score = more serious; Acq = acquaintance rape scenario; Str = stranger rape scenario; Non = non-sexist jokes)

Table 1.3 - Mean scores on dependent variable measures in four groups of Viki et al (2007).

2. Evolutionary theories

Though very different to feminist theories, these ideas view all men as potential rapists because rape has an evolutionary basis. This means that it is a behaviour that has (or had in the evolutionary past) evolutionary benefits for the men who use it (eg: Thornhill and Palmer 2000). "A common misconception of this evolutionary approach is mistaking it as biological determinism (ie: the premise that rape is biologically programmed in males and so is an excusable behaviour). Thornhill and Palmer, for example, argue that rape is only one type of sexual strategy used by males — unconsciously — when they are unable to secure sexual access through social status, or attractiveness, when the relative costs of raping appear low, and when men are in a position of ultimate physical control over the women" (Gannon et al 2008 p990).

Support is quoted in the form of forced copulation in different animal species where males lack access to females.

Statistically, though, many rapes are committed on individuals not of child-bearing age (ie: children and older women) (Ochert 2000).

1.2.3. Multi-factor theories

1. Confluence model of sexual aggression

Malamuth (1996) combined evolutionary ideas with environmental and social factors. There is an evolutionary tendency for males to seek multiple partner impersonal sexual encounters which is countered by the evolutionary tendency for women to seek selective mating with long-term partners. Thus there is conflict, and whether the thwarted men resort to coercion depends upon certain factors like upbringing, and the social and cultural context that inhibit or disinhibit such behaviours (eg: hostility towards women; rape myth acceptance; anti-social personality characteristics).

2. Integrated theories

There are may different integrated theories, and here are two examples.

Marshall and Barbaree (1990) combined four sets of factors:

• Biological - male hormonal activity in adolescence that increases sexual and aggressive impulses;

- Developmental - childhood experiences influence how these impulses are channelled;

- Socio-cultural - eg: cultural views about women (which individuals with adverse childhood experiences are more willing to accept);

- Situational - factors that prompt the rape like intoxication, or rejection by a woman.

Hall and Hirschman (1991) proposed the combination of four factors as well, but one factor is more dominant for each rapist - physiological sexual arousal, cognitive distortions, affective dyscontrol, and personality traits.

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2. SEXUAL OFFENCES AGAINST ELDERLY WOMEN

2.1. INTRODUCTION

"That an elderly woman has been viciously sexually assaulted appears, on its surface, to be incongruous with what the public at large and even most law enforcement officers associate with a sexual assault offence. Sexual assault, in the minds of many lay and professional people, is believed to be motivated by sexual arousal and desire on the part of the offender" (Safarik et al 2002 pp501-502).

Sexual offending against older women is a neglected sub-group of sexual offences generally where offenders show differences to other victim group attackers (Jeary 2005).

Groth (1978), in one of the first studies of men convicted of attacks on older women, found the use of exceptionally high levels of violence on stranger victims. Pollack (1988) confirmed this finding in a comparison with men who sexually assaulted younger women. Hostility and anger in the attack that inflicted pain and degradation including killing and mutilating their victims were evident.

Elderly women are more vulnerable than younger women in terms of physically less capable of fleeing or defending themselves, and more likely to live alone (Safarik et al 2002).

2.2. UK STUDY

Jeary (2005) reported a detailed study of convicted offenders in the UK using official data from HM Prison Service and the National Probation Directorate. The age of the victim was not always officially recorded which limited the study, but fifty-four cases of sexual offences against women over sixty years old were collected and analysed. These were supplemented with a small number of interviews with prisoners and practitioners/professionals.

The type of offences were divided into four groups:

- Sexual assault and killing (12 cases).
- Rape/attempted rape (20 cases).
- Indecent assault/alleged indecent assault (20 cases).
- Sexual harassment (2 cases) - Here meaning "the deliberate targeting of elderly women who were sent offensive, sexually explicit letters anonymously".

In terms of the first two groups of offence, two-thirds of cases were committed by young offenders (16-30 years old) usually in the victim's home who was a stranger. The attacks by older offenders were usually on known victims, and more likely to be in residential care homes. Clear-cut patterns were not so evident for the other two groups of offences.

