

**AN INVESTIGATION INTO SEXUAL KILLING: CONSIDERATIONS FOR
ASSESSMENT, UNDERSTANDING MOTIVATION AND FUTURE RESEARCH**

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By

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ABSTRACT

Objective: This thesis reports an investigation into characteristics of sexual killers and their offences. Sexual killing was defined where there was a disclosure by the perpetrator that the killing had a sexual element, or there was evidence of sexual behaviour prior to or following the killing, or the victim's clothes had been disturbed in a way that could not be explained by simply movement of the body. Consideration was given to perpetrators in terms of their childhood, adulthood, crimes and victim to understand better perpetrators of these crimes.

Method: A template was developed to code the files of a sample of sexual killers for the presence or absence of items relevant to understanding perpetrators. Analysis of the data was undertaken to determine the characteristics of sexual killers. The data were examined to consider perpetrators who victimised a stranger, used a "hands-on" method of killing, disclosed fantasy, and were considered a loner at the time of the offence. Logistic regression analysis was carried out to identify variables that predicated an offender's membership of these four groups.

Results: Evidence was found to suggest that those perpetrators who victimise strangers are a distinct group, while perpetrators who use a "hands on" method of killing showed a more controlled killing with less excessive injury. In addition, perpetrators who disclosed fantasy experienced problems with parental and childhood social relationships and shared a number of characteristics with perpetrators who were considered loners. A developmental model of sexual killing based on the findings of this research was proposed.

Conclusions: The findings supported previous research suggesting that being a loner is a characteristic of sexual killers and an indication that it is associated with those perpetrators who disclose fantasy. There was also a suggestion that the offences of sexual killers who victimise strangers are driven by sexual motivation and that strangulation itself is sexually significant. Future assessment of sexual killers should focus upon factors identified in this study to inform treatment and also consider the possible implications for risk assessment. Steps towards validation of the model proposed in this study will help with further understanding the development and motivation of sexual killers.

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I am conscious of the many victims of the crimes that form the subject of this research. I have, while working on this thesis, sometimes thought about the terrible circumstances in which their lives ended. I hope that the research that I have undertaken will contribute, in some way, to help the prevention of such crimes.

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CHAPTER ONE SEXUAL KILLING: A LITERATURE REVIEW

Sexual killing - when there is a fusion of sex (actual or intended) and aggression during the taking of a life - forms the subject for the research reported in this thesis. To set the context for this investigation, this chapter will review the literature on sexual killing and, where relevant, related areas. The aim of this review is to arrive at an understanding of both how sexual murder has been defined and what is understood about it in terms of motivation, how it is characterised, its prevalence and what is known about the perpetrators.

History of Murder

Historical Background

Killing and the taking of human life have occurred since time began. It is rare for other species to kill their own kind and murder is therefore considered largely a human phenomenon (Lunde, 1976). One of the earliest written records of violence, including murder, is contained in the Old Testament and suggests that crime has accompanied our earliest societies (Marriner, 1991). The introduction of laws with consequences for those who break them has characterised the development of society.

Early law. The Sumerian society which formed in 2250 BC developed law, including contracts of marriage, with safeguards for those entering into union.

King Hamurabi, who lived in one of the earliest known civilisations in 1792-1750 BC in Mesopotamia, “Would have a secure place in history if we knew nothing of him except his reputation as a law-giver; his code is the oldest statement of the legal principle of an eye for an eye” (Roberts, 1990, p.59). This legal principle has formed the basis for early law making (Roberts, 1990) and early rules and laws have always been accompanied by consequences for those who break them.

Religion and murder. Penalties for those who break laws have been considered in early religious texts. For example, in the book of Genesis, God is recorded as telling Noah, “Whoso shall sheddeth a man’s blood, by man shall his blood be shed: for in the image of God made he man” (Genesis 9 vs. 6-9). Within the Christian religion, the first ever murderer is recorded in the Old Testament; the son of Adam and Eve named Cain, who took the life of his brother (Black, 1991; Marriner, 1991).

Capital punishment. There are those who believe that God gave a clear mandate for capital punishment and in fact demands it for any person that murders another human being (Brown, 1992). Others have argued the opposite, believing that the book of Genesis forbids capital punishment (Weatherfield, n.d.). However, regardless of the nature of the penalty, murder is considered the most serious crime by many societies throughout the world and is punished by all

legal systems (Wolfgang & Ferracuti, 1967). For a comprehensive review of the history of murder, it would be necessary to consider the role that different countries, religions and cultures have played in arriving at how it is viewed globally. However, for the purpose of the current study, consideration has been limited to the United States of America (USA) and Europe, particularly the United Kingdom (U.K) where the current research has been undertaken.

Early Murderers

Christianity and murder. From a Christian religion perspective, God has been viewed as the first murderer, on the grounds that when Adam lost immortality because he disobeyed God, death ensued for all of mankind thereafter (Romans 5:12), which was a murderous act on the part of God. However, as stated above, Cain is more widely considered the first murderer after killing his brother Abel. God has also been cited as the first mass murderer, exercising global capital punishment on an Earth filled with violence including wanton murder through deluge (Genesis 6 vs. 11-13). Consideration will now be given to how murder has been defined within the USA and UK.

Defining Murder

Context

Legal definition. Social scientists, anthropologists and researchers, as well as lawmakers, have all defined murder. The legal definition of murder in England and Wales dates back to the 17th Century, when Sir Edward Coke described how it is “To cause death in the course of committing any unlawful act” (“*Select Committee of Murder and Life Imprisonment*”, 1989). Manslaughter as a definition was introduced in England and Wales in 1750 for death resulting from unlawful acts other than while a felony was being carried out.

Intent. Holmes and Homes (2001) argued “Homicide and murder are synonymous” (p.2) and defined homicide as “The unlawful killing of a human being by another human being” (p.2). Other definitions stipulate that injury-causing death must be *purposely inflicted* (Busch & Cavanagh, 1986). Wolfgang and Ferracuti (1967) distinguish between “Premeditated, felonious, intentional, planned, and rational murder” and “slaying in the heat of passion, or killing as a result of intent to harm, but not specific” (p.198).

Intent and the law. Premeditation is crucial to those legal definitions where murder has been differentiated in terms of severity from other types of homicide on the basis of intent, or “Malice afterthought” (Lunde, 1976). Lunde observed that “Malice is the particular guilty state of mind that is required in establishing the crime of murder” (p.3).

Malice and manslaughter. In USA, malice translates to determining whether murder is in the first or second degree (Holmes & Holmes, 2001). The prosecution must prove that the murder was both considered beforehand and deliberate for first degree to be accepted, while second degree must be seen to contain a degree of malice prior to the act in the absence of premeditation or deliberation (Holmes & Holmes, 2001). In America, “Manslaughter is the unlawful taking of a life without malice or the intent to do harm” (Holmes & Holmes, 2001 p.3). If the killing is

intended but still without malice, this is termed voluntary manslaughter (Holmes & Holmes, 2001). Within England and Wales, manslaughter and manslaughter with diminished responsibility are used to differentiate killings where there is either an absence of evidence of premeditation, or diminished responsibility was at work to prevent consideration of intent from those where killing was intended, i.e. murder.

The insanity plea. Some acts of murder may be considered separate from criminal responsibility because of insanity (Busch & Kavanagh, 1986; Holmes & Holmes, 2001; Lunde, 1976), or have been sanctioned by society, such as police officers who kill in the line of duty or soldiers at war, who are generally excluded (Busch & Cavanagh, 1986). In some states in the USA, justifiable force is extended to the protection of a dwelling (Holmes & Holmes, 2001). Finally, the insanity plea, often via The M'Naughten Rule, is used to determine if a defendant's inability to know right from wrong was on account of a mental impairment (Hickey, 1997) and is the standard used in both the USA and UK.

For the purpose of this review, the term killings will be adopted from now on to include all different types of murder, regardless of the nature of conviction or whether the perpetrator has been apprehended, been found guilty with diminished responsibility etc., unless stated otherwise.

Study of Murder

Background

Breadth of study. Studies of murder have included social, cultural and biological approaches (Eggar, 1998; Lunde, 1976; Stone, 2001), with an array of factors having been considered as possibly influencing murderous behaviour as well as the manner in which it is carried out. These factors have included brain pathology (Eggar, 1984; Langevin, Ben-Aron, Wright, Marchese, & Handy 1988; Malmquist, 1996), substance abuse (Malmquist, 1996), mental illness (Revitch, 1965), hormones (Hickey, 1997; Malmquist, 1996), and instincts (McDougal, 1960, Cited in Malmquist, 1996). Theories of aggression, including homicidal acts, have encompassed developmental (Bandura, 1973), cultural (Lundsgaarde, 1977), environmental (Stone, 2001), inadequate socialisation (Eggar, 1984; Stone, 2001) and personality factors (Megaree & Bohn, 1979). Some examples of areas that have been studied are now briefly considered.

Inheritance. Early attempts to study murder tried to identify common features within groups of people who had committed this crime (Lunde, 1976). It remains to be established that criminal behaviour is the result of inheritance of traits and therefore, that innate instincts can be of benefit to the study of murder (Hickey, 1997).

Biological Approach. The original biocrininologist scrutinised head shape to establish the causes of violent behaviour (Hickey, 1997). Modern biological approaches have considered brain injury and brain pathology (Hickey, 1997) to provide more specific understanding of the causes of killing (Malmquist, 1996). Literature in support of theories that brain pathology contributes to the carrying out of violent acts is steadily increasing (e.g. Eggar, 1998; Hucker et al., 1998; Langevin, Ben-Aron, Wortzman, Dickey & Handy, 1987; Nestor, 1992, Raine, Buchsbaum & LaCasse,

1997). For example, Raine, Meloy, Bihrls, Stoddard, LaCasse and Buchsbaum (1998) found that “Relative balance” in certain brain regions was “Critically important in predisposing to violence” (p.321).

Social theories. Wilson (1988) argued that social factor explanations, such as that put forward by Lundsgaarde (1977), do not account for people who, although they experience the same “cultural mileux” that is believed to shape and develop behaviour, do not go on to commit murder, while others do. Wilson (1988) argues that the study of those killers from social backgrounds characterised by hardship and the individual’s accompanying personality traits alone is not sufficient to understand causes of child killers.

Psychoanalytical explanations. Psychodynamic explanations, often applying Freudian thinking, have been proposed to understand aggression as well as murder (DeHart & Mahoney, 1994; Eggar, 1997; Hickey, 1997). Although Freud did not interview or analyse murderers in person, other supporters of his principals who practise psychodynamics have (Abrahamsen, 1973). A lack of empirical support for psychoanalytical explanations questions whether it provides a “Cogent theory of criminal behaviour” (Wilson, 1988, p.269).

Personality traits. The importance of establishing identifiable personality traits in order to provide treatment and predict dangerousness for prevention of murder has been raised (Simon, 1977) and there have been some reports of higher incidence of psychopathy (Meloy, 2000) and personality disorders amongst murderers (Firestone, Bradford, Greenberg & Larose, 1998) and among sexual killers (Porter et al.,2003).

Although existing research has placed an emphasis on identifying individual causes, to date single factor theories, such as presence of personality disorder, have failed to explain the act of killing (Malmquist, 1997). While studies are beginning to identify factors related to a higher prevalence of killing, the current state of research is still appropriately described by Langevin et al. (1987) who wrote that “Violent behaviour is a complex phenomenon, influenced by a number of important factors such as brain pathology” and these “Can interact in complex ways that make their unique contributions difficult to determine” (p.78).

Sexual Offending and Murder

Early Cases

Attachment of sexual offending to killing. The ‘attachment’ of sexual offending to killing has an equally long history to that of murder in terms of both perpetrator and punishment. The law that God handed down to Moses included bestiality and incest as punishable by death (Brown, 1992) and the Old Testament details the Rape of Dinah, daughter of Jacob and Leah, by Shechem, son of Hamor the Hivite (Genesis, 34).

Historical Context. Aside from the Old Testament, there are accounts of mass killers, also deemed sexual killers, from Europe in the 15th Century. For example, Hickey (1997) recounts how Gilles de Rais is believed to have taken the lives of hundreds of children and to have both drunk their blood and carried out necrophilic acts with their bodies and heads. Hickey also cites

Countess Elizabeth Bathory as an early serial killer - widely considered when there are 3-4 victims, typically with a theme to the method of killing, motive or victim type - (Hickey, 1997). A wife and mother, Countess Bathory is believed to have tortured and killed hundreds of women, including young girls, and bathed in their blood in her castle in Hungary during the 15th Century. Although there remains doubt that she actually committed murder herself, she is believed to have been accountable for what took place within her grounds (Thorne, 1997).

Modern Killers.

These historical cases of mass killers serve to demonstrate that a linking of sex with killing has been in societies' psyche, at least in Europe, and attracted some level of interest for hundreds of years, even though the actual facts of these cases cannot be fully established. In terms of identifying those sex killers who blend into the community in which they live, work and commit their crimes and therefore resemble perpetrators who form the basis for consideration in this thesis, their recorded history is arguably more recent. The rape and killing in 1867 of an 8 year-old girl by Frederick Baker in Hampshire, after he lured her away from her friends, is thought to be one of the earliest recorded examples of a sexual killing (Marriner, 1991; Wilson & Seaman, 1996). This crime predates Jack The Ripper, the most infamous of serial killers, thought by some to be a sexual killer, who murdered and disembowelled five prostitutes in London in 1888 (Marriner, 1992)

Serial Sexual Killers

While serial killers do not have to be sexual, Wilson and Seaman (1996) suggested a butcher in France in 1871 as possibly the first sexual serial killer. Named Eusebius Pieydagnelle, he is understood to have gained sexual pleasure, to the point of orgasm, from stabbing the six young women whose lives he took. While the 19th Century provides evidence of crimes comparable with sexual killings in current times, it is arguably the 20th Century where the sexual killer arrived as a gruesome but established element within society. Marriner (1992) proposed that it is Reginald Christie, and not Jack the Ripper "Whom we should claim as the man who truly ushered in the modern age of the sex killer, the era when the sex killer emerged as a social reality" (p.25). Christie took the lives of at least six women in his home in London during the 1950s, so that he could commit sex with their bodies and, unlike Jack the Ripper, there was a recognition that his behaviour was calculated to fulfil this desire rather than being the work of a man crazed or possessed by the devil (Marriner, 1992). Other infamous British killers have included Dennis Nielsen, unique in being our only known case of a homosexual serial killer (Wilson & Seaman, 1996). Rosemary West was convicted in 1995 for her part in the murders of 10 young girls, with her husband Fred, thought to have been carried out over three decades. Fred West escaped prosecution by taking his life shortly before his trial (Gekoski, 1998) and the total number of his victims is not known. Peter Sutcliffe, also known as The Yorkshire Ripper, killed 13 women in Yorkshire between 1975 and 1980 (Bilton, 2003) prior to his arrest. Although, as demonstrated by the cases above, there were earlier killers who would aptly fit the criteria for a serial killer, the

actual term was used from around 1980 to explain a sharp increase in killings for which the motive was not apparent (Wilson & Seaman, 1991). Wilson and Seaman (1996) suggest that the sheer size of the USA has allowed killers to move from State to State, committing their crimes without detection. Although serial killing this is believed to be most prevalent in the USA, it is considered an international phenomenon (Marriner, 1991).

Defining Sexual Killing

The acknowledgement that sexual killers are a part of society has led for a need to better understand this crime regardless of whether or not it is serial in nature. This need for better understanding relates to help with detection, recording, study and sharing of information and findings about the perpetrators. It is necessary to provide a definition for this criminal behaviour to help clarify matters.

Difficulties in reaching a definition

The present review will show that there are a number of problems in defining sexual killing. These problems, it will be argued, stem from three issues. First, sexual killing is a broad subject that encompasses many kinds of killing (Malmquist, 1996), making it difficult to find a generic definition that will characterise all types of this crime. Second, different theories about both what it encompasses and how sexual killing should be characterised have resulted in variations in its definition which are not always referring to the same thing. Third, the application of different or inadequate definitions has had implications for the study of sexual killing as well as communication of findings to arrive at a shared and better understanding of this crime. The application of different applications has impeded efforts to more effectively characterise this behaviour and improve attempts to reach a satisfactory or definitive definition. In addition to the difficulties in defining this crime, there are a number of very practical problems in applying definitions to actual cases and across different settings, e.g. identifying sexual killers amongst incarcerated offenders (Clarke & Carter, 2000).

The Need to Know that a Killing is Sexual

Identifying that a killing is sexual has implications for apprehension on the basis that this could provide information about the motive (Geberth, 1991). It is also necessary if we are going to record accurately rates of this crime and establish its prevalence. Surveys assessing crime seriousness reveal that there is a large level of concern regarding sexual killing felt by the public (e.g. Roberts & Grossman, 1993). Accurate rates will help determine whether or not there is any reason to feel that members of the public are at increased risk of being victims of a sexual killer, particularly where young children are concerned (Wilson, 1988). Sexual killings gain a lot of media attention. Soothill (1993) observed that serial sexual killers cause "Moral panic" although in contrast to other concerns such as "The visibility of prostitution" (p.341), he noted that "The activity of serial killing, in Britain at least, has remained very limited indeed" (p.342). Accurate figures are therefore, arguably, needed to set a context to the great volume of attention that these crimes receive. Roberts and Grossman (1993) observe that "It is noteworthy that the most

notorious murderers in history were individuals who committed sexually-related murders” (p.7) and include two British killers amongst the examples given. For undertaking research, we need a definition to study, understand and share information about this crime to help with prevention, apprehension, and treatment and where appropriate, decisions about releasing incarcerated perpetrators. These issues will be returned to more fully following a review of the literature relating to definition.

Legal Context

There is no legal definition or crime of sexual killing in either the USA (Folino, 2000) or the United Kingdom. The possible sexual dynamics of a killing are often ignored by the police or courts (Arrigo & Purcell, 2001; Brownmiller, 1975; Folino, 2000; McDonald, 1971; Revitch, 1965). The Police may lack the necessary understanding to identify that a killing was sexual (Arrigo & Purcell, 2001) and, even so, uncovering forensic evidence that indicates a sexual killing can be extremely difficult (Grubin, 1994). Canada is the only country that specifically records data on sexual killings (Schlesinger, 2004), although in England and Wales, Home Office crime figures for convicted killers are coded as to whether a killing was sexual. In the absence of guidance from government bodies or legal definitions, it has been left to interested parties such as researchers, practitioners and law *enforcement* agencies to identify sexual killers.

When is a Killing Sexual?

Perhaps the first complication in defining sexual killing is deciding when killing should be considered sexual (Malmquist, 1996, West, 1996). In the broadest terms, sexual killing could be viewed as a killing with some kind of connection to sex. On this basis, the following deaths or killings could all be considered sexual: killing where a victim is selected on the basis of gender (Roberts & Grossman, 1993); killing as a result of jealousy (Geberth, 1996, West, 1996); or killing in response to a homosexual sexual advance (Prins, 1986). Roberts and Grossman (1983) suggest, “The issue turns upon the question of whether ‘sexual’ connotes sexual activity, or at least the intent to engage in some form of sexual activity, or whether ‘sexual’ means something broader, as in ‘gender-based’” (p.10). However, the types of killings described above are not usually categorised as sexual killings (Malmquist, 1996; West, 1996) although they could be considered sex-related (Geberth, 1996; Rupp, 1980). In the sex-related killings above, there is an absence of actual sexual activity at the time of death.

Sexual Activity

Narrowing the definition to consider the intention to engage in actual sexual activity does not remove difficulties in both characterising sexual killings and discriminating them from other killings. For example, the intended or actual sex could be prior to, during or after the killing (Porter, Woodworth, Earle, Drugge, & Boer, 2003) and in some cases could occur in two or at all three stages.

To help illustrate the many ways that sex can be attached to a killing that appear in the literature, Table 1.1 below has been constructed to bring together a number of examples. These examples highlight the range of ways sex can be attached; prior to, during or post- killing.

Table 1.1 ‘Attachment’ of Sex to Killing

Prior to killing	During killing	Post- killing
Because sexual impulse and sadism both associated in selection of victims for poisoning (Jesse, 1924)	Through activity of rape (Krafft-Ebbing, 1888)	Through the placing of a weapon near the victim providing sexual gratification (De River, 1950)
As victim selected on basis of gender* (Roberts & Grossman, 1993), they are elderly, a child (Hickey, 1997) or their sexuality (Wilson & Seaman, 1996).	Through killing becoming equivalent of coitus (Podolsky, 1965)	In the taking of a “Souvenir” from victim having sexual significance e.g. finger, lock of hair (Hazelwood & Douglas, 1980)
Through the selection of the murder weapon having sexual significance (De River, 1950).		
Killing parents so that they will not feel shame and embarrassment as a result of sexual killings they intend to carry out (Bartholomew, Milte & Galbally, 1975).	In the nature of violation and torture during the killing (Rappaport, 1988)	In the sexual arousal and “strong sexual significance” of post mortem slashing, stabbing, torture of or close to genitalia (De River, 1950)
Because of its relevance to an argument with sexual partner or prospective partner that triggers killing (Ressler et al, 1988, Clarke & Carter, 2000)	Through the method of killing providing psychosexual gratification e.g. strangulation (Hazelwood & Douglas, 1980)	In the acting out of sadistic fantasy through necrophilia and anthropophagy with the corpse (Geberth, 1991)
As sex is related to vanity and killing triggered by threat to vanity and becomes the driving force in perpetrator considering them self as “romantic and tragic figure” that triggers intention to kill (Jesse, 1924)	Through overkill, infliction of excessive injury above that needed to cause death being “highly” suggestive of sexual motivation (Geberth, 1986)	In the insertion of objects in body cavities, breast removal/mutilation having sexual significance Through sight of blood causing sexual arousal (Willfen, cited in Podolsky, 1965, Clarke & Carter, 2000)

Prior to killing	During killing	Post- killing
As the sight of naked flesh activates erotic desire (Willfen, cited in Podolsky, 1965)	As fear of their sexually aggressive feelings motivates them to kill (Podolsky, 1965)	Through dressing of victims body in sexually provocative clothing (Geberth & Turco, 1997)
Because perpetrator interrupted while they are carrying out a sexual activity e.g. autoeroticism	Because they are only able to achieve orgasm through strangling and stabbing (Wilson, 1984)	Because prior sexual assault triggers the need to eliminate a single witness or witnesses to a sexual offence (Bartholomew, Milte & Kilde, 1975, Keppal & Walter, 1999, Krafft-Ebbing, 1888).
Through the dressing of the victim in sexually provocative clothing (Geberth & Turco, 1997) or through the tying and positioning of the victim in sexually provocative poses to the perpetrator	Through infliction of humiliation causing fear and terrorism to victim, rituals to gain erotic arousal (Langevin et al, 1988)	Fantasy about murder that they have carried out while having sex at a later date with a partner to reach satisfaction (DeRiver, 1950)
Due to victim refusal of a sexual advance or initiation to go on a "date" (Canter, 1994) or because they have not been complimentary about their sexual performance following sex (Clarke & Carter, 2000)	To demonstrate virility following a failed marriage and rejection by mother (Abrahamsen, 1973)	
Through sexual excitement caused by victim being unconscious (Langevin et al, 1988)	In the gratification from arson, random stabbing or hitting victims over the head with a hammer (Marriner, 1991)	
	Through the sexual excitement to the point of orgasm as a result of causing trains to explode and crash (Wilson, 1984) Also relevant post killing	

* Victim wearing clothes, hair length, nationality, hair colour or length because victim or represented someone who had sexually abused/assaulted perpetrator.

= Can also occur pre and post killing

On the basis of the different stages that sex can be attached, killing out of anger following an argument with a partner about or following sex could be considered a sexual killing and would qualify under a taxonomy of sex-related killings (Clarke & Carter, 2000). In this instance, the sexual activity could be consenting. Therefore, even when considering sexual activity, deliberation needs to be given as to whether this is consenting or not, and when this activity takes place, as the sex and killing are not always “closely bound” (Grubin, 1994).

West (1996) suggested that a killing should be considered as sexual if it had taken place at the time of the sexual activity. It is not clear whether killing and sexual activity would include killings such as perpetrators who kill in order to carry out sexual acts on a corpse, even though the sexual activity occurs after the killing, or whether this would be considered to be at the time of the killing. In practice, West’s (1996) rather narrow criterion has not been routinely followed and, as will be seen, much wider and encompassing definitions of sexual killing have generally been employed.

Related Terms

Establishing similarities and differences in definitions of sexual killing is complicated further by a number of related terms, which could, but do not always, include actual or the intent to engage in sexual activity alongside killing, e.g. mass murder, spree and serial killing (Burgess et al. 1997), motiveless murder (Burgess et al., 1986) and mutilation murder (Watanabe & Tamura, 2001). There are other related terms that more explicitly imply sexual activity and intent, e.g. sadistic murder, or the motivation and victim type, e.g. homosexual sadistic homicide (Swigert, Farrell & Yoels, 1975), and necrophilic homicide or the type of sexual activity that precedes death e.g. rape-murder (Keppal & Walter, 1999). While these terms share commonalities in linking sexual activity to death, the heterogeneity of sexual killers is evident from how this link exists and the range of related terms to describe this behaviour. In addition, as mentioned earlier these killings could involve consenting sex.

Killing During Sexual Assault

West (1987) suggested “Murderous force in the furtherance of a sexual assault is the main criterion” (p.179), for determining that a killing is a sexual killing. Bartholomew, Milte and Galbally (1975) noted growing concern at their time of their writing with “Murder, or gross aggression, being involved with overt sexuality as a necessary part” (p.143). This definition would not necessarily identify cases where the only signs of sex were not overt, e.g. sexual gratification from the placing of the weapon near the victim (see Table 1.1) or where a sexual act was intended but not actually carried out.

Different Types of Sexual Killing

Malmquist (1996), in recognising the problem in determining when killing should be deemed sexual, suggested a “Working breakdown” (p.294) of sexual killings to allow a range of theories that could be considered within each type. In the first, rape killings, the homicide takes place during the course of a “sexual act” and the death is not “part of a ritualised attack”. Second, the

“Lust killer” is “One who has made a vital connection between sexual gratification and violence” (Holmes, 1991, p. 67). In some cases of lust killing, the act of murder becomes “The equivalent of coitus” (p.174) and replaces actual sexual activity (Podolsky, 1965). Third, Malmquist stated that when a victim or a witness is killed to help the perpetrator escape detection, then this should be considered under the heading of “Killings after a sexual act to destroy evidence”.

Bartholomew, Milte, and Galabally (1975) and Malmquist have questioned whether killings after a sexual act to destroy evidence meet the criteria for a sexual killing, although West (1987) believed killing in order to eliminate a witness to rape is a sexual killing, without providing an explanation for this inclusion. Others would exclude this theory alongside cases where the killing was unintended (Bartholomew; Milte & Kite, 1975; Folino, 2000; Keppal & Walter, 1999; Krafft-Ebbing, 1888).

Lust Killing

It is under the heading of sexual lust killings where sadism is believed to be most prevalent, as well as killings by perpetrators who engage in sexual interference post mortem acts with the body, including mutilation of sexual body parts. Malmquist (1996) adopts both “sexual lust” and “sadistic killers” as terms to describe lust killers. Krafft-Ebbing (1888) was the first person to use the term lust murder to describe “Murder out of lust” during the sexual activity of rape to differentiate this kind of killing from when the witness to a sexual offence is being eliminated. The usual motivation for lust murder is thought to be to gain sexual lust (the satiation of strong sexual desires), with sadism the paraphilia most commonly associated with this crime. (Brittain, 1970; Dietz, Hazelwood & Warren, 1990; Langevin et al., 1988). Consideration of the motivation for the killing, the type of sexual activity or intent and the timing of the killing provides a framework to establish similarities and differences in the literature in how sexual killing, and the terms used, have been defined. Table 1.2 has been constructed to help illustrate how definitions of lust murder in the literature, while sharing the same name, have differed. In addition, a sexual killer definition termed “mutilation murder” and another termed “sex-related homicide” have been included in Table 1.2 because they illustrate that although they have a different name, they share many similarities with killings deemed lust killings.

Table 1.2 Definitions of the Lust Murderer

Author	Sexual killing title	Usual motivation for killing	Sadistic element	Motivation of sadistic act	Mutilation element	Motivation of mutilation	Other characteristics
Krafft-Ebbing (1888)	Lust murderer	Sexual lust from killing	Sadistic behaviour can occur prior to and following killing	Sexual enjoyment	Clear indication that murder was out of lust when this is present and injuries are beyond those that could be caused by brutal attempt at coitus	Not specified although is related to gaining sexual lust	Not applicable to rape followed by unintentional killing or murder to get rid of only witness
Podolsky (1965)	Lust Murderer	To overcome resistance	Killing can be part of sadistic act	Satisfactory coitus dependant upon inducing strong emotion in victim such as fear or hatred	Nearly always cutting or stabbing, particularly breasts or genitals with sucking, licking of wounds	Heightened emotion is released upon victim	Sometimes a desire to drink the blood and eat the flesh of the victim; ejaculation followed by violation of victim without attempt at intercourse
Ressler et al (1988)	Mutilation murder	Acting out of fantasies	Rape may be sadistic	Unusual or bizarre imagery or acts may be necessary to elicit feelings of sexual excitement	Mutilation may be sadistic or to depersonalise the victim	Ultimate expression of perpetrator's perversion can be through the mutilation of the victim	Insertion of foreign objects into vaginal and anal cavities of the victim frequently found. These act as sexual substitution

Author	Sexual killing title	Usual motivation for killing	Sadistic element	Motivation of sadistic act	Mutilation element	Motivation of mutilation	Other characteristics
DeRiver (1949)	Lust murder	To relieve sexual tension	Necessary part of killing	Relief through physical injury and torture of the victim	This is a characteristic mark of this type of killer	Not specified	Crime is premeditated, differs from sadistic killer only in that the genitals etc., are mutilated.
Hazelwood and Douglas (1980)	Lust murder: Organized non-social	Because of its impact on society	Can be carried out prior to death	Sexual stimulus through torture, demands a submissive victim, restraints often used	Can take place pre or post mortem		
	Lust Murder: Disorganized Asocial	Due to difficulty in interpersonal relationships and consequent feelings of rejection and loneliness	Carried out following death	Minimal use of restraints, sexual acts after death	More often occurs post-mortem	Sexual stimulus through obsessive sadistic fantasy and involving post mortem mutilation	Usually do not participate in penis-vagina assault
Holmes (1991)	Lust Killer	Hunger for sexual gratification	Many are because of connection between sexual gratification and violence	Sexual pleasure dependent upon level of torture	Often perpetrated	Sexual pleasure dependent upon level of mutilation	Elaborate stalking, carefully planned activities regarding extermination of victim and sexual experimentation after death

Author	Sexual killing title	Usual motivation for killing	Sadistic element	Motivation of sadistic act	Mutilation element	Motivation of mutilation	Other characteristics
Rupp (1980)	Sex-related homicide	Rape or sexual abuse	Often present	Gratification from infliction of pain	Can occur pre and post mortem	Usually involves the breasts and genitals	Insertion of a foreign object into vagina or rectum usually carried out by perpetrator who had some kind of social contact or relationship with victim. Assault follows death, following argument over his sexual performance. Insertion acts as a substitute.

From Table 1.2 it can be seen that authors have arrived at definitions of lust murder that differ in terms of the motivation for the killing, whether and when a sadistic element and/or mutilation is carried out in relation to the killing.

As can also be seen in Table 1.2, the motivation for killing varies from achieving sexual lust (Kraft-Ebbing, 1888) to overcoming victim resistance (Podolsky, 1965). While Holmes (1991) believes that mutilation is often perpetrated during the killing, DeRiver (1949) deems that mutilation is a characteristic mark of the lust killer. On this basis, according to Holmes (1991) it would seem that a lust killer could kill without mutilation. Malmquist (1996) differentiates lust from rape killings on the basis that the principal objective of lust killing is that the killing forms “Part of a ritualized attack” (p.295). However, it is difficult to differentiate criteria for lust killings from sexual killings deemed sadistic killings. DeRiver and later Hazelwood and Douglas (1980) separated lust killers from sadistic killers on the basis of the mutilation of the victim, although the mutilation can be sadistically driven (Hazelwood & Douglas, 1980). Podolsky (1965) attempted to characterise the *Lust murder* without restricting this to killing during the act of rape, although when rape does occur, the killing is “A sadistic aspect of the sexual act” (p.174), the issue being that the murder and sexual activity were directly related. However, the mutilation can be driven by sadistic fantasy (Hazelwood & Douglas, 1980) and the killing can relieve sexual tension. The key characteristics of lust murder would therefore seem to be interchangeable with sadistic killings. Brittain (1970), who provided a clinical description of the Sadistic Killer without offering a definition of sadism (MacCulloch et al., 1983) or of sadistic murderers, included the possibility of mutilation of the sexual body parts within injuries inflicted by perpetrators of these crimes.

All descriptions of lust killers outlined in Table 1.2 include the presence or possibility of sadistic behaviour and mutilation (DeRiver, 1949; Hazelwood & Douglas; 1980; Holmes, 1991; Krafft-Ebbing 1888; Podolsky, 1965). Table 1.2 shows that it is difficult to separate mutilation from sadistic behaviour and in turn, difficult to conclude that mutilation indicates a lust killing that could be considered as distinct from sadistic killing. It is therefore understandable that Malmquist (1996) considers sexual lust and sadistic killings as one and the same.

Summary

Malmquist (1996) recognised that his working breakdown of sexual killing was unable to clearly categorise all sexual killings. There is such variation in the manner and type of sexual behaviour, actual or intended, which can be attached to the killing that distinguishing cases discreetly remains problematic. For example, anger on the part of the perpetrator because the victim struck out during an assault could be the trigger for the killing, but the sexual assault could have been a sadistic rape.

In summary, there have been attempts in the literature to define sexual killing by looking at the role and motivation of the intended or actual sexual behaviour in relation to the death. It has been suggested that in lust killing, the act of killing is motivated to sate the sexual desires of the perpetrator, although post mortem behaviour can also be undertaken with this intention. In

addition, difficulty in differentiating sadistic from lust killings has led to these being considered one and the same. While it has been suggested that killings may not be related to sexual arousal and can occur for other more instrumental reasons, e.g. they happen by accident or to eliminate the only witness to a rape, it is not to say that the sexual behaviour preceding these deaths cannot have sadistic elements with aggression related to sexual arousal.

These different definitions and taxonomies, such as the one proposed by Malmquist (1996) illustrate that formulating a definition of sexual killing is difficult. The definitions and taxonomies discussed above. As will be discussed next, there are a number of operational definitions that bring us to a point where we can describe sexual killings although they have limitations.

The Application of Sexual Killings in Practice

Determining Whether Killings are Sexual in Practice

In practice, killings have been defined as sexual because of evidence of a sexual act (Folino, 2000), often drawn from the crime scene to establish presence of a sexual component (Myers, Burgess, Burgess, & Douglas, 1999). When analysing crime scene information, the extent to which it can be considered as clear evidence of a sexual element can vary considerably. For example, there could be tangible evidence of the killing being sexual, e.g. pathologist indication of forced sex alongside evidence that the victim was strangled and found tied up with rope beyond that required as a restraint. In such instances, a conclusion that the killing is sexually related may be reached with a reasonably high level of confidence. However, the extent to which the actual killing was in pursuit of satiating sexual desire would still require reliable and open disclosure from the perpetrator to rule out other possibilities, e.g. that the victim was killed to remove the only witness to a sadistic rape.

Sometimes there can be less tangible evidence of a sexual element. In these cases, conclusions that a killing was sexual are harder to reach. Disclosure from the perpetrator, if apprehended and forthcoming, can help determine that the killing was sexual. The following case example, taken from Clarke and Carter (2000), illustrates a scenario where there is less tangible evidence of a killing:“(Case) A was convicted of the murder of a 69-year-old female who was known to him as a consequence of his delivery work for a local butcher. There was no evidence of sexual assault, although the victim’s underwear had been cut off, and she had one stab wound to the groin and another to the chest” (Clarke & Carter, 2000, p.398). This perpetrator, who for 16 years, denied any sexual motivation for the offence disclosed how “The sight and feel of blood always gave him an erection” (p. 398) in addition to fantasies concerning offending while undertaking a treatment programme. This case serves to demonstrate that establishing with confidence that a killing had a sexual motivation may be dependant upon disclosure by the perpetrator (Podolsky, 1965; Ressler et al., 1988). There are other issues that impact upon the degree to which evidence can or cannot help determine whether a killing is sexual. The body may be damaged, e.g. through burning, so that forensic

evidence of sexual assault, torture etc is not available. Watanabe and Tamura (2001) stated that establishing whether mutilation of a body had a sexual element, as opposed to being carried out to aid disposal of the body, became complicated if the parts had decomposed. There are other cases where a lack of evidence or misinterpretation of this information could lead to erroneously believing that a killing is sexual. Meloy (2000) described the case of a perpetrator of a non-sexual murder misleading detectives by “staging” the crime to make it look like a sexual homicide. Folino (2000) argued that those cases where classification that a homicide is sexual occurs on the basis there is evidence of rape preceding the death fail adequately to identify the motivation.

Disclosure from the perpetrator. As mentioned earlier, definitions and taxonomies of sexual killing can most usefully provide a framework to consider different ways in which killing and sexual behaviour is associated. In many instances, disclosure from the perpetrator is required to establish the type of sex concerned with any degree of confidence. While crime scene behaviour may indicate that sex and killing are associated, in the absence of tangible evidence, this must be determined by assessment involving the perpetrator. Cases that rely upon perpetrator disclosure to confirm that they are sexual, and to what extent, will arguably always exist and therefore so will cases where it remains unclear whether the killing is sexual and/or in what way. Sexual killers, like sexual offenders, can often remain partly or in total denial for the majority or all of their incarceration and after release (Clarke & Carter, 2000). In some cases, it will never be clear whether a killing is sexual.

The necessity for clinical information from the perpetrator is aptly illustrated by Bartholomew et al. (1975) who described a case where the perpetrator attempted to kill both of his parents prior to and without ever acting out his sexual murder fantasies. The attempted killing of his parents was motivated by a desire to save them from the shame of what he was going to do, which was to kill both his wife and her sisters after he had restrained, raped and mutilated them. He seriously injured his mother and did kill his father but was apprehended before carrying out the sexually motivated killings. In this case, there is a complete absence of evidence of sexual intent for the murders of his parents, although disclosure by the victim clearly reveals a sexual element in terms of his motivation for the killings.

In conclusion, because sex and killing can be attached in different ways and for different reasons, any definition of sexual killing adopted by staff making forensic assessments should effectively identify cases where there is a possible or probable sexual motivation or element to the offence, or where this is strongly suspected. This definition must be adopted with an acceptance that further assessment will often be required to confirm this and/or to establish the nature of the motivation and element. The definitions and taxonomies described above could help with this. For perpetrators in denial, confirmation that a killing was sexual may remain elusive.

Classification of Sexual Killers

Typologies of Sexual Killers

Schlesinger (1965) proposed a classification of sexual murder where these acts ranged from impulsive to compulsive motivations. The Federal Bureau of Investigation discriminated sexual killers' motivation on the basis of whether crime scene behaviour was considered to be organized or disorganized (Ressler et al., 1988). Further classification systems of killers have been put forward. These typologies share similarities in that they have categories which can be placed under the headings of the killing being sexually motivated, the killing being the result of anger, and the killing where the murder is instrumental to silence the only victim to a crime or enforce submission.

Killing itself is sexual. The actual killing being sexually arousing has been considered as a subgroup within typologies of sexual killing (e.g. Clarke & Carter, 2000) in that it enables the perpetrator to enact and carry out sexual fantasy (Beech et al., 2005) and is related to the murder being highly planned and controlled, with use of restraints (Ressler et al., 1988), and even involving prolonged torture to heighten fantasy (Keppal & Walter, 1999).

Killing triggered by anger. Killings where anger is the trigger are a subgroup of typologies in that they can often lead to overkill in a sexual situation: this may be the result of something that the victim said or did (Clarke & Carter, 2000), or a grievance held against women (Beech et al., 2005), or revenge against women (Keppal & Walter, 1999).

Killing is instrumental. Subgroups of sexual killers have been proposed within typologies where the killing is generally unplanned and instrumental to silencing the victims or ensuring their submission (Beech et al., 2005; Clarke & Carter, 2000; Keppal & Walter, 1999) and to control them. The sexually motivated killings, which include the organized killers, are thought to be more likely to be committed by repeat perpetrators and have been found to have reported high levels and early onset of fantasy (Prentky et al., 1989).

The proposed classifications of sexual killing have not routinely been adopted by law enforcement agents and have not been validated (Keppal & Walter, 1999). Part of the problem in their application is that perpetrators can display aspects of each offender type and are therefore "mixed" between the subgroups proposed (Geberth, 1991). Clarke and Carter's (2000) typology of sexually motivated murder, where crime scene behaviour and relationship of perpetrator to victim varies in accordance with the motivation for the killing in addition to whether it was planned, has received support from Beech et al. (2005). Beech et al. reported their sample of sexual killers could be categorised according to implicit theories that were similar to the typology suggested by Clarke and Carter. Beauregard and Proulx (2002) identified a sadistic and an anger profile for sexual killers, considering the offence as well as the offender and victim, which shared some similarities with the organized and disorganized sexual killer type. While further research is required in order to validate typologies and they are not routinely adopted by either law enforcement agencies or practitioners, there is scope to use them to aid motivational hypotheses

testing and case formulation.

Definitions Employed to Select Perpetrators for Studies

Considering the difficulty in accurately identifying sexual killers discussed above, it is not surprising that different definitions have been employed amongst researchers and that some definitions have been quite broad. Langevin et al. (1988) selected sexual killers specifically because the killing was combined with “Erotic arousal” (p.274). Roberts and Grossman (1993) used the criterion of sexual homicide from the Criminal Code of Canada: homicides that involved an additional breach of the criminal code involving “Rape, indecent assault, or sexual assault” (p.8) are coded as sexual homicide. Grubin (1994) was broader in his criteria in not requiring a conviction for a sexual offence alongside the killing, selecting sexual killers on the basis that for the murder conviction “A sexual assault was likely to have occurred, although this need not have involved penetration” (p.625). Milsom et al. (2003) also included cases where there was not always a conviction for a sexual offence alongside the killing, selecting perpetrators who “Had committed murder in a sexual context” (p.287). Porter et al. (2003) specified the need for “Physical evidence of sexual activity with the victim before, during or after the homicide, according to police, court, forensic, witness, and/or self-report evidence” (p.463). Beech et al. (2005) and Oliver et al. (2007) selected sexual killers because they had undertaken treatment on a Sex Offender Treatment Programme on the basis their killing, “Was judged to have a sexual element” (p.1371). MacCulloch et al. (1983) did not specifically select sexual killers but used criteria for offending where from “The information available, apparently had sexual connotations or for a clear sexual offence” (p.22), then determined if these offences were sadistic. Briken, Habermann, Berner & Hill (2005), Briken, Habermann, Berner & Hill (2006), Briken, Habermann, Kafka, Berner & Hill (2006) and Folino (2000) all employed the Ressler et al. (1988) definition of a sexual killing which broadly was “Murders with evidence or observations that indicate that the murder was sexual in nature”(p.xiii). With the exception of Langevin et al. (1988), in practice, studies do not discriminate sexual cases on how sex is attached to the killing and can all be considered as broad definition of sexual killing.

Summary

The addition of clinical information to establish if and in what way a killing is sexual is required in all but a few cases. Clinical information is particularly important in the absence of crime scene information or where crime scene information has not been recorded or has been destroyed or damaged. In addition, when there is an absence of overt signs of a sexual assault, reliance on disclosures by the perpetrator is often necessary to determine that a killing was sexual and the nature of the sexual killing, e.g. sadistic sexual killing or rape killing. .

Rate of Sexual Killing

There has been much discussion (e.g. Schlesinger, 2001) about the changes in rate of sexual killings and whether this type of crime is actually increasing. There are a number of difficulties in establishing that an offence is a sexual killing (Grubin, 1994), starting with problems with the

manner in which it is recorded. If the sexual aspect of a crime is not easily recognisable, it can be recorded as “unknown motive” (Folino, 2000). In addition, there is an absence of a reliable and universally accepted definition of sexual killers and serial sexual killers (Eggar, 1998; Roberts & Grossman, 1994); there are practical difficulties in identifying this type of crime as discussed earlier, and problems in the manner in which it is recorded. These difficulties also create problems in comparison of rates of sexual killing between countries or across different parts of a country such as between states in the USA.

Canada is the only country that specifically records data on sexual killing (Schlesinger, 2004), although there have been concerns that the definition used in Canada’s criminal code is not broad enough to capture accurately this crime (Roberts & Grossman, 1993). The possible underlying sexual dynamics of a killing are often ignored by police and courts (Brownmiller, 1965; Folino, 2000; McDonald; 1972; Revitch, 1965). Wilson (1984) notes the case of a man tried in 1921 for the murder of a woman who he attempted to rape after arranging to meet. The judge did not refer to the attempted rape, describing instead how the defendant had met the victim ‘for an immoral purpose’. Wilson (1984) suggests that this practice of not highlighting the sexual element of killings accounts for the low incidence of sexual crimes prior to the Second World War. Following conviction, determining the offence as sexual can continue to be problematic because the pathology of the offenders can remain hidden while they are in custody and unwilling to respond to testing questions that could jeopardise their release (Bartholomew, Milte & Galbally, 1975; Schlesinger, 2004). We must therefore accept that there are difficulties in securing reliable disclosures of sexually motivated killing (Dehart & Mahoney; 1994; Hickey, 1997). As Schlesinger (2002) notes: “Given the multiple complex problems with definition, it is easy to understand why accurate statistics on the incidence of sexual murder would be very difficult to calculate” (p.7). Determining that an offence was sexually motivated is also complicated by there often being a number of possibly contributory factors such as alcohol, paraphilia, and drugs (Folino, 2000).

Although these difficulties mean that the actual figure could be higher, it was estimated that sexual homicide accounted for 4% of the total homicides in Canada between 1974-1986 (Roberts & Grossman, 1993). In the United Kingdom in 2003, the sexual homicide rate was estimated at 6% of all homicides (Beech, Fisher, & Ward, 2005).

Studies of Sexual killers

The acknowledgement that sexual killers are a small and highly aberrant part of society has led for a need to better understand this crime, a need which can be traced to the 19th century. Richard Von Krafft-Ebbing’s study of sexual aberrations, which included sexual killers entitled *Psychopathia Sexualis* was published in 1886/1996, and while not proposing an explanation for these crimes, provided illustrative clinical case examples of a number of sexual killer perpetrators (Beauregard & Proulx, 2002; Meloy, 2000).

During the 20th Century, efforts to understand the motivation for sexual killing have increased, alongside attempts to identify the characteristics of the perpetrators. Brittain (1970) provided a detailed description of an unreported number of sadistic killers from his clinical practice. While not providing a definition of sadism (MacCulloch et al. 1983), Brittain's intention was to identify the characteristics of the sadistic murderer by compiling a detailed profile of men he had examined in addition to his consideration of victims and crime scenes. Broadly, Brittain concluded that the sadistic murderer is often a withdrawn and isolated individual, who feels set apart and different from other people. His relationship with his mother can be conflicting in that he feels both love and hate for her. A loner, who practises paraphillias, particularly transvestism, he maintains and enjoys fantasies that are acted out in his sadistic killings and has interests in weapons and books that fuel his sadistic interests. His offences are often planned and involve a hands on method where the duration of the killing can be controlled and with it his enjoyment of power over the victim. The killings are often triggered by a perceived blow to the perpetrator's self-esteem.

While mostly anecdotal, Brittain's (1970) paper has influenced further research into this area (MacCulloch, Gray & Watt, 2000; MacCulloch, Snowden, Wood & Mills, 1983) and acted as a point of comparison to discuss findings (Grubin, 1994) and cases (Bartholomew, Milte & Galbally, 1975). While studies that have followed Brittain's (1970) paper have included both single cases (Kennedy et al., 1947/1948) and those drawing upon larger samples of subjects (Egger, 1998) to date there has been little research into sexual killers (Langevin et al., 1988; Oliver, et al., 2007). Attempts to draw conclusions from the extant literature are complicated by a number of issues with the studies that have been undertaken.

Limitations of Existing Studies

Meloy (2000) noted, "limitations" with studies included "...very few comparative studies, repetitive use of small, non-random samples, retrospective data..." (p.19). In addition, definitions of sexual killers employed to select cases for research or descriptive studies have varied. Sexual killers can be deemed serial, where there are at least 3-4 victims and killing takes place across different time frames (Hickey, 1997), and non serial, where there are one or two victims. However, despite this distinction, studies have generally not discriminated between serial and non-serial perpetrators (e.g. Ressler, Burgess, Hartman, Douglas, & McCormack, 1986).

Serial vs. Non Serial Sexual Killers

While it has been argued that serial sexual killers are sexual killers who have avoided detection, differences have been found between serial and non-serial sexual killers (Campos & Cusson, 2007; Prentky et al., 1989). Campos and Cusson found a number of differences between a group of serial sexual killers from the United States who had previously been

reported upon (Prentky et al., 1989; Ressler et al. 1988; Ressler, Burgess, Douglas et al., 1986; Ressler, Burgess, Hartman et al., 1986) and their own sample of non-serial sexual killers (perpetrators who had committed a single murder). They found that serial sexual killers were more likely to have suffered from problems in childhood such as social isolation, nightmares and sleep disorder. The serial killers also seemed more likely to “Live in a world of violence and deviant sexuality” (p.103) in terms of greater prevalence of compulsive masturbation, daydreams and cruelty to animals, than non-serial sexual killers. Campos and Cusson also noted that the majority of serial sexual killers in a previous study by Prentky et al. reported “Fantasies of murder or sexual assault” (p.104). Fantasies of this kind were not reported by the non-serial offenders in Prentky et al.’s original comparison group or for Campos and Cusson’s own non-serial sample of sexual killers. Campos and Cusson also found that serial sexual killers were more likely to disclose fantasy during childhood, and more likely to have a stranger victim. Prentky et al. also reported that the non-serial sexual killers from their study were significantly less likely to have an organized crime scene than the serial sexual killers, suggesting that differences occur in the offence characteristics from the first sexual killing onwards. The fact that differences have been found between serial and non-serial sexual killers indicate that they should not be considered as one and the same and studies should therefore be clear as to which type of sexual killer is being studied.

What Has Been Studied

There has been an absence of empirical data to support theories of sexual killing (Langevin et al., 1988) although more recently, homicidal child killers have been assessed using standardised assessments and compared with child molesters (Firestone et al., 1998), and sexual murderers have been compared with rapists using psychometric and personality assessments (Oliver et al., 2007), or diagnosed for the presence of paraphilias and paraphilia related disorders (Briken et al., 2006).

Sexual killers have been considered “Both a sub group of homicide perpetrators and sex offenders” (MacCulloch et al., 1983, p.265). Bartholomew et al. (1975), while recognising the value in understanding the sexual murderer, did “Not wish to give the impression, a false impression, that we see the sexual murderer as a member of a distinct, discreet, syndrome”(p.149). While studies of sexual killers have led to theories of sexual homicide or signs for prognosis (Meloy, 2000), studies to date have identified more similarities than differences between sexual killers and men who have carried out sexual assaults on women without killing (e.g., Grubin, 1994; Oliver, Beech, Fisher & Beckett, 2007). Cusson (2007), in commenting on the similarities between sexual killers and sexual assaulters, asked whether sexual killers can “Truly be called sexual murderers in the strictest sense of the term, i.e. members of a distinct category of criminals with a specific personality, history and criminal

career?" (p.3). Cusson concluded that the answer to this question of similarity is currently not clear.

Types of Study

Until more recently, research on sexual killers generally focussed on descriptive studies (e.g. Brittain, 1970) with sexual killers included amongst some groups of offenders e.g. sadistic offenders (Geberth & Turco, 1987; Warren et al., 1996) or included with other violent and sexual offenders (e.g. Revitch, 1965). Sexual killers have also been compared with other offender groups such as rapists (Grubin, 1994; Oliver et al. 2007), non-sadistic sexual offenders (Gratzer & Bradford, 1995), and other types of homicide perpetrator (Roberts & Grossman, 1993). Gratzer and Bradford (1995) compared two samples of sadistic offenders; one was the sample used by Dietz et al. (1990) and the other was a sample of sadistic offenders determined to have less severe pathology but still viewed as sadistic. These two groups were also compared with a further second comparison group of non-sadistic offenders. None of the comparison groups comprised non-offenders; Langevin et al. (1988) compared their sex killers with a sample of non homicidal sexual aggressors. The latter had raped or sexually assaulted their victims. In addition to comparisons and descriptive studies, sexual killers have been the focus of crime scene analysis (Geberth, 1991; Keppal & Walter, 1999; Ressler et al. 1986) or grouped together on the basis of the presence or absence of certain characteristics, e.g. implicit theories (Beech et al. 2005), paraphilia related disorders (Briken et al., 2006). Psychological research has failed to distinguish between sexual killers who offend against children and those who offend against adults, or generally failed to employ standardized techniques for assessment (Firestone et al., 1997). Although cases for study have been chosen on the basis that the offence was sexually arousing (e.g. Langevin et al., 1988), there do not appear to be any studies that have differentiated killing to subdue the victim or to avoid detection, from those where the killing and sexual arousal are closely entwined.

Sample Sizes

Studies to date have also drawn upon small sample sizes, although with some exceptions which have recently emerged where the sample is over 150 in number (Briken et al., 2006). Geberth and Turco (1997) looked at 68 serial killers, although none of these included men who had been convicted of killing just once or twice. Beech et al. (2005) interviewed 28 sexual murderers who had been convicted for a single killing. Briken et al. (2006) considered the court reports of 166 sexual killers and only two were multiple killers.

Characteristics of Sexual Killers and Their Crimes from Available Studies

A review of the 23 studies of sexual killers that have been identified will precede an attempt to determine factors that characterise sexual killers in terms of childhood, adulthood

and crime scene behaviour. Table 1.4 provides a summary of the studies identified in this review.

Study Populations

Two studies have considered sadistic serial killers (Geberth & Turco, 1996; Warren et al. 1996) and Brittain's (1970) study consisted predominantly of serial perpetrators. Warren et al (1996) used information from a number of sources, including case files to reach a view that the killing demonstrated "An enduring pattern of suffering or humiliation" (p.972) from the victim to define the sexual intention of sadistic perpetrators, while Geberth and Turco (1996) applied DSM-IV criteria of sexual sadism to those killers who had "Violated their victims sexually" (p.49). Both studies set criteria to determine the killing was serial killing at a minimum of 3 victims in separate incidents, although only Geberth and Turco (1997) stressed the need for time breaks between the killings. MacCulloch, Snowden, Wood, and Mills (1983) and Dietz et al. (1990) studied sexually sadistic offenders, which included sexual killers. Dietz et al. used 30 sexually sadistic criminals, 22 of whom had murdered and all of whom were judged by the authors to meet criteria of an enduring sexual arousal to sadistic themes. Dietz et al. considered a group of 30 personality disordered, psychopathic patients who were not psychotic and had committed an offence that "Apparently had sexual connotations or for a clear sexual offence" (p.23), 22 of whom had murdered. Further examination revealed that 13 of these cases revealed "Recurrent sadistic fantasies, linked to sexual arousal, which included control over a victim" (p.23). Of these 13 cases, 5 had killed their victim. These studies both included serial murderers who were defined as having killed 3 or more victims (56.7% and 10.7% respectively). Ressler et al. (1986) studied serial and single killers (29 and 7 respectively) who met a definition of sexual killing where there was "Evidence or observations that indicate the murder was sexual in nature" (p.275). Geberth and Turco (1996), Folino, (2000), Proulx and Beauregard (2002) and Briken (2006) also adopted this broad definition put forward by Ressler et al.. It should be noted that three of the studies (Briken, Habermann, Berner & Hill, 2005; Briken, Habermann, Berner & Hill, 2006; Briken, Habermann, Kafka, Berner & Hill, 2006) used the same data set; although in one of these studies (Briken, Habermann, Kafka et al., 2006) five cases had missing data so these were excluded.

A descriptive study by Roberts and Grossman (1993) relied upon returns from a database maintained by law enforcement agencies in Canada which was recorded when there was "Homicide during the commission of a sexual assault" (p.10). The authors noted that there was not the opportunity for in-depth research from police record analysis. It is not possible to determine whether serial killers were included in this sample. Grubin (1994) and Milsom, Beech and Webster (2003) were the only studies that had a sample of killers who were known

to have killed only once, with the exception of Grubin's study where one perpetrator had murdered twice. Grubin (1994) used the definition "Convicted of the murder of a woman in which a sexual assault was likely to have occurred" (p.624) although the assault did not need to be penetrative. Milsom et al. (2003) included cases where they had "Committed murder in a sexual context". The sample size of sexual killers within the 23 studies considered ranged from seven (MacCulloch et al. 1983) to 161 (Briken et al. 2006).

Six of the studies did not have a comparison group (MacCulloch et al. 1983; Porter et al. 2005; Beech et al.; Briken et al. 2005; Briken et al. 2006; Briken, Habermann, Kafka et al. 2006). When a comparison group was used, these were rapists (Grubin, 1994; Milsom et al. 2003; Oliver et al. 2007) sexual assaulters and non sexual killers (Langevin, Ben-Aron, Wright and Handy, 1988) only sexual assaulters (Nicole & Proulx, 2007) homicide offenders (Roberts & Grossman, 1993) and serial killers (Campos & Cusson, 2007)

Offender Characteristics

Ethnicity and Age of Perpetrator

Where information was available, the majority of (Beech et al.; 2005, Dietz et al., 1990; Oliver et al., 2007) or all (Grubin, 1994) of the sexual killers included in the studies were white.

Table 1.3 gives the age range, mean and standard deviation for the perpetrator at the time they committed the killing when this has been given.

Table 1.3 Age of Perpetrator at Time of Sexual Killing

Study	Age range in years	Mean	SD
Revitch (1965)	14-26	18.2	4.21
McCulloch et al. (1983)	16 – 37	39.3	10.5
Langevin et al. (1988)	-	32	8
Grubin (1994)	18 - 50	30.0	8.7
Folino (2000)	16-49	-	-
Milsom et al. (2003)	-	37.06	10.49
Beech et al. (2003)	-	23.82	7.29
Porter et al. (2003)	17 – 40	25.70	5.98
Briken e al. (2005) ¹	15.5 – 58.7	26.5	8.2
Oliver, Beech, Fisher and Beckett et al. (2007)	-	24.2	7.1

¹ The same samples were used for Briken, Habermann, Berner & Hill, 2006, Briken, Habermann, Kafka, Berner & Hill, 2006. *See Earlier*

The mean age ranged from 18.2 to 39.3 years and, when reported, the large majority of victims were female, (although the victim being female was the selection criteria for studies by Grubin, 1994 and Beauregard & Proulx, 2002). A number of studies also included a victim or victims who were male (Bartholomew et al.; Beech et al. 2005; Dietz et al. 1990; MacCulloch et al. 1983; Warren et al. 1996) or a child (Beech et al.; MacCulloch et al. 1983; Revitch, 1965; Warren et al.). For the 11 studies where information was available to allow coding, the victim was more often a stranger in 6 studies, although this increased if acquaintance was included (Folino, 2000). Overall, the majority of victims were strangers or an acquaintance of the victim rather than known well to the perpetrator or a relative.

