ESSAYS IN CRIMINAL AND FORENSIC PSYCHOLOGY NO.1

KEVIN BREWER

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Kevin Brewer BSocSc, MSc

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.

(http://kmbpsychology.jottit.com)

	Orsett Psychological Services,
	PO Box 179,
	Grays,
	Essex
	RM16 3EW
	UK

orsettpsychologicalservices@phonecoop.coop

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1.1. INTRODUCTION

There are so many films, like "Silence of the Lambs" and television programmes with detectives who have "special abilities" to apply to catching the criminal (usually the serial killer). As exciting as these programmes are, they often have little to do with the reality of criminal detection using offender or criminal profiling. "It is interesting to note that all of these popular portrayals of profiling are somewhat inaccurate because they suggest that profiling is a magical skill somewhat analogous to a precognitive psychic ability" (Muller 2000 p234). Media interest has created the situation where there is "a gross disparity between profiling's reputation and its actual capabilities" (Kocsis 1999).

Offender profiling can be used because a crime or crime scene reflects things about the offender, it is assumed. It is a form of "psychological fingerprint". Ressler et al (1988) pointed out that "men are motivated to murder by their way of thinking. Over time their thinking patterns emerged from or were influenced by their life experiences" (p34). For example, if an individual experienced severe childhood abuse, they may as adults turn to fantasy for gratification as played out in their offences. "When the actual offence is not as perfect as the fantasy, the individual will continue to offend until it becomes perfect (which is unlikely to happen) or he is apprehended" (Muller 2000).

Canter (1989) talked of crime as an "interpersonal transaction". For example, David Berkowitz (figure 1.1) (known as the "Son of Sam" killer) [1] in New York city who shot his victims without any direct contact with them

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[1] Details of crimes at, for example, http://www.charliemanson.com/crime/berkowitz.htm.

lived an isolated existence. The "psychological fingerprint" is easier to see when there are a series of crimes: serial murder, rape and sexual assault, burglary, arson, or nuisance/obscene phone calls.

(Source: US Federal Gov; in public domain)

Figure - Photograph and police sketch of David Berkowitz in 1977.

Offender profiling has no universally accepted definition, and varies in its use in the USA and the UK. However, Douglas and Burgess (1986) defined it as "an investigative technique by which to identify the major personality and behaviour characteristics of the offender based upon the analysis of the crime(s) he or she has committed" (p1). Table 1.1 summarises some other definitions used.

In the main, it involves the statistical analysis of crime data, behavioural science (including psychology), and detection expertise.

- It is "a technique for identifying the major personality and behavioural characteristics of an individual based upon an analysis of the crimes he or she has committed" (Douglas et al 1986).
- It "focuses attention on individuals with personality traits that parallel traits of others who have committed similar offences" (Pinizzotto and Finkel 1990).
- The "process of inferring distinctive personality characteristics of individuals responsible for committing criminal acts" (Turvey 1999).
- Assumes that the "interpretation of crime scene evidence can indicate the personality type of the individual(s) who committed the offence" (Rossmo 2000).

Table 1.1 - Some definitions of offender profiling.

1.2. APPROACH TO OFFENDER PROFILING IN THE USA

In the USA, offender profiling has been well developed over the last thirty years [2] by the Behavioural Science Unit at the FBI [3] (which was opened in 1972). The FBI prefers to use the term "criminal investigation analysis" (CIA) or "crime scene analysis". When applied to murder cases, the profiler will be given a vast amount of information to assimilate (table 1.2) [4].

- Crime scene details: including photographs, and the medical examiner's report.
- Details of the victim ("psychological autopsy").
- Geographical profiling of the area where the crime(s) committed; eg: type of housing in the neighbourhood; average income of residents.

Table 1.2 - Information given to a profiler after a murder.

Pinizzotto and Finkel (1990) outlined five steps in the profiling process:

i) Assess the type of criminal behaviour with reference to who committed similar acts previously;

ii) Analyse crime scene;

iii) Study background of victim as well;

iv) Establish motives of parties involved;

v) Generation of characteristics or "psychological make-up" of the offender.

The aim of offender profiling is not to provide the specific identity of the offenders, as in fiction, nor will the profiler necessarily be involved in the actual investigation. The aim is to give the police parameters in their search for suspects. These parameters might include gender, educational level, or whether the offender has previous criminal convictions. It is about helping to narrow down the field of many suspects. A series of murders could produce a list of hundreds of possible suspects.

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[2] The requests for profiling to the FBI rose from approximately 600 per year in 1986 to over 1200 by 1996 showing its increasing popularity among police forces in the USA (Dowden et al 2007).
[3] Official website at http://www.fbi.gov/homepage.htm.
[4] The characteristics and typologies have been incorporated into "The Crime Classification Manual" (Ressler et al 1992).

The most important distinction in a murder is that of organised/disorganised. The crime scene will give clues to which one, and thus whether the offender is organised or disorganised (table 1.3). Clearly different types of suspects will be investigated in each case. Wilson et al (1997) preferred to see organised and disorganised as two ends of a continuum.

ORGANISED	DISORGANISED
MURDER SCENE	
- Planned	- Spontaneous
- Victim probably stranger	- Victim known by offender
- Control of victim used	- Little control
- 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
- Follows murder on news	- Does not follow on news
- Limited change in behaviour after crime	- Major change in behaviour eg: leaves town

(After FBI 1985)

Table 1.3 - Some of the main characteristics of organised and disorganised murder scenes and murderers.

It may be small details that the profiler provides that can make the difference. For example, in the capture of Arthur Shawcross [5] in 1990 in the Rochester area of New York state. The FBI profiler believed that the killer returned to the dead victims to re-experience the pleasure of the killing. The FBI surveillance of the eleventh female victim of Shawcross caught him masturbating near the body (quoted in Brewer 2000).

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[5] Details of crimes at, for example, http://www.trutv.com/library/crime/serial_killers/predators/shawcross/life_1.html.

1.3. STATISTICAL ANALYSIS AND OFFENDER PROFILING

The most important technique for profilers is the use of statistics. This is far from glamorous, but hours in front of the computer screen looking for patterns can be very helpful. The collection of data on crimes is thus crucial. For example, in the USA, the FBI set up the Violent Crime Apprehension Program (ViCAP) computer database on murders in 1995 [6]. While the Derbyshire police have responsibility for the CATCH'EM (Central Analytical Team Collating Homicide Expertise and Management) database of all child murders in the UK for the last thirty years.

Statistical analysis allows predictions about the killer, and the establishing of patterns. For example, from CATCH'EM, the statistics show that if the victim is male and under sixteen years of age, then in 83% of cases the offender is single. Or if there has been sexual interference with the child's body before the murder, in only 1-2% of cases is the killer the parent(s) or guardian(s) (quoted in Brewer 2000).

The creation of patterns and groupings of offenders have been used for serial murder and rape (Rossmo 1997; table 1.4); sexual assaults (Canter and Heritage 1990; table 1.5); and arson (Canter and Fritzon 1998; table 1.6).

1. Victim search method - how offender obtains victim.

a) Hunter or marauder - looks for particular type of victims near offender's own home. 87% of British serial rapists lived within "offence circle" (Canter and Larkin 1993). The "offence circle is the geographical clustering of the crimes. David Canter has developed a computer programme ("Dragnet") to look at the geographical patterns of crimes. This process is known as geographical profiling ("Mapping Murder" 2002) [7].

b) Poacher or commuter - looks for particular victim away from own home. 51% of US serial rapists lived outside their "offence circle" (Reboussin et al 1993).

c) Troller - opportunistic encounters with victims.

d) Trapper - offender works in a job that allows them the opportunity to meet victims; eg: Gerald Schaeffer, who it is believed killed over thirty women, was a US police officer [8].

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[6] This is a database of violent crimes and homicides, sexual assaults, missing persons and unidentified human remains (FBI no date).