Despite the concerns about self-reports of perpetrator's motives, some themes emerged from interviews with them.

i) Financial gain - Though reference was made to burglary as the motive of offenders, in only three cases was there evidence of theft after the attack. Safarik et al (2002) felt that the attack was the focus and robbery was an afterthought rather than the sexual assault being an unplanned consequence of a burglary gone wrong.

ii) Influence of drugs and alcohol - Official records suggested that many offenders were under the influence of drugs or alcohol at the time of the attack. But this enabled the attack by disinhibiting the perpetrator rather than causing it.

iii) Countering sexual inadequacy - The inability to perform sexually in consenting, age-appropriate relationships emerged as a theme, and the consequent "feelings of sexual inadequacy lead the men to seek out victims who would potentially be least able to resist, to mock, or to report on their sexual performance" (Jeary 2005 p337).
This has also been said about and by paedophiles. In fact, Jeary found that 20% of the offenders had a previous conviction for sexual offences against children. Professionals interviewed saw the common factors "as the offender's belief in the unlikelihood of disclosure: 'They won't, or can't tell'. It makes life simpler for the offenders to choose such victims when the main motivation is sexual gratification rather than violence or aggression" (Jeary 2005 p341).

iv) Sexual attraction towards older women - Around

20% of offenders confessed to professionals that they had had sexual fantasies about older women prior to the attacks.

v) Power, control, and revenge - The opportunity to exert power and control by men lacking such things in everyday life was reported. "Some subsequently acknowledged feelings of 'dominance', of 'being able to do exactly what I liked with her', of 'a sense of power', of 'being sure I could get away with it, because she was helpless', and so on, during the process of the offences" (Jeary 2005 p339).

Sometimes the power and control was part of a desire for revenge against the victim or women generally. "In some cases they were harbouring long-standing resentments at what they perceived to be unjustified criticisms by their mother, grandmother, or other significant person such as a teacher" (Jeary 2005 p339).

vi) Childhood abuse - About half of the offenders had reported childhood abuse of some type, while one-third reported no history, and for the remainder, it was unclear.

2.3. SEXUAL HOMICIDES

The murder of elderly women is rare. For example, of 15 553 murders in the USA reported to the FBI in 1999, 499 were of women over sixty years old (3.2%) (and 313 of men of the same age) (Safarik et al 2002).

Safarik et al (2002) studied in depth the solved cases of 128 older women murdered in the USA between 1976 and 1999. The offenders were equally divided between White and Black, and tended to live near to the victim (travelling to the crime scene by foot). They had prior criminal convictions for other offences, worked in unskilled jobs and were unemployed, and had lower education.

In terms of the crime scene and behaviour of offenders, it was classed more often as impulsive or disorganised (as opposed to organised; FBI 1985; table 2.1); eg: body left at death scene, evidence left at scene including weapon used, little or no planning [8].

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[8] Attributes to distinguish organised and disorganised murder scenes include body disposition; criminal sophistication; planning; evidence consciousness; protects identity; sexual activity; weapon; forensic awareness; use of restraints; and level of force. Offenders are distinguished on criteria like work history; criminal history; intelligence; social skills; substance abuse; and travel and search patterns (Safarik et al 2002).

ORGANISED	DISORGANISED
MURDER SCENE	
- Planned	- Spontaneous
- Victim probably stranger	- Victim known by offender
- Body hidden or attempt to hide	- Body not hidden or no attempt to hide
- Evidence hidden or removed eg: weapon used	- No attempt to hide or remove evidence
MURDERER	
- More-than-average intelligence	- Less-than-average intelligence
- Controls own behaviour eg: does not show anger in everyday life	- Uncontrolled behaviour
- Socially competent	- Socially incompetent

(After FBI 1985)

Table 2.1 - Some of the main characteristics of organised and disorganised murder scenes and murderers.

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3. NON-FATAL HANGING: ANALYSIS OF A DATABASE

In England and Wales, half of male suicides and one-third of female suicides in 2006 involved hanging (ONS 2008). In terms of non-fatal self-harm, it is much less common than self-poisoning (Hawton et al 2008).

Non-fatal self-harm can be studied more effectively than fatal cases, not least because the perpetrator can be questioned about their motivation after the event. But this is only true for cases known about (ie: those seeking help).

The Oxford Monitoring System for Attempted Suicide [9] (established in 1976) records all non-fatal self-harm presentations (irrespective of suicidal intent) to the John Radcliffe Hospital in Oxford, England (table 3.1). Staff in the emergency department used special recording forms.

Hawton et al (2008) used this database to compare non-fatal hangings and self-poisonings between 1978 and 2005. Cases were matched for gender, age, and date of presentation. This is known as a case-control study. Researchers found all the occurrences of a particular behaviour (case) and compare them to a matched group of another behaviour (control).