Table 1.4, which now follows, has been constructed to help illustrate the different studies that have been undertaken in terms of factors considered, subjects, comparison groups, selection criteria and so forth.

Table 1.4 Summary of Studies

Study	Subjects Type	<i>N</i>	Sample Source	Selection Criteria	Definition of Sexual Murder Applied	Number of Single Sexual Killers	Methodology	Findings	Implication
Revitch (1965)	Murderers Assaults	9 34	Literature review and newspaper accounts	Not specified	Not specified	Not specified	Author reviewed literature and newspaper accounts for all subjects.	Attacks, whether or not they resulted in death, regularly carried out by pushing, choking, inflicting multiple knife wounds or battering the victim with a heavy object	Three point classification of murder. Ambivalence to mother, preoccupations with sexual mortality and hatred of females are main dynamic factors. Fetishism of female underwear, previous offences of breaking and entering committed solo and in bizarre circumstances, sadistic fantasies, minor assaults on females and mutilation of animals important prognosis signs

Study	Subjects Type	<i>N</i>	Sample Source	Selection Criteria	Definition of Sexual Murder Applied	Number of Single Sexual Killers	Methodology	Findings	Implication
Brittain (1970)	Not specified number of sadistic murderers		Special hospital patients	Not specified	Not specified	Not specified	Clinical observation by author	Range of characteristics described including possible history of cross-dressing, fetishism and common history of cruelty to animals	Description of sadistic murderer syndrome covering development, personality, sexuality, habits, medical history, crime and prognosis (MacCulloch et al 1983).
Bartholome w, Mille and Galbally (1975)	Adult male charged with murder Adult male charged with rape Patient with sexual deviance	4 1 1	Psychiatric patients	Grossly aggressive deviant sexual drive, absence of formal psychiatric diagnostic label	Murder - being involved with overt sexuality as a necessary part.	3	Review of notes from authors clinical observation	All bar one man charged with murder disclosed need for power over victim or others	While sexual murder was deemed an important concept with some support for profile offered by Brittain (1970) was given, study of sexual murder is a sub group of aggressive behaviour, the latter should be the basis of proper overall study

Study	Subjects Type	<i>N</i>	Sample Source	Selection Criteria	Definition of Sexual Murder Applied	Number of Single Sexual Killers	Methodology	Findings	Implication
MacCulloch, Snowden, Wood & Mills (1983)	Offenders (M)	16	Special hospital patients	A previous psychiatric diagnosis specifying personality disorder, assigned psychopathic disorder on admission, apparent or clear evidence of or apparent sexual connotations to offence	Not specified	7	Criminal histories including type of force used in index offence and description of sexual fantasy was compiled for each subject	Majority of offences could not be explained solely by external circumstances. At time of offence fantasy identical to part or all of index offence was created.	Try outs of fantasy preceded offences, including murder

Study	Subjects Type	<i>N</i>	Sample Source	Selection Criteria	Definition of Sexual Murder Applied	Number of Single Sexual Killers	Methodology	Findings	Implication
Ressler, Burgess, Hartman, Douglas & McCormack (1986)	Convicted sexual murderers	36	Convicted prisoners in custody	Classified as a sexual homicide using crime scene evidence and interview with subject.	Observations	None	Murderers who had been sexually abused identified through confirmation of “yes” during interview or through records “suspected” was recorded for recollection from offender.	Large proportion experience abuse in all stages of development and adulthood. Also found concern with sexual issues. Those who were sexually abused were sexually abused were more likely to have early manifestations of sadism and the zoophilia paraphilia and had early onset of rape fantasies than non-abused murderers.	Suggested several variables e.g. daydreams and isolation, play an important part in the subgroups of sexual murderers

Study	Subjects Type	<i>N</i>	Sample Source	Selection Criteria	Definition of Sexual Murder Applied	Number of Single Sexual Killers	Methodology	Findings	Implication
Langevin et al (1988)	Sex killers Nonsexual Nonhomicidal sexually aggressive	13 13 13	Psychiatric files	Murdered an individual 'in conjunction with erotic arousal'	Not specified	9	Groups compared sexual history, substance abuse, history of violence, mental illness, personality, brain pathology and endocrine abnormalities	More similarities than difference. Sex killers differentiated on basis of transvestism and early appearance of sadism. Sex killers less frequently drunk at time of offence, more often used weapons in previous fights and was a runaway as a child. Sex killers more often killed by strangulation and targeted a stranger and diagnosed as antisocial personality and sadist and considered psychotic at time of offence	Experimental phallometric assessment of sadism looked likely to discriminate sex from non-sex killers. Ct scans revealing right horn temporal dilation were in greater frequency than non sadist but not diagnostically proven. Sexual killers still easily confused with non sex killers and sexual aggressors.

Study	Subjects Type	<i>N</i>	Sample Source	Selection Criteria	Definition of Sexual Murder Applied	Number of Single Sexual Killers	Methodology	Findings	Implication
Prentky et al (1989)	Sexual murderers Serial Sexual killers	7 25	Subjects from previous FBI study, data included information from official records, interviews, coded questionnair es and subjects from Massachuset ts Treatment Centre	Either serial sexual murderers who had 3 or more victims or single sexual murderers	Observations	7	Prevalence of violent fantasies, paraphilias, and organized crime scene was coded for each subject	Violent fantasies present in 86% of the serial murderers as opposed to 23% of the single murderers. Serial murderers also evidenced higher degree of paraphilias	Possible importance of fantasy life related repeated acts of sexual violence

Study	Subjects Type	<i>N</i>	Sample Source	Selection Criteria	Definition of Sexual Murder Applied	Number of Single Sexual Killers	Methodology	Findings	Implication
Dietz, Hazelwood & Warren (1990)	Sexually sadistic criminals Sexually sadistic murderers	8 22	Case files from National Centre for the Analysis of Violent Crime	Three authors agreed, from initial sample of possible sexually sadistic criminals, on factual basis that subject had been aroused in response to images of suffering and humiliation on two or more occasions spanning an interval of at least six months	None	Not specified	Characteristics of subjects, offences, methods of torture and cause of death was compiled where appropriate and possible for each subject	Majority of sexually sadistic offenders produced and kept records of their crimes	Importance of written records e.g. drawings of offences, when police are searching during such cases

Study	Subjects Type	Sample <i>N</i>	Sample Source	Selection Criteria	Definition of Sexual Murder Applied	Number of Single Sexual Killers	Methodology	Findings	Implication
Roberts & Grossman (1993)	Sexual Homicide perpetrators Homicide during robbery/theft/B&E	305	Homicide data-base	All cases of homicide classified as occurring during the commission of a sexual assault between or during robbery/theft/B&E in the Canadian Homicide return	Homicide occurring during the commission of a sexual offence	Not specified relationship between victim and suspects	Descriptive analysis was undertaken by the authors considering: geographical distribution of homicides, age of victim by type of homicide, age & gender of sexual homicide, method of killing by sex of victim and relationship between victim and suspects	Sexual homicide perpetrators have repeated contacts with criminal justice system. Incidence of sexual homicide involving strangers was significantly higher than incidence in general involving strangers	A definition of sexual homicide, which focuses upon presence of evidence that a sexual offence occurred, is too narrow to accurately record this crime

Study	Subjects Type	<i>N</i>	Sample Source	Selection Criteria	Definition of Sexual Murder Applied	Number of Single Sexual Killers	Methodology	Findings	Implication
Grubin (1994)	Sexual killers Rapists	20 121	Prison Service	Every second man who met criteria of sexual killer was asked to volunteer	Convicted of the murder of a woman in which a sexual assault was likely to have occurred. This need not have involved penetration.	20	A semi- structured interview , measure of impulsivity and test of educational attainment were administered	Sexual killers distinguished from rapists on basis of lifelong isolation and lack of heterosexual relationships	Social and emotional isolation may provide insight into sexual murder

Study	Subjects Type	Sample <i>N</i> Source	Selection Criteria	Definition of Sexual Murder Applied	Number of Single Sexual Killers	Methodology	Findings	Implication
Yarvis (1995)	Murderers Rapists & Rapists who murder their victims	78 92 10 Referred to author by judges or attorney for psychiatric evaluation	Male offenders assessed between 1 and 100 hours by the author	Men charged with sexual assault who subsequently killed their victim	10	Interview notes from examination of subject by the author as well as interview with relevant persons were entered into a pre-coded questionnaire. Psychiatric diagnosis was made by the most up to date versions during the course of the study, of the DSM diagnostic criteria.	Sexual diagnoses was found among the sexual offenders using Axis 1 and Axis II; with rapist/murderers demonstrating high prevalence of sexual sadism	Possible need to examine psychopathology to understand contributions to criminal behaviour

Study	Subjects Type	<i>N</i>	Sample Source	Selection Criteria	Definition of Sexual Murder Applied	Number of Single Sexual Killers	Methodology	Findings	Implication
Warren, Hazelwood & Dietz (1996)	Sexually sadistic serial killers	20	Case files from FBI's National Center for the Analysis of Violent Crime	Also demonstrated enduring pattern of sexual arousal to images of suffering or humiliation	Not specified	None	Case files with information from a number of sentences including crime scene photographs, client? Reports.	Tended to be white, murders reflected careful planning and reflected sexual arousal to pain, fear and panic induced in victims	Particular threat posed by a distinct group of serial killers who are both expert and thorough
Geberth & Turco (1997)	Serial killers	68	Computer search of newswire system and cases from authors own records	Had sexually violated their victims	Violated their victim sexually	None	All subjects met PSM-IV criteria of APD and sexual sadism.	Aggressive and antisocial behaviour displayed as child escalated and took on elements of sexual sadism in adulthood	Early identification of APD and sadism of incarcerated offenders could identify potential sexual killers

Study	Subjects Type	Sample <i>N</i> Source	Selection Criteria	Definition of Sexual Murder Applied	Number of Single Sexual Killers	Methodology	Findings	Implication
Folino (2000)	Sexual homicides	16 Files analysed by the author	Determined that sexual intercourse had taken place	Homicide with evidence of an associated sexual act	16	All subjects were analysed by author of paper to ensure sexual intercourse had taken place as well as homicide then assigned to 1 of the 4 FBI sexual killer types	None of the cases were deemed Organised according to Douglas et al. (1992) classification	Sexual killers are a heterogeneous group that “Leads one to think that sexual violence is an instrumental behaviour with different purposes and due to different motivations” (p.749).

Study	Subjects Type	<i>N</i>	Sample Source	Selection Criteria	Definition of Sexual Murder Applied	Number of Single Sexual Killers	Methodology	Findings	Implication
Milsom et al. (2003)	Sexual killers Rapists	19 16	HM Prisons	Met definition of Sexual Killing applied to study	Committed murder in a sexual context	19	Semi-structured interview to consider emotional loneliness and completion of an emotional loneliness scale	Sexual killers reported significantly greater rates of peer group loneliness during adolescence than rapists during adolescence although this was not the case during adulthood. Sexual killers also reported significantly greater rates of grievance towards women as a child and victim stance thinking in adulthood than rapists.	The extent of emotional loneliness should be studied further with a larger sexual killer group.

Study	Subjects Type	<i>N</i>	Sample Source	Selection Criteria	Definition of Sexual Murder Applied	Number of Single Sexual Killers	Methodology	Findings	Implication
Porter et al. (2003)	Sexual homicides Attempted murder	33 5	Canadian federal prisons	Met definition of sexual murder applied to study	Physical evidence of sexual activity with the victim before, during, or after the homicide according to police, court, forensic, witness and/or self reported evidence.	33	Considered characteristics of victim, evidence of gratuitous and sadistic violent behaviour in relation to score on Psychopathy Check List- Revised (Hare, 1991).	“Psychopathic offenders disproportionately; more likely to engage in sexual homicide” and “when they do, they use significantly more gratuitous and sadistic violence” (p,467).	Could aid both the apprehension and treatment intervention of sexual killers.
Beech et al (2005)	Sexual Murderers	28	Prisoners residing in England and Wales	They had been offered a place on a sex offender treatment programme, therefore the murder was considered sexual.	Not specified	28	Interviews in person to identify if they ascribed to Implicit Theories	Revealed three main groups that could be discriminated on the presence or absence of two implicit theories identified by Polascheck and Ward (2002)	Three groups differed in terms of motivation for the killing from: desire to rape and kill, grievance and anger directed at women or urge to sexually offend but kill to avoid detection

Study	Subjects Type	Sample <i>N</i> Source	Selection Criteria	Definition of Sexual Murder Applied	Number of Single Sexual Killers	Methodology	Findings	Implication
Briken et al. (2005)	Sexual Murderers	166 Psychiatric court reports in Germany	Met at least one criteria of Sexual Killing definition	Ressler et al's (1988) definition of sexual homicide e.g. evidence or observations that indicate that the murder was sexual in nature	157	Files rated for evidence of brain abnormalities	Sexual killers with brain abnormalities experienced more behavioural problems in early life than those who did not suffer from brain abnormalities and had a higher rate of paraphilias.	Neurological assessment could be of value with sexual killers
Briken et al. (2006)	Sexual Murderers	166 Psychiatric court reports in Germany	Met at least one criteria of Sexual Killing definition	Ressler et al's (1988) definition of sexual homicide	157	Files rated for evidence of XYY chromosome abnormality	Where chromosome analysis had been undertaken, there was a presence of XYY abnormality in 23% of cases.	Those assessing sexual offenders should be alert to chromosomal abnormalities.

Study	Subjects Type	<i>N</i>	Sample Source	Selection Criteria	Definition of Sexual Murder Applied	Number of Single Sexual Killers	Methodology	Findings	Implication
Briken et al. (2006)	Sexual Murderers	166	Psychiatric court reports in Germany	Met at least one criteria of Sexual Killing definition	Ressler et al's (1988) definition of sexual homicide	157	Files rated for evidence of paraphilia and paraphilia- related disorders	Men who had the highest rate of both paraphilia and paraphilia related disorder had greatest level of collective sexual impulsivity disorders and sexual preoccupation and sadism.	Assessment of sexual impulsivity disorders with sexual offenders could identify those with escalating and further offending paths.
Campos and Cusson (2007)	Sexual Murderers Serial Murderers	41 40	Sexual Murderers from Canadian Federal Prison Serial murderers used by Ressler et al. (1988)	Commission of a non serial sexual homicide	Ressler et al's (1988) definition of sexual homicide	41	Completed questionnaire on characteristics of childhood, adolescence and adulthood	Non-serial killers were less disturbed, isolated and distressed than serial killers, less likely to disclose fantasies of murder and sexual assault and more likely to know the victim than serial killers.	There are a number of characteristics of serial murders that distinguish them from non-serial murderers.

Study	Subjects Type	<i>N</i>	Sample Source	Selection Criteria	Definition of Sexual Murder Applied	Number of Single Sexual Killers	Methodology	Findings	Implication
Nicole and Proulx (2007)	Sexual Murderers Sexual Aggressors	40 101	Canadian Federal Prisoners	Identified as non serial sexual murderer	Not given	40	Interviews used to establish developmental factors of Sexual killers and sexual aggressors.	Looked for differences between developmental factors and criminal histories of sexual killers.	Sexual killers more likely to experience developmental impairments, demonstrate deviant sexual fantasies and have greater levels of violent histories than sexual aggressors.

Study	Subjects Type	<i>N</i>	Sample Source	Selection Criteria	Definition of Sexual Murder Applied	Number of Single Sexual Killers	Methodology	Findings	Implication
Oliver et al. (2007)	Sexual Murderers	58	HM Prisons	Awaiting to undertake a sex offender treatment programme	Convicted of murder or manslaughter where there is either clear evidence of a sexual element to the killing, or a sexual component is admitted or suspected	58	Interviews and assessments completed to investigate similarities and differences between rapists and Sexual killers on factors that included family background, personality and offence	More similarities than difference found although sexual killers less likely to be in a relationship and more likely to have an older victim than rapists.	Future research should focus on identifying possible dynamic differences between sexual killers and rapists to determine if changes to type of treatment delivery are required.
	Rapists	112							

Family Disruption

Indication of high rates of infidelity and divorce has been found amongst the parents of perpetrators. Dietz et al. (1990) reported 47 % of infidelity or divorce and Warren et al. (1996) 50 %. Grubin (1994) found more stability in the family backgrounds of sexual killers than rapists in that they were significantly less likely to have a change of primary carer and when this change did occur, it took place less frequently than for rapists. Grubin also found significant differences in the frequency with which the father was present in the home, this being the case significantly more often for the sexual killers than rapists (up until perpetrators were aged 10 years). While Grubin found that sexual killers were more likely to be rated as having 'stable' fathers than rapists, this rating was still only for 57%. Although the figure was not given, this suggests that a large proportion (possibly 43%) were not rated as stable. The mother was also rated stable more often for the sexual killers than rapists (71% vs. 65%) in Grubin's study. However, these figures do not account for the nature of the relationship between sexual killers and their parents. Langevin et al. (1988) while finding that the majority of sexual killers were raised by their natural parents (83%), where information was available, it was more likely that sexual killers and sexual assaulters had an alcoholic or heavy drinking father than non sexual killers. Overall, Langevin et al. found that disturbance in father relationships was significantly more frequent for sexual killers and sexual assaulters than non sexual killers. Nicole and Proulx (2007) found witnessing both abusive levels of alcohol consumption and domestic psychological violence during childhood in the majority of sexual killers and sexual assaulters. In addition, they found that approximately one-half of both groups disclosed that they had witnessed physical violence. They also found that sexual killers experienced fairly high levels of parental abandonment although these were not significantly greater than sexual assaulters.

Milsom et al. (2003) reported that the majority of sexual killers responded in interview in a way that could be coded as having a negative father image ("Being hit, criticized or threatened by/with a father figure"; Milsom et al. 2003, p.290) and being emotionally unattached to their parents although these rates were not significantly greater than for rapists. Oliver, Beech, Fisher, and Beckett et al. (2007) found no difference between sexual killers and rapists "In the degree to which they felt their parents had behaved in an overprotective, warm or rejecting manner towards them"(p.167) although they were unable to consider potential differences towards each parent because of how the questionnaire had been constructed.

In summary, the studies that form this review indicate that when the nature of the relationship is considered, sexual killers are likely to be exposed to fathers who abuse alcohol and their relationship with their father may be characterised as disturbed. While studies on relationships with parents would benefit from further research including relationship with mother, these two factors would appear to characterise sexual killers.

Physical and Sexual Abuse History

Dietz et al. (1990) reported that 23% ($n = 7$) of their sadistic offenders had been physically abused and 20 % ($n = 6$) *sexually* abused. They caution that information was not collected systematically and claims of abuse made spontaneously were not verified. Langevin et al. (1988) found that 2 of the 10 sex killers studied had been sexually abused as children. Ressler et al. (1986) found 43 % ($n = 36$) sex killers were abused as children and 32 % were abused as adolescents. Nicole and Proulx (2007) found sexual killers were significantly more likely to have been the victims of physical violence and incest than sexual assaulters. Oliver et al. (2007), while not finding significant differences, reported that the majority of both sexual killers and rapists disclosed being the victim of sexual abuse (65% vs. 52%) and reported childhood histories where they were physically abused (68% vs. 72%). Nicole and Proulx (2007) reported higher rates of physical violence against sexual killers prior to the age of 18 years than sexual assaulters (64.1% vs. 41.6%). In the largest published study ($n = 161$), Briken et al. (2006) found that 21.74% of sexual killers had a history of sexual abuse and the majority (70.81%) had a history of physical maltreatment. Langevin et al. (1988) did not find high rates of sexual abuse in the history of their sexual killers (20%) although this was a much smaller sample ($n = 10$ where information was available to code on this item). In addition, Grubin (1994) did not report differences in sexual abuse and other types of victimisation in the childhood of sexual killers and rapists, although figures were not provided to consider prevalence.

In summary, a childhood history of physical abuse would seem to be a characteristic of sexual killers and for a large subset of sexual killers, this abuse extends to sexual abuse although physical and to some extent sexual abuse is also a characteristic of other offender groups' e.g. sexual offenders.

Schooling

Dietz et al. (1990) and Warren et al. (1995) found that 43% and 30 % respectively were educated beyond the high school level. Briken et al. (2005) revealed that 37.6% ($n = 166$) of sexual killers failed to gain a formal degree, only one-half completed pre-high school education and 3.0% completed high school. All of Langevin et al's (1988) sexual killers, sexual assaulters, and non sexual killers were described as "high school drop outs" and repeated a grade. Nicole and Proulx (2007) reported that sexual killers' level of education in terms of grades achieved was significantly less than sexual assaulters.

Taken together, while there is not enough evidence from the literature to consider it a characteristic of sexual killers, poor achievement at school would warrant further research.

Problematic behaviour

Grubin (1994) did not find significant differences between sexual killers and rapists on a variety of childhood characteristics including bedwetting and conduct disorder. Grubin did not provide rates to consider prevalence. Nicole and Proulx (2007) found significantly greater rates of daydreaming, habitual lying, low self-esteem, phobias and reckless behaviour in their sample of

sexual killers compared with sexual aggressors. Briken et al. (2006) reported enuresis, encopresis and signs of Attention Deficit Hyperactivity Disorder in only a minority of their sample of sexual killers. Nicole and Proulx (2007) found significantly more infractions of school discipline were reported by sexual killers than their sexual aggressor counterparts. School problems have been reported in a large majority of sexual killers (Briken, Habermann, Kafka et al., 2006). Although the sample size varied depending on information available for the item being coded, Langevin et al., (1988) reported fairly large proportions of firesetting, cruelty to animals, behavioural problems in school, fist fights and school suspensions for sexual killers, while the majority of sexual killers had a history of truancy, temper tantrums, stealing, enuresis after the age of 5 years and had runaway from home.

While indications of problematic behaviour during childhood are evident in some studies, the extent and nature of childhood behaviour reported is varied. In addition, how the various factors have been defined and coded in different studies may vary and could contribute to differing rates. The most robust finding is that behavioural problems at school, most often truancy and indiscipline, would seem to be a characteristic of sexual killers. Further research is needed to consider both the nature and prevalence of problematic behaviour in the childhoods of sexual killers.

Relationships

Gratzer and Bradford (1995) reported that the Dietz et al. (1990) sample was significantly more likely to be married at the time of the offence than their sample of sadists (43.3% and 7.1%). They found no difference between their sample and a comparison of non sadistic offenders. Warren et al. (1996) reported similar rates of marriage to Dietz et al. (1990), and Prentky et al. (1988), while Langevin et al. (1988) reported that only 8% of sexual killers were actually married at the time of the study, 47% had been married, including common law, prior to the offence. MacCulloch et al. (1983) found that in 61.54% of sexual killers ($n = 13$) fantasy became the only outlet for sexual arousal because the sexual offenders (who included sexual killers) experienced a dearth of social experience including sexual contact. Oliver et al. (2007) found that sexual killers were less likely to be involved in a relationship at the time of the offence than rapists, and Grubin (1994) reported that sexual killers were significantly less likely to have a sex partner in the year of the offence and to have fewer sexual relationships than rapists. Milsom et al. (2003) found the opposite to be true, with sexual killers significantly more likely to be in a relationship at the time of the offence than rapists (84% vs. 50% respectively). Beech et al. (2005) reported that 32% of sexual killers were in a relationship, a further 14% were in a casual relationship, and a relationship had ended at the time of the offence for a further 14%. Briken et al. (2005) found that the majority of sexual killers were single (72.3%) and a further 13.9% were divorced/living apart at the time of the killing. The majority (54%) of Langevin et al.'s (1988) sexual killers were single although this was also true for the sexual assaulters.

While there is some conflicting information, for the majority of the studies reviewed including the largest published study of these perpetrators, there is an indication that sexual killers are less likely to be in a relationship at the time of the offence.

Homosexual Experience

Dietz et al. (1990) identified 43% of sadistic offenders, 22 of whom had killed, were known to have had homosexual experiences and 2 cases where it was suspected. Warren et al. (1996) reported 55% ($n = 11$) of sexually sadistic serial killers had a homosexual experience in adulthood and Gratzer and Bradford's (1995) study of sadistic offenders that included sexual killers reported a homosexual experience as adults in the majority of cases, 50.8% ($n = 30$)

Psychiatric Issues

Cruelty to Animals and Fire Setting

Although these two features, which have been observed in the backgrounds of some sexual murderers, are not exclusive to these perpetrators, they are thought to be a feature. Schlesinger (2001) considered "Animal cruelty, particularly against cats" (p.50) as one of ten indicators of would be sexual killers. Geberth and Turco (1997) reported animal cruelty present in the histories of only 15%. Fire setting was recorded in the histories of 2 out of the 23 studies considered: Langevin et al. (1988), and Gerber and Turco (1997).

Collections Related to Sexual or Violent Themes

Dietz et al. (1990) determined that the large majority of the perpetrators in their study. "...maintained collections of items related to sexual or violent themes or both"(p.169). Pornography was the most frequently collected item. Warren et al (1996) al found 75% of their group of sadistic offenders had collections with a violent theme. Langevin et al. (1988) reported that where information was available for ten of their thirteen cases of sexual killers, 30% enjoyed violent television while doubting that they were any different from the average person.

Suicide Attempt

Dietz et al. (1990) reported that 13% if their sample of sexual sadists, the majority of whom killed their victim, a history of suicide attempts, Gratzer and Bradford (1995) reported 10.7%, while Langevin et al. (1988) reported that 38% of the sexual killers in their sample had been suicidal at some time.

Psychiatric Contact

Although not significantly more than the comparison group of rapists, the large majority of sexual killers in Oliver et al.'s study (2007) had a history of psychiatric contact prior to the killing as opposed to just under one-half of the rapists (68% vs. 48%). Grubin (1994) reported that, just under one-half of his sample of sexual killers (44%) had previous psychiatric contact. Beech et al. (2005) reported that 39.29% of their sexual killers had received psychiatric treatment of some kind prior to the offence, Langevin et al. (1988) found that 50% of their sexual killers had a psychiatric history.

Taken together, these findings suggest that previous psychiatric contact is a characteristic of sexual killers.

Mental Illness

This was an exclusion criteria of MacCulloch et al. (1983) study. Only one sexual killer in Langevin et al.'s (1988) sample of 13 sexual killers was diagnosed as psychotic.

Psychosis

Revitch (1965) reported high levels of psychosis, in the majority of his sample of 43 men who had attacked women with some kind of sexual element, 9 of whom killed. Dietz et al. (1990) reported that none of the individuals they studied was psychotic at the time of the offence, although one became psychotic later in life. Warren et al. (1996) reported that only one of their sample of sexually sadistic serial killers exhibited any psychotic behaviour. Langevin et al. (1988) reported that 8% the sexual killers in their study showed psychosis, with 50% considered as psychotic at the time of the offence. Ressler et al. (1986) found 64.4% of their sample had a history of early referral to a psychiatrist. However, there would seem to be a general lack of comment on rates of mental illness within the studies used in this review.

Personality Disorder

This was a selection criteria for MacCulloch et al.'s study (1983) as was a diagnosis of psychopathic disorder. Langevin et al. (1988) reported that 69% of sexual killers were diagnosed as sadists, although this diagnosis was absent for the sex assaulters and non sexual killers, while all three groups had high rates of personality disorder. Anti-social behaviour ($n = 12$) was present for the majority of sexual killers. The lack of comment on personality disorder for sexual killers suggests that this is an under-researched area for these offenders. In summary, the prevalence of personality disorder requires further research. A number of studies have looked at sexual killing and its relation to Anti Social Personality Disorder (Geberth & Turco, 1997).

Paraphilia

Folino (2000) highlighted the difficulty in establishing the presence of paraphilia when sexual killers either fail to accept responsibility for or are in denial concerning their offence. Langevin et al. (1988) found that sexual killers were significantly more likely than the sex assaulters or non sexual killers to provide reports of transvestism, and sadism with the latter going back to puberty. Grubin (1994) reported paraphilic behaviour in 43% of sexual killers although a diagnosis of paraphilia was reached for just 4 sexual killers in his sample. Grubin (1994) was unable to differentiate sexual killers from rapists on indicators of fantasy such as

pornography use and paraphilic behaviour, although these indicators were still present for a large proportion (38%) of sexual killers, despite the unwillingness of all men to make known their sexual fantasies. Oliver et al. (2007) also found no difference in self-reported measures that included paraphilias and sexual preoccupation, between sexual killers and rapists, although no figures were provided to allow consideration of prevalence. Briken et al. (2005) found sadism to be the most common paraphilia in their sample of sexual killers (37.27%). Paraphilic interest in peeping, obscene phone calls and indecent exposure were found in a number of the studies considered: Dietz et al. (1990) 20%, Warren et al. (1996) 45 % and Gratzer and Bradford (1995) 42%. Ressler et al. (1986) reported voyeurism, 71.4% and autoerotic practices, 78.6%. Two studies noted the presence of known cross-dressing: Dietz et al. (1990) 20% and Gratzer and Bradford (1995) 39.3%. Brittain (1970) also described how sadistic killers often had histories of voyeurism and cross-dressing although this should not in itself be taken as indicating homosexuality.

Taken together with these studies findings, paraphilia, although not a characteristic, would seem to be present for a large group of sexual killers.

Fantasy

Grubin (1994) considered other indications of fantasy, due to sexual killers in his sample being unwilling to disclose their fantasies, finding: “Frequent fantasies or rape fantasies, or regular use of prostitutes were more common” (p.626) for sexual killers at 38% although this was not significantly more than the comparison group of rapists. MacCulloch et al. (1983) found that their sample of patients, which included sexual killers ($n = 8$), developed sadistic fantasy after the age of puberty, although the entire sample was selected because they had killed in combination with sexual arousal (although how this was determined is not explained). Compass and Cusson (2007) found that 36% of their sample of sexual killers disclosed deviant sexual fantasy. MacCulloch et al.’s study established “That prior to, and at the time of, the index offence all 13 patients had been creating a fantasy identical to all or part of the index offence, the fantasy being linked with a sense of pleasure and sexual arousal” (p.23); this was the case for five of the eight sexual killers in this sample. Nicole and Proulx (2007) reported that sexual killers were significantly more likely to disclose “Deviant sexual fantasies during childhood and adolescence than” (p.37) sexual assaulters (39.5% vs. 22.7%). In summary, the studies indicate that while not a characteristic of sexual killers, deviant sexual fantasies would seem to be a characteristic for a large number of these perpetrators.

Loneliness

Grubin (1994) found that a very high proportion of sexual killers in his sample had at least one characteristic of social isolation during childhood or adulthood. The criteria applicable to adulthood were lives alone, socially isolated, few sexual relationships, and no sex partner in year of offence. Milsom et al. (2003) reported that sexual killers disclosed significantly higher rates of

experiencing loneliness within their peer group during adolescence and that “Emotional loneliness was prevalent in adulthood” (p. 293). Compos and Cusson (2007) reported that almost one-half of sexual killers reported social isolation in adulthood. In summary, these results indicate that isolation and loneliness are characteristics of sexual killers.

Drug and Alcohol Use

The information in the literature on drug and alcohol use in sexual killers is conflicting. Langevin et al. (1988) found no difference in drug and alcohol use between the sexual killers and comparison groups of sexual assaulters and non sexual killers, although almost two-thirds of sexual killers abused alcohol and one-half abused drugs. In addition, sexual killers were significantly less likely to use cocaine than sexual assaulters but more likely to use amphetamines. Again, although not significantly greater numbers than sexual assaulters or non sexual killers, one-quarter of sexual killers were intoxicated at the time of the offence. Roberts and Grossman (1983) also reported that one-quarter of the suspects of sexual homicides in their study “Were considered intoxicated at the time of their offences” (p.285). Oliver et al. (2007) found that over three-quarters of sexual killers had taken illicit drugs or drunken alcohol prior to the index offence, with a similar figure for rapists. Although not significantly different from the findings for sexual assaulters, drug dependence and current or previous alcohol dependence was high for sexual killers in the Nicole and Proulx (2007) study. Grubin (1994) also considered alcohol dependence as opposed to alcohol abuse and found this present in just under one-half of sexual killers.

In summary, the majority of studies indicate that drug abuse or alcohol abuse or dependence is relevant for a large proportion of sexual killers and could be considered a characteristic of these perpetrators. There is also indication that alcohol and drug use at the time of the offence is relevant for a sub set of sexual killers.

Psychopathy

Porter et al. (2003) reported that the average total Psychopathy Checklist –Revised score (Hare, 2003) for their sample of sexual killers was 26.5 (from a total possible score of 40) and when applying a cut off of 30, 47.4% were considered psychopathic. They concluded that “For the first time, we demonstrated that not only are psychopathic offenders disproportionately more likely to engage in sexual homicide, but, when they do, they use significantly more gratuitous and sadistic violence” (p.467). Beech et al. (2005) and Oliver et al. (2007) showed that samples were unlikely to have included psychopathic individuals because this was an exclusion criteria for perpetrators undertaking Sex Offender Treatment Programmes, all of which had been undertaken by the men in their studies. Taken together, the role of psychopathy in sexual killers needs further research and Porter et al.’s interesting findings replicated with other samples.

IQ

The average IQ for sexual killers has been reported as approximately 102.00 by Beech et al. (2005), Langevin et al. (1988) and Oliver et al. (2007). This IQ level was significantly higher than

for sexual assaulters (Oliver et al.). While sexual killers and non sexual killers tended to be more intelligent than sexual assaulters, the differences were not significant (Langevin et al. 1988). Sexual killers would appear to have an average IQ as assessed against population norms, although this issue would benefit from further research.

Previous convictions

Only one of the sexual killers in Langevin et al.'s study did not have a previous conviction; and sexual killers "Violated the law in most categories noted, i.e. sexual, non sexual, violent and substance abuse offences" (p. 288). The majority of sexual killers had previous convictions, although this was not significantly greater than sexual assaulters. Dietz et al. (1990) and Warren et al. (1996) reported that the majority of offenders had no arrest history (57% and 65% respectively). Geberth and Turco (1997) found that the majority of their sample of serial sexual killers reported repeated criminal acts.

However, Nicole and Proulx (2007) found that sexual killers' self-reported age at first crime was significantly younger than sexual assaulters (20.6 years vs. 17.0 years). Oliver et al. (2007) did not find significant differences for age when sexual killers had committed their first sexual offence or for disclosure of rate or kind of sexual offending as a juvenile for sexual killers and rapists. However, one-half of the sexual killers had a previous conviction for a sex offence in Oliver et al.'s study, and Grubin (1994) found that his sample of sexual killers were significantly more likely to have a previous conviction for rape than rapists with approximately one-half of both groups having had violent pre convictions. Briken et al. (2006) reported that just over one-half of sexual killers had a previous conviction for any sexual assault, while a substantial number had a previous conviction for sexual assault or rape. Milsom et al. (2003) found that sexual killers were significantly less likely to have a previous conviction for a sexual crime than rapists, although they were more likely to have a previous conviction for a non sexual assault than rapists. In Langevin et al.'s sample, only one sexual killer was a first offender.

In summary, in the studies where previous convictions were reported, the majority of sexual killers have a criminal history. There is some indication that sexual killers can be discriminated from rapists when sexual previous convictions are considered. A previous conviction for sex or violence would appear to be a characteristic of sexual killers.

Victim Characteristics

Victim gender

When gender of victim was reported, the large majority of victims were female: Porter, Woodworth, Earle, Drugge and Boer, (2003), Roberts & Grossman, (1983). Female victim was the selection criteria for two of the studies (Grubin, 1994; Proulx & Beaugard, 2002) a number of studies also included a victim or victims who were male (Beech et al. 2005, 1975; MacCulloch et al. 1983) or a child (Beech et al.; MacCulloch et al. 1983).

Relationship to Victim

The majority of sexual killers victims were strangers (Grubin, 1994; Langevin et al.; 1988; Porter et al., 2003) or stranger was the most common relationships to the perpetrators (Beech et al. 2005; Briken et al. 2006) followed by acquaintance (Beech et al., 2005; Porter et al., 2003; Roberts & Grossman, 1983). There were studies where the victim knew the perpetrator in a substantial number of offences (Beech et al., 2005; Grubin, 1994; Oliver et al., 2007; Roberts & Grossman 1983).

Definitions of what denotes a stranger or acquaintance within the studies are generally not given. However, in summary, although whether the victim was a stranger does not discriminate sexual killers from rapists or sexual assaulters, the victims of sexual killers are commonly strangers.

Victim Access

Roberts and Grossman (1993) reported that the offence took most often place in the victim's residence (37%) or a public location (38%). Grubin (1994) found that access was gained through breaking and entering into the victim's home (29%), usually while committing a burglary, or by stalking the victim in street (29%). However, there is an absence of reference to victim access in the studies considered within this review, and this area would benefit from further research.

Offence Characteristics

Method of Killing

The majority of studies reported death by asphyxiation as the most frequently employed method. Dietz et al. (1990), Warren et al. (1996) and Langevin et al. (1988) reported asphyxiation rates of 61%, 60% and 71% respectively. Roberts and Grossman (1993) and Gratzner and Bradford (1995) reported lower rates, 34% strangulation and 35% asphyxia respectively, although this was still a much higher percentage than other methods.

Sexual killers were found to strangle their victims significantly more often than nonsex killers (Grubin, 1994; Langevin et al., 1988), or this was found to be the most frequent method of killing employed (Roberts & Grossman, 1993) followed by stabbing (Roberts & Grossman, 24%) and beating (Roberts & Grossman, 23%) with shooting reported rarely (Grubin; Roberts & Grossman).

Strangulation would seem to be the method of death most frequently employed by sexual killers and can be considered a characteristic of these perpetrators.

Sexual Bondage and Torture

Dietz et al. (1990) and Warren et al. (1996) both reported that their entire sample tortured their victims; Roberts and Grossman (1993) found the majority tortured their victims (78.6%). Dietz et al. (1990) and Warren et al. (1996) reported high rates of sexual bondage as a feature of the crime scene (76.7% and 95% respectively), while Gratzner and Bradford (1990) reported a much lower rate (14.3%). While sexual bondage and torture would appear to be a characteristic of sexual killers, a number of these studies included offenders who were chosen because they were

considered sadistic and/or serial killers, so this characteristic may not be very representative of sexual killers per se.

Evidence of deviance

Revitch (1980) found that killing of women was “Associated with cannibalism, vampirism, and necrophilia” (p.10). Rupp (1980) reported that cannibalism could be evident in these cases; Ressler et al. (1986) found a range of mutilations of the victim’s corpse as well as the sexual acts carried out. Dietz et al. (1990) have found that the majority of sexually sadistic killers were performed a range of sexual acts on one or more of their victims, e.g. anal rape. Gratzer and Bradford did not find a range of sexual acts were performed on the victims for their sample of sadistic sexual offenders with a less severe pathology although many had nevertheless murdered their victims (71.4%).

Rape of Victim

Langevin et al. (1988) reported that numbers of those who sexually assaulted then killed their victims were equal to those who sexually assaulted both prior to and after killing them. There was information missing to make an assessment on two cases in Langevin et al.’s study. Warren et al. (1995) found no instances of post mortem mutilation or necrophilia.

Motivation for Killing

Langevin et al. (1988) found that the majority of sexual killers “Showed a fusion of sex and aggression in their apparent motive”(p.280) significantly more than sexual assaulters and nonsexual killers, with 69% of sexual killers having an “apparent motive” of “both sex and anger”, the remainder apparently only seeking sexual release. Grubin (1994) considered anger to be the most common motive for the killing (50%) followed by “Recent loss of self-esteem” (p.627), in 43% of cases. Beech et al. (2005) used the presence of implicit theories (or schemas that an offender holds about the world that drive distorted and unhelpful thinking) to determine the motivation of sexual killers and found that 50% of their sample were motivated to kill to enact fantasies of a violent and sadistic nature. A second group’s offences were driven by “anger and resentment to women” and the third group were motivated to kill either to quieten their victim during the offence or attempt to avoid detection. In summary, sexual killers would frequently kill their victims for motives of anger and/or sexual release.

Other Characteristics of Note

Dietz et al. (1990) reported that 30% of their group of sexual killers a police “buff”. Gratzer and Bradford (1995) did not find this to be the case in either of their samples of sadists or their group of non-sadistic offenders. Warren et al. (1996) reported that 35% of sexually sadistic serial killers had an interest in security/law enforcement. Dietz (1990) reported that 40% of their sexual killers had a history of excessive driving. Rupp (1980) described how sexual killers were often “drifters” who failed to establish themselves within a community.

Proximal factors

There is limited research into the proximal factors that precede or trigger sexual killing. Langevin et al. (1988) found no differences in the rates of alcohol abuse between the sadistic offenders and comparison group, although the former were less likely to have been drunk or alcohol fuelled at the time of the offence. Myers et al. (1998) found that 43% of their sample of juvenile sexual killers were under the influence of mind altering drugs at the time of the offence. Blanchard's (1995) interviews with imprisoned sexual killers uncovered "Recurring themes of sexual preoccupation, ritualisation, unmanageability, and histories of escalation from less serious to more serious levels of sexual assaultiveness" (p.64). Rupp (1980) proposed that certain crime scene behaviours, such as insertion of an object into the victim, could indicate that the murder was triggered by an argument with a sexual partner. Bartholomew et al. (1975) and Podolsky (1966) suggested that some sexual killings take place following rape to eliminate the witness to a crime to avoid being caught. Some killings (during a sexual attack) could be accidental, following excessive use of force (MacDonald, 1970). Meloy et al. (1994) proposed a five-factor model partially to understand the act of sexual homicide itself: the five factors are abnormal bonding, characterological anger, formal thought disorder, borderline reality testing, and pathological narcissism (entitlement). They believed that the five factors contributed considerably to sexual killing when the perpetrator has both access to a possible victim and is in a state of sexual arousal. More recently, Beech et al. (2005) noted that the only significant differences in terms of pre-crime situational factors that Proulx et al. (2002) found between a group of sexual murderers and sexual aggressors against women was that sexual murderers reported higher rates of feeling anger, having consumed alcohol, and being in possession of a weapon. The first two factors are consistent with the factors described above.

Conclusions

Table 1.5 summarises those perpetrator, victim and offence factors that appear to be characteristics of sexual killers from the studies reviewed.

Table 1.5 Characteristics of Sexual Killers from Literature

Perpetrator characteristics	White
	Aged 20-30
	History of physical abuse
	Disturbed relationship with father
	Father abused alcohol
	Behavioural problems at school
	Social isolation during childhood/ adolescence
	Not in a relationship at time of offence
	Psychiatric contact prior to sexual killing
	Socially isolated/loneliness during adulthood
Average IQ	
Victim and offence characteristics	Victim a stranger/acquaintance
	Victim strangled
	Anger or sexual release

Table 1.6 summarises factors that would seem to be relevant for a large number of sexual killers but are not considered at this stage to be a characteristic of sexual killers.

Table 1.6 Characteristics Relevant for a Large Number of Sexual Killers from the Literature

Perpetrator characteristics	History of sexual abuse during childhood
	Bed wetting after age 5 years
	Ran away from home
	Poor achievement at school
	Paraphilia
	Deviant sexual fantasy
	Drug and alcohol dependence

Summary of characteristics of sexual killers

From this review, sexual killers would generally seem to be white and aged in their 20s or 30s. Their childhood histories would seem to have been characterised by physical abuse and social isolation during childhood and adolescence. For a large number of sexual killers, there is a history of being the victim of sexual abuse, bed wetting after the age 5 years, and being a runaway. Sexual killers' relationships with their fathers are disturbed and their fathers abuse alcohol. Sexual killers demonstrate behavioural problems at school and are poor achievers. At the time of their offence, they will not be in a relationship, are isolated and experience loneliness and have had psychiatric contact prior to the killing. They have previous convictions and may kill out

of anger and/or sexual release. A large number will show evidence of paraphilia and deviant sexual fantasy, and will abuse drugs or alcohol and/or be intoxicated at the time of the offence.

Many of the findings from studies that seemed particular to the sexual killer subjects or groups that contained them are not dissimilar from factors associated with sexual offending in general. For example, anti social personality, any stranger or unrelated victims, never having married, guilty of previous offences and any deviant sexual preference were among “The most well established predictors of sexual offending” (p.4, Hanson, 2000) in a meta-analysis of sexual offender recidivism studies (Hanson & Brussiere, 1998). This withstanding, the characteristics described above provide a basis for further research into this perpetrator group.

Theories of Sexual Killing

Eggar (1998) highlighted how “Much of the early work on serial murder focused on the sexual component of this crime to explain the motivation of the killer” (p.6).

Other individual contributory factors cover a variety of environmental and biological causes. However, more recent theories have incorporated a number of factors including developmental and adult characteristics to explain this crime.

Fantasy

Sexual fantasy has been considered as a central motivational characteristic for sexual killing and a component within models to understand this behaviour. Meloy (1999) in his review of the ‘Nature and Dynamics of Sexual Homicide’ noted how the clinical observations of Brittain (1970) and the later analysis of a sample of sadistic offenders sexual fantasies by MacCulloch et al. (1983) has “Steered much of the subsequent research interest in fantasy as a primary drive mechanism in sexual homicide” (p.8). Dietz et al. (1990) studied 30 sadistic offenders, 22 of whom had killed, and concluded that the “Hallmark of their offences is intentional torture of the victim to sexually arouse the offender” (p.177). In conclusion to this study, Dietz et al. (1990) described crime scene, victim access, offence characteristics and victim apprehension that can be indicative of sexually sadistic offenders, including sexual killers. The characteristics of the crime scene to try and establish the motivation and personality of sexually motivated homicide were first described in the typology outlined originally by the Behavioural Science Unit within the FBI (Geberth, 1999; Meloy, 2000 and Ressler et al. 1988). Meloy (2000) suggested sexual sadists rarely engage in mutilation of the body post mortem and generally leave an “organized” crime scene. Sadistic offenders are more likely to leave an “Organized crime scene” (Meloy, 2000). Determining whether external or internal stimuli were driving forces behind the killing has been used to determine both the motivation and personality of sexual killers (MacCulloch, 1983, Schlesinger, 1965, 1980). Schlesinger and Revitch (1981) considered the nature of this internal and external stimuli as a spectrum with five levels of classification comprising environmental or sociogenic, situational, impulsive, catathymic and compulsive. Schlesinger and Revitch (1990) have taken the term *catathymia*, originally proposed by Maier (1912) and defined it, “Not as a diagnostic entity but, rather, as a psychodynamic process frequently accompanied by

disorganization and characterised by an accumulation of tension released through the violent act and followed by release” (p.166). A “disorganized” crime scene may be indicative of a catathymic murderer (Schlesinger & Revitch, 1990). MacCulloch et al. (1983) considered that the group of men they studied who acted upon their deviant fantasies were in line with the compulsive murderer; these “Compulsive, murders are at the extreme endogenous end of the motivational spectrum and thus are least influenced by sociogenic factors” (Schlesinger & Revitch, 1990, p.172).

Models of Sexual Murder

Burgess et al.’s (1986) motivational model of sexual homicide includes a propensity to fantasise as well as to committing anti-social actions towards others and self within its five stages. An unsupportive social environment characterised by neglect with unaddressed trauma leaves specific critical personal traits that result in thinking patterns which motivate deviant behaviour including rape, non sexual murder, and sex-orientated murder such as necrophilia and rape. Feelings of power and domination are increased through a “feedback filter” and the sexual killer will amass their knowledge of committing offences without detection or reprimand and gain heightened feelings of arousal and dominance, power and control. Malmquist (1996) argued that a clinical dimension would have been helpful to provide other sources of information about these killers (p.300). Burgess et al. (1986) considered a number of implications of this motivational model for both clinical practice and future research, particularly in addressing the issue of fantasy with offenders, and the need in some cases to modify powerful fantasies that facilitate acts of aggression. The model proposed by Burgess et al. (1986) remains theoretical and it is still not clear how these developmental factors lead to some individuals becoming killers and others who experience an ineffective social environment but do not go on to kill. In addition, this model does not differ greatly from other models of sexual offending in general, e.g. Marshall and Barbaree (1986) and Marshall and Marshall (2000).

MacCulloch et al. (2000) have proposed a sensory preconditioning model where feelings of sexual arousal and aggression paired together form a pathway to sadistic fantasy and subsequent behaviour. They suggest that “Many pairings of the two stimuli, via repeated chronic abuse” (p.414) is necessary for enduring sexually sadistic interests where “Severity of sexual sadism” is “Related to the frequency and severity of abuse in childhood” (p.415).

To date, models may provide some clinical framework for the assessment and treatment of factors related to a propensity to carry out sexual killing, such as behaviour modification work and restructuring of fantasy. However, as MacCulloch et al. (2000) concludes, “Further study and classification of multiple killers can proceed only with access to relatively large numbers of cases” (p.415).

Summary

Despite the lack of research on sexual killers with standardised assessments (Langevin et al. 1988), the etiological similarities with other groups of offenders as discussed above, and the small

sample sizes that have been employed, this review has identified a number of characteristics of sexual killers in terms of perpetrator, victim and offence characteristics. This review has also identified characteristics of sexual killers that are relevant to a large sub set of sexual killers.

Due to the limited research on sexual killers and small sample sizes, a study with a relatively large number of sexual killers will follow this review. Data will be collected relevant to factors from the literature involving the childhood, victim characteristics, and offence characteristics of sexual killers, drawing upon the characteristics identified in this study. The next chapter outlines the development of a 'template' to collect data to these factors. As a framework for considering the data collected in this population study, four factors; two offence characteristics and two perpetrator characteristics, have been identified from this review because they would appear to either characterise the sexual killer in broad terms or are relevant for a large number of sexual killers.

The two offence characteristics are consideration of whether or not sexual killers are more likely to perpetrator their offences against strangers or acquaintances than someone they actually know well and whether or not sexual killers are more likely to kill their victims by asphyxiation than any other method. There is some indication that sexual killers will target strangers or people considered a casual acquaintance (Dietz et al. 1990; Langevin et al.; 1988, Ressler et al.1988) although this research has been undertaken with small sample sizes and included perpetrators who are serial killers. Little explanation has been offered for why it has been believed that sexual killers victimise strangers more often than people they know or are an acquaintance with. Brittain (1970) proposed that asphyxia is the predominant method of death, sometimes with the use of a gag, "Except when gross and mutilating violence or multiple stabbing is used" (p.204). Rupp (1980) suggested that "hands on" methods of killing or use of a blunt instrument resulted from the spontaneity of the crime. It has also been proposed that manual or ligature strangulation is a suitable and practical means of killing given the position of the perpetrator to victim during a sexual attack and can assist in preventing cries from the victim that could raise the alarm for help (Brittain, 1970). The prolonged suffering that a slower method of death ensures over a quicker option like shooting, has also been suggested to explain the choice of asphyxia (Dietz, 1986). Brittain (1970) suggested that the ebb and flow of life that pressure on the victim's neck affords the perpetrator instils a sense of "God-like power" (p.204). The two perpetrator characteristics are whether sexual killers are likely to have problems with socialisation and to this end, whether they are considered a loner and whether they have disclosed deviant or offence related fantasy. Rupp (1980) theorised that sexual killers lack stability and are likely to be emotionally unstable in all areas of life pursuits and present as 'drifters'. Using the Rorschach (A Psychological test of personality and emotional performance), Meloy et al. (1994) reported high levels of unusual bonding and difficulty with attachment, and noted that this was consistent with problems in attachment during childhood reported by Ressler et al. (1988). Sexual fantasy features in a number of theories of sexual offending (e.g. Marshall & Barbaree, 1986; Marshall & Marshall, 2000). In

addition, a number of theories of sexual killing, that include serial sexual killing, consider fantasy as a central driving factor (e.g. Burgess et al., 1986). Blanchard (1995) postulated that 'lust murders' could be the culmination of the development and increase in sexual fantasies that result from physical and sexual disturbance from childhood that have not been appropriately resolved. MacCulloch et al. (1983) and Blanchard (1995) considered fantasy as a drive mechanism for sadistic violence, including homicide. Prentky et al. (1989) found a greater prevalence of violent fantasy amongst those perpetrators considered serial killers than those offenders who were convicted of killing once or twice, suggesting a "Possible functional relationship between fantasy and repetitive assaultive behaviour" (p.890). Nicole and Proulx (2007) reported that sexual killers were significantly more likely than sexual assaulters to disclose "Deviant sexual fantasies during childhood and adolescence than did sexual aggressors" (p. 37).

These four factors will therefore be used to understand their relevance individually to sexual killers and to will be used as a framework to understand sexual killing generally.

Conclusion

This chapter has set out to review the literature on sexual killing, taking in the challenge of defining this crime both conceptually and in practice. It has also identified characteristics of this crime despite difficulties with the existing literature.

Despite the lack of research on sexual killers with standardised assessments (Langevin et al., 1988), the aetiological similarities with other groups of offenders as discussed above, and the small sample sizes that have been employed, this review has identified possible characteristics of sexual killers (see Tables 1.5 and 1.6 above). In addition, a number identified that could be present for a large proportion of sexual killers. The characteristics identified in this review are relevant to childhood and adult characteristics as well as to the offence and victim. MacCulloch et al. (2000) concluded that "Further study and classification of multiple killers can proceed only with access to relatively large numbers of cases" (p.415).

A study with a relatively large number of sexual killers will follow this review. It will refer to the characteristics identified for sexual killers outlined in Tables 1.5 and Table 1.6 above. In addition, two offence factors, whether the victim was a stranger and whether a "hands on" method of killing was used; and two perpetrator factors, whether they were considered a loner and whether they disclosed fantasy, will be used to explore and organise the information collected in this study, as these are emerging factors from the literature which characterise the sexual killer in broad terms.

The next chapter outlines the development of a 'template' to collect data relevant to factors from the literature involving the childhood, victim characteristics, and offence characteristics of sexual killers to be employed in a population study.

CHAPTER TWO

DEVELOPMENT AND TESTING OF A SEXUAL KILLER TEMPLATE FOR IDENTIFYING CHARACTERISTICS OF OFFENDER, OFFENCE AND VICTIM

Introduction

This chapter reports the development of a template to consider the presence of factors in sexual killers that are potentially able to characterise them and potentially distinguish them from other sexual offenders. These factors for investigation were largely drawn from the offender, offence characteristics, and conclusion sections from the previous chapter. In addition, within this template were factors that could be considered to determine how they could be considered a sexual killing. The presence or absence of the items and characteristics that were included on the template would later be tested on a large number of cases. This was in contrast to the studies considered in the previous chapter, which have generally involved very small sample sizes and the absence of a clear definition of sexual killing or have failed to clearly state why the cases have been considered and met a definition of sexual killing.

Sexual Killer Template

A 'template' was developed drawing together factors that have been shown in the literature to be features that warrant further exploration more commonly found in the backgrounds and crime scene behaviour of sexual killers, or as possibly relevant to the development and behavioural characteristics of sexual killers. The Sexual Killer Template (SKT) was devised by looking at factors largely drawn from the studies considered in the literature review (see Chapter One). The SKT is composed of eleven sections: these are childhood, schooling, adulthood, family background, employment, preconvictions, victim characteristics, offence characteristics, offender characteristics, attitude of offender. A number of other characteristics that do not fall under these headings and therefore were included in an "other factors" section.

Items

The SKT items, which will be described, were taken from the literature if they met one of the following criteria: (i) they had been adopted in a previous descriptive study as an item for consideration; (ii) they have been hypothesised in previous research or writing on sexual killers as being relevant factors; (iii) they were considered as relevant items for exploration from personal clinical experience in the treatment or assessment of these offenders. Each section and the justification and scoring guidance will now be considered.

Childhood

Although not defined and with the absence of the actual rates reported, assault during childhood has been found in the background of a sadistic group of men, which included sexual killers (MacCulloch et al., 1983). The birth order in the family and whether sexual killers and rapists were 'only' children has been considered, with no significant difference identified between sexual killers and rapists (Grubin, 1994). Significant 'loss' has been reported in the backgrounds of some

cases of sexual killers (MacCulloch et al., 1983; Morrison, 1978; Rosman & Resnick, 1989). While not clearly defined, MacCulloch et al. gave the example relevant to significant loss of “Being abandoned by mother” which led to “Angry rumination,” while Rosman and Resnick (1989) believed loss caused low self-esteem. Morrison (1978) described a case where a sexual killer had the loss of both his father and his military career. To delineate this further, significant loss was broken down into considering loss suffered when the perpetrator was a child and as an adult. Significant loss as a child considered loss of mother, loss of father, or loss of a significant other, according to who was responsible for the killer’s care and welfare. Significant loss suffered as an adult was considered within the year leading up to the offence and consisted of death of partner, wife, long term girlfriend, end of a career, failed business and losing a home. The SKT required that those completing it record, if possible, whether this loss led to difficulty in functioning, e.g. time off work, excessive drinking, drug use, and unemployment.

Ressler et al. (1986), in their research on serial and single sexual killers, considered ‘normative’ life events as well as those that “Go beyond the range of normal”(p.71) where the killer’s childhood environment fails to protect or help him to recover from the negative effects of seeing or experiencing trauma. This experience could include witnessing or experiencing physical and sexual abuse. Dietz et al. (1990) found sexual and physical abuse in the backgrounds of their sadistic offender sample, which included sexual killers. Although the rates of abuse reported were not high, this item met the inclusion criteria described above, so this factor was included in the SKT. This factor was broken down into marking for the presence of evidence that the killer had been sexually abused, and where possible marking for evidence as to whether they were sexually abused by an adult or person 5 years older than them, as well as whether both they and the perpetrators were under the age of consent (16 years of age). This latter separate criteria was included in an attempt to differentiate sexual abuse from possible childhood sexual exploration/experimentation, where consent and abuse are harder to establish. This procedure is in line with practice for scoring the static risk assessment of future sexual offending Risk Matrix 2000 (Thornton et al., 2003) which is routinely adopted within HM Prison Service. Childhood was defined as up to 17 years and 364 days in accordance with the Legal Definition of a child in England and Wales. However, there are theories that certain early childhood developmental experiences are very significant for the development of those who go on to become sexual killers (Ressler et al., 1986) as well as sexual offenders in general (Marshall & Barbaree, 1986). Therefore, clarification as to whether these experiences were under the age of 12 years (approximately prior to puberty) was adopted for a number of factors relevant to development, e.g. stability of family. In addition, whether they were likely to have witnessed sexual and physical abuse against others was noted in line with Ressler et al.’s (1986) model of sexual killers.

Again, while not clearly defined, isolation, alongside daydreaming, was considered to play an important factor in the development of sexual killers in the model described by Ressler et al (1986). Grubin (1994) found that the sexual killers self-reported lifelong isolation which

distinguished them from rapists, using a semi-structured interview to establish whether they felt part of a group and whether or not they felt included in events. MacCulloch et al. (1983) found a number of sexual killers who described an inability to make any sort of appropriate approach to their preferred sex after they themselves had reached puberty. These items in the SKT were covered by considering whether the case being considered displayed was a “Loner had Few Friends” and disclosure of “Problems relating to preferred sex after puberty”. Puberty was taken to be 12 years or older.

Langevin et al. (1988) found that sexual killers were more likely to be a runaway as a child, although no rate or definition of being a runaway was provided. For the purpose of this study, the National Organisation for the Treatment of Abusers (NOTA) definition from their assessment battery database questionnaire, which is also used by HM Prison Service Sex Offender Treatment Programme, was adopted. This definition considers whether the individual had run away from home prior to age 12 years or from age of 12-16 years and whether this was for hours, days, months or years. A record was made if it was not possible to mark the amount of time they had run away for.