[7] The application of computer software using "circle theory" for 79 US serial killers identified 87% of offenders in 25% of locations (Coffey and Canter 2000). While a computer system called "Criminal Geographic Targeting" (CGT) plots the distance between crimes to produce a "jeopardy surface" which is the probability of areas where the offender lives (Billingham, Brewer et al 2008).

[8] Details of crime at, for example, http://www.trutv.com/library/crime/serial_killers/predators/gerard_schaefer/1.html?sect=2.

2. Victim attack method - when and where victim is attacked.

   a) Raptor - attacks victim on meeting wherever.

   b) Stalker - follows victim, and attacks when feels time/situation is right.

   c) Ambusher - attacks when victim in situation controlled by offender; eg: offender's home.

Table 1.4 - Victim search and victim attack methods used by serial murderers and rapists.

   How female victim treated by male sexual attacker (based on victim statements of 66 UK sexual assaults).

   a) Victim as person - conversation during attack; compliments her appearance; attacker mistakenly believes sexual assault is forming relationship, and may ask to see them again; no disguise used.

   b) Victim as object - control of victim with blindfold and gagging; offender disguised; woman seen as dangerous by offender.

   c) Victim as vehicle - violence (both physical and verbal) used and demeaning comments; attack is reflection of offender's anger.

Table 1.5 - Examples of characteristics of three different types of sexual assaults.

   42 offender variables summarised into four patterns of arson (based of 175 arson cases in England).

   a) Arson as "expressive object" - serial targeting of particular types of public buildings; prior convictions for arson; offender remains or returns to scene of crime.

   b) Arson as "expressive person" - arson as an attempt to restore emotional equilibrium, reduce distress, or attention-seeking; endangers lives; targets residential property; use of multiple ignition points; may even use arson as suicide.

   c) Arson as "instrumental person" - specific target after dispute between offender and victim; threats given beforehand.

   d) Arson as "instrumental object" - opportunist; empty property targeted; group together rather than individual arsonist.

Table 1.6 - Example of the characteristics of four types of arson.

1.4. ACCURACY OF PROFILERS

The USA approach to offender profiling is classed as a "top-down" approach: interviewing criminals in prison and using that information to understand criminal behaviour. This has included asked convicted murders to profile unsolved murders; eg: Ted Bundy was asked to help with a profile of the at the time unsolved forty-nine (probably) "Green River Murders". He was no help ("Catching the Killer" 2001).

The UK approach is more "bottom-up": working with details and building up specific associations between offences and the offender's characteristics (Boon and Davies 1992).

Many of the famous cases, particularly featured on television documentaries, show the successes of offender profiling. David Canter, in the UK, has had famous successes with his profiles of the "Railway Rapist" (John Duffy) (though subsequently there has been the conviction of an accomplice, David Mulcahy, for the crimes; "Witness and Truth: Railway Murders" 2001), and the serial rapist of elderly women, Adrian Babb, in Birmingham (both in the 1980s) (details of the cases in Canter 1994).

However, there are some who are critical of profiling generally:

> The cerebral sleuth relying solely on his acute
> powers of observation and deductive reasoning to
> identify an elusive and much feared serial rapist
> or murderer, is of immediate and obvious appeal.
> The seduction is such that many profilers have
> begun to believe their own press (Grubin 1995 p262).

But how to accurately evaluate profilers other than through anecdotes? Three methods have been tried - surveys, experiments, and historical analysis. Here are examples of each of these methods.

1. Surveys

Copson (1995) set out to find how useful the police themselves found offender profilers. A survey was sent out to 48 UK police forces. A large number of police forces (82.6%) did find the profiler "operationally useful", but usually in small ways. The main help was in "furthering understanding of the offender" (60.9%), and rarely with the actual identification of the offender (2.7%). The problem was that many different types of profilers had been used: from psychiatrists to

therapists. In other words, not always specialists in the field. The British Psychological Society (BPS) has now set up a register of qualified forensic psychiatrists that the police can use [9].

Studies like this do not have a representative sample of profiles, and they depend on the subjective opinion of investigators after conclusion of a case (Alison et al 2002).

After the event, the "Barnum effect" or confirmation bias can make it appear that the profiler was more accurate than they really were. The "Barnum effect" is the tendency to make general statements which are widely applicable (eg: offender is male between 16-35 years old). The confirmation bias is where information that proved correct is selectively recalled, and the remainder, usually incorrect, is forgotten.

2. Experiments

Pinizzotto and Finkel (1990) compared the accuracy of four trained FBI profilers, six police detectives with profile training, six detectives without such training, and twelve undergraduates using hypothetical cases. The participants were given the information from imaginary sexual assaults. The two trained profiler groups were slightly better at profiling the offenders than the two non-trained groups. The three police groups were better at drawing more information from the crime scene than the undergraduates.

3. Historical analysis

Holmes (1989) analysed FBI cases from 1981, and found that profilers contributed to 17% of arrests.

The ultimate question with using offender profilers relates to what is required of them. To add some information or to identify the offender? The latter is probably asking too much. As Bartol (1999) says: "profiling is probably at least 90% an art and speculation and only 10% science" (p239).

1.5. US VERSUS UK APPROACHES: GENERAL EVALUATION

The FBI's attitude was that "degrees and academic knowledge" were not "nearly as important as experience

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[9] Details at http://www.bps.org.uk/e-services/find-a-psychologist/psychoindex$.cfm.

and certain subjective qualities" (Douglas and Olshaker 1997 quoted in Muller 2000). While Canter (1994) noted that "a doctor is not expected to operate on hunch and intuition".

Canter and Alison (2000) felt that FBI profiling was based upon subjectivity and intuition despite its claims otherwise. Depending upon offenders to recall their actions and thoughts has the risk of recall bias, deception, and/or impression management, as well as generalisation issues from a small, statistically unusual population. Offender typologies are open to criticisms over reliability and validity (Gregory 2005).

Francis et al (2004), using solved cases, found that statistical modelling of specific characteristics in hard-to-solve homicides in the UK was more accurate than the similarity or frequency of similar victims/crimes. Statistical modelling was better at predicting the relationship between offender and victim, the ethnic origin of the offender, and age of the offender, but not at predicting previous criminal record or not.

The UK and USA approach is often presented as academics versus practitioners. Generally, "practitioners are primarily concerned with the detailed features of the case at hand, while academics attempt to understand global patterns and global trends" (Alison et al 2004 p72).
Academics argue that practitioners "in providing practical advice to investigations, commonly do not specify which (if any) behavioural, correlational or psychological principles they rely on. Thus it is difficult to distinguish between these purportedly inductive processes from intuition or subjective opinion" (Alison et al 2004 p73).

The strengths of the UK approach based in academic research is that the findings can be scrutinised and debated as with any scientific field (Gregory 2005). However, analysis of statistical data does depend upon official police records which are not necessarily perfect (Coleman and Norris 2000).
In terms of the use of profiling, there is a difference between establishing factual patterns of behaviour and reporting the offender's motivation. Alison et al (2002) argued that the latter is more risky and thus less reliable.

Alison et al (2004) called for a coming together of academics and practitioners in this field rather than "competing" under different names like inductive/deductive or statistical/clinical.

1.6. PERCEPTION OF ACCURACY OF PROFILES

Many statements within profiles are ambiguous or vague (eg: offender has poor social skills), and are unverifiable (eg: offender will have fantasised about offence for weeks beforehand). Alison et al (2003a) suggested that 24% of statements within profiles were the former and 55% the latter. Thus a "'creative interpretation' on the part of the recipient might account for favourable assessments of offender profiles, rather than objective measurable assessments" (Alison et al 2003b p186).

Alison et al (2003b) investigated the willingness of individuals to make such "creative interpretations" in two experiments. In study 1, 46 police officers from the UK were divided into two groups. They were given details of a real crime in the UK from the 1970s that involved the murder and rape of a young boy, followed by a specially designed profile that was open to interpretation (table 1.7).
Then half the police officers were given a description of the genuine offender and half a fictional description of an offender completely opposite to the profile (table 1.8). On a seven-point scale (1 = very inaccurate to 7 = very accurate), the officers were asked to rate the accuracy of the profile. The mean accuracy rating was the same for both groups (5.3 out of 7). Specific aspects of the profile were reported as accurate by the participants (table 1.9).