During the study period, there were 166 individuals presenting with non-fatal hanging (who were matched to 332 individuals self-poisoning). Statistical analysis of the data produced the following patterns:

i) More males presented with non-fatal hanging (72.9%) (figure 3.1). This is a ratio of three men to one woman. Traditionally, men use more violent means of suicide or attempted suicide than women. While non-fatal self-poisoning is more common among women.
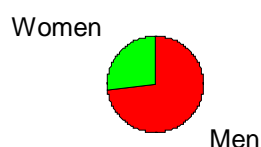

Figure 3.1 - Men and women presenting with non-fatal hanging.

ADVANTAGES	DISADVANTAGES
1. The information is collected on the spot over a long period of time.	1. It is often difficult to verify the accuracy of the information; eg: staff forgetting to complete form.
2. The database contains more information than researchers can usually collect themselves.	2. The problem of missing information.
3. The large amount of data allows statistical analysis to highlight patterns.	3. The researchers are dependent upon the definitions and categories used in the database.
4. Better than a general population survey for behaviours that are infrequent, and hidden from public view.	4. Only includes cases where individuals presented for help/came to notice of authorities.
5. Completed by professional who work in field and understand the behaviour being studied (ie: not lay people or general population).	5. Not possible to go back if new information is required at a later date (eg: new variable). So needs original form to be very extensive (just in case), which can then be time-consuming and off-putting to complete.

Table 3.1 - Advantages and disadvantages of using a database like the Oxford Monitoring System for Attempted Suicide.

        ii) The number of self-harm presentations involving hanging increased significantly over the study period as did the number of self-harm episodes generally. For example, in the period 1978-84 sixteen of 6139 self-harm episodes involved hanging (0.26%) compared to 121 of 11 403 (1.06%) in 1999-2005. This is in line with the increase in fatal hanging in the UK over a similar period (Gunnell et al 2005).

        iii) Individuals with non-fatal hanging were more likely to be living alone, living in an institution, and to have a higher Suicidal Intent Scale (SIS; Beck et al 1974) score [10], and less use of alcohol beforehand than self-poisoners.
        Together these two last factors suggested to the authors that individuals were making a "serious" attempt at suicide rather than self-harming.

        Subsequent death was investigated up to the end of 2000 for those presenting between 1978 and 1997 (Hawton

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[10]   Examples of items: Suicide Note - 1. Absence of note; 2. Note written, but torn up; note thought about; 3. Presence of note.Overt communication of intent before the attempt - 1. None; 2. Equivocal communication; 3. Unequivocal communication.   Copy of SIS at http://www.scribd.com/doc/14259910/Beck-Suicide-Intent-Scale.

et al 2003). There were more for the hanging group (23.1%
vs 16.2%), and more from suicide (5 vs 0 cases).

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4. UNDERSTANDING CRIME: ASPECTS OF "HATE CRIME"

4.1. INTRODUCTION

"Hate crime" is a term used for crimes motivated by prejudice based on race/ethnicity/skin colour, religion, sexual orientation, gender, and disability. It can vary from verbal abuse to property damage to physical violence. There is no agreed definition of "hate crime", but one researcher defined it as "an illegal act involving intentional selection of a victim based on a perpetrator's bias or prejudice against the actual or perceived status of the victim" (Craig 2002 p86).

The Los Angeles County Commission on Human Rights was one of the first to attempt to collect data for racial, religious, and sexual orientation-based incidents. For example, in 1989, there were 167 racial-based incidents reported (of which 31.8% were assaults or attempted assaults), 125 religious-based incidents (8.8% assaults), and 86 sexual orientation-based (62.8% assaults) (Nardi and Bolton 1991).

Nationally, in the US, for 2002, the FBI recorded 7462 "hate crimes": 48.8% racially motivated, 19.1% religious, 16.7% sexual orientation, and 0.6% motivated by mental and physical disability bias (Hall 2005).

4.2. PERPETRATORS

This type of crime is perceived as committed by strangers (or virtual strangers) towards victims based on the latter's group membership. For example, a study of Boston police records in the 1980s found that 85% of cases involved perpetrators unknown to the victims (Levin and McDevitt 2002). But other studies show a sizeable minority, possibly up to half, of cases where the perpetrators are known to the victim (Mason 2005).

A study of racist incidents recorded by the Metropolitan Police Service (MPS) in London found that only 10% of the perpetrators were strangers, while nearly 20% were "neighbours" and 15% "colleagues/customers" (Stanko et al 2003).