Aggressive and anti-social behaviour was found in a large proportion of the serial killer cases examined by Geberth and Turco (1997), while Langevin et al. (1988) and Warren et al. (1996) reported incidents of fire setting in the childhood histories of their sexual killers. As a childhood diagnosis of conduct disorder was unlikely to have been made in all cases (not all cases would have had childhood psychiatric contact) evidence of the relevant items was recorded instead. These items on the SKT were aggression towards people and animals, destruction of property (not by fire setting-see below), deceitfulness or theft, and serious violations of rules. The National Organisation for the Treatment of Abusers (NOTA) criteria for recording of fire setting were adopted to ensure standardisation: which considered any evidence of fire setting prior to age 12 years and evidence between the ages of 12-14 years.

Schooling

Dietz et al. (1990) found a large number, if not a majority, of their cases were educated beyond high school within the USA. Education within the SKT was recorded in accordance with NOTA criteria. This item considered the age the perpetrator left school and whether the perpetrator obtained further qualifications. A record of whether they left school without qualifications or gained more than one was also made to delineate this factor. Personal experience has revealed a number of cases of sexual killers who were suspended or expelled (removed) from school, so this was included as an item within the SKT.

Adulthood

Dietz et al. (1990) found a large proportion of their cases to have had a homosexual experience. They did not specify what constituted a homosexual experience although they excluded childhood sex play. This item, included in the SKT, was divided into reports of homosexual experiences prior to and during imprisonment. The author's experience is that

offenders report homosexual contact during imprisonment and therefore, homosexual experience was recorded separately for whether it had taken place prior to or during imprisonment. Gender indifference and female longing was also found to be present in Dietz et al.'s (1990) sample of cases and it was recognised that this item may only have been considered in psychiatric reports, and then would not always have been covered. The Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders IV (DSM-IV) criteria were used to look for evidence of gender indifference and female longing from summaries of psychiatric reports, whether or not a formal diagnosis had been made. Where evidence or indication of this item was found, the SKT required this to be noted. An example of the criteria to this feature being present was where "The cross-gender identification is manifested by a marked preoccupation with traditionally feminine activities" (see Appendix 2.1). Given the subjectivity of these types of statements, justifications for marking this factor as present were also recorded within the SKT.

The majority of studies have found an absence of psychosis in sexual killers (Dietz et al., 1990; Folino, 2000) and that they are not psychologically maladjusted (Fox & Levin, 1999). However, Langevin et al. (1988) found sex killers more likely to be considered psychotic at the time of the offence and Revitch (1965) also reported high levels of psychosis. MacCulloch et al. (1983) excluded psychotic offenders from their sample.

Firestone et al. (1997) found that their group of homicidal child killers were more likely to score higher on the Psychopathy Checklist Revised (Hare, 1991) than their non-homicidal child offenders. For the current study, the pilot investigation during the development of the SKT revealed that it would be unlikely that many cases would have been assessed using the Psychopathy Checklist, so any psychiatric diagnosis of psychopathy was recorded. It was also recorded if the perpetrator was deemed to have psychopathic traits. Also, where there had been a difference of opinion as to whether the person was psychotic or mentally ill was noted on the SKT. Half of Dietz et al.'s (1990) sample of sadistic killers were known to abuse drugs other than alcohol, while a small number of Folino's (2000) sexual killers met Axis 1 diagnosis American Psychological Association (APA) for substance abuse. Langevin et al. (1990) found that sexual killers were less likely to be drunk at the time of the offence than a comparison group of non sexual killers and non homicidal sexually aggressive males. The SKT therefore included items that recorded drug abuse, broken down into Class A and Class B drug use, to provide scope for greater detailed analysis and to consider the impact that different types of drugs could have played regarding inhibition. Whether alcohol was generally consumed before the offence as well as on the actual day/and or immediately prior to the offence was recorded. The NOTA database measurement of alcohol abuse was adopted. This approach considers whether alcohol consumption was a problem at the time of the offence and if so, did it cause problems with family relationships, friendships, money, employment, health and mood.

Dietz et al. (1990), Gratzler and Bradford (1995), and Langevin et al. (1988) all reported the presence of suicide attempts in the history of their sexual killers, although the rates varied

considerably. In addition, none of these studies had comparison groups. This item relating to suicide was included in the SKT and the 'action that took place to prevent loss of life' was included if known to determine how serious these attempts were.

The relevance of paraphilias to sexual killers is well established e.g. Langevin et al. 1988. Within the SKT, sadism was considered separately if any diagnosis had been made at the time of conviction. Indication of the presence of multiple paraphilia (three or more present) was also noted. This item could only be scored if there was reference made to a psychiatric diagnosis or detailed records of case summaries that indicated a history of; voyeurism or peeping, frotteurism, scatologia, zoophilia or other paraphilia. Any reports relevant to paraphilia, e.g. cautioned by police for nuisance phone calls, were recorded within the SKT so that the justification for considering multiple paraphilia could be considered.

Brittain (1970) observed that sadistic killers were likely to be single with little or no interest in girlfriends, while Dietz et al. (1990) found a large number of their sadistic offenders, who included sexual killers, to be married at the time of the offence. Most revealingly, Grubin (1994) differentiated sexual killers from rapists on the basis that they had a lack of heterosexual relationships in the year preceding the offence (sexual murder). The SKT aimed to establish whether or not the sample had been married or had a marriage-type relationship: the latter was defined as having had "A live-in marriage type relationship lasting for at least 2 years" (Thornton et al., 2003). A record was also made as to whether the sexual killers were in a relationship at the time of the offence, whether they were married, and whether they were living with their wife, partner or girlfriend. Whether the sexual killers were a father prior to the killing (s), the number of children, number of women they had children with, and whether they were living with any or all of their children at the time of the offence was also recorded. The author's experience of assessing and working with sexual killers suggests that for a proportion of these men, the prospect of fatherhood creates emotional turbulence and for this reason whether they were expecting to become or had recently become a father was noted.

Brittain (1970) suggested that sadistic killers may be religious, so their religion if relevant and known and whether they were practising, i.e. attending church other than for funerals, christenings and weddings prior to imprisonment, was recorded within the SKT.

Family Background

Ressler et al. (1986) considered the family backgrounds of their sample of 36 sexual killers in some depth and this formed the basis for the Developmental Model referred to earlier. Dietz et al. (1990) and Warren et al. (1996) found high rates of infidelity and divorce in the parents of offenders. Other indications of family disruption included high levels of "Chaotic upbringing" (Myers et al., 1993) in juvenile offenders, and removal from the family home was more likely for Homicidal Child Offenders than Non Homicidal Child Offenders (Firestone et al., 1997). Grubin (1994) found that both father presence and paternal stability until the age of 10 years was significantly greater in the sexual murderers than in a comparison group of rapists. The family

background of offenders was therefore considered in detail within the SKT (see Appendix 2.1). Further explanation will be given for the reasoning behind four other items relevant to family background. The first is transient lifestyle of family, which was included because it may have affected the offender's ability to bond with their peers and establish friendships. This item was considered to be present if the family was described as moving around a lot and relocating often (more than three occasions prior to the perpetrator being aged 16 years). Items relevant to disturbance in father relationships was evidenced by reports that the father worked away from home or was not part of the family set-up to the extent that this could have had a detrimental effect on the perpetrators relationship with them. Reports that would have indicated that negative father image was present referred to incidents of being hit, criticised or threatened by/with his father or father figure. Finally, evidence of paternal instability considered paternal absence as well as criminality, unemployment, alcoholism, chronic instability, or a combination of these factors.

Employment

Dietz et al. (1990) found that serial and mass killers tended to be security guards. Brittain (1970) suggested that sadistic killers sought out jobs, such as working in an abattoir that brought them into contact with knives. Rupp (1980) described how sexual killers were often "drifters" who failed to establish themselves within a community, while Eggar (1998) reported that serial killers are frequently "rootless" and without a place to live. Any record of excessive driving or relocating that might indicate a restless, rootless individual was therefore recorded. Dietz et al. (1990) found a proportion of their group of sadistic offenders had military experience and this, as well as the nature of the experience such as Ground Forces, Navy, was recorded on the SKT. The author has clinical experience of a number of sexual killers with history of working in the Merchant Navy so this was specifically recorded if present.

Previous Convictions

There have been different findings with regards to arrest history from the presence in the majority of samples (Langevin et al. 1988) to the absence in the majority of cases (Dietz et al. 1990; Gratzler & Turco, 1997). The SKT items regarding previous convictions looked at detailed items regarding previous convictions for sexual and violent crimes, burglaries were recorded and sexual burglary (Schlesinger, 2001). In looking for the presence of sexual burglaries, consideration was given where "The more the offences are compelling and without logic, the more they are sexually motivated" (Schlesinger & Revitch, 1999). However, it was decided, following a pilot of the SKT that this item would generally be hard to assess in the absence of reliable disclosures from the individual as it is not routinely considered in pre-trial assessments. Any evidence of sexual burglaries or indication this could be relevant was recorded under the comments section of the SKT.

Victim and Offence Characteristics

A number of authors have considered descriptive studies of crime scene characteristics covering method of attack (e.g. Langevin et al. 1988; Revitch, 1965), characteristics of victims, method of death, injury and crime scene behaviour (Gratzer & Bradford, 1995) and characteristics of the offender (Gratzer & Bradford, 1995; Warren, Hazelwood & Dietz, 1996). The Violent Criminal Apprehension Program, part of the U.S. Department of Justice, developed a Crime Analysis Report (Ressler et al., 1986) that covered information about victims, offender information, offence modus operandi, condition of victim when found and cause of death and/or trauma for sexual killers. All relevant descriptive studies (see previous chapter) and the Crime Analysis Reports were reviewed to develop the items upon the SKT that covered both victim and offender characteristics to develop the items on the SKT relevant to victim and offender characteristics. There are a number of items that warrant some elaboration to help provide clarity for their inclusion. Sexual intention to application of ligature was considered as present if the ligature was “Very accurate, very complex, when it was symmetrical or when body parts are included that do not need a restraint” (Schröer et al. 2002, p.3). Bite marks should be considered as sadistic, when they “Occurred when victim still alive” and “If they are around breasts or sexual organs” (Schröer et al. 2002).

Scoring

Where possible, all items were marked as to whether they were present (Yes) or Not Present (No), or whether there was Not Enough Information to Score (NEITS). Finally, if No Evidence available, this was recorded. NEITS was included because it gave an indication that the item might be relevant, while No Evidence indicated that it simply could not be marked from the records. There was also a comments section that could be used, as indicated by the guidance notes, to record information justifying the presence or absence of an item had been made such as evidence of anti-social personality disorder.

Definition Factors

Background

As described in the previous chapter, whatever the definition of sexual killing, or one of its related terms such as erotophonophilia (Money, 1990), that is adopted, determining that an offence meets the chosen definition is problematic. In order to overcome some of the difficulties presented by defining a behaviour where the sexual component varies so widely in nature from intent to commit sexual acts that is never carried out to post-mortem interference, criteria were included in the SKT that could differentiate to what extent cases met the factors considered to be indicative of a sexual killing. The factors varied from recording information within the SKT where they had been convicted for a sexual offence alongside the killing as to whether the police mentioned a sexual element in papers relating to the investigation or prosecution. Evidence to suggest that a killing was sexual can vary from harder more tangible

evidence that a sexual behaviour had taken place in close association with a killing to where there was less clear tangible evidence of a sexual assault. The SKT therefore included information that could be indicative of a sexual killing regardless of how the sex was attached to the killing. For example, if the perpetrator had disclosed during questioning at the time of arrest that they had either killed the victim during a sexual offence, or in order to commit one, or with the intention of committing a sexual offence, this information was recorded under Offender Characteristics within the SKT. For these sexual killers, the sex and killing are deemed as being “closely bound” (Grubin, 1994). The criteria that were indicative that the killing was sexual ranged from the perpetrator being convicted of a sexual offence alongside the killing to the police mentioning a sexual element (See Chapter Five Table 5.9 for full list of factors).

Initial Pilot Study

The completed initial Sexual Killer Template (SKT) was a lengthy document. Gaining good inter-assessor reliability for completion of the study was likely to be difficult. Therefore, a pilot study was set up to provide initial feedback on ease of use of the SKT and how well the items could be scored, and to provide an indication of how long the SKT would take to complete. Three people took part in this initial pilot study. They all worked for HM Prison Service, two male and one female. The male assessors were both psychologists who had experience of the assessment and treatment of men who have killed in a sexual context. The female assessor was a psychological assistant who also had experience of treatment and assessment of sexual offenders. All assessors had experience of referring to and extracting information from lifer files and records as they all prepare reports on life sentence prisoners as part of their work responsibilities.

The assessors all undertook completing the SKTs in Lifer Review and Recall Section Offices (LR&RS, formerly Lifer Unit) between December 2003 and January 2004. They were each given selected lifer files for two life sentence prisoners. A list of cases was compiled through the research author’s work in LR&RS where there was an indication of a sexual element to the index offence. The criterion for establishing indication of a sexual element was failing a disclosure by the perpetrator that they had killed with a sexual motive or element, was that there had been the killing of an individual with evidence of sexual behaviour prior to or following the killing, or the victim’s clothes had been disturbed in a way that could not be explained by simply moving of the body. The last three cases that had been added to the list of cases which had indication of a sexual element were selected for this initial pilot study. The lifer files for these cases, starting with the 5/2 file which is opened upon conviction and contains the Trial Judges report, and defence and prosecution reports, were collected from LR&RS records department alongside additional lifer files in storage if they existed. Each of the three cases was given a unique identification code number so that the completed SKT would not be identifiable.

The three cases used are summarised below:

Case A

A 43-year old man serving a life sentence for manslaughter of a 24-year-old woman on the grounds of diminished responsibility. The perpetrator had previously been in a relationship with the victim although this had ceased prior to the offence and she had refused contact with him for some time since this relationship had ended. The body was discovered by police following concerns raised by her colleagues that she had not come into work. Her body was found in her home, naked and face down on her bed. A post-mortem revealed that she had been the victim of both manual and ligature strangulation and the ligature strangulation possibly occurred after death. The post-mortem also revealed evidence of sexual intercourse having taken place after death as well as bruising to the inner thigh areas.

Case B

A 76-year old man who was serving a life sentence for manslaughter of a 16-year old female on the grounds of diminished responsibility. The body of the victim was found on a grass verge. There had not been any attempts to conceal the body although some garments of clothing were found behind a nearby tree and others were discovered some distance away. The body was found with the hands tied behind the back and a thick piece of rope around the neck. Post-mortem examination revealed both bloodstains and seminal staining on the victim's brassiere.

Case C

A 45-year old man serving who was serving a life sentence for murder of his 14-year-old stepdaughter. The body was found behind a wardrobe in the family home. The body was naked and there was a ligature around the neck and evidence that someone had attempted to dismember the body. Post-mortem examination revealed semen indicating the victim had had recent sexual intercourse.

Procedure

Each assessor was given two blank SKTs, their own assessor code number from 01-03, the files on each case and a set of SKT guidance notes (see Appendix 2.2) with the accompanying cover sheet for scoring. They were also each given two copies of a feedback sheet which included the following questions and space to write responses while or after they completed the SKTs:

- Please comment upon how easy it was to complete the SKT? Would anything make it quicker to complete?
- Were there any items that were hard to score? Can you suggest how these could be improved?
E.g. better/clearer definitions
- Please list any items that you were not asked to score but thought should have been included. Also, list any thoughts you have about the SKT scoring which you would like to make.
- Did you find any repetition amongst the items? If yes, please note.

Results of Pilot Study Feedback

Assessors managed to complete cases in two 2 to 3 hours. All assessors stated that they found completing the second case easier because they had gained familiarity with the SKT format. They all found rating the cases interesting to complete.

All assessors completed case B. Their ratings and comments were transferred on to one SKT sheet by the research author. Two assessors completed case C. Two assessors scored case C and all three assessors scored case B. Only one assessor completed case A.

Each of the cases was combined on a single rating sheet so that these could be studied to establish what improvements could be made to the SKT.

General Points

It was apparent that all the assessors had difficulty using the term 'Not Enough Information to Score' (NEITS). The guidance for NEITS was given as "Where something is alluded to but there is not the detail to mark Yes or No. For example, a report may say, 'He had an unhappy childhood and didn't get on with his father'; it would be relevant to tick NEITS under Negative Father Image, in the absence of any further information. However, despite this guidance, there was variance between assessors in when this item was ticked. On some items, one assessor would tick NEITS, while others would tick No or No Evidence. For example, on the items under Childhood referring to *Disclosed problems relating to preferred sex, disclosed problems relating to preferred sex after age 12 years and disclosed prior to any treatment*, either No or NEITS or else No Evidence were all ticked by each assessor for all of these items. NEITS had not really worked to capture information where there was some indication that a factor could be present but the assessor could not be sure that this was actually the case.

This issue was discussed with the assessors to explain the purpose of recording such information. It was apparent from these discussions that they each had set their own criteria for establishing NEITS as opposed to judging that it was not present or that there was No Evidence. This item had been included to provide information that the assessor suspected might be a factor, from the spirit and implication of the information within the dossier. However, there was such variance across both Cases B and C as to when No, No Evidence or NEITS was ticked, that the coding item NEITS was changed to Suspect Possibly Present and the guidance was altered so that it should not be ticked in isolation. The other response options that were also changed: Yes and No obviously remained but guidance was given to tick Yes if there was information to indicate a factor was present and No if there was information to indicate a factor was absent. No Evidence was changed to No Information Available following discussion with the assessors who were reluctant to score No Evidence on some items because they believed it might have been applicable but had not been covered in interviews and assessments referred to within the files. This meant that they could tick No Information Available if it simply had not been covered and No if there was evidence to confirm that an item was not relevant. An additional item, Not Applicable, was also included. This addition was necessary because for some items that had been marked as Yes,

e.g. Only Child, other items relating to these factors would be considered Not Applicable, e.g. Has Brothers and Sisters. It was hoped that this change would save some time and, more importantly, encourage assessors to then give a tick for each item, which would indicate that items had not been missed by mistake.

Childhood

There was good agreement in the markings for this section. One of the assessors failed to identify that Case B did actually have stepbrothers or sisters. Where other divergence existed in the scoring, it only occurred on a number of items where No or NEITS had been ticked. One of the assessors (03) felt that the information regarding brothers, sisters and placement between siblings was repetitive. However, given that these items had been scored with general agreement across assessors, this was not altered. There was general agreement in markings for this section from Case C. One of the assessors did leave some items blank to do with Siblings which identified the need to ensure that assessors ticked a response to all the items and the marking guidance was altered accordingly. The only other item where there was a difference in score, other than tick of No versus NEITS, was Evidence of Anti-Social Behaviour DSM-IV criteria of APD. One assessor (03) correctly identified and wrote under the comments section that although in later life the perpetrator showed psychopathic traits, there was “No formal diagnosis of APD”. Therefore, it was decided that guidance would be given to stress that this item was for APD in childhood and that if ticked Yes, the evidence for doing so should be included in the comments section.

Schooling

There was good agreement in markings across the two cases. The only item that left some divergence was with reference to Age Left School & Qualifications on Case B. One assessor (02) marked NEITS for Left with more than 3 qualifications, while another ticked Yes and another did not tick a box but recorded the information, “Passed ‘several’ CSE examinations”. However, ‘passed several examinations’ suggested more than two and the item should have been marked as Yes. The guidance notes were revised to indicate that passing qualifications, where the grade is not known, should be counted as gaining a qualification. The failure to tick a box would be dealt with in future by the alterations covered in adjustment to General Marking guidance referred to above.

Adulthood

There was wide agreement for the adulthood factors markings. The differences were generally where one assessor had marked NEITS and the others had marked No, e.g. Had been drinking at the time of the offence (on the same day). There was divergence in scores regarding the item, Considered or diagnosed as a sadist at time of conviction, with only one assessor correctly identifying that a doctor had diagnosed sadism some time after conviction while the perpetrator concerned was carrying out his sentence. The SKT guidance notes were amended to stress that

this was at time of conviction but to note under the comments section if a diagnosis for sadism had been made after this.

Family Background

The fact that Case B went to boarding school caused divergence among the assessors. One assessor used this as the basis for ticking Yes to Ever Removed From Family Home and Cared For By Someone Else. It was not the intention of the SKT that attending boarding school would count as Yes for these items as the care of the individual still rested with the parents of the person concerned. Therefore, the scoring guidance was amended to ensure that this information would not be scored as Yes. The boarding school issue for this case also created a difference in score for the item, Cared For By Same Parents Up Until Age 12 years. One assessor did not mark Yes but instead marked No Evidence, on the basis that the person concerned had been to boarding school.

Other Factors

There was wide agreement, apart from some cases where No or NEITS had been ticked.

Employment

There was very good agreement for marking across assessors for this section.

Previous Convictions

There was good agreement within this section, including for the Static-99 and RM2000 scoring. The only area that led to disagreement was the *Prior Sex Offences for Static Risk-99*. Two of the assessors (01, 02) scored this as zero. Only the other assessor (03) correctly identified that the perpetrator concerned had been charged with a sexual offence of rape previously. Again, on Case C, there was agreement for RM2000 but for Static-99, one assessor (01) scored the risk correctly, while the other assessor (03) left a question mark.

Victim Characteristics

There was generally wide agreement within this section. The issue of scoring whether or not the victim had been an acquaintance created differences. With reference to Case B, one scorer marked this as Yes, another as No and the other left it blank. It is difficult to establish why one assessor considered that the victim was an acquaintance considering that there had certainly been in an intimate relationship with the perpetrator previously. This difference was put down to a marking error. The assessor who left the item as blank did mark other items relevant to the section on *Relationship to Offender* section.

Offence Characteristics

On Case B, there was good agreement throughout this section, the exception being related to Information about whether the victim had been Bound, Blindfolded or Gagged. One assessor did not interpret a sock being rammed in the victim's mouth as evidence that the victim had been gagged, and ticked this as No; while the other two assessors did and ticked it as Yes. On a related issue, Evidence of Control Signs also caused divergent scores for Case B. The guidance notes for this were "Restraints were beyond that to subdue victim but to hold them while they were tortured". The different scores indicate how difficult it is to define and interpret the intention to

injure from crime scene evidence. The priority of the SKT was to try to accurately record the information. One option would have been to give guidance that if this item was to be ticked as Yes, then it should only be done so if there is also evidence that the victim was tortured. However, there would still be the problem of determining what torture is and it could be that a victim was bound with the intention of being tortured but for some reason this did not take place. Therefore, the guidance was altered so that if this item was ticked as Yes, then the evidence for this had to be detailed in the comments/supporting evidence section. In addition, an item was added where the assessor had to tick whether bindings were described as being tight, if these were present. Accompanying guidance that the pathologist described them as being tight or police had difficulty in untying limbs etc. was provided to establish that this was the case. Although determining the motivation of behaviour would remain challenging, detailing the evidence to make this interpretation would help in reaching a decision regarding motivation and then determining the accuracy of these decisions. In addition, descriptive information about how the body had been discovered was collected in the SKT which obviously is not subjective. The items, Perpetrator Handed Himself Over To Police when he was/likely to be a suspect and Perpetrator Arrested Following Police Investigation that was not reliant upon a tip off were marked differently by the assessors. With reference to Case B, one assessor (03) marked this as Yes, even though this was not the case. The Perpetrator Was Actively Apprehended By Police While On The Run. He didn't hand himself in although he was a suspect. This item was meant to help establish whether a perpetrator had tried to escape detection but then handed himself in when he knew the police were likely to be seeking him as a suspect for the killing. This item was therefore altered to Perpetrator Went And Handed Himself Into The Police after the investigation had begun and he had formed part of the enquiries, e.g. been interviewed, about the offence. The other item forming part of the Perpetrator Apprehension questions that was scored differently was, Perpetrator Was Arrested Following Police Investigation That Was Not Reliant Upon A Tip Off. This was altered to, Perpetrator Was Arrested Following A Police Investigation That Was Not Reliant Upon A Tip Off To Police And Family Member, Neighbour Or Friend where perpetrator handed himself in voluntarily. In addition, the item Please List Other Explanation That Is Not Covered By Any Of The Above had included with it, e.g. perpetrator told a friend who contacted police with their permission.

For case C, there was again good agreement between scores apart from an item relating to how the body was discovered. Evidence that the victim was bound was scored as Yes by one assessor and No by another. However, the victim was bound but this was believed to be after death, from the statement the perpetrator made to the police. Therefore, the guidance was altered to If This Was Believed To Be After Death, Score As Such But Make A Note That This Was The Case Under The Comments/Supporting Evidence Section.

Offender Characteristics

There was generally good agreement for case C. One of the assessors (02) left some items blank and there were also some items where No or NEITS had been ticked. However, both assessors noted that the perpetrator, during the course of his prison sentence, had changed the reason for killing. Although the assessors noted this and the same reasons for the killing then and now, the guidance was altered to assess this for the time of conviction but to note if this has changed since. In addition, following feedback from one of the assessors, 'They Were Sexually Attracted To, Aroused By Killing' was included as one of the eight listed reasons for killing. The others were: 'Frightened - e.g. She Planned To Tell Of An Affair etc.; An Accident; Trying To Calm Victim Down; To Conceal Crime Following Rape; Can't Remember; Lost His Temper; and Other (Please Note). The item they were charged with a sexual offence alongside 'killing' was deleted from the SKT following feedback from the assessors that this was "repetitive" and already covered earlier in the template.

Ethical Considerations

The need for obtaining individual informed consent was considered. To this end, advice was sought from the researcher's professional supervising body, The British Psychological Society, The Central Office of Research and Ethics Committee (COREC, which gives ethical research advice to research undertaken in the National Health Service although it also currently considers prison research), Professional colleagues who carry out work within the field and Head of the Offending Behaviour Programmes Unit as well as Sentence Management groups where the data were being collected, following discussion within the context of PhD supervision. The issue of whether informed consent was needed before cases could be used to complete the SKT was discussed with professional colleagues who had published in the field of the ethics of risk assessment and has undertaken research in the prison service and in Special Hospitals. The consensus was that, so long as the data were anonymous, there were no objections to collecting the data. The British Psychological Society ethics advice surgery was then approached with an outline of the research. They advised that they could not see a need for informed consent so long as the data were anonymous and that the advice of any relevant local or University ethics committees had been sought. To this end, and following advice from one of the professional colleagues mentioned above, the Director of COREC was written to regarding the need for informed consent. The advice received was that approval would need to be sought through COREC if the records used were, in any sense, medical records. Finally, the local data protection officer was written to with a copy of the draft SKT attached and an explanation of the nature of the data protection and research. The Data Protection Officer had no objections in terms of data protection issues on the basis that the cases used would remain anonymous.

The correspondence and advice was discussed during supervision. The correspondence from the Director of COREC was considered and the Research Ethics Committee (REC) application form was also carefully considered. It was noted that REC form was concerned with "patients", "medical procedures", "radiation", "existing stored samples" and "use of human biological

materials”. The view was therefore taken that the research was outside the spirit of this procedure. In addition, apart from prison service staff and the research author, the information would be coded and anonymous by the time it reached a wider audience. However, it was agreed that following the advice from the Director of COREC, anything labelled, “medical records or medical files” would not be accessed during the course of the research. The only other source of information that would be used was the Prison Service Sex Offender Treatment Programme database. However, offenders whose details were kept on this database had already given consent for it to be used for research purposes, and this research was being funded by Offending Behaviour Programmes Unit. The Heads of the Offending Behaviour Programmes Unit and the Sentence Management Group were written to informing them of the decision regarding the issue of informed consent, the reasoning for it and how the data would be collected. This procedure met with their full agreement.

CHAPTER THREE

ESTABLISHING INTER-RATER RELIABILITY OF CODING ON THE SEXUAL KILLER TEMPLATE

Selection of Cases

Background

There were over 5,500 prisoners serving a life sentence in prison in HM Prison Service in June 2004. This figure does not include those prisoners who have been released on life licence and those prisoners who have now died. As far as the author is aware, there is no centrally established list of life sentence prisoners who have been convicted of a sexually motivated murder or where a sexual motive was suspected or established. As has been discussed in previous chapters, there are difficulties in defining sexual killing, in theory and practice. The current study aimed to test the Sexual Killer Template on a sample of at least 100 cases where there was known to be a sexual element or motive or this was strongly suspected.

The author of the research has over 8 years of experience of working with these types of killers. Therefore it was important to establish a selection criterion that was not subject to a bias of selecting cases predominantly from the experience of the research author of working with these perpetrators. At the same time, some kind of criteria needed to be established to select cases from such a potentially large data set to make the research practical in terms of time and resources.

Possible Sources of Cases

There were three sources used to identify cases for the study. The first was a list from the Home Office of all homicides where the victim was female, 14 years of age or older, the suspect was male and there was a sexual circumstance to the crime. The sexual circumstance was considered “pathological” according to staff that compiled and maintained the database from which this list was drawn. This list comprised some 240 cases.

The second source was the Sex Offender Treatment National Database, which included perpetrators, who have completed (or started but dropped out of) this treatment programme, which could include sexual killers. Within this list were offenders serving a life sentence for rape and attempted murder. When these two types of offender were extracted from the list, there were 120 cases as of 12th March 2004.

The third source was taken from the research authors own case advice files, which included a proportion of men where it was believed or strongly suspected that they had killed with a sexual motive or there was a sexual element to the offence. This source comprised some 20 cases.

Case Selection

Once these lists had been compiled, every second case on each was marked and numbered. One of the numbered cases was taken from each list in turn until there was another list of 200 cases, after excluding replica names from each list. This final list was used to select cases.

Each name was taken from the final list and they were checked on the Lifer Databases to confirm that their victim was female and 14 years or older and they had killed their victim or left

them for dead. In addition, any cases that had killed more than two people who met these criteria were excluded. If it could be confirmed that the victim was under the age of 14 years and female and they had killed their victim or left them for dead then their lifer files were requested from storage to see if they met the criteria below for inclusion as a sexual killer. However, if this information could only be partly established, e.g. the victim was female; the files were requested for further examination. Only in cases where it could be confirmed that the victim was not female, younger than 14 years and had not died were excluded from the study at this stage without calling for review of the file.

If the case file had been called for it was initially reviewed to ensure it met the inclusion criteria for the study in terms of being a sexual killing. In order to be deemed a sexual killing for the study, it had to meet the following definition: that the victim was female, aged 14 years or older, and there was reason to believe there was a sexual motivation or element to the offence or that this was strongly suspected.

Each case that met these criteria was included in the study with a unique three digit identification code and a scored Sexual Killer Template.

Completing the SKT

Information Required

To complete the SKT for a case, certain information needed to be available in the file. At a minimum, a Home Office Summary of the offence was required which includes information about the nature of conviction, the perpetrators' background and previous convictions if applicable, victim background, events leading up to the offence, summary of pathologist's findings, discovery of the crime, investigation and arrest, summary of any psychiatric assessment prior to the trial, summary of the trial and Judges' remarks on the case. Any case that did not have this information or reports where this could be gleaned would be excluded from the study. Cases were completed using the SKT and the accompanying guidelines (see Appendix 2.1 and 2.2). The research author began by completing ten cases and kept notes on how easy it was to score the items, any unusual themes that came up in the back of each completed SKT.

Inter-Rater Reliability

Practice Case

A senior forensic psychologist in HM Prison Service, with experience of assessing and working with life sentence prisoners who have killed with a sexual motivation or element, agreed to second mark 10% of the SKT completed. In terms of preparation for this work, the psychologist was sent a Training Case with a blank SKT for them to practise scoring a case from the type of information they would have available in real cases (see Appendix 3.1 for Training Case and 3.2 for Completed Training Case). The psychologist completed an SKT on this fictitious case then discussed their responses with the research author and compared them with the completed example to ensure they understood how to complete the SKT.

Case Agreement

Two cases were then selected randomly from the first ten by a colleague. These cases were passed to the senior forensic psychologist in HM Prison Service with experience of assessing and working with life sentence prisoners who have killed with a sexual motivation or element. She was also given blank SKT and guidance and cases were given their own individual rating identification number. When she had completed the two cases they were returned to the research author who completed percentage of case agreement on each case (see Tables 3.1 and 3.2). For each of the eleven sections labeled A-K, the number of items where there was agreement between the author and inter-rater marker was totalled and converted into a percentage of the total for each section. The scoring options were Yes, No, N/A, Suspect Possible Present and Not Enough Information To Score. In addition, the amount of cases where there was Missing Data and where disagreement was accounted for because the author and inter-rater scorer had ticked No or Not Applicable were also calculated as a percentage. This latter percentage was calculated because the author had found difficulty in ticking this item when completing the first ten cases.

Table 3.1 SKT Summary of Case Agreement 017

Section	<i>N</i>	Agreed	Disagreed	Missing data	N-N/A ¹	N-NO INFO ²
A	56	57%	39%	4%	7%	18%
B	45	76%	24%	0	9%	18%
C	10	70%	30%	0	20%	0%
D	91	84%	14%	2%	8%	1%
E	4	100%	0	0	0	0%
F	9	78%	12%	0	0	0%
G	32	84%	13%	3%	0	0%
H	31	100%	0	0	0	0%
I	216	76%	20%	4%	14%	0.5%
J	32	72%	25%	3%	13%	3%
K	3	100%	0	0	0	0%

¹ Amount of disagreement accounted for by No and Not Applicable

² Amount of disagreement accounted for by No and No Information

Consideration of Table 3.1 shows that for case identification number 017, there was agreement of 70% or more for each case with the exception of section A. For this section, 7% of the disagreement was accounted for by No and Not applicable being scored, and 18% by No and No Information being scored.

Table 3.2 SKT Summary of Case Agreement for Case 004

Section	<i>N</i>	Agreed	Disagreed	Missing data	N-N/A ¹	N-NO INFO ²
A	56	66%	34%	0	5%	13%
B	45	89%	11%	0	20%	0%
C	10	80%	20%	0	20%	0%
D	91	76%	21%	3%	5%	3%
E	4	100%	0%	0	0	0%
F	9	78%	22%	0	22%	0%
G	32	88%	13%	0	0	0%
H	31	90%	10%	0	0	0%
I	216	81%	18%	1%	12%	0.5%
J	32	69%	31%	0	3%	20%
K	3	67%	33%	0	0	0%

¹ Amount of disagreement accounted for by No and Not Applicable

² Amount of disagreement accounted for by No and No Information

From Table 3.2, it can be seen that for Case 004, there was agreement of at least 67% for each section again with the exception of section A. Although the levels of agreement were generally good, steps were taken to try to establish when Not Applicable and No as opposed to Not Enough Information to Score should be ticked.

Without actually consulting the two cases that the author and inter-rater marker had completed, difficulties in ticking either No as opposed to No Information or Not Applicable were discussed. Following this discussion, the following clarification to the scoring of the SKT was agreed. If an item was actually asking for evidence that an item was present, Yes would be ticked if evidence could be found and No would be ticked if it could not regardless of the reason, e.g. No information available. So, for example, when considering Evidence of Excessive Driving, if there is no evidence to suggest this was the case from reports then No would be ticked. However, if there was evidence to confirm that they were not into excessive driving e.g. they didn't ever drive and didn't own a car or have a license, then No would still be ticked but the information that they did not drive or own a car would be put in the Comments section. If there was no information to confirm that there was evidence that excessive driving was not the case, then No would still be ticked but NICNC would be written in the comments section. It was envisaged that this would help data entry because it would differentiate between presence of actual information to confirm an item is not applicable and where there is no information to indicate evidence it is applicable. Where items did not ask for evidence, such as absence of father during childhood, No would be ticked if there was actual evidence to confirm this was not the case e.g. "report stated "He had a close relationship with his father who was very involved in his day-to-day up bringing". Yes would be ticked if it was deemed applicable, e.g. report suggesting "His father worked away from home a lot and had little involvement with the children". However, where there was no

information, e.g. report stating “He had an uneventful childhood and there is little information about it”, then No Information Available would be ticked.

To clarify when Not Applicable should be ticked, the author went through the SKT and shaded all items where this was more likely than others to be ticked. For example, Number of Brothers under Section A for childhood was shaded because if the perpetrator did not have brothers then this would Not be Applicable as opposed to ticking No which could confusingly suggest that he did have brothers but the number was not known.

To help clarify the confirmed scoring guidance and which items were more likely to be ticked as Not Applicable as opposed to No, a document was produced with this information within it (see Appendix 3.3). This document entitled ‘SKT N/A Working Notes’ also included guidance from the first ten cases completed by the research author to help with consistent and accurate collection of information. This product was seen as the final guidance for completion of the remaining SKTs in the sample. The research author went through the ten cases completed to date, ensuring that No and Not Applicable were ticked in accordance with the new guidance, making reference to the files again where necessary. In addition, the inter-rater scorer went through the two cases so far completed using this new guidance. Percentage agreement was then recalculated for these two cases (see Table 3.3 and 3.4), although there were some sections where agreement went down slightly, all agreement levels for each section for each case were now 70% or above. Overall agreement was 91% for Case 017 and 88% for Case 004. It was decided that 10 % of the total sample would be coded by the second rater. All these cases were picked randomly.

Table 3.3 SKT Second Summary of Case Agreement 017

Section	<i>N</i>	Agreed	Disagreed	Missing Data
A	56	89%	9%	1%
B	45	91%	9%	0%
C	10	100%	0%	0%
D	91	90%	10%	0%
E	4	100%	0%	0%
F	9	100%	0%	0%
G	32	91%	9%	0%
H	31	94%	0	6%
I	216	91%	9%	0%
J	32	87%	13%	0%
K	3	100%	0%	0%

Table 3.4 SKT Second Summary of Case Agreement 004

Section	<i>N</i>	Agreed	Disagreed	Missing Data
A	56	81%	11%	1%
B	45	82%	18%	0%
C	10	70%	30%	0%
D	91	87%	14%	0%
E	4	100%	0%	0%
F	9	100%	0%	0%
G	32	91%	6%	3%
H	31	91%	10%	0%
I	216	92%	8%	0%
J	32	74%	26%	0%
K	3	100%	0%	0%

When all 100 cases had been completed and the second rater had completed the 10 cases which had been picked randomly, there were 531 item codings that were considered for each of the ten cases randomly selected. Cohen's kappa was used to determine reliability, with Fleiss' (1981) criteria employed to assess the level of agreement. Fleiss (1981) suggested that Kappas between .4 and .6 are considered fair, kappas between .6 and .75 are good and kappas above .75 excellent (Fleiss, 1981). The inter-rater agreements ranged from a total percentage agreement of 71.9%, kappa = .46 (fair) to total percentage agreement of 84.2%, kappa = .69 (good). Overall, the cases were split equally between good or fair kappas.

CHAPTER FOUR

DEVELOPMENT OF THE DATABASE

Introduction

This chapter describes the development of a database constructed for the analysis of information collected using the Sexual Killer Template (SKT). The database was created using Statistical Packages for the Social Sciences (SPSS) version 13. Prior to the data being entered, decisions were made to ensure that the information was entered in a manner that accurately reflected both how it had been collected and what it had been designed to measure.

There were different types of information in terms of numeric and semantic, and within these information types there were differences in what was being recorded. For example, date of birth and time an offence took place were both numeric but recorded and entered into the database differently. The first was in *dd/mm/yyyy* while the second was a number 1 to 4 with each number representing a different time frame e.g. 1 denoted 12am – 6am, or 99 was entered if the time was not known. Given below is a description of the database construction and the general method that was used to enter the data. Where applicable, there are descriptions of the justifications and reasoning for the decisions that were made when entering data for each section where this differed from the general method.

Background

As described in Chapter Two, for the majority of items on the SKT, there were five responses that could be ticked: Yes (Y), No (N), NA (Not Applicable), SPP (Suspect Possibly Present), and No Info Avail (No Information Available). Y, N, NA, SPP and No Info Avail will now be used throughout this chapter. The exception to coding items according to the aforementioned responses was when dates were requested, such as date convicted, or where judgements about cases, such as relationship with parents, were required. In the latter instances, comments to support the presence of an item were given. Table 4.1 provides examples of how the item number 27 from section D of the SKT of ‘Evidence taking a Class A drug’ would be coded depending on the information available. Examples of different types of information that could effect scoring are provided within points 1 to 6 within Table 4.1.

When the SKT cases were being completed, if an item was actually asking for evidence, generally Y or N were ticked depending on whether evidence was found in the files to support that the item was either present or not present. However, whether Y or N was ticked on the SKT, if a judgement was made when doing so then information was included to support either of these responses being ticked (this would be under the comments section on the right of the scoring options within the SKT).

Table 4.1 Examples of Entering of Items where Evidence is Required

Point	Example Information for Item D 27. Evidence was taking a Class A drug.	Coding					
		Y	N	NC	NA	SPP	No Info Avail
1	“He informed police at time of his arrest that he regularly took cocaine when he met the victim	✓					
2	“There are reports that he was smoking cannabis around the time of the offence”		✓				
3	“He said that he occasionally smoked cannabis but had not taken any other drugs”			✓			
4	Scored No for previous item: was using non-prescribed drugs at time of offence				✓		
5	“Reports state that he was taking ‘hard’ drugs at the time of the offence but there are no further details”					✓	
6	“There is not reference in his file to drug use or that he has ever been asked about this”						✓

From Table 4.1 point 1, there is clear evidence of Class A drug use in that for this case, there is disclosure of cocaine use, a Class A drug, at the time of the offence. For point 2 in Table 4.1, there is no actual evidence to state that he was or was not using Class A drugs. While there was some information about drug use, it could not be confirmed that he was not using Class A drugs at the time of the offence. In the absence of information to confirm that this item was not present, N was ticked. NICNC would be entered under the comments section: NICNC stood for No Information to Confirm Not the Case). ‘No Info Avail’ was generally ticked if there was a complete absence of information in the files relevant to this item (See Evidence of Information for item D27 point 6). For point 3 in Table 4.1, NC (No Confirmed) could be coded as present because there is both information in the file that he has been asked about drug use and confirmation that he only used Class B drugs. At point 4, NA (Not Applicable) would be coded for this item if for the previous item D 26, ‘was using non-prescribed drugs at time of offence’ was coded as Y then item D 26 is not applicable. At point 5 within Table 4.1, there is indication that he was taking Class A drugs because reports refer to “hard drugs” but this cannot be confirmed. Therefore, N was coded as present but SPP (Suspect Possibly Present) was also coded because the evidence suggests it is likely that he was using Class A drugs. For point 6, there is no reference to drug use at all within the file so No Info Avail would be coded as present.

Items which did not require evidence to suggest their presence. As described above, the database was developed so that for each case entered, it could be determined if an item was present, and similarly if there was evidence to confirm that it was not present (No Confirmed).

Table 4.2 gives an example of scoring for an item where to code the information, the response is not Yes or No and in this instance, if the information is not present in the file, then No Info Avail is more likely to be used.

Table 4.2 Examples of Entering of Items where Coding from Option other than Y or N is Required

Point	Example Information for Item B 13. Father's place of birth*	Coding					
		Y	N	NC	NA	SPP	No Info Avail
1	"His father was born in Lincolnshire"	1					
2	"His father was from a local and well known family"					1	✓
3	"He had little contact with his father after father left the family home"						✓

* Note one of the following: 1) UK, 2) Africa, 3) Asia, 4) Americas, 5) Europe; or make a note of place if unsure.

From Table 4.2, when coding this item, the file is being considered to find evidence of where the perpetrators father was born so that the appropriate number that represents this country can be entered into the Y column, e.g. for UK, enter '1', for Africa, enter '2' etc. For point 1, there is evidence that his father was born in Lincolnshire so '1' could be entered for the UK. For point two, while the information suggests that he was born locally and therefore '1' can be entered in the SPP column, it is not actually known where his father was born so No Info Avail is ticked. For Point 3, there is no information concerning where his father is born so SPP cannot be used and No Info Avail is again ticked.

When the SKTs were being completed, where evidence was not being asked for but an option to choose from was being asked for, e.g. where the perpetrator's father was born, the No Info Avail was more likely to be ticked than N (with NICNC put in the comments section). Although N on its own (unconfirmed) and No Info could be considered as very similar in that in either case, evidence was not in the files to confirm that an item was not present, the latter indicated an absence of relevant information as opposed to actually finding evidence of an item not being present.

Within the SKT, If No Info had been entered for an item where there was a related question, then this was always entered under NA. For example, for ‘Have they suffered a Head Injury?’, if No Info had been entered this was entered in NA for, ‘Evidence head injury caused lasting damage’.

There now follows a description of items entered into the database where judgements were made which led to certain criteria being set for the data entry or where explanations for data entry have been deemed as being helpful. Where the information was entered without the need for any judgement or there was no explanatory criteria for the item, they are not discussed (See Appendix 2.1 for copy of the SKT template) and entry of data followed the general process described above. Where judgements have been made about the criteria or judgements about how data have been entered these are described. Further information for these judgements is presented in Appendix 4.1.

Initial items. Case code identification number was via a 1 to 3 digit number. The numbers were not always consecutive because some cases had been assigned the next consecutive number between 0 and 100 but were then abandoned for some reason e.g. because the file was unavailable for scoring or because their victim was male (see Chapter Three, Case Selection). A new number was assigned to avoid risk of any replication or confusion when completing SKTs. Case date of birth and conviction did not pose any judgements; these were taken straight from records and entered as dd/mm/yyyy. For date of offence, if the exact one was not known, the date that was considered most likely was entered, having considered the police’s, judge’s or the perpetrator’s statement.

Ethnicity of offenders. Completed SKTs fitted into one of the five categories (UK, Africa, Asia, Americas & Europe); there were no cases where a judgement needed to be made and it was possible to determine the country within the UK where they had been born. Conviction leading to life sentence fitted into one of the four categories: there were no cases where judgement was needed to be made.

Section A childhood. If the offender in the case concerned was an only child then NA was entered for questions to do with whether there were brothers or sisters and their birth order (Items A1-A12 on the SKT). If they had a stepbrother or sister, then they were not considered an only child unless they had never lived or grown up with the stepbrother or sister, or this had been for a very short duration, e.g. less than 3 years. In this instance, they were treated as an only child. NA was also entered for their place order amongst siblings if the perpetrator was an only child (items A10-A13 on the SKT).

Significant loss. Guidance for entering significant loss for completion of the SKT was “Offender being abandoned by mother, loss of father, mother or significant other who was responsible for their care and welfare. Do not count being abandoned if this was only for weeks or months. Must be 6 months or more”. Being abandoned was viewed as different from a parent leaving the family home because of a breakdown in marriage or relationship. The deciding factor

was that the perpetrator's mother or father had died or they were abandoned by their mother, as opposed to mother leaving the family home and still having contact with them. So, if father died when the perpetrator was very young then this was entered as Y (wherever Y or N is referred to, SPP, No Info Avail or NA could also have been entered, see Table 4.1) for Section A, item 14, 'Significant loss'. Judgment was exercised when entering data on this item if a parent died with whom he had had no contact, or a guardian died, or they lost someone else they were judged to have been close to. To be entered as a Y, there had to be evidence when completing the SKT that it affected the perpetrator if it was not their parent figure. In addition, if someone died or left the perpetrator and there is record that this had an effect on them, then Y was also entered for significant loss.

Father absent from birth. This was counted as Y if the offender's father left when the perpetrator was very young, before they were likely to have had any significant memory of him, taken as aged less than 3 years. If father absent was considered to be the case and then the perpetrator had a stepfather or another primary carer, then this latter person was used for looking at items relevant to father figure, e.g. Section B, Item 10, Usual Occupation or job for father.

Mother or father left home prior to age 12 years. This item was entered as Y if a parent left the perpetrator's home when they were old enough to have been able to form a memory of them (see above) and the perpetrator was judged to have stayed in the home for a period of at least 6 months after the parent's departure. This procedure was followed to differentiate between cases where the family had broken up due to a parent leaving and those where the family had been broken up because of the children being put into care. This item would still be entered as Y even if there was evidence that mother or father returned after having been absent for a significant period of time (unless they came in and out of the home at intervals; then this item was entered as N, but Section B, Item 36 'Absence of father during childhood' would be considered).

This item was entered as NA if the perpetrator's father had been absent from birth or had died when they were very young and they did not come under the care of a stepfather. The exception in one case was that although the biological father was absent from birth, there was a stepfather who did not leave home prior to them being 12 years of age. In addition, if a step father or father figure who had been with them for a significant period (three years) then left home prior to them being aged 12 years, then this would be counted as Y.

Physical abuse prior to age 12 years. For this item in Section A, item 18 was defined as "Punched or thumped hard enough that he fell over, or hit with a piece of wood, or hit regularly and/or without having done anything wrong". Look for reports that describe childhood (under the age of 14 years) as being characterised by physical assault and abuse under them age of 12 years. Example: "His childhood was marked by violence at the hands of his father" would score Yes."

Evidence sexually abused. For this item in Section A, items 19-20, the description was "Score for any reports of sexual abuse where prior to the age of 16 years they were subject to sexual activity involving contact with an adult over the age of 16 years or if the abuser was under the age

of 16 years but still, they were 5 years older than them”. However, cases where the perpetrator was older were recorded separately alongside information about the relationship of the abuser. In addition, evidence of sexual abuse was recorded separately in the database if information (disclosures) came to light following conviction and/or after treatment. If disclosure about sexual abuse had been made prior to conviction then this was entered as Y, and if disclosure only came to light following conviction was always entered as NA. If further information was provided about the same abusive incident following conviction, then ‘Came to light following conviction and/or treatment’ was also recorded as NA. The database also included information if the perpetrator was the victim of sexual abuse when they were younger than the age of 12 years and again if this only came to light following conviction and/or after treatment. If N had been entered for Sexual Abuse then NA was always entered for prior to age 12 years, although Y could still be entered for both these items if they were referring to information that came to light following conviction and/or treatment. (These factors were named ‘Sexual abuse only came to light following conviction’ and ‘Sexually abused prior to age twelve came to light’ on the database). The information disclosed post imprisonment was used, if possible and necessary, to clarify the age gap between abused and abuser or relationship of abuser. The data was recorded in the above way to reflect disclosures of sexual abuse made prior to and following conviction.

Evidence that they were bullied. In addition to determining whether there was evidence of this being present, it was also recorded if evidence was gained from information provided prior to or following conviction. Y was recorded whenever evidence was found that they had been bullied prior to the age of 12 years. The amount of bullying and length of time did not matter. As long as there was confirmation from the individual or from records that they had been bullied then Y was entered. If this was entered as Y for prior to conviction then it was always entered as NA for ‘Came to light following conviction’.

Evidence witnessed mother/primary carer being physically abused and being sexually abused and Evidence witnessed sibling (s) being physically abused and being sexually abused. If the perpetrator were considered an only child (see above) then NA was always entered for the witness sibling (s) items. For any of the items within the SKT where the presence of items was coded for whether information came to light before or after imprisonment or before or after treatment, then if it was ticked as present for before, then NA was ticked for the item relating to a later disclosure.

Evidence of head injury. As well as entering for ‘Evidence of head injury’, a separate factor was created in the database was made labelled ‘Evidence that the injury had caused lasting damage’. This was coded as present if it was judged from notes in comments section on the completed SKTs to be the case. If N was entered for Evidence of Head Injury then NA was always entered for ‘Evidence head injury caused lasting damage’.

Evidence ran away from home. Y was entered for this item for cases where the perpetrator had run away from a Children’s Home. Case entries for these two items were not mutually exclusive and therefore both could receive a Y.

Truanting was frequent. This was entered as Y if truanting was more than 3 times, for those cases that were entered as Y for 'Evidence truanted from school'. If N had been entered for 'Evidence truanted from school' then NA was always entered for 'Truanting was frequent'.

Section B, Mother was unfaithful, father was unfaithful and parents divorced. There was very little information about infidelity in the background of all the SKT cases. If the parents were together at the time of the trial and there was no report of problems within the family then this was entered as N. As described above, NC was only entered when there was actual specific evidence that they had not separated or divorced.

Parent and primary carer (stepfather/mother) separated. This item was only considered and therefore only entered in cases where there was a significant relationship between a parent and a primary carer. That is, if the stepfather/mother had been part of the perpetrator's life for at least 2 years, but this was not counted for casual partners who came in or out of their life or a succession of partners.

Father or mother had psychiatric contact. This was entered as Y if this was the case even if the mother or father had been absent from birth if this information was available and they had not come under the care of a significant stepfather or stepmother.

Stability of family structure as opposed to chaotic upbringing. This was defined as "Score Yes if there was a change of primary carer prior to the offender being 16 years of age". This item also included those cases where there were a succession of boyfriends within the house or disruption that was judged to have impacted upon stability of the family.

Cared for by parents up until age 12 years. This was entered as N if a parent left or died after the perpetrator was aged three years but any time prior to them being aged 12 years. Death of father or mother prior to age 12 years was entered as NA for father if Y for father died at birth had been entered and they were not under the care of another significant father figure.

Please provide information on how they perpetrator got on with their parents. This was entered as Y, N, NA, SPP or No Info Avail for a number of specific questions depending on a judgement regarding the information recorded within the SKT. The factors within the database were labelled: Gets on well with both parents; Gets on badly with both parents; Gets on well with mother not father; Gets on well with father not mother.

Father or Mother described as a heavy drinker or alcoholic. This was entered as Y even if this was for a step parent or another primary carer on condition that they had played a significant part in the life of the perpetrator (2 years or more). It was also entered Y whether or not this information came from a report or a disclosure by the perpetrator, regardless of whether this was prior to or following conviction.

Cared for by only one parent prior to age 12 years. This was entered as Y if for the majority of their life prior to age 12 years, when they were at home (not in care) they were cared for by one parent. If they had been outside the family home in care for the majority of their life prior to age 12 years then this was entered as NA.

Acquired a step-mother or step-father prior to age 12 years. This was only counted as Y if this step-parent had a significant part in their life: that is, they lived with them full time or for significant periods (2 years or more).

Death of mother, death of father prior to age 12 years. This was entered as Y if this was after they had been able to form a memory of them (see above), which was taken as 3 years old but under the age of 12 years.

Ever removed from the family home. This was entered as N if this was only during summer holiday.

Cared for by someone else. This was entered as Y if there was a grandparent, uncle etc who played a significant part with some level of responsibility for their care.

Transient lifestyle of family This was defined as being present “If the family was described as moving around a lot, relocating” and “You are looking to see if they relocated more than 3 times before perpetrator was 16 yrs old”.

Absence of father during childhood. There were a number of cases where a judgement was made about this item, particularly where there was no specific information to confirm its presence but it was suspected to be the case.

Section C expelled from school. In addition to scoring for whether the perpetrator had been expelled from school, there was a factor on the database labelled, ‘Removed from school not clear if expelled’. This item was for cases where notes in the SKT suggested the perpetrator had been removed from school, e.g. because they were sent to a detention centre, but it was not clear that they had been expelled. If the perpetrator was expelled from school then NA was entered for ‘Removed from School not clear if Expelled.

Have disclosed homosexual experience outside prison and Have disclosed homosexual experience in prison. These items were not mutually exclusive and Y could therefore be entered for each item.

Evidence of Gender Indifference or Female Longings and Evidence of Gender Indifference or Female Longings disclosed since imprisonment. These were mutually exclusive. Therefore, if Y was entered for Evidence of Gender Indifference or Female Longings then NA was always entered for Evidence of Gender Indifference or Female Longings disclosed since imprisonment

Feels sexually inferior to other men and Feels sexually inferior to other men disclosed in prison. These two items were mutually exclusive. Therefore, if Y was entered for ‘Feels Sexually Inferior to Other Men’ then NA was always entered for ‘Feels Sexually Inferior to Other Men Disclosed in Prison’.

Difference in opinion items for Doctor/Psychiatrist considers whether psychotic or psychologically maladjusted at time of arrest for index offence of sexual killing. This item was always entered as NA if there was only one report available or No Info Avail if the existence of reports could be confirmed but they were not on file or not summarised by a third party, including the trial judge, so that the presence of this item could be considered.

Has had psychiatric contact prior to killing. In addition to this item, a factor was created in the database labelled '*Has had psychiatric intervention prior to killing.*' This item was entered as Y if there was information from the comments section to indicate the perpetrator had some kind of therapy or treatment rather than just having been seen for assessment purposes. If N had been entered for 'Has had Psychiatric Contact Prior to Killing' then NA was always entered for '*Has Had Psychiatric Intervention Prior to Killing.*

Disclosed deviant and or offence related fantasy and *Disclosed deviant and or offence related fantasy since conviction* were mutually exclusive. Therefore, if Y was entered for '*Disclosed deviant and or offence related fantasy,*' then NA was always entered for disclosed deviant and or offence related fantasy since conviction.

They claimed their partner was unfaithful during marriage/relationship at the time of the offence or *They claimed their partner was unfaithful at time of offence.* As described above, this was entered as N if there was no reference to this in the files and it appeared that they had not been asked about fidelity. NC was only entered if there was indication that they were directly asked fidelity and there was information about the response to confirm it was not the case.

Number of children. If applicable, the number entered was the total number of children that had been born prior to the actual index offence of killing.

Has children with different women or living with own children. NA was always entered if they did not have children or children they had fathered had not been born at the time of the index offence.

Has generally been employed. This was entered as Y if that when they were able they generally worked. A judgement was made that they were in work the majority of time when they could be gainfully employed e.g. not in prison or hospital.

Were they suspended from school? This item was entered as N if reports suggest that there were no problems at school but not information specifically confirming that they had been suspended. This guidance was also followed for coding if they were expelled from school. If schooling was not covered then No Info Avail was entered for these items.

Disclosed deviant/offence related fantasy. This was recorded as Y if the fantasy was deemed to promote illegal or disrespectful behaviour towards another person even if there was no information or a lack of evidence that they had acted upon such fantasy; for example, rape of a female or aggression, regardless of whether there was evidence or not that they had completed a rape. The information was entered whether it came to light prior to or following conviction. These two items were mutually exclusive so, even if further information came to light about deviant/offence related fantasy, it was still always entered as NA if Y was entered for this item prior to conviction.

Committed another offence on day of offence. This was entered as Y regardless of whether an offence was committed was prior to or following the index offence as long as it was on the day of the offence.

Note amount they had been drinking if known. No information was entered in the database regarding this item because the information was varied and difficult to code. This was also the case for *Note the drugs they had been using if applicable and known.*

Evidence alcohol a problem at time of offence and *Evidence they were a heavy drinker* were mutually exclusive. If Y had been entered for '*Evidence Alcohol a Problem at Time of Offence*' then NA was always entered for *Evidence they were a heavy drinker*.

Had been married, has been married for 2 years or more and has been in a marriage type relationship at time of offence. These three items were not mutually exclusive and were applicable to their entire life.

Section D items 47-51 were all scored and entered on to the database for the time of offence (the relationship they were in at the time of the offence if applicable). If they were not in a relationship at the time of the offence, whether or not they were living with their partner or married to this person, then these items were entered as NA.

Section F G & H: In a relationship at time of offence but not married. This was any relationship whether or not they were living with a partner as long as they were not actually married.

Living with partner at time of offence. This was only entered as Y if they were not married to this person but living with them. If they were married or not in a relationship then this was always entered as NA.

Living with partner at time of offence and *Married type relationship but not married.* These items were not mutually exclusive and Y could be entered for both

In a relationship at time of offence and *living with parents.* These items were not mutually exclusive. Y could be entered for both.

No information was entered in the database for *Religion, note creed.* There were only 3 cases where there was a Y for *Practised a religion* and there was little information about creed.