Study 2 used thirty-three more police officers and thirty "forensic professionals" (individuals who worked in the criminal justice system, like probation officers). They were all given details of a murder and mutilation of a young woman in the USA and a genuine profile from the FBI used at the time (table 1.10). Half of the participants were told about the genuine offender and half about a fictional offender who had the opposite characteristics.
The mean accuracy rating of the profile was 5.4 (out of 7) for the genuine offender and 5.2 for the fictional offender. Table 1.11 gives two examples rated as accurate by participants.

1. The offender is an inappropriately immature man for his years. He is psychologically and emotionally retarded for his age.
2. The first thing to note is that the victim and offender spent some time in the car. Much of the discussion between them and the events that ensued began with a sequence of interactions in the car.
3. In terms of the relationship between the offender and the victim I would say that it is built on artifice. The offender is certainly not a blood relation but there is a twisted from of intimacy – a presumption on the part of the offender that it is his inalienable right to subject a submissive partner to sex and degradation.
4. In this offence I would say that the offender is using the victim to express his own frustrations and anger. This may have taken the form of frustration in that the implication of having intercourse may have resulted in the victim being an object simply to remove – just chattel to be disposed of.
5. Although the act of strangulation served the offender's convenient removal of the victim, this act represents a powerful symbol of the extension of sexual dominance over the victim. The offender, at this point will have felt virulent and powerful. He will have revelled in the distorted self-belief that this relationship affords him an inner world that allows him to escape and otherwise meagre existence.
6. Following from this the offence will have represented an escape from a humdrum, unsatisfying life – a momentary event that has, in a distorted way, allowed him to try and satisfy otherwise unfulfilled aspirations. In terms of his generalised sexuality he clearly feels homosexual relationships are beneath him and indeed he may even have an actively homophobic attitude. However, this inner secretive life is internally satisfying because it is something that only he knows about.

(Source: Alison et al 2003b p187)

Table 1.7 - Offender profile used in study 1 by Alison et al (2003b).

GENUINE OFFENDER	FICTIONAL OFFENDER
• 19 year-old male • Stranger to victim • Offered boy lift in truck • Claimed sexual intercourse consensual, but panicked afterwards and murdered him • Failed exams recently and "dumped" by girlfriend • Strong repressed homosexual urges • No previous convictions • No unhappy upbringing or violence in family	• 38 year-old male • Stepfather of boy • Assaulted on many previous occasions • This time "got carried away and lost control" • Unemployed truck driver • History of alcoholism and depression • Two previous convictions for sexual offences on young boys • Abused by own stepfather

Table 1.8 - Main details of offenders given in study 1 by Alison et al (2003b).

ASPECT OF PROFILE	PROFILE SAID	GENUINE OFFENDER	FICTIONAL OFFENDER
Relationship between offender and victim (60% said accurate)	"not a blood relation but there is a twisted form of intimacy"	Stranger (10)*	Stepfather (12)
Motivation of offender (45% said accurate)	"using victim to express his own frustrations and anger"	Guilt (6)	Anger (11)

(* number in brackets = number of participants who rated as accurate)

Table 1.9 - Two aspects of profile rated as accurate by police officers in study 1 of Alison et al (2003b).

The offender will be a white male between 25 and 35, or the same general age as the victim and of average appearance.

The murderer will not look out of context in the area.

He will be of average intelligence and will be a secondary school (High school) or University (College) drop-out.

He will not have a military history and may be unemployed.

His occupation will be blue collar or skilled.

Alcohol or drugs will not assume a major role.

The suspect will have difficulty maintaining any kind of personal relationships with women.

If he dates, he will date women younger than himself, as he would have to dominate and control in the relationships.

He will be sexually inexperienced, sexually inadequate and never married.

He will have a pornography collection.

The subject will have sadistic tendencies.

The sexual acts show controlled aggression, but rage or hatred of women was obviously present.

The murderer was not reacting to rejection from women as much as to morbid curiosity.

There will have been a reason for the killer to be at the crime.

He could be employed in the immediate area, be in the immediate area on business or reside in the immediate area.

Although the offender might have preferred his victim conscious, he had to render her unconscious because he did not want to get caught.

He did not want the woman screaming for help.

The murderer's infliction of sexual sadistic acts on an inanimate body suggests he was disorganised.

He probably will be a very confused person, possibly with previous mental problems.

If he had carried out such acts on a living victim, he would have a very different type of personality. The fact that he inflicted acts upon a dead or unconscious person indicated his inability to function with a live or conscious person.

The crime scene reflects that the killer felt justified in his actions and that he felt no remorse. He was not subtle. He left the victim in a provocative, humiliating position, exactly the way he wanted her to be found.

(Source: Alison et al 2003b p195)

Table 1.10 - Offender profile used in study 2 by Alison et al (2003b).

ASPECT OF PROFILE	PROFILE SAID	GENUINE OFFENDER	FICTIONAL OFFENDER
Age	25-35 or same general age as the victim	19 (4)*	37 (8)
Employment	blue collar or skilled	unemployed actor (4)	works for water board - recently redundant (5)

(* number in brackets = number of participants who rated as accurate)

Table 1.11 - Two aspects of profile rated as accurate by participants in study 2 of Alison et al (2003b).

"Individuals appear to selectively attend to 'hits' in the profile with relatively less attention to misses or the fact that the profile is sufficiently ambiguous to potentially refer to quite different individuals" (Alison et al 2003b p192).

1.7. NATURE OF PERSONALITY

The FBI approach is accused of relying on out-dated theories of personality and the consistency of human behaviour (Alison and Barrett 2004).
Offender profiling depends on the consistency and patterns of behaviour. Put another way, that there are fixed personality characteristics that individuals show. Do individuals show the same behaviour in serial offences?
"Naive trait approaches" assume behaviour consistency across situations (offences), and that features of the situation are evidence of underlying characteristics, which show themselves in everyday life (figure 1.2).

FEATURES OF CRIME SCENE BEHAVIOUR
eg: use of restraints

↓
UNDERLYING PERSONALITY TRAIT
eg: need for control

↓
MANIFESTATION OF TRAIT IN EVERYDAY LIFE
eg: controlling behaviour in family relationships

(After Alison et al 2002)

Figure 1.2 - Assumption of "naive trait approaches" to offender profiling.

"Many statements contained within offender profiles tend to attribute behaviours to underlying, relatively context-free dispositional constructs within the offender" (Alison et al 2002 p117). Thus traits are viewed as stable and determining behaviour.

However, traits are not directly observable and must be inferred from observation leading to a tautological situation. "If a crime is particularly violent, this leads to the conclusion that the offender is particularly aggressive. Similarly, aggressive offenders commit any given crime in a particularly violent way. Thus, traits are both inferred from and explained by behaviour" (Alison et al 2002 p117).

The tendency to infer stable traits from situations despite the fact that studies do not find behaviour consistency across situations, Bem and Allen (1974) called "the personality paradox". General studies of consistency in personality traits and behaviours across situations find low correlations (less than 0.30 or 30% consistency) (Alison et al 2002). On the other hand, individuals are not completely inconsistent between situations.

Tickle et al (2001) admitted that:

> Fluctuation in the expression of traits is expected: personality traits seem to be stable over time, but they do undergo slight state fluctuations in the short term. In other words, traits provide a basic personality framework which remains stable in the long term and allows patterns of responses to be established. There exists, however, a range of behaviours and other trait expressions that occur within this framework of stability (p246).

Wetherell and Maybin (1996), taking a social constructionist position, argued that the personality is the product of social situations. It is "the sum and swarm of participation in social life" (Bruner 1990), and thus tends to change based on the situation.