The nature of the relationship between perpetrator and victim will depend upon the type of "hate crime", how it is recorded (ie: details taken by police), and definitions used.

Mason (2005) explored the nature of the perpetrator-victim relationship using records collected by the MPS as part of an ongoing database on hate-crime incidents. Twenty cases flagged as a racial incident (RI) from January 2001, and twenty cases defined as a homophobic incident (HI) from January-June 2001 were analysed in detail.

The majority of victims in RI were female (65%), but male for HI (75%). In both types of incidents, the victims were aged between 31-50 years old. Physical injury was rare in the sample, and the main location of the incidents was near the victim's home (table 4.1). The perpetrators were more likely to be male than female (2:1 ratio).

> Case Study 4: An example of a racial incident occurring near/at the victim's home involved a 36-year-old Indian/Pakistani woman who was surrounded in her car, parked in the car park at her housing estate, by a group of about ten youths. When the victims asked the youths to leave, they subjected her to racial abuse such as "You Paki bitch" and "What are you going to do you Paki bitch, call the police?". The victim, who was six months' pregnant, was clearly upset, and stated that "her children do not go out to play for fear of intimidation" (p850).

Table 4.1 - Example of case study from Mason (2005).

In the vast majority of cases, the victim "knew" the perpetrator(s) (eg: 82.5% "neighbour/local to home"). In many cases, the incident was part of an ongoing problem. A picture emerged from this study of hate crimes not as "stranger danger", but as perpetrated by young males in the neighbourhood of the victim.

However, the nature of the victim-perpetrator relationship was not simply whether the victim knew the perpetrator. Police records and data analysis tend to use categories like "stranger", "casual", and "well-known" for the perpetrator. Mason (2005) felt that this was too simplistic:

> Perpetrators of harassment are not, in the main, complete strangers to the victims. Victims have some knowledge of the perpetrator's identity but they rarely knew them well .. Perpetrators are often persons whom the victim has seen before,

passed in the street or served in a shop. This
kind of knowledge makes the perpetrator more than
a total stranger. However, as a form of familiarity,
this is far removed from the depth of intimacy that
exists between friends, partners or family members. []
This means that a perpetrator may be "known" to a
victim in one capacity (as a neighbour) yet be a
stranger to him or her in every other sense. Quite
simply, racist and homophobic harassment .. appears
to occur between people who "know" each other in
ambiguous and contradictory ways (Mason 2005 pp854-855).

4.3. HATE CRIME PREVENTION

There are situations where hate crimes are committed
by organised groups like right-wing extremists. Such
groups can encourage an environment of intolerance and
thrive on its existence. For example, a background
culture of racism encourages and legitimises hate crimes
against ethnic minorities (eg: Ray et al 2004; Greater
Manchester, England; appendix 4A).

The existence of right-wing extremism is a challenge
in some parts of Germany [11], particularly if such groups
are seen as "acceptable" by a sizeable minority of
people. Strobl et al (2005) explored strategies to deal
with such groups and the problem of hate crimes in two
East-German towns (given the pseudonyms, Königsforst and
Steinfee). A combination of methods were used in the
study - focus groups with teachers and pupils,
qualitative interviews with individuals in local criminal
justice system, participant observation, and content
analysis of local newspapers - between 2000 and 2002.

Both towns had a history of violent attacks on
ethnic minorities and asylum seekers by right-wing
extremist groups. Simply punishing the offenders was not
enough to stop such groups gaining a foothold in the
towns. Public involvement by the community which
emphasised democratic norms and the unacceptability of
hate crimes was required.
The responses of the two towns to the increasing
number of hate crimes, and the consequent negative
national press coverage was investigated. Königsforst
responded with general public discussion of democratic
norms and values including respectful treatment of asylum
seekers. Public campaigns like "For A Colourful
Königsforst" aimed at "improving life for everyone in our
town". Local politicians and respected citizens visited

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[11] Kundnani (1999) reported work from Germany showing clear differences in the rates of "racist attacks" on non-Germans. In the former West Germany (FDR), it was 2.5 per 100 000 of the population compared to sixty-one in the former East Germany (GDR).

refugees to express solidarity. Overall, there was a delegitimising of right-wing views and an emphasising of democratic norms.

In Steinfee, public discussion focused on increasing the powers of police (and authorities) and on "reducing juvenile violence". Attempts to treat left-wing and right-wing groups equally was seen as support for the latter by outsiders. The focus was upon the "experts" (eg: police, social workers) solving the problem.