Section I. All the methods of death (Section I14) were mutually exclusive. For items evidence of victim being punched, kicked and hit with an object (I19-21) factors labelled in the database were entered for if the perpetrator disclosed this at the time of conviction or since imprisonment. All of these were mutually exclusive so for example, if Y was entered at time of arrest then NA was entered for since imprisonment.

Please note other injuries e.g. broken bones, number of abrasions in comments section. Factors were created and labelled in the database as *Broken bones, Abrasions* and *Other injuries* to account for this information.

An additional factor labelled *Have had sight of pathologist's report* was also created and the comments section was used to determine if this should be coded as Yes.

Broke into victim's home was not mutually exclusive from *Abducted victim*. Y could be entered for items *Picked up victim as a hitchhiker* was mutually exclusive from *Other victim access. Met victim socially* and *Giving victim a lift home* were not mutually exclusive. *Giving victim a lift*

home and *Met victim socially* were not mutually exclusive. *Attacked victim in the street* and *Met victim socially for the first time* were not mutually exclusive. *Conned way into victim's house*, *Called on victim as a friend* and *Other situation* were all mutually exclusive from each other and from other victim access options.

If the body was found completely naked then NA was always entered for all of the following: *Victim found with lower half of body exposed*; *Victim found with upper half of body exposed*; *Outer clothes removed*; *Underwear removed*; *Underwear around ankles*; *Bra Left on but disturbed*; *Clothing disturbed*. If there was good evidence that the victim was naked at the time of offence: for example, if the perpetrator had broken into the victim's home when they were sleeping and therefore naked or in their night clothes, outer clothes removed was also entered as NA for these items. If there was evidence to suggest that the victim was in her bed clothes then nightdress was counted as underclothes although items relating to Underwear as well as Bra left on but disturbed was entered as NA. However, the other items; *Victim found with lower half of body exposed*, *Victim found with lower half of body exposed*, *Outer clothes removed*, *Underwear removed* would still be considered for scoring depending on the information available on a case by case basis. If there was no evidence that clothes were removed, then NA was entered for *Clothing found next to victim* and *Clothes found scattered*. If any items of clothing had been removed, then NA was entered for Clothing disturbed. This procedure was because this item was supposed to identify cases where victims' clothes were not removed but disturbed.

Evidence Missing. This item was added to the database. Evidence missing was entered as Y if any item to do with how victim was found was missing for all items in Section I. Item 35, from reviewing the comments section of the SKT.

List all acts suspected and by whom. This item was used to enter data concerning three factors created in the database as *Forced: anal sex, fellatio, vaginal sex, foreign object penetration, digital penetration (all) by police*.

Perpetrator disclosed forced anal sex, perpetrator disclosed forced fellatio sex, perpetrator disclosed forced vaginal sex and perpetrator disclosed forced foreign object imprisonment were all mutually exclusive from their disclosed since imprisonment counterparts.

Apprehended; within hours, 24 hours, 1 week, 3 months and *Other time span* were all mutually exclusive.

Section J&K Police Mention Sexual Element and *Judge Mention Sexual Element* were additional variables added to the database based upon information in the comments section or additional notes. Y was entered for these items if there was any sexual contact, assault alluded to or mentioned by either the Police or Trial Judge.

CHAPTER FIVE

EXPLORATORY ANALYSIS OF FACTORS FROM SEXUAL KILLER TEMPLATE

Establishing Rates of Each Factor on SKT

First, this chapter will describe background information on the data and perpetrator details collected from the SKT. It will then provide Tables of rates of each factor present for a minimum of approximately 15% of the sample or above and initial analysis.

Background

The complete database was used for the purposes of calculating the rates of Yes, No, No Confirmed, SPP and NA for each factor within each section of the SKT. This analysis was carried out in SPSS version 13. The resulting tables, which are in Appendix 5.1, are divided under sections A, B, CD&E, FG&H, I, I Continued and JK&L. Where there were items that did not fall under the coding criteria, e.g. Yes, No, No Confirmed etc, such as the items for intelligence level, these were included in separate tables and commented upon where considered necessary to the current research aims.

The SKTs, when completed, produced a large amount of information with 575 variables in the SPSS database coded for all 100 cases.

Table 5.1 below provides a summary of codings for sections of the SKT. As can be seen from Table 5.1, the items that were coded as Suspect Possibly Present were less than 1 % for each section. It was therefore decided to revisit these items and make a decision as to whether or not they could be judged as present. On review, if they were considered as present then they were recoded in the SPSS database as a Yes, and if they were not deemed as present then they were recoded as a No. The basis for these decisions is detailed in Appendix 5.2.

To facilitate initial analysis, only items that were judged to occur frequently were considered. In order to make this judgement, frequencies were calculated for each factor as a percentage of the total of Yes added to No and No Confirmed. In this way, No and No Confirmed were considered as equivalent and NA and No Information were discarded. Confidence intervals were also calculated for this item and the adjusted Yes percentages were ranked for each section with their coinciding confidence interval. In order to make the database more manageable and to focus on factors that could potentially be characteristics of sexual killers that could also be subject to statistical analysis, a cut-off of approximately 15 % was applied to each section, with some exceptions where the items were of particular interest as a result of the literature review. The remaining data were put into tables, under headings that were applicable to the information within them. The information in each table generally came from the same section of the SKT, although there were some instances where factors from different sections were brought together because they shared similarity with the information considered within the table and so aided initial analysis. The ranked data in the tables will be introduced in Tables 5.10- 5.29 and initial considerations described. There were a number of items in the SKT that allowed a distinction to

be made as to when the information was disclosed, e.g. whether the information to code the item as Yes on the SKT was disclosed prior to conviction or following conviction. This scoring option had been introduced to determine if potentially relevant information in terms of identifying the characteristics of sexual killers was available in records prior to the conviction for the sexual killing and to see whether imprisonment or undertaking treatment impacted upon disclosure.

Table 5.1 Rates of Coding by Section for SKT

Section	N	Coding entry %					
		Yes	No	No Confirmed	Not Applicable	Suspect Possibly Present	No Info
A	4700	21.64	56.04	3.36	15.36	0.68	2.91
B	4500	12.47	57.11	4.89	11.04	0.5	14
C D & E	8600	13.03	63.52	1.05	14.47	0.17	7.7
F G & H	5600	18.04	68.18	0.18	7.23	0.21	6.16
I	22400	10.19	64.84	0.07	23.09	0.2	1.6
JK & L	3100	20.71	64.23	0.68	8.03	0.52	5.84

Key: Section A refers to Background Information about the perpetrator. Section B refers to Childhood. Section C refers to Family Background. Section D refers to Schooling. Section E refers to Other Factors around Adulthood. Section F refers to Employment. Section G concerns Previous Convictions, Section H covers Victim Characteristics. Section I concerns Offence Characteristics. Section J concerns Offender Characteristics, Section K concerns Attitude of offender.

These were: 'sexually abused' and 'sexually abused only came to light following conviction' and secondly 'bullied prior to age 12 years' and 'bullied prior to age 12 years came to light after conviction'. The other was 'fantasy disclosed' and 'fantasy disclosed following imprisonment'. This was combined in the same way to simply include cases where 'fantasy was disclosed' regardless of when this disclosure was made. Within the Tables presented in this chapter, additional items combining these two items for the total of whether they were disclosed prior to or following conviction are given. The other was 'fantasy disclosed' and 'fantasy disclosed following imprisonment'. This was combined in the same way to simple include cases where 'fantasy was disclosed'. There were a number of items relating to relationship status within the SKT, e.g. married at time of offence and with wife, living on own at time of offence. A variable named, 'Any kind of relationship' was included by considering all items to do with whether the perpetrator as in a relationship and determining whether the perpetrator was or was not in some kind of relationship at the time of the offence.

This section describes background information on the perpetrators collected from the SKT. Tables 5.2-5.9 provide information on the cases used in this study in terms of time period of

conviction, marital status, sentence, country of birth, conviction and intelligence. The mean age for the sexual killers at the time of conviction was 27.9 years, Standard Deviation 7.84 years. The mode was 22 years of age.

Table 5.2 Year of Conviction ($N=100$)

Time period of conviction	%
Prior to 1970	4
1970-1975	7
1975-1980	10
1980-1985	27
1985-1990	22
1990-1995	13
1995-2000	15
After 2000	2

In terms of the time period within which the sexual killer was convicted for the killing, as can be seen in Table 5.2, the most frequent was 1980-1985 (27.0%) followed by 1985-1990 (22.0%).

Table 5.3 Marital Status ($N=100$)

Marital Status	%
Married	23
Married and separated	2
Divorced	9
Other	65
Not Known	1

While the cases were chosen randomly, there is a possible explanation for this uneven distribution of time of conviction. The database that holds information on Lifer Sentence Prisoners and which was initially used to determine if a case looked as if it was a sexual killing was rebuilt from scratch in 2001. After discussing this issue with staff in Lifer Review and Recall Section, it is possible that there was an emphasis to put cases where the Lifer had or was approaching the end of their tariff (the portion of the sentence that a Life Sentence Prisoner must serve as punishment and deterrent). Lifers' who were at the end of their tariff would be around 10-20 years and would have meant loading cases from 1980-1990 first as these are more likely to be active cases in terms of having parole board reviews. Therefore, there was more likely to be information on the computer system that could confirm that the offence seemed sexual leading to a bias from this conviction period.

At the time the data collection was completed in May 2005, the Lifer Inmate Database (A central record of information on all Life Sentence Prisoners which includes details concerning conviction, location and demographic information about the prisoner) revealed that sixty five of the perpetrators studied were single (see Table 5.3). Seventy-nine of the perpetrators in the study were recorded as White ethnic origin, Nationality UK and Birth Country England.

Table 5.4 Life Sentence Status of Cases & Whether Recalled or Absconded ($N = 100$)

Life Sentence Status of Cases	Recalled or Absconded %
Category A	24
Category B	15
Category C	31
Category D (Open)	7
Special Hospital	1
Not Known	1
Not In Custody	21
On Life Licence	16
Ever absconded	9
Ever recalled to custody	7

Seventy-nine of the perpetrators were in custody, the majority of whom were in a Category C prison (see Table 5.4) Category C prisons will still be secure with perimeter walls and fencing but are not high security and are considered training prisons where a prisoner will prepare to return to society.

Table 5.5 Country of Birth ($N = 100$)

Country of Birth	%
England	74
Scotland	7
Wales	8
Northern Ireland	2
Europe	3
Other	6

A total of 91 of the perpetrators were born in the United Kingdom (see Table 5.5), only 6 were born outside Europe.

Table 5.6 Conviction ($N = 100$)

Conviction	%
Murder	82
Manslaughter with Diminished Responsibility	13
Detained at Her Majesty's Pleasure	4
Manslaughter	1

The majority of the sexual killers in this study had been convicted for murder (see Table 5.6): 97 of the perpetrators had one victim; the remaining 3 had 2 victims each. Where there was more than one victim, only the first (chronologically) was entered on the SKT database.

Table 5.7 Intelligence Level ($N=100$)

Intelligence level	Percent	Cumulative Percent
Above Average	8.0	8.0
Average	43.0	51.0
Good	4.0	55.0
Below Average	14.0	69.0
Not Known	31.0	100.0

In terms of the perpetrators' intelligence, the majority were considered to be average or above (see Table 5.7).

Table 5.8 Intelligence Assessment Method ($N = 100$)

Intelligence Level	Percent	Cumulative Percent
WAIS	23	23.0
Clinical Impression	37	60.0
Not Known	7	67.0
NA	31	98.0
Other	2	100.0

Table 5.8 shows that only a minority were assessed using formal assessment Wechsler Adult Intelligence Scale (WAIS), while the majority were assessed via clinical impression, and a large number were not assessed at all.

As described in Chapter Two, the definition of sexual killer employed in this study was that the perpetrator met at least one of the following criteria: the perpetrator has disclosed that they had killed with a sexual motive; or there was evidence of sexual behaviour prior to or during the offence or following it; or clothes were disturbed for reasons that could not be explained by simply moving the body. Table 5.9 below has been constructed to show how cases met the criteria taken to be indicative of the killing having been sexual in that the cases were all considered to suggest evidence of an actual or intended sexual assault associated with the killing, e.g. disclosure by the perpetrator to this effect.

Table 5.9 How Cases Met Factors Indicative of a Sexual Element (*N*=99)

Factor	Cumulative Percent
Convicted for sexual offence alongside the killing	14
Sexual offences or charges to remain on file	18
Perpetrator disclosed forced anal sex	21
Perpetrator disclosed forced fellatio sex	22
Perpetrator disclosed forced vaginal sex	36
Perpetrator disclosed forced foreign object penetration	37
Perpetrator disclosed forced digital penetration	42
Perpetrator disclosed forced anal sex since imprisonment	-
Perpetrator disclosed forced fellatio sex since imprisonment	-
Perpetrator disclosed forced vaginal sex since imprisonment	53
Perpetrator disclosed forced foreign object since imprisonment	56
Perpetrator disclosed forced digital since imprisonment	57
Perpetrator disclosed forced sexual contact following treatment	62
Evidence of intercourse post mortem	64
Evidence of sex with unconscious or dead victim	65
Pathologist believed sexual assault possible or likely	70
Intended to sexually assault	73
Had sexually assaulted prior to killing	75
Sexually assaulted after killing	76
Disclosed since that they intended to sexually assault victim	-
Disclosed since they had sexually assaulted prior to killing	-
Sexual intention to bite marks	78
Sexual intention to cutting/incision wounds and throat cut	82
Sexual intention to binding	-
Branch of stick inserted in the vagina or anus	-
Attacked with sexual intention	84
Judge believed perpetrator killed to carry out a sexual assault	87
Judge believed he perpetrator killed to conceal a rape	88
Disclosed deviant and/or offence related fantasy	91
Judge mentioned sexual element	97
Police mentioned sexual element	99

From Table 5.9 it can be seen that the majority of cases were either convicted of a sexual offence, sexual offence charges remained on file, or the perpetrator disclosed some kind of forced sexual behaviour. There was only one case that did not meet any of the criteria in Table 5.9 indicative of a sexual element to the killing. This case was therefore considered further and it was established that it was coded as having evidence of control signs to the offence. The control signs were that it was likely that the victim was controlled by the perpetrator using a tea towel knotted around her neck and it was also thought probable that the perpetrator exerted pressure through the ligature while the victim was on the floor, either by twisting the tea towel to make it tighter or

pulling it from behind. In addition, the victim was found in the lounge of her property, face down with her head on a cushion. Her trousers were pulled down to her ankles and her underpants were pulled down exposing her buttocks and vagina. At the time of coding this case, the perpetrator had remained in denial of the offence. Case 086 had elements to the offence that could be considered sexual. Although this case fell outside of the criteria in Table 5.9, the combination of evidence of a sign of control and the way the victim was found suggest that there is a strong indication of a sexual element to the killing.

Tables 5.10- 5.29 which will now follow, show the frequency of items from the SKT that were present for 15% of the sample or above.

In addition, *n* varies within the Tables (herein throughout this chapter) due to missing cases or items where they were not applicable to be coded for that item.

Table 5.10 Siblings & Birth Order (*N*=100)

<i>Factors</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>Yes (%)</i>	<i>Confidence Interval (95%)</i>	
			<i>Lower</i>	<i>Upper</i>
Has sisters	99	78.8%	69.9%	85.7%
Has brother(s)	98	74.5%	65.0%	82.1%
Has younger sister(s)	81	49.4%	38.8%	60.0%
Has older sister(s)	81	48.1%	37.6%	58.9%
Has older brother (s)	90	47.8%	37.8%	58.0%
Has younger brother(s)	93	47.3%	37.5%	57.4%
Middle of siblings	89	47.2%	37.2%	57.5%
Eldest of siblings	89	28.1%	19.8%	38.2%
Youngest of siblings	89	24.7%	8.3%	21.7%
Has stepbrothers or sisters	99	21.2%	14.3%	30.3%

Note: Yes (%) = $\frac{\text{Yes}}{\text{Yes} + \text{No} + \text{No Confirmed}} \times 100$ (throughout this chapter).

Table 5.10 indicates that the perpetrators generally had siblings (there were only 5 cases where they were an “only child”, see Chapter Four), that there was no predominance of brother or sisters, and that although a larger percentage were middle in terms of birth order, they were still often found to be either the eldest or the youngest.

Table 5.11 Childhood Home Circumstances ($N=100$)

<i>Factors</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>Yes (%)</i>	<i>Confidence Interval</i>	
			<i>(95%)</i>	
			<i>Lower</i>	<i>Upper</i>
Stability of family structure	96	63.5%	53.6%	72.50%
Cared for by parents up to age 12 years	99	62.6%	52.8%	71.5%
Parents separated	59	44.1%	32.2%	56.7%
Absence of father during childhood	64	35.9%	25.3%	48.2%
Was removed from family home prior to age 16 years	98	31.6%	23.3%	41.4%
Siblings in trouble with police	52	30.8%	19.9%	44.3%
Evidence of parental instability	95	29.5%	21.0%	38.9%
Cared for by only one parent prior to age 12 years	98	20.4%	13.6%	29.4%
Parents divorced	85	16.5%	10.1%	25.8%
Father left home when perpetrator was aged 5 to 12 years	90	15.6%	9.5%	24.4%
Father described as an alcoholic or heavy drinker	94	16.0%	11.6%	27.1%
Father left home prior to age 12 years	88	17.0%	10.6%	26.2%
Father in trouble with police	47	14.9%	7.4%	27.7%

Table 5.11 suggests that there was stability in terms of the family structure during childhood for the majority of the perpetrators. However, this was entered as ‘Yes’ on the SKT “If there was not a change of primary carer prior to the offender being 16 years of age”, therefore, this definition of stability possibly belies the destabilising factors that are apparent for a proportion of the perpetrators during childhood. A poor father figure in terms of being absent from the home, drinking, and coming to the attention of the police may help to explain an environment which led to a large proportion of the perpetrators being removed from the family home before they reached 16 years of age, approximately one-third of the perpetrators.

Table 5.12 Relationship with Parents ($N = 100$)

<i>Factors</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>Yes (%)</i>	<i>Confidence Interval</i>	
			<i>(95%)</i>	
			<i>Lower</i>	<i>Upper</i>
Negative father image	64	54.7%	42.6%	66.3%
Got on with both parents well or ok	64	39.1%	28.1%	51.3%
Evidence mother described as domineering over protective	94	20.2%	13.3%	29.4%
Got on with mother not father	62	19.4%	11.4%	30.9%

It can be seen from Table 5.12 that the majority of perpetrators had some difficulty in their relationship with their parents. One-half of the perpetrators had a negative father image while relationships with their mother were better, almost two out of ten perpetrators were coded as having a mother who was domineering and over protective.

Table 5.13 Childhood Trauma ($N = 100$)

<i>Factors</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>Yes (%)</i>	<i>Confidence Interval (95%)</i>	
			<i>Lower</i>	<i>Upper</i>
Witnessed physical abuse of mother/primary carer	100	21.0%	14.2%	30.0%
Witnessing documented prior to and/or recorded at the time of arrest	23	65.2%	44.9%	81.2%
Physically abused prior to age 12	86	46.5%	36.5%	57.0%
Evidence they have suffered a head injury	95	22.1%	14.90%	31.40%
Sexually abused disclosed prior to imprisonment	100	14.0%	8.5%	22.1%
Sexual abuse only came to light following conviction	86	19.8%	15.4%	33.4%
Sexually abused came to light at any time	100	31.0%	22.8%	40.6%
Sexually abused prior to age 12	10	10.1%	40.10%	80.10%
Sexually abused by someone five years older	29	96.6%	82.8%	99.4%

Table 5.13 indicates that during childhood, many of the perpetrators were subject to risk of trauma, particularly physical abuse. Evidence of sexual abuse was more likely to come to light following conviction and, when it did occur, it was more often before the perpetrator was 12 years of age.

Table 5.14 Childhood Social Relationships ($N = 100$)

<i>Factors</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>Yes (%)</i>	<i>Confidence Interval (95%)</i>	
			<i>Lower</i>	<i>Upper</i>
Loner/few friends	74	55.4%	42.8%	64.9%
Behavioural examples relating to preferred sex	100	19.0%	12.5%	27.8%
Problems relating to preferred gender after age 12 years	98	17.3%	11.1%	26.0%
Problems relating to preferred gender ever during childhood	98	17.3 %	11.1%	26.0%
Evidence bullied prior to age 12 years	100	13.0%	7.8%	21.0%
Evidence bullied prior to age 12 years but only came to light after conviction	87	11.5%	6.4%	19.9%
Evidence bullied regardless when information came to light	100	23.0%	15.8%	32.2%

Table 5.14 indicates that the majority of the perpetrators were considered to be a loner with few friends during childhood. Almost one-quarter of the perpetrators were bullied prior to the age of 12 years (disclosure pre and post conviction were mutually exclusive). Almost two in ten cases had problems relating to preferred sex during childhood (there were no reports of problems relating to preferred sex where preferred sex was male).

Table 5.15 Childhood Problematic Behaviour ($N = 100$)

<i>Factors</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>Yes (%)</i>	<i>Confidence Interval (95%)</i>	
			<i>Lower</i>	<i>Upper</i>
Evidence anti-social behaviour	100	59.0%	49.2%	68.1%
Evidence truanted from school	98	45.9%	36.4%	55.8%
Truancing was frequent	42	76.2%	64.1%	88.3%
Reports of bed wetting	92	25.0%	17.3%	34.7%
Ran away from home between age 12 to 16 years	100	15.0%	9.3%	23.3%

From Table 5.15 it is evident that the majority of perpetrators engaged in some level of anti-social behaviour while under the age of 16 years. Almost one-half truanted and, when they did, this was often done frequently (3 or more times during school career).

Table 5.16 Education and Lifestyle ($N = 100$)

<i>Factors</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>Yes (%)</i>	<i>Confidence Interval (95%)</i>	
			<i>Lower</i>	<i>Upper</i>
Left school without qualifications	92	78.3%	68.8%	85.5%
Generally been employed	99	65.7%	55.9%	74.3%
Generally unemployed	99	34.3%	25.7%	44.1%
Single	100	61.0%	51.2%	70.0%
Has been married	100	43.0%	33.7%	52.8%
Has been married for two years	49	65.3%	51.3%	77.1%
Has children	99	44.4%	35.1%	54.3%
Has children with different women	44	15.9%	7.9%	29.4%
Attended further education	100	12.0%	7.0%	19.8%
Evidence of having been a drifter rootless	99	11.1%	6.3%	18.8%

From Table 5.16, it can be seen that the large majority of perpetrators left school without any qualifications, with few going on to further education. This percentage was much higher than National Averages in the UK in 1998/99; the percentages achieving a General Certificate of Secondary Education or a Certificate of Secondary Education Standard Grade for the UK were on average 6.55 % (Taken from Examination achievements: by Gender, 1998/99. Source: Department for Education and Employment; National Assembly for Wales; Scottish Executive; Northern Ireland Department of Education. Rates separately as percentage: England 7.0, Wales 9.8, Scotland 4.4 and Northern Ireland 5.0).

The amount of cases married was broadly in line with the average within the general population of first time men marrying unmarried women over the age of 16 years between 1980-1990 (the period during which the perpetrators in this study generally killed their victims) was 46.58, $SD = 4.49$. Office for National Statistics

Table 5.17 Criminal History (*N* = 100)

<i>Factors</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>Yes (%)</i>	<i>Confidence Interval (95%)</i>	
			<i>Lower</i>	<i>Upper</i>
Stranger victim sex offence	98	55.1%	45.2%	64.6%
More than 3 pre convictions	100	53.0%	43.3%	62.5%
Burglary prior to index offence	100	47.0%	37.5%	56.7%
Violence against women ^a	99	26.3%	18.6%	35.7%
Non-contact sex offence	100	10.0%	5.5%	17.4%
Convicted of arson	100	9.0%	4.8%	16.2%

^aNot sexual offence

From Table 5.17 it can be seen that the majority of perpetrators had committed a sexual offence against a stranger (including the sexual killing offence). The majority were likely to have a criminal history of at least four convictions. Almost one-half of the perpetrators had committed a burglary prior to the index offence (although in a very small number of cases this did not result in conviction). Rates of having committed non-contact sex offences and arson were approximately 1 in 10.

Table 5.18 Living Circumstances & Relationship Status at Time of Offence (*N* = 100)

<i>Factors</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>Yes (%)</i>	<i>Confidence Interval (95%)</i>	
			<i>Lower</i>	<i>Upper</i>
Living with parents at time of offence	100	32.0%	23.7%	41.7%
In relationship time of offence but not married	100	26.0%	18.4%	35.4%
Living on own at time of offence	100	23.0%	15.8%	32.2%
Married at time of offence and with wife	29	69.0%	50.8%	82.7%
Living with own children at time of offence	44	40.9%	27.7%	55.6%

Table 5.18 shows that the large majority of the cases where living with others at the time of the offence, the majority were living with their parents. This is higher than the average for non dependent children living in family households in 1981 or 1982 which were both 8% (Census, Labour Force Survey, Office for National Statistics).

Table 5.19 Antecedents to Offence ($N = 100$)

<i>Factors</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>Yes (%)</i>	<i>Confidence Interval (95%)</i>	
			<i>Lower</i>	<i>Upper</i>
Had been drinking on day of offence	95	67.4%	57.4%	76.0%
Had been drinking within 3 hours of offence	64	93.8%	85.0%	97.5%
Evidence they were working at the time of the offence	99	50.5%	40.8%	60.2%
They were unfaithful in marriage or relationship at time of offence	38	28.9%	17.0%	44.8%
Were using non prescribed drugs at time offence	99	21.2%	14.3%	30.3%
Had taken drugs on day of offence	98	18.4%	11.9%	27.2%
Were using class A drugs around time of offence	21	47.6%	28.3%	67.6%
Were using class B drugs around time of offence	21	95.2%	77.3%	99.2%

Table 5.19 indicates that two-thirds of the perpetrators had been drinking on the day of the offence (from their self-report) and when they had, it was nearly always within 3 hours of committing the offence. A smaller proportion, about one-fifth, were using non-prescribed drugs around the time of the offence and on the actual day of committing the offence.

Table 5.20 Victim Access ($N = 100$)

<i>Factors</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>Yes (%)</i>	<i>Confidence Interval (95%)</i>	
			<i>Lower</i>	<i>Upper</i>
Victim lived in close proximity	66	40.9%	29.9%	60.0%
Attacked victim in the street	100	23.0%	15.8%	32.2%
Offence took place in other location	100	21.0%	14.2%	30.0%
Met victim socially first time	100	19.0%	12.5%	27.8%
Called on victim as a friend	100	18.0%	11.7%	26.7%
Broke into victim's home	100	16.0%	10.1%	24.4%
Met victim socially	100	15.0%	9.3%	23.3%

Table 5.20 indicates that for where there was information about where the perpetrator lived in relation to the victim, over one-third lived in close proximity (within one mile of the victim's home). In terms of other victim access, it is notable that the perpetrator was most likely to meet their victim in a social situation.

Table 5.21 Victim Characteristics (*N* = 100)

<i>Factors</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>Yes (%)</i>	<i>Confidence Interval (95%)</i>	
			<i>Lower</i>	<i>Upper</i>
Female aged 13-49	100	73.0%	63.6%	80.7%
Victim knew perpetrator	100	54.0%	44.3%	63.4%
Victim knew perpetrator well	54	72.2%	59.1%	82.4%
Victim a stranger	100	45.0%	35.6%	54.8%
Victim was living with parents	99	30.3%	22.1%	40.0%
Victim was married to someone else	100	18.0%	11.7%	26.7%
Victim was widowed	98	16.3%	10.3%	24.9%
Victim was living with husband	100	16.0%	10.1%	24.4%
Perpetrator knew the victim through work or contact through work	100	13.0%	7.8%	21.0%

From Table 5.21, initial consideration indicates that the majority of the victims were aged between 12-49 years and they were just as likely to know the perpetrator as not. Victims were likely to be living with their parents.

The victims tended to be younger than the age of victims for all homicides. The rate of victims of homicide as a percentage of female homicides by acquaintance and stranger for victims aged 15-19 years for England & Wales was 12.5% and 12.6% respectively for 1985-1994 (Soothill, Francis, Ackerley & Fligelstone, 1999). The rate of victims of homicide as a percentage aged between 15-19 years was 26%.

Table 5.22 How Victim Was Found ($N = 100$)

<i>Factors</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>Yes (%)</i>	<i>Confidence Interval (95%)</i>	
			<i>Lower</i>	<i>Upper</i>
Victim found with lower half body exposed	73	74.0%	62.9%	82.7%
Underwear removed	66	59.1%	47.0%	70.1%
Body found in a home	99	47.5%	37.9%	57.2%
Upper half of body exposed	74	39.2%	28.9%	50.6%
Body found somewhere else	100	38.0%	29.1%	47.8%
Outer clothes removed	67	35.8%	25.4%	47.8%
Bra left on but disturbed	50	34.0%	22.4%	47.8%
Ligature was present on body when discovered	88	29.5%	21.0%	39.8%
Ligature was already present at crime scene	37	86.5%	72.0%	94.1%
Completely naked	98	21.4%	14.5%	30.5%
Other location	100	21.0%	14.2%	30.0%
Clothing torn ripped	75	20.0%	12.5%	30.4%
Underwear torn ripped	70	17.1%	10.1%	27.6%
Underwear around ankles	68	16.2%	9.3%	26.7%
Evidence victim was bound	98	14.3%	8.7%	22.6%
Clothing disturbed	29	79.3%	61.6%	90.2%
Clothing found next to body	54	46.3%	33.7%	54.4%

The majority of victims were found in a home with either their clothing disturbed in some way or completely naked (see Table 5.22). Less than one-third of the victims were found with a ligature on the body when it was discovered and only a small proportion (14.3%) were examined to show evidence that the victim was bound.

Table 5.23 Method of Death & Injuries (*N* = 100)

<i>Factors</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>Yes (%)</i>	<i>Confidence Interval (95%)</i>	
			<i>Lower</i>	<i>Upper</i>
Evidence of extreme injuries	99	63.6%	53.8%	72.4%
Strangulation involved in the offence	100	64.0%	54.2%	72.7%
Other injuries	99	43.4%	34.1%	53.3%
Evidence victim was punched	95	37.9%	28.8%	47.9%
Ligature was used during offence	99	36.4%	27.6%	46.2%
Abrasions	99	30.3%	22.1%	40.0%
Ligature was present on body when discovered	88	29.5%	21.0%	39.8%
Stabbing involved	100	17.0%	10.9%	25.6%
Evidence weapon used	100	28.0%	20.1%	37.5%
Evidence weapon was taken to crime scene	40	42.5%	28.5%	57.8%
Perpetrator disclosed punching victim	99	27.3%	19.5%	36.8%
Broken bones	98	26.5%	18.8%	36.0%
Death caused by combination of methods	100	26.0%	18.4%	35.4%
Evidence victim hit with an object	98	25.5%	17.9%	35.0%
Ligature strangulation	100	22.0%	15.0%	31.1%
Manual strangulation	100	20.0%	13.3%	28.9%
Victim found with multiple stab wounds	100	19.0%	12.5%	27.8%
Perpetrator disclosed hitting victim with object	99	17.2%	11.0%	25.8%
Evidence victim was kicked	95	15.8%	9.0%	23.2%
Evidence of both manual and ligature strangulation	100	10.0%	5.5%	17.4%

Table 5.23 shows that the majority of the killings involved strangulation of some kind (manual, ligature, or both) and a ligature was used in over one-third of all killings: the ligature generally being found present on the body when it was discovered. For the period 1985-1994, deaths by strangulation/asphyxiation/drowning by male acquaintances and male strangers with female victims in England & Wales were 28.3% and 31.9% respectively (Soothill et al., 1999). Combined ligature and manual strangulation from Table 5.24 was 41.2% of the sample, substantially higher than the National average.

Table 5.24 Psychiatric Assessment (*N* = 100)

<i>Factors</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>Yes (%)</i>	<i>Confidence Interval (95%)</i>	
			<i>Lower</i>	<i>Upper</i>
Has had psychiatric contact prior to killing	93	47.3%	37.5%	57.4%
Has had psychiatric intervention prior to killing	37	51.4%	35.9%	66.6%
Reports they were a loner did not socialise	90	44.4%	34.6%	54.7%
Evidence alcohol a problem at time of offence	100	34.0%	25.5%	43.7%
Disclosed deviant and or offence related fantasy since Disclosed deviant or offence related fantasy either before or following conviction	89	34.8%	25.8%	45.2%
Evidence they were a heavy drinker	100	42.0%	32.8%	51.8%
Evidence of suicide attempt or self harm	66	24.2%	15.5%	35.8%
Considered psychopathic	100	23.0%	15.8%	32.2%
Difference in opinion whether psychopathic	93	22.6%	15.3%	32.1%
Evidence of paraphilia	51	21.6%	12.5%	34.6%
Subject to EEG after arrest	100	19.0%	12.5%	27.8%
EEG abnormality recorded	89	41.6%	31.9%	52.0%
Was using non prescribed drugs time offence	36	16.7%	7.9%	31.9%
Evidence of grievance towards females	99	21.2%	14.3%	30.3%
Evidence of general grievance	99	21.2%	14.3%	30.3%
Problems with social integration	98	19.4%	12.8%	28.3%
History or arguments/disagreements	91	30.8%	22.2%	40.9%
Arguments/disagreements ongoing at time of offence	100	30.0%	21.9%	39.6%
	30	93.3%	78.7%	98.2%

From Table 5.24 it can be seen that, as with childhood (see Table 5.15), as adults a large proportion of the perpetrators were considered loners who did not socialise at the time of the offence. It may be that their high proportion of criminal histories (see Table 5.18) and difficulties in childhood (see Table 5.16) are a contributory factor, but just under one-half had psychiatric contact prior to the killing and of those who did, half of these had some kind of intervention. Problems with alcohol or heavy drinking were present in one-half of the perpetrators and about one-quarter were involved in some argument or disagreement at the time of the offence. Evidence of a paraphilia was apparent in less than one-quarter of the cases.

Table 5.25 Post Offence Behaviour and Apprehension ($N = 100$)

<i>Factors</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>Yes (%)</i>	<i>Confidence Interval (95%)</i>	
			<i>Lower</i>	<i>Upper</i>
Stole property and money from victim	98	29.6%	21.5%	39.3%
Carried on with work and family business	98	74.5%	65.1%	82.1%
Other post offence reaction	98	15.8%	9.5%	23.7%
Apprehended within hours	100	18.0%	11.7%	26.7%
Apprehended within 24 hours	100	22.0%	15.0%	31.1%
Apprehended within 1 week	100	31.0%	22.8%	40.6%
Apprehended within 3 months	100	26%	18.4%	35.4%
Apprehended following police investigation not reliant on a tip off	100	66.0%	56.3%	74.5%

From Table 5.25, it can be seen that perpetrators generally carried on with work and family business following the offence. Almost one-third stole property and money from the victim. The large majority of perpetrators were apprehended following a police investigation that was not reliant on a tip-off.

Table 5.26 Prosecution Factors ($N = 100$)

<i>Factors</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>Yes (%)</i>	<i>Confidence Interval (95%)</i>	
			<i>Lower</i>	<i>Upper</i>
Confessed when asked about crime	99	59.6%	49.7%	68.7%
Denied up until and including the trial	86	22.1%	14.6%	31.9%
Confessed when alibi did not stand up	40	40.0%	26.3%	55.4%
Charged for non sexual offence alongside killing	100	15.0%	9.3%	23.3%
Changed stance on guilt prior to conviction	100	15.0%	9.3%	23.3%

From Table 5.26, it can be seen that the majority of perpetrators confessed when asked about the offence by the police (this was under formal interview). A small proportion, (about 2 out of ten) denied the offence up until and including the trial.

Table 5.27 Sexual Aspects-Forensic Evidence ($N = 100$)

<i>Factors</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>Yes (%)</i>	<i>Confidence Interval (95%)</i>	
			<i>Lower</i>	<i>Upper</i>
Evidence of vaginal sex	95	48.4%	38.6%	58.3%
Evidence of anal sex	95	17.9%	11.5%	26.8%
Semen found in vagina	83	33.7%	24.5%	44.4%
Semen found near victim	82	13.4%	7.7%	22.4%
Semen found on victim	82	13.4%	7.7%	22.4%
Semen found in anus	83	12.0%	6.7%	20.8%

Table 5.27 indicates that the most common evidence of sexual assault was vaginal which was almost one-half of all cases, with evidence of anal sex in under 20 per cent of cases. If records of evidence of semen were found then it was found near the victim, on the victim, or in the victim's anus.

Table 5.28 Sexual Aspects-Disclosure ($N = 100$)

<i>Factors</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>Yes (%)</i>	<i>Confidence Interval (95%)</i>	
			<i>Lower</i>	<i>Upper</i>
Disclosed since conviction they had sexually assaulted prior to killing	82	23.2%	15.4%	33.4%
Disclosed forced vaginal sex	100	23.0%	15.8%	32.2%
Disclosed since conviction forced vaginal sex	77	22.1%	14.3%	32.5%
Disclosed prior to conviction had sexually assaulted victim after killing	100	19.0%	12.5%	27.8%
Disclosed prior to conviction had sexually assaulted victim prior to killing	100	19.0%	12.5%	27.8%
Disclosed since conviction they sexually assaulted victim prior to killing them	82	23.2%	15.4%	33.4%
Disclosed since conviction they sexually assaulted victim after killing	81	7.4%	3.4%	15.2%
Intended to sexually assault	100	7.0%	3.4%	13.7%

Table 5.28 indicates that a small proportion of perpetrators, around one-fifth, disclosed prior to conviction sexually assaulting victim either prior to or after killing them. However, they were more likely to disclose sexually assaulting victim after killing them following conviction for the offence.

Table 5.29 Sexual Aspects–Opinion ($N = 100$)

<i>Factors</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>Yes (%)</i>	<i>Confidence Interval (95%)</i>	
			<i>Lower</i>	<i>Upper</i>
Judge mentioned sexual element or motive	99	70.7%	61.1%	78.8%
Pathologist believed sexual assault possible or likely	73	54.8%	43.4%	65.7%
Police mention sexual element motivation	99	49.5%	39.9%	59.2%
Judge believed perpetrator killed during sexual assault or in order carry out sexual assault	88	36.4%	27.1%	46.8%
Police believed perpetrator killed during sexual assault or in order carry out sexual assault	80	35.0%	25.5%	45.9%
Police suspected forced vaginal sex	95	25.3%	17.6%	34.8%
Judge believed he killed victim to conceal rape	88	10.2%	5.5%	18.3%
Police believed he killed victim to conceal rape	80	10.0%	5.2%	18.5%
Signs of sexual intention to stab wounds	22	36.4%	19.7%	57.1%
Sexual intention to cutting/incision wounds and throat cut	18	44.4%	24.6%	66.3%

Table 5.29 indicates that the trial Judge mentioned some kind of sexual element or motivation in well over one-half of all perpetrators' convictions. Although the pathologists' opinion was based on examination of the body, a view that sexual assault had taken place or was likely only accounts for about one-third of the victims.

Table 5.30 How Victim was Found Shown by Frequency of Item by Item (N = 100)

<i>Factors</i>	Victim found with lower half body exposed	Underwear removed	Body found in a home	Upper half of body exposed	Outer clothes removed	Bra left on but disturbed	Ligature was present on body when discovered	Completely naked	Other location	Clothing torn ripped	Underwear torn ripped	Underwear around ankles	Evidence victim was bound
Victim found with lower half body exposed	34	24	24	21	12	16	0	22	7	6	11	6	
Underwear removed		15	18	20	9	12	0	19	5	4	2	5	
Body found in a home			11	6	2	11	14	0	7	5	2	7	
Upper half of body exposed				14	10	14	0	13	5	2	5	4	
Outer clothes removed					6	10	0	3	5	3	2	6	
Bra left on but disturbed						6	0	8	4	2	5	1	
Ligature was present on body when discovered							4	9	3	4	3	6	
Completely naked								7	4	4	0	4	
Other location									5	6	7	4	
Clothing torn ripped										7	2	3	
Underwear torn ripped											2	3	
Underwear around ankles												0	
Evidence victim was bound													

Table 5.30 has taken all the items from Table 5.22 and displays the frequency that each item has been coded as Yes (Information that was missing range from 0-25 for items above). For

example, 34 is the total number of times that 'Yes' was recorded for both 'Victim found with lower half of body exposed' and 'Underwear removed'.

Table 5.31 provides some validity for the SKT scoring process. There are some items that are both coded as Yes on cases as would be expected. For example, there was a high frequency of the victim being found with the lower half of the body exposed and underwear was also removed (n=34) and bra left on and victim found completely naked was zero.

Table 5.31 has taken all the items from Table 5.23 and displays the frequency that each item was coded as Yes (information missing ranged from 0-25 for the items above). For example, 30 is the total frequency that 'Yes' was recorded for both 'Strangulation involved in the offence' and 'Evidence of extreme injuries'.

There are a few observations from Table 5.31 that warrant comment. If a ligature was used during the offence then evidence of extreme injuries was less likely to also be coded as present ($n = 17$) than if strangulation involved in the offence had been coded as present ($n = 30$). There are also two groups of perpetrator that are possibly more unusual within the current sample. There is a group of perpetrators where the victim was found with multiple stab wounds and strangulation was also involved in the offence ($n = 19$). There is also a group of perpetrators where there was evidence that the victim was hit with an object and strangulation was involved in the offence ($n = 12$). These two groups possibly indicate that sexual killing taking place by strangulation, which has been proposed to be employed because it is sexually arousing (e.g., Brittain, 1970), can occur for other reasons and be used alongside stabbing and hitting the victim with a weapon. These perpetrators have used two methods of assault and it would be worth interviewing perpetrators in a future study to determine the motivation for the use of these two methods.

Table 5.31 arguably provides some validity for the SKT scoring process as there are some items that are both coded as present on cases, as might be expected. For example, evidence of extreme injuries and broken bones both being coded as present is high ($n = 25$) as is evidence of extreme injuries and victim hit with an object ($n = 22$).

Summary

The following broad conclusions from the data collected on the SKT can broadly be made:

Childhood Home Circumstances

For around one-third of the sample, there was evidence of some kind of instability in their childhood home circumstances in terms of parent separation, father absenteeism, and a negative father relationship, as well as removal of the child from the family home. While disruption in their relationship with their mother was less evident, there were still a proportion of cases (20%) where there was evidence from comments and descriptions in the files that the mother was domineering and/or over-protective.

Childhood Trauma

In terms of childhood trauma, physical abuse was the item most evident being present for over one-third of the sample. When being sexually abused as a child was disclosed, this was most often following conviction for the sexual killing.

Childhood Relationships and Behaviour

'A loner with few friends' was the childhood social relationship item most frequently coded as present, accounting for about one-third of the sample. The majority of cases (59%) showed evidence of anti-social behaviour and a large proportion (33%) had engaged in frequent truanting

from school. The majority of cases left school without obtaining qualifications, although they were generally employed during time up to conviction (65%).

Criminal Records

Criminal histories revealed that just over one-half of the perpetrators had at least three convictions, and a similar proportion had committed burglary prior to the sexual killing. A little under one-third of the total sample had previous convictions for violence against a woman and a similar number had previous convictions for a sexual offence against a stranger.

Antecedents to Offence

A large majority of the sample had been drinking on the day of the offence and nearly all those who had been drinking did so within the 3 hours before committing the offence. A smaller proportion, some 18%, had taken drugs on the day of the offence.

Victim access

Although the information was not always available to code this item, when it was available the majority of victims lived in close proximity to the perpetrator. Whether the victim was attacked in the street, or the perpetrator called on the victim as a friend, or broke into the victim's home, the rate was similar for all three, between 16-23% of the total sample. A similar percentage (19%) of perpetrators had met the victim for the first time on the day of the offence and this meeting was socially. The majority of the victims were aged 13-49 years and were most likely to be living with their parents in the build up to the sexual killing. There was a similar chance of the victim either being a stranger (45%) or knowing the perpetrator (55%).

Offence characteristics

In terms of where the victim was found, almost one-half of the victims were discovered in a home (there were only two cases where this was the perpetrator's home, the remaining 44 cases being the victim's home). Only a small proportion of the victims were discovered with evidence of having been bound (less than 15%). Strangulation (64%) and extreme injuries (63%) were evident in a majority of the offences; this was three times as often as stabbing having been involved (17%). Ligature or manual strangulation accounted for about 40% of all killings. Close to one-third of the sample disclosed that they killed through loss of temper and a similar proportion disclosed that they attacked the victim with a sexual intention.

Psychiatric Assessment

Almost one-half of the sample had psychiatric contact (for assessment purposes) prior to the killing and of these, one-half had psychiatric intervention of some kind. As adults, prior to the offence a large proportion were considered to be a loner who did not socialise, almost one-third had problems with social integration and almost one-half of the total sample were described either as having an alcohol problem or being a heavy drinker prior to the killing. Evidence of vaginal sex was present in almost one-half of the victims. In terms of the perpetrator stating that they had committed a sexual assault, the most common disclosure, made prior to conviction, was that they had sexually assaulted the victim after killing them, which accounted for 19% of the sample.

Comparison of Items from SKT with Characteristics of Sexual Killers from Studies Reviewed

Table 5.33 provides a summary of characteristics from the studies reviewed in Chapter One Conclusions Section and the percentage from the current study that were present for these items. The ‘Overall disturbed relationship with father’ figure is a combination of the total number for ‘Absence of father’, ‘Father left home prior to age 12 years’, ‘Negative father image’ and ‘Removed from the family home prior to age 16 years’. The father abused alcohol figure is the number of cases where the father of the perpetrator was described as an alcoholic or heavy drinker. ‘Social isolation during childhood/adolescence’ is all cases coded as present for the perpetrator being described as a loner/few friends during childhood.

Table 5.32 Characteristics of Sexual Killers from Studies Reviewed ($N = 100$)

<i>Type</i>	<i>Characteristic</i>	<i>Percentage</i>	<i>n</i>
Perpetrator	White	79.0	79
	Aged 20-30	55.0	55
	History of physical abuse	47.0	40
	Disturbed relationship with father:	61.0	61
	Absence of father	35.0	23
	Father left home prior to age 12 years	17.0	15
	Negative father image	54.69	35
	Removed from family home prior to age 16 years	31.6	31
	Father abused alcohol	15.4	17
	Behavioural problems at school	45.9	35
	Social isolation during childhood/ adolescence	59.4	41
	Poor achievement at school		
	Left school without qualifications	78.3	72
	Not in a relationship at time of offence	57.0	57
	Psychiatric contact prior to sexual killing	46.7	40
	Socially isolated/loneliness during adulthood	44.9	40
	Average IQ	72.9	51
Victim and offence	Victim a stranger/acquaintance	45.0	45
	Victim strangled	42.0	42
	Anger	30.68	27
	Sexual release	32.95	29

As can be seen from Table 5.32, the majority (where information was available to code) of sexual killers in this study were white, aged 20-30 years, had had some aspect of relationship that indicated it was disturbed, had social isolation during childhood, were not in a relationship at the

time of the offence and were considered average or above average IQ. Alcohol dependence was all cases coded as present for evidence alcohol a problem at time of offence or evidence they were a heavy drinker. For a large percentage, approaching half, there was a history of physical abuse, behavioural problems at school, psychiatric contact prior to the sexual killing, and social isolation during adulthood. In terms of the offence characteristics, although a large proportion of the victims were strangled and were strangers, they were not in the majority. In terms of the motivation for the offence, the majority of cases provided a sexual motivation or killing due to anger, loss of temper.

Table 5.33 provides a summary of characteristics from the studies reviewed in Chapter One relevant to a large number of sexual killers and the percentage from the current study that were present for these items. The 'Ran away from home' figure is the total number of cases where the perpetrator ran away during childhood either aged prior to 12 years or aged 12 to 16 years. The paraphilia figure is the total number of cases coded as present for evidence of paraphilia. The 'Deviant sexual fantasy' was the total number of cases coded as having disclosed deviant or offence related fantasy either prior to or following imprisonment. The drug dependence figure is the cases coded where they were using non prescribed drugs around the time of the offence. The alcohol dependence figure is the total number of cases that were coded for evidence that alcohol was a problem or they were coded as being a heavy drinker prior to the offence.

Table 5.33 Characteristics of Sexual Killers from Studies Reviewed Relevant to Large Number of Sexual Killers. ($N = 100$)

<i>Type</i>	<i>Characteristic</i>	<i>Percentage</i>	<i>n</i>
Perpetrator characteristics	History of sexual abuse during childhood	31.0	31
	Bed wetting after age 5 years	23.7	23
	Ran away from home	17.0	17
	Paraphilia	19.0	10
	Deviant sexual fantasy	40.0	40
	Drug dependence	21.1	21
	Alcohol dependence	40.0	40

Table 5.33 shows characteristics of sexual killers from the studies reviewed relevant to a large number of sexual killers with the inclusion of rates that these items were present for the cases coded on with the SKT. As can be seen from Table 5.33, drug and alcohol use, where alcohol was considered a problem or the perpetrator was described as a heavy drinker and the perpetrator disclosed that deviant fantasies were present for over a third of the sexual killers and history of sexual abuse was present for approximately one-third of sexual killers in this study. The remaining items, bed-wetting after age 5 years, running away from home whether prior to age 12

years or during age 12-16 years, or being found to have evidence of paraphilia were present for a reasonable proportion of sexual killers in this study. Indication of items indicative of alcohol dependence was present in over one-third of the sample and indicative of drug dependence in one-fifth.

The data collected in this study shows support for the characteristics identified in the Literature review (see Chapter One). In addition, other factors have found to be present for small to large numbers of sexual killers. The characteristics identified in this chapter will be explored further in relation to the research factors for this study.

CHAPTER SIX

METHOD SECTION FOR ANALYSIS OF THE FOUR RESEARCH AREAS

Introduction

This chapter describes the method that will be used to consider analysis, including statistical analysis to explore the four research factors outlined in Chapter One. These research factors were identified to consider the information gathered using the SKT in order to help understand sexual killers in terms of childhood, adulthood, victim and offence characteristics. To explore the four factors further in a number of studies that now follow, they have been framed as questions. The four questions were: what are the characteristics of perpetrators who carry out their offence against strangers?; what are the characteristics of perpetrators who kill their victims using a “hands on” method ?; what are the characteristics of those perpetrators who have been considered a loner at the time of the killing? and what are the characteristics of those perpetrators who have disclosed deviant or offence related fantasy? Questions relating to these four factors were chosen because three of the above - whether the victim was a stranger, a “hands on” method of killing, and problems with socialisation - represent some consensus in the characteristics of sexual killers within the literature, and in this respect warrant a starting point for further investigations to better describe these killers. In addition, deviant or offence related fantasy is believed to be a precursor to sexual killings and a central motivational characteristic for this crime and can act as an antecedent or trigger for some sexual killings. Fantasy has also been thought to contribute to the method of death and crime scene behaviour and therefore provides an area for research that could help to understand sexual killing in terms of motive and give further insight into the characteristics of these perpetrators. This chapter will outline the statistical methods that will be employed to investigate the four research questions. That is, to look at the characteristics of those sexual killers who victimise strangers, use a “hands-on” method of killing, are loners and disclose fantasy.

Background.

The data from the SKT, stored in an SPSS database, provided information across a range of factors concerning the sexual killers in this sample of 100 men that could be used to explore the four research questions outlined above. In addition, this database provides information on proximal factors, e.g. whether the perpetrator had been drinking or whether they killed the victim during a loss of temper, so that their possible interaction with the research questions could also be considered.

In Chapter Five, the rates of each factor that were present in the sample at a frequency of 15% or above were reported. The four areas described above were therefore considered in the context of the items in the SKT that were present (coded as being yes for 15 or more cases) as reported in Chapter Five.

Current study method. The next focus of analysis was whether the factors reported from the SKT in Chapter Five were associated with the four research questions for the study outlined above. In order to consider these questions, an appropriate and effective method of further analysis was required.

Method of statistical analysis. The data collected from the SKT were predominantly categorical, e.g. whether or not the perpetrator had a victim who was a stranger, whether or not the perpetrators has disclosed fantasy with some exceptions, e.g. date of conviction, age and so forth. Given that, in effect, the results reported in Chapter Five were frequency counts of whether or not items the cases were in one category or another, one possibility for further analysis was to use the Chi-Square statistic. This statistical test “Examines whether there is an association between two categorical variables” (Field, 2000.p.65). For example, within this research, whether an association exists between the perpetrator disclosing fantasy or not and whether or not the victim being a stranger. It also allows one to see if an association is significant or would be better accounted for by chance (Howitt & Cramer, 2005). Chi-square will therefore be used to consider the four research questions. For example, whether or not there is an association between cases coded as having disclosed fantasy and those who have not by characteristics reported upon in Chapter Five. However, carrying out a series of individual Chi-Square analyses would fail to identify “The pattern of variables that best predicts group membership” (Howitt & Cramer p.421): for example, the factors reported in Chapter Five that possibly account for group membership of those sexual killers who have killed a stranger, used a “hands-on” method of killing, were coded as being a loner or disclosed fantasy. The Fisher exact probability will be used as an alternative to Chi-square if counts within expected cell frequencies are below 5 (Howitt & Cramer).

Logistic regression. Logistic regression is a broad term for a number of different statistical methods. Field (2000) in describing Logistic regression, succinctly explains that it can be used to “predict which of two categories a person is likely to belong to given certain information” (p.163). Field also outlines how with, “Regression analysis we fit a predictive model to our data and use that model to predict values of the dependent variable...from one or more independent variables...”(p.103). The four research questions could most effectively be considered as dichotomous: that is, whether or not the victim was a stranger, whether or not the perpetrator disclosed fantasy, whether or not the victim was killed with a “hands on” method, and whether or not the perpetrator was coded as being considered a loner. In addition, the characteristics identified in Chapter Five were predominantly categorical, e.g. whether or not the perpetrator was physically abused and whether or not the perpetrator was under the influence of drink or alcohol at the time of the offence. Logistic regression “Is well suited for describing and testing hypotheses about relationships between a categorical outcome variable and one or more categorical or continuous predictor variables (Peng, Lee, & Ingersoll, 2002, p.4).

Binominal logistic regression. Binominal logistic regression was employed as “It identifies patterns of variables which can effectively differentiate between the members of two different categories. That is, binominal logistic regression predicts category membership...” (Howitt & Cramer, 2005, p.219). There follows an overview of the logistic regression method used for a series of studies to consider independent variables that can predict the dependent variables related to the four research questions, e.g. what variables can predict whether the victim will be a stranger? This logistic regression method is also used for the analyses reported in the following Chapters Seven to Ten.

Method of Analysis

Method

Data on the SPSS database used to produce the Tables 5.14-5.34 in Chapter Five was essentially binominal: it was coded as ‘Yes’ if it was present, or ‘No’ if it was not considered present. However, before logistic regression could be undertaken, the data needed to be recoded to deal with the two types of ‘No’ coding (‘No’ and ‘No confirmed’), in addition to the ‘Not Applicable’ (NA) and ‘No Information Available’ categories so that all data were presented as categorical for analysis. The two different types of ‘No’ coding, ‘Not Applicable’ and ‘No Information Available’ had been introduced in order to provide more comprehensive and descriptive information (see Chapter Five). A brief summary of why this coding method had been introduced will now be provided. Lifer Files were used for the sexual killers in the study to code the presence or absence of items in the SKT. For each item, the rater needed to determine if the item was present and could be coded as ‘Yes’. For example, if coding whether the perpetrator suffered physical abuse prior to the age of 12 years, if there was information to suggest that this was the case, e.g., “He was frequently beaten as a child by his father and received hospital attention on two occasions” then ‘Yes’ was coded. ‘No’ would be coded if there was no information in the file to suggest that the perpetrator had been physically abused, for example, “His childhood was normal and he had a good relationship with his father”. However, in this example, there was no evidence to confirm that he was not physically abused prior to age 12 years, just that there was no evidence that he was. If there was actually evidence to directly confirm that an item was not present, then ‘No confirmed’ would be coded, e.g. “He described a happy childhood and when asked, said he had never been physically abused in any way”. ‘No information available’ was coded as present if there was no reference to childhood in the files from which to consider the applicability of the item, e.g. “he remembers little of his childhood and there is little reference to his family and upbringing within the file”.

The ‘NA’ coding was used to provide further information about certain items. For example, if a perpetrator was an only child then ‘NA’ was used when coding if they were ‘the middle of sibling(s)’ to identify that when this was coded as ‘Yes’ or ‘No’, it only referred to perpetrators who had siblings.

As described in Chapter Five, it is possible that more of the items within the SKT would be coded as 'Yes' if further information was available that was not in the files. This was because there were a small percentage of items that were coded as 'No confirmed', where there was information to actually confirm that the item was not present (See Table 5.1. Background Section, Chapter Five). While the different coding options for 'No' (NC and No Information) was helpful for initial analysis and understanding possible limitations of the data set, the next part of the research focus is upon understanding characteristics that potentially do or do not help answer the four research questions. Therefore, the differential information that coding No, No Confirmed or No Information available is not required in considering if the presence of items from Chapter Five can be used to determine group membership. Therefore, the data was recoded to 'Yes', 'No' or 'Missing Information'.

In terms of how this method of recoding influenced understanding of the results, it arguably removed some detail that was available in the descriptive results reported in Chapter Five. However, the whole basis of this current study has been to use detailed lifer files to code for the presence or absence of variables within the SKT in order to gather information to better understand perpetrators of sexual killing. The recoding of the data for binary logistic regression was in keeping within the remit of this study: to determine whether evidence was found or not found, or was missing for each item. The binary logistic regression aimed to establish patterns of variables that could determine membership of a category. The SPSS database described in Chapter Four was therefore prepared for binary logistic regression analysis. Table 6.1 provides an overview of the different SKT codings and where they have been modified for binary logistic regression.

Table 6.1 Overview of Change to SKT Coding to Prepare for Binary Logistic Regression

SKT Coding	Coding for Binary		Impact of Recoding
	Logistic Regression		
Yes	Yes		None
No	No		None
No Confirmed	No		No longer differentiating between when No evidence was found and when evidence was found to confirm that this item was Not present for this case
NA	No		No longer differentiating between when item Not applicable because could not be the case e.g. an only child cannot have brothers.
No Information Available	Missing		None identified

The following steps were taken in order to ensure that data were suitable for binary logistic regression:

1. All items that were coded as 'No confirmed' were recoded as 'No'. Within the database, 'No confirmed' indicated that there was no evidence for the item and in addition, there was evidence to confirm that this item was not relevant to the case. For example, if no evidence for sexual abuse was found in the file then 'No' would be marked for 'sexually abused'. However, if there was no evidence within the file of the perpetrator being sexually abused and, in addition, evidence was found to confirm that they were not sexually abused e.g. 'He stated that he had never been the victim of sexual abuse', then 'No confirmed' was marked.
2. All items that were originally coded as 'Not applicable' were recoded as 'No'. For example, within the database, 'Sexual abuse only came to light following conviction' had been entered as 'NA' if the item 'Sexual abuse came to light prior to conviction' had been coded as 'Yes'. Rating as 'NA' in this way, made it possible to differentiate between cases where the perpetrator disclosed sexual abuse prior to conviction or following conviction. However, when the information was disclosed was not relevant to determining the possible power of a variable and identifying factors that account for group membership.
3. All cases where 'No information' was available were treated as 'missing data'. When excluding missing cases in binary logistic regression, they are excluded listwise and this can result in a model that is based on a fraction of the original sample (Field, 2002). Therefore, to avoid excluding cases a separate category was created within SPSS when the number of missing cases was at least 10 in number. This would ensure that SPSS would treat them as a separate category when carrying out the analysis. Where the number of missing cases was small, 10 or less, having them as a separate category could result in unstable models. In these cases they were included with the majority for the characteristic concerned (C. Byron, personal communication, July 30, 2006). So for example, for the item, 'has older sister' there were 11 cases that could not be coded because information was missing. Because this figure was greater than ten, these 11 cases were put into a separate category called missing cases for this item. For the item, 'Had psychiatric intervention prior to the killing' there were 19 cases coded as Yes and 74 cases rated as No and 7 cases where there was no information to code. Because the seven cases with no information, or missing cases as they were, was less than 10, this seven was added to the majority group which was the No group.