Most people are not predictable in the sense of doing exactly the same thing, except sufferers from conditions that have rigidity of behaviour like obsessive-compulsive behaviour and autism. On the other hand, individuals do show some degree of consistency across situations. For example, self reporting scales of 1-5 tend to find stability because individuals who choose one extreme are unlikely to choose the other extreme next time. Maybe a change from 4 or 5 to 3. Or individuals may select the middle position each time.

It is possible to look for core and peripheral behaviour patterns shown by individuals across

situations. Core behaviour patterns are the same or similar across situations because such behaviours are key to the individual, like the pleasure of the experience. Peripheral behaviour patterns vary and it does not matter to the individual if they are the same across situations. How much of behaviour and which behaviours are core or peripheral will vary between individuals (figure 1.3).

Individual A   Individual B

White = peripheral behaviour patterns
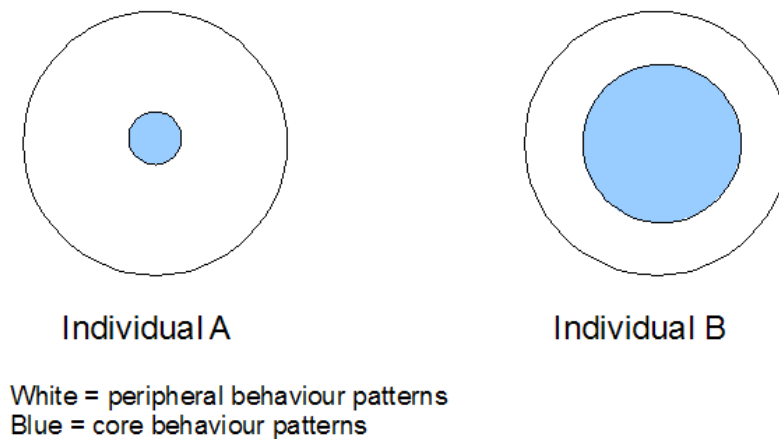Blue = core behaviour patterns

Figure 1.3 - Two possibilities for core and peripheral behaviour patterns.

    Offender profiling will vary in its success for individuals A and B in figure 1.3. In the case of individual A, little behaviour shows consistency across situations. If the core behaviour pattern is the offending behaviour, then profiling will be very effective in pinpointing specifics of the crime, but if the core behaviour pattern is not involved in the offending behaviour, profiling is of limited use. Individual B has more consistent behaviours across situations, and profiling may be useful in finding the patterns in serial offences.

1.8. SIMILARITY OF OFFENDERS

    Another key assumption of offender profiling is that offenders who show similar crime scene behaviours will have similar personality characteristics and/or socio-demographic features (known as "homology assumption"; Mokros and Alison 2002).
    Mokros and Alison (2002) tested this idea using data on 100 British male stranger rapists (producing 139 cases of sexual assault) based around 28 variables (table 1.12) from a police database (collected between 1974 and 1995).

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1. Disguise worn.
2. Extends time with victim after assault.
3. Steals personal property.
4. Steals unidentifiable property.
5. Steals identifiable property.
6. Inquisitive.
7. Compliments.
8. Reassures.
9. Demeans victim.
10. Apologizes.
11. Reveals self detail.
12. Threat not to report.
13. Verbal violence.
14. Demands goods.
15. Implies prior knowledge of victim.
16. Surprise attack.
17. Blindfold.
18. Binding.
19. Gagging.
20. Single act of violence.
21. Multiple acts of violence.
22. Kisses.
23. Cunnilingus.
24. Anal penetration.
25. Weapon.
26. Identify.
27. Tears/cuts clothing.
28. Vaginal penetration.
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(Source: Mokros and Alison 2002 p31)

Table 1.12 - Offence behaviour variables used by Mokros and Alison (2002).

Details of the socio-demographic backgrounds of the offenders and previous convictions on fifteen categories of other offences were collated (table 1.13).

After sophisticated statistical analysis [10], the researchers concluded that there was no similarity in socio-demographic characteristics and previous convictions, and variables of the rape situation.

Mokros and Alison (2002) discussed a number of issues related to their findings:

i) In many cases the "homology assumption" has no theoretical basis as to why they should be similarities between offenders.

ii) Some aspects of crime scene behaviour may be better predictors of offender characteristics than others. The question is, then, which aspects of crime

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[10] Smallest Space Analysis (SSA) was used. It is a Multi-Dimensional Scaling (MDS) procedure which presents the correlations between variables as distances in a 3-D geometric space. The closer the two points in the geometric space, the higher the correlation between them.

scene behaviour.

iii) The "homology assumption" tends to ignore situational influences. For example, the use of violence during the rape could be a product of the individual (their preference for such behaviour), or the situation (eg: victim fights back or is perceived to fight back), or a combination of both (eg: perpetrator intoxicated and less inhibited about violence).

iv) The analysis was based upon witness statements collected by the police.

- Age at the time of the offence.
- Ethnicity.
- Employment situation (ie: whether employed or unemployed).
- Labour type (ie: whether skilled or unskilled).
- Education level.
- Qualifications.
- Whether the offender lives with someone or alone.
- Marital status.
- Imprisonment or detention prior to the index rape offence.
- Criminal record:

Theft and like offences
Burglary dwelling
Burglary non-dwelling
Violence minor
Violence major
Criminal damage simple
Damage endanger life
Public order/drunkenness
Motor vehicle crime
Drugs possession
Drugs supply
Indecent exposure
Indecent assault
Rape of a female
Sex crime against a male

(Source: Mokros and Alison 2002 p30)

Table 1.13 - Socio-demographic categories and previous conviction categories used by Mokros and Alison (2002).

1.9. SCIENCE AND PROFILING

The objective and scientific status of offender profiling is not aided by statements like this one by Ressler et al (1988): "Although some of the murderers in our study did not report fantasies in a conscious way, their descriptions of the murders they committed reveal hidden fantasies of violence" (quoted in Muller 2000).
Falsifiability is a key criteria for science. "If

one claims that a violent murder is a sign of violent fantasies - even if the murderer does not report any violent fantasies - then how is one to falsify the hypothesis that all murderers have violent fantasies?" (Muller 2000 p249).

Meta-analysis is commonly used to synthesise research literature in an academic field, but not for offender profiling (Dowden et al 2007). Dowden et al (2007) were not able to perform a meta-analysis, but they did produce a systematic review of academic articles between 1976 and March 2007. They collected 132 studies and each was coded in a number of ways (table 1.14) including statistical analysis employed, peer reviewed or not, and methodology (eg: case study, experimental study).

In terms of date of publication, 1996-2005 saw a dramatic increase in the number of articles compared to the twenty years before that. The most common articles were peer-reviewed general crime discussions about profiling (41% of sample) by psychologists with no statistical analysis (table 1.15).

1. Authors: Name of study authors.

2. Affiliation: Discipline of study authors.

a. Psychologists (>75%).
b. FBI agents (>75%).
c. Sociologists (>75%).
d. Criminologists (>75%).
e. Forensic Psychiatrists (>75%).
f. Police (>75%).
g. Multidisciplinary.
h. Other (please specify) (>75%).

3. Year: Date of publication.

4. Journal: Name of journal.

5. Crime Type:

a. Serial homicide.
b. Rape.
c. Arson.
d. Homicide.
e. Burglary.
f. Child crimes.
g. Unspecified.
h. Mixed.
i. Other.

6. Emphasis: Main emphasis of the article:

a. Case study: An article that reviews one or several case studies.

b. Comparison study: An article that compares various groups in terms of their performance on a profiling task.
c. Theoretical piece: An article that presents theories about new directions in the field.
d. Evaluation study: An article that evaluates specific profiling methods/techniques.
e. Experimental study: An article that presents an experiment related to profiling (ie: controlled conditions used to test specified hypotheses).
f. Basic assumption study: An article that tests any of the basic assumptions inherent in profiling (ie: temporal stability, cross-situational consistency, structure in crime scene behaviours and/or background characteristics, etc).
g. Descriptive study: An article that describes in detail the process of profiling.
h. Literature review: An article whose sole purpose is to review, in detail, past studies done on profiling.
i. Discussion piece: An article with no real academic basis, but rather a brief discussion of past ideas, cases, techniques, or theories (there may be a fine line between this category and some literature reviews, but literature reviews are more focused).
j. Legal implications: An article dealing with any of the legal implications associated with profiling.