Königsforst was seen as a successful example of positive general prevention of hate crimes, though there was no statistical evidence to support this view. Such a policy "does not necessarily lead to a measurable decline in offences in the short term. However, it encourages victims to report offences to the police, it reassures members of ethnic minorities that they are part of the local community and it helps to create an awareness for essential norms and values and for a positive identity of the town" (Strobl et al 2005).

4.4. APPENDIX 4A - RAY ET AL (2004)

From the side of the offender, Ray et al (2004) interviewed "racist offenders" in Greater Manchester, and found out about the role of unacknowledged shame being transformed into fury and violence against South Asians "who are perceived as more successful, but illegitimately so" (p350).

For these researchers, racism is an emotional process rather than a cognitive one. From the thirty-two interviews, four themes emerged as the offenders:

> [C]onstructed themselves as the "real" victims
> in the incidents of violence in which they had
> been involved; how they expressed a sense of
> unfairness and grievance when they compared their
> social position with that of south-Asians; how
> they contrasted their own weakness and powerlessness
> with what they perceived as the power, privileges
> and success of their victims; and how they spoke
> of being disparaged and despised by their victims
> (Ray et al 2004 p357).

Here are some examples from the interviews of the four themes:

i) Sense of victimization - "Black people and Asian people are also racist towards us, and that does get looked over a lot.. There's Asian lads beating up white lads.. but as soon as a white man beat an Asian man up, straight away it comes down to racism.." (p358);

ii) Unfairness and injustice - "I've been to the social to try to get a loan and there's totally No. And there's black people and Asian people in there and they are giving them loans, hundreds they are.." (p361);

iii) Power, success and solidarity - "They are going to be owning everything, and they are just going to take over and we will be pushed aside" (p362);

iv) Arrogance and contempt - "But they don't seem to mix the-erm-Pakistanis, they don't seem to mix with our English people, British people. Because if you speak to them they don't answer" (p364).

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5. RATIONAL THINKING, PARANOIA, AND CRIMINAL BEHAVIOUR

5.1. PARANOIA

Put simply, ordinary individuals in their everyday lives are rational and logical beings who hold beliefs based on common sense. Individuals suffering from mental disorders are the ones who are illogical and irrational. Such individuals can suffer from delusions and paranoia, while "normal" people do not. Reality is far from that simple, and in many cases, there is not clear cut-off point between rational and irrational thinking, and between delusions and truth. In fact, most people in their everyday lives are illogical and irrational in the pure sense of logic and rationality.

Harper (2010) argued that there are fundamental assumptions made about paranoia and delusions which are flawed.

1. Something is either true or not.

DSM-IV (APA 1994) describes delusions as false beliefs held despite proof to the contrary, and what others believe. There are many cases where it is clear that a belief is false like the sun revolves around the earth. Yet this was the belief held by the majority in the past.

However, there are may situations where it is harder to prove that a belief is false. For example, an individual claims that others are trying to harm them. Psychiatrists faced with individuals making these claims tend to assume it is a symptom of delusional thinking. Maher (1988) quoted the case of Martha Mitchell, who was the wife of John Mitchell, Attorney General to President Richard Nixon at the time of the Watergate affair in the USA [12]. She claimed that she had been kidnapped by Nixon's staff to stop her talking to the press. Initially, this

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[12] Details at http://www.washingtonpost.com/wpsrv/politics/special/watergate/index.html.

was viewed as a delusion (particularly with Nixon's staff circulating stories about mental health problems).

Subsequently, when full details of the Watergate affair emerged, Mitchell's claim was also substantiated. The phrase the "Martha Mitchell Effect" has been coined for "delusions" that turn out to be true or partly true.

Establishing whether something is true or not is even harder today with the growth of relativism (as opposed to realism). "Relativism denies that there is any single universal standard for judging the truth of different descriptions" (Wetherell and Still 1996). Realism, which is the key to the scientific worldview, sees it as possible to establish truth as opposed to non-truth. In terms of the social world, there is ambiguity and subjectivity which restricts the ability to establish an objective truth. Relativism allows for multiple viewpoints on the social world. However, the downside is that conflict is difficult to resolve if both opposing parties assume that they are right.

A simple compromise in relation to false beliefs is to say that sometimes they can be proved wrong, and other times they cannot. But which is which for the many views of "conspiracy theorists" today is open to question, and it becomes a matter of belief. For example, were the two planes that crashed into the World Trade Centre in New York on September 11 2001 piloted by terrorists (as the "official" view says and most people accept) or were the planes radio-controlled by "State" organisations [13]?