Following recoding, the database was checked by carrying out frequencies of the items in SPSS to ensure all items were coded as 'Yes', 'No' or 'Missing' and there were no cases of 'No confirmed' or 'Not applicable'. The entire sample set was used for three of the four studies. For one of the areas considered, whether or not the perpetrator was described as a loner, there were

ten cases where information was missing on this item. Because binary logistic regression can only handle a dichotomous dependent variable, the ten cases where information was missing were excluded from the analysis.

The Analysis

Binary Logistic Regression was performed using SPSS (version 11) to determine whether the dependant variables in each study could be predicted by the factors identified in Chapter Five.

Sample Size

There is varying guidance on the sample size required to carry out meaningful logistic regression (Field, 2005), ranging from 10 to 15 cases for each predictor variable studied. However, Field (2005) noted that this rule of thumb does not consider effect size. Following guidance by Miles and Shevin (2001) summarised by Field, a medium effect size could be expected with six predictors and a sample size of 100. However, because this research is exploratory in nature and any findings will need to be validated, observance of these specified sample sizes was not a priority. In addition to the number of cases used per sample, each variable entered should have a minimum of 15 cases being present (Yes); any less than this figure should not be entered into the analysis as it could lead to unsafe regression models (Field, 2000). Items that have been omitted from analysis will be listed in the Logistic regression sections of Chapters Seven through Ten.

Split of dichotomous dependent variables for group membership. Again to ensure reliable models (Field, 2000) for each dependent variable, the split for whether or not it is present should be close to 50% and between 40-60%. So, for example, the number of stranger victims vs. non stranger victims was 45 to 55 respectively and within the 40 to 60 band. All four dependent variables, stranger victims vs. non stranger victims, perpetrator disclosed fantasy vs. did not disclose fantasy, perpetrator considered a loner vs. not considered a loner and perpetrator used strangulation vs. did not use strangulation, were split within this band.

Correlation coefficients

Prior to undertaking binary logistic regression, correlation coefficients were calculated for all items that were in the database prior to binary logistic regression. These correlation coefficients were calculated to establish whether there were any high levels of correlation between items that could unduly influence the logistic regression analysis using non parametric Spearman's rho. There were a number of correlations that were greater than 0.7, that were considered high correlations (Tabachnick & Fidell, 2006). Variables that have been omitted from analysis are noted in the relevant logistic regression models.

Entry Method

The method of entry for all analysis was the backward stepwise as this was an exploratory study (Field, 2005). If any of the variables were considered to be very similar to the dependent variable then they were excluded from analysis because they could lead to unsafe models. For example, 'Called on victim as a friend' would require the perpetrator to have known the victim,

which would interfere with the predictor variable of whether or not the victim was a stranger, which could result in the production of unstable models. Where items have not been entered, these are highlighted in the logistic regression models describing the analysis.

Interpretation Analysis

Before explaining how logistic regressions models were judged, an explanation of dummy variables is provided.

Dummy Variables

Howitt and Cramer (2005) suggest that the idea of dummy variables is central to understanding multinomial regression. The following explanation is adapted from the explanation provided by Howitt and Cramer (2005). As an example, 'Does not have younger sister(s)' is going to be entered into a binary logistic regression to determine if this can predict whether a perpetrator's victim is a stranger. In this example, there are three possible ways that this item could be coded: (1) the perpetrator does have a younger sister(s), (2) the perpetrator does not have a younger sister(s) or (3) there is missing information for this item. Dummy variables is the term employed when predictors with three or more categories are transformed into dichotomous variables (Howitt & Cramer, 2005): 1. Dummy variable 1 Category 'does not have younger sister(s)' versus Categories 'does have younger sister(s)' together with 'missing data' for this item; 2. Dummy variable 2 Category 'does have younger sister(s)' versus Category 'does not have younger sister(s)' together with 'missing data' for this item . Hence, these three possible codings are turned into two dichotomous variables.

The comparison of 'Doesn't have younger sister(s)' with categories 'Does have a younger sister' and 'Missing data for this item' is not required because the first two dummy variables already supply all the information needed to discriminate 'Does not have younger sister(s)' from 'does have a younger sister(s)' and 'missing data for this item'. Therefore, a third Dummy variable would be redundant in this case. Its inclusion would create multicollinearity (Howitt and Cramer, 2005). Multicollinearity is the term given for high correlation between two or more of the predictor variables.

Dummy Variables are calculated whenever there was a 'missing data' category within the current research.

Parameter Codings

SPSS provides categorical variable codings, which are labelled parameter codings (see Table 6.2).

Table 6.2 Categorical Variables Codings

		Frequency	Parameter Coding	
			(1)	(2)
Absence of father during childhood	No	47	1.000	.000
	Yes	23	.000	1.000
	Missing	30	.000	.000
Cared for by parents up to age 12 years	No	37	1.000	
	Yes	63	.000	
Ever removed from family home	No	69	.000	
	Yes	31	1.000	
Stability of family structure	No	35	1.000	
	Yes	65	.000	

To interpret the parameter coding and establish the first dummy variable, you first look for the category that has a value of 1 because this is the reference category. The first parameter coding for 'Absence of father during childhood', gives the value of 1 under the first coding (1 in parentheses) to 'No' (for 'Absence of father during childhood'). Therefore, 'father not absent during childhood' is the reference category. Therefore, Dummy variable (1) is 'Father not absent during childhood' versus 'father absent during childhood' and 'missing data' for this item. The second parameter coding for 'Absence of father during childhood', gives the value of 1 under the second coding (2 in parentheses) to 'Yes'. Therefore, 'father was absent during childhood' is the reference category. Therefore, Dummy variable (2) is 'Father was absent during childhood' versus 'father was not absent during childhood' and 'missing data' for this item. For the category, 'Ever removed from the family home', there are only two outcomes so there is only one parameter coding. No is given the value of 1 so this compares 'Not ever removed from the family home' with 'was ever removed from the family home'. The parameter codings for all logistic regressions are provided in the Logistic Regression SPSS output which can be provided on disc if requested.

Reliability of Binary Logistic Regression Models

Four considerations are recommended to determine the reliability of logistic regression models (Peng, Lee & Ingersoll, 2002) (1). overall model evaluation; (2). statistical tests of individual predictors; (3). goodness-of-fit statistics; (4). validations of predicted probabilities. These recommendations were followed in considering the results of the binary logistic regressions. The procedure used to meet these recommendations is as follows.

Overall Model Evaluations. The Omnibus Test for Model Coefficients provides a comparison to determine whether the model with the predictor variables entered improves prediction of which category each case is assigned to (e.g. whether or not fantasy is disclosed) than the model including only the constant (Martin & Acuna, 2002). If the value of Chi-

square is significant, the model including the predictor variables better explains the data than the model including only the constant (Martin & Acuna, 2002).

Goodness-of-fit statistics. A test of the null hypotheses of whether the model has a sufficient fit to the data is undertaken using the Hosmer and Lemeshow Test (Martin & Acuna, 2002). Ideally, the Hosmer and Lemeshow test is non-significant and the Omnibus Tests of Model Coefficient is significant. This pattern would indicate that a minimal amount of data remains unexplained by the model and that inclusion of the predictors in the model provides a significant improvement as opposed to when they are excluded (Field, 2000).

Validation of predicted probabilities. Peng, Lee and Ingersoll (2002) state “The degree to which predicted probabilities agree with actual outcomes is expressed either as a measure of association or a classification table” (p.6). There now follows an explanation of classification tables.

Classification Table. The output from the binary logistic regressions provides two Classification Tables. The first is when only the constant is included in the model. In this instance, SPSS assigns each case to only one category to build a model (Field, 2000) However, SPSS will assign cases to where the majority of cases actually lie to provide the greatest predictive power of the model (Field, 2000). Table 6.3 provides an example of this for whether or not the victim was a stranger.

Table 6.3 Classification Table Based Solely on Distribution of Whether the Victim is a Stranger=the Method Of Classification Model*

Observed distribution	Best prediction:		% accuracy
	Victim is not a stranger	Victim is a stranger	
Victim not a stranger	55	0	100.0
Victim is a stranger	45	0	0
			Overall Accuracy =55%

*Adapted from Howitt and Cramer (2005, p.443)

In Table 6.3, there were 55 perpetrators where the victim was not a stranger and 45 where the victim was a stranger, a total of 100 cases. If SPSS were to predict that every perpetrator's victim was a stranger, then it would be 100% correct for those perpetrators who did have a victim who was a stranger (i.e. 55/55 multiplied by 100). If it were to predict that every victim is a stranger, then it would be correct 0% of the time (i.e.0/45 multiplied by 100) Therefore, by predicting that for all cases, the perpetrator's victim will not be a stranger, it is 100 % accurate for Victim not a

stranger and 0% accurate for Victim is a stranger. The overall accuracy of correct classification is 55% (55/100 multiplied by 100).

The second Classification Table produced by SPSS provides an indication of how well the model assigns cases to each category when the predictors are included in the model. An example of this type of second type of classification model is provided below in Table 6.4 (the predictor variables for this example are not provided for the purpose of illustrating the Classification Table).

Table 6.4 Classification Table with Inclusion of Predictor Variables

	Best prediction: Victim is not a stranger	Best prediction: Victim is a stranger	% accuracy
Observed distribution			
Victim not a stranger	44	11	80.0
Victim is a stranger	23	22	48.9
			Overall Accuracy =66%

Table 6.4 shows that the model correctly classifies 44 cases where the victim would not be a stranger, but misclassifies 11. Thus, it correctly classifies 80.0% of cases (44/55 multiplied by 100). For cases where the victim is a stranger, it correctly classifies 22 cases and misclassifies 23. It therefore correctly classifies 48.9% of cases (22/45 multiplied by 100). The overall accuracy is 66% (44 + 22/100 multiplied by 100). Therefore, the model with the predictor variables included is better at classifying whether the victim is not a stranger than when the victim is a stranger. Consideration of these two Classification Tables enables comparison to be made of the overall classification when only the constant is included in the model and when the predictors are included. For the example provided in Table 6.3 and 6.4, it can be seen that inclusion of the predictors increases accurate classification from 55% to 66%.

The increase in accurate classification will not be reported in the following four results chapters where models including the predictor variables do not significantly improve the predictive power over the model including only the constant. This is because no weight can be placed on the non significant models.

Statistical tests of individual predictors

Exp β values. The exp β value provides an indication of how as a unit of the predictor alters, the odds alter as a consequence (Field, 2000). Field (2000) explains how the “Odds of an event occurring are defined as the probability of an event occurring divided by the probability of that event not occurring” (p.182). Tabachnick and Fidell (2007) describe how, “The odds ratio is the change in odds of being in one of the categories of outcome when the value of a predictor increases by one unit” (p.461). Field (2000) suggests that the exp β value can be interpreted as

“the change in odds” (Field, 2000, p.184) and is equivalent to the odds ratio (Tabachnick & Fidell, 2000). In terms of interpreting this figure, “If the value is greater than 1 then it indicates that as the predictor increases, the odds of the outcome occurring increase. Conversely, a value less than 1 indicates that as the predictor increases, the odds of the outcome occurring decrease” (p.184).

Analysis of Residuals

Residuals will be examined for each logistic regression to determine if there were any outliers or influential cases with reference to expected values that could have an adverse affect on the models (Field, 2000).

The Naglekerke R^2 squared statistic

The Naglekerke R^2 statistic provides an indication of the extent that the model explains the outcome variance comparative to the level of variance to account for to begin with (Field, 2000). This value can be converted into a percentage by multiplying it by 100 and “In terms of interpretation it can be seen as similar to the R in linear regression in that it provides a gauge of the substantive significance of the model”(p.182).

The reporting of the analysis of the four research areas now follows (Chapter Seven to Ten). The reliability of the Binary Logistic Regression Models reported will be considered as described above.

CHAPTER SEVEN

FURTHER ANALYSIS OF WHETHER OR NOT VICTIM WAS A STRANGER BASED ON SEXUAL KILLER TEMPLATE CODINGS

Introduction

This chapter sets out to explore cases where the perpetrators carried out the sexual killing against a victim who was a stranger. This is the first of four factors presented in Chapter One that have been identified to explore to better understand characteristics and the possible motivation of sexual killers with this large sample of perpetrators. There is some indication that sexual killers will target strangers or people considered a casual acquaintance (Dietz et al. 1990; Langevin et al.; 1988, Ressler et al.1988) although this research has been undertaken with small sample sizes and included perpetrators who are serial killers. Little explanation has been offered for why it has been believed that sexual killers victimise strangers more often than people they know or are an acquaintance with. Further consideration of sexual killers who victimise strangers is therefore a potentially important if under researched area of work.

Background to the Present Study

This chapter aims to determine if there are factors that appear to differentiate childhood factors, adult characteristics, and crime scene behaviour, with respect to whether or not the victim was a stranger. Consideration of whether the perpetrator disclosed offence related fantasy, whether the perpetrator was described as a loner, and whether or not the perpetrator used a “hands on” method of killing will be considered in Chapters Eight, Nine and Ten respectively.

Analysis

First, this chapter will describe the frequency with which items in the Tables in Chapter Five occur according to whether the victim was coded as being Yes or No to ‘Victim a Stranger’. Tables have been compiled to illustrate these frequencies (Tables 7.1-7.20). It will then report the logistic regression analyses carried out to determine whether factors from each area of the SKT that were present in at least 15 cases for every factor would predict whether the victim would be a stranger.

Table 7.1 Siblings & Birth Order Victim by Stranger vs. Not a Stranger

Siblings & Birth Order	Victim Relationship	
	Stranger	Not a Stranger
Has sisters	33 (73.33 %)	44 (80.00 %)
Has brother(s)	37 (82.22 %)	36 (65.45 %)
Has younger sister(s)	20 (44.44 %)	21 (38.18 %)
Has older sister(s)*	13 (28.89 %)	28 (50.91 %)
Has older brother (s)	21 (46.67 %)	22 (40.00 %)
Has younger brother(s)	18 (40.00 %)	26 (47.27 %)
Middle of siblings	21 (46.67 %)	21 (38.18 %)
Eldest of siblings	11 (24.44 %)	14 (25.45 %)
Youngest of siblings	10 (22.22 %)	12 (21.82 %)
Has stepbrothers or sisters	10 (22.22 %)	11 (20.00 %)

* denotes significant at $p < .05$

As shown in Table 7.1, the distribution of factors present based on whether victim of the offender was a stranger versus not a stranger by siblings and birth order is similar.

There was a significant association between whether the victim was a stranger and had an older sister, $\chi^2(1, N = 41) = 4.15, p < .05$. The perpetrator was less likely to have an older sister if the victim was a stranger. The sample size for stranger ($n = 45$) and not a stranger ($n = 55$) is the same for all Tables from 7.1-7.19; the numbers in parentheses are percentages.

Table 7.2 Childhood Home Circumstances by Victim Stranger vs. Not a Stranger

Childhood Home Circumstances	Victim Relationship	
	Stranger	Not a Stranger
Stability of family structure	29 (64.44 %)	32 (58.18 %)
Cared for by parents up to age 12 years	29 (64.44 %)	31 (58.18 %)
Parents separated	11 (24.44 %)	15 (27.27 %)
Absence of father during childhood	14 (31.11 %)	9 (16.36 %)
Was removed from family home prior to age 16 years	18 (40.00 %)	13 (23.64 %)
Siblings in trouble with police	8 (17.78 %)	8 (14.55 %)
Parental instability	13 (28.89 %)	13 (23.64 %)
Cared for by only one parent prior to age 12 years	9 (20.00 %)	11 (20.00 %)
Parents divorced	7 (15.56 %)	7 (12.73 %)
Father left home when he was aged 5 to 12 years*	3 (6.67 %)	11 (20.00 %)
Father described as an alcoholic or heavy drinker	8 (17.78 %)	9 (16.36 %)
Father left home prior to age 12 years	7 (15.56 %)	8 (14.55 %)
Father in trouble with police	4 (8.89 %)	3 (5.45 %)

* denotes significant at $p < .05$

As shown in Table 7.2, the distribution of factors present based on whether the victim of the offender was a stranger versus not a stranger by childhood home circumstances is similar. There was a significant association between whether the victim was a stranger and father left home when the perpetrator was aged 5 to 12 years (two tailed Fisher exact $p < 0.05$). The perpetrators' father was less likely to have left home when victim was a stranger.

Table 7.3 Relationship with Parents by Victim Stranger vs. Not a Stranger

Relationship with Parents	Victim Relationship	
	Stranger	Not a Stranger
Negative father image	19 (42.22%)	16 (29.09%)
Got on with both parents well or ok	12 (26.67%)	13 (23.64%)
Mother described as domineering, over protective	9 (20.00%)	10 (18.18%)
Got on with mother, not father	6 (13.33%)	6 (10.91%)

As shown in Table 7.3, the distribution of factors present based whether the victim of the offender was a stranger versus not a stranger by relationship with parents is similar and no significant associations were found.

Table 7.4 Childhood Trauma by Victim Stranger vs. Not a Stranger

Childhood Trauma	Victim Relationship	
	Stranger	Not a Stranger
Witnessed mother/primary carer being physically abused	11 (24.44%)	10 (18.18 %)
Witnessing documented prior to and/or recorded at the time of arrest	6 (13.33 %)	9 (16.36 %)
Physically abused prior to age 12	20 (44.44 %)	20 (36.36 %)
Evidence they have suffered a head injury	8 (17.78 %)	12 (21.82 %)
Sexually abused disclosed prior to imprisonment	7 (15.56 %)	7 (12.73 %)
Sexual abuse only came to light following conviction	6 (13.33 %)	11 (20.00 %)
Sexually abused came to light at any point	13 (28.89 %)	18 (32.73 %)
Sexually abused prior to age 12	6 (13.33 %)	3 (5.45 %)
Sexually abused by someone five years older	12 (26.67 %)	16 (29.09 %)

As shown in Table 7.4, the distribution of factors present based on whether the victim of the offender was a stranger versus not a stranger by childhood trauma is similar and no significant associations were found

Table 7.5 Childhood Social Relationships by Victim Stranger vs. Not a Stranger

Childhood Social Relationships	Victim Relationship	
	Stranger	Not a Stranger
Loner/Few Friends	3 (6.67 %)	18 (32.73 %)
Behavioural examples relating to preferred sex	11 (24.44 %)	8 (14.55 %)
Problems relating to preferred sex after age 12 years	10 (22.22 %)	7 (12.73 %)
Problems relating to preferred sex ever during childhood	10 (22.22 %)	7 (12.73 %)
Bullied prior to age 12 years	5 (11.11 %)	8 (14.55 %)
Bullied prior to age 12 years but only came to light after conviction	5 (11.11 %)	5 (9.09 %)
Bullied prior to age 12 years came to light at any point	10 (22.22 %)	13 (23.64 %)

As Shown in Table 7.5, there were a number of differences in the distribution of the factors between items related to childhood social relationships and whether or not the victim was a stranger although no significant associations were found.

Table 7.6 Childhood Problematic Behaviour by Victim Stranger vs. Not a Stranger

Childhood Problematic Behaviour	Victim Relationship	
	Stranger	Not a Stranger
Anti-social behaviour	29 (64.44 %)	30 (54.55 %)
Truanted from school	18 (40.00 %)	26 (47.27 %)
Truancing was frequent	14 (31.11 %)	19 (34.55 %)
Reports of bed wetting	11 (24.44 %)	12 (21.82 %)
Ran away from home between age 12 to 16 years	5 (11.11 %)	10 (18.18 %)

As shown in Table 7.6, the distribution of factors present based on whether the victim of the offender was a stranger versus not a stranger by childhood problematic relationships is similar and no significant associations were found

Table 7.7 Education and Lifestyle by Stranger vs. Not a Stranger

Adult Characteristics	Victim Relationship	
	Stranger	Not a Stranger
Left school without qualifications	35 (77.78 %)	36 (65.45 %)
Generally been employed	32 (71.11 %)	35 (63.34 %)
Single	24 (55.33 %)	37 (67.27 %)
Has been married	24 (55.33 %)	19 (34.55 %)
Has been married for two years	17 (37.78 %)	15 (27.27 %)
Has children	20 (44.44 %)	24 (43.64 %)
Has children with different women	4 (8.89 %)	3 (5.45 %)
Attended further education	5 (11.11 %)	7 (12.73 %)
Evidence of having been a drifter and rootless	5 (11.11 %)	6 (10.91 %)

As shown in Table 7.7, the distribution of factors present based on whether the victim of the offender was a stranger versus not a stranger by education and lifestyle is similar and no significant associations were found

Table 7.8 Criminal History by Victim Stranger vs. Not a Stranger

Criminal History	Victim Relationship	
	Stranger	Not a Stranger
Pre conviction against a stranger for a sex offence*	19 (42.22 %)	10 (18.18 %)
More than 3 pre convictions	26 (57.78 %)	26 (47.27 %)
Burglary prior to index offence	24 (53.33 %)	22 (40.00 %)
Violence against women	13 (28.89 %)	12 (21.82 %)
Non-contact Sex offence*	8 (17.78 %)	2 (3.64 %)
Convicted of arson	7 (15.56 %)	2 (3.64 %)

* denotes significant at $p < .05$

As shown in Table 7.8, there were a number of differences in the distribution of the factors present based on the victim was a stranger versus not a stranger by criminal history. There was a significant association between whether the victim was a stranger and previous conviction against a stranger for a sex offence $\chi^2(1, N = 29) = 6.70, p < .05$. The perpetrator was more likely to have a pre conviction against a stranger for a sex offence if the victim was a stranger. There was a significant association between whether or not the victim was a stranger and previous conviction for a non-contact sex offence (two tailed Fisher exact $p < .05$). The perpetrator was more likely to have a previous conviction for a non-contact sex offence if the victim was a stranger.

Table 7.9 Living Circumstances and Relationship Status at Time of Offence by Victim Stranger vs. Not a Stranger

Living Circumstances & Relationship Status at Time of Offence	Victim Relationship	
	Stranger	Not a Stranger
Living with parents at time of offence	10 (22.22%)	21 (38.18%)
In relationship at time of offence but not married	12 (26.67%)	14 (25.45%)
Living on own at time of offence	11 (24.44%)	12 (21.82%)
Married at time offence and with wife	10 (22.22%)	10 (18.18%)
In a relationship at time of offence	21(46.67%)	22 (40.00%)
Living with own children at time of offence	8 (17.78%)	10 (18.18%)

As shown in Table 7.9, the distribution of factors present based on whether the victim of the offender was a stranger versus not a stranger by living circumstances and relationship status at the time of the offence is similar and no significant associations were found

Table 7.10 Antecedents to Offence by Victim Stranger vs. Not a Stranger

Antecedents to Offence	Victim Relationship	
	Stranger	Not a Stranger
Had been drinking on day of offence	27 (60.00 %)	36 (65.45 %)
Had been drinking within 3 hours of offence	25 (55.56 %)	34 (61.82 %)
Evidence they were working at the time of the offence	22 (48.89 %)	28 (50.91 %)
They were unfaithful in marriage or relationship at time of offence	4 (8.89 %)	6 (10.91 %)
Was using non prescribed drugs at time of offence	9 (20.00 %)	12 (21.82 %)
Had taken drugs on day of offence	7 (15.56 %)	11 (20.00 %)
Was using class A drugs around time of offence	4 (8.89 %)	6 (10.91 %)
Was using class B drugs around time of offence	4 (8.89 %)	10 (18.18 %)

As shown in Table 7.10, the distribution of factors present based on whether the victim was a stranger versus not a stranger by antecedents to the offence is similar and no significant associations were found.

Table 7.11 Victim Access by Victim Stranger vs. Not a Stranger

Victim Access	Victim Relationship	
	Stranger	Not a Stranger
Victim lived in close proximity*	7 (15.56 %)	20 (36.36 %)
Attacked victim in the street*	16 (35.56 %)	7 (12.73 %)
Offence took place in other location	8 (17.78 %)	11 (20.00 %)
Met victim socially for the first time	6 (13.33 %)	13 (23.64 %)
Called on victim as a friend	0 (0 %)	18 (32.73 %)
Broke into victims' home*	12 (26.67 %)	4 (7.27 %)
Met victim socially	5 (11.11 %)	10 (18.18 %)

* denotes significant at $p < .05$

As shown in Table 7.11, there were a number of differences between the distribution of the factors present based on stranger versus not a stranger by victim access. There was a significant association between whether the victim was a stranger and whether the victim lived in close proximity $\chi^2(1, N = 27) = 5.17, p < .05$. The victim was less likely to have lived in close proximity if the victim was a stranger. There was a significant association between whether the victim was a stranger and whether the perpetrator attacked the victim in the street $\chi^2(1, N = 23) = 7.28, p < .05$. The victim was more likely to be attacked in the street if the victim was a stranger. There was a significant association between whether the victim was a stranger and broke into the victim's home (two tailed Fisher exact $p < .05$). The perpetrator was more likely to break into the victim's home if the victim was a stranger.

According to the SKT scoring criteria, it should not be possible to code Yes for "called on victim as a friend" and "victim a stranger" because the victim should not be both a friend and a

stranger. Therefore, the fact that there were no cases for called on victim as a friend and stranger indicates good validity for scoring of the SKT.

Table 7.12 Victim Characteristics by Victim Stranger vs. Not a Stranger

Victim Characteristics	Victim Relationship	
	Stranger	Not a Stranger
Victim aged 13-49 years	33 (73.33 %)	39 (70.91 %)
Victim knew perpetrator	0 (0.00 %)	55 (100.00 %)
Victim knew perpetrator well	0 (0.00 %)	39 (70.91 %)
Victim a stranger	45 (100.0 %)	0 (0.00 %)
Victim was living with parents	14 (31.11 %)	16 (29.09 %)
Victim was married to someone else	9 (20.00 %)	8 (14.55 %)
Victim was widowed	8 (17.78 %)	8 (14.55 %)
Victim was living with husband	8 (17.78 %)	7 (12.73 %)
Perpetrator knew the victim through work or contact through work	4 (8.89 %)	9 (16.36 %)

As shown in Table 7.12, the distribution of factors present based on whether the victim of the offender was a stranger versus not a stranger by victim characteristics is similar and no significant associations were found.

The fact that there were no cases where victim knew the perpetrator and victim a stranger, and victim knew perpetrator well and victim a stranger provided indication of good validity for the coding of the SKT as it would be expected that the victim could not be both a stranger and know the perpetrator.

Table 7.13 How Body Found by Victim Stranger vs. Not a Stranger

How Body Found	Victim Relationship	
	Stranger	Not a Stranger
Lower half of body exposed	28 (62.22 %)	26 (47.27 %)
Underwear removed	13 (28.89 %)	19 (34.55 %)
Body found in a home	17 (37.78 %)	30 (54.55 %)
Upper half of body exposed	12 (26.67 %)	17 (30.91 %)
Body found somewhere else	20 (44.44 %)	18 (32.73 %)
Outer clothes removed	13 (28.89 %)	11 (20.00 %)
Bra left on but disturbed	8 (17.78 %)	8 (14.44 %)
Ligature was present on body when discovered	13 (28.89 %)	13 (23.64 %)
Ligature was already present at crime scene	17 (37.78 %)	15 (27.27 %)
Completely naked	8 (17.78 %)	13 (23.64 %)
Other location	11 (24.44 %)	9 (16.36 %)
Clothing torn or ripped	7 (15.56 %)	8 (14.55 %)
Underwear torn ripped	7 (15.56 %)	5 (9.09 %)
Underwear around ankles	7 (15.56 %)	4 (7.27 %)
Evidence victim bound	9 (20.00 %)	5 (9.09 %)
Clothing disturbed	11 (24.44 %)	12 (21.82 %)
Clothing found next to body	12 (26.67 %)	13 (23.64 %)

As shown in Table 7.13, the distribution of factors present based on the victim was a stranger versus not a stranger by how the body was found is similar and no significant associations were found.

Table 7.14 Method of Death & Injuries by Victim Stranger vs. Not a Stranger

Method of Death and Injuries	Victim Relationship	
	Stranger	Not a stranger
Evidence of extreme injuries	27 (60.00 %)	35 (63.64 %)
Strangulation involved in the offence	30 (66.67 %)	34 (61.82 %)
Other injuries	16 (35.56 %)	29 (52.73 %)
Evidence victim punched	16 (35.56 %)	20 (36.36 %)
Ligature was used during offence	19 (42.22 %)	17 (30.91 %)
Abrasions	12 (26.67 %)	18 (32.73 %)
Ligature was present on body when discovered	13 (28.89 %)	13 (23.64 %)
Stabbing involved	5 (11.11 %)	12 (21.82 %)
Evidence weapon used	9 (20.00 %)	19 (34.55 %)
Evidence perpetrator took weapon to crime scene	9 (20.00 %)	8 (14.55 %)
Perpetrator disclosed punching victim	10 (22.22 %)	17 (30.91 %)
Broken bones	12 (26.67 %)	13 (23.64 %)
Death caused by combination of methods	11 (24.44 %)	15 (27.27 %)
Evidence victim was hit with an object	13 (28.89 %)	11 (20.00 %)
Ligature strangulation	13 (28.89 %)	9 (16.36 %)
Manual strangulation	8 (17.78 %)	12 (21.82 %)
Victim found with multiple stab wounds	3 (6.67 %)	9 (16.36 %)
Perpetrator disclosed hitting victim with object	9 (20.00 %)	8 (14.55 %)
Evidence victim was kicked	7 (15.56 %)	7 (12.73 %)
Evidence of both manual/ligature strangulation	4 (8.89 %)	6 (10.91 %)

As shown in Table 7.14, the distribution of factors present based on whether the victim was a stranger versus not a stranger by method of death and injuries is similar and no significant associations were found

Table 7.15 Psychiatric Assessment by Victim Stranger vs. Not a Stranger

Psychiatric Assessment	Victim Relationship	
	Stranger	Not a stranger
Has had psychiatric contact prior to killing	23 (51.11 %)	21 (38.18 %)
Has had psychiatric intervention prior to killing*	13 (28.89 %)	6 (10.91 %)
Reports they were a loner/did not socialise	18 (40.00 %)	22 (40.00 %)
Evidence alcohol a problem at time of offence	16 (35.56 %)	18 (32.73 %)
Disclosed deviant and or offence related fantasy since conviction	15 (33.33 %)	15 (27.27 %)
Disclosed deviant and or offence related fantasy either before or following conviction	21(46.67 %)	21(38.18 %)
Evidence they were a heavy drinker	6 (13.33 %)	10 (18.18 %)
Evidence of suicide attempt or self harm	8 (17.78 %)	15 (27.27 %)
Considered psychopathic	9 (20.00 %)	12 (21.82 %)
Difference in opinion whether psychopathic	4 (8.89 %)	7 (27.27 %)
Evidence of paraphilia*	13 (28.89 %)	6 (10.91 %)
Subject to EEG after arrest	16 (35.56 %)	21 (38.18 %)
EEG abnormality recorded	3 (6.67 %)	3 (5.45 %)
Was using non prescribed drugs time of offence	9 (20.00 %)	12 (21.82 %)
Evidence of grievance towards females	10 (22.22 %)	11 (20.00 %)
Evidence of general grievance	7 (15.56 %)	12 (21.82 %)
Problems with social integration	12 (26.67 %)	15 (27.27 %)
History of arguments/disagreements with family members	10 (22.22 %)	20 (36.36 %)
Arguments/disagreements ongoing at time of offence	9 (20.00 %)	19 (34.55 %)

* denotes significant at $p < .05$

As shown in Table 7.15, the distribution of factors present based on whether the victim of the offender was a stranger versus not a stranger by psychiatric assessment is similar. There was a significant association between whether the victim was a stranger and perpetrator had psychiatric intervention prior to the killing $\chi^2(1, N = 19) = 5.20, p < .05$. The perpetrator was more likely to have had psychiatric contact prior to the killing if the victim was a stranger. There was a significant association between whether the victim was a stranger and evidence of paraphilia $\chi^2(1, N = 19) = 5.20, p < .05$. There was more likely to be evidence of paraphilia if the victim was a stranger.

Table 7.16 Post Offence Behaviour and Apprehension by Victim Stranger vs. Not a Stranger

Post offence Behaviour and Apprehension	Victim relationship	
	Stranger	Not a Stranger
Perpetrator stole property and money from victim	17 (37.78 %)	12 (21.82 %)
Carried on with work and family business	34 (75.56 %)	39 (70.91 %)
Other post offence reaction	6 (13.33 %)	9 (26.36 %)
Apprehended within hours	7 (15.56 %)	11 (20.00 %)
Apprehended within 24 hours	6 (13.33 %)	16 (29.09 %)
Apprehended within one week	13 (28.89 %)	18 (32.73 %)
Apprehended within three months*	16 (35.56 %)	10 (18.18 %)
Apprehended following police investigation not reliant on a tip off	29 (64.44 %)	37 (67.27 %)

* denotes significant at $p < 0.05$

As shown in Table 7.16, the distribution of factors present based on whether the victim of the offender was a stranger versus not a stranger by post offence behaviour and apprehension is similar. There was a significant association between whether the victim was a stranger and apprehended within 3 months $\chi^2(1, N = 26) = 3.88, p < .05$. The perpetrators were more likely to be apprehended within three months if the victim was a stranger.

Table 7.17 Prosecution Factors by Victim Stranger vs. Not a Stranger

	Victim Relationship	
	Stranger	Not a Stranger
Confessed when asked about crime	30 (66.67 %)	29 (52.73 %)
Denied up until and including the trial	8 (17.78 %)	11 (20.00 %)
Confessed when alibi did not stand up	5 (11.11 %)	11 (20.00 %)
Charged for non sexual offence alongside killing**	12 (26.67 %)	3 (5.45 %)
Changed stance on guilt prior to conviction	6 (13.33 %)	9 (16.36 %)
Convicted for a sex offence alongside killing **	11 (24.44 %)	3 (5.45 %)

** denotes significant at $p < .01$

As shown in Table 7.17, the distribution of factors present based on whether the victim was a stranger versus not a stranger by prosecution factors is similar. There was a significant association between whether the victim was a stranger and charged for non sexual offence alongside killing $\chi^2(1, N = 15) = 8.73, p < .01$. The perpetrator was more likely to be charged for a non sexual offence alongside the killing if the victim was a stranger. There was a significant association between whether the victim was a stranger and convicted for a sex offence alongside the killing $\chi^2(1, N = 14) = 7.41, p < .01$. The perpetrator was more likely to be convicted of a sex offence alongside the killing if the victim was a stranger.

Table 7.18 Sexual Aspects-Forensic Evidence by Victim Stranger vs. Not a Stranger

Forensic Evidence	Victim Relationship	
	Stranger	Not a Stranger
Evidence of vaginal sex	22 (48.89 %)	24 (43.64 %)
Evidence of anal sex	7 (15.56 %)	11 (20.00 %)
Semen found in vagina	13 (28.89 %)	15 (27.27 %)
Semen found near victim	6 (13.33 %)	5 (9.09 %)
Semen found on victim	6 (13.33 %)	5 (9.09 %)
Semen found in anus	4 (8.89 %)	6 (10.91 %)

As shown in Table 7.18, the distribution of factors present based on whether the victim of the offender was a stranger versus not a stranger by sexual aspects-forensic evidence is similar and no significant associations were found.

Table 7.19 Sexual Aspects-Perpetrator Disclosure by Victim Stranger vs. Not a Stranger

Sexual Aspects-Perpetrator Disclosure	Victim relationship	
	Stranger	Not a stranger
Disclosed attacked with sexual intention *	18 (40 %)	11 (20 %)
Disclosed killed due to anger/loss of temper*	7 (15.56 %)	20 (36.36 %)
Disclosed since conviction they had sexually assaulted prior to killing	8 (17.78 %)	11 (20.00 %)
Disclosed forced vaginal sex	10 (22.22 %)	13 (23.64 %)
Disclosed since conviction forced vaginal sex	9 (20.00 %)	8 (14.55 %)
Disclosed prior to conviction had sexually assaulted victim after killing	7 (15.56 %)	12 (21.82 %)
Disclosed prior to conviction had sexually assaulted victim prior to killing	9 (20.00 %)	9 (16.36 %)
Disclosed since conviction they sexually assaulted victim prior to killing them	8 (17.78 %)	11 (20.00 %)
Disclosed since conviction they sexually assaulted victim after killing	2 (4.44 %)	4 (7.27 %)
Intended to sexually assault victim	4 (8.89 %)	3 (5.45 %)

* denotes significant at $p < .05$

As shown in Table 7.19, the distribution of factors present based on whether the victim was a stranger versus not a stranger by sexual aspects-perpetrator disclosure is similar. There was a significant association between whether or not the victim was a stranger and the perpetrator disclosed that he attacked the victim with a sexual intention $\chi^2(1, N = 29) = 5.52, p < .05$. The perpetrator was more likely to disclose that they attacked the victim with a sexual intention if the victim was a stranger. There was a significant association between whether or not the victim was a stranger and disclosed that they killed due to anger/loss of temper $\chi^2(1, N = 27) = 5.34, p < .05$. The perpetrator was less likely to disclose that they killed the victim due to anger/loss of temper if the victim was a stranger.

Table 7.20 Sexual Aspects-Opinion by Victim Stranger vs. Not a Stranger

Sexual Aspects -Opinion	Victim Relationship	
	Stranger	Not a stranger
Judge mentioned sexual element or motive	32 (71.11 %)	39 (69.09 %)
Pathologist believed sexual assault possible or likely	20 (44.44 %)	20 (36.36 %)
Police mentioned sexual element or motive	21 (46.67 %)	28 (50.91 %)
Judge believed perpetrator killed during or in order to carry out sexual assault	18 (40.00 %)	14 (25.45 %)
Police believed he killed during or in order to carry out sexual assault	13 (28.89 %)	15 (27.27 %)
Police suspected forced vaginal sex	10 (22.22 %)	14 (25.45 %)
Judge believed he killed victim to conceal rape	5 (11.11 %)	4 (7.27 %)
Police believed he killed victim to conceal rape	3 (6.67 %)	5 (9.09 %)
Signs of sexual intention to stab wounds	1 (2.22 %)	7 (12.73 %)
Sexual intention to cutting/incision wounds and throat cut	1 (2.22 %)	5 (9.09 %)

As shown in Table 7.20, the distribution of factors present based on whether the victim of the offender was a stranger versus not a stranger by sexual aspects-opinion is similar and no significant associations were found.

Table 7.21 Overall Significant Differences

Significant factors	Victim relationship	
	Stranger	Not a Stranger
Has older sister	13 (28.89 %)	28 (50.91 %)
Father left home when perpetrator was aged 5 to 12 years	3 (6.67 %)	11 (20.00 %)
Pre conviction against a stranger for a sex offence	19 (42.22 %)	10 (18.18 %)
Non-contact sex offence	8 (17.78 %)	2 (3.64 %)
Victim lived in close proximity	7 (15.56 %)	20 (36.36 %)
Attacked victim in the street	16 (35.56 %)	7 (12.73 %)
Broke into victim's home	12 (26.67 %)	4 (7.27 %)
Has had psychiatric intervention prior to killing	13 (28.89 %)	6 (10.91 %)
Evidence of paraphilia	13 (28.89 %)	6 (10.91 %)
Apprehended within three months	16 (35.56 %)	10 (18.18 %)
Charged for non sexual offence alongside killing	12 (26.67 %)	3 (5.45 %)
Convicted for sex offence alongside killing	11 (25.00 %)	3 (5.45 %)
Disclosed he attacked with sexual intention	18 (40.00 %)	11 (20.00 %)
Disclosed killed due to anger/loss of temper	7 (15.56 %)	20 (36.36 %)

Table 7.21 provides a summary of the items where there was a significant association between characteristics in Tables 7.1-7.20 and whether or not the victim was a stranger.

Summary

The analysis of items from the SKT that were present for at least 15% of the total number of cases, or where there was a particular interest according to whether or not the victim was a stranger, showed many more similarities than differences. Where there was a significant association between items and whether the victim was a stranger, they were mainly concerned with criminal history, offence characteristics and apprehension.

If the victim was a stranger, then the perpetrator was less likely to have an older sister and it was less likely that their father left home when they were aged 5 to 12 years. In addition, if the victim was a stranger, then the perpetrator was more likely to have a previous conviction against a stranger (for a sexual offence) and to have a non-contact sex offence conviction. In terms of victim access, if the victim was a stranger then the perpetrator was less likely to have lived in close proximity to the perpetrator and was more likely to have attacked the victim in the street and to have broken into the victim's home. It was more likely that the perpetrator had psychiatric intervention prior to the killing, and for evidence of paraphilia to be coded in their file, if the victim was a stranger. If the victim was a stranger the perpetrator was more likely to be charged for a non sexual offence alongside the killing and to have been convicted for a sex offence alongside the killing. In terms of the reason for the offence, the perpetrator was more likely to have disclosed that they attacked the victim with a sexual intention and less likely to have disclosed that they killed due to anger/loss of temper if the victim was a stranger. Consideration of these findings will be given following reporting of binary logistic regression.

Binary Logistic Regression

The next section of this chapter reports statistical analysis using logistic regression to determine whether the items for which there was a significant association with whether or not the victim was a stranger can predict group membership that the victim was a stranger. A logistic regression was therefore carried out to examine the effect of the items described in Table 7. 21 on whether the victim was a stranger (Yes, No). These variables were entered into the model although the variables non contact sexual offence and convicted for a sexual offence alongside killing were not entered into the model because there were less than 15 cases present for these variables. Table 7.22 shows how these variables contribute to whether or not the victim was a stranger.

Table 7.22 How Predictor Variables Contribute to Whether or not Victim was a Stranger

Predictor	B	S.E.	Wald	Exp(B)	95.0% C.I. for EXP(B)	
					Lower	Upper
Has older sister			6.603			
Has older sister(1)	-0.87	0.84	1.07	0.42	0.08	2.18
Has older sister(2)	-2.10	0.89	5.59*	0.12	0.02	0.70
Victim lived in close proximity			7.39			
Victim lived in close proximity(1)	0.15	0.66	0.05	1.16	0.32	4.25
Victim lived in close proximity(2)	-1.72	0.75	5.2*	0.18	0.04	0.78
Attacked victim in the street	2.15	0.68	9.88*	8.57	2.25	32.70
Broke into victim's home	2.55	0.79	10.38*	12.78	2.71	60.20
Psychiatric intervention prior to killing	1.51	0.73	4.33*	4.54	1.09	18.83
Charged for non sexual offence alongside killing	1.94	0.86	5.06*	6.98	1.28	37.93
Constant	-0.07	0.81	0.01	0.94		

The numbers in parenthesis refer to the labelling of dummy variables when these have been created.

* denotes significant at $p < .05$

The variables produced a satisfactory model fit (i.e. discrimination between the outcome groups) as measured by the Hosmer and Lemeshow Test: $\chi^2 (8, N = 100) = 9.25, p > .05$. This model was significantly better than a constant-only model containing only the intercept, but no predictor variables: $\chi^2 (8, N = 100) = 45.72, p < .01$. The Nagelkerke R square at step 9 was 0.49, indicating that 49.0% of variables that account for the fact that the victim was a stranger were explained by this model. Correct classification of cases overall in the final step was 75.0%, although it was better for those perpetrators who did not kill a stranger (83.6%) as compared to those who did kill a stranger (64.4%).

Table 7.22 shows how the predictor variables contributed to the model, along with the Wald and Exp (B) statistics for the variables. These statistics show that the overall model was significant and, has older sister, victim lived in close proximity, attacked victim in the street, broke into victim's home, psychiatric intervention and charged for non sexual offence alongside the killing, were significant predictors of whether the victim was a stranger. As described in the method section in Chapter Six, Tabachnick and Fidell (2007) state, "The odds ratio is the change in odds of being in one of the categories of outcome when the value of a predictor increases by one unit" (p.461). Field (2000) suggests that the $\exp \beta$ value can be interpreted as "the change in odds" (p.184) and in terms of interpreting this figure, "If the value is greater than 1 then it indicates that as the predictor increases, the odds of the outcome occurring increase. Conversely, a value less than 1 indicates that as the predictor increases, the odds of the outcome occurring decrease" (p.184).

From Table 7.22, it can be seen that a perpetrator who had older sister(s) was less likely to have a victim who was a stranger than a perpetrator who did not have an older sister or there was missing data for this item (Odds Ratio = 0.12). So, if a perpetrator did not have an older sister, they were 0.12 times more likely to have a victim who was a stranger, i.e. the odds decrease by

88.0%. If the victim lived in close proximity, it was less likely that they would be a stranger than if the victim did live in close proximity or there was missing data for this item (Odds Ratio = 0.18). So, if the victim lived in close proximity, it 0.18 times more likely that the victim was a stranger, i.e. the odds decrease by 82.0%. If the perpetrator attacked the victim in the street it was 8.57 times more likely that the victim was a stranger (Odds Ratio = 8.57). So, if the perpetrator attacked the victim in the street, it was 8.57 times more likely that the victim was a stranger, i.e. the odds increase by 757.0%. If the perpetrator broke into the victim's home, it was more likely that the victim was a stranger than if the perpetrator did not break into the victim's home (Odds Ratio = 12.78). So, if the perpetrator broke into the victim's home, it was 12.78 times more likely that the victim was a stranger, i.e. the odds increase by 1178.0%. If the perpetrator had psychiatric intervention they were more likely to have a victim who was a stranger than a perpetrator who did not have psychiatric intervention (Odds Ratio = 4.54) So, if the perpetrator broke into the victim's home, they were 4.54 times more likely to have a victim who was a stranger, i.e. the odds increase by 354.0%. If the perpetrator was charged with a non sexual offence alongside the killing they were more likely to have a victim who was a stranger than a perpetrator who was not charged with a non sexual offence alongside the killing (Odds Ratio = 6.98). So, if a perpetrator was charged with a non sexual offence alongside the killing they were 6.98 times more likely to have a victim who was a stranger, i.e. odds increase by 598.0%.

Discussion

Consideration was given to whether or not the victim was a stranger because there is indication from the literature that this is a characteristic of sexual killers. Seeing if it was possible to determine characteristics of sexual killers who victimise strangers was selected to try and understand more about sexual killers and has therefore been adopted as a way of organising and examining the data collected in this study. This study has not found that the majority of victims were strangers and, in fact, there was more likely to be evidence the victim knew the perpetrator in the majority of cases ($n = 55$).

Despite this finding, there were a number of items drawn from the SKT that were significantly associated with the victim being a stranger. Two of these were related to childhood factors; that the perpetrator was less likely to have an older sister and to have a father who left home when the perpetrator himself was aged 5 to 12 years. In terms of developmental factors, perpetrators who had a victim who was a stranger were more likely to have had psychiatric intervention prior to the killing and to show evidence of paraphilia. There were also a number of factors relating to criminal history and the sexual killing crime itself in terms of victim access, conviction for and motivation for the sexual killing. Perpetrators who had a victim who was a stranger were more likely to have a previous conviction against a stranger for a sex offence and have a non-contact sex offence in their criminal history. In terms of victim access, those who victimised strangers were more likely to attack their victim in the street or break into the victim's home. They were also more likely to be apprehended within 3 months of the offence, be charged for a non sexual

offence alongside the killing and convicted for a sex offence alongside the killing. In terms of motivation, those sexual killers who killed a stranger were more likely to disclose that they killed with a sexual intention and less likely to disclose that they killed due to anger/loss of temper.

Disruption in the relationship between sexual killers and their fathers has been previously reported (Langevin et al. 1988). From the studies reported in Chapter One, the majority of victims in studies of sexual killers were in fact strangers. The sexual killers in Langevin et al.'s sample predominantly committed their crimes against strangers (69 % of the 13 sexual killers targeted strangers and 15% targeted an acquaintance, the remainder knew their victims). If poor relationship with father is relevant to developmental factors of children who go on to commit sexual killing, then arguably, their father would need to be present in the family home for a poor relationship to exist and have an influence on their development. In support of the current findings, Grubin (1994) found that the fathers of sexual killers were more likely to be present up until age 10 years for sexual killers than for a comparison group of rapists who had not killed.

The sexual killers in this current study were more likely to have a previous conviction for a non-contact sex offence, which is consistent with the reports of sexual pre convictions in other studies where the majority of victims were strangers (Briken et al., 2006; Grubin, 1994; Langevin et al. 1988). Although sexual killers with a previous convictions of rape have been reported at a greater rate than comparison groups of rapists (Grubin; Oliver et al., 2007), or a previous conviction for rape has been present in a large proportion of sexual killers (Briken et al. 2006) the results of the study reported in this chapter differ in that they have found that sexual killers of strangers are more likely to have previous convictions for a non-contact sex offence than sexual killers who do not have a victim who is not a stranger.

The observation that perpetrators against strangers were more likely to have evidence in their files of having had previous psychiatric intervention is consistent with previous findings reported in the literature. The large majority of sexual killers (although not significantly more than the comparison group of rapists) in Oliver et al.'s study (2007) had a history of psychiatric contact prior to the killing as opposed to just under one-half of the rapists. Grubin (1994) reported just under one-half of his sample of sexual killers (44%) had previous psychiatric contact. Beech et al. (2005) reported that 39.29% of their sexual killers received psychiatric treatment of some kind prior to the offence (just under half had victimised strangers) while Langevin et al. (1988) found that 50% of their sexual killers had a psychiatric history. The current study has found psychiatric intervention as significantly associated with the victim being a stranger, suggesting the possibility of psychiatric issues having some relationship with targeting a victim who was a stranger.

The discovery in this current study that sexual killers who had a victim who was a stranger were more likely to show evidence of paraphilia can be viewed as part of a cluster of findings indicating deviant sexual interest as a possible driving characteristic for the killing. The other factors within this cluster are the previous convictions for sexual offence against a stranger and disclosure that the victim was attacked with a sexual intention. It is also of note that the majority

of sexual killers who victimised strangers had a previous conviction for a burglary. Schlesinger, (2001) suggested that sexual burglaries are one of ten signs of the potential sex killer. Further exploration of previous convictions for burglaries in the criminal histories of those killers who perpetrate their crimes against strangers could usefully be undertaken to establish if they are “Compelling and without logic...”(Schlesinger & Revitch, 1999). The association of paraphilia with sexual killers who have victims who are strangers was found in this current despite the reported difficulty in establishing the presence of paraphilia when sexual killers either fail to accept responsibility for or are in denial of their offence (Folino, 2000). Paraphilic behaviour in the histories of sexual killers has been reported previously (e.g., Langevin et al., 1988). While Grubin (1994) was unable to differentiate sexual killers from rapists on indicators of fantasy such as pornography use and paraphilic behaviour, it was still present for a large proportion of the sexual killers (the majority of whom had killed a victim who was a stranger) and this was despite unwillingness for all men to make known their sexual fantasies. Briken et al. (2005) found sadism to be the most common paraphilia in their sample of sexual killers.

Interviews with sexual killers who have victimised strangers could be used to explore whether method of death and excessive injuries were important in the pursuit of sexual gratification, given that strangulation and excessive injuries were found to be present in the majority cases in this study.

There is an absence of information in the descriptive studies available considering whether or not sexual killers who perpetrate their crimes against strangers break into the victim’s home or attack them in the street at a greater rate than perpetrators who break into their victim’s home and know the victim. One notable exception is Grubin (1994) who reported that victims were procured either by breaking into their home or stalking them in the street at similar rates to the current study.

It has been suggested that sexual killers target strangers to help prevent detection because they will not be linked to the victim. Within this study, those perpetrators who killed strangers were more likely to break into the victim’s home and it was less likely that the victim lived in close proximity than if the perpetrators knew the victim. Findings of this study need to be explored further. Interviewing to consider if sexual killers who victimise strangers are more likely to be apprehended within three months rather than a shorter period of time because they have less of a connection with the victim due to not knowing them? Interview with sexual killers could identify any efforts they made to avoid apprehension and whether breaking into the victim’s home, attacking the victim in the street and targeting a victim who did not live in close proximity to the themselves was part of an effort to avoid a link with the victim e.g. seen with them in a bar or talking in the street, and therefore evade detection. One hypothesis that sexual killers charged with a non sexual offence alongside killing were more likely to target strangers could be related to the fact that they had committed an offence to gain access to the victim e.g. breaking into a home.

This theory could be explored through examining detailed prosecution records, which were not part of this current research data source.

The finding that the majority of victims would appear to know their perpetrator to some extent does not support one of the overall research areas of this study, that sexual killers victimise strangers. It is possible that this finding would have been different if an alternative definition of 'stranger' was employed. While this study has found that there were an almost equal proportion of killers who victimised strangers as those who did not, there is reason to consider those sexual killers who victimise strangers have particular characteristics that can discriminate them from sexual killers who victimise people they know with indication that their crimes are driven by a sexual motivation. Perpetrators who victimise strangers were more likely to have previous convictions against strangers for a sexual offence, paraphilic interests and take measures to avoid detection which would indicate planning and possible premeditation.

Some of the previous factors that have been suggested as being indicative of a sexual killer, such as death by strangulation, could not differentiate strangers from non strangers in this study although other areas to explore relevant to motivation have been identified.

In terms of overall significant associations, there were differences on only two developmental type factors : that the perpetrator was less likely to have an older sister and less likely to have a father who left home when the perpetrator was aged 5 to 12 years of age. There was also indication that those perpetrators who victimised strangers were more likely to have previous convictions for sexual offences against a stranger and non-contact sex offences, and evidence of paraphilia, and more likely to disclose that they killed with a sexual intention than due to anger/loss of temper. These all point to a more compulsive (Schlesinger, 2007) and planned offence with sexual motivation and the possibility of different triggers from those sexual killers who kill a victim who they know, e.g., out of anger. Further research with these perpetrators about the relationship with their father and the effect of not having an older sister, to consider if this influenced the onset, use and nature of fantasy and development of paraphilic behaviour could be a starting point.

All of the factors outlined above could be explored more thoroughly through interviewing perpetrators of sexual killing against strangers as a basis for considering further the developmental factors that could be relevant to these offences and possible triggers.

The strongest predictors identified in the regression analysis that increased the likelihood of the victim being a stranger provide a further basis for considering sexual killers who attack their strangers as a possible sub group of sexual killers, distinguishable from sexual killers who commit their offence against victims that they actually know or are acquainted with. As mentioned above, a number of the variables that were found to be significant predictors of whether the perpetrator targeted a victim who was a stranger, have some basis in the literature as being considered relevant to sexual killers. In addition, the majority of victims targeted were either strangers or an acquaintance in the studies of sexual killers reported.

Although no firm conclusions can be drawn from the finding within this current study because it is exploratory in nature, the predictive power that not having an older sister increases the likelihood of the victim being a stranger suggests that further investigation into relationships with siblings or not having an older sister could be of value in understanding developmental factors linked to sexual killers who victimise strangers. As Myers et al. (1999) noted when referring to the 36 sexual killers studied by Ressler et al. (1986), “When examining the child-rearing patterns described by the murderers, one is most impressed by the high degree of family instability and by the poor quality of attachment among family members” (p.163).

The possibility that perpetrators who offend against strangers were more likely to have had been the subject of psychiatric intervention potentially provides an opportunity for thorough assessment of males referred to these services, if they arrive with previous convictions for sexual offence against a stranger, come from a family with their father present and without an older sister and there is evidence of paraphilia in terms of understanding developmental factors related to sexual killers and providing an opportunity to carry out interventions to prevent sexual offences and sexual killings.

Conclusions

In summary, this study has established that sexual killers who victimise strangers have distinct characteristics and warrants further exploration. The overall significant predictors provide a starting point for this. One approach that could be of value would be to interview sexual killers to explore their attachment with siblings and their father, given the findings of this study. Ressler et al. (1986) reported that nearly their entire sample of sexual killers were the oldest son. Ressler et al. did not offer any causal link to sexual killing for those individuals who were an eldest son other than that it was a “Positive personal attribute”(p.16) for their sample, along with such other factors as being intelligent and in homes where poverty was not a factor. The SKT did not collect data on quality of attachment with siblings. Prentky et al. (1989), in their study of non homicidal rapists and child molesters, identified that the specific aspects of developmental history related to different sexual and non sexual aggression. They found that inconsistency in caregiver and sexual deviation within the family related to the amount of sexual aggression used in subsequent offences. Taking the findings from this current study as a basis to explore relationships with siblings, parents and quality of care is a logical next step.

Further consideration of the circumstances behind psychiatric intervention could also be fruitful in establishing developmental factors relevant to this group of sexual killers. In addition, consideration of why perpetrators who target strangers attack their victims in the street or break into the victim’s home may provide a useful approach to delineating the triggers and motivation for the offence.

The findings in this current study that perpetrators who attacked their victim in the street, and broke into the victim’s home significantly increased the likelihood that the victim was a stranger

are relevant to both characterising this group of sexual killers and apprehension of people who perpetrate crimes against a stranger.

In terms of detection and apprehension, evidence of the attack that leads to the sexual killing taking place in the street as well as evidence of a break in would suggest that it is more likely that the victim is not known to the perpetrator. There is also scope to interview sexual killers who victimise strangers, to establish whether they plan the offence, particularly when breaking into a house, and the reasons for attacking their victims in the home or in the street. The privacy of offending within a home could offer more time to undress the victim and carry out the offence without being disturbed, which could be relevant to the motive, e.g. acting out a fantasy, and breaking into the victim's home which would inform consideration of the motive for this crime if found to be relevant.

CHAPTER EIGHT

FURTHER ANALYSIS OF WHETHER OR NOT PERPETRATOR HAS DISCLOSED OFFENCE RELATED FANTASY ON SEXUAL KILLER TEMPLATE CODINGS

Introduction

This chapter sets out to explore cases where the perpetrator has disclosed offence related fantasies. This exploration concerns the second of four research factors, namely, what are the characteristics of sexual killers who disclose fantasy? Sexual fantasy features in a number of theories of sexual offending (e.g. Marshall & Barbaree, 1986; Marshall & Marshall, 2000). In addition, a number of theories of sexual killing, that include serial sexual killing, consider fantasy as a central driving factor (e.g. Burgess et al., 1986). Blanchard (1995) postulated that ‘lust murders’ could be the culmination of the development and increase in sexual fantasies that result from physical and sexual disturbance from childhood that have not been appropriately resolved. MacCulloch et al. (1983) and Blanchard (1995) considered fantasy as a drive mechanism for sadistic violence, including homicide. Prentky et al. (1989) found a greater prevalence of violent fantasy amongst those perpetrators considered serial killers than those offenders who were convicted of killing once or twice, suggesting a “Possible functional relationship between fantasy and repetitive assaultive behaviour” (p.890). Nicole and Proulx (2007) reported that sexual killers were significantly more likely than sexual assaulters to disclose “Deviant sexual fantasies during childhood and adolescence than did sexual aggressors” (p. 37).