7. Statistical sophistication: Level of statistics employed in the study:

a. Zero statistics used.
b. Descriptive statistics used.
c. Inferential statistics used.

8. Peer Reviewed: Is the article from a peer-reviewed journal?

a. No.
b. Yes.

(Source: Dowden et al 2007 Appendix)

Table 1.14 - Coding guide used by Dowden et al (2007).

- Journal publishing most articles - "International Journal of Offender Therapy and Comparative Criminology".
- Discipline of authors - psychologists (34% of authors) followed by multi-disciplinary (28%) (figure 1.4).
- Crime type - unspecified (42% of articles) followed by homicide (20%).
- Most published authors - Richard Kocsis (18 articles), then David Canter (12).
- Type of article - discussion piece (29% of articles).
- Use of statistical analysis - none (57% of articles).
- Peer reviewed - yes (75% of articles).

Table 1.15 - Summary of main criteria of systematic review of 132 articles by Dowden et al (2007).
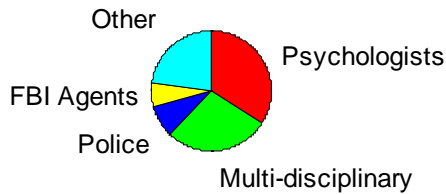
Figure 1.4 - Discipline of study authors.

Dowden et al (2007) concluded:

Despite the fact that offender profiling has
become a standard investigative tool in many
police jurisdictions, and is slowly finding its
way into the courtroom, this review highlights
several reasons for concern. For example, while
the number of profiling-related publications has
increased dramatically over the years, researchers
investigating this phenomenon rarely publish
multiple articles, and they are generally published
across many different journals. In addition, the
majority of papers published in the area are
discussion pieces, despite the fact that the processes
underlying offender profiling are still not well
understood from a theoretical perspective. Furthermore,
while researchers are submitting their work for peer
review much more frequently now than they did in
the past, the statistical sophistication of
profiling studies is still sorely lacking,
with over half of the studies published since
1995 including no statistical analyses at all (p52).

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2. SUICIDE AMONG TWO DIFFERENT GROUPS OF INDIVIDUALS IN THE CRIMINAL JUSTICE SYSTEM

2.1. Introduction
2.2. Police officers
2.3. Child sexual offenders
2.4. References

2.1. INTRODUCTION

Rates of suicide vary between groups in society with male suicides higher than females in most cases [11]. But certain groups are especially at risk, and this article concentrates on two in particular - police officers and convicted child sex offenders.

2.2. POLICE OFFICERS

It might by surprising to hear but suicide is the leading cause of death among serving police officers, and a major cause for retired officers. In fact, in the USA, two to three times more officers kill themselves than are killed by criminals (Stuart 2008).

Estimates of the median suicide rate is difficult to calculate, but Loo's (2003) meta-analysis of 103 studies produced the figure of 18.2 per 100 000 (compared to 16 for the global general population; Stuart 2008). However, rates vary for police officers depending on the police force studied and the time period used. There is great variability.

In terms of thinking about suicide (suicidal ideation), studies depend upon self-reports which are probably under-reported for police officers [12]. For example, Burke and Mikkelsen (2007) found a lifetime prevalence [13] of 16% among Norwegian police officers, and 23% in the USA (Violanti 2004) (compared to 2-18% for general populations; Stuart 2008).

While point prevalence (ie: current/in past week) was calculated as 7% in South Africa (Pienaar et al 2007) and 12% in the USA (Violanti 2004). However, Stuart (2008) felt that "methodological challenges" meant "the epidemiology of suicide risk in police populations remains inconclusive".

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[11] Latest international rates at http://www.who.int/mental_health/prevention/suicide_rates/en/.

[12] There is strong pressure to conform in the police force (to the "canteen culture"; Brewer 2000), as with many organisations, and this includes hiding signs of weakness.

[13] Ever thought about suicide.

In comparing suicide rates between occupational groups, high rates are associated with occupations that have access to the means (eg: farmer, pharmacist) and/or high exposure to stressful and traumatic experiences (eg: soldiers). Police officers have both these factors.

Huddleston et al (2007) studied New Zealand police recruits in their first year of the job. About half had been physically assaulted, and three-quarters had experienced a traumatic event. Symptoms of Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD) were reported in a number of cases, and PTSD is a risk factor for suicide.

For example, among Brazilian police officers, 35.7% of those with full PTSD reported lifetime suicide ideation compared to 5.2% of those without PTSD in the same elite squad dealing with armed confrontations, hostage takings, and prison riots (Maia et al 2007).

Minor or everyday stressors can also play a role. Organisational stressors are common to all jobs like high job demands (eg: long hours) and low resources (eg: lack of proper equipment). At the extreme, this produces job burnout where a cynical attitude towards others and the job dominates. This has been linked to suicide (Stuart 2008).

Buker and Wiecko (2007) reported that these organisational stressors were more important to Turkish police officers interviewed than the traumatic events in rating job stress. Police work is like other occupations with organisational stressors while being not like other jobs in the content of the work.

Again, as with other occupations, personality and coping styles are important factors in stress leading to suicide. For example, in the Norwegian study (Burke and Mikkelsen 2007) less social support and less active coping style were associated with suicide. Active coping style involves finding ways to deal with the stressor, while passive style involves ways to avoid thinking about the stressor. An example of the former is problem-solving, and of the latter, substance use.

Among South African officers (Pienaar et al 2007), religious beliefs, emotional stability, and active engagement with the job were positive factors in preventing suicide.

Studies suggest that there are not gender differences in all these factors (Stuart 2008).

Though Stuart (2008) wass unsure as to whether police officers are a high risk group for suicide, police work contains a number of common and specific factors which are linked to suicide and suicidal ideation, as

outlined in table 2.1.

SPECIFIC FACTORS ABOUT POLICE FORCE AND WORK	COMMON FACTORS AMONG GENERAL POPULATION
- Access to means. - Regular exposure to traumatic experiences. - Tendency to not share feelings and show signs of weakness.	- Organisational stressors. - Social support - Coping style

Table 2.1 - Common and specific factors linked to suicide in the police force.

2.3. CHILD SEXUAL OFFENDERS

Pritchard and King (2005) used Coroner's Inquest files to investigate suicide among child sexual offenders, over a six year period, which is known to be high from other studies (Bradford 2006). The Wessex Suicide Audit 1988-93 (King 2001) was used. This database was constructed for the time period based on all suicide or open verdicts [14] in Hampshire, Dorset and Isle of Wight.

The researchers divided the offenders into three groups [15] [16] :

- Sex only child sexual offenders (SOCSO) - Offenders with no other type of criminal offence.

- Multiple criminal child sexual offenders (MCCSO) - Individuals with non-sexual offences as well.

- Violent and multiple criminal child sexual offenders (VMCCSO) - Individuals with non-sexual offences including violence against the person.

Suicide rates were calculated per 100 000 population per annum to standardise the figures. Identification of child sex offenders was based on national and regional police records.

There were 762 male suicides aged fifteen years and

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[14] Use of ICD-9 (WHO 1977) categories for "suicide and self-inflicted injury" (E950-959) and "injury undetermined whether accidentally or purposely inflicted" (E980-989). Details at http://www.icd9data.com/. ICD-9 has been replaced by ICD-10 (http://apps.who.int/classifications/apps/icd/icd10online/).

[15] Pritchard and Bagley (2000) originally distinguished these types of child sex offenders among 374 male British offenders - 51% of sample classed as SOCSO, 27% MCCSO, and 22% VMCCSO.