2. Who decides a belief is false?

In a world of relativism, different viewpoints come to be judged by "authority figures" as true or not. So, for example, an individual's belief of persecution is assessed as accurate by a psychiatrist. "In the diagnostic interview, one person's version of reality (the mental health professional) is viewed as much more valid than the other's version of reality (the service user)" (Harper 2010 p20). This is the issue of power, and those individuals/groups who are able to define reality.

3. Delusional views are only held by a few individuals.

Different surveys find that a sizeable number of

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[13] See "official" details at http://govinfo.library.unt.edu/911/report/index.htm, and examples of conspiracies at http://debunk911myths.org/topics/Main_Page.

people (even the majority) hold views that are "unproven" scientifically as well as those beliefs that are paranoid. For example, Peters et al (1999) found that a large number of the general population hold views regarded as delusional on the Peters et al. Delusional Inventory (PDI) (appendix 5A).

The issue is not the holding of the view, but whether it interfered with the person's life (Harper 2010).

In fact, "reasonable suspicion" may be a logical reaction in a post-modern society with "a landscape constantly radiating with 'low-level fear' and saturated by compelling media voices which obsessively recite stories of permanent catastrophe, random brutality, and constant dissatisfaction" (Gottschalk 2000 p37). Paranoia and a reluctance to trust others become "healthy" strategies in such a world.

4. Delusions are meaningless.

The holding of delusional beliefs can be meaningful to the individual, for example, as a means of protecting themselves from things about themselves or the world around them. In the latter case, Mirowsky and Ross (1983) found a correlation between persecutory beliefs and low social status among Mexican women. These women in poor situations experiencing powerlessness and exploitation believed that others were working against them to stop them succeeding. Such beliefs, whether literally true or not, helped the individuals to cope.

Cromby and Harper (2005) preferred to see "paranoia" as "a kind of story embodied within us as a result of our experiences in life. By connecting apparently unconnected happenings, such a belief may help someone to make sense of a confusing world when they feel influenced by forces beyond their immediate perceptions" (Harper 2010 p21).

5.2. CRIMINAL BEHAVIOUR AND THINKING

Since the 1970s, there has been the development of "rational choice" models, with the common assumption that most criminal acts are based on a form of means-end deliberation (ie: the criminal act is a means to a particular end or goal). It does not mean that the decisions are rational in an objective sense. In other words, there is a "reasoning criminal" - a rational decision-maker (Hollin 1989).

An alternative view is known as the "deterrence

hypothesis". Crime is due to a lack of general deterrence (ie: the threat of punishment) or specific deterrence (ie: the actual punishment of future behaviour). Thus a calculation is made by the criminal of subjective benefits against the costs of deterrence before a crime is committed. This simple equation is probably more applicable to "instrumental crimes" (with material benefits, like robbery), than "expressive crimes" (like sexual offences which are non-material needs) (Blackburn 1993).

These models tend to view individuals as more rational and "undeluded" than they are. Criminals are not rational in their decision-making about crime in many cases, and they are paranoid and deluded in many of their beliefs. This is both similar and different to non-criminals.

For example, all individuals are affected by the situation. The concept of "environmental criminology" assumes that criminals choose when to commit a crime based on environmental opportunities and situational constraints. Cohen and Felson (1979) analysed patterns of property crime in the 1960s in America, and found they reflected the change in society. For example, the increasing number of married women working meant the house was empty during the day, and thus there was an increase in daytime burglary.

Similarly, there has been a lot of interest in "opportunist crime". These are crimes committed without planning because the opportunity arises, like the keys left in the ignition of a parked car.

Yochelson and Samenow (1976) found over 40 differences in thinking patterns of persistent offenders, including a lack of any perspective of time, irresponsible decision-making, perception of themselves as the victims, and super-optimism (ie: unrealistic belief of invulnerability).

But the sample of 240 persistent offenders used by Yochelson and Samenow were judged "Not Guilty by Reason of Insanity". There was also no control group of non-offenders by which to make a comparison (Brewer 2000).

Yet "super-optimism" is common in many everyday perceptions of risk.

5.2.1. Denials

One set of false beliefs that are used generally in the population and applied specifically by criminals is denials (or "techniques of neutralisation"; Sykes and

Matza 1957 [14]). The "attempt to separate the act from the personal responsibility for the act" (Byers et al 1999).