Background to the Present Study

This chapter aims to determine if there are factors from the SKT covering childhood factors, adult characteristics, and crime scene behaviour that differentiate sexual killer who have disclosed offence related fantasy from those who have not. From considering these factors, it is hoped that a greater understanding of sexual killers who have disclosed fantasy can be made.

Analysis

First, this chapter will describe the frequency with which items in the Tables in Chapter Five that can be classified as Yes or No according to whether the perpetrator disclosed deviant or offence related fantasy prior to or following conviction, referred to as ‘fantasy’ from now. Tables have been compiled to illustrate these frequencies (Tables 8.1-8.20). It will then report the logistic regression analyses carried out to determine whether factors that were significantly associated with sexual killers who disclosed fantasy would predict whether the perpetrator did actually disclose fantasy.

Table 8.1 Siblings & Birth Order by Fantasy Disclosed vs. Fantasy Not Disclosed

Siblings & Birth Order	Fantasy disclosed <i>n</i> = 42 (%)	Fantasy not disclosed <i>n</i> = 58 (%)
Has sister (s)	30 (71.43 %)	48 (82.76 %)
Has brother(s)	32 (76.19 %)	42 (72.41 %)
Has younger sister(s)	18 (42.86 %)	23 (39.66 %)
Has older sister(s)	16 (38.10 %)	25 (43.10 %)
Has older brother (s)	17 (40.48 %)	27 (46.55 %)
Has younger brother(s)	21 (50.00 %)	23 (39.66 %)
Middle of siblings	21 (50.00 %)	21 (36.21 %)
Eldest of siblings	13 (30.95 %)	12 (20.69 %)
Youngest of siblings*	5 (11.90 %)	18 (31.03 %)
Has stepbrothers or sisters	8 (19.05 %)	13 (22.41 %)

* denotes significant at $p < .05$

As shown in Table 8.1, the distribution of factors being present based on fantasy disclosed versus fantasy not disclosed by siblings and birth order is similar. There was a significant association between whether fantasy was disclosed and youngest of siblings $\chi^2(1, N = 23) = 5.96$, $p < .05$. The perpetrator was less likely to be the youngest of siblings if fantasy was disclosed. The sample size for fantasy disclosed ($n = 42$) and fantasy not disclosed ($n = 58$) is the same for all Tables from 8.1-8.20. The numbers in parentheses are the percentage of fantasy disclosed and fantasy not disclosed and is reported in all Tables from 8.1-8.19.

Table 8.2 Childhood Home Circumstances by Fantasy Disclosed vs. Fantasy Not Disclosed

Childhood Home Circumstances	Fantasy disclosed	Fantasy not disclosed
Stability of family structure	23 (54.76 %)	38 (65.52 %)
Cared for by parents up to age 12 years	24 (57.14 %)	38 (65.52 %)
Parents separated	15 (35.71 %)	11 (18.97 %)
Absence of father during childhood	12 (28.57 %)	11 (18.97 %)
Was removed from family home prior to age 16 years	17 (40.48 %)	14 (24.14 %)
Siblings in trouble with police	8 (19.05 %)	8 (13.79 %)
Parental instability	14 (35.71 %)	13 (22.41 %)
Cared for by only one parent prior to age 12 years	9 (21.43 %)	11 (18.97 %)
Parents divorced	7 (16.67 %)	7 (12.07 %)
Father left home when perpetrator was aged 5 to 12 years	9 (21.43 %)	5 (8.62 %)
Father described as an alcoholic or heavy drinker	9 (21.43 %)	8 (10.34 %)
Father left home prior to perpetrator being aged 12 years	6 (14.29 %)	9 (15.52 %)
Father in trouble with police	3 (7.14 %)	4 (6.90 %)

As shown in Table 8.2, the distribution of factors present based on fantasy disclosed versus fantasy not disclosed by childhood home circumstances is similar and no significant associations were found.

Table 8.3 Relationship with Parents by Fantasy Disclosed vs. Fantasy Not Disclosed

Relationship with Parents	Fantasy disclosed	Fantasy not disclosed
Negative father image	19 (45.24%)	16 (27.59 %)
Got on with both parents well or ok	9 (21.43 %)	16 (27.59 %)
Mother described as domineering/ over protective	8 (19.05 %)	11 (18.97 %)
Got on with mother not father	8 (19.05 %)	4 (6.90 %)

As shown in Table 8.3, the distribution of factors present based on fantasy disclosed versus fantasy not disclosed by relationship with parents is similar and no significant associations were found.

Table 8.4 Childhood Trauma by Fantasy Disclosed vs. Fantasy Not Disclosed

Childhood Trauma	Fantasy disclosed	Fantasy not disclosed
Witnessed mother/primary carer being physically abused*	13 (30.95 %)	8 (13.79 %)
Witnessing documented prior to and/or recorded at the time of arrest	8 (19.05 %)	7 (12.07 %)
Physically abused prior to age 12	21 (50.00 %)	19 (32.76 %)
Evidence they have suffered a head injury	8 (19.05 %)	13 (22.41 %)
Sexually abused disclosed prior to imprisonment	8 (19.05 %)	6 (10.34 %)
Sexual abuse only came to light following conviction	8 (19.05 %)	9 (15.52 %)
Sexually abused came to light at any point	13 (30.95 %)	18 (31.03 %)
Sexually abused prior to age 12	6 (14.29 %)	4 (6.90 %)
Sexually abused by someone five years older	16 (38.10 %)	12 (20.69 %)

* denotes significant at $p < .05$

As shown in Table 8.4, the distribution of factors present based on fantasy disclosed versus fantasy not disclosed by childhood trauma is similar. There was a significant association between those perpetrators who disclosed fantasy and witnessed mother/primary carer being physically abused $\chi^2(1, N = 21) = 4.32, p < .05$. Those perpetrators who disclosed fantasy were more likely to have witnessed their mother/primary carer being physically abused.

Table 8.5 Childhood Social Relationships by Fantasy Disclosed vs. Fantasy Not Disclosed

Childhood Social Relationships	Fantasy disclosed	Fantasy not disclosed
Loner/few friends**	26 (61.90 %)	15 (25.86 %)
Behavioural examples relating to preferred sex*	13 (30.95 %)	6 (10.34 %)
Problems relating to preferred sex after age 12 years**	14 (33.33 %)	3 (5.17 %)
Problems relating to preferred sex ever during childhood**	14 (33.33 %)	3 (5.17 %)
Bullied prior to age 12 years	7 (16.67 %)	6 (10.34 %)
Bullied prior to age 12 years but only came to light after conviction	6 (14.29 %)	4 (6.90 %)
Bullied prior to age 12 years came to light at any time	10 (23.81 %)	13 (22.41 %)
Evidence bullied regardless when information came to light	13 (30.95 %)	10 (17.24 %)

* denotes significant at $p < .05$

** denotes significant at $p < .01$

Table 8.5, shows there were a number of differences in the distribution of the factors present based on fantasy disclosed versus fantasy not disclosed by childhood social relationships. There was a significant association between whether fantasy was disclosed and considered a loner with few friends $\chi^2(1, N = 41) = 9.58, p < .01$. Those perpetrators who were considered a loner and having few friends were more likely to disclose fantasy. There was a significant association between whether fantasy was disclosed and behavioural examples relating to preferred sex $\chi^2(1, N = 19) = 6.72, p < .05$. Those perpetrators who showed evidence of behavioural examples relating to preferred sex were more likely to disclose fantasy. There was a significant association between whether perpetrators disclosed fantasy and behavioural examples relating to preferred sex after the age of 12 years (two tailed Fisher exact $p < .01$). Those perpetrators who showed evidence of behavioural examples relating to preferred sex after age 12 years were more likely to disclose fantasy. There was a significant association between whether perpetrators disclosed fantasy and behavioural examples relating to preferred sex ever after the age of 12 years (two tailed Fisher exact $p < 0.01$). Those perpetrators who showed evidence ever of behavioural examples relating to preferred sex after age 12 years were more likely to disclose fantasy.

Table 8.6 Childhood Problematic Behaviour by Fantasy Disclosed vs. Fantasy Not Disclosed

Childhood Problematic Behaviour	Fantasy disclosed	Fantasy not disclosed
Anti-social behaviour	25 (59.52 %)	34 (58.62 %)
Truanted from school	18 (42.86 %)	27 (46.55 %)
Truancing was frequent	16 (38.10 %)	17 (29.31 %)
Reports of bed wetting*	14 (33.33 %)	9 (15.52 %)
Ran away from home between age 12 to 16 years*	10 (23.81 %)	5 (8.62%)

* denotes significant at $p < .05$

As shown in Table 8.6, the distribution of factors present based on fantasy disclosed versus fantasy not disclosed by childhood problematic behaviour is similar. There was a significant association between reports of bed wetting and whether perpetrators disclosed fantasy $\chi^2(1, N = 23) = 4.28, p < .05$. Those perpetrators where there were reports of bed wetting were more likely to disclose fantasy. There was a significant association between perpetrator had run away from home between the age of 12 to 16 years and whether fantasy was disclosed $\chi^2(1, N = 15) = 4.41, p < .05$. Those perpetrators that ran away from home between ages 12 to 16 years were more likely to disclose fantasy.

Table 8.7 Education & Lifestyle Characteristics by Fantasy Disclosed vs. Fantasy Not Disclosed

Adult Characteristics	Fantasy disclosed	Fantasy not disclosed
Left school without qualifications	32 (76.19 %)	41 (72.41 %)
Generally been employed	25 (59.52 %)	42 (72.41 %)
Single	30 (71.43 %)	31 (53.45 %)
Has been married	14 (33.33 %)	29 (50.00 %)
Has been married for two years *	9 (21.43 %)	23 (39.66 %)
Has children	14 (33.33 %)	30 (51.72 %)
Has children with different women	2 (4.76 %)	5 (8.62 %)
Attended further education	4 (9.52 %)	8 (13.79 %)
Evidence of having been a drifter and rootless	6 (14.29 %)	5 (8.62 %)

* denotes approaching significant at $p < .05$

As shown in Table 8.7, the distribution of factors present based on fantasy disclosed versus fantasy not disclosed by education and lifestyle is similar. There was a significant association between whether perpetrator disclosed fantasy and has been married for 2 years that was approaching significance $\chi^2(1, N = 32) = 3.72, p = .05$. If the perpetrator had been married for two years they were less likely to disclose fantasy.

Table 8.8 Criminal History by Fantasy Disclosed vs. Fantasy Not Disclosed

Criminal History	Fantasy disclosed	Fantasy not disclosed
Stranger victim sex offence	15 (35.71%)	14 (24.14 %)
More than three pre convictions	23 (54.76 %)	30 (51.72 %)
Burglary prior to index offence	20 (47.62 %)	27 (46.55 %)
Violence against women	11 (26.19 %)	15 (25.86 %)
Non-contact sex offence	4 (9.52 %)	6 (10.34 %)
Convicted of arson	3 (7.14 %)	6 (10.34 %)

As shown in Table 8.8, the distribution of factors present based on fantasy disclosed versus fantasy not disclosed by criminal history is similar and no significant associations were found.

Table 8.9 Living Circumstances and Relationship Status at Time of Offence by Fantasy Disclosed vs. Fantasy Not Disclosed

Living Circumstances & Relationship Status at Time of Offence	Fantasy disclosed	Fantasy not disclosed
Living with parents at time of offence	14 (33.33 %)	18 (31.03 %)
In relationship at time of offence but not married*	5 (11.90 %)	21 (36.21 %)
Living on own at time of offence	10 (23.81 %)	13 (22.41 %)
Married at time of offence and with wife	6 (14.29 %)	14 (24.14 %)
In a relationship at time of offence **	11 (25.58%)	32 (56.14%)
Living with own children at time of offence	5 (11.90 %)	13 (22.41 %)

* denotes significant at $p < .05$

** denotes significant at $p < .01$

As shown in Table 8.9, the distribution of factors present based on fantasy disclosed versus fantasy not disclosed by living circumstances and relationship status at the time of the offence is similar. There was a significant association between in a relationship at the time of the offence but not married and whether fantasy was disclosed $\chi^2(1, N = 26) = 7.48, p < .05$. Perpetrators who were in a relationship but not married at the time of the offence were less likely to disclose fantasy. There was a significant association between in a relationship at the time of the offence and whether fantasy was disclosed $\chi^2(1, N = 43) = 8.35, p < .01$. Perpetrators who were in a relationship at the time of the offence were less likely to disclose fantasy.

Table 8.10 Antecedents to Offence by Fantasy Disclosed vs. Fantasy Not Disclosed

Antecedents to Offence	Fantasy disclosed	Fantasy not disclosed
Had been drinking on day of offence	26 (64.29 %)	38 (65.52 %)
Had been drinking within three hours of offence	24 (57.14 %)	36 (62.07 %)
Evidence they were working at the time of the offence	20 (47.62 %)	30 (51.72 %)
Was unfaithful in marriage or relationship at time of offence	2 (4.76 %)	9 (15.52 %)
Was using non prescribed drugs at time of offence	12 (28.57 %)	9 (15.52 %)
Had taken drugs on day of offence	10 (23.81 %)	8 (13.79 %)
Was using class A drugs around time of offence	7 (16.67 %)	3 (5.17 %)
Was using class B drugs around time of offence	11 (26.19 %)	9 (15.52 %)

As shown in Table 8.10, the distribution of factors present based on fantasy disclosed versus fantasy not disclosed by antecedents to the offences is similar and no significant associations were found.

Table 8.11 Victim Access by Fantasy Disclosed vs. Fantasy Not Disclosed

Victim Access	Fantasy disclosed	Fantasy not disclosed
Victim lived in close proximity	12 (28.57 %)	15 (25.86 %)
Attacked victim in the street	12 (28.57 %)	11 (18.97 %)
Offence took place in other location	7 (16.67 %)	12 (20.69 %)
Met victim socially for the first time	7 (16.67 %)	12 (20.69 %)
Called on victim as a friend	8 (19.05 %)	10 (17.24 %)
Broke into victim's home	8 (19.05 %)	8 (13.79 %)
Met victim socially	5 (11.90 %)	10 (17.24 %)

As shown in Table 8.11, the distribution of factors present based on fantasy disclosed versus fantasy not disclosed by victim access is similar and no significant associations were found.

Table 8.12 Victim Characteristics by Fantasy Disclosed vs. Fantasy Not Disclosed

Victim Characteristics	Fantasy disclosed	Fantasy not disclosed
Victim aged 13-49	30 (71.43 %)	43 (74.14 %)
Victim knew perpetrator	21 (50.00 %)	34 (58.62 %)
Victim knew perpetrator well	15 (35.71 %)	24 (41.38 %)
Victim a stranger	21 (50.00 %)	24 (41.38 %)
Victim was living with parents	9 (21.43 %)	21 (36.21 %)
Victim was married to someone else	6 (14.29 %)	12 (20.69 %)
Victim was widowed	7 (16.67 %)	9 (15.52 %)
Victim was living with husband	5 (11.90 %)	11 (18.97 %)
Perpetrator knew the victim through work or contact through work	4 (9.52 %)	9 (15.52 %)

As shown in Table 8.12, the distribution of factors present based on fantasy disclosed versus fantasy not disclosed by victim characteristics is similar and no significant associations were found.

Table 8.13 How Body was Found by Fantasy Disclosed vs. Fantasy Not Disclosed

How Body was Found	Fantasy disclosed	Fantasy not disclosed
Victim found with lower half of body exposed	21 (50.00 %)	33 (56.90 %)
Underwear removed	14 (33.33 %)	25 (43.10 %)
Body found in a home	22 (52.38 %)	26 (44.83 %)
Upper half of body exposed*	7 (16.67 %)	22 (37.93 %)
Body found somewhere else	17 (40.48 %)	21 (36.21 %)
Outer clothes removed	9 (21.43 %)	15 (25.86 %)
Bra left on but disturbed	4 (9.52 %)	13 (22.41 %)
Ligature was present on body when discovered	12 (28.57 %)	14 (24.14 %)
Ligature was already present at crime scene	15 (35.71 %)	17 (29.31 %)
Completely naked	9 (21.43 %)	12 (20.69 %)
Other location	9 (21.43 %)	12 (20.69 %)
Clothing torn or ripped	8 (19.05 %)	7 (12.07 %)
Underwear torn ripped	6 (14.29 %)	6 (10.34 %)
Underwear around ankles	5 (11.90 %)	6 (10.34 %)
Evidence victim bound	5 (11.90 %)	9 (15.52 %)
Clothing disturbed	11 (26.19 %)	12 (20.69 %)
Clothing found next to body	10 (23.81 %)	15 (25.86 %)

* denotes significant at $p < .05$

As shown in Table 8.13, the distribution of factors present based on fantasy disclosed versus not fantasy by victim characteristics is similar. There was a significant association between body was less likely to be found with the upper half of body exposed and fantasy disclosed $\chi^2(1, N = 29) = 4.94, p < .05$. The body was less likely to be found with the upper half of the body exposed if the perpetrator had disclosed fantasy.

Table 8.14 Method of Death & Injuries by Fantasy Disclosed vs. Fantasy Not Disclosed

Method of Death and Injuries	Fantasy disclosed	Fantasy not disclosed
Evidence of extreme injuries	28 (66.67 %)	35 (60.34 %)
Strangulation involved in the offence	26(59.52 %)	39 (67.24 %)
Other injuries	19 (45.24 %)	24 (41.38 %)
Evidence victim was punched	12 (28.57 %)	24 (41.38 %)
Ligature was used during offence	17 (40.48 %)	19 (32.76 %)
Abrasions	12 (28.57 %)	18 (31.03 %)
Ligature was present on body when discovered	12 (28.57 %)	14 (24.14 %)
Stabbing involved	10 (23.81 %)	7 (12.07 %)
Evidence weapon was used	13 (30.95 %)	15 (25.86 %)
Evidence perpetrator took weapon to crime scene*	13 (30.95 %)	4 (6.90 %)
Perpetrator disclosed punching victim	10 (23.81 %)	17 (29.31 %)
Broken bones	10 (23.81 %)	16 (27.59 %)
Death caused by combination of methods*	6 (14.29 %)	19 (32.76 %)
Evidence victim hit with an object	8 (19.05 %)	17 (29.31 %)
Ligature strangulation	10 (23.81 %)	12 (20.69 %)
Manual strangulation	9 (21.43 %)	11 (18.97 %)
Victim found with multiple stab wounds*	9 (21.43 %)	3 (5.17 %)
Perpetrator disclosed hitting victim with object	6 (14.29 %)	11 (18.97)
Evidence victim was kicked	5 (11.90 %)	10 (17.24)
Evidence of both manual/ligature strangulation	5 (11.90 %)	5 (8.62)

* denotes significant at $p < .05$

Table 8.14 shows there were a number of differences in the distribution of the factors present based on fantasy disclosed versus not disclosed by method of death and injuries. There was a significant association between whether the perpetrator took the weapon to the crime scene and fantasy disclosed (two tailed Fisher exact $p < .01$). The perpetrator was more likely to disclose fantasy if they took a weapon to the crime scene. There was a significant association between death caused by combination of methods and fantasy disclosed $\chi^2(1, N = 25) = 5.17, p < .05$. It was less likely that death was caused by a combination of methods if fantasy was disclosed. There was a significant association between victim found with multiple stab wounds and fantasy disclosed (two tailed Fisher exact $p < .05$).

Table 8.15 Psychiatric Assessment by Fantasy Disclosed vs. Fantasy Not Disclosed

Psychiatric Assessment	Fantasy disclosed	Fantasy not disclosed
Has had psychiatric contact prior to killing	20 (47.62 %)	24 (41.38 %)
Has had psychiatric intervention prior to killing	8 (19.05 %)	11 (18.97 %)
Reports they were a loner/ did not socialise*	23 (54.76 %)	17 (29.31 %)
Evidence alcohol a problem at time of offence	14 (33.33 %)	20 (34.48 %)
Disclosed deviant and/or offence related fantasy since conviction	30 (73.81 %)	0 (0%)
Evidence they were a heavy drinker	7 (16.67 %)	9 (15.52 %)
Evidence of suicide attempt or self harm	13 (30.95 %)	10 (17.24 %)
Considered psychopathic**	15 (35.71 %)	6 (10.34 %)
Difference in opinion whether psychopathic	7 (16.67 %)	4 (6.90 %)
Evidence of paraphilia*	13 (30.95 %)	6 (10.34 %)
Subject to EEG after arrest	18 (42.86 %)	19 (32.76 %)
EEG abnormality recorded	1 (2.38 %)	5 (8.62 %)
Was using non prescribed drugs time of offence	12 (28.57 %)	9 (15.52 %)
Evidence of grievance towards females*	15 (35.71 %)	6 (10.34 %)
Evidence of general grievance*	12 (28.57 %)	7 (12.07 %)
Problems with social integration	13 (30.95 %)	14 (25.86 %)
History of arguments/disagreements with family members	10 (23.81 %)	20 (34.48 %)
Arguments/disagreements ongoing at time of offence	10 (23.81 %)	18 (31.03 %)

* denotes significant at $p < .05$

** denotes significant at $p < .01$

As shown in Table 8.15, there are a number of difference in the distribution of factors present based on fantasy disclosed versus fantasy not disclosed by psychiatric assessment. There was a significant association between reports they were a loner/did not socialise and fantasy disclosed $\chi^2(1, N = 40) = 4.97, p < .05$. The perpetrator was more likely to be a loner who did not socialise if they disclosed fantasy. There was a significant association between considered psychopathic and fantasy disclosed $\chi^2(1, N = 21) = 9.51, p < .01$. The perpetrator was more likely to be considered a psychopathic if they had disclosed fantasy. There was a significant association between evidence of paraphilia and fantasy disclosed $\chi^2(1, N = 19) = 6.72, p < .05$. There was more likely to be evidence of paraphilia if the perpetrator disclosed fantasy. There was a significant association between evidence of grievance towards females and fantasy disclosed $\chi^2(1, N = 21) = 9.90, p < .05$. The perpetrator was more likely to have evidence of grievance towards females if they disclosed fantasy. There was a significant association between evidence of general grievance and fantasy disclosed $\chi^2(1, N = 19) = 4.87, p < .05$. The perpetrator was more likely to have evidence of general grievance if they disclosed fantasy.

Table 8.16 Post Offence Behaviour & Apprehension by Fantasy Disclosed vs. Fantasy Not Disclosed

Post Offence behaviour & Apprehension	Fantasy disclosed	Fantasy not disclosed
Stole property and money from victim	11 (26.19 %)	18 (31.03 %)
Carried on with work and family business*	26 (61.90 %)	47 (81.03 %)
Other post offence reaction	6 (14.29 %)	9 (15.52 %)
Apprehended within hours	9 (21.43 %)	9 (15.52 %)
Apprehended within 24 hours	8 (19.05 %)	14 (24.14 %)
Apprehended within one week	14 (33.33 %)	17 (29.31 %)
Apprehended within three months	8 (19.05 %)	18 (31.03 %)
Apprehended following police investigation not reliant on a tip off	24 (57.14 %)	42 (72.41 %)

* denotes significant at $p < .05$

As shown in Table 8.16, the distribution of factors present based on fantasy disclosed versus not fantasy by post offence behaviour and apprehension is similar. There was a significant association between perpetrator was less likely to have carried on with work and family business and fantasy disclosed $\chi^2(1, N = 73) = 4.60, p < .05$. The perpetrator was less likely to have carried on with work and family business (after the sexual killing) if they disclosed fantasy.

Table 8.17 Prosecution Factors and Fantasy Disclosed vs. Fantasy Not Disclosed

Prosecution Factors	Fantasy disclosed	Fantasy not disclosed
Confessed when asked about crime	29 (69.05 %)	30 (51.57 %)
Denied up until and including the trial	6 (14.29 %)	13 (22.41 %)
Confessed when alibi did not stand up	6 (14.29 %)	10 (17.24 %)
Charged for non sexual offence alongside killing	8 (19.05 %)	7 (12.07 %)
Changed stance on guilt prior to conviction	6 (14.29 %)	9 (15.52 %)

As shown in Table 8.17, the distribution of factors present based on fantasy disclosed versus not fantasy by prosecution factors is similar and no significant associations were found.

Table 8.18 Sexual Aspects-Forensic Evidence by Fantasy Disclosed vs. Fantasy Not Disclosed

Sexual Aspects-Forensic Evidence	Fantasy disclosed	Fantasy not disclosed
Evidence of vaginal sex	21 (50.00 %)	25 (43.10 %)
Evidence of anal sex	8 (19.05 %)	9 (15.52 %)
Semen found in vagina	13 (30.95 %)	15 (25.86 %)
Semen found near victim	4 (9.52 %)	7 (12.07 %)
Semen found on victim	7 (16.67 %)	4 (6.90 %)
Semen found in anus	4 (9.52 %)	6 (10.34 %)

As shown in Table 8.18, the distribution of factors present based on fantasy disclosed versus not fantasy by sexual aspects-forensic evidence is similar and no significant associations were found.

Table 8.19 Sexual Aspects-Disclosure by Fantasy Disclosed vs. Fantasy Not Disclosed

Sexual Aspects-Disclosure	Fantasy disclosed	Fantasy not disclosed
Attacked with sexual intention**	21 (50.0%)	8 (13.79%)
Killed due to anger loss of temper	16 (38.10%)	15 (25.86%)
Disclosed since conviction they had sexually assaulted prior to killing	11 (26.19 %)	7 (12.07 %)
Disclosed forced vaginal sex	10 (23.81 %)	13 (22.41 %)
Disclosed since conviction forced vaginal sex*	11 (26.19 %)	6 (10.34 %)
Disclosed prior to conviction had sexually assaulted victim after killing	9 (21.43 %)	10 (17.24 %)
Disclosed prior to conviction had sexually assaulted victim prior to killing	9 (21.43 %)	10 (17.24 %)
Disclosed since conviction they sexually assaulted victim prior to killing them	11 (26.19 %)	7 (12.07 %)
Disclosed since conviction they sexually assaulted victim after killing	4 (9.52 %)	2 (3.45 %)
Intended to sexually assault victim	5 (11.90 %)	2 (3.45 %)

* denotes significant at $p < .05$

** denotes significant at $p < .01$

As shown in Table 8.19, the distribution of factors present based on fantasy disclosed versus not fantasy by sexual aspects-disclosure is similar. There was a significant association between attacked victim with sexual intention and fantasy disclosed $\chi^2(1, N = 29) = 13.84, p < .01$. The perpetrator was more likely to disclose that they attacked the victim with a sexual intention if they disclosed fantasy. There was a significant association between disclosed since conviction forced vaginal sex and fantasy disclosed $\chi^2(1, N = 17) = 4.34, p < .05$. The perpetrator was more likely to disclose since conviction forced vaginal sex if fantasy was disclosed.

Table 8.20 Sexual Aspects-Opinion by Fantasy Disclosed vs. Fantasy Not Disclosed

Sexual Aspects-Opinion	Fantasy disclosed	Fantasy not disclosed
Judge mentioned sexual element or motive	29 (69.05 %)	41 (70.69 %)
Pathologist believed sexual assault possible or likely	19 (45.24 %)	21 (36.21 %)
Police mention sexual element or motive	19 (45.24 %)	30 (51.72 %)
Judge believed he killed during or in order carry out sexual assault	15 (35.71 %)	17 (29.31 %)
Police believed he killed during or in order carry out sexual assault	12 (28.57 %)	16 (27.59 %)
Police suspected forced vaginal sex	12 (28.57 %)	12 (20.69 %)
Judge believed he killed victim to conceal rape	3 (7.14 %)	6 (10.34 %)
Police believed he killed victim to conceal rape	3 (7.14 %)	5 (8.62 %)
Signs of sexual intention to stab wounds	5 (11.90 %)	3 (5.17 %)
Sexual intention to cutting/incision wounds and throat cut	2 (4.76 %)	4 (10.34 %)

As shown in Table 8.20, the distribution of factors present based on fantasy disclosed versus not fantasy by sexual aspects-opinion is similar and no significant associations were found.

Table 8.21 Overall Significant Factors by Fantasy Disclosed vs. Fantasy Not Disclosed

Significant factors	Fantasy disclosed	Fantasy not disclosed
Youngest of siblings*	5 (11.90 %)	18 (31.03 %)
Witnessed mother/primary carer being physically abused*	13 (30.95 %)	8 (13.79 %)
Loner/Few Friends**	26 (61.90 %)	15 (25.86 %)
Behavioural examples relating to preferred sex*	13 (30.95 %)	6 (10.34 %)
Problems relating to preferred sex after age 12 years**	14 (33.33 %)	3 (5.17 %)
Problems relating to preferred sex ever during childhood**	14 (33.33 %)	3 (5.17 %)
Reports of bed wetting*	14 (33.33 %)	9 (15.52 %)
Ran away from home between age 12 to 16 years*	10 (23.81 %)	5 (8.62%)
Has been married for two years *	9 (21.43 %)	23 (39.66 %)
In relationship at time of offence but not married*	5 (11.90 %)	21 (36.21 %)
In a relationship at time of offence **	11 (25.58%)	32 (56.14%)
Upper half of body exposed*	7 (16.67 %)	22 (37.93 %)
Evidence he took weapon to crime scene*	13 (30.95 %)	4 (6.90 %)
Death caused by combination of methods*	6 (14.29 %)	19 (32.76 %)
Victim found with multiple stab wounds*	9 (21.43 %)	3 (5.17 %)
Reports they were a loner did not socialise*	23 (54.76 %)	17 (29.31 %)
Considered psychopathic*	15 (35.71 %)	6 (10.34 %)
Evidence of paraphilia*	13 (30.95 %)	6 (10.34 %)
Evidence of grievance towards females*	15 (35.71 %)	6 (10.34 %)
Evidence of general grievance*	12 (28.57 %)	7 (12.07 %)
Carried on with work and family business*	26 (61.90 %)	47 (81.03 %)
Attacked with sexual intention**	21 (50.00%)	8 (13.79%)
Disclosed since conviction forced vaginal sex*	11 (26.19 %)	6 (10.34 %)

* denotes significant at $p < .05$ ** denotes significant at $p < .01$

Table 8.21 shows a summary of all factors where there was a significant association between items from Chapter Five and when the perpetrator disclosed fantasy and did not disclose fantasy.

Summary

The analysis of items from the SKT that were present for 15% of the total number of cases, or where there was a particular interest according to whether or not the perpetrator disclosed fantasy, showed a number of differences according to childhood behaviour, offence characteristics, and adult characteristics. If the perpetrator disclosed fantasy then they were more likely to have disturbance in childhood in terms of witnessing mother/primary carer being physically abused, problems relating to their preferred sex, socialising with peers and childhood friendships, and more likely to bed wet and run away from home. In addition, as adults, they were also less likely to socialise or be in a relationship and more likely to have evidence of grievance generally and towards females. There were also differences in crime scene behaviour depending upon whether the perpetrator disclosed fantasy: they were more likely to take the weapon to the crime scene, stab the victim multiple times, and less likely to kill with a combination of methods. The

perpetrator was also more likely to disclose both attacking the victim with a sexual intention and carrying out forced vaginal sex against the victim if they disclosed fantasy.

Binary Logistic Regression

The next section of this chapter reports a statistical analysis that considers whether items where there was a significant association between whether or not the perpetrator disclosed fantasy reported in Table 8.21 above can predict whether the perpetrator disclosed fantasy or did not disclose fantasy.

Binary Logistic Regression

A logistic regression was carried out to examine the effect of the items described in Table 8.21 according to whether the perpetrator disclosed fantasy; these items were therefore entered as variables into the model. The variable victim found with multiple stab wounds was not entered into the model because there were less than 15 cases present for this variable. The variables produced a satisfactory model fit (i.e. discrimination between the outcome groups) as measured by the Hosmer and Lemeshow Test: $\chi^2 (8, N = 100) = 6.04, p > .05$. This model was significantly better than a constant-only model containing only the intercept, but no predictor variables: $\chi^2 (22, N = 100) = 88.47, p < .05$. The Nagelkerke R square at step 9 was 0.75, indicating that 75.0% of variables that account for the fact that fantasy was disclosed were explained by this model. Correct classification of cases overall in the final step was 87.0%, although it was better for those perpetrators who did not disclose deviant or offence related fantasy (91.4%) as compared with those who did disclose fantasy (81.0%).

Table 8.22 Logistic Regression Statistics for Prediction of Perpetrator Disclosed Fantasy to Overall Significant Factors

Predictor	B	S.E.	Wald	Exp(B)	95.0% C.I. for EXP(B)	
					Lower	Upper
Youngest of siblings	4.26	1.47	8.44*	70.83	4.00	1255.29
Problems relating to preferred gender after age 12 years	3.32	1.15	8.36*	27.54	2.91	260.62
Reports of bed wetting	2.53	1.07	5.62*	12.50	1.55	100.95
In a relationship at time offence but not married	3.59	1.17	9.45*	36.29	3.67	358.56
Took weapon to crime scene	4.31	1.39	9.62*	74.12	4.88	1126.89
Killed by combination of methods	2.18	1.10	3.92*	8.89	1.02	77.28
Considered psychopathic	2.72	1.16	5.48*	15.15	1.56	147.44
Evidence of paraphilia	-2.13	1.25	2.88	0.12	0.01	1.39
Carried on with work or family business after offence	2.66	1.04	6.54*	14.31	1.86	110.01
Disclosed forced vaginal sex since imprisonment	-1.77	0.99	3.20	0.17	0.03	1.19
Attacked victim with sexual intention			10.65*			
Attacked victim with sexual intention	-1.29	1.23	1.09	0.28	0.03	3.10
Attacked victim with sexual intention	2.18	1.42	2.35	8.81	0.55	141.96
Constant	-7.59	2.75	7.60	0.00		

The numbers in brackets refer to the labelling of dummy variables when these have been created.

* significant at $p < .05$

Table 8.22 shows how the predictor variables contributed to the model, along with the Wald and Exp (B) statistics for these variables. These statistics show that the overall model was significant, and variables of youngest of siblings, problems relating to preferred sex, bed wetting, in a relationship at time of offence but not married, took weapon to the crime scene, killed by combination of methods, considered psychopathic, carried on with work or family business following killing, and attacked victim with sexual intention were significant predictors of whether the perpetrator disclosed offence related fantasy. A perpetrator who was not the youngest of siblings was more likely to disclose fantasy than a perpetrator who was youngest of siblings (Odds Ratio = 70.83). So, if a perpetrator was not the youngest of siblings, they were 70.83 times more likely to disclose fantasy, i.e. the odds increase by 6983.0%. A perpetrator who had problems relating to preferred gender after age 12 years was more likely to disclose fantasy than a

perpetrator who had not had problems relating to preferred gender after age 12 (Odds Ratio = 27.54). So, if the perpetrator did have problems relating to preferred gender after age 12 years, it is 27.54 times more likely that the perpetrator disclosed fantasy, i.e. the odds increase by 2654.0%. A perpetrator who had a history of bed wetting during childhood was more likely to disclose fantasy than a perpetrator who did not have a history of bed wetting during childhood (Odds Ratio = 12.50). So if a perpetrator had a history of bed wetting during childhood, they were 12.50 times more likely to disclose fantasy than a perpetrator who did not have a history of bed wetting during childhood, i.e. the odds increase by 1150.0%. A perpetrator who was not in a relationship at time of offence was more likely to disclose fantasy than a perpetrator who was in a relationship (Odds Ratio = 36.29). So, if a perpetrator was not in a relationship at time of offence, they were 36.29 times more likely to disclose fantasy, i.e. the odds increase by 3529.0%. A perpetrator who took weapon to the crime scene was more likely to disclose fantasy than a perpetrator who did not take weapon to the crime scene (Odds Ratio = 74.12). So, if the perpetrator took weapon to the crime scene, they were 74.12 times more likely to disclose fantasy, i.e. the odds increase by 7312.0%. A perpetrator who was considered psychopathic was more likely to disclose fantasy than a perpetrator who was not considered psychopathic (Odds Ratio = 15.15). So, if a perpetrator was considered psychopathic they were 15.15 times more likely to disclose fantasy, i.e. the odds increase by 1415.0%. A perpetrator who carried on with work or family business was more likely to disclose fantasy than a perpetrator who did not carry on with work or family business (Odds Ratio = 14.31). So, if a perpetrator did not carry on with work or family business, they were 14.31 times more likely to disclose fantasy, i.e. the odds increase by 1331.0%. Finally, although attacked victim with sexual intention was significant, neither of the parameter codings were significant so impact of the significance of the variable on whether the perpetrator disclosed fantasy cannot be reported.

Discussion

The analysis of how the items divided when considering whether or not the perpetrator disclosed fantasy showed that perpetrators who did disclose fantasy were more likely to have experienced problems with parental and childhood social relationships. The perpetrators who disclosed fantasy were also more likely to be considered a loner with few friends and to have problems relating to their preferred sex during childhood, and to have displayed behavioural problems towards their preferred sex. As discussed in Chapter One, Grubin (1994) found that sexual killers were significantly more likely not to be considered part of a peer group than the comparison group of rapists. Nicole and Proulx (2007) reported that sexual killers were significantly more likely to report social isolation during adolescence than sexual assaulters. Briken et al. (2006) found a majority of the 161 sexual killers in their sample experienced isolation as a child. Milsom et al. (2003) found that sexual killers disclosed significantly more peer group loneliness during adolescence/teenage years than their comparison group of rapists. There was an indication of traumatising events for the perpetrators in the current study who

disclosed fantasy in that they were more likely to have witnessed mother/primary carer being physically abused and they were more likely to have a history of bed wetting and to have run away from home aged 12 to 16 years. Nicole and Proulx (2007) found exposure to abusive levels of alcohol consumption, psychological violence, and the witnessing of physical violence in the majority of sexual killers and also in their comparison group of sexual assaulters. In addition, they found that approximately one-half of both groups disclosed that they witnessed physical violence.

Childhood trauma, such as experiencing sexual abuse and the combination of poor parental attachment, ineffective parenting and poor parental role models has been put forward as relevant to the development of sexual killers (Burgess et al., 1989). Langevin et al. (1988) found that a group of sexual murderers were more likely to have run away from home during childhood and to have enuresis beyond age of 5 years than comparison groups of non sexual murderers and sexual aggressors against women.

There is very little information in the available literature on birth order and sexual killers. Ressler et al. (1986) found that almost all their sample of sexual killers were the oldest son. The finding from the current study that perpetrators who disclosed fantasy were less likely to be the youngest of siblings than perpetrators who did not disclose fantasy is consistent with Ressler et al.'s finding, it raises the need to consider whether the effect of having older siblings, such as being bullied, contributed to the development of fantasy as a coping mechanism. Sexual killers' interaction with older siblings, particularly those who have disclosed fantasy, could usefully be explored through interviewing sexual killers.

From the current study, there is an indication that childhood difficulties extended into adulthood. The perpetrators who disclosed fantasy were more likely to not be in a relationship at the time of the offence and less likely to have been married for 2 years than those perpetrators who did not disclose fantasy. As described in Chapter One, there is a link between lack of a relationship and fantasy for sexual killers. MacCulloch et al. (1983) reported that fantasy became the only outlet for sexual arousal in the majority of their sample of special hospital patients (including sexual killers) who had a dearth of social experience including sexual contact. In addition, Oliver et al. (2007) found that sexual killers were less likely than rapists to be involved in a relationship at the time of the offence although they did not report on whether these perpetrators disclosed fantasy. Grubin (1994) reported that sexual killers were significantly less likely to have a sex partner in the year of their offence and had fewer sexual relationships than rapists. Milsom et al. (2003) found the opposite to be true, with sexual killers more likely than rapists to be in a relationship at the time of the offences. Beech et al. (2005) reported that almost 33% ($n = 33$) of their sample of sexual killers were in a relationship, a further 14% were in a casual relationship, and the relationship had ended at the time of the offence for a further 14% indicating that the majority of perpetrators were not in a relationship. Briken et al. (2005) found that the majority of sexual killers were single and a further group were divorced or living apart at

the time of the killing. The majority of Langevin et al.'s (1988) sexual killers were single, although this was also true for the sexual assaulters.

While there is conflicting information, for the majority of the studies, including the largest published study of these perpetrators, there is indication that sexual killers are less likely to be in a relationship at the time of the offence. The finding in this study of a significant association between a number of items related to perpetrators not being in a relationship and having disclosed fantasy is consistent with the conclusion from Chapter One. This study also provides indicators of problematic behaviour in childhood that could contribute to the development of a propensity to develop fantasy that contributes to the commission of sexual killing.

As described in Chapter One, social isolation has been considered a characteristic that can distinguish sexual killers from perpetrators of aggression against women who do not kill (e.g. Brittain 1970; Ressler et al. 1988). From consideration of factors that are associated with disclosure of fantasy, there is indication of enduring deviant or offence related sexual interests and a sexual motivation to the killing. Perpetrators who had disclosed fantasy were more likely to take the weapon to the crime scene and less likely to have caused death using a combination of methods. They were also more likely to have evidence of paraphilia in their record as well as evidence of grievance towards females and to disclose that they attacked the victim with a sexual intention. They were more likely to take a weapon to the crime scene which could indicate that the offence was premeditated and/or that there was some kind of sexual meaning to the offence. Brittain suggested that the sadistic murderer has an interest in knives and weaponry that fuel and contribute to sadistic sexual interests. The possible sexual significance of a weapon and whether it was chosen and taken especially to the crime scene needs to be explored through interviews with perpetrators of sexual killings.

The findings reported from this current study show a cluster of items that suggest an upbringing and childhood experience that could promote or foster reversion to deviant fantasy, as well as factors that could be a symptom of reliance on such fantasies. Psychopathic offenders have been considered to be solitary and over represented amongst sexual killers per se (Porter et al. 2005) consistent with this research.

The findings from the study reported in this chapter suggest that there could be value in studying the significance of crime scene behaviours as well as the presence of grievance (Beech et al. 2005) to understand sexual killings that are driven by fantasy.

In terms of the offence, the victim was less likely to be found with the upper half of her body exposed if the perpetrator had disclosed fantasy than if they had not disclosed fantasy. Death was less likely to have been caused by a combination of methods although the victim was more likely to have been found with multiple stab wounds if the perpetrator disclosed fantasy. Unpacking the possibility of the sexual significance of repeated stabbing or using a solitary method, e.g. strangulation, could also be explored through interviewing sexual killers.

While replication of these findings is necessary, they suggest that it may be possible to use crime scene behaviour to indicate that the perpetrator had deviant fantasy, was more likely to be a loner and was not in a relationship at the time of the offence.

The variables from the binary logistic regression that were shown significantly to increase the likelihood of the perpetrator disclosing fantasy resulted in three predictors that relate to childhood, namely that these perpetrators were not the youngest of siblings, had a history of bed wetting, and had problems relating to preferred gender. These predictors could all act as signals to those carrying out assessments to suggest that a perpetrator who is not disclosing offence related fantasy is possibly not being completely open. In addition, those perpetrators who were not in a relationship at the time of the offence, did not kill by a combination of methods, and did not take a weapon to the crime scene all displayed offence characteristics that could signal that fantasy is relevant to understanding the motivation for the offence.

As noted in the introduction, sexual killers, like many sexual offenders, are not always open and honest about their sexual fantasies (Grubin 1994), yet we know that deviant sexual interests are relevant to both risk of future offending (Hanson 2000) and as a factor in models of sexual killers (e.g. Burgess et al., 1986) and sexual offenders in general (e.g. Marshall and Barbaree, 1990). Although further research is required, these findings make steps towards potentially identifying a cluster of indicators for determining that deviant fantasy could be relevant to the individual concerned. In addition, the indicators identified in this current study for those sexual killers who have disclosed fantasy suggest that sexual killers who disclose fantasy are a separate group of sexual killers from perpetrators who kill for other reasons. The factors identified that suggest sexual killers who disclose fantasy are a separate group can be used as a basis for future research. For example, using the factors identified in this study to consider the development of these perpetrators and identifying sexual killers where deviant fantasies were likely to have contributed to the killing.

CHAPTER NINE

FURTHER ANALYSIS OF WHETHER OR NOT PERPETRATOR WAS CONSIDERED A LONER

Introduction

This chapter sets out to explore cases where the perpetrator was considered a loner. This exploration concerns the third of four factors, that is, what are the characteristics of sexual killers who were considered a loner at the time of their conviction? There is some indication that sexual killers have problems socialising and that they experience high rates of loneliness. Rupp (1980) theorised that sexual killers lack stability and are likely to be emotionally unstable in all areas of life pursuits and present as 'drifters'. Using the Rorschach, Meloy (1994) reported high levels of unusual bonding and difficulty with attachment, and noted that this was consistent with problems in attachment during childhood reported by Ressler et al. (1988). Grubin (1994) identified both social and emotional isolation across the lifespan as distinct features of a sexual murder group in comparison with a group of adult rapists. Milsom et al. (2003) reported that sexual killers had significantly higher levels of loneliness during adolescence amongst their peer groups when compared with a group of adult rapists. MacCulloch et al. (1983) found evidence amongst a group of sadistic offenders, which included sexual killers, having difficulties 'relating' to their favoured sex from early childhood.

Background to the Present Study

This chapter aims to determine if there are factors from the SKT covering childhood factors, adult characteristics, and crime scene behaviour that differentiate sexual killer who have been coded as a loner from those who have not. From considering these factors, it is hoped that a greater understanding of sexual killers who were coded as a loner will be achieved and how being a loner contributes to development and motivation for the killing.

Analysis

First, this chapter will describe the frequency with which items in the Tables in Chapter Five that can be classified (Yes or No) according to whether the perpetrator was coded as a loner. Tables have been compiled to illustrate these frequencies (Tables 9.1-9.20). It will then report the logistic regression analyses carried out to determine whether factors that were significantly associated with sexual killers who were coded a loner would predict whether the perpetrator was actually coded as a loner.

Table 9.1 Siblings & Birth Order by Loner vs. Not a Loner

Siblings & Birth Order	View of perpetrator	
	Considered a loner	Not considered a loner
Has sisters	32 (80.00 %)	36 (72.00 %)
Has brother(s)	31 (77.50 %)	37 (74.00 %)
Has younger sister(s)	16 (40.00 %)	20 (40.00 %)
Has older sister(s)	21 (52.50 %)	17 (34.00 %)
Has older brother (s)	16 (40.00 %)	27 (54.00 %)
Has younger brother(s)	19 (47.50 %)	21 (42.00 %)
Middle of siblings	16 (40.00 %)	22 (44.00 %)
Eldest of siblings	10 (25.00 %)	13 (26.00 %)
Youngest of siblings	11 (27.50 %)	11 (22.00 %)
Has step brothers or sisters	6 (15.00 %)	12 (24.00 %)

As shown in Table 9.1, the distribution of factors present based on loner versus not a loner by siblings and birth order is similar and no significant associations were found.

The sample size for loner ($n = 40$) and not a loner ($n = 50$) is the same in Tables 9.1-9.19; the numbers in parentheses are percentages.

Table 9.2 Childhood Home Circumstances by Loner vs. Not a Loner

Childhood Home Circumstances	View of perpetrator	
	Considered a loner	Not considered a loner
Stability of family structure	26 (65.00 %)	32 (64.00 %)
Cared for by parents up to age 12 years*	30 (75.00 %)	26 (52.00 %)
Parents separated	8 (20.00 %)	14 (28.00 %)
Absence of father during childhood	9 (22.50 %)	11 (22.00 %)
Was removed from family home prior to age 16 years	11 (27.50 %)	17 (34.00 %)
Siblings in trouble with police	6 (15.00 %)	10 (20.00 %)
Parental instability	11 (27.50 %)	13 (26.00 %)
Cared for by only one parent prior to age 12 years	5 (12.50 %)	12 (24.00 %)
Parents divorced	5 (12.50 %)	6 (12.00 %)
Father left home when perpetrator was aged 5 to 12 years	7 (17.50 %)	6 (12.00 %)
Father described as an alcoholic or heavy drinker	6 (15.00 %)	8 (16.00 %)
Father left home prior to age 12 years	3 (7.50 %)	10 (20.00 %)
Father in trouble with police	2 (5.00 %)	4 (8.00 %)

* denotes significant at $p < .05$

As shown in Table 9.2, the distribution of factors present based on loner versus not a loner by childhood home circumstances is similar. There was a significant association between cared for by parents up to age 12 years and perpetrator a loner $\chi^2(1, N = 56) = 4.54, p < .05$ Perpetrators

were more likely to have been cared for by parents up to the age 12 years if they were considered a loner.

Table 9.3 Relationship with Parents by Loner vs. Not a Loner

Relationship with Parents	View of perpetrator	
	Considered a loner	Not Considered a loner
Negative father image	17 (42.50 %)	16 (32.00 %)
Got on with both parents well or ok	9 (22.50 %)	14 (28.00 %)
Mother described as domineering/over protective	9 (22.50 %)	8 (16.00 %)
Got on with mother not father	5 (12.50 %)	7 (14.00 %)

As shown in Table 9.3, the distribution of factors present based on loner versus not a loner by relationship with parents is similar and no significant associations were found.

Table 9.4 Childhood Trauma by Loner vs. Not a Loner

Childhood Trauma	View of perpetrator	
	Considered a loner	Not considered a loner
Witnessed mother/primary carer being physically abused	10 (25.00 %)	9 (18.00 %)
Witnessing documented prior to and/or recorded at the time of arrest	8 (20.00 %)	5 (10.00 %)
Physically abused prior to age 12	15 (37.50 %)	22 (44.00 %)
Evidence they have suffered a head injury	7 (17.50 %)	14 (28.00 %)
Sexually abused disclosed prior to imprisonment	7 (17.50 %)	5 (10.00 %)
Sexual abuse only came to light following conviction	4 (10.00 %)	10 (20.00 %)
Sexually abused came to light at any point	11 (27.50 %)	15 (30.00 %)
Sexually abused prior to age 12	6 (15.00 %)	3 (6.00 %)
Sexually abused by someone 5 years older	11 (27.50 %)	13 (26.00 %)
Sexually abused disclosed either before or after conviction	11 (27.50 %)	15 (30.00 %)

As shown in Table 9.4, the distribution of factors present based on loner versus not a loner by childhood trauma is similar and no significant associations were found.

Table 9.5 Childhood Social Relationships by Loner vs. Not a Loner

Childhood Social Relationships	View of perpetrator	
	Considered a loner	Not Considered a loner
Loner/Few Friends*	24 (60.00 %)	14 (28.00 %)
Behavioural examples relating to preferred sex	8 (20.00 %)	8 (16.00 %)
Problems relating to preferred sex after age 12 years*	13 (32.50 %)	4 (8.00 %)
Problems relating to preferred sex ever during childhood	13 (32.50 %)	4 (8.00 %)
Bullied prior to age 12 years	4 (10.00 %)	9 (18.00 %)
Bullied prior to age 12 years but evidence only came to light after conviction	4 (10.00 %)	6 (12.00 %)
Evidence bullied regardless when information came to light	8 (20.00%)	15 (30.00%)

* denotes significant at $p < .05$

As shown in Table 9.5, the distribution of factors present based on loner versus not a loner by childhood social relationships is similar. There was a significant association between considered a loner/few friends (as a child) and considered a loner $\chi^2(1, N = 38) = 8.34, p < .05$. The perpetrator was more likely during childhood to have been considered a loner with few friends if they were considered a loner. There was a significant association between problems relating to preferred sex after age 12 years and considered a loner (two tailed Fisher exact $p < .05$). Perpetrators were more likely to have problems relating to preferred sex after age of 12 years if they were considered a loner.

Table 9.6 Childhood Problematic Relationships by Loner vs. Not a Loner

Childhood Problematic Behaviour	View of perpetrator	
	Considered a loner	Not Considered a loner
Anti-social behaviour*	16 (40.00 %)	34 (68.00 %)
Truanted from school*	13 (32.50 %)	28 (56.00 %)
Truancing was frequent	11 (27.50 %)	20 (40.00 %)
Reports of bed wetting	8 (20.00 %)	14 (28.00 %)
Ran away from home between age 12 to 16 years	3 (7.50 %)	11 (22.00 %)

* denotes significant at $p < .05$

As shown in Table 9.6, there were a number of differences in the distribution of factors present based on loner versus not a loner by childhood problematic behaviour. There was a significant association between anti-social behaviour and considered a loner $\chi^2(1, N = 50) = 7.06, p < .05$. There was less likely to be evidence of anti-social behaviour if the perpetrator was considered a loner. There was a significant association between truanted from school and considered a loner $\chi^2(1, N = 41) = 5.85, p < .05$. There was less likely to be evidence of truancing from school if the perpetrator was considered a loner.

Table 9.7 Education & Lifestyle Characteristics by Loner vs. Not a Loner

Education & Lifestyle Characteristics	View of perpetrator	
	Considered a loner	Not considered a loner
Left school without qualifications	32 (80.00 %)	34 (68.00 %)
Generally been employed	27 (67.5 %)	34 (68.00 %)
Generally unemployed	26 (65.00 %)	33 (66.00 %)
Single	27 (67.50 %)	31 (62.00 %)
Has been married	17 (42.50 %)	19 (38.00 %)
Has been married for two years	12 (30.00 %)	15 (30.00 %)
Has children	15 (37.50 %)	23 (46.00 %)
Has children with different women	2 (5.00 %)	4 (8.00 %)
Attended further education	34 (85.00 %)	44 (88.00 %)
Evidence of having been a drifter and rootless	2 (5.00 %)	8 (16.00 %)

As shown in Table 9.7, the distribution of factors present based on loner versus not a loner by education and lifestyle is similar and no significant associations were found.

Table 9.8 Criminal History by Loner vs. Not a Loner

Criminal History	View of perpetrator	
	Considered a loner	Not considered a loner
Stranger victim sex offence	11 (27.50 %)	16 (32.00 %)
More than 3 pre convictions	18 (45.00 %)	28 (56.00 %)
Burglary prior to index offence	16 (40.00 %)	26 (52.00 %)
Violence against women	10 (25.00 %)	12 (24.00 %)
Non-contact sex offence	5 (12.50 %)	4 (8.00 %)
Convicted of arson	4 (10.00 %)	4 (8.00 %)

As shown in Table 9.8, the distribution of factors present based on loner versus not a loner by criminal history is similar and no significant associations were found.

Table 9.9 Living Circumstances and Relationship Status at Time of Offence by Loner vs. Not a Loner

Living Circumstances & Relationship Status as Time of Offence	View of perpetrator	
	Considered a loner	Not considered a loner
Living with parents at time of offence	16 (40.00 %)	15 (30.00 %)
In relationship at time of offence but not married*	5 (12.50 %)	19 (38.00 %)
Living on own at time of offence	9 (22.50 %)	12 (24.00 %)
Married at time of offence and with wife	7 (17.50 %)	11 (22.00 %)
In a relationship at time of offence*	11 (27.50%)	28 (56.00%)
Living with own children at time of offence	6 (15.00 %)	9 (18.00 %)

* denotes significant at $p < 0.05$

As shown in Table 9.9, the distribution of factors present based on loner versus not a loner by living circumstances and relationship status at the time of the offence is similar. There was a significant association between in a relationship at time of offence but not married and perpetrator considered a loner $\chi^2(1, N = 24) = 7.39, p < .05$. The perpetrator was less likely to be in a relationship but not married if he was considered a loner. There was a significant association between in a relationship at time of offence and perpetrator considered a loner $\chi^2(1, N = 39) = 7.35, p < .05$. The perpetrator was less likely to be in a relationship if he was not considered a loner.

Table 9.10 Antecedents to Offence by Loner vs. Not a Loner

Antecedents to Offence	View of perpetrator	
	Considered a loner	Not considered a loner
Had been drinking on day of offence	23 (57.50 %)	37 (74.00 %)
Had been drinking within 3 hours of offence	20 (50.00 %)	35 (70.00 %)
Evidence they were working at the time of the offence	17 (42.50 %)	29 (58.00 %)
They were unfaithful in marriage or relationship at time of offence	4 (10.00 %)	6 (12.00 %)
Was using non prescribed drugs at time of offence	10 (25.00 %)	10 (20.00 %)
Had taken drugs on day of offence	6 (15.00 %)	10 (20.00 %)
Was using class A drugs around time of offence	2 (5.00 %)	7 (14.00 %)
Was using class B drugs around time of offence	10 (25.00 %)	9 (18.00 %)

As shown in Table 9.10, the distribution of factors present based on loner versus not a loner by antecedents to the offence is similar and no significant associations were found.

Table 9.11 Victim Access by Loner vs. Not a Loner

Victim Access	View of perpetrator	
	Considered a loner	Not considered a loner
Victim lived in close proximity	12 (30.00 %)	13 (26.00 %)
Attacked victim in the street	13 (32.50 %)	9 (18.00 %)
Offence took place in other location	34 (85.00 %)	41 (82.00 %)
Met victim socially for the first time	5 (12.50 %)	12 (24.00 %)
Called on victim as a friend	7 (17.50 %)	10 (20.00 %)
Broke into victim's home	5 (12.50 %)	10 (20.00 %)
Met victim socially	4 (10.00 %)	10 (20.00 %)

As shown in Table 9.11, the distribution of factors present based on loner versus not a loner by victim access is similar and no significant associations were found.

Table 9.12 Victim Characteristics by Loner vs. Not a Loner

Victim Characteristics	View of perpetrator	
	Considered a loner	Not considered a loner
Victim aged 13-49	26 (65.00 %)	41 (82.00 %)
Victim knew perpetrator	22 (55.00 %)	29 (58.00 %)
Victim knew perpetrator well	13 (32.50 %)	22 (44.00 %)
Victim a stranger	18 (45.00 %)	21 (42.00 %)
Victim was living with parents	11 (27.50 %)	17 (34.00 %)
Victim was married to someone else	9 (22.50 %)	7 (14.00 %)
Victim was widowed	9 (22.50 %)	6 (12.00 %)
Victim was living with husband	9 (22.50 %)	5 (10.00 %)
Perpetrator knew the victim through work or contact through work	5 (12.50 %)	6 (12.00 %)

As shown in Table 9.12, the distribution of factors present based on loner versus not a loner by victim characteristics is similar and no significant associations were found.

Table 9.13 How Body found by Loner vs. Not a Loner

How body found	View of perpetrator	
	Considered a loner	Not considered a loner
Victim found with lower half of body exposed	22 (55.00 %)	29 (58.00 %)
Underwear removed	18 (45.00 %)	19 (38.00 %)
Body found in a home	18 (45.00 %)	24 (48.00 %)
Upper half of body exposed	10 (25.00 %)	17 (34.00 %)
Body found somewhere else	17 (42.50 %)	19 (38.00 %)
Outer clothes removed	8 (20.00 %)	14 (28.00 %)
Bra left on but disturbed	8 (20.00 %)	8 (16.00 %)
Ligature was present on body when discovered	9 (22.50 %)	13 (26.00 %)
Ligature was already present at crime scene	10 (25.00 %)	16 (32.00 %)
Completely naked	7 (17.50 %)	10 (20.00 %)
Other location*	12 (30.00 %)	5 (10.00 %)
Clothing torn or ripped*	3 (7.50 %)	11 (22.00 %)
Underwear torn ripped	3 (7.50 %)	8 (16.00 %)
Underwear around ankles	5 (12.50 %)	5 (10.00 %)
Evidence victim bound	3 (7.50 %)	8 (16.00 %)
Clothing disturbed	9 (22.50 %)	13 (26.00 %)
Clothing found next to body	9 (22.50 %)	15 (30.00 %)

* denotes significant at $p < .05$

As shown in Table 9.13, the distribution of factors present based on loner versus not a loner by how body was found is similar. There was a significant association between body found in other location and perpetrator considered a loner $\chi^2(1, N = 17) = 5.80, p < .05$. The body was more likely to be found in another location if the perpetrator was considered a loner. There was a significant association between clothing found torn or ripped and perpetrator considered a loner (two tailed Fisher exact $p < .05$). The clothing was less likely to be torn or ripped if the perpetrator was a loner.