[16] Pritchard and Bagley (2001) found a suicide rate of 3% among the above sample over a two-year period, but only among SOCSO.

above in Wessex between 1988-93. This translates into a rate of 14.8 per 100 000 (compared to 12.7 for the whole of England and Wales for the same period; Pritchard and King 2005).

Sixteen of the suicides had police records for child sex offences (figure 2.1), of which fifteen were categorised by the researchers as SOCSO and one as MCCSO. This gives a rate of 175 per 100 000 for MCCSO (not significantly different to general population) and 2720 for SOCSO (p = 0.0001). Put another way, fifteen of the SOCSO committed suicide out of 94 individuals convicted of child sex offences in the area, and one of 93 MCCSO.

Pritchard and Bagley (2005) concluded: "What can be said with confidence is that the numbers of child sex offender suicides are as accurate as can be reasonably expected... Therefore, being a child sex offender carries a higher a risk of suicide than found in the General Population, however, only if no other criminality is involved" (p40). So, those individuals who commit child sex offences are less of a suicide risk, but probably more of a risk to their victims.

The study was based upon data collected and coded, in part, by others.

1. Number of suicides - Based on verdict of a Coroner, and suicide is usually only recorded if the injuries were clearly self-inflicted and intended to be fatal.

2. Child sex offenders - These categories were based on convictions only, and missed undetected and unreported cases (table 2.2). Such unreported cases are more likely to be within the family (intra-family) as compared to strangers and non-relatives (extra-family). Pritchard and King admitted that the data were bias towards extra-family child sex offences. About 70% of the sample used were extra-family, whereas studies of victims suggest that only 20% of offenders are extra-family.

DATA SUGGESTED:	Child Sex Offender	Not Child Sex Offender
TRUTH:		
Child Sex Offender	Accurate	False negative - undetected
Not Child Sex Offender	False positive	Accurate

Table 2.2 - Risk of miscategorisation of suicides.

Figure 2.1 - Data for Wessex 1988-93.

Table 2.3 lists other problems with the study.

- Only small number of suicides by child sex offenders in study period. This risks the distortion of figures, and/or may not be representative of the group as a whole.

- Coding of type of child sex offence based on police records. The SOCSO category has the risk that non-sexual crimes were missed by the police.

Table 2.3 - Problems with Pritchard and King (2005) study.

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3. CRIMES OF EVERYDAY LIFE

3.1. INTRODUCTION

Most discussions about how much crime and what causes crime tend to ignore "middle-class crime". Karstedt and Farrall (2007) preferred the term, "crimes of everyday life" to show how common such crimes are, and are "committed by people who think of themselves as respectable citizens and who would certainly reject the label of 'criminal' for themselves" (p1). Such crimes include making false insurance claims, paying and receiving cash in hand to avoid taxes, and claiming benefits not entitled to.

"Crimes of everyday life" are not necessarily always illegal, but are unfair or morally dubious practices. For example, parents faking a religious commitment to secure a place for their child at a particular school.

3.2. CRIMES OF EVERYDAY LIFE

Karstedt and Farrall (2007) felt that the nature of the "crimes" was complex: "Consumers are sheep and wolves - easy prey and preying on others. Offending and victimisation are as closely and intricately linked at the core of society as at its margins" (p3).

For example, 82% of 1807 25-65 year-olds surveyed in England and Wales felt that they had been victims of "crime of shady practices in the marketplace", like been sold poor quality pre-packed food, having extra items added to a shopping or eating bill, or been sold faulty goods when buying second hand. While 61% of the same group admitted to offences against business or government, like been paid cash in hand to avoid taxation, taken something from work, or padded an insurance claim (figure 3.1). 54% of individuals were both victims and offenders. These individuals were more likely to have higher income, be employed, and be better educated.
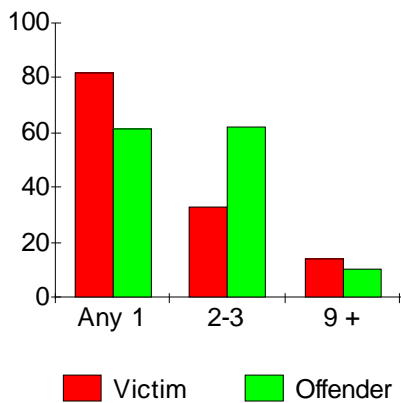
(Source: Karstedt and Farrall 2007)

Figure 3.1 - Percentage of individuals suffering victimisation and committing "crimes of everyday life" [17].

Karstedt and Farrall (2007) explained this behaviour as a battle between consumers and business/government due to the "neo-liberal market policies" of recent years that have deregulated the economy and encouraged "active self-advancement". This can be described as "market anomie": "an erosion of legal norms, moral standards and trust, culminating in a climate of mutual suspicion and rampant moral cynicism" (p5). What is more, individuals are both consumers and businesses (or employees). They see, in the latter case, the unfair practices at work and may be implementing them. Then they go home with that knowledge and when they become consumers.

Karstedt and Farrall (2007) identified four "anomic cycles" that encourage offending by consumers and businesses:

i) The emphasis on risk and choice blurs the distinction between legal/illegal risk-taking and choice. Thus "not getting caught" becomes more important in assessing a behaviour than its legality.

ii) Individuals feel that they are to blame if they

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[17] Victim types - Sold poor quality pre-packed food; Extra items added to bill when shopping/eating; Accommodation etc. of lower standard/not provided; Unnecessary repairs, work not carried out, worn parts used; Been sold faulty goods when buying second hand; Offered too little by insurer when making a claim; Bank errors continually; Bogus credit card debits after buying over the internet.
Offences types - Paid cash in hand to avoid taxation; Kept the money when "over-changed"; Taken something from work; Avoided paying TV licence; Wrongly used identity cards for own gain; Claimed for refunds they knew they weren't entitled to; Not disclosed faulty goods in second-hand sales; Asked a friend in a bureaucracy to "bend the rules"; Padded an insurance claim; Deliberately misclaimed benefits for own gain (Karstedt and Farrall 2007).

become victims of "shady" business practices. They should have been more wary. Businesses feel less responsible and consequently such practices (eg: providing misleading and dishonest information) increases.

iii) The focus is upon the individual as arbitrator of right and wrong. Practices that victimise me are illegal, but practices that victimise others that I commit are not.

iv) The perception of "too many" rules normalises circumvention and disrespect for such rules.

So "the law-abiding majority not only do not abide by the law, they also do not believe in the value of laws and rules, shrugging them off in pursuit of their interests and desires. They even regard law-abidingness as a disadvantage" (Karstadt and Farrall 2007 p7). Levi (1997) referred to "contingent compliance" to describe obedience to the law that is variable. Add to this the perception that "everybody does it" (Gabor 1994).

Karstedt and Farrall (2007) concluded that the "crimes of everyday life" "are less worrying than the contempt for laws and rules and the accompanying cynical attitudes that are spreading among those who think of themselves as respectable citizens" (p8).

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4. ROAD TRAFFIC VIOLATIONS: PREDICTING BEHAVIOUR

    4.1. Theory of planned behaviour
    4.2. Testing the theory with driving behaviour
    4.3. References

4.1. THEORY OF PLANNED BEHAVIOUR

    An area of law that is broken regularly by many people is road traffic violations. The simplest example being driving faster than the maximum speed limit.
    Studies have tried to understand driving violations, specifically speeding in an urban area and dangerous overtaking. Speeding is, not surprisingly, correlated with the pleasant feeling of getting to the destination quicker. Put another way, the intention to comply with the speed limit was positively associated with easier to detect hazards and negatively with keeping up with traffic (Elliot et al 2005).
    Social pressure is also involved. Male drivers perceived more pressure from same-sex friends to speed than females, and younger drivers felt more pressure to engage in dangerous overtaking (Parker et al 1992).