Sykes and Matza (1957) have proposed five techniques of neutralisation which allows criminals to deny their actions are wrong or harmful.

- Denial of responsibility (eg: blaming their upbringing) - "the delinquent approaches a 'billiard ball' conception of himself in which he sees himself as helplessly propelled into new situations" (p667).

- Denial of injury to victim - eg: vandalism is "mischief", and "does not really cause any great harm".

- Denial of victim - transforming the victim into "a person deserving injury".

- Condemnation of condemners (ie: critical of criminal justice system) - "a bitter cynicism directed against those assigned the task of enforcing or expressing the norms of the dominant society" (p668).

- Appeal to higher loyalties (eg: peers).

These processes can be seen at work in a study of "hate crimes" against the Amish in the USA. Byers et al (1999) interviewed offenders who had committed "hate crimes" against the Amish community in America. The local term is "claping", which describes harassment, intimidation, and vandalism.

Here are examples from the interviews showing neutralisation at work (38 neutralisations in total made by eight interviewees):

i) Denial of responsibility (10.5% of neutralisations used): "The harassment was almost common nature" (interviewee 1; p82);

ii) Denial of injury (31.5%): "..no one really ever got hurt, and it wasn't really all that much property damage" (interviewee 2; p85);

iii) Denial of victim (23.7%): "I always thought they were lesser intelligence.." (interviewee 2; p87);

iv) Condemnation of condemners (15.8%): "I know

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[14]   Sykes and Matza (1957) noted that "much delinquency is based on what is essentially an unrecognised extension of defences to crimes, in the form of justifications for deviance that are seen as valid by the delinquent but not by the legal system or society at large" (p666).

almost all the cops.. they have probably had their fair
share of claping.." (interviewee 3; p91);

 v) Higher loyalties (18.4% of neutralisations used):
"..it was kind of like male bonding.." (interviewee 4;
p89).

 Denials have also been studied among child sex
offenders. Mezey et al (1991) noted the following types
in group therapy:

- Denial of the act - eg: the claim that the victim was a
  "mature woman" of 14 years old when, in fact, she had
  been ten years old.

- Denial of the child as a person - eg: one man described
  his victim as "a blob.. a little puppy that followed me
  around the house" (p16).

- Denial of the child as a victim - the child was
  presented as "not only a willing participant but an
  instigator of the sexual activity", even of seduction
  of an adult at three years old.

- Denial of adult responsibility - eg: blaming the wife,
  partner or child's mother for "allowing" the abuse and
  not stopping the offender, or not paying enough
  attention to the offender.

- Denial of the consequences for the child - trivialising
  the effects of the abuse.

- Denial of the consequences for the offender - eg:
  belief that man could return to his daughters (victims)
  after the punishment was over.

 Maletzky (1998) gave examples of the denials by male
exhibitionists (table 5.1). Riordan (1999) found that
"the experience of indecent exposure is likely to
reinforce those fears (of sexual crime) rather than to
exacerbate them.. It is not in any sense a trivial
offence" (p315).
 Seventy-two questionnaires were distributed to
postgraduate students, university administration staff,
city council employees, and women living on a particular
estate, all in the East Midlands.
 Thirty-five respondents had been victims of indecent
exposure once; seven had experienced more than once; one
victim five times. The initial reactions were shock
(48.6%), amusement (34.3%), fear (25.7%), disgust (5.7%),
and annoyance (2.9%). In terms of perception of danger,
23 victims and 26 non-victims considered the exposers
dangerous, while 80% of the victims were concerned about

what would follow the exposure.

Ten victims had increased fear since the exposure, and ten victims had changed their behaviour in some way because of the exposure.

The experience of the victims is quite different to perceptions of the perpetrators.

TYPE OF DENIAL	EXAMPLE
Misattributing blame	"the way she was dressed, she was asking for it"
Minimising or denying sexual interest	"my pants (trousers) just slipped down"
Debasing the victim	"she was just a slut anyway"
Minimising consequences	"she smiled so she must have liked it"
Deflecting censure	"it's not like I raped anyone"
Justifying the cause	"if I knew how to get dates, I wouldn't have to expose"

Table 5.1 - Examples of denials given by male exhibitionists.