Table 9.14 Method of Death & Injuries by Loner vs. Not a Loner

Method of Death and Injuries	View of perpetrator	
	Considered a loner	Not considered a loner
Evidence of extreme injuries	25 (62.50 %)	32 (64.00 %)
Strangulation involved in the offence	26 (65.00 %)	32 (64.00 %)
Other injuries	21 (52.50 %)	16 (32.00 %)
Evidence victim punched	11 (27.50 %)	21 (42.00 %)
Ligature was used during offence	13 (32.50 %)	17 (34.00 %)
Abrasions	14 (35.00 %)	11 (22.00 %)
Ligature was present on body when discovered	9 (22.50 %)	13 (26.00 %)
Stabbing involved	9 (22.50 %)	8 (16.00 %)
Evidence weapon used	12 (30.00 %)	15 (30.00 %)
Evidence he took weapon to crime scene	7 (17.50 %)	10 (20.00 %)
Perpetrator disclosed punching victim	8 (20.00 %)	16 (32.00 %)
Broken bones	10 (25.00 %)	16 (32.00 %)
Death caused by combination of methods	8 (20.00 %)	16 (32.00 %)
Evidence victim hit with an object	10 (25.00 %)	11 (22.00 %)
Ligature strangulation	8 (20.00 %)	8 (16.00 %)
Manual strangulation	11 (27.50 %)	8 (16.00 %)
Victim found with multiple stab wounds	33 (82.50 %)	45 (90.00 %)
Perpetrator disclosed hitting victim with object	6 (15.00 %)	8 (16.00 %)
Evidence victim was kicked	4 (10.00 %)	10 (20.00 %)
Evidence of both manual/ligature strangulation	5 (12.50 %)	4 (8.00 %)

As shown in Table 9.11, the distribution of factors present based on loner versus not a loner by method of death and injuries is similar and no significant associations were found.

Table 9.15 Psychiatric Assessment by Loner vs. Not a Loner

Psychiatric Assessment	View of perpetrator	
	Considered a loner	Not considered a loner
Has had psychiatric contact prior to killing	18 (45.00 %)	21 (42.00 %)
Has had psychiatric intervention prior to killing	10 (25.00 %)	7 (14.00 %)
Evidence alcohol a problem at time of offence	13 (32.50 %)	18 (36.00 %)
Disclosed deviant and or offence related fantasy since conviction	15 (37.50 %)	15 (30.00 %)
Disclosed deviant and or offence related fantasy at any time*	23 (57.50%)	17 (34.00%)
Evidence they were a heavy drinker	5 (12.50 %)	9 (18.00 %)
Evidence of suicide attempt or self harm	8 (20.00 %)	12 (24.00 %)
Considered psychopathic	9 (22.50 %)	10 (20.00 %)
Difference in opinion whether psychopathic	4 (10.00 %)	6 (12.00 %)
Evidence of paraphilia	8 (20.00 %)	9 (18.00 %)
Subject to EEG after arrest	17 (42.50 %)	14 (28.00 %)
EEG abnormality recorded	2 (5.00 %)	3 (6.00 %)
Was using non prescribed drugs at time of offence	10 (25.00 %)	10 (20.00 %)
Evidence of grievance towards females	10 (25.00 %)	9 (18.00 %)
Evidence of general grievance	10 (25.00 %)	8 (16.00 %)
Problems with social integration**	19 (47.50 %)	6 (12.00 %)
History of arguments/disagreements with family members	11 (27.50 %)	16 (32.00 %)
Arguments/disagreements ongoing at time of offence	11 (27.50 %)	14 (28.00 %)

* denotes significant at $p < .05$

** denotes significant at $p < .01$

As shown in Table 9.15, the distribution of factors present based on loner versus not a loner by psychiatric assessment is similar. There was a significant association between disclosed deviant or offence related fantasy at any time and perpetrator considered a loner $\chi^2(1, N = 25) = 4.97, p < .05$. The perpetrator was more likely to disclose deviant or offence related fantasy at any time if the perpetrator was a loner. There was a significant association between problems with social integration and considered a loner $\chi^2(1, N = 25) = 15.33, p < .01$. There was more likely to be problems with social integration if the perpetrator was considered a loner.

Table 9.16 Post Offence Behaviour & Apprehension by Loner vs. Not a Loner

Post offence behaviour & Apprehension	View of perpetrator	
	Considered a loner	Not considered a loner
Stole property and money from victim	9 (22.50 %)	16 (32.00 %)
Carried on with work and family business	27 (67.50 %)	40 (80.00 %)
Other post offence reaction	6 (15.00 %)	6 (12.00 %)
Apprehended within hours*	13 (32.50 %)	5 (10.00 %)
Apprehended within 24 hours	7 (17.50 %)	13 (26.00 %)
Apprehended within one week	9 (22.50 %)	17 (34.00 %)
Apprehended within three months	8 (20.00 %)	15 (30.00 %)
Apprehended following police investigation not reliant on a tip off	25 (62.50 %)	35 (70.00 %)

* denotes significant at $p < .05$

As shown in Table 9.16, the distribution of factors present based on loner versus not a loner by post offence behaviour and apprehension is similar. There was a significant association between apprehended within hour and considered a loner $\chi^2(1, N = 18) = 7.03, p < .05$. The perpetrator was more likely to be apprehended within hours (of the offence) if they were considered a loner.

Table 9.17 Prosecution Factors by Loner vs. Not a Loner

Prosecution Factors	View of perpetrator	
	Considered a loner	Not considered a loner
Confessed when asked about it	24 (60.00 %)	28 (56.00 %)
Denied up until and including the trial	7 (17.50 %)	11 (22.00 %)
Confessed when alibi did not stand up	6 (15.00 %)	8 (16.00 %)
Charged for non sexual offence alongside killing	6 (15.00 %)	6 (12.00 %)
Changed their stance on guilt prior to conviction	7 (17.50 %)	7 (14.00 %)

As shown in Table 9.17, the distribution of factors present based on loner versus not a loner by prosecution factors is similar and no significant associations were found.

Table 9.18 Sexual Aspects-Forensic Evidence by Loner vs. Not a Loner

Forensic evidence	View of perpetrator	
	Considered a loner	Not considered a loner
Evidence of vaginal sex	15 (37.50 %)	26 (52.00 %)
Evidence of anal sex	4 (10.00 %)	11 (22.00 %)
Semen found in vagina	7 (17.50 %)	18 (36.00 %)
Semen found near victim	2 (5.00 %)	6 (12.00 %)
Semen found on victim	7 (17.50 %)	4 (8.00 %)
Semen found in anus	2 (5.00 %)	8 (16.00 %)

As shown in Table 9.18, the distribution of factors present based on loner versus not a loner by sexual aspects-forensic evidence is similar and no significant associations were found. The association between semen found in the victim's vagina and perpetrator was a loner approached significance $\chi^2(1, N = 25) = 3.79, p = .05$. It was less likely that semen was found in the vagina if the perpetrator was considered a loner although as stated, this difference was not significant.

Table 9.19 Sexual Aspects-Disclosure by Loner vs. Not a Loner

Sexual Aspects-Disclosure	View of perpetrator	
	Considered a loner	Not considered a loner
Disclosed attacked with sexual intention	16 (40.00 %)	12 (24.00 %)
Disclosed killed due to anger/loss of temper	8 (20.00 %)	15 (30.00 %)
Disclosed since conviction they had sexually assaulted prior to killing	8 (20.00 %)	10 (20.00 %)
Disclosed forced vaginal sex	10 (25.00 %)	10 (20.00 %)
Disclosed since conviction forced vaginal sex	6 (15.00 %)	11 (22.00 %)
Disclosed prior to conviction had sexually assaulted victim after killing	6 (15.00 %)	11 (22.00 %)
Disclosed prior to conviction had sexually assaulted victim prior to killing	9 (22.50 %)	8 (16.00 %)
Disclosed since conviction they sexually assaulted victim prior to killing	8 (20.00 %)	10 (20.00 %)
Disclosed since conviction they sexually assaulted victim after killing	2 (5.00 %)	3 (6.00 %)
Intended to sexually assault victim*	5 (12.50 %)	1 (2.00 %)

* denotes approaching significance at $p < .05$

As shown in Table 9.19, the distribution of factors present based on loner versus not a loner by sexual aspects-disclosure is similar. The association between intended to sexually assault victim and considered a loner was approaching significance (two tailed Fisher exact $p = .06$). The perpetrator was more likely to disclose that they intended to sexually assault the victim if they were considered a loner, although as stated, this was not significant.

Table 9.20 Sexual Aspects-Opinion by Loner vs. Not a Loner

Opinion	View of perpetrator	
	Considered a loner	Not considered a loner
Judge mentioned sexual element or motive	29 (72.50 %)	35 (70.00 %)
Pathologist believed sexual assault possible or likely	18 (45.00 %)	18 (36.00 %)
Police mention sexual element motivation	22 (55.00 %)	24 (48.00 %)
Judge believed perpetrator killed during or in order to carry out sexual assault*	16 (40.00 %)	10 (20.00 %)
Police believed he killed during or in order carry out sexual assault	14 (35.00 %)	13 (26.00 %)
Police suspected forced vaginal sex	8 (20.00 %)	14 (28.00 %)
Judge believed he killed victim to conceal rape	2 (5.00 %)	7 (14.00 %)
Police believed he killed victim to conceal rape	3 (7.50 %)	4 (8.00 %)
Signs of sexual intention to stab wounds	5 (12.50 %)	2 (4.00 %)
Sexual intention to cutting/incision wounds and throat cut	2 (5.00 %)	4 (8.00 %)

* denotes significant at $p < .05$

As shown in Table 9.20, the distribution of factors present based on loner versus not a loner by sexual aspects-opinion is similar. There was a significant association between Judge believed perpetrator killed during or in order to carry out a sexual assault and considered a loner $\chi^2(1, N = 26) = 3.98, p < .05$. It was more likely that the Judge believed the perpetrator killed during or in order to carry out a sexual assault if the perpetrator was considered a loner.

Table 9.21 Overall Significant Factors by Loner vs. Not a Loner

Factors	View of perpetrator	
	Considered a loner	Not considered a loner
Cared for by parents up to age 12 years	30 (75.00 %)	26 (52.00 %)
Loner/Few Friends	24 (60.00 %)	14 (28.00 %)
Problems relating to preferred sex after age 12 years	13 (32.50 %)	4 (8.00 %)
Truanted from school	13 (32.50 %)	28 (56.00 %)
Anti-social behaviour	16 (40.00 %)	34 (68.00 %)
In relationship at time of offence but not married	5 (12.50 %)	19 (38.00 %)
In a relationship at time of offence	11 (27.50%)	28 (56.00%)
Clothing torn or ripped	3 (7.50%)	11 (22.00%)
Other location	12 (30.00 %)	5 (10.00 %)
Problems with social integration**	19 (47.50 %)	6 (12.00 %)
Disclosed deviant and or offence related fantasy at any time	23 (57.50%)	17 (34.00%)
Apprehended within hours	13 (32.50 %)	5 (10.00 %)
Semen found in vagina	7 (17.50 %)	18 (36.00 %)
Intended to sexually assault victim	5 (12.50 %)	1 (2.00 %)
Judge believed he killed during or in order to carry out a sexual assault	16 (40.00 %)	10 (20.00 %)

Note. All factors are significant at $p < 0.05$ except ** denotes significant at $p < 0.01$

Table 9.21 provides a summary of the items where there was a significant association between items from Chapter Five and whether or not the perpetrator was a loner.

Summary

The analysis of items from the SKT that were present for 15% of the total number of cases, or where there was a particular interest according to whether or not the victim was a loner, showed many more similarities than differences. However, there were a number of significant associations between items from Chapter Five and perpetrator considered a loner. If the perpetrator was considered a loner, then there was more stability, be it superficially, in the home of the perpetrator during their childhood in that they were more likely to be cared for by their parents up until the age of 12 years. Problems in terms of being a loner as an adult appear to have started in childhood. Loners were also more likely to have problems relating to their preferred sex after the age of 12 years. However, loners were less likely to have truanted from school or to have displayed anti-social behaviour. As adults, those considered a loner were less likely to be in a relationship and also less likely to be in a relationship other than marriage at the time of the offence, and more likely to be considered to have problems with social integration. There were some differences in aspects of the offence: loners were less likely to have torn or ripped the victim's clothing and the offence was more likely to have taken place in another location, e.g. not a home, public place or park. It was less likely that semen was found in the vagina of the victim if the perpetrator was considered a loner, although there were other differences that suggested that

the killing was possibly linked to a sexual intention. Loners were more likely to have disclosed deviant or offence related fantasy, more likely to have disclosed that they had intended to sexually assault the victim and the judge at the trial was more likely to believe that the perpetrator killed during or in order to carry out a sexual assault.

Binary Logistic Regression

The next section of this chapter reports a statistical analysis that considers whether items where there was a significant difference between whether or not the perpetrator was considered a loner, as shown in Table 9.21, can predict whether the perpetrator was a loner.

Results

A logistic regression was carried out to examine the effect of the variables described in Table 9.21 on whether the perpetrator was considered a loner (Yes, No). The items from Table 9.21 were therefore entered as variables into the model. The variables of clothing torn or ripped and perpetrator intended to sexually assault victim were not entered into the model because there were less than 15 cases present for this variable. The variable, in a relationship at time of offence but not married was not entered into the model because it was highly inter-correlated with in a relationship at time of offence.

The variables produced a satisfactory model fit (i.e. discrimination between the outcome groups) as measured by the Hosmer and Lemeshow Test: $\chi^2(8, N = 90) = 5.84, p > .05$. The *R*-square was 0.58 indicating only a moderate fit of the model to the data. This model was significantly better than a constant-only model containing only the intercept and no predictor variables: $\chi^2(8, N = 90) = 51.49, p < .01$. Correct classification of cases overall in the final step was 77.8 %, although it was moderately better for those perpetrators who were not considered a loner (77.8.0 %) as compared to those who were considered a loner (70.0 %).

Table 9.22 Logistic Regression Statistics for Prediction of Perpetrator a Loner to Overall Significant Factors

Predictor	B	S.E.	Wald	Exp(B)	95.0% C.I. for EXP(B)	
					Lower	Upper
Cared for by parents up to age 12	1.17	0.60	3.76	3.23	0.99	10.55
Lone/few friends			8.13*			
Lone/few friends(1)	-0.59	0.74	0.64	0.55	0.13	2.37
Loner/few friends(2)	1.33	0.71	3.51	3.77	0.94	15.14
Truanted from school	1.21	0.58	4.43*	3.36	1.09	10.39
Problems with social integration	1.80	0.68	7.09*	6.04	1.61	22.70
Apprehended within hours of offence	1.49	0.69	4.63*	4.43	1.14	17.22
Semen found in the victim's vagina	1.52	0.67	5.19*	4.59	1.24	17.05
Constant	-3.93	1.06	13.76	0.02		

The numbers in brackets refer to the labelling of dummy variables when these have been created.

* denotes significant at $p < .05$

Table 9.22 shows how the predictor variables contributed to the model, along with the Wald and Exp (B) statistics for the variables. These statistics show that the overall model was significant, and that loner few friends, evidence truant from school, problems with social integration, and semen found in the vagina were significant predictors of whether the perpetrator was considered a loner. A perpetrator who did not have a history of truanting was more likely to be considered a loner than a perpetrator who did have a history of truanting (Odds Ratio = 3.36). So if a perpetrator did not have a history of truanting they were 3.36 times more likely to be considered a loner, i.e. the odds increase by 336.0%. A perpetrator who did not have problems with social integration was less likely to be considered a loner than a perpetrator who did have problems with social integration (Odds Ratio = 6.04). So, if the perpetrator did not have problems with social integration, they were 6.04 times less likely to be considered a loner, i.e. the odds increase by 504.0%. If the perpetrator was apprehended within hours of the offence they were more likely to be a loner than if they were not apprehended within hours of the offence (Odds Ratio = 4.43). So if the perpetrator was apprehended within hours, they were 4.43 times more likely to be a loner, i.e. the odds increase by 343.0%. If semen was not found in the victim's vagina, it was more likely that the perpetrator would be considered a loner than if semen was found in the vagina (Odds Ratio = 4.59). So, if semen was not found in the victim's vagina, it was 4.59 times more likely that the perpetrator was a loner i.e. the odds increase by 359.0%.

Finally, although loner/few friends (during childhood) was a significant predictor of whether the perpetrator was considered a loner, neither of the parameter codings were significant so impact of the significance of the variable on whether the perpetrator was considered a loner cannot be reported.

Discussion

Consideration was given to whether or not the perpetrator was considered a loner because there is indication from the literature that this is a characteristic of sexual killers. In addition, this factor has been used as part of a framework to further explore and organise data from this study. The analysis of how the items divided when considering whether or not the perpetrator was considered a loner showed that perpetrators who were considered a loner were more likely to have been raised by their parents up until the age of 12 years, more likely to be considered a loner with few friends during childhood and to have problems relating to their preferred sex during childhood. In addition, they were less likely to truant from school or be involved in anti-social behaviour as a child if they were considered a loner. As an adult, they were less likely to be in a relationship but not married at the time of the offence and to have problems with social integration. In terms of the offence, it was less likely that the clothing would be torn or ripped and less likely that semen would be found in the victim's vagina and more likely that the offence took place in a situation other than home, street etc if they were considered a loner. They were more likely to disclose both deviant and or offence related fantasy and that they had intended to sexually assault the victim if

they were considered a loner. Finally, they were more likely to be apprehended within hours of the offence and for the judge to believe that they killed during or in order to carry out a sexual offence than if they were not considered a loner. The analysis of how the items divided when considering whether or not the perpetrator was considered a loner shared similarities with the findings for perpetrators who disclosed fantasy reported upon in Chapter Eight in that they were more likely to have experienced factors relevant to problems with parental and childhood social relationships. As with perpetrators considered a loner, the perpetrators who disclosed fantasy were also more likely to be considered a loner with few friends and to have problems relating to their preferred sex during childhood and behavioural problems. The relevance of these factors to the literature on sexual killing has been discussed in Chapter Eight. These findings did support the hypotheses that being a loner and disclosure of fantasy are associated in some way. Identifying whether being a loner increases the onset of fantasy and development of deviant fantasy could usefully be explored through interviewing sexual killers about their childhood experiences. It would also be useful to see if problems relating to preferred sex contributed to the nature of their fantasies and whether these contributed to offence related fantasies of sex and killing.

One possible explanation that perpetrators who were considered a loner were less likely to truant from school and less likely to show evidence of anti-social behaviour during their formative years could be that if they were less likely to be part of a peer group then they were also therefore less likely to have friends with whom they could truant and carry out anti-social behaviour with. This could be explored through interview.

Like perpetrators who disclosed fantasy, those perpetrators who were considered a loner were less likely to be in a relationship at the time of the offence and were more likely to have problems with social integration, indicating that problems during childhood extended into adulthood. It is not surprising, given the number of factors they shared, that those perpetrators who were considered a loner were more likely to disclose deviant sexual interest and or fantasy than those perpetrators who were not considered to be a loner. While those perpetrators who were considered a loner were more likely to disclose that they intended to sexually assault their victim than those not considered a loner, these were in very small numbers ($n = 5$). In addition, perpetrators who were considered a loner were less likely to have victims found with semen in the vagina. However, there may be benefit in interviewing sexual killers who are considered a loner to find out the reason why they committed their offence and whether they experienced any sexual problems during commission of it to explain lack of forensic evidence of sexual assault. The finding that perpetrators who were considered a loner were more often apprehended within hours of the offence could indicate that these perpetrators were less cunning and their inadequacy contributed to them being apprehended and unable to try and blend in with society and avoid detection. Again, this hypotheses should be explored further.

The significant predictors from the binary logistic regression provide a possible if obvious starting point to further understand sexual killers who are considered a loner. Interviews with

perpetrators to better understand loneliness during childhood in terms considering whether it was a symptom or the result of childhood experiences and how this has possibly contributed to deviant fantasy and its relation to the motivation of the offence could be a useful next step. In addition, the large majority of sexual killers who were considered a loner were cared for by parents up to age 12 years. This raises the possibility that for these perpetrators, the nature of their relationship with their parents contributed to them being a loner. There could be value in taking this forward through interviewing sexual killers who are loners about the relationship they had with their parents.

Conclusion

The analysis in this chapter has uncovered a number of factors relating to childhood and adult characteristics that are associated with the perpetrator being considered a loner. Many of these differences are shared by factors related to the perpetrator having disclosed fantasy as reported in Chapter Eight. They add to existing literature that a characteristic of sexual killers is that they are considered a loner, e.g. Grubin (1994) and that this could contribute to the development of using sex as a coping strategy through fantasy and to gain control and escape from feelings of rejection. These issues could be explored through interview, with relationship with parents as a useful area to be considered, given this studies findings. It is of note that that those considered a loner as an adult were often considered a loner during childhood ($n = 40$ and 24 respectively), indicating that these problems were pervasive and supports the hypotheses that deviant fantasies were a symptom of peer problems, lack of social integration as an adult and less likelihood of being in a relationship at the time of the offence.

CHAPTER TEN

FURTHER ANALYSIS OF WHETHER OR NOT PERPETRATOR USED STRANGULATION

This chapter sets out to explore cases where the perpetrator used a “hands on” method of killing, referred to from now as strangulation from herein. This exploration concerns the final of four research factors identified to help understand sexual killers. This chapter is therefore concerned with the characteristics of sexual killers who strangled their victim. The majority of studies reported death by asphyxiation or stabbing as the method most frequently employed by sexual killers (Dietz et al. 1990; Gratzer & Bradford, 1995; Langevin et al., 1988; Roberts & Grossman, 1993; Warren et al., 1996). Brittain (1970) proposed that asphyxia is the predominant method of death, sometimes with the use of a gag, “Except when gross and mutilating violence or multiple stabbing is used” (p.204). Rupp (1980) suggested that “hands on” methods of killing or use of a blunt instrument resulted from the spontaneity of the crime. It has also been proposed that manual or ligature strangulation is a suitable and practical means of killing, given the position of the perpetrator to victim during a sexual attack, and can help prevent cries from the victim that could raise the alarm for assistance (Brittain, 1970). The prolonged suffering that a slower method of death ensures over a quicker option like shooting has also been suggested as an explanation for the choice of asphyxia (Dietz, 1986). Brittain (1970) suggested that the ebb and flow of life that pressure on the victim’s neck affords the perpetrator instils a sense of “God-like power” (p.204). Given the link between suffering and power, it is arguably not surprising that ligature strangulation has been linked with sexual sadism (Gratzer & Bradford, 1995), the paraphilia most often associated with sexual killing (Brittain, 1970; Dietz et al.; Langevin et al., 1988) and killing has been seen as culmination of this pathology (Gratzer & Bradford, 1995).

Background to the Present Study

This chapter aims to determine if there are factors that appear to differentiate childhood factors, adult characteristics, and crime scene behaviour, with respect to whether or not the victim was strangled.

First, this chapter will describe the frequency with which items in the Tables in Chapter Five can be classified as ‘Yes’ or ‘No’ according to whether or not the perpetrator was coded as killing their victim using strangulation. Tables have been compiled to illustrate these frequencies (Tables 10.1-10.20). Second, it will then report the logistic regression analyses carried out to determine whether factors that were significantly associated with sexual killers who killed using strangulation would predict whether the perpetrator actually killed by strangulation.

Table 10.1 Siblings & Birth Order by Killed by Strangulation vs. Did Not Kill by Strangulation

Siblings & Birth Order	Method of death	
	Killed by strangulation	Did not kill by strangulation
Has sisters	32 (78.05 %)	46 (77.97 %)
Has brother(s)	31 (75.61 %)	43 (72.88 %)
Has younger sister(s)	18 (43.90 %)	23 (38.98 %)
Has older sister(s)	15 (36.59 %)	26 (44.07 %)
Has older brother (s) *	13 (31.71 %)	31 (52.54 %)
Has younger brother(s)	21 (51.22 %)	23 (38.98 %)
Middle of siblings	18 (43.90 %)	24 (40.68 %)
Eldest of siblings	12 (29.27 %)	13 (22.03 %)
Youngest of siblings	6 (14.63 %)	17 (28.81 %)
Has stepbrothers or sisters	9 (21.95 %)	12 (20.34 %)

* denotes significant at $p < .05$

As shown in Table 10.1, the distribution of factors present based on killed by strangulation versus did not kill by strangulation by siblings and birth order is similar. There was a significant association between has older brother and killed by strangulation $\chi^2(1, N = 44) = 3.79, p < .05$. The perpetrator was less likely to have an older brother if they killed by strangulation. The sample size for killed by strangulation ($n = 41$) and did not kill by strangulation ($n = 59$) is the same in Tables 10.1-10.19; the numbers in parentheses are percentages.

Table 10.2 Childhood Home Circumstances by Killed by Strangulation vs. Did Not kill by Strangulation

Childhood Home Circumstances	Method of death	
	Killed by strangulation	Did not kill by strangulation
Stability of family structure	25 (60.98 %)	36 (61.02 %)
Cared for by parents up to age 12 years	26 (63.41 %)	36 (61.02 %)
Parents separated	11 (26.83 %)	15 (25.42 %)
Absence of father during childhood	10 (24.39 %)	13 (22.03 %)
Was removed from family home prior to age 16 years	11 (26.83 %)	20 (33.90 %)
Siblings in trouble with police	5 (12.20 %)	11 (18.64 %)
Parental instability	12 (29.27 %)	16 (27.12 %)
Cared for by only one parent prior to age 12 years	10 (24.39 %)	10 (16.95 %)
Parents divorced	8 (19.51 %)	6 (10.17 %)
Father left home when perpetrator was aged 5 to 12 years	7 (17.07 %)	7 (11.86 %)
Father described as an alcoholic or heavy drinker	4 (9.76 %)	11 (18.64 %)
Father left home prior to age 12 years	6 (14.63 %)	9 (15.25 %)
Father in trouble with police	2 (4.88 %)	5 (8.47 %)

As shown in Table 10.2, the distribution of factors present based on perpetrators who did kill by strangulation versus did not kill by strangulation by childhood home circumstances is similar and no significant associations were found.

Table 10.3 Relationship with Parents by Killed by Strangulation vs. Did Not Kill by Strangulation

Relationship with Parents	Method of death	
	Killed by strangulation	Did not kill by strangulation
Negative father image	12 (29.27 %)	23 (38.98 %)
Got on with both parents well or ok	10 (24.39 %)	15 (25.42 %)
Mother described as domineering/over protective	9 (21.95 %)	10 (16.95 %)
Got on with mother not father	3 (7.32 %)	9 (15.25 %)

As shown in Table 10.3, the distribution of factors present based on perpetrators who did kill by strangulation versus did not kill by strangulation by relationship with parents is similar and no significant associations were found.

Table 10.4 Childhood Trauma by Killed by Strangulation vs. Did Not Kill by Strangulation

Childhood Trauma	Method of death	
	Killed by strangulation	Did not kill by strangulation
Witnessed mother/primary carer being physically abused	10 (24.39 %)	11 (18.64 %)
Witnessing documented prior to and/or recorded at the time of arrest	6 (14.63 %)	9 (15.25 %)
Physically abused prior to age 12	15 (36.59 %)	25 (42.37 %)
Evidence they have suffered a head injury	5 (12.20 %)	16 (27.12 %)
Sexually abused disclosed prior to imprisonment	5 (12.20 %)	9 (15.25 %)
Sexual abuse only came to light following conviction	7 (17.07 %)	10 (16.95 %)
Sexually abused came to light at any point	12 (29.27%)	19 (32.20%)
Sexually abused prior to age 12	3 (7.32 %)	7 (11.86 %)
Sexually abused by someone five years older	11 (26.83 %)	17 (28.81 %)

As shown in Table 10.4, the distribution of factors present based on perpetrators who did kill by strangulation versus did not kill by strangulation by childhood trauma is similar and no significant associations were found.

Table 10.5 Childhood Social Relationships by Killed by Strangulation vs. Did Not Kill by Strangulation

Childhood Social Relationships	Method of death	
	Killed by strangulation	Did not kill by strangulation
Loner/few friends	17 (41.46 %)	24 (40.68 %)
Behavioural examples relating to preferred sex	11 (26.83 %)	8 (13.56 %)
Problems relating to preferred sex after age 12 years	8 (19.51 %)	9 (15.25 %)
Problems relating to preferred sex ever during childhood	8 (19.51 %)	9 (15.25 %)
Bullied prior to age 12 years*	2 (4.88 %)	11 (18.64 %)
Bullied prior to age 12 years but only came to light after conviction	4 (9.76 %)	6 (10.17 %)
Evidence bullied regardless when information came to light	6 (14.63 %)	17 (28.81 %)

* denotes significant at $p < .05$

As shown in Table 10.5, the distribution of factors present based on perpetrators who did kill by strangulation versus did not kill by strangulation by childhood social relationships is similar. There was significant association between bullied prior to age 12 years and killed by strangulation (two tailed Fisher exact $p < 0.05$). Perpetrators were less likely to be bullied prior to age 12 years if they killed by strangulation.

Table 10.6 Childhood Problematic Relationships by Killed by Strangulation vs. Did Not Kill by Strangulation

Childhood Problematic Behaviour	Method of death	
	Killed by strangulation	Did not kill by strangulation
Anti-social behaviour	25 (60.98 %)	34 (57.63 %)
Truanted from school	17 (41.46 %)	28 (47.46 %)
Truancing was frequent	13 (31.71 %)	20 (33.90 %)
Reports of bed wetting	7 (17.07 %)	16 (27.12 %)
Ran away from home between age 12 to 16 years	7 (17.07 %)	8 (13.56 %)

As shown in Table 10.6, the distribution of factors present based on perpetrators who did kill by strangulation versus did not kill by strangulation by childhood problematic relationships is similar and no significant associations were found.

Table 10.7 Adult Characteristics by Killed by Strangulation vs. Did Not Kill by Strangulation

Adult Characteristics	Method of death	
	Killed by strangulation	Did not kill by strangulation
Left school without qualifications	29 (70.43 %)	45 (76.27 %)
Generally been employed	26 (63.41 %)	39 (61.10 %)
Single	22 (53.66 %)	39 (61.10 %)
Has been married	22 (53.66 %)	21 (35.59 %)
Has been married for two years	16 (39.02 %)	16 (27.12 %)
Has children *	23 (56.10 %)	21 (35.59 %)
Has children with different women	3 (7.32 %)	4 (6.78 %)
Attended further education	34 (82.93 %)	54 (91.53 %)
Evidence of having been a drifter and rootless	4 (9.76 %)	7 (11.86 %)

* denotes significant at $p < 0.05$

As shown in Table 10.7, the distribution of factors present based on perpetrators who did kill by strangulation versus did not kill by strangulation by adult characteristics is similar. There was a significant association between has children and killed by strangulation $\chi^2(1, N = 44) = 4.13, p < .05$. Perpetrators with children were more likely to kill by strangulation.

Table 10.8 Criminal History by Killed by Strangulation vs. Did Not Kill by Strangulation

Criminal History	Method of death	
	Killed by strangulation	Not killed by strangulation
Stranger victim sex offence	14 (34.15 %)	15 (25.42 %)
More than three pre convictions	19 (46.34 %)	34 (57.63 %)
Burglary prior to index offence	15 (36.59 %)	32 (54.24 %)
Violence against women	13 (31.71 %)	13 (22.03 %)
Non-contact sex offence	3 (7.32 %)	7 (11.86 %)
Convicted of arson	5 (12.20 %)	4 (6.78 %)

As shown in Table 10.8, the distribution of factors present based on perpetrators who did kill by strangulation versus did not kill by strangulation by criminal history is similar and no significant associations were found.

Table 10.9 Living Circumstances and Relationship Status at Time of Offence by Killed by Strangulation vs. Did Not Kill by Strangulation

Living Circumstances & Relationship Status at Time of Offence	Method of death	
	Killed by strangulation	Did not kill by strangulation
Living with parents at time of offence	10 (24.39 %)	22 (37.29 %)
In relationship at time of offence but not married	13 (31.71 %)	13 (22.03 %)
Living on own at time of offence	9 (21.95 %)	14 (23.73 %)
Married at time of offence and with wife	7 (17.07 %)	13 (22.03 %)
In a relationship at time of offence	19 (46.34 %)	24 (40.68 %)
Living with own children at time of offence	9 (21.95 %)	9 (15.25 %)

As shown in Table 10.9, the distribution of factors present based on perpetrators who did kill by strangulation versus did not kill by strangulation by living circumstances and relationship status at time of offence is similar and no significant associations were found.

Table 10.10 Antecedents to Offence by Killed by Strangulation vs. Did Not Kill by Strangulation

Antecedents to Offence	Method of death	
	Killed by strangulation	Did not kill by strangulation
Had been drinking on day of offence	25 (60.98 %)	40 (67.80 %)
Had been drinking within three hours of offence	22 (53.66 %)	38 (64.41 %)
Evidence perpetrator working at time of offence	19 (46.34 %)	31 (52.54 %)
They were unfaithful in marriage or relationship at time of offence	7 (17.07 %)	4 (6.78 %)
Was using non prescribed drugs at time of offence	9 (21.95 %)	12 (20.34 %)
Had taken drugs on day of offence	9 (21.95 %)	9 (15.25 %)
Was using class A drugs around time of offence	4 (9.76 %)	6 (10.17 %)
Was using class B drugs around time of offence	9 (21.95 %)	11 (18.64 %)

As shown in Table 10.10, the distribution of factors present based on perpetrators who did kill by strangulation versus did not kill by strangulation by antecedents to offence is similar and no significant associations were found.

Table 10.11 Victim Access by Killed by Strangulation vs. Did Not Kill by Strangulation

Victim Access	Method of death	
	Killed by strangulation	Did not kill by strangulation
Victim lived in close proximity	13 (31.71 %)	14 (23.73 %)
Attacked victim in the street	10 (24.39 %)	13 (22.03 %)
Offence took place in other location	7 (17.07 %)	12 (20.34 %)
Met victim socially for the first time	9 (21.95 %)	10 (16.95 %)
Called on victim as a friend	8 (19.51 %)	10 (16.95 %)
Broke into victim's home	4 (9.76 %)	12 (20.34 %)
Met victim socially	7 (17.07 %)	8 (13.56 %)

As shown in Table 10.11, the distribution of factors present based on perpetrators who did kill by strangulation versus did not kill by strangulation by victim access is similar and no significant associations were found.

Table 10.12 Victim Characteristics by Killed by Strangulation vs. Did Not Kill by Strangulation

Victim Characteristics	Method of death	
	Killed by strangulation	Did not kill by strangulation
Victim aged 13-49	32 (78.05 %)	41 (69.49 %)
Victim knew perpetrator	20 (48.78 %)	35 (59.32 %)
Victim knew perpetrator well	16 (39.02 %)	23 (38.98 %)
Victim a stranger	21 (51.22 %)	24 (40.68 %)
Victim was living with parents	16 (39.02 %)	14 (23.73 %)
Victim was married to someone else	7 (17.07 %)	11 (18.64 %)
Victim was widowed	4 (9.76 %)	12 (20.34 %)
Victim was living with husband	6 (14.63 %)	10 (16.95 %)
Perpetrator knew the victim through work or contact through work	7 (17.07 %)	6 (10.17 %)

As shown in Table 10.12, the distribution of factors present based on perpetrators who did kill by strangulation versus did not kill by strangulation by victim characteristics is similar and no significant associations were found.

Table 10.13 How Body was Found by Killed by Strangulation vs. Did Not Kill by Strangulation

How Body Was Found	Method of death	
	Killed by strangulation	Did not kill by strangulation
Victim found with lower half of body exposed	20 (48.78 %)	34 (57.63 %)
Underwear removed	16 (39.02 %)	23 (38.98 %)
Body found in a home	19 (46.34 %)	29 (49.15 %)
Upper half of body exposed	12 (29.27 %)	17 (28.81 %)
Body found somewhere else	13 (31.71 %)	25 (42.37 %)
Outer clothes removed	12 (29.27 %)	12 (20.34 %)
Bra left on but disturbed	6 (14.63 %)	11 (18.64 %)
Ligature was present on body when discovered**	17 (41.46 %)	9 (15.25 %)
Ligature was already present at crime scene**	21 (51.22 %)	11 (18.64 %)
Completely naked*	13 (31.71 %)	8 (13.56 %)
Other location (Body found)	13 (31.71 %)	8 (13.56 %)
Clothing torn or ripped	5 (12.20 %)	10 (16.95 %)
Underwear torn ripped	3 (7.32 %)	9 (15.25 %)
Underwear around ankles	2 (4.88 %)	9 (15.25 %)
Evidence victim bound	9 (21.95 %)	5 (8.47 %)
Clothing disturbed	7 (17.07 %)	16 (27.12 %)
Clothing found next to body	10 (24.39 %)	15 (25.42 %)

* denotes significant at $p < .05$

** denotes significant at $p < .01$

As shown in Table 10.13, the distribution of factors present based on perpetrators who did kill by strangulation versus did not kill by strangulation by how body was found is similar. There was a significant association between ligature was present on body when discovered and killed by strangulation $\chi^2(1, N = 26) = 8.64, p < .01$. If the ligature was present on the body when it as discovered it was more likely that the perpetrator killed by strangulation. There was a significant association between ligature was already present at the crime scene and killed by strangulation $\chi^2(1, N = 32) = 11.80, p < .01$. If the ligature was already at the crime scene then it was more likely that the perpetrator killed by strangulation. There was a significant association between victim found completely naked and killed by strangulation $\chi^2(1, N = 21) = 4.42, p < .05$. If the victim was found completely naked then it was more likely that the perpetrator killed by strangulation.

Table 10.14 Method of Death & Injuries by Killed by Strangulation vs. Did Not Kill by Strangulation

Method of Death and Injuries	Method of death	
	Killed by strangulation	Did not kill by strangulation
Evidence of extreme injuries**	16 (39.02 %)	47 (79.66 %)
Strangulation involved in the offence**	41 (100 %)	1 (1.69 %)
Other injuries	14 (34.15 %)	29 (49.15 %)
Evidence victim punched	14 (34.15 %)	22 (37.29 %)
Ligature was used during offence**	23 (56.10 %)	13 (22.03 %)
Abrasions	11 (26.83 %)	19 (32.20 %)
Ligature was present on body when discovered	17 (41.46 %)	9 (15.25 %)
Stabbing involved**	1 (2.44 %)	16 (27.12 %)
Evidence weapon used**	2 (4.88 %)	26 (44.07 %)
Evidence he took weapon to crime scene	4 (9.76 %)	13 (22.03 %)
Perpetrator disclosed punching victim	7 (17.07 %)	20 (33.90 %)
Broken bones**	4 (9.76 %)	22 (37.29 %)
Death caused by combination of methods	0 (0%)	25 (42.37 %)
Evidence victim hit with an object	7 (17.07 %)	18 (30.51 %)
Ligature strangulation	22 (53.66 %)	0 (0%)
Manual strangulation	19 (46.34 %)	1 (1.69 %)
Victim found with multiple stab wounds**	0 (0%)	12 (20.34 %)
Perpetrator disclosed hitting victim with object*	3 (7.32 %)	14 (23.73 %)
Evidence victim kicked*	2 (4.88 %)	13 (22.03 %)
Evidence of both manual/ligature strangulation	7 (17.07 %)	3 (5.08 %)

* denotes significant at $p < .05$

** denotes significant at $p < .01$

As shown in Table 10.14, there were a number of differences in the distribution of factors present based on perpetrators who did kill by strangulation versus did not kill by strangulation by method of death and injuries. There was a significant relationship between evidence of extreme injuries and strangulation $\chi^2(1, N = 63) = 15.32, p < .01$. There was less likely to be evidence of extreme injuries if the perpetrator killed by strangulation. There was a significant association between strangulation involved in the offence and strangulation (two tailed Fisher exact $p < .01$). Strangulation was more likely to be involved in the offence if the perpetrator killed by strangulation. There was a significant association between ligature was used during the offence and strangulation $\chi^2(1, N = 42) = 10.87, p < .01$. Ligature was more likely to be used in the offence if the perpetrator killed by strangulation. There was a significant association between stabbing involved in the offence and strangulation (two tailed Fisher exact $p < .05$). Stabbing was less likely to be involved in the offence if the perpetrator strangled the victim. There was a significant association between evidence a weapon used and strangulation (two tailed Fisher exact $p < .05$). If a weapon was used then it was less likely the victim was strangled. There was a

significant association between stabbing involved in the offence and strangulation (two Tailed Fisher exact $p < .05$). Stabbing was less likely to be involved in the offence if the perpetrator strangled the victim. There was a significant association between broken bones and strangulation (two tailed Fisher exact $p < .05$). There was less likely to be evidence of broken bones if the perpetrator killed by strangulation. There was a significant association between victim found with multiple stab wounds and strangulation (two tailed Fisher exact $p < .05$). There was less likely to be multiple stab wounds if the perpetrator killed by strangulation. There was a significant association between perpetrator disclosed hitting victim with an object and strangulation (two tailed Fisher exact $p < .05$). The perpetrator was less likely to disclose hitting the victim with an object of they killed by strangulation. There was a significant association between evidence victim kicked and strangulation (two tailed Fisher exact $p < .05$). There was less likely to be evidence that the victim was kicked if the perpetrator killed by strangulation.

Table 10.15 Psychiatric Assessment by Killed by Strangulation vs. Did Not Kill by Strangulation

Psychiatric Assessment	Method of death	
	Killed by strangulation	Did not kill by strangulation
Has had psychiatric contact prior to killing	18 (43.90 %)	26 (44.07 %)
Has had psychiatric intervention prior to killing	8 (19.51 %)	11 (18.64 %)
Reports they were a loner/did not socialise	19 (46.34 %)	21 (35.59 %)
Evidence alcohol a problem at time of offence*	8 (19.51 %)	26 (44.07 %)
Disclosed deviant and or offence related fantasy since conviction	13 (31.71 %)	18 (30.59 %)
Disclosed deviant and or offence related fantasy either before or following conviction	19 (46.34 %)	23 (38.98 %)
Evidence they were a heavy drinker**	13 (31.71 %)	3 (5.08 %)
Evidence of suicide attempt or self harm	11 (26.83 %)	12 (20.34 %)
Considered psychopathic	11 (26.83 %)	10 (16.95 %)
Difference in opinion whether psychopathic	6 (14.63 %)	5 (8.47 %)
Evidence of paraphilia	8 (19.51 %)	11 (18.64 %)
Subject to EEG after arrest	18 (43.90 %)	19 (32.20 %)
EEG abnormality recorded	4 (9.76 %)	2 (3.39 %)
Was using non prescribed drugs at time of offence	9 (21.95 %)	12 (20.34 %)
Evidence of grievance towards females	10 (24.39 %)	11 (18.64 %)
Evidence of general grievance	6 (14.63 %)	13 (22.03 %)
Problems with social integration	12 (29.27 %)	16 (27.12 %)
History of arguments/disagreements with family members	11 (26.83 %)	19 (32.20 %)
Arguments/disagreements ongoing at time of offence	11 (26.83 %)	17 (28.81 %)

* denotes significant at $p < .05$

** denotes significant at $p < .01$

As shown in Table 10.15, the distribution of factors present based on perpetrators who did kill by strangulation versus did not kill by strangulation by psychiatric assessment is similar. There was a significant association between evidence alcohol a problem at time of the offence and strangulation $\chi^2(1, N = 34) = 6.50, p < .05$. If the perpetrator killed by strangulation, it was less likely that there was evidence that alcohol was a problem at time of offence. There was a significant association between evidence they were a heavy drinker and strangulation $\chi^2(1, N = 16) = 12.76, p < .01$. If the perpetrator killed by strangulation, it was more likely that there was evidence they were a heavy drinker.

Table 10.16 Post Offence Behaviour & Apprehension by Killed by Strangulation vs. Did Not Kill by Strangulation

Post offence Behaviour & Apprehension	Method of death	
	Killed by strangulation	Did not kill by strangulation
Stole property and money from victim	11 (26.83 %)	18 (30.51 %)
Carried on with work and family business	28 (68.29 %)	45 (76.27 %)
Other post offence reaction	7 (17.07 %)	8 (13.56 %)
Apprehended within hours	9 (21.95 %)	9 (15.25 %)
Apprehended within 24 hours	7 (17.07 %)	15 (25.42 %)
Apprehended within one week	15 (36.59 %)	16 (27.12 %)
Apprehended within three months	8 (19.51 %)	18 (30.51 %)
Apprehended following police investigation not reliant on a tip off	26 (63.41 %)	40 (67.80 %)

As shown in Table 10.16, the distribution of factors present based on perpetrators who did kill by strangulation versus did not kill by strangulation by post offence behaviour and apprehension is similar and no significant associations were found.

Table 10.17 Prosecution Factors by Killed by Strangulation vs. Did Not Kill by Strangulation

Prosecution Factors	Method of death	
	Killed by strangulation	Did not kill by strangulation
Confessed when asked about crime	23 (56.10 %)	36 (61.02 %)
Denied up until and including the trial	7 (17.07 %)	12 (20.34 %)
Confessed when alibi did not stand up	7 (17.07 %)	9 (15.25 %)
Charged for non sexual offence alongside killing	7 (17.07 %)	8 (13.56 %)
Changed their stance on guilt prior to conviction	9 (21.95 %)	6 (10.17 %)

As shown in Table 10.17, the distribution of factors present based on perpetrators who did kill by strangulation versus did not kill by strangulation by prosecution factors is similar and no significant associations were found.

Table 10.18 Sexual Aspects-Forensic Evidence by Killed by Strangulation vs. Did Not Kill by Strangulation

Forensic Evidence	Method of death	
	Killed by strangulation	Did not kill by strangulation
Evidence of vaginal sex	23 (56.10 %)	23 (38.98 %)
Evidence of anal sex	9 (21.95 %)	8 (13.56 %)
Semen found in vagina	14 (34.15 %)	14 (23.73 %)
Semen found near victim	6 (14.63 %)	5 (8.47 %)
Semen found on victim	6 (14.63 %)	5 (8.47 %)
Semen found in anus	7 (17.07 %)	3 (5.08 %)

As shown in Table 10.18, the distribution of factors present based on perpetrators who did kill by strangulation versus did not kill by strangulation by sexual aspects-forensic evidence is similar and no significant associations were found.

Table 10.19 Sexual Aspects-Disclosure by Killed by Strangulation vs. Did Not Kill by Strangulation

Sexual Aspects-Disclosure	Method of death	
	Killed by strangulation	Not Killed by strangulation
Disclosed attacked victim with sexual intention	13 (31.71 %)	16 (27.12 %)
Disclosed killed due to anger/loss of temper	12 (29.27 %)	15 (25.42 %)
Disclosed since conviction they had sexually assaulted prior to killing	11 (26.83 %)	7 (11.86 %)
Disclosed forced vaginal sex	10 (24.39 %)	13 (22.03 %)
Disclosed since conviction forced vaginal sex	10 (24.39 %)	7 (11.86 %)
Disclosed prior to conviction had sexually assaulted victim after killing	8 (19.51 %)	11 (18.64 %)
Disclosed prior to conviction had sexually assaulted victim prior to killing	6 (14.63 %)	13 (22.03 %)
Disclosed since conviction had sexually assaulted victim prior to killing them	11 (26.83 %)	7 (11.86 %)
Disclosed since conviction had sexually assaulted victim after killing	4 (9.76 %)	2 (3.39 %)
Intended to sexually assault victim	2 (4.88 %)	5 (8.47 %)

As shown in Table 10.19, the distribution of factors present based on perpetrators who did kill by strangulation versus did not kill by strangulation by sexual aspects-disclosure is similar and no significant associations were found.

There was almost a significant association between; disclosed since conviction sexually assaulted victim prior to killing and strangulation $\chi^2(1, N = 18) = 3.67, p=.05$. The perpetrator was more

likely to disclose since conviction that they sexually assaulted the victim prior to killing them if they killed by strangulation although as stated, this was not significant.

Table 10.20 Sexual Aspects-Opinion by Killed by Strangulation vs. Did Not Kill by Strangulation

Sexual Aspects -Opinion	Method of death	
	Killed by strangulation	Did not kill by strangulation
Judge mentioned sexual element or motive	31 (75.61 %)	39 (66.10 %)
Pathologist believed sexual assault possible or likely*	22 (53.66 %)	18 (30.51 %)
Police mention sexual element motivation	20 (48.78 %)	29 (49.15 %)
Judge believed perpetrator killed during or in order to carry out sexual assault	17 (41.46 %)	15 (25.42 %)
Police believed he killed during or in order to carry out sexual assault	11 (26.83 %)	17 (28.81 %)
Police suspected forced vaginal sex	11 (26.83 %)	13 (22.03 %)
Judge believed he killed victim to conceal rape	6 (14.63 %)	3 (5.08 %)
Police believed he killed victim to conceal rape**	6 (14.63 %)	2 (3.39 %)
Signs of sexual intention to stab wounds	2 (4.88 %)	6 (10.17 %)
Sexual intention to cutting/incision wounds and throat cut	3 (7.32 %)	5 (8.47 %)

* denotes significant at $p < .05$

** denotes significant at $p < .05$

As shown in Table 10.20, the distribution of factors present based on perpetrators who did kill by strangulation versus did not kill by strangulation by sexual aspects-opinion is similar. There was a significant association between pathologist believed sexual assault possible or likely $\chi^2(1, N = 40) = 7.55, p < .05$. The pathologist was more likely to have believed sexual assault was possible or likely of the perpetrator killed by strangulation. There was a significant association between the police believed he killed victim to conceal rape and strangulation (two tailed Fisher exact $p < .05$). The police were more likely to believe that he killed the victim to conceal rape if the perpetrator killed by strangulation.

Table 10.21 Overall Significant Factors by Killed by Strangulation vs. Not Killed by Strangulation

How body found	Method of death	
	Killed by strangulation	Did not kill by strangulation
Has older brother (s) *	13 (31.71 %)	31 (52.54 %)
Bullied prior to age 12 years*	2 (4.88 %)	11 (18.64 %)
Has children *	23 (56.10 %)	21 (35.59 %)
Ligature was present on body when discovered*	17 (41.46 %)	9 (15.25 %)
Ligature was already ** present at crime scene	21 (51.22 %)	11 (18.64 %)
Completely naked*	13 (31.71 %)	8 (13.56 %)
Evidence of extreme injuries**	16 (39.02 %)	47 (79.66 %)
Strangulation involved in the offence**	41 (100 %)	24 (40.68 %)
Ligature was used during offence**	23 (56.10 %)	13 (22.03 %)
Stabbing involved**	1 (2.44 %)	16 (27.12 %)
Evidence weapon used**	2 (4.88 %)	26 (44.07 %)
Evidence he took weapon to crime scene**	4 (9.76 %)	13 (22.03 %)
Broken bones**	4 (9.76 %)	22 (37.29 %)
Victim found with multiple stab wounds**	0 (0%)	12 (20.34 %)
Perpetrator disclosed hitting victim with object*	3 (7.32 %)	14 (23.73 %)
Evidence victim kicked*	2 (4.88 %)	13 (22.03 %)
Evidence of both manual/ligature strangulation*	7 (17.07 %)	3 (5.08 %)
Evidence alcohol a problem at time of offence*	8 (19.51 %)	26 (44.07 %)
Evidence they were a heavy drinker**	13 (31.71 %)	3 (5.08 %)
Pathologist believed sexual assault possible or likely*	22 (53.66 %)	18 (30.51 %)
Police believed he killed during or in order carry out sexual assault**	11 (26.83 %)	17 (28.81 %)
Police believed he killed victim to conceal rape**	6 (14.63 %)	2 (3.39 %)

* denotes significant at $p < .05$

** denotes significant at $p < .01$

Table 10.21 shows a summary of all factors where there was a significant difference on items for when the perpetrator killed by strangulation and did not kill by strangulation.

Summary

The analysis of items from the SKT that were present for generally 15% of the total number of cases or where there was a particular interest according to whether or not the perpetrator killed by strangulation showed a number of significant associations, the majority of which were related to aspects of the crime scene. In terms of their development, perpetrators who used strangulation were less likely to have an older brother and less likely to have been bullied. In terms of the offence, they were less likely to assault the victim using another method than actually strangling them: hence, there was less evidence that the victim was kicked, hit with an object or had broken bones. The victim was more likely to be found

completely naked if the perpetrator killed by strangulation. The pathologist was more likely to believe that sexual assault was possible when the victim was strangled. The police were more likely to believe that they killed the victim to conceal rape when the victim was strangled. Although there was less likely to be evidence that alcohol was a problem at the time of the offence if the perpetrator was killed by strangulation, it was more likely that the offender was a heavy drinker.

Binary Logistic Regression

The next section of this chapter reports a statistical analysis that considers whether reported in Table 10.21 above can predict whether the perpetrator killed by strangulation.

Results

Overall Significant Factors

A logistic regression was carried out to examine the effect of the predictors described in Table 10.21 on whether the perpetrator killer by strangulation (Yes, No). The items from Table 10.21 were entered as variables into the model. The variable bullied prior to age 12 years, victim found with multiple stab wounds, evidence of both manual/ligature strangulation and police believed he killed victim to conceal rape were not entered into the model because there were less than 15 cases present for this variable. The variables ligature was present on body when discovered, ligature was already at the crime scene, and ligature was used during the offence, and strangulation involved in the offence were not entered into the model because they were highly inter-correlated and in addition, these items were not conceptually different from the predictor variable of strangulation.

The variables produced a satisfactory model fit (i.e. discrimination between the outcome groups) as measured by the Hosmer and Lemeshow Test: χ^2 (, N = 100) = 2.77, $p > .05$. This model was significantly better than a constant-only model containing only the intercept, but no predictor variables: χ^2 (8, N = 100) = 64.62, $p < .05$. The Nagelkerke R square at step 8 was 0.64, indicating that 64.0% of variables that account for the fact that strangulation was employed were explained by this model. Correct classification of cases overall in the final step was 84.7 0%, with little difference between those who did not use strangulation (84.7%) and those who did (73.2%)

Table 10.22 Logistic Regression Statistics for Prediction of Perpetrator Used Strangulation to Overall Significant Factors

Predictor	B	S.E.	Wald	Exp(B)	95.0% C.I. for EXP(B)	
					Lower	Upper
Has children	1.62	0.65	6.19*	5.0	1.41	17.65
Weapon used(1)	2.95	0.97	9.34*	19.16	2.89	127.22
Took weapon to crime scene	2.51	1.11	5.14*	12.33	1.41	108.18
Broken bones	1.75	0.84	4.34*	5.73	1.11	29.70
Alcohol a problem at the time of offence	1.52	0.75	4.11*	4.57	1.05	19.90
Evidence they were a heavy drinker	2.18	0.94	5.36*	8.82	1.40	55.71
Police believed he killed victim to conceal a rape			11.68*			
Police believed he killed victim to conceal a rape (1)	-2.61	1.00	6.85*	0.07	0.01	0.52
Police believed he killed victim to conceal a rape (2)	0.53	1.27	0.17	1.70	0.14	20.54
Constant	-6.62	1.81	13.45	.001		

The numbers in brackets refer to the labelling of dummy variables when these have been created.

* significant at $p < .05$

Table 10.22 shows how the predictor variables contributed to the model, along with the Wald and Exp (B) statistics for the variables. These statistics show that the overall model was significant and evidence that the perpetrator has children, a weapon was used, evidence a weapon was taken to the crime scene, the victim was found with broken bones, alcohol was a problem at the time of the offence, the perpetrator was a heavy drinker, and police believed he killed during or in order to carry out a sexual assault, were significant predictors of whether the perpetrator strangled the victim.

A perpetrator who was coded as having children was more likely to kill by strangulation than a perpetrator who was not coded as having children (Odds Ratio = 5.00). So, if a perpetrator had children, he was 5.00 times more likely to kill by strangulation, i.e. the odds increase by 500.0%. If a weapon was not used, it was more likely that the victim was killed by strangulation than if a weapon was used (Odds Ratio = 19.16). So, if the perpetrator did not use a weapon, it was 19.16 times more likely that the victim was strangled, i.e. the odds increase by 1816.0%. If the perpetrator did not take the weapon to the crime scene, it was more likely that the victim was strangled than if the perpetrator did take a weapon (Odds Ratio = 12.33). So, if the perpetrator did not take a weapon to the crime scene, it was 12.33 times more likely that the victim was strangled, i.e. the odds increase by 1133.00%. If the victim was found with broken bones it was less likely that the victim was killed by strangulation (Odds Ratio = 5.73). So, if the victim was not found with broken bones, it was 5.73 times more likely that the victim was strangled, i.e. the odds increase by 473.0%. If alcohol was considered a problem for the perpetrator then it was less likely that the victim was strangled (Odds Ratio = 4.57). So, if alcohol was considered a problem for the perpetrator, it was 4.57 times more likely that the victim was strangled, i.e. the odds increase by 357.0%. If the perpetrator was a heavy drinker, it was more likely that the victim was killed by

strangulation (Odds Ratio = 8.82). So, if the perpetrator was a heavy drinker, it was 8.82 times more likely that the victim was killed by strangulation i.e. the odds increase by 782.0%. If the police believed that the perpetrator killed during or in order to carry out a sexual assault then the victim was more likely to be killed by strangulation than if the police did not believe that the perpetrator killed during or in order to carry out a sexual assault or there was missing information for this item (Odds Ratio = 1.70). So, if the police believed that the perpetrator killed during or in order to carry out a sexual assault, then the perpetrator was 1.70 times more likely to kill by strangulation, i.e. the odds increase 70.0%.

Discussion

The majority of differences for those perpetrators who used strangulation (ligature or manual) from those who did not kill by this method, related to crime scene behaviour. However, the analysis of crime scene behaviour generally confirmed that strangulation was used: e.g., ligature was present on the body when discovered and ligature was already at the crime scene. There is little indication that killing by strangulation alone identifies a distinct type of sexual killer. At the same time, this study identifies areas that could form the basis for future research, particularly to determine the motivation for using strangulation and the relationship that this may have with the sexual motivation for the offence. The finding that victim was less likely to be found with evidence that they had been kicked is associated with a cluster of behaviours indicating less extensive violence: this is seen by less overkill, less likelihood of extreme injuries, less attacks against the victim using foot or object, and less likelihood that bones were broken. The higher rate of the victim being found naked alongside the pattern of injuries, points to the possibility that strangulation is a controlled and sexually related method of death where the killing and sexual element are closely linked. In support of this hypothesis, is that the pathologist was more likely to believe that sexual assault was possible or likely, and the police were more likely to believe that the victim was killed to conceal rape if the victim was strangled. It may be that those perpetrators who used strangulation were less angry than perpetrators who used more extreme injuries. It is also possible that a sexual motivation is behind killing by strangulation.