    These aspects of behaviour with perceived behaviour control are part of the theory of planned behaviour (TPB) (Ajzen 1991) which is used to predict behaviour based on intention, attitude towards the behaviour, subjective norms (perceived social pressure), and perceived behaviour control (figure 4.1).
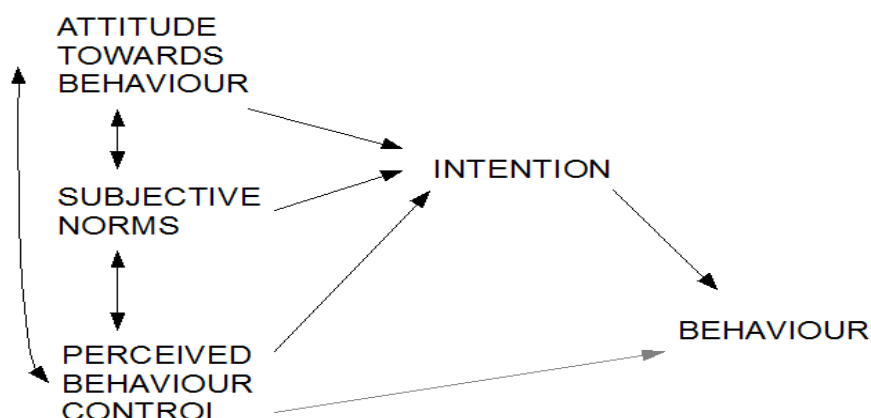

Figure 4.1 - The Theory of Planned Behaviour.

4.2. TESTING THE THEORY WITH DRIVING BEHAVIOUR

Forward (2009) investigated driving violations among 275 Swedish volunteers aged 20-75 years old using the TPB. Two measures of driving violation were made based on the following scenarios:

- Speeding in an urban area - "You are driving through an urban area. The time is 11.30 on a fine and dry day. The road has a 50 km/h speed limit but you are driving at 65 km/h".

- Dangerous overtaking - "You are driving on a rural road where the speed limit is 90 km/h. The time is 11.30 on a fine and dry day. On this section of the road there are a series of bends and the visibility is poor. In front of you is a lorry, which is being driven at 65 km/h. You have now been stuck behind this lorry for about 2 km and you have not met anybody in the last 5 min. You begin to be short of time and even if the view is still restricted, you pull out and start to overtake" (p227).

All responses were recorded on a seven-point scale. In relation to the TPB, the parts of the model were measured by the following items:

- Intention - "I intend to drive (as indicated by the scenario) within the next three weeks".

- Attitude towards behaviour - eight items; eg: behaviour in scenario "will take me to the destination quicker", "makes me feel uneasy", "makes the driving more exciting".

- Subjective norms - "Completely acceptable-completely unacceptable" in relation to three groups: same age and sex, same age different sex, older.

- Perceived behaviour control - Three items; eg: "Somebody else or something else could make me violate even if I didn't want to".

The intention to perform the behaviour in the scenarios was used as the means to sub-divide the participants into "intenders" (ie: driving violation) and "non-intenders" [18], then the difference between these two

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[18] Intenders (n = 48) scored 1-3 on 7-point scale and non-intenders (n = 201) 5-7, where 1 = strongly agree to 7 = strongly disagree.

groups was examined [19].

Significant differences between intenders and non-intenders were found for attitude towards the behaviour of speeding, like "makes the driving more pleasant" (intenders stronger agreement), "makes me feel uneasy" (non-intenders stronger agreement), and "makes my driving more adjusted to other drivers" (intenders stronger agreement). Similar differences occurred for dangerous overtaking, including causing "accident with other vehicle" (intenders stronger disagreement) and "an outlet for emotions" (intruders stronger agreement) (table 4.1).

ITEM	INTENDERS		NON-INTENDERS	
	SPEEDING	DANGEROUS OVERTAKING	SPEEDING	DANGEROUS OVERTAKING
Makes me feel uneasy	3.51	4.10	5.12	6.67
Accident with other vehicle	3.42	4.10	4.66	6.52
Accident with pedestrian	4.02	*	5.17	*
Makes driving more pleasant	3.81	*	1.67	*
Makes my driving more adjusted to other drivers	4.27	*	2.49	*
Will take me to destination quicker	4.56	*	3.13	2.90
Makes driving more exciting	2.00	*	1.37	*
An outlet for emotions	*	3.44	*	1.43

(* No significantly different; higher scores = agreement)
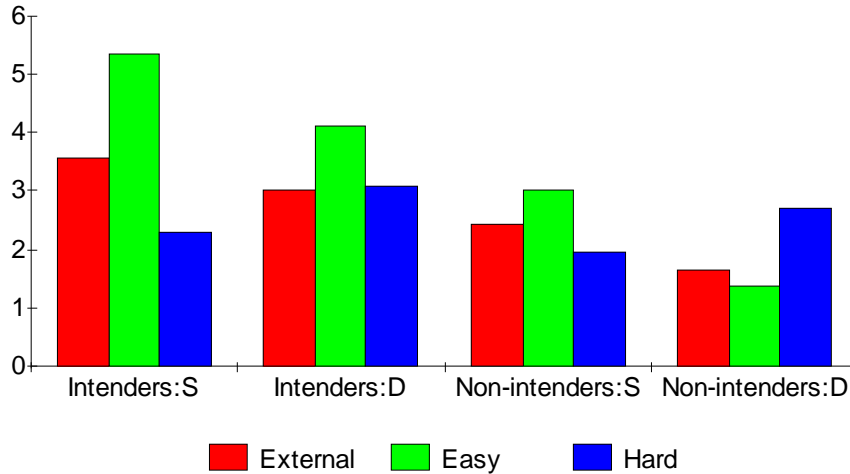
(After Forward 2009)

Table 4.1 - Mean scores (out of 7) on different items showing significant differences between intenders and non-intenders.

In terms of subjective norms, intenders perceived that all three reference groups would accept their speeding in an urban area and the dangerous overtaking. Men of the same age were perceived as accepting the behaviours more by all participants.

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[19] An intermediate group, scoring 4 on scale, were excluded from analysis (n = 26).

For the perceived behaviour control items, intenders were more likely to feel external pressure to do the behaviours and harder to avoid them, but easier to carry them out (eg: perform the overtaking) (figure 4.2).

Intenders:S/Unintenders:S = speeding in urban area
Intenders:D/Uninteders:D = dangerous overtaking
External = "External pressure to violate despite own will"
Easy = "Easy to violate"
Hard = "Hard to avoid violating

(After Forward 2009)

Figure 4.2 - Mean scores (out of seven) on measures of perceived behaviour control.

These findings can be placed within the TPB framework to show the factors involved in intending to speed in an urban area or dangerous overtaking (figure 4.3).

Intenders had mostly positive associations with the driving violation behaviours, felt that others were accepting of the behaviours, and had paradoxical reasoning about perceived behaviour control than non-intenders. In the latter case, intenders felt in control of their actions (eg: able to overtake) while not in control of them (eg: hard to avoid violations). Forward (2009) argued that the not in control was "a form of excuse for committing an act they knew was wrong".
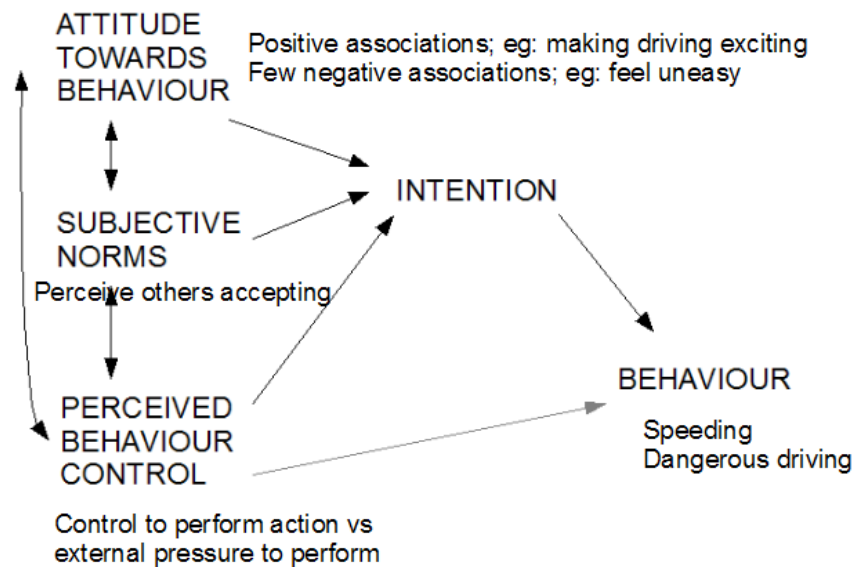
ATTITUDE TOWARDS BEHAVIOUR — Positive associations; eg: making driving exciting / Few negative associations; eg: feel uneasy

SUBJECTIVE NORMS — Perceive others accepting

INTENTION

BEHAVIOUR — Speeding / Dangerous driving

PERCEIVED BEHAVIOUR CONTROL — Control to perform action vs external pressure to perform

Figure 4.3 - The Theory of Planned Behaviour as applied to two driving violations after findings from Forward (2009).