5.3. APPENDIX - PETERS ET AL. DELUSIONS INVENTORY (PDI)

Peters et al (1999) designed the PDI with forty items (table 5.2) which are answered on three five-point Likert scales: not at all distressing - very distressing (distress score; maximum 200), hardly ever think about it - think about it all the time (pre-occupation score; maximum 200), and don't believe it's true - believe it is absolutely true (conviction score; maximum score 200). There is also a total score based on yes/no to each item (maximum score 40).

The PDI was given to 272 mature students at the Open University in the UK and 20 psychotic inpatients at the Maudsley Hospital, south London.

There were significant differences between the two groups (figure 5.1) including on 28 of the forty items. But among the students, 44% of them believed in the power of witchcraft, voodoo or the occult, and 61% in telepathy. Nearly half of them (43%) felt they were very special or unusual people and 37% that there was a special purpose or mission to their life. About three-quarters felt that some people are not what they seem to be, half felt that people seem to drop hints about the respondent or say things with a double meaning, while one-third believed that everyone was gossiping about them.
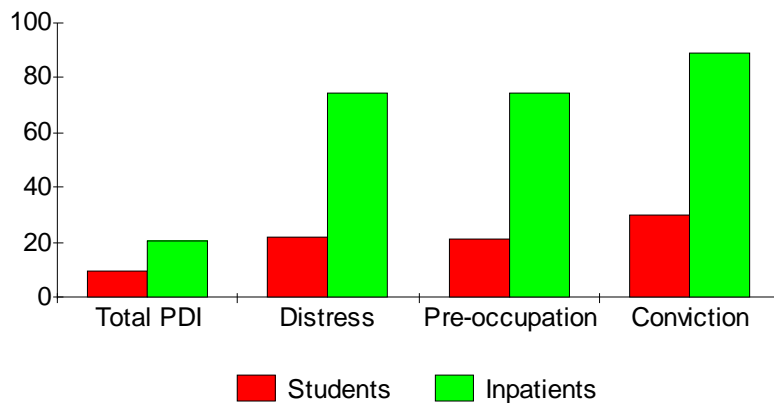
Figure 5.1 - Mean scores on PDI.

1. Do you ever feel as if you are under the control of some force or power other than yourself?
2. Do you ever feel as if you are a robot or zombie without a will of your own?
3. Do you ever feel as if you are possessed by someone or something else?
4. Do you ever feel as if your feelings or actions are not under your control?
5. Do you ever feel as if someone or something is playing games with your mind?

6. Do you ever feel as if people seem to drop hints about you or say things with a double meaning?
7. Do you ever feel as if things in magazines or on TV were written especially for you?
8. Do you ever think that everyone is gossiping about you?
9. Do you ever feel as if some people are not what they seem to be?
10. Do things around you ever feel unreal, as though it was all part of an experiment?

11. Do you ever feel as if someone is deliberately trying to harm you?
12. Do you ever feel as if you are being persecuted in some way?
13. Do you ever feel as if there is a conspiracy against you?
14. Do you ever feel as if some organization or institution has it in for you?
15. Do you ever feel, as if someone or something is watching you?

16. Do you ever feel as if you have special abilities or powers?
17. Do you ever feel as if there is a special purpose or mission to your life?
18. Do you ever feel as if there is a mysterious power working for the good of the world?
19. Do you ever feel as if you are or destined to be someone very important?
20. Do you ever feel that you are a very special or unusual person?

21. Do you ever feel that you are especially close to God?
22. Do you ever think that people can communicate telepathically?
23. Do you ever feel as if electrical devices such as computers can influence the way you think?
24. Do you ever feel as if there are forces around you which affect you in strange ways?

25. Do you ever feel as if you have been chosen by God in some way?

26. Do you believe in the power of witchcraft, voodoo, or the occult?
27. Are you often worried that your partner may be unfaithful?
28. Do you ever think that you smell very unusual to other people?
29. Do you ever feel as if your body is changing in a peculiar way?
30. Do you ever think that strangers want to have sex with you?

31. Do you ever feel that you have sinned more than the average person?
32. Do you ever feel that people look at you oddly because of your appearance?
33. Do you ever feel as if you had no thoughts in your head at all?
34. Do you ever feel as if your insides might be rotting?
35. Do you ever feel as if the world is about to end?

36. Do your thoughts ever feel alien to you in some way?
37. Have your thoughts ever been so vivid that you were worried other people would hear them?
38. Do you ever feel as if your own thoughts were being echoed back to you?
39. Do you ever feel as if your thoughts were blocked by someone or something else?
40. Do you ever feel as if other people can read your mind?

(Source: Peters et al 1999 pp565-574)

Table 5.2 - Items from PDI.

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