These hypotheses could be explored by interviewing perpetrators who strangled their victim, as opposed to other methods of killing. In childhood, perpetrators who strangled their victims were less likely to have an older brother and less likely to be bullied. It would be interesting to explore the possibility that grievance and anger from childhood is related in some way to the method of killing. The significant predictors from the binary logistic regression that the perpetrator has children and was a heavy drinker when the victim was strangled could also be tested through interview. It is difficult to see how having children relates to the method of death employed in a sexual killing. It could possibly be representative of another underlying issue such as problems stemming from the responsibility of being a father or not having access to children that bring the perpetrator to more violent themes of fantasy and drinking to cope with these difficulties.

Conclusion

This study has not provided evidence that those perpetrators who kill by strangulation are a distinct but related group of sexual killers with different developmental and adult characteristics. However, there is indication of factors that suggest a sexual motivation associated with this method of death. These factors could be explored further through interviewing perpetrators who have strangled their victims.

CHAPTER ELEVEN
COMPARISON OF CASES THAT WERE OR WERE NOT CODED AS PRESENT
FOR THE FOUR RESEARCH FACTORS

Introduction

The data collected in this study have been analysed to produce the frequency of items from the entire sample (see Chapter Five) and have also been used to produce frequencies of the rate that cases did or did not meet the four research factors. In addition, items have been identified that were significant predictors for the four research factors. The four research factors were: whether the victim was a stranger, whether the perpetrator disclosed fantasy, whether the perpetrator was considered a loner, and whether the perpetrator used a “hands-on” method of killing their victim (see Chapters Seven to Ten). Table 11.1 shows the number of cases from the database that met each of the four research factors.

Table 11.1 Frequency of Areas of Research within Total Sample ($N = 100$).

Areas for research	<i>n / %</i>
Victim a stranger	45
Perpetrator disclosed fantasy	42
Ligature or manual strangulation	41
Reports perpetrator was a loner	40

As can be seen from Table 11.1, a large proportion of the sexual killers in this study were coded as meeting one of the four research factors described above. The number of cases where one or more of the research factors was met was also considered. There were 86 cases identified where the victim was a stranger and/or the perpetrator disclosed fantasy and/or the victim was killed by a “hands on” method (ligature or manual strangulation) and/or the perpetrator was coded as being a loner. This total was 86% of the sample, the high figure suggesting that the factors used to organise this research are a relevant framework to consider characteristics of sexual killers and their offences.

This chapter sets out to consider further those cases that met all of the four research factors. That is, cases where the perpetrator was considered a loner and had disclosed fantasy, the victim of their sexual killing was a stranger and they had killed a victim with a “hands-on” method. In total there were 9 cases which met these four criteria. There were also 13 cases where all of these criteria were not met. First, these 13 cases that didn’t meet any of the four research factors were initially looked at alongside the 9 cases which met the criteria. This was carried out to help identify factors that potentially characterise the 9 cases who met all four research factors.

Table 11.2 and Table 11.3 shows the percentage of cases that did or did not meet the four research factors by characteristics of sexual killers from literature and characteristics of sexual killers relevant to large number from the literature respectively, presented in Chapter One.

Table 11.2 Characteristics of Sexual Killers from Literature vs. Whether or Not Cases Met the Four Research Factors

Characteristics	Case met all four research factors	
	Yes (%) <i>N</i> = 9	No (%) <i>N</i> = 13
Aged 20-30	66.67 (<i>n</i> = 9)	53.85 (<i>n</i> = 13)
History of physical abuse	55.56 (<i>n</i> = 5)	46.2 (<i>n</i> = 12)
Disturbed relationship with father	66.67 (<i>n</i> = 6)	53.8 (<i>n</i> = 13)
Father abused alcohol	22.22 (<i>n</i> = 2)	7.70 (<i>n</i> = 13)
Behavioural problems at school	77.78 (<i>n</i> = 7)	69.20 (<i>n</i> = 13)
Social isolation during childhood/ adolescence	88.89 (<i>n</i> = 8)	23.10 (<i>n</i> = 3)
Poor achievement at school (Left school without qualifications)	77.78 (<i>n</i> = 7)	69.23 (<i>n</i> = 13)
Not in a relationship at time of offence	66.67 (<i>n</i> = 6)	38.50 (<i>n</i> = 13)
Psychiatric contact prior to sexual killing	55.56 (<i>n</i> = 5)	53.80 (<i>n</i> = 7)
Socially isolated/loneliness during adulthood	100.00 (<i>n</i> = 9)	0 (<i>n</i> = 13)
Average IQ	66.67 (<i>n</i> = 6)	53.90 (<i>n</i> = 11)
Victim a stranger/acquaintance	100.00 (<i>n</i> = 9)	0
Victim strangled	100.00 (<i>n</i> = 9)	0
Anger	0 (<i>n</i> = 9)	30.80 (<i>n</i> = 10)
Sexual release	77.78 (<i>n</i> = 7)	7.70 (<i>n</i> = 10)

Table 11.3 Characteristics of a Large Number of Sexual Killers Relevant from the Literature

Characteristics		Yes (%) <i>N</i> = 9	No (%) <i>N</i> = 13
Perpetrator	History of sexual abuse during childhood	22.22 (<i>n</i> = 2)	15.40 (<i>n</i> = 2)
characteristics	Bed wetting after age 5 years	11.11 (<i>n</i> = 1)	7.70 (<i>n</i> = 1)
	Run away from home	0 (<i>n</i> = 0)	15.40 (<i>n</i> = 2)
	Paraphilia	33.30 (<i>n</i> = 3)	7.70 (<i>n</i> = 1)
	Deviant sexual fantasy	100.00 (<i>n</i> = 9)	0 (<i>n</i> = 0)
	Alcohol dependence	55.56 (<i>n</i> = 5)	61.54 (<i>n</i> = 8)
	Drug dependence	33.33 (<i>n</i> = 3)	23.08 (<i>n</i> = 3)

From Tables 11.2 and 11.3 it can be seen that there was very little difference in terms of cases that did or did not meet the four research factors by characteristics of sexual killers from the literature.

For both groups, the majority were aged 20-30 years at the time of the offence, were coded as having experienced items indicative of a disturbed relationship with their father (e.g. absence of father during childhood, father left home prior to age 12 years, had a negative father image or were removed from the family home prior to the age of 16 years), were coded as having behavioural problems at school (e.g., truanted from school). Both groups also had behavioural examples of problems relating to their preferred sex, were sent to approved school, were suspended from school, were expelled from school or coded as having been removed from school where it wasn't clear that they had been expelled. They experienced social isolation during childhood/adolescence in that they were coded as being a loner with few friends, had poor achievement from school in terms of having left school without qualifications, had psychiatric contact prior to the killing, were rated as having had an average (or higher) IQ, showed indication of alcohol dependence in terms of being coded as being a heavy drinker or having had an alcohol problems at the time of the offence.

There were a small number of differences observed between the two groups. The sexual killers that met all four research factors were coded as having experienced physical abuse, having experienced social isolation during childhood/adolescence and as having attacked the victim with a sexual intention (an indication of sexual release) in the majority of cases, while this was not true of those perpetrators who did not meet the four research factors. In addition, the sexual killers that met all four research areas were less likely to be in a relationship at the time of the offence while the majority of perpetrators who did meet the four research factors were coded as being in a relationship at the time of the offence.

Table 11.4 shows the percentage of cases that did or did not meet the four research areas by additional characteristics of sexual killers arrived at from Chapter Five.

Table 11.4 Characteristics of Sexual Killers Relevant to a Large Number of the Cases from Chapter Five vs. Whether or Not Cases Met the Four Research Factors

Characteristics		Case met all four research factors	
		Yes (%)	No (%)
Perpetrator characteristics	Evidence of anti-social behaviour	44.44 (<i>n</i> = 4)	46.13 (<i>n</i> = 6)
	Drinking on day of offence	44.44 (<i>n</i> = 4)	76.90 (<i>n</i> = 10)
	Committed burglary prior to index offence	44.44 (<i>n</i> = 4)	53.80 (<i>n</i> = 7)
	Previous conviction for violence against a woman	33.33 (<i>n</i> = 3)	23.08 (<i>n</i> = 3)
	Previous conviction for a sexual offence against a stranger	66.66 (<i>n</i> = 6)	23.08 (<i>n</i> = 3)
	Evidence of extreme injuries	33.33 (<i>n</i> = 3)	69.23 (<i>n</i> = 9)
	Evidence of vaginal sex	55.56 (<i>n</i> = 5)	38.47 (<i>n</i> = 5)

Table 11.4 shows that perpetrators who did meet the four research factors were coded as having not been drinking on the day of the offence, to have committed burglary prior to the index offence or their victim being found with evidence of extreme injuries in the minority of cases while perpetrators who did not meet the research criteria were coded as having met these characteristics for the majority of cases. In addition, perpetrators who met the four research criteria were coded as having had a previous conviction for a sexual offence against a stranger and there was evidence of vaginal sex for the majority of cases while this was not the case for perpetrators who did not meet the four research factors.

Table 11.5 gives a summary of the characteristics that were found to be present for the majority of the 9 cases that met all the four research factors. The characteristics in this summary will be referred to as overall characteristics.

Table 11.5 Cases that met all Four Research Factors and Overall Characteristics

Overall characteristics	
Perpetrator characteristics	<p>Aged 20-30 years,</p> <p>History of physical abuse</p> <p>Disturbed relationship with their father</p> <p>Behavioural problems at school</p> <p>Poor achievement at school</p> <p>Not in a relationship at the time of the offence</p> <p>Psychiatric contact prior to the killing</p> <p>Average IQ or above</p> <p>Indication of alcohol dependence in terms of either coded as having had a problem with alcohol or being coded as being a heavy drinker at the time of the offence</p> <p>Previous conviction for a sexual offence against a stranger</p>
Offence characteristics	<p>Evidence of vaginal sex with the victim</p> <p>Attacked their victim for sexual release (coded as having attacked their victim with sexual intention)</p>

All of these 9 perpetrators were selected because they had been coded as being considered a loner, having had disclosed deviant or offence related fantasy and killed a victim who was a stranger with a “hands on” method.

To consider further the overall characteristics in relation to the four research factors, Table 11.5 below was constructed. This has taken each of the 9 cases that met the four research factors and has looked at the frequency they also occurred with the overall characteristics from Table 11.6 above. The four research factors of whether the perpetrator was considered a loner, whether the perpetrator’s victim was a stranger, whether the perpetrator disclosed fantasy and whether the perpetrator killed with a “hands on” method was included in the table to see the frequency with which they occurred with the overall characteristics. The only item that was omitted was that the perpetrator was aged between 20-30 years. This was because there were only three of the 9 cases that did not meet these criteria and they were younger or older than 20-30 years so this was not a dichotomous variable.

As can be seen from reading Table 11.5, the four research factors were present in addition to the overall characteristics in the majority of cases with the exception of one item. This one exception was that perpetrators killed the victim with a “hands on” method of killing and psychiatric contact prior to the killing was present in under half of the cases at 44.44%. In addition, with the exception of history of physical abuse being coded as present as well as; psychiatric contact prior to the killing, average IQ and sexual intention which were all 22.22%; all overall characteristics were present with the 9 cases and the four research items in a third of cases or above.

Discussion

Having considered these two groups of sexual killers drawn from the larger data set; those who did meet all four research factors and those who did not, there are a number of conclusions that can be made.

Whether or not perpetrators met all four of the research factors, both groups shared similarities in terms of childhood. Both groups were more often than not coded as having displayed behavioural problems at school, disturbed relationship with their father, having left school without qualifications, (which were indicative of poor achievement at school) which could possibly be seen as precursors to anti-social behaviour. Both groups also showed evidence of what is possibly more enduring disturbance in terms of having had psychiatric contact prior to the killing and evidence of alcohol dependence.

Turning to differences, the perpetrators who did not meet the four research factors were more often than not coded as having drunk alcohol on the day of the offence, to have committed burglary prior to the index offence, were more often in a relationship of some kind at the time of the offence and their victim was found with evidence of extreme injury. In addition, there was only one case that did not meet the four research factors that was coded as having committed the offence with a sexual intention while about a third of this group were coded as having committed the offence out of anger. The group that did not meet the four research factors would therefore seem to be associated with perpetrators who had more anger driven killings than sexually motivated crimes in terms of evidence of extreme injury and anger being coded as the reason for the killing in a proportion of the cases. In addition to the group of 13 who did not meet the four research factors, none of whom had been coded as being loners, they were also more often than not as coded as being in a relationship at the time of the offence, another indication that they did not have problems with social interaction.

For the perpetrators who met all four of the research criteria, they were more often than not coded as having a history of physical abuse, were not in a relationship at the time of the offence, having average IQ or above, having a previous conviction for a sex offence against a stranger, had victim's where there was evidence of vaginal sex, and attacked the victim with a sexual

intention. This latter group, all of whom were also considered a loner and had disclosed deviant fantasy, therefore show indication of a stronger fusion of sex and killing than the perpetrators who did not meet the four research factors.

These two groups, while small in number, share some similarities with previous typologies that have included sexually motivated and anger motivated killings (e.g., Beech et al., 2005; Clarke & Carter, 2000). However, the presence of the perpetrator being coded as a loner, which has been found in previous studies of sexual killers (e.g., Grubin, 1994), points to the need to explore further its possible role in men becoming sexual killers. For example, there could be benefit in trying to identify if being a loner is a casual factor that drives and promotes sexual fantasy and sexual offending or is a symptom of retreating into fantasy and making a decision not to engage with other people and pursue intimate relationships. There is also the possibility that being a loner is both a causal factor and symptom of sexual fantasy.

These two groups are too small in number for meaningful statistical analysis to be employed to consider if the differences are significant between them. However, this descriptive analysis is relevant for the understanding of sexual killers and further research in a number of ways. Whether the sexual killing is considered sexually motivated or driven by anger, both groups displayed evidence of problematic behaviour during childhood and indications of difficulties in coping in terms of having received psychiatric contact and signs of alcohol dependence. These similarities provide a point for further research to identify developmental factors that create an environment and shape the individual from which antecedents to the commission of sexual killings begin. Further research as to whether unresolved trauma and conflict and difficulties coping with problems acted as an antecedent to the offence needs to be undertaken through interviews with sexual killers. The overall factors described above could act as a basis for further exploratory interview alongside probing of attitudes that could promote or support the fusion of sex and violence. For example, interviews would provide an opportunity to determine if an individual's experience of physical abuse and having a disturbed relationship with their father affected their ability to engage with their peers and form relationships with the opposite sex. Following this, how sexual killers developed sexual interests and the nature of their fantasies could be explored. The goal of this kind of approach might be to contextualise these characteristics within the sexual killers' life history and gain an understanding how they possibly fit together or not, in determining what led to committing sexual killings. During this process, additional and other important characteristics relevant to the understanding of sexual killers and the motivation for their offences could be revealed.

The analysis within this chapter has provided indication that these two groups of sexual killers share a number of developmental characteristics as well as characteristics as an adult while also suggesting potential differences, namely, relating to indications of sexual intention or

anger as a motive for the offence, and issues around being or not being a loner. The areas of similarity provide a basis from which to explore general developmental experiences and characteristics from which sexual killers emerge, while the differences provide a basis to further research potentially different offence pathways in terms of factors, triggers and motivation for the killing. The next chapter considers a possible developmental model based upon the findings of the data in this study that could act as a basis for future research.

CHAPTER TWELVE

FURTHER CONSIDERATION OF FACTORS IN THE SEXUAL KILLER TEMPLATE

Introduction

This chapter sets out to examine further the information collected within this research by drawing upon a number of relevant models as a basis to interpret the findings. The main model referred to was one that considered a development of violence proposed by Nietzel, Hasemann and Lynam (1999). In addition, reference to models of sexual murderers (Burgess et al. 1986; Hickey, 1997) as well as models of sexual offending per se (Marshall & Barbaree 1990; Marshal & Marshall 2000) will be referred to in making steps towards proposing a developmental model of sexual killing.

Nietzel et al. (1999) carried out a review of “Major behavioural theories of criminal offending” and attempted to “Integrate behaviourally based explanations of violent offending with empirically supported biological and sociological findings on violence in order to arrive at a comprehensive, multifactor theory of violent offending”(p.40). This model is comprised of four phases, termed: distal antecedents, early indicators, developmental processes and maintenance variables. These four phases provide a potential path to account for the lead up to violence as well as factors that play a part in preventing individuals from behaving violently. Distal antecedents refers to both the environment during childhood that the perpetrator grew up in and biological precursors, psychological predispositions and other factors that can predispose an individual to violence, such as poor verbal ability, a tendency to be impulsive, certain types of personality and the childhood temperament. Nietzel et al. propose that some children come from backgrounds with numerous chances and temptations to commit crime that also facilitate violence through an abundance of “Discriminate stimuli for violence”(p.50) and propose that “Within family environments, high levels of psychopathology, criminality, and substance abuse are also linked with higher rates of aggression among children” (p.50). Nietzel et al. suggest that the connection between childhood violence and the family environment could form through a number of factors, including troubled attachment with parents and the demands of the living environment creating “hostility”. In addition, certain individuals may be predisposed to committing crime, where some predispositions are “Biologically rooted, some are psychological in nature, and still others involve a complex interaction of both biological and psychological factors” (p.50). Biological precursors are thought to include high levels of testosterone or brain injury. With reference to psychological factors, Nietzel et al. propose that these could include poor verbal ability, high levels of impulsivity, and personality dispositions including psychopathy, that increase prevalence of violence. Finally, a “lack of control” e.g. limited span of attention, being irritable in nature, are cited as being found in previous research to be associated with being “Much more likely to be rated as aggressive and interpersonally alienated by their parents at ages 13 and 15” (p. 54). The distal antecedents are thought to lead to what Nietzel et al. term ‘Early indicators of violence’ such as conduct problems and aggressive

behaviour. Nietzel et al. also suggest that a number of developmental processes could determine whether an individual engages in more serious acts of violence as an adult, such as lack of achievement at school, that can make the individual feel that their options are limited e.g. they have little choice in terms of making a living through legal means. Criminal peer influences, aggression influenced by television and alcohol and substance abuse can also strengthen the likelihood of serious violence in later life. An environment that provides encouragement through criminal peers and opportunities and a deepening sense of resentment towards society are amongst the factors considered as acting in maintaining violence as a lifestyle choice.

While Nietzel et al. (1999) provide a developmental model of violent behaviour, it shares similarities with models specifically for sexual killing or sexual offending. Burgess et al. (1986) provided a motivational model of sexual killing following their study of 36 sexual murderers, the majority of whom were serial killers (also reported upon by Ressler, Burgess and Douglas 1988). Like Nietzel et al., Burgess et al. considered the environment of the sexual killer during childhood, with emphasis on the social aspect. Burgess et al. proposed that the social environment of the men in their study as children was “ineffective”, it was characterised by poor bonding with both primary carers and other children which result in the perpetrator failing to have “A positive bonding with his social environment” (p.261) and leads to him fostering both a negative perception of reality and distortions relating to sexuality. A failure, due to inadequate parenting and poor bonding, to be protected from trauma, whether normative (e.g. divorce, death) or non-normative e.g. physical and sexual abuse, can feed into feelings of helplessness. If a sense of helplessness remains unresolved, as the child grows up these feelings can lead to reliance on fantasy to both gain escape and acquire control. Negative personality traits take the place of positive counterparts of trust and security. These negative personality traits, e.g. feelings of social isolation and aggression, are considered critical because they interrupt the individual’s ability to form relationships. These critical personality traits combine with what Burgess et al. term cognitive mapping processes to produce fantasies. With reference to the same study reported by Burgess et al., Ressler et al. (1988) later wrote that, “Cognitive mapping refers to the structure and development of thinking patterns that both give control and development to one’s internal life and link the individual to the social environment” and propose that for sexual killers the “Cognitive mapping is fixed, negative, and repetitive” (p.73). There is a failure of positive interaction socially as “Fantasies and thinking patterns are designed to stimulate only himself and to reduce tension” (p.73). Control is gained in the killer’s fantasies with themes that include dominance and the infliction of pain on both himself and others. These thoughts of dominance emerge during childhood and lead to abusive and destructive behaviour towards other people and/or animals where adolescence sees an increase in violent behaviour. An inability to form friendships reinforces the isolation from others as well as interfering with the “Ability to resolve conflicts, to develop positive empathy, and to control impulses” (p.74). The final stage of the model is a feedback filter. Subsequent behaviour is shaped by the sexual killer’s reaction and evaluation of his conduct to himself and to other people. This

process is termed a feedback filter “Because it both feeds back into the killer’s patterned responses and filters his earlier actions into a certain way of thinking” (p.74). Variation in fantasy leads to a greater sense of power and heightened level of arousal, and further elaborate fantasy ensues.

Like Nietzel et al. (1999) and Burgess et al. (1986), Hickey (1997) also considered childhood environments in proposing a model of serial killers. Hickey considered “destabilizing events” in the shape of trauma, e.g. sexual abuse, unstable home life, that can help to explain and understand how certain individuals go on to commit serial murder. Hickey proposed that this trauma is made worse by an inadequate social environment that leaves the child feeling confused and mistrustful; these feelings can be exacerbated by other kinds of rejection such as being excluded by peers at school. While dissociation may take place in a bid to suppress trauma, at some point it will emerge and “A cycle of trauma and quest for regaining control can be generated at a very early age” (p.89). The perpetrator can turn to facilitators of dissociation to suppress trauma such as alcohol and pornography during what Hickey describes as “The trauma-control process” (p.89). However, Hickey warns that “Alcohol and pornography are not mandatory elements in the construction of a serial killer, but they tend to provide vehicles the offender uses to express the growing rages from within” (p.90). Fantasy and daydreaming are proposed as being a means by which control is gained and act to take the place of social networks during adolescence in a similar way to Burgess et al.’s model (Arrigo & Purcell, 2001). Further experiences of failure and isolation can mean that the perpetrator re-experiences trauma and keeps “The serial killer caught up in a self-perpetuating cycle of fantasies, stalking and violence” (p.99). The trauma reinforcers that Hickey considered appear to equate to Nietzel et al.’s (1999) maintenance variables. The models described above also share similarities with a model of sexual offending. Marshall and Barbaree (1990) proposed “An integrated theory of the aetiology of sexual offending” (p.257) that shares similarities with these models for sexual killing. Marshall and Barbaree also considered developmental factors, where negative childhood experiences such as poor, harsh and inconsistent parenting, “Can be expected to make them relatively unable to develop intimacy and to feel empathy, and leaves them socially inept, lacking in confidence, self-centered, hostile, aggressive, and negatively disposed towards women” (p.263). Fantasies may compensate for these feelings of isolation and helplessness and take on themes of rape. Messages and images from society that support male dominance and help foster distorted sexual attitudes such as rape myths can combine with pornography use to develop an overtly masculine individual. Alcohol and anger can facilitate a decision to offend when opportunities arise. More recently, Marshall and Marshall (2000) elaborated on the earlier model proposed by Marshall and Barbaree, focusing on how vulnerability arises and contributes to sexual offending. In this paper, Marshall and Marshall outline how sexual offenders are less likely to be protected from sexual abuse as children because of poor attachment with their parents. This lack of protection leads to increased risk of the child being the victim of sexual abuse. Victimization can mean both masturbation starts from an earlier age and sex is used as a coping strategy to deal with the threat of or actual abuse. A lack of confidence combined with increased rates of masturbation

can result in elements of power and control being incorporated into more deviant fantasies that develop over time. The developmental model of vulnerability proposed by Marshall and Marshall also recognises that disinhibiting influences of drugs and alcohol combine with anger prior the offence and if an opportunity to offend occurs then the crime is committed. A conditioning process occurs that can entrench sexual offending.

The models proposed by Burgess et al. (1986), Hickey (1997), Marshall and Barbaree (1990), and Marshall and Marshall (2000) all share similar themes in that the child has poor attachment with his parents, experiences trauma and tries to gain control, and deals with confusion and mistrust through sexual fantasy where themes of power and control can emerge. The data from this study will now be compared to an adapted version of the model of violence proposed by Nietzel et al. (1999).

Proposed Model of Sexual killing

Figure 12.1 provides an adaptation of Nietzel et al.'s (1999) model using factors that have been found in this research to be present for a large number of the sexual killers being studied (see Chapter Five). As well as placing the factors under these headings proposed by Nietzel et al. an additional heading entitled Offence variables has been introduced to extend the model from possible pathways to also consider for the actual killing from the current research. The model would seem to indicate that the factors that were coded most frequently on the SKT broadly fit under the headings provided by Nietzel et al.'s model, although there are some areas that information is lacking because they were not coded for on the SKT given the nature of the data collection which relied upon coding of files rather than interview. In terms of distal antecedents, there is broad support for the presence of factors compatible with the Nietzel et al. model. With reference to biological factors, these were either not recorded or not commented upon within the files on which the SKT was coded. For example, there was very little evidence within the SKT that testosterone levels were measured, if at all, and no description of physical strength and so forth. Arguably, this sort of exploration is specialist research. There was evidence of brain injury in 22.1% of cases ($n = 95$) although there was little indication that this was lasting (23.8%, $n = 21$). Only 41.6% ($n = 89$) of the perpetrators were subject to an EEG assessment and of these, 16.2% of cases ($n = 37$) was an abnormality recorded. There was indication for psychological factors in that 22.6% ($n = 93$) were considered psychopathic although the SKT did not collect information on impulsivity. However, 59.0% ($n = 100$) showed evidence of anti-social behaviour, which Nietzel et al. considered (with reference to research by White et al., 1994) as being associated with higher levels of impulsivity than children without evidence of anti-social behaviour.

The final distal antecedent related to the development of violence proposed by Nietzel et al. (1999), environmental factors, was well represented from the data collected in the SKT. There were high rates of parent separation (44.1%, $n = 59$) absence of father during childhood (35.9%, $n = 64$) removed from the family home prior to the age of 16 years (31.6%, $n = 98$), parental instability (29.5%, $n = 95$) father left home when the perpetrator was aged 5 to 12 years (14.3%, $n = 97$), father

described as an alcoholic or heavy drinker (17.7 %, $n = 96$), father left home when perpetrator was aged less than 12 years (46.5%, $n = 86$), father in trouble with the police (14.6, $n = 48$), negative father image (50.7 %, $n = 69$), physically abused (46.5%, $n = 86$) and sexually abused (31.0 %, $n = 100$). These items also fit with the ineffective environment proposed by Burgess et al. and Hickey et al. and could be indicative of an ineffectual environment that may leave an individual confused and with low self-esteem. Unlike the Nietzel et al. model, early indicators in Figure 1.1 have been broadened to include factors that could predispose these men to having deviant and offence related fantasies to or could facilitate sexual killing with the inclusion of grievance towards women and evidence of paraphilia ($n = 19$ and $n = 21$ respectively).

As mentioned above, there was evidence of the perpetrator behaving in an anti-social manner during childhood. Evidence of truanting from school (45.9%, $n = 98$) and being a run away from home between the age of 12 to 16 years (15.0%, $n = 100$) were recorded on the SKT. Within early indicators, traumatic events that both trigger and shape the development of paraphilias in the models proposed by Burgess et al. (1986) and Hickey (1997) have been included. These are not dissimilar from models proposed by Marshall and Marshall (2000) described above where vulnerability is created from poor attachment with parents that can lead to poor relationship style and coping through the use of sex. As with the model of violence by Nietzel et al., it is proposed here that there are developmental processes that lead an individual to offend in a way that is sexually violent; socio-cultural messages that support sexual offending alongside juvenile sexual history come together in a conditioning response that predispose an individual to sexually offend.

With the developmental model of sexual killers proposed in Figure 12.1, the high prevalence of the perpetrator being perceived as a loner with few friends (55.4%, $n = 74$) could be a symptom of feelings of rejection and failure that prevent the perpetrator from developing meaningful social relationships with his peers. In addition, there was a reasonable number of sexual killers having problems relating to preferred sex during childhood (17.3%, $n = 98$). These findings could be considered indicative that the individual retreated to fantasy as a substitute for social relationships and to compensate for the confusion their environments left them with.

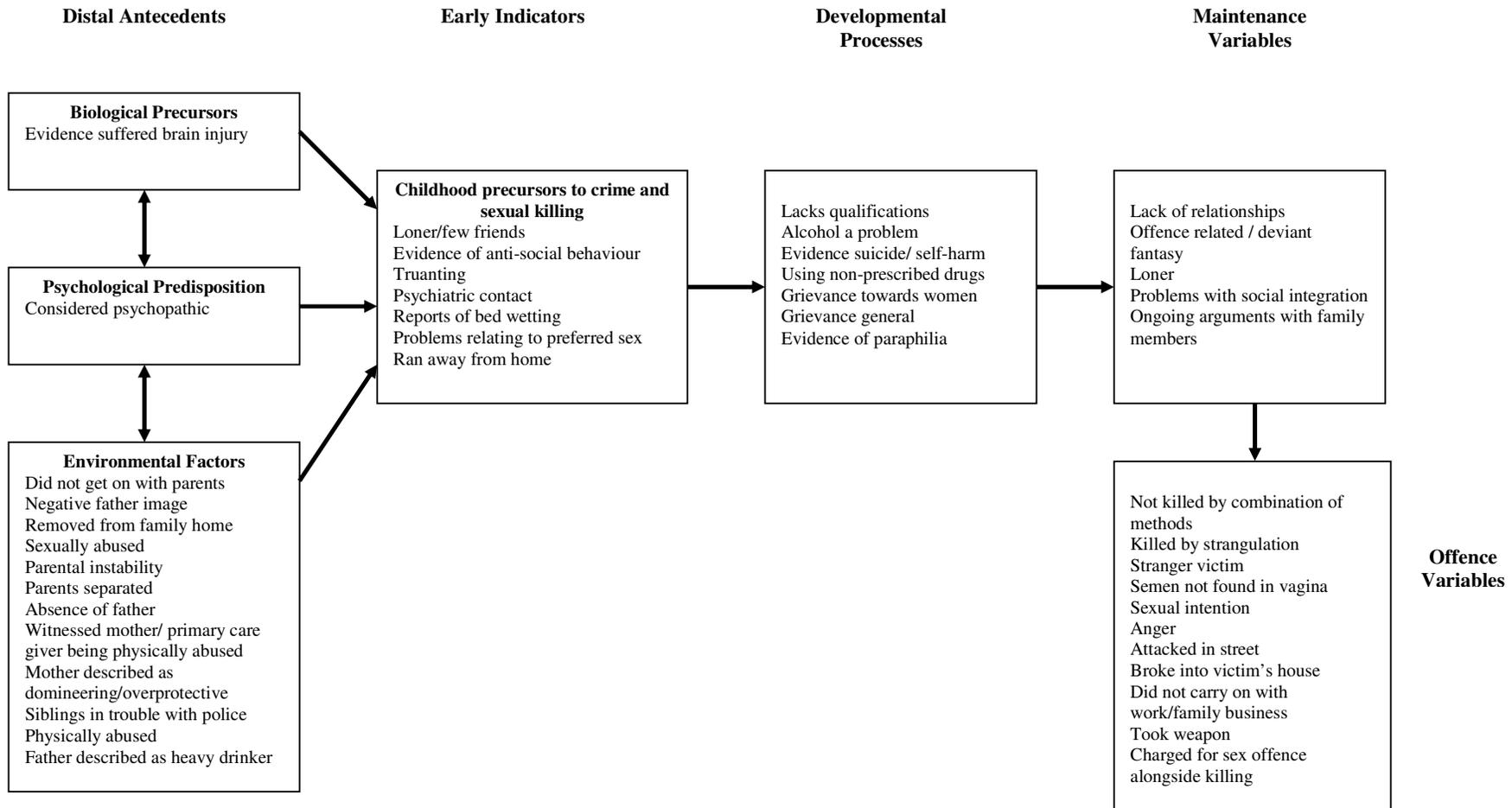


Figure 12.1 The Development of Sexual Killers

The developmental processes outlined in Figure 12.1 consist of poor achievement in school. Nietzel et al. (1999) considered hostile attributions within the developmental processes for their model of violence. Within Figure 12.1 these are caused by what has been termed in the SKT as grievance thinking as well as grievance towards women. This grievance may well sustain and propel deviant fantasies of a more violent nature against women or cause the motivation for perpetrators who commit sexual killings triggered by anger. In addition, developmental process consists of a lack of relationships (43%, $n = 100$) and substance abuse (21.2%, $n = 99$) and the perpetrator being considered a loner who did not socialise during adulthood (44%, $n = 100$). A large proportion had previous convictions for sexual offences against a stranger (29%) and a large proportion had three or more convictions (53%) so it is possible that a number of these men served custodial sentences where they could have had association with deviant/aggressive peers as suggested in Nietzel et al.'s original model.

In terms of maintenance variables, the combination of fantasy, grievance type thinking, being a loner and not in a relationship could all maintain deviant sexual interests and a reliance on fantasy or tendency to disengage with others and live their life as a loner. Offence variables cover the use of drugs, lack of a relationship, anger and grievance. That a large number of sexual killers attacked their victim in the street (23%, $n = 100$) indicates that they were given an opportunity to offend. However, it is of course possible that other offence variables that include triggers for the offence exist that need further exploration, as a large number of perpetrators also broke into the victim's home, suggesting some planning involved and possibility of different triggers.

Summary

The model in Figure 12.1 has been put forward as a proposed way of understanding the data collected within the SKT from a developmental perspective. Essentially, the model organises those items from the SKT that were present for a reasonable proportion of cases (15 or more) under the headings proposed by Nietzel et al. In addition, it includes those items that were found through logistic regression to predict one of the four areas used as a framework to organise and consider this population study (whether victim was a stranger, whether the perpetrator killed through strangulation, whether the perpetrator disclosed fantasy or whether the perpetrator was described as a loner). In addition, attacked with a sexual intention ($n = 29$) or killed through anger/loss of temper ($n = 27$) were included under offence variables as these factors accounted for the motivation put forward by the perpetrator in a majority of cases in the study ($n = 56$) and there is a

research basis to suggest that these are motivating factors for sexual killings (e.g., Proulx & Beauregard 2007). Also included in the model were the factors found to predict the increased likelihood that the perpetrator was a loner, disclosed fantasy, used a hands on method of killing or perpetrated their crimes against a stranger from logistic regression analysis (see Chapters Seven - Ten).

Discussion

The model in Figure 12.1 shares many similarities with previous models of sexual or serial murder and sexual offending per se. As with these models described earlier, the Figure 12.1 indicates that childhoods of the sexual killers considered in this study were characterised by factors that relate to inadequate parenting and poor bonding, early indicators that suggest rebelliousness and aggression, and developmental and maintenance factors that relate to an absence of relationships and both grievance directed at women and grievance in general. In addition, the proposed model shares factors with models of sexual offenders per se. While further exploration and analysis is necessary, these findings give a tentative indication that, with reference to the sexual killers within this study, there is value in considering the data in terms of existing models of violence and sexual killing. In this respect, there is a basis to view sexual killers as sharing similarities with violent and sexual killers. However, and possibly more importantly for understanding sexual killers, there may be experiences, or the extent of the experience, that are relevant in understanding why certain children go on to commit sexual killings. In addition, the model can be used as a basis for establishing why certain individuals respond to their childhood by turning to fantasy and grievance type thinking. Prentky et al. (1989) have found that aspects of sex offender's development experiences were related to the level of aggression they employed. Further research looking at the relationship between the environmental factors within this proposed model and how these relate to early indicators could be a helpful starting point. In addition, whether certain factors work in combination to lead individuals to progress to sexual killing needs investigation. It may be that some of the factors in the current study are proxy indicators of factors more directly related to the development of fantasy and thinking that allows and supports the use of fatal violence linked to sex. Burgess et al.'s (1986) motivational model of sexual homicide includes a propensity to fantasise as well as to committing anti-social actions towards others and self within its five stages. The model proposed in this study could be used as a basis to establish factors that contribute to a propensity to commit sexual killing. Thornton, Mann and Hanson (2008) proposed that propensities are enduring "vulnerabilities" and when joined with manifestations, which they consider to be "current

active propensities”, can be considered risk factors for sexual offending. In the model of sexual killers proposed in this chapter, the early indicators, developmental processes and maintenance variables could be considered manifestations of propensities. For example, few friends as a child could be a manifestation of the propensity of problems with intimacy or low self-esteem. Consideration of the different stages of this model, through other methods of research such as interview could take the factors from this study as a basis to understand further the possible propensities of sexual killers. For example, what are the propensities that lead to the development of deviant and offence related fantasies or grievance thinking, which could be seen as manifestations. The model provides a large number of potential manifestations for further research. This further research could prove beneficial to risk assessment and carrying out interventions. The identification of why individuals develop propensities that manifest themselves in behaviours that culminate in sexual killing could result in the possibility of interventions earlier in an individual’s development to prevent sexual killings from being carried out. This approach could also have benefits for risk assessment and treatment of convicted sexual killers. For example, evidence of current manifestations could indicate continued risk (Thornton et al.).

The angry and sadistic type profiles (Beauregard & Proulx, 2002) and implicit theories of sexual killers (Beech, Fisher & Ward, 2005) could be used as a basis to explore and further define this model in addition to the findings from Chapter Eleven to look at possible pathways for offending built on different combinations of propensities. As a next step, consideration of relationship with siblings, the consequence of having poor relationships with parents and a negative father image, need to be explored to see if it is possible to identify the development of enduring vulnerabilities that manifest themselves in the early indicators proposed in this model.

CHAPTER THIRTEEN

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to summarise the findings from this research. A discussion on how these findings relate to future research can be found in the following chapter.

Summary of Research aims

The purpose of this research was to carry out an explorative study into the characteristics of sexual killers using a larger sample than has previously been reported within the literature. A large sample was employed so that any findings concerning the perpetrator, offence or victim characteristics would be more representative, so providing a better understanding of sexual killing.

Information was collected using a coding criteria that looked for the presence or absence of characteristics relevant to the perpetrator, their offences, and victim. From the literature, four areas were identified that were considered to be relevant to sexual killers to explore and organise the information collected in this study: two offence characteristics - whether or not the victim was a stranger and whether or not killed by strangulation; - and two perpetrator characteristics- whether or not the perpetrator was considered a loner and whether or not they disclosed fantasy. Data were collected on male perpetrators who had killed one or two female victims who were aged 14 years or older.

In Chapter One, the literature review concluded by describing the characteristics of sexual killers from the available literature relevant for either the majority of these perpetrators or for a large proportion. From this review, it was concluded that sexual killers are generally white and aged in their 20s or 30s. Their childhood histories are characterised by physical abuse and social isolation during childhood and adolescence. A large subset of sexual killers have a history of being the victim of sexual abuse, bed-wetting after the age of 5 years and being a runaway from home. Sexual killers' relationships with their fathers are disturbed and their fathers abuse alcohol and they demonstrate behavioural problems at school and are poor achievers. At the time of their offence, they are unlikely to be in a relationship, are isolated and experience loneliness, and may have had psychiatric contact prior to the killing. They have previous convictions and kill out of anger and/or sexual release. A large number of sexual killers will show evidence of paraphilia and deviant sexual fantasy, and will abuse drugs or alcohol and/or be intoxicated at the time of the offence.

In Chapter Two, the development and initial testing of the SKT was reported. The SKT built on the characteristics of sexual killers and their victims gleaned from the literature review by further considering the literature and the researcher's clinical experience to identify factors that could possibly help establish characteristics of sexual killers (see Appendix 3.1 for Copy of the SKT). The initial testing, which involved a number of colleagues coding cases using the template,

helped refine the SKT prior to data collection. The data were generated from 100 cases that met the definition of sexual killing employed for the purpose of this study.

Chapter Three described how cases were selected for study as well as the training process of a colleague who co-rated a proportion of the sample in order to provide estimates of inter-rater reliability.

Chapter Four described the development of a database so that analysis could be undertaken to explore the dataset and how items had been coded within the database.

In Chapter Five, it was seen that the characteristics identified in the literature review were present for a large number of sexual killers in the current study. That is, the majority of sexual killers were white, aged 20-30 years, had had some aspect of relationship with their father that indicated it was disturbed, had social isolation during childhood, were not in a relationship at the time of the offence and were considered average IQ or above. For a large proportion, there was a history of childhood physical abuse, behavioural problems at school, psychiatric contact prior to the sexual killing, and social isolation during adulthood. In terms of the offence characteristics, a large proportion of the victims were strangled and were considered a stranger. In terms of the motivation for the offence, where it was possible to code from the information within files, the majority provided a sexual motivation for killing or killing due to anger or loss of temper. In addition, the current study found that the majority of sexual killers had brothers or sisters, were cared for by their parents up to the age of 12 years and showed evidence of anti-social behaviour in their formative years. In addition, just under half of perpetrators had a previous conviction for burglary, over one-half had a previous conviction for a stranger victim of a sex offence and had more than 3 previous convictions, the majority of sexual killers had been drinking on the day of the offence, were working at the time of the offence and there was evidence of extreme injuries and a reasonable proportion (20.2%) had a mother who was described as domineering/over protective.

It was also found that the large majority of sexual killers in the current study were convicted for murder (82%), and were born in the United Kingdom (predominantly England). Just over one-half of the perpetrators confessed when asked about the crime. It was also seen that using a broad definition, as with the one employed in the current study where cases were included if : the perpetrator had disclosed that they had killed with a sexual motive; or there was evidence of sexual behaviour prior to or during the offence or following it; or clothes were disturbed for reasons that could not be explained by simply moving the body, effectively identified cases that went on to meet factors indicative of a sexual element in almost the entire sample employed in this study (99%).

In Chapter Six, the method of analysis for the four research areas was outlined. This chapter described how the information on the database was recoded in order to prepare it for binominal logistic regression and how the analysis would be interpreted.

In Chapter Seven, it was seen that there was some initial support towards establishing that perpetrators who victimise strangers have distinct characteristics amongst sexual killers. Although the number of victims who were a stranger were not the majority within this study, there were two developmental factors; that the perpetrator was less likely to have an older sister and less likely to have a father who left home when the perpetrator was aged 5 to 12 years that were more likely if the victim was a stranger. There was also indication when a perpetrator's victim was a stranger they were more likely to have a previous conviction for sexual offences and non-contact sex offences, have evidence of a paraphilia, and more likely to disclose that they killed the victim with a sexual intention than due to anger/loss of control than if the victim was not a stranger. The analyses indicated that those perpetrators who victimised strangers were more likely to have a sexual offending history and to have had a sexual motivation to the killing than those perpetrators who had not victimised strangers. The logistic regression analysis revealed significant predictors relating to siblings, psychiatric assessment and offence characteristics that provide a starting point for further research into sexual killers that victimise strangers. These factors have implications for both understanding motivation and apprehension of these perpetrators.

In Chapter Eight it was shown that sexual killers who disclose deviant or offence related fantasy were more likely to have experienced factors concerning problems with parental and childhood social relationships. In addition, they showed some differences in crime scene behaviour and were more likely to disclose having attacked the victim with a sexual intention than perpetrators who had not disclosed deviant or offence related fantasy. The characteristics considered relevant to those perpetrators who disclosed deviant or offence related fantasy were consistent with theories of sexual killing and sexual offending per se, suggesting that models of sexual offending are relevant for understanding sexual killers and that efforts should be made to validate models of sexual killers. This chapter also showed the value of examining how crime scene behaviour related to developmental and adult characteristics of sexual killers, which could potentially help with both detection and assessment of perpetrators.

In Chapter Nine, it was shown that sexual killers who were considered a loner as adults were more likely to have been considered a loner during childhood and or being involved in behaviour that could involve having a bond with their peers. As adults, Loners were less likely to be in a relationship at time of offence, more likely to experience problems with social integration and to have disclosed deviant or offence related sexual interest.

In Chapter Ten, it was reported that sexual killers who killed by strangulation showed little difference in terms of childhood characteristics from those who did not kill by strangulation. However, they did show differences in terms of crime scene behaviour.

In Chapter Eleven, it was shown that perpetrators who met all four of the research factors showed indication of a stronger fusion of sex and killing than those who did not meet the four research factors. The differences between these two groups of sexual killers provide a basis to

explore potentially different pathways in terms of factors, triggers and motivation for sexual killings.

In Chapter Twelve, a developmental model of sexual killing was proposed having been adapted from an existing model for violence. This model provides a tentative step towards understanding the development of sexual killers. While there are similarities with existing models of violence, sexual killers and sexual offenders per se, this model indicated that disturbed relationships with parents; particularly with father and disturbance within the home to the extent that they are removed from the family home possibly manifest themselves in childhood isolation and problems relating to the perpetrators preferred sex that extends into adulthood where problems with social integration, being a loner and lack of relationships maintain grievance type thinking and offence related or deviant fantasy. This model and the findings within Chapters Seven to Ten provide a basis for further identifying factors that identify the characteristics of sexual killers, their motivation and development.

CHAPTER FOURTEEN

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

The purpose of this chapter is to consider the findings of this research in the context of the existing literature on sexual killers and its contribution to how perpetrators of this crime are characterised, the assessment of these perpetrators, and understanding of this crime in terms of its motivation, developmental issues and implications for future research.

Consideration of Research Findings

The Characteristics of Sexual Killers

This research has found support for the characteristics of sexual killers outlined in the literature review in Chapter One. Broadly, sexual killers in this study have been characterised by disturbed relationship with their fathers, behavioural problems at school, social isolation during childhood and adolescence and not being in a relationship at the time they committed the killing. The identification of childhood characteristics that showed disturbed relationship with father supports findings by Langevin et al., (1988), and Nicole and Proulx (2007). Loneliness during childhood and adulthood as well as absence of relationships has been identified in a number of studies of sexual killers, e.g. Grubin, (1994), Milsom et al., (2003). This research has also supported findings that sexual killers have had prior psychiatric contact, e.g. Oliver et al., (2007) although, as with previous research, sexual killers in this study were rarely considered psychotic at the time of the offence. This study has also found evidence for sexual killers to have had previous convictions, although the finding that almost half the men in this study had a previous conviction for burglary provides support that this behaviour could be relevant to the progression of offending to sexual killing (Schlesinger, 2001). The one characteristic from the literature review that was not coded in one-half or approaching one-half of the cases was fathers of perpetrators having abused alcohol. It is therefore possible that fathers who abused alcohol is not a characteristic of the family background of sexual killers although this finding could be explored further through interview. In addition, disclosure of deviant fantasies and indication of alcohol dependence were coded as present in over a third of perpetrators in this study, indicating that these characteristics could have more relevance to sexual killers than has been indicated in the literature.

The characteristics of sexual killers in this study are consistent with the dysfunctional childhood backgrounds and adult characteristics proposed in models of sexual offending per se e.g. Marshall and Barbaree (1986) and Marshall and Marshall (2000) and models of sexual killing, e.g. Burgess et al. (1986). This study has also found support for existing typologies of sexual killing, in that anger or sexual intention accounted for the majority of reasons that was coded for why the perpetrator committed the sexual killing.

As has been discussed, typologies of sexual killers have generally included those where the killing is sexually motivated, the result of anger, or is instrumental in terms of silencing the only victim to a crime or to enforce submission, (e.g. Clarke and Carter, 2000). Other studies have

identified themes in terms of the characteristics of sexual killers, such as that they experience high levels of childhood and adult loneliness when comparisons with other offender groups have been made, e.g. Grubin (1994).

This research has looked at motivation in terms of the killing alongside aspects of the perpetrators' background, development adult characteristics, crime and victim to gain a wider understanding of sexual killing. The research findings have identified a number of areas that are relevant for risk assessment and risk management and to target in treatment. The factors identified will help assessors understand a context for sexual killing in terms of the perpetrators' childhood, adult developmental processes and precursors and triggers for the offence. There are a number of advantages to this approach. For example, establishing that an individual has committed a killing as part of a sadistic fantasy does not tell the assessor the individual concerned harbours sadistic fantasies. In addition, if the perpetrator being assessed developed sadistic fantasy, it does not tell the assessor what has maintained this sexual interest and caused the individual to act upon these fantasies in the context of a killing. This research has provided characteristics for assessors to undertake a more comprehensive approach to assessment with clusters of behaviours that could be indicative of important clinical information, e.g. that fantasy is relevant to the offence.

While this study has helped identify characteristics of sexual killers based on a larger and more representative sample within the UK, it has also supported the view that sexual killers represent a heterogeneous group. There will undoubtedly be some sexual killers who show few of the characteristics identified here. However, it was not intended for the characteristics to be used to determine whether an individual is a sexual killer (although findings from this research may lead assessors to be more confident that this was the case or that there is a need for further assessment). Rather, the characteristics can establish areas for assessment during interview to help identify the nature and extent of the sexual motivation to the offence. Exploration of this research from consideration of two offence factors; whether the perpetrator used strangulation and whether they targeted a stranger, and two perpetrator characteristics; whether they were considered a loner and whether they disclosed fantasy has provided findings relevant to understanding both the motivation for sexual killing and the identification and assessment of sexual killers. While each of these factors will be discussed separately, viewed collectively, all four have shown some level of sexual motivation against the data. In addition, similarities and differences in characteristics of perpetrator and offence found for each of the factors have implications for apprehension of perpetrators, assessment and treatment. There was indication that there was a sexual motive to both the targeting of strangers and use of strangulation to kill the victim. Those perpetrators considered loners were more likely to disclose fantasy. Perpetrators who disclosed fantasy showed characteristics of their development and life before the offence that gave an explanation for fantasy driven sexual killings consistent with existing models of sexual offending. Prior to considering the practical implications from this research, conclusions concerning the four research factors will be made.

Sexual killers who disclose fantasy. Given denial in sexual offenders and difficulties in assessment of paraphilia, the findings reported in Chapter Eight suggest areas for assessing whether deviant or offence related fantasy is relevant to a particular sexual killer. The following cluster of behaviours could provide indications that assessors need to probe further for disclosure of offence related and deviant fantasy; childhood factors where the perpetrator witnessed mother/primary carer being physically abused, that they were a loner with few friends and had problems relating to their preferred sex. All of these factors could signal the need for further questioning about how these experiences were coped with and whether they shaped the onset, nature and prevalence of masturbatory fantasy. The presence of a number of these factors in the face of denial of deviant or offence related fantasy could also signal the need for questions or more objective methods of assessment such as penile plethysmography. Particular emphasis could be placed upon the factors that were identified in the regression analysis. In terms of case formulation, for perpetrators who have disclosed fantasy, there could be benefit in establishing how the cluster of factors described above promoted the use of fantasy, e.g. trying to gain control over their lives and situation, or contributed to deviant fantasy itself and what factors caused them to act out their fantasy through criminal behaviour. Following their study of sexual killers, Burgess et al. (1986) were left asking what led the men to “Respond to their environment with violent fantasies” (p.258). This question is relevant here and the characteristics identified in this research relevant to fantasy disclosure could form the basis for both clinical assessment of cases and further research.

Sexual killers who are considered a loner. This study found that there was some level of overlap in the characteristics of perpetrators who were considered a loner and those who disclosed fantasy. Burgess et al. (1986), with reference to the 36 sexual killers in their study, suggested that “Indications from the murderers themselves of long-standing, aggressive thoughts and fantasies directed toward sexualized death” were “established early and existed in a context of social isolation”(p. 258). The findings in this research provide support for this review and suggest that this area warrants further study. As mentioned above, there could be value for both assessment and future research on the development of sexual killers to consider in more detail what problems relating to preferred sex after the age of 12 years and being a loner with few friends actually mean to sexual killers and how these factors contributed to them becoming sexual killers. That is, do they contribute to the development of enduring vulnerabilities (Thornton, et al. 2008) that manifest in deviant fantasy use. In terms of treatment and monitoring of perpetrators, they were more likely to be considered to have problems with social integration and be less likely to be in a relationship at the time of the offence if they were considered a loner. Again, this factor has implications for case formulation and intervention.

Sexual Killers who Victimise Strangers. Although sexual killers who victimised strangers did not have an association with disclosure of deviant or offence related fantasy, they did show some characteristics indicative of an offence with a sexual motivation. They were more likely to have

both previous convictions for sex offences and non contact sex offences, evidence of paraphilia, to have been convicted for a sex offence alongside the killing, and to have disclosed that they attacked the victim with a sexual intention. These characteristics can be used to help identify where careful exploration of a sexual motivation to a killing is warranted. For example, if there was suggestion that a perpetrator had committed a sexual killing against a stranger but there is an absence of disclosure of any sexual motive. Further research also needs to be taken to establish the extent targeting a stranger serves a sexual purpose. In addition, the offence location, as those who victimise strangers are more likely to attack them in the street or break into the victim's home, needs to be explored further to determine if this location contributed to both the sexual motive and factors that triggered the killing.

Sexual Killers Who Use a "Hands on Method". While this study found evidence that those perpetrators who disclose fantasy and are a loner and that those perpetrators who target strangers are two distinct types of sexual killer, it has not provided evidence that sexual killers who use strangulation are a separate group. At the same time, the indication that killing by manual or ligature strangulation points to a more controlled method of death with less extreme violence raises the need to explore further whether this method of death is sexually arousing. There is a lack of research into what sexual killers gain from the method of killing they employ. The results from this study suggest that there could be value in addressing this issue to obtain a clearer understanding of the motivation for killings involving strangulation.

Theories of Sexual Killers

The developmental model of sexual killers proposed in Chapter Twelve sets a context for both case formulation and future research. Efforts now need to be made to validate this model. There could be value in exploring, through interview, to determine if the observable behaviours are manifestations of propensities that help explain the development of sexual killers. Efforts could usefully be made to consider other biological precursors that could contribute to this model. Briken et al. (2005) found that brain abnormalities were present in 30% of their sample of sexual killers and highlighted "The importance of a precise neurological and psychological examination of this specific offender group not only to evaluate responsibility but also for treatment and risk assessment" (p.1207). While there may be common developmental themes, from similar backgrounds sexual killers may then follow different pathways. Biological, psychological and environmental factors (both in childhood and as an adult), could combine together in different ways and varying contributions to the development of sexual killers. Further research around the distal antecedents in the model and how biological precursors, psychological predispositions and environmental factors interact could help establish the early developmental characteristics of sexual killers. The two groups described in Chapter Eleven provide hypotheses for testing developmental factors that could be common to sexual killers, e.g. behavioural problems at school, disturbed relationship with father while also looking at particular offence pathways driven by different motives, e.g. anger or sexual fantasy. Interviews with perpetrators identified in

Chapter Five who use two methods of assault (object and strangulation or multiple stab wounds) could also help inform whether two methods is an indication of heightened arousal to fantasy, extreme anger or some other explanation.

Limitations of current study

The retrospective nature of this study prevented further exploration of whether a lack of evidence for the items coded in the SKT genuinely represented that the item was not relevant, as opposed to the killers not having been asked about it or a failure to record (Langevin & Handy, 1987). The data has been collected with reliance on files containing reports and entries that are not consistently written and the inter-rater reliability of report writers is unknown (Briken et al. 2006). The information has been recorded at different times and disclosure could have been influenced by the effect of time of imprisonment and in some cases, treatment (Firestone et al., 1998). In addition, a Bonferroni correction was not applied to the significance levels because this study is exploratory. However, this decision could mean that some of the significant findings may have occurred by chance, which could be corrected in future research that seeks to replicate the current findings.

Practical Application of Current Research.

This thesis has provided further support for the characteristics identified from the literature of sexual killers, using a larger sample size than has generally been recorded. It has also provided evidence that there are further characteristics that warrant investigation. There are some very practical, if surprising observations that can be made from the data collection that may be relevant for future study. Given that typologies of sexual killers and definitions of sexual killers generally concern how the killing and sex are attached, there was a paucity of information within the files making reference to this issue. These were life sentence prisoner files which included information relevant to assessment and progress for parole. Yet information concerning why the perpetrator actually killed the victim was generally absent. Although it was often the case that the files could be used to code whether anger or some kind of sexual intention was a motivation to the killing, it was not possible to code whether the perpetrator had killed to heighten sexual arousal in many of the cases or killed for other reasons, e.g. to commit sexual acts on a body. This issue of why the perpetrator killed the victim should be more routinely recorded if we are to understand more about these perpetrators and why they kill their victims. Currently, staff assessing sexual killers simply do not seem to ask why the perpetrator killed the victim and if they do ask, the outcome is not recorded.

As indicated above, this research has implications for profiling sexual killers. For example, victims of sexual killing that have taken place in the street or the victim's home could indicate that the perpetrator will have previous sexual offences against a stranger victim and non-contact sex offences in their criminal history and not know the victim.

This research also has implications for staff undertaking assessment of perpetrators where it is suspected or has been established that they committed a sexual killing. It provides areas to be looked at in terms of developmental processes and variables that may maintain a propensity to commit sexual killings, e.g. grievance thinking and paraphilia, which in turn could be targets for intervention. It also provides characteristics that could be looked for to indicate the presence of fantasy relevant to understanding a sexual killing where individuals deny a sexual motivation and deviant sexual interests. The findings relating to the four research factors provide scope to explore an offence with an individual who denies any sexual motive. It provides the possibility of being able to consider aspects of an offence that a perpetrator could be less likely to contest, e.g. that the victim was a stranger or the perpetrator used strangulation as well as allowing discussion that does not focus simply on the actual killing, e.g. whether the perpetrator was a loner. All these approaches could provide important clinical information in understanding the offence when the perpetrator is not being open about the possible sexual motivation to a killing.

Future Research into Sexual Killers

The approach adopted in this study has found evidence for a number of characteristics of sexual killers and has identified further characteristics relevant to these perpetrators. In addition, it has identified factors that may contribute to the perpetrator being considered a loner, disclosing fantasy, targeting a stranger, and using strangulation. It has also demonstrated that factors that have been shown to be risk factors for future sexual offending such as problems with intimacy (Hanson, 2000) are prevalent in a large sample of sexual killers from the UK. These findings could usefully be built upon using interviews to explore further the hypotheses that have been suggested.

Having looked at the characteristics of perpetrators against female adults, there may be benefit in separately considering those perpetrators who victimise children and male victims as well as serial perpetrators. Discriminating between victim groups could better help identify potential differences between sexual killer types and inform aetiological understanding, assessment, and treatment. A shared definition of sexual killers and associated factors, such as how it is determined that a victim stranger is indeed a stranger, and demonstration of inter-rater reliability in coding the presence of characteristics are important steps in taking research forward.

Other methods to measure and consider the presence of paraphilia, particularly methods that indicate paraphilia without solely relying on disclosure (given that perpetrators of sexual killers often deny aspects of their crime), would be helpful in exploring relationships between paraphilia and sexual killers. The possibility that paraphilia is related to sexual killers who target stranger needs further exploration. Given that approaching one-half of the sexual killers in this study who targeted stranger had a previous conviction for a sex offence against a stranger, perpetrators who specifically target strangers and that paraphilia drives the offence and/or contributes to an escalation to fatal sexual offending warrants investigation. The findings from this study; that those perpetrators who commit their crimes against strangers are more likely to disclose that they

attacked their victim with a sexual intention and less likely to disclose they killed due to anger/loss of temper than sexual killers whose victim was not a stranger, would support this hypothesis. Arguably, steps to validate the model proposed in this thesis with a different sample could inform all findings that have been proposed within this research and take these forward.

Conclusion

This study has added to existing knowledge of sexual killers and identified areas that could help identify both the characteristics of sexual killers and areas that could be targets for intervention and risk assessment. It also provides evidence to support the finding that deviant fantasy or enduring problems with loneliness are relevant to sexual killers and warrant assessment. The ultimate aim of validating a developmental model of sexual killers will not only help with the apprehension and assessment of these perpetrators, but offers the hope of eventually being able to intervene to prevent this most aberrant of crimes.

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