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5. GAY SEXUAL HOMICIDE

The vast literature on sexual crime assumes a male assailant and a female victim. But there are cases where both the assailant and the victim are male (ie: sexual crimes against gay men).

Bartlett (2007) investigated killings of gay men related to "relatively casual sexual activity" in England and Wales using the Homicide Index (HI). This is a computerised record kept by the Home office since 1976 of all homicides. The convicted murder of seventy-seven men (by 78 perpetrators) were classed as "homosexual: casual" in the HI and included for analysis.

The HI and the Crown Prosecution Service (CPS) files are a rich source of data for researchers into crime, but they are not without limitations (table 5.1).

- HI records information as collected by the police. Therefore it is classed as "official statistics", and it depends upon homicides known about by the authorities. It is not the same as all homicides as information may be missing.

- The accuracy of the categories of homicide depends upon the coding of information when entered into the HI database.

- The CPS files contain information prepared for trial, or "compiled with an objective of deciding whether a case ought to go to trial, not with the objective of understanding gay sexual homicide" (Bartlett 2007).

- The files contain information collected in police interviews, and is not observations by disinterested parties. The accused, for example, has many motives during interrogation, not least, in many cases, claiming his innocence. Police interviews cannot be read uncritically.

Table 5.1 - Limitations of using official records to study gay sexual homicide.

Of the 77 murders, the majority (60; 78%) involved a killer acting alone who had not previously killed anyone. Over three-quarters of cases occurred in the assailant's or the victim's home. Attacks indoors tend to be related to allegations of sexual advances, while "hate crimes" are more frequently outdoors and perpetuated by groups.

The method of homicide divided roughly into thirds - use of sharp instrument, use of blunt instrument, and strangling/asphyxiation/drowning.

The median age for murders was 23 years old, but 43 years old for the victims. Thus younger men were killing older men. This is different to the general pattern of homicides against men in England and Wales. Of 2123 men

aged over 15 killed between 1985 and 1994 by strangers and acquaintances, 67% were over 30 (Soothill et al 1999) (compared to 80% here). While for heterosexual sexual murder, the average age of the male assailant was thirty and the female victim 38 years old (Grubin 1994).

Sixty-one of the 78 perpetrators (78%) were receiving benefits and/or unemployed at the time of the murder (compared to 455 of victims). Many of them had a history of violent behaviour, and offending prior to homicide.

Table 5.2 shows a comparison of Bartlett's findings with those of Tomsen (2002) who studied gay sexual homicide in New South Wales, Australia over a similar period.

	BARTLETT (2007)	TOMSEN (2002)
Details of study	77 homicides in England and Wales 1976-2001	74 homicides in New South Wales 1980-2000
Location of homicide: public area	16%	17%
Lone perpetrators	78%	58%
Strangers	45%	61%
Main method of homicide	blunt instrument 31% sharp instrument 30% strangulation 30%	punching/kicking 45%
Perpetrator: unemployed	78%	41% (of those known)

Table 5.2 - Similarities and differences in two studies of gay sexual homicide.

Bartlett (2007) explored the social context of the murders. They did not fit with the issues of patriarchal power seen in male attacks on women (eg: Scully 1990), nor the public expression of masculinity of group homophobic attacks (eg: Comstock 1991). The majority of cases took place in private, and the power relations in such situations is complex. A younger man kills an older man. Does the older man have the power because of their age, or the younger man because of the fear of betrayal (eg: blackmail) in the older man?

So, "unlike the image of the male killers in heterosexual sexual crime, the assailants in this study appear to be remarkably vulnerable" (Bartlett 2007). For example, an assailant in his 20s, who went home with a man in his late 40s met at a gay bar, because the former needed a place to stay after leaving his boyfriend. The

older man forced himself on the younger man, and the latter had reacted, leading to the murder.

"In a number of cases, this one included, it is extremely tempting to ask whether the assailants can have been so naive, given the situation they have gotten themselves into, as to be surprised at the sexual advance. In this case, the assailant went home with a man from a gay bar at closing time; the possibility that the partner was expecting a sexual encounter must have crossed the assailant's mind. This was certainly the view of the police in this case: in their view, the younger man was a rent boy, and the dispute was probably about payment" (Bartlett 2007 p588).

But: "The apparent powerlessness of the assailant does not necessarily mean the empowerment of the deceased ...the deceased are also frequently socially marginalized, almost as much as their assailants. Further, in cases in which assailants do indicate a wish to leave, they often also say that the deceased begged or pleaded with them to stay — hardly an attitude of power on the part of the deceased" (Bartlett 2007 pp589-590).

Bartlett preferred to place the cases in the context of impulsive killing (table 5.3) which was triggered by sexual advances. There was ambiguity in many assailant's reports of their sexual orientation, whether any form of sexual behaviour had occurred, and their expectations about such things.
For example, one assailant reported:

> I was walking up towards [a club] to go through
> because I had to walk it off because I was drunk,
> I seen this guy and he said to me, alright mate,
> where are you going, and I told him I was going home
> and he said, I'll give you a lift and I said no I
> need to walk home. And he said, it's freezing, so
> he said, I'll give you a lift in my car it's only
> down there, so I said, alright then, and then I
> was telling him then about my father and my father
> died on that day [. . .] I was upset and that and
> he put his arm around me and I thought nothing of
> it then, I just thought that he was comforting me
> because I was upset. And then he said, come on
> let's go I'll take you home man. When we was
> walking down to his car he tried it on with me
> so I just fucking flipped, I'm sorry, I didn't
> mean to kill him (Bartlett 2007 p590).

While another assailant, who had returned to an older man's flat after meeting in a gay bar, told the police:

> We got a taxi just outside St. Martins in the Field

Church, took us back to his flat, made us a cup of
coffee once we got in the flat and started to take
my clothes off and that er went to bed. He just
started touching me up playing with my private
parts you know. This had been going on for about
ten or fifteen minutes or so. All I wanted to do
was sleep you know, but I just started to feel
this sense of nausea, disgust in myself, so I
got up and went to the toilet. As I passed the
toilet, there's a kitchen and I seen there was
a knife lying next to the sink. I just picked it
up and went back into the bedroom and they guy
was er going to stand up and I just lashed out
with the knife. I stabbed him in the neck
(Bartlett 2007 p589).

- History of multiple anti-social acts;
- Offences are poorly structured, committed without planning;
- Frequent involvement in amateurish and semi-professional crime;
- Lifestyle characterized by lack of direction, random actions and unpredictability;
- Offenders are passive, easily led and overreact to environmental circumstances;
- Personality is loosely integrated, with strong feelings of inadequacy;
- Frequent history of developmental disabilities (eg: ADHD, learning and speech problems, minor physical handicaps);
- Chronic feelings of hostility and anger, and a non-specific need for revenge;
- May not have impulse control disorder.

(Source: Schlesinger 2004 p102 quoted in Bartlett 2007 p593)

Table 5.3 - Characteristics of impulsive offenders.